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by

**Flávia ROCHA BLEY**

Born on 16 August 1977 in Curitiba, Brazil

**(TRANS-)LOCAL LANGUAGE LEARNING SPACES OF THREE NEWLY  
ARRIVED BRAZILIAN PRESCHOOL CHILDREN IN LUXEMBOURG: TWO  
MULTI-SITED ETHNOGRAPHIC CASE STUDIES ON THE SUPPORTING  
STRUCTURES OF THEIR PARENTS, TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS**

### **Dissertation defence committee**

Dr Claudine Kirsch, dissertation supervisor  
*Professor, Université du Luxembourg*

Dr Sascha Neumann  
*Professor, University of Tübingen*

Dr Mélanie Wagner, Chairperson  
*Professor, Université du Luxembourg*

Dr Karita Mård-Miettinen  
*Professor, University of Jyväskylä*

Dr Gabriele Budach, Vice Chairperson  
*Professor, Université du Luxembourg*

**Declaration**

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed entirely by myself. The work contained herein is my own, except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment. I also declare that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized initial 'A' followed by a long, sweeping horizontal stroke that curves upwards at the end.

In the memory of my loving father.

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## Abstract

Previous studies have found that students whose home language differs from the language of instruction are prone to school inadequacy and to dropping out early (Cummins, 2015; EC, 2013). This is especially true for the lusophone population in Luxembourg. This thesis aims to capture the experiences of these migrant children in the Luxembourgish educational system to identify possible matches as well as mismatches between children's support structures at home, school and daycare centre. Drawing on a sociocultural framework that understands that children learn languages when engaging in social practices with members of their communities (Rogoff, 1990) and that gives a prominent role to children's active role when interacting with their environments (Van Lier, 2004), this thesis investigates the role of the adults in shaping the immediate environments of three newly arrived five-year-old Brazilian children in Luxembourg. It presents two case studies that examine the supporting structures that parents at home, teachers at school and educators in *Maison Relais pour Enfants* (a non-formal education institution) provide to support language development of these children.

The data from this qualitative study was collected from October 2017 to July 2018, combining participant-observation, fieldnotes, video recordings, photographs, questionnaires and interviews. The data analysis drew on approximately 170 hours of field observation, 25 hours of video material, photographs, interviews, and questionnaires. It was then analysed by employing different qualitative methods, i.e. Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019), Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (SDA) (Mercer, 2004), and Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) (Anderson, 2007; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019).

The findings show that the adults designed physical learning spaces and selected material that afforded language and literacy development. They also offered language-related activities

such as phonemic awareness exercises, tracing letters, reading books for children, asking children to retell stories, proposing songs and rhymes, among many others. In addition, adults deployed scaffolding strategies when talking to children, especially questions, repetitions, and feedback. While each setting is unique, some similarities could nevertheless be found. The children encountered the following features across the different settings: literacy, play, structure, and multilingual adults with a monolingual ethos. Overall, the findings show a positive start for the three children.

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## **Chapter 1 - Introduction**

### **1.1. Setting the scene**

It is the beginning of 2017 in south-eastern Brazil. Three four-year-old children in two middle-class highly educated families are attending preschool, having play dates with other children, visiting grandparents and relatives, and playing at home. They are probably not aware, but their parents are making other plans for their families. Brazil is not at war, nor are the parents unemployed or having financial difficulties. On the contrary, they are employed in stable jobs - but they have great aspirations for their children. They want them to grow up in a safe environment, with more access to cultural programmes and languages, as well as better educational opportunities.

The migration decisions of these two families take place against a more complex time and space background. We live in a time of high global interconnectivity. Global markets, technology, and other sociopolitical events have been demanding that more and more people become transcultural, especially due to migration (IOM, 2019). Even the political borders – which metaphorically supported the hermetic notion of one country, one nation, its nationals, and its national native language(s) – have not been able to avoid the new trend. These nations have witnessed more and more of their nationals moving out, but also a diverse population of foreigners coming in, adapting, and using the local language(s) alongside the languages they brought with them. While public policies are forced to adapt and welcome the highly diverse population of migrants, the compartmented nationalistic beliefs have remained, creating contradictory discourses and beliefs on languages and migration – not only in public documents, but also in the general ideology of hosts and migrants alike.

The officially trilingual Grand Duchy of Luxembourg is a small country where 47.2% of inhabitants have foreign nationalities (STATEC / CTIE, 2021), and where the public schools accommodate the highest proportion of students with migrant backgrounds in the OECD. The mainstream Luxembourgish public educational system expects students to master the country's three official languages, i.e., Luxembourgish, French and German, from an early age. This is the schooling system that will welcome the three Brazilian children.

The current study will look at these three children in their first months attending the new school in Luxembourg, to understand what elements of their new routines afford the development of a new language. The study approaches the onset of the emergence of a new language in the beginning of formal education in Luxembourg, stressing the language learning opportunities that these children encounter in the settings in which they participate daily: home, school, and Maison Relais pour enfants.

## **1.2. Aims and nature of the study**

The aim of the present study is to examine how these three migrant children learn Luxembourgish, and are possibly introduced to other languages. I depart from the assumption that these children will learn new languages because they have migrated to a new country, where these other named languages are valued. Thus, I intend to examine what in these children's immediate environments affords the development of new languages. I adopt a sociocultural framework that understands that children learn languages because they are immersed in the social practices of their communities (Rogoff, 1990) and through their active role in interacting with their environments (Van Lier, 2004). These physical settings, or micro contexts have, however, been designed by adults, with values and norms passed down from generation to generation. Adults' role in children's learning can often be taken for granted, for

instance: how adults organise the children's daily routine and the physical spaces available; the activities that they offer the children; or the way that they talk to children, diverting the children's attention to language itself. The current study, thus, sheds light on this typically unnoticed role of adults in constructing physical and metaphysical spaces that afford children's experiences.

As such, this study attempts to examine the language opportunities and affordances in the settings where these three preschool-aged Brazilian migrant children spend their weekdays, i.e., their homes, their schools, and their non-formal educational institutions outside school hours, called *Maison Relais pour Enfants* (MRE). These opportunities and affordances will be examined at three different levels: the level of material elements available for children to interact with; the level of activities suggested by adults; and the interactional level, through an analysis of how adults talk to children, i.e., what strategies they employ to turn the children's attention to language itself.

Sociocultural studies investigating how preschool-aged children learn languages have been conducted in the past and will be discussed in the literature review. Some of these studies investigated learning, solely in the classroom (Fleta Guillén's, 2018; Tabors, 2008; Markova; 2016; Schwartz, Hijazy, and Deeb; 2021). Others have looked at the discrepancy between home and school practices (Kelly, 2010; Drury, 2007; Gregory; 1997). Most of these studies have mainly aimed their attention at migrant children learning English in English-speaking countries, i.e., countries with a strong monolingual identity, where the migrant child is described as bi/multilingual. Here, I attempt to offer a different perspective on migrant children coming from Brazil, a country with a monolingual ideology, to Luxembourg, where multilingualism is not only in the statistics, on the streets and in the classrooms, but also in the

governmental documents demanding that teachers value home languages and that students master certain languages.

The relevance of such a study is related to children's academic achievement in a world with an ascending migration trend (IOM, 2019). Language learning is fundamental for schooling, and students whose first/home language(s) differ from that of the school are normally described in literature as students in risk due to their educational disadvantage (Cummins, 2015), more likely to drop out of school (EC, 2013). Therefore, developing an understanding of how educational institutions in a multilingual host country accommodate the newcomers and contrasting these observations with the existing literature is necessary. This is relevant not only in Luxembourg, where public schools admit the highest proportion of students with migrant backgrounds out of all the OECD countries, but also in other contexts starting to experience the same diverse population in their schools.

In Luxembourg, among the several student groups with migrant backgrounds, the lusophone population has been described as disproportionately represented in the most prestigious schooling tracks. Brazilian children, who also speak Portuguese as their first/home language, are part of the same group. Therefore, capturing the experiences of migrant children as they are introduced to the Luxembourgish educational system is important when observing possible mismatches between home and school and trying to identify possible disagreements.

### **1.3. The research questions and methodology**

Because my focus of investigation is particular, i.e., I want to examine a specific context and particular group of people, describe their activities and spaces to understand how these specific settings influence learning, I make use of a qualitative research methodology (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). I employed ethnographic methods for data collection (O'Reilly, 2005), such as

participant observation/ field notes, audiovisual records, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, photographs, and documents. The data analysis drew on approximately 170 hours of field observation and 25 hours of video material. Data was analysed using different qualitative methods, depending on the Research Question, e.g., Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019), Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (SDA) (Mercer, 2004), and Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) (Anderson, 2007; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019).

To understand the new settings encountered by the children in my study, and acknowledging that these settings were designed by parents and professionals, my research was framed by the four research questions below. I start by asking three essentially descriptive questions:

1. What are the material affordances of the physical spaces that can help these three children develop multilingual repertoires including features of Luxembourgish?
2. What are the activities that their parents, teachers and educators propose to support the development of children's language and literacy skills in Luxembourgish and other languages?
3. What are the language strategies employed by the adults on such occasions?

These three questions help me describe the different types of language learning affordances available for these children. I then ask another question:

4. What are the continuities and discontinuities among these spaces?

By following these three children as they cross different contexts on a given day, I attempt to shed light on these horizontal transitions to try to grasp how these children adapt to the different spaces and create a sense of continuity across them, as well as how they reproduce key aspects of one setting in a different setting.

#### **1.4. My argument**

These three children developed language skills in Luxembourgish and had contact with other named languages because they encountered rich and varied opportunities to listen, comprehend and use the new language (Rowe, 2012). This happened because the adults surrounding them in different settings afforded supporting structures for these children, through physical and material elements that served as affordances for using the language (Van Lier, 2004). These adults suggested varied language-related activities, and employed conversational strategies, which stimulated interactions and provided the correct use of language (Hoff, 2006; Kirsch, 2021).

When comparing the different language development opportunities across the settings, I concluded that there was not an absolute and decisive trend that distinguished them. They did not differ or coincide completely, but showed a myriad of language-related prompts, activities and strategies, with adults performing different roles, e.g., interlocutors, monitors, playing partners and teachers. Despite the distinctiveness of each setting, there were some features that children encountered in all of them: play, literacy activities, multilingual adults who practised a monolingual language policy, and formality during conversations.

#### **1.5. Researcher's background and motivations**

Given that this is a qualitative study, it is very important that I position myself, which I do more extensively in chapter 5. Because the researcher is the data collection tool, the study is done through their subjective perspective. Thus, my background and motivations need to be clear. My interest in understanding how languages are learned/taught in Luxembourg was shaped by my personal trajectory, more so than academic. I chose to study Lettres Portuguese-English for my bachelor's degree, i.e., an undergraduate course that provided the foundation to work as a

primary (2<sup>nd</sup> cycle, for children aged 11 to 14) and secondary school teacher of Portuguese and/or English. During my education, I was invited to teach English at the Parana Federal University's language centre where I stayed for nine years, until two years after the conclusion of my master's degree. For my master's in applied linguistics, I investigated why advanced students of English could not understand films or radio programmes in the original language. My thesis was mostly focused on phonology, but began approaching a more social turn in linguistics: in the conclusion, I proposed that the difficulty in oral comprehension was probably due to the lack of authenticity and/or pragmatics in language course books. I quit my teaching career after 12 years, when I was the coordinator and teacher of a Lettres Portuguese-English undergraduate course in a private college.

A couple of years later, in 2013, I learned that I had the right to apply for Luxembourgish nationality, because my great-grandfather had been born in Luxembourg and his descendants had inherited his right to Luxembourgish nationality. I then started reading about Luxembourg and began to treasure this extraordinary little country. I was especially intrigued by the word "multilingualism", which commonly appeared in association with the country, as its main trait. Newspaper articles cited that Luxembourg residents spoke an average of 3,5 languages, and that the school system was trilingual, with English as an additional language. I began to envision such a schooling system for my son, thinking that it would be an opportunity for him to grow up with so many languages. I also encountered the drawbacks of such a system for migrant children, especially those arriving after the age of eight. The more I read about the system, the early selection for classical and technical tracks, and how migrant children, particularly Portuguese-speaking children, are typically sent to the technical tracks, the more it made me uncomfortable with the injustice. On paper, it sounded like such an open and multicultural society; yet it seemed to be segregating children according to their language competences. To understand more about it, I began to read academic articles on the subject,

and the desire to investigate multilingualism in loco started to grow. I then contacted Dr. Claudine Kirsch in April 2015, who agreed to supervise me.

I moved to Luxembourg with my family in 2015 and have been working and building up the current thesis since then. This study was a self-funded, part-time endeavour.

## **1.6. Structure of the thesis**

In this introductory chapter, I sought to provide the general context which situates the study, as well as its purpose and nature. In Chapter 2, I present the sociocultural theoretical framework, as it helps to answer how learning happens through human mediation, and how teaching and learning are shaped by cultural norms. I combined sociocultural theory with ecological approaches for language learning, which emphasise the role of the contexts. In the third chapter, I review the literature on first and second language acquisition in early childhood. I sought to identify what has been published about the role of parents and educators in supporting their children in developing language and literacy. I also review literature on the transitions between home and school contexts. In Chapter 4, I present the context of the study, the language scenario of Luxembourg and the structure of its mainstream public multilingual educational system. I discuss the challenges for newly arrived migrant students, particularly lusophone students, when adapting to a trilingual educational system which has an early tracking system. I present numbers on the Brazilian community in Luxembourg, which is not representative, but is part of the larger group of lusophone students. In Chapter 5, I present an in-depth discussion of the methodology and research design. I discuss how I wanted to collect contextual evidence to answer the question, “what role does the context play in language development?” Questions that examine how a certain phenomenon happens demand a qualitative research methodology, as this type of methodology is not interested in quantifying

or measuring a phenomenon. I also outline the study design, discuss data collection and analysis methods, and address the criteria for the study's credibility. In the two analytical chapters, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, I present data summaries organised into sub-sections that address each of the three levels of contextual language affordances: those materially present in the physical spaces, literacy-related activities, and language supporting strategies during conversations. There is also a sub-section discussing such affordances across settings. In Chapter 8, I examine common themes across the settings, such as play and literacy. Next, in Chapter 9, I contrast the study's findings with existing literature. Finally, in the last chapter, I consider the study's contribution to knowledge, its limitations, and implications for future research.

## **Chapter 2 - Theoretical Framework: A sociocultural and ecological approach to language and literacy emergence**

### **2.1. Introduction**

I introduced my research questions in section 1.3. after establishing that this study was framed by the roles of parents and professionals in the design of spaces and activities, and in interactions with children. In this chapter, I present the theoretical framework within which I examine the ways adults help children learn languages, as well as the role of the physical setting, in language emergence (Van Lier, 2004).

The present research is underpinned by an epistemological orientation that understands language learning as happening through human mediation (Vygotsky, 1978). I thus draw on sociocultural approaches to review the literature on children's language and literacy learning. These approaches highlight the role of the adults and help explain how children learn languages and become able to participate in the socially and culturally established practices of their communities (Rogoff, 1990, p.39) through mediation strategies, such as scaffolding. However, as my research looks at three different physical spaces (home, school and MRE) and the roles of the adults in them, looking solely at the different forms of mediation would exclude the richness of the material affordances present in the physical settings in which these children are embedded. It would also exclude a deeper analysis of the adults' essential roles in proposing activities aimed at helping newly arrived children develop additional languages. As such, I also looked at literature that contemplated the role of different sociocultural physical settings. For this, Van Lier's (2004) ecology of language learning, and Kramsch's (2003) language socialisation were useful frameworks. This section unpacks each of these perspectives and clarifies how they are foundational for the present study. I do not employ more comprehensive

ecolinguistics models that look at language use within a complex ecological system and whose many actors and different contextual levels are interconnected and mutually influential (Hornberger & Hult, 2008). This is because the present study concentrates on the supporting structures proposed by different adults and professionals and does not shed light on the different levels of operating systems.

I shall start by presenting sociocultural theory and its main constructs, that is: ZPD, scaffolding, and guided participation. I then move on to discuss the role of the environment in the language emergence phenomenon, starting with the language socialisation field of research. I then discuss ecological approaches to language learning because they emphasise the different settings and their relevance, thus helping to explain how the settings can shape learning. I then define key terms, such as language, literacy, bilingualism, and multilingualism, from this perspective. A review on research into language(s) learning and teaching is presented in the following chapter.

## **2.2. A sociocultural perspective on language learning**

Sociocultural approaches to learning are rooted in the works of Vygotsky (1978), a Soviet developmental psychologist. He described learning as occurring on four different levels, interconnected and influencing one another. The first, phylogenesis, refers to the development of the human being over time, as a species, independent of race or society. Human beings evolved through the use of artefacts which enabled them to relate to the world. These artefacts can be material (e.g., working tools) or symbolic/abstract (e.g., language) (Wertsch, 1998). According to Tomasello (1999: 39 in Lantolf and Thorne, 2006), humans are the only “animal” who experienced a ‘cumulative cultural evolution’ of these tools owing to their ability to imitate and innovate. However, the way these artefacts were created and used differed in

distinct groups of people situated in specific times and spaces. One example of a specific symbolic artefact created by distinct groups of people is their language. The way languages have been developed by human cultures throughout history is the concern of the second level: sociocultural. At this level, the evolution of the symbolic tools, such as language, are analysed to understand their impact on thinking, as well as their value in society (Lantolf, 2000). The third course of mental activity development, ontogenesis, refers to the individual's change over time, from a baby to an adult, owing to human interaction and the collective use of cultural artefacts available in their context. The last domain is microgenesis, which describes the development that happens in an individual's mental order within a short period of time, for instance, cognitive information processing.

It is not in the scope of this chapter to review the entirety of sociocultural theory, neither that proposed by Vygotsky nor his temporary colleagues and followers. I shall focus on a few central aspects that are relevant for my research. The fundamental educational construct of sociocultural theory is mediation (Lantolf, 2000) as it traverses the different courses of Vygotsky's approach (Van Lier, 2004). Human intelligence is understood as the capacity to learn through the mediation of people and artefacts. Mediation is the link between the social and the individual or, in other words, a separate area or a bridge between the mind and the social (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). Mediation can happen through material tools, human interaction, and the use of signs (Ellis, 2003 in Van Lier, 2004). It looks at learning as a social process, not as something happening inside a person's brain.

This perspective understands that children learn languages by engaging in the social and cultural practices of their community (Vygotsky, 1978; Rogoff, 1995; Wenger, 1998). These practices are ingrained in environments that have their own political, economic, historical, religious, cultural, and social features. Members of a community teach the novices (e.g. babies,

children, newly arrived students) and help them to participate in the community and make use of its cultural artefacts. This means that the mental development of the child is a socially and culturally mediated process because the physical and symbolic tools are dependent on society, social actors, and culture. It is through the guidance of a more experienced member of this sociocultural context (Vygotsky, 1986; Rogoff, 1995) that the novice is introduced to new practices, values, and languages. Languages are not only structural and functional, but they also carry the meanings and beliefs of a society (Gregory, Long & Volk, 2004). The novices are assisted in diverse ways by other people (interaction), for instance, through the use of language and other tools, such as toys, books and technological devices. This assistance is the core of the present thesis.

### **2.2.1. ZPD, scaffolding and guided participation**

As seen in the previous section, within the microgenesis path of human cognitive development (Vygotsky, 1978), children learn words and their social meanings because they are exposed to interactions with more knowledgeable others who help them understand, solve tasks, and learn abilities by employing specific facilitating strategies. In what follows, I shall explain the key concepts of SCT.

The ZPD (Zone of Proximal Development) is the educational application of Vygotsky's observations and conclusions. Vygotsky (1978) introduced this concept to examine the importance of instruction for mediators such as parents, teachers, peers, or siblings, in the context of children's learning. The concept of development describes movement and progress, from one point to another. He then asserted that children develop new skills, strategies, or concepts when they are assisted by a more knowledgeable person within this metaphorically measurable zone where learning is optimised. This metaphoric optimised learning zone is a

space in which a child can perform a slightly more complex task with some assistance. This can be illustrated by the example of a child assembling a 50-piece puzzle. Say they have already learned how to assemble the image alone, without the help of others; when a 75-piece puzzle is given to them to solve, the tasks will demand more concentration and more attention to detail. The child may feel frustrated and abandon the activity. This means that the task is above their developmental level. However, with the aid of a more experienced person, the puzzle can be assembled. Through such assistance, the child learns new strategies to solve the task, such as starting by the corners and borders, and gathering similar colours together. This moment is thus optimum for development, the zone where most favourable learning can happen. The concept of ZPD reinforces the contention that learning implies social interactions (Lantolf & Thorne, 2006).

The ZPD is often employed together with the term ‘scaffolding’ (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976). Wells (1999) explains that the term answers the “how-question”, as in “how does the more experienced person collaborate with the child within the ZPD?” Thus, scaffolding helps explain the quality of the interactions that result in the child’s learning. Breaking a task down into steps, directing the novice’s attention to what is relevant, and helping to decrease the degree of frustration are examples of scaffolding strategies. Psychologists Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976) employed the term, which refers to the temporary structure placed outside buildings under construction so that workers can access the building, to describe the assistance of more knowledgeable others. This structure is removed once the construction is finished. Just as construction workers make use of scaffolding for temporary support, the more knowledgeable person employs temporary supporting strategies to help the novice understand new concepts, solve tasks, and develop new abilities. Chapter 3 reviews the literature on scaffolding strategies.

A concept related to scaffolding is “guided participation”. Rogoff (1990), an American psychologist and neo-Vygotskian scholar, coined the concept to describe a practice in which children collaboratively participate in routines and activities at home, at school and in the community, guided by more competent members of the society. These routines and activities are built on those of previous generations and are central in providing learning (Rogoff, Moore, Najafi, Dexter, Correa-Chávez, and Solís, 2007). At the socio-interactional level, it is consistent with “scaffolding”, maintaining that the more knowledgeable others help children to develop their skills to reach independence by providing guidance and support (Rogoff, 1990). However, it differs from the above in two ways: 1 – guided participation emphasises the role of the child as a participant and goes beyond the notion that children must simply be active in their learning; 2 – it embeds learning in cultural contexts and shows that children are active and integral parts of their social and cultural contexts, where learning and interaction are embedded (Mascolo, 2009). In a student-centred pedagogy, for instance, a student learns with the assistance of sociocultural tools, such as books and pedagogy. These tools, however, are context-dependent. In developed western countries, for instance, tablets and computers are used to afford particular types of learning, whereas in other contexts, these tools are not used. Another example of culturally situated practice is literacy. Literacy is a cultural tool that is learned through participating in everyday social practices. In western middle-class families, for example, children are introduced to books before being able to read. The adult who shares books also guides the participation of the child in this social practice, valued in their particular community. By interacting with books, children become participants in these cultural practices. Guided participation comprises the processes of bridging and structuring (Ohashi, 2013). Bridging is the fine-tuning between the adult and the child that results in a shared focus of attention (Rogoff, 1990). The adult has the role of making the connection between the known and the unknown for the child. According to Rogoff (1990), in middle-class populations, this

bridging normally starts with the children and their point of view. The adults focus their attention on where children direct theirs and engage them in building verbal or nonverbal interactions (Rogoff, 1990: 19). These interactions respect the intersubjectivity principle of communication. This means that, for mutual comprehension to happen, one person acknowledges the other's viewpoint and familiarity with the subject (ibid). Adults, thus, adapt their communication to attempt to reach this mutual comprehension. The child, too, needs to adapt their perspective to make meaning from the adult's communication. Both parts reach intersubjectivity, so that the adult can bridge what the child already knows and what is new.

Apart from the adults' role in these micro-interactional moments, adults are also responsible for structuring activities and materials available to children. Educators decide in which activities children can participate, the roles they can have, and the degrees of their responsibility (ibid: 87). These activities and materials are socially and culturally dependent. For instance, in some cultures, children are involved in their parents' work from an early age. In others, children are cared for by professional educators while their parents are at work. Adults also facilitate engagement in these activities by adapting them to what they believe will be more appropriate for children. Examples include attaching training wheels to the child's bicycle, or reading books with few and capitalised words.

For my data analysis, presented in chapters 6 and 7, I examined three overall tutorial/assistance strategies used by the adults to promote language learning. First, adults provide typical materials that afford learning. Second, they prepare specific activities which contribute to language learning, such as conversations or activities. Third, they use particular strategies to get and sustain attention, encourage interaction and model accurate language use.

### **2.3. The role of the physical setting**

The constructs of scaffolding and guided participation help describe the micro-interactional instances between a more knowledgeable person and a novice, and the role of adults in suggesting activities and materials for children. Building on from this, in this section, I begin by outlining theories that emphasise the role of the physical setting in the emergence of languages. This addresses my first research questions on physical settings where these children are embedded during the weekdays. In this section, I present the field of language socialisation and follow with the ecology of language learning and teaching. I then conclude by discussing how ecological models have also been embraced by the second language acquisition (SLA) research field to account for the complexity of the phenomena.

#### **2.3.1. Language socialisation**

One socio-cultural approach looks at the setting to explain how children learn languages. This originated in anthropological studies, such as those of the American linguistic anthropologist, Shirley Brice Heath (1983). Scholars in the same tradition documented, ethnographically, the ways in which the language children were exposed to was influenced by other spheres beyond the immediate interactional moment. The language was embedded in the history and culture of certain groups, and influenced by their social values (Och, 2003). Studies investigating language acquisition from an anthropological stance gave birth to the “Language Socialisation” field, grounded in sociocultural theory. They were based on the assumption that language acquisition was, in fact, part of the “process of becoming a person in society” (ibid: 106). This perspective emphasised the symbiotic relationship between agent and context. Metaphors, such as “how can we tell the dancer from the dance?” (Kramsch, 2003: 1) and “becoming the village” (Lemke, 2003: 73) were used to explain the fusion of the agent with its surroundings. Lemke

(2003) offered a convenient illustration of the “village” metaphor: he posited that if we could erase the entire setting when observing “the villager” participating in their daily activities, so as to only watch the person against a void background, we could still learn much about their culture through the observation of their activities and use of material or symbolic tools. Becoming “the villager”, then, was about learning how to adjust one’s behaviour and adapt to the diversity of “the village”. Bringing this perspective to a more connected and mobile context means that people need to adjust their behaviour to participate in several “villages”, because they are not bounded to one single space but frequently participate across different types of spaces. This is especially relevant in my study, which has migration as its starting point and looks at language learning as happening across different settings. From a language socialisation perspective, children learn the communicative competence necessary to start participating in certain contexts through language itself (Kramsh, 2003), becoming an integral part of their surroundings.

### **2.3.2. Relevant tenets of the ecology of language learning**

Ecological approaches to language teaching and learning (Creese & Martin, 2003; Van Lier, 2004; Hornberger, 2003; Kramsch, 2008) look at language emergence as part of an ecological system. Grounded in sociocultural theory, this perspective understands that language use is part of a complex system of relationships among various interconnected elements, their environments, physical and sociocultural (Allard, 2017). Ecological approaches do not look at isolated elements in a system but rather at the whole system, and acknowledge that the change in one element can change its integrity. Thus, looking at language learning from an ecological perspective comprises looking at languages, social contexts, individual speakers, their inter-relationships (Hornberger & Hult, 2008, p. 282), and the language ideologies which permeate

language policy and language use (Creese & Martin, 2003, p. 4). From an ecological perspective, language emergence is the result of actions happening at different levels, across different time spans and spaces (Allard, 2017). For example, a language-focused activity in a classroom is not there randomly. It has been influenced by other elements, actions, or beliefs, such as the teacher's education and ideology, the school curricula, the national language policy, and the country's history. This means that the languages used in the classroom and the activities proposed to support their development are not disconnected elements from the wider socio-political context (Creese & Martin, 2003), and thus should be appraised from a holistic perspective.

Even though the present study does not look at all these different levels, the ecological approach helps in my investigation as it considers the level of the "setting", the ways in which individuals interact with the physical setting and more specifically, the connection between different settings. From this perspective, the physical context is "full of potential meanings" (Van Lier, 2000: 246). The learner interacts inside a setting or with the setting itself. Thus, context can shape learning (Niu, Lu and You, 2018), either hindering or facilitating it, according to how resources are used (Palfreyman, 2006). In each context, there are different types of resources: the tangible, such as books, prompts for play, games, ICT devices or posters; the non-tangible, such as assessments, authority, and power (Van Lier, 2001); and finally, social resources, such as people (Palfreyman, 2006).

A central concept in the ecology of language learning is "affordance" (Van Lier, 2000; Van Lier, 2004). The concept was coined by Gibson (1986) and originally referred to the interplay between animals and their environments, people and their settings. The person perceives an affordance and decides to act upon it or not. A shadow provided by a large tree affords a space in which an animal can rest. A blackboard and chalk set available in a child's room afford

playing, drawing, or writing. People perceive what the setting is offering and choose to act upon it (Menezes, 2011). Van Lier (2004: 92), an educational linguist, explains that ‘affordance refers to what is available to the person to do something with’. Thus, there is the notion of dialogical relation because affordances are not the same as the object. The shadow of a tree is only an affordance if the animal sees it as an opportunity to use it. The same tree can afford a safe place for other species. When applied to language learning, this concept emphasises the role of the learner in perceiving contextual cues and interpreting them. Each environment provides elements that can be perceived as an affordance for the language learner to act upon. When children are immersed in an environment that presents a range of opportunities for interactions, i.e. an environment “rich in multisensory activities with a wide array of semiotic resources” (Schwartz, 2018: 6), and where language is necessary for the action (Van Lier, 2002), they are likely to learn to use language. A reading corner in the classroom, for instance, is an affordance, as it is available for children to interact with it. Affordances can be physical, social, or symbolic (Van Lier, 2004: 4).

Another main tenet of an ecological approach is “the emergent nature of language learning and use” (Steffensen and Kramsch, 2017). Learning can emerge “wherever people engage across societal, mental, and personal borders” (ibid: 6). People remain emergent learners throughout their lives, including emergent language learners.

The ecological metaphor, with its symbiotic relationship between languages, people, and the space-time context, has been used by different traditions looking at the phenomenon of the emergence of additional languages. Language socialisation, originating from anthropology, has developed to explain second language socialisation (SLS) from a sociocultural perspective (Duff, 2007). Second language acquisition (SLA) research, originating from the cognitive tradition of psycholinguistics, has also experienced an “ecological turn” (after its “social turn”).

A new ecological model has been laid down, comprising the complexity and the dynamic relations among different agents, contexts, and spheres, to explain the phenomenon of learning an additional language (Douglas Fir Group, 2016). These different traditions have reached something of a consensus: the emergence of multilingualism is the result of the dynamic interplay between people and the sociocultural and environmental opportunities they encounter.

Applied linguist Kramsch (2003: 6) discusses, however, that both SLS and SLA apply the metaphor of ecology as:

‘a convenient shorthand for the poststructuralist realization that learning is a nonlinear, relational human activity, co-constructed between humans and their environment, contingent upon their position in space and history, and a site of struggle for the control of social power and cultural memory.’

Steffensen and Kramsch (2017) argue that “ecology” in these second language learning models is merely a metaphor, because the essential feature of ecology is its holistic nature (Kramsch and Steffensen, 2008), whereby language is not studied as a separate entity from the whole system. This poses a challenge to educational researchers, because while they must acknowledge the holism of the phenomena, they still need to respond to institutional demands which treat languages as separate entities. This will be further discussed.

#### **2.4. Conceptualising language, bilingualism, multilingualism and literacy**

Now that the main tenets of sociocultural theory and ecological approaches to language learning and teaching have been outlined, I shall discuss notions of language, literacy, bilingualism, and multilingualism within these frameworks.

### 2.4.1. Language

Fundamental to my research on language teaching is the concept of language itself. Sociocultural theory does not offer a theory of language, but a perspective on language learning, and privileges theories that understand language as a practice of communication and meaning-making constructed *in loco* rather than as a sealed formal and structured system (Lantolf and Thorne, 2006). As discussed above, Vygotsky (1978) emphasises two aspects of language: one that is more functional and one that is more cultural. The functional aspect of language is that it is a symbolic tool that helps develop higher mental functions. Vygotsky (1986) observed that thought and language evolved independently in children until the age of about two. At this age, the child began to use language as a tool to help them comprehend the world. When thought and language converge, a new phase of verbal thought begins. The second aspect is associated with culture. Language is understood as an artefact, created by distinct groups of people in different periods or settings, that has been and continues to be developed by these groups throughout history. This notion stresses the culture-dependent trait of language, as it carries accumulated knowledge from groups of people (Skutnabb-Kangas and McCarthy, 2008). As Vygotsky (1986: 177) puts it “The child does not choose the meaning of his words (...) The meaning of the words is given to him in his conversations with adults”. This theme is central to sociocultural theory, as it shows that children learn to think verbally with words whose meanings were passed on by adults. However, this view is not complete, because it does not stress the active role of children in co-constructing meaning. Children are not only at the receiving end and do not merely learn meanings passively (Rogoff, 1990).

The ‘multilingual turn’ (Conteh and Meier, 2014) brought about a more fluid notion of language as an ever-changing practice with “permeable boundaries” (Creese and Blackledge, 2011: 1196). It thereby challenged the idea of language as the system of lexis and syntax

described in grammar books or dictionaries, normally associated with other structural systems such as nationality and ethnicity (Heller, 2007: 2). A nation as a political system requires a social unit. For the sake of social cohesion, national policies were created to minimise internal differences and maximise external ones (Haugen, 1966: 927-928). To facilitate comprehension among its nationals, the creation of a unified linguistic code, or its representation, was necessary. The idealised homogeneous ways in which language was used by the elite were codified by grammarians (Flores and Schissel, 2014) and language became associated with the name of the nation. Varieties spoken by lower classes or minority groups were called “dialects.” (ibid) Language policies continue to oppress multilingual children who are not fluent in the main school language, as they encourage assessment procedures informed by a monoglossic language ideology (García, 2009; Duarte and Kirsch, 2020).

Lompart and Nussbaum (2018) proposed replacing the notion of named languages with the term ‘repertoires’. Drawing on the works of Gumperz (1982), they explain that repertoire accounts for the whole set of linguistic resources a person employs socially. People make use of their linguistic repertoires, choosing distinct features of named languages, together with multimodal forms of expression which include body language, gestures, and facial expressions. The term repertoire is more appropriately aligned when describing the actual practice of children in multilingual contexts, as it brings about the perspective on languages as sociocultural practices.

Accordingly, from an ecological perspective, language is “an act of languaging” and “a whole-bodied achievement” (Steffensen & Kramersch, 2017: 7). Languaging and meanings would be formed in the social, emerging from the immediate environment and activity in which people are engaged (Cangarajah, 2021).

Overall, there is a consensus among most sociolinguists that languages are social constructs whose meanings come into being in loco, co-constructed by social agents and their environment (Kramsch, 2003), and that named languages have permeable boundaries. There is, however, still much debate on whether languages are real entities or not (Cummins, 2021). I will retake this discussion in the next section.

#### **2.4.2. Bilingualism, Multilingualism, Plurilingualism**

Generally speaking, the act of employing more than one named language can be viewed at the individual level and at the social level. In Europe, for instance, the term multilingualism and plurilingualism are used in different ways. The first is used to describe a multilingual society or context, whereas the second refers to an individual and their multiple languages. Beacco and Byram's *Guide to the development of linguistic policies in Europe* (2007) defines a "plurilingual" individual as one whose repertoire accounts for all their language knowledge, regardless of their competence in each. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* defines plurilingualism as the ability

‘to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, where a person, viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures’ (Council of Europe, 2000: 168).

In my work, I follow the Anglo-American tradition and use the term ‘multilingualism’ to refer to the use of two or more named languages, both by an individual and a context or society, regardless of their degree of competence.

Whereas the European tradition prefers “plurilingual” to describe a person’s use of multiple languages, some scholars and researchers use the term “bilingual” to define a person who lives

with two or more named languages. There are, however, more traditional and more dynamic views of bilingualism. Creese and Blackledge (2011) distinguish ‘separate bilingualism’ from ‘flexible bilingualism’ (p. 1197). When defining the former, they draw on the following researchers: Heller (1999:271), who had used the term “parallel monolingualism”; Baker (2003) and Fishman (1967 or 68), who used “bilingualism with diglossia”; Grosjean (1985), who spoke of a ‘monolingual view of bilingualism’; and Gafaranga (2000), who mentioned the ‘language separation approach’ (all in Creese and Blackledge, 2011:1197). These researchers criticised studies that understood languages as distinct systems that can be counted, are separately allocated in the brain, and which should not be used concomitantly. Such views are associated with the nationalist ideas discussed earlier and are reproduced in educational policies and teachers’ ideologies, which aim to promote mastery of the dominant language to native speakers’ standards. This view is also understood as a monoglossic perspective on bi/multilingualism. “Flexible bilingualism” (Creese and Blackledge, 2011:1197), by contrast, looks at different languages coexisting reflexively and dialogically (Ehrhart et al., 2010: 11). This is a heteroglossic perspective on bi/multilingualism. García (2009: 144) uses the term ‘dynamic bilingualism’ to refer to the “multiple language practices needed for people to cross physical or virtual borders”.

From these two different perspectives on bi/multilingualism, i.e., monoglossic and heteroglossic, I move on to a more specific discussion on whether languages are stored in separate compartments in the brain. More specifically, I address the debate on whether these named languages are or are not countable entities (Makoni & Pennycook, 2012). For this, I draw on the recent work of Irish psychologist Cummins (2021) as it contributes to an understanding of the conflicting notions on languages as entities, with or without boundaries. Whereas theoreticians on both sides of the debate agree that languages are socially constructed and are used as instruments of power and oppression against speakers of minority languages,

they have different perspectives on language boundaries and crossing them. Cummins (2021) uses the terms Unitary Translanguaging Theory (UTT) and Crosslinguistic Translanguaging Theory (CTT) to describe these two different theoretical orientations. Scholars adopting the UTT perspective understand that languages do not exist as countable or cognitive realities (García, 2009). They reject terms such as ‘additive bilingualism’, L1/L2, and crosslinguistic transfer, because they separate languages. From the UTT perspective, multilinguals do not speak two or more languages but rather employ their whole repertoire selectively (García & Lin, 2016: 126). On the other side of the debate, Cummins (in press) advocates for the existence of two or more different languages allowing for cross linguistic transfer. Scholars sharing a CTT perspective emphasise that languages are entities, not only because people feel them as such, but also because the aim of the education is to develop academic competencies in the different named languages, encouraged by the transfer between the named languages. These scholars welcome terms such as ‘home language’, ‘first language’, etc. Cummins (in press) also criticises CTT for its ideological orientation, which draws significantly on raciolinguistics (Flores and Rosa, 2015; García, Flores, Seltzer, Wei, Otheguya, and Rosa, 2021).

In this thesis, conflicting constructs are present. When describing theory, for example, I employ the term “named languages”, because I acknowledge that languages are social constructs and that “linguaging” is something fundamentally human, rather than that sealed notion proposed by grammarians. However, when describing the contexts, i.e., when facing the reality of the educational systems, the official statistics reports on languages used and nationalities, and when citing some literary works (some coming from SLA), I employ the term “language” to refer to standardised language codified by grammarians. Thus, I will speak of French, German and Luxembourgish books, or children using features of these languages in their repertoire. Furthermore, when employing the term multilingual or bilingual at the individual level, I am referring to a person who lives with different languages and makes use of their multilingual

repertoire to function in different situations, including at home, work, school, in the community and with distant family members. I do not suggest that this person is fluent or has “native-like” competence of these languages, nor that the person is literate in all of them. At the level of context, I employ the term multilingual to convey that more than one named language is used in the context, for example, a multilingual family or a multilingual school. I also employ the term ‘emergent bilingual’ (García, 2009; García & Kleifgen, 2018) or ‘emergent multilingual’, to describe the children in my study who are being socialised in a multilingual context and whose school language differs from their home language.

### **2.4.3. Literacy**

A sociocultural perspective on literacy is congruent with the understanding of the perspective on language discussed earlier. From a sociocultural perspective, literacy is not the cognitive ability to read and write or decode and code systems, but more broadly understood as a social practice (Street, 1984; 1993; Barton and Hamilton, 2010). The New Literacy Studies movement (NLS) understood literacy as a social activity and cultural practice (Gee, 2015) that should be studied in-context. The difference can be explained to some extent by referring to the French words “littératie” and “alphabétisation”. The former refers to the process of employing written language for social purposes. Literacy is both social and cultural. It is social, because it has a dialogic feature of “reading from” and “writing to” another person. It is cultural, because it is a semiotic tool (Vygotsky, 1978) created by distinct groups of people situated in different times and spaces. The cognitive aspects of decoding and encoding symbols, can refer to alphabetisation. Once the individual learns that sounds can be represented on paper (or digitally), and how to code and decode these representations, the person is said to be literate.

In their theory of literacy as social practice, British linguists David Barton and Mary Hamilton (2010) state that there are different types of literacy practices happening in different areas of life (p. 45), but what they all have in common is the written text that plays the central role in the activity. They also emphasise that these practices are shaped by social institutions, and influenced by political and power relations (ibid). As these practices are influenced by social and political stances, schools tend to privilege some practices over others, normally placing more value on the practices of the dominant groups and ignoring the practices of minority groups (Heath, 1983; Volk and Acosta, 2004).

In cultures where literacy is essential for schooling and for economic outcomes in adult life, children are introduced to books from infancy. In such cultures, children need to value “reading as an essential part of belonging or becoming a member of a specific cultural practice” (Gregory, 2017 p. 370). They do this by observing more knowledgeable individuals use text and by reading texts with the assistance of more knowledgeable others (Kelly, 2010).

Having understood literacy as a social practice and having acknowledged that social practices can often be multilingual, I must address biliteracies. Hornberger (2003) defines biliteracy as ‘the use of two or more languages in and around writing, reading and/or writing in two or more languages’ (ibid: xii). For García (2007), biliteracies often develop outside schools, within families and communities (p. 209), in multilingual contexts. This view is in line with the NLS’ emphasis on the context in which literacies happen (Gee, 2015). García (2009) proposes an approach to pluriliteracies that emphasises “the continuous interplay of multiple languages, scripts, discourses, dialects, and registers” (p. 217) and “the ways in which multilingual literacies are enmeshed and rely upon multiple modes, channels of communication, and semiotic systems” (ibid).

## **2.5. Summary**

In this chapter, I outlined the framework which will inform my thesis and data analysis of two case studies of newly arrived emergent multilingual children. This framework highlights how children learn through the mediated assistance of other people surrounding them in different contexts, and how each context affords opportunities for language and literacy learning. I also defined key terms such as language and multilingualism, and explained how I made use of them throughout the thesis.

## **Chapter 3 - Literature Review**

### **3.1. Introduction**

As presented in Chapter 2, this thesis makes use of sociocultural and ecological approaches to understand how three newly arrived migrant children learn language when joining new social environments. I, therefore, focus on the literature on home/first language development in the private familial setting, and the emergence of other languages outside. I do not review literature on bi/multilingual families, because they do not represent the families in my study. Reviewing literature on the development of home languages at home and other named languages at school is helpful in understanding what exactly is known about emergent multilingual children developing languages in a new host country. Based on my framework, I review literature that examines three different levels: physical setting, activities, and scaffolding strategies during conversation. I also review literature focused on the role of the adults, parents, and educational professionals in promoting language development in these three different settings. I then look at literature on continuities and discontinuities across contexts.

The objective of the present chapter is threefold. First, I review the literature on first and second language acquisition in early childhood with the aim of identifying what is known about learning environments (RQ1), language-promoting activities (RQ2), and scaffolding strategies (RQ3). Second, I review literature that emphasises the coherence between home and school. Finally, I identify the current gap in the literature which the present thesis aims to bridge. I start the chapter by reviewing literature on how children learn language at home, with parents or educators. The second section reviews literature on early second language learning at school, encompassing literature on formal and informal opportunities for emergent multilinguals. This section also reviews multilingual approaches in early education. Next, I review studies on the

continuities and discontinuities across different educational spaces to show that little is known about the connections between the three spaces, as most studies only look at the home and school. Finally, I argue how little is known about emergent multilingualism in a multilingual context, as most studies on migrant children focus on the multilingual learner in an environment with strong monolingual orientations.

## **3.2. Learning languages at home**

### **3.2.1. First language acquisition**

I begin this section by approaching first language acquisition at home for two reasons. First, my visits in the families' homes revealed, as expected, that parents supported their children's home language, Portuguese. Second, children's early language development is one of the strongest predictors of academic success (Hoff, 2013) and, ideally, children should start school with a strong first language and early literacy skills (Garcia & Kleifgen, 2018). As discussed in the previous chapter, language development depends on the language ecology in which the child is embedded (Van Lier, 2004).

Language learning is a complex phenomenon that comprises psychological and social factors, and despite demanding the active involvement of the child, it happens subconsciously, i.e., the child does not choose whether they want to learn their first language or not. Jampert et al. (2011, quoted in MENJE, 2016b) explains that language develops according to what children actively perceive in their contexts. Children listen to the melody and rhythm of a language, and practise uttering these. They apply meanings to words, connect them, and start using them in social interactions, later developing dialogues and expressing themselves. This process varies from child to child and does not develop linearly (MENJE, 2016b). However, some

universalities in the development path have been observed. Before being born, babies can identify sounds, melodies, and their mother's voices (also in Karmiloff, 2002). Already in the first months of infancy, children can distinguish different languages by their melody and rhythm. From six to twelve months of age, children can employ their vocal apparatus and body language to express themselves and interact with other people while trying to reproduce the melody of the language they encounter in their surroundings. Around their first birthday, once they perceive that a certain sequence of sounds is used to refer to objects, children start producing their first words. From 18 to 24 months of age, children have about 50 words in their repertoire. Then, an explosion in their repertoire of words and simple sentences occurs. At the age of three, they begin producing adjectives, articles, prepositions, and sentences using the past tense. At the age of four, they start producing more complex language, such as sentences with subordinates. More advanced uses in language, such as telling a coherent story and making projections about the future, are abilities that continue to develop throughout their lives.

Overall, language development depends on three main factors: quantity of language contact, quality of such interactions, and opportunities to use the language (Kirsch, 2021). Both the psycholinguistic and sociocultural perspectives on language learning acknowledge the relevance of appropriate input for language learning (ibid), i.e., appropriate exposure to the languages of different people and through various sources in the child's environment. Much of the literature on language acquisition comes from the cognitive tradition, which uses terms such as 'input' and 'output'. These terms are relevant here, meaning opportunities for listening to the languages (input) and for using them (output).

Studies looking at the quantity of first language input have associated ample contact with the language at home to vocabulary development (e.g., Pan, Rowe, Singer, & Snow, 2005; Dale, Tosto, Hayiou-Thomas & Plomin, 2015). Rowe (2012), for example, examined the quantity of

parental communication with 18- to 24-month-old children and tested the same children one year later. The study found that the employment of a diverse and complex vocabulary was related to better test results in vocabulary one year later. Hoff (2006) reviewed several studies whose findings positively link the quantity of speech addressed to a child, both at home and in day care institutions, to children's linguistic development.

Moving to the qualitative aspect, I review the literature that addresses my third RQ on the strategies employed by adults when talking to children. This is aligned with the concept of scaffolding (Wood et al., 1976) and guided participation (Rogoff, 1991) described in section 2.2.1. At the social-interactional level, Snow's (1972) investigation found that mothers modify their speech when talking to their children by making the language simpler, more interesting, repetitive, and comprehensible to their child, according to the child's reactions. Baker and Nelson (1984) describe maternal talk as "slower and pitched higher (...) with an exaggerated intonation pattern which includes whispers to younger children, increased duration of certain content words, and increased instances of primary stress" (p. 4). They add that the sentence structures employed by mothers consist of "many questions, many imperatives, few past tenses, and few co- or subordinations (...) basically concerned with the here-and-now" (ibid). Reformulating a sentence spoken by the child (recasting) and adding more to what the child said (expansion) are other types of strategies positively associated with language development, especially grammatical development (Hoff, 2006). All these modifications in speech are forms of language 'scaffolding' (Gibbons, 2002), which are positively linked to language learning. Another parental trait that can be associated with language development is conversation eliciting, since its frequency has been positively linked to children's grammatical development (Hoff, 2006). In section 3.2.2., where I discuss 'dialogic reading', I give many examples of the ways in which parents elicit talk.

As already discussed in the theoretical framework, parents in western societies often try to understand or see things from the child's point of view. Parents respond to the child's focus of attention (Rogoff, 1990) by either pointing at and labelling an object or saying what the child is still not capable of saying. Rogoff (1990) illustrated such behaviour with the following example of an interaction (p. 154): the child points at a shoe and says "shoe", to which the mother replies "is that your shoe?". The child then says "on" and the mother replies "Oh, shall I put on your shoe?". The adult's responsiveness to the child's focus of attention has been related to better outcomes in language development (Carpenter et al., 1998; Laakso, Poikkeus, Katajamaki, and Lyytinen, 1999, Tamis-LeMonda, Kuchirko, and Song, 2014). Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2014) discussed how responsiveness should be contiguous, i.e., happening during a certain relevant time frame, and contingent, i.e. describing actions or objects in the child's range of vision. Hoff (2006) cited empirical studies looking at the effects of maternal responsivity and found that children whose mothers are more responsive to their children's prelinguistic and linguistic expressions are found to start talking sooner and with more vocabulary than their counterparts (Tamis-LeMonda, et al., 2014). Maternal responsiveness to the sounds and plays of the child is linked to the attainment of basic language achievements (ibid), especially when the response is contingent, i.e., when the sounds produced by the educator (words) happen concomitantly with other stimuli, such as objects or events. An example is when the child, for instance, lets something fall on the floor and the parent says "Oh-oh, it fell down!". Infants notice such contingencies in their environment, and there is a positive correlation between these occurrences and child language development (ibid).

Consistent with these findings is the negative association between maternal use of directives, such as commands, orders, imperatives, and progress of grammar and vocabulary development (Hoff, 2006). Hoff concluded that directives, contrary to elicitations, tend not to engage

children in communication, despite being short sentences with known words and happening outside of joint attention moments (*ibid*).

However, it is not only parental language that is associated with children's language development, but also the opportunities children are given to produce language, i.e., quantity of output. Children only learn languages when they speak/interact with others. In such situations, the parents stimulate interactions and modulate talk (e.g. they give corrective feedback, they elaborate the child's utterance – as in the contingency example earlier – and they reformulate it). Parents also stimulate talk in everyday life, such as in conversations about books (further discussed in section 3.2.2.), and by attentively listening to the child and asking questions.

A less mentioned parental role in their children's language development is that of affording playful moments for their children. Play has been related to children's first language development (Vygotsky, 1978; McCune, 1995; Hall, Rumney, Holler, and Kidd, 2013), and free-play (or child-initiated play) is essential for children's cognitive and social development (Moyle, 1989; Cohen & Bruce, 1993). Parents should provide toys that support symbolic play (Tamis-LeMonda & Rodriguez, 2009) which will create more opportunities for the child to use language, besides other cognitive and emotional benefits.

### **3.2.2. Home literacy practices**

In line with the previous section on 'first language' acquisition, this section is again based on literature from monolingual studies, as they represent the families in my study after they migrated from Brazil. I start at the level of activities, addressing my second research question on the language-related activities proposed by the adults to promote language development. I then move back to the strategy level to review literature on the ways parents read to their

children, i.e. which strategies they use that are beneficial in the promotion of language development.

Home literacy practices are positively associated with children's developing language and literacy skills (Sénéchal and LeFevre, 2002; Bennett, Weigel, and Martin, 2002). Parents who engage their children in bedtime stories, provide books and educational games for them, and create an environment that is well supplied with written language, positively support children's language and early literacy skill development. (Farver, Xu, Lonigan, and Eppe, 2013: 777). Studies that looked at these aspects of the home literacy environment positively associated home experiences with the development of narrative skills and early literacy (Evans, Shaw, and Bell, 2000; Frijters, Barron, and Brunello, 2000; Sénéchal and LeFevre, 2002; Storch and Whitehurst, 2002). The language encountered in storybooks is different from the language used by adults in daily interactions, which tends to be more focused on the "here-and-now". Books contain more rare and sophisticated vocabulary, as well as more complex sentence structures (Sénéchal, LeFevre, Hudson, and Lawson, 1996). Therefore, when parents read books to their children, they modify the nature of their language, making use of more complex vocabulary and syntax. This activity has an impact on their children's language development (Hoff, 2006).

Parents reading books to their children perform a literacy activity that is frequent during infancy and preschool, and is one of the most efficient ways of fostering early literacy development (Green, Peterson, Lewis, 2006). Bus, IJzendoorn, and Pellegrini (1995) examined the frequency with which parents read to their pre-schoolers and related it to children's vocabulary growth, emergent literacy, and reading achievements. Sénéchal, LeFevre, Hudson, and Lawson (1996), specified that the shared reading between parents and children has an essentially positive influence on children's oral language rather than written language skills.

More recent studies have also associated early shared reading experiences with better language outcomes (Denton and West, 2002; Hood, Conlon, and Andrews, 2008).

Bus et al. (1995) presented a meta-analysis of studies investigating the frequency of reading books to pre-schoolers, and the results show that this practice is related to language growth, emergent literacy, and reading achievements. For example, Rodriguez, Tamis-LeMonda, Spellmann, Pan, Raikes, Lugo-Gil & Luze (2009) investigated 1,046 children from low-income families who were aged 14, 24 and 36 months, and found that children whose parents engaged them in frequent literacy activities and provided learning material had better language skills at each age. Hoff (2006) showed that parents offered more input with more complex sentences and a larger vocabulary when they read books to their children than when they played with them. When reading, they employed more questions, talked more about the language itself, and labelled more words presented on pictures. This is in line with the studies I presented earlier on the quantity of language input and its positive association with vocabulary development (e.g., Pan et al., 2005; Dale et al., 2015; Rowe, 2012).

At the strategy level, the quality of reading moments between parents and children promotes language learning, too. Dialogic reading, i.e., an interactive form of reading that stimulates children's participation, has positive literacy outcomes (Zevenberger, Worth, & Travers, 2016). According to Parish-Morris, Mahajan, Hirsh-Pasek, Golinkoff & Collins (2013) 'dialogic reading' has specific features. It comprises the use of questions related to the story, the pictures, or prompting to have the child participate actively in the storytelling. Parents often make use of 'distancing prompts' (p. 201), i.e., they use questions to associate the content of the story to the child's life. Similarly, Zevenberger et al., (2016) found that parents' most common behaviour was asking closed questions, repeating after the child and expanding their utterances. They encourage the child to participate by praising them and following the child's

focus of attention or interest. As the child grows, parents employ more open-ended questions. The same study presents the acronym PEER (Prompt, Evaluate, Expand, and Repeat) (p.1) to describe a typical sequence of interaction between parents and young children aged two to three. 'Prompt' refers to parents eliciting an interaction by asking a question. At this age, the questions are normally closed, for instance "What is this?". The child then answers, and the parent evaluates the answer with feedback, for instance "yes" or "you are right". The feedback can include the repetition of the child's verbalisation and can be followed by an expansion. The authors present the following example: "- You are right! It is a sheep' (...) The sheep has a woolly coat". (p. 1). This sequence of interaction can include the parent asking the child to repeat the whole sentence or the new word. Another acronym describing the strategies employed by parents in dialogic reading is the CROWD (Completion prompts, Recall prompts, Open-ended prompts, Wh-prompts, and Distancing prompts) (p.1). Completion prompts are when the adult asks the child to complete a sentence, as in "Corduroy was gently placed on top of a \_\_\_\_" (p. 2). Recall prompts happen outside the reading moment, when the parent asks their child something about the book, recalling the story. Open-ended questions require more developed answers because they cannot be answered with a single word, for instance, "What do you see on this page?" (p. 2). Distancing prompts ask that the child associate a part of the book with something beyond it, such as the child's life or other stories. An extensive meta-analysis performed by Mol, Bus, de Jong, and Smeets (2008) acknowledged that dialogic reading might be especially beneficial to children aged two to four. According to the authors, children aged four to six benefit less. This may be because more experienced children depend less on the storytelling scaffolding as they have already internalised these techniques, or because they tend to ask questions themselves when they do not understand something during the reading. Another benefit of dialogic reading was discussed in Baker, Mackler,

Sonnenschein, and Serpell (2001): children whose parents read more dialogically are more likely to enjoy reading later in childhood.

As for writing practices at home, Skibbe, Bindman, Hindman, Aram, Israel & Morrison (2013) examined 77 parents and their pre-schoolers writing an invitation together twice over one year. Two different parental writing support strategies were observed in particular: 1 - graphophonemic support, i.e. when the parent demonstrates the individual sounds that form a word and their corresponding symbols on paper; and 2 - print support, i.e., when the parent helps the child to physically write individual letters and/or spells words for the child. The results show that both graphophonemic and print support were predictors of children's decoding skills. Graphophonemic support was also linked to children's future phonological awareness. These findings also indicate that parental scaffolding resulted in an improvement in children's literacy skills.

### **3.3. Learning additional languages in ECEC institutions – the role of teachers and educators**

I here recall the context of the present study to situate my literature review. I examine newly arrived emergent multilingual children learning the majority/mainstream language after the acquisition of their first language. Children whose first language differs from the language of instruction at school are more likely to be academically disadvantaged if policymakers, teachers and educators do not successfully implement measures to respond to their needs (Cummins, 2015). This section reviews literature that will help answer my questions on the role of adults in ECEC (early childhood education and care) institutions in reducing the disadvantage gap and helping children develop features of their repertoires, especially the

target language at school, by designing physical settings, providing material elements, offering language learning activities, and engaging in interaction with children.

Not unlike the development of the first language, additional languages develop within ecological contexts (Van Lier, 2004). In my case studies, the new school and the new day care institution become the main environments where children encounter and develop additional languages assisted by teachers, peers, and other educators. For learning to happen, policymakers, teachers and educators must immerse children in language-rich environments to support their language development in preschool (Eadie, Stark & Niklas, 2019). Under favourable circumstances, i.e. in an ecosystem (Van Lier, 2004) which contributes to the target language perception and production (Schwartz and Deeb, 2018), this encounter has a greater chance of being successful.

Hammer, Hoff, Uchikoshi, Gillanders, & Castro (2014) summarised 182 peer-reviewed articles on the development of language in ‘dual language learners’ (DLL), published between 2000 and 2011. Relevant to my research is their review on factors that influenced the development of the successive language in children, being the exposure to the target language a prominent factor, as this was directly linked to a growth in vocabulary size and grammatical knowledge. Over the course of one year, Blom (2010) investigated four girls, aged two to three, whose family/home language was Turkish and who were learning Dutch in the Netherlands. The children differed in their input situations: one of them went to childcare five days of the week, another just three days of the week, the third was raised at home with a mother who was highly proficient in both Turkish and Dutch, and the fourth was raised at home with a mother whose Dutch was basic. The results showed that less Dutch input decelerated grammatical development, as children with less input were delayed in their learning of Dutch grammar structures by more than one year. Scheele, Leseman, and Mayo (2010), also investigating

Turkish children aged three to four, learning Dutch in the Netherlands, associated children's Dutch vocabulary growth with an increased presence in day care and preschool centres. Quantity of language exposition and its association with learning has also been discussed in section 3.2.1. on first language acquisition.

Looking at the quality of classroom conversations is essential to understand how children learn a novel language. As seen in section 3.2, conversations can create the conditions to foster language learning (Gibbons, 2015) because teachers, just like parents, scaffold language when talking to their pupils. Lyster (2007) explains that the language used by teachers to talk to children and the way they communicate is tutorial (scaffolded) in nature. This type of communication is crucial because it combines the content and language, thus the meaning and the message. Fleta Guillén's (2018) study, with 61 pre-primary Spanish-speaking children in a bilingual English/Spanish school, looked at the discourse strategies that teachers employed during their interactions with the children. The author observed that the teachers not only paid attention to the verbal communication of the children but also to what children were not capable of saying. She also showed how the classroom discourse was mostly concentrated on meaning, with teachers more likely to try to comprehend rather than correct the children's utterances. She lists the following observed communicative strategies: explicit correction, metalinguistic feedback, expansion of the children's production by recasting and adding extra information, asking for clarification, eliciting, and use of formulaic expressions and cognates. These are similar to those employed by parents when talking to their children (section 3.2).

Tabors (2008) also advocates for scaffolding the new language for the child and argues that teachers need to be familiar with techniques for communicating with children learning the school's target language, for example: starting with what the child already knows, speaking slowly, and doubling the message with gestures, actions or pointing. Teachers should also

repeat and reuse words in other sentences, talk about what is right there at that moment, and insist on verbal communication to push the process. Gibbons (2002) adds that, while scaffolding, teachers need to maintain high expectations of the child.

Teachers should also promote peer-to-peer interaction, which is associated with Vygotsky's ideas on the social nature of learning. Conteh (2003), for example, asserts that students who are in the process of learning the school's language of instruction should develop the ability to talk to learn and be given opportunities to engage in discussion with peers and teachers. Accordingly, García and Kleifgen (2018) advocate for a more collaborative pedagogy, one which has much "practice of talk" (p. 114). Mashburn, Justice, Downer, and Pianta (2009) point out that these should be common goals in early childhood programmes, and that children should be instructed on how to interact with the target language learner, as speaking slowly and clearly, repeating, etc. can lead to better outcomes. Some studies looked at the effect of peer interactions on learning. Several empirical studies have shown how learners acquire an additional language when they collaborate with peers within their ZPD. Kirsch (2018) showed how emergent multilingual children in nursery and the first years of primary school collaborated during a storytelling task using an electronic recording device called 'iTeo'. The excerpts illustrate how children interacted in creating and recording a story, suggested corrections for each other, and learned new words from their peers. The strategies employed by the children were similar to those found by Swain and Lapkin (1998), who analysed two eighth grade French immersion students as they carried out a writing task using a puzzle. As the children tried to solve the puzzle and carry out the activity, they had doubts related to vocabulary and sentence structure. They discussed the correct form by suggesting some sentences and evaluating them, sometimes using their first language, English. The study showed evidence of language being used to scaffold language itself. The studies not only show

that students work within a ZPD in the absence of a teacher, but also emphasise the agency of learners who scaffold the correct use of the language by negotiating meanings or structures.

### **3.3.1. Literacy practices in the preschool**

Whether at home or at school, the development of literacy begins in early childhood (Neuman and Dickinson, 2003; Snow, Burns, and Griffin, 1998; Whitehurst and Lonigan, 2003). As exposed in the previous section on family literacy practices, there is a positive relationship between parents who read to their children and provide an environment that is rich in literacy, and their children's literacy skills (Farver, Xu, Lonigan, and Eppe, 2013). The same is true in the classroom. Literature on how to improve conditions for children's academic success has stressed the relevance of literacy engagement and contact with books and other print material (Cummins, 2015; Cummins, Hu, Markus, and Montero, 2015). Thus, teachers and educators play a fundamental role in providing all children with access to books and encouraging literacy activities.

Preschool education can foster crucial language and literacy skills in young children (Barnett, 2001; Dickinson and Sprague, 2001; Halle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson, 2003). Studies have looked at the actions that teachers employ to foster the development of literacy in early childhood, and they are not different from those observed in home literacy studies. They present results of actions happening at the three different levels of observation, i.e., physical setting and material, activities, and interactions, which are the observational levels referred to in my research questions. For example, at the level of physical setting, Green, Peterson and Lewis (2006) wrote that teachers should organise the classroom in such a way that children can have access and interact with books and other print material as well as experiment with writing. Halle et al. (2003), through a literature review, found that the most common action was

providing literacy-rich settings and increasing the quantity of print material in the institutional settings. At the level of language-supporting activities, Snow et al. (1998) described activities that develop phonological awareness, such as introducing the children to the alphabet and their sounds. Halle et al. (2003) also cited phonological awareness activities, before adding the following most common activities present in their literature review: supporting families with additional resources, engaging in interactive book reading, and engaging in individual one-on-one conversations. The last two activities favour support at the interactional level.

Wasik, Hindman, Snell, and Emily (2016) reviewed studies on optimum book reading conditions to develop children's vocabulary. Reading the same texts more than once is cited as a beneficial activity. At the interactional level, the most frequent strategies encountered were: teaching the meaning of words explicitly, promoting dialogues about the text/story, encouraging the use of the specific vocabulary encountered in texts through questions, reconstruction of the story, using props for visual aid, and doing follow-up activities. These strategies are similar to those described in section 3.2.2 on home literacies practices.

Tabors (2008), who wrote specifically on actions for target language learners, pointed out that reading the same book more than once helps the young target language learner because the text's predictability helps to scaffold. She discusses other measures, such as choosing an appropriate book by recalling how much of its context the child will understand. At the activity level, she cites: presenting vocabulary, providing opportunities for children to read to other children, and opportunities for those who want to express themselves. At the strategy level, she cites telling a story instead of reading a book, and explaining the new activities calmly.

Xue, Atkins-Burnett, Moiduddin, Murphy, and Samkian (2012) sent questionnaires to about one thousand teachers in state-funded schools for children from disadvantaged backgrounds in the Los Angeles area, and then listed the five most cited effective actions at the different levels

of support. At the activity level, these were: teaching children phonics skills, such as letter sounds and sound blending to promote literacy acquisition; reading books in English (here the target language) and in children's home languages to support children's interest in reading, print concepts and vocabulary; providing structured and well-planned opportunities for English learners to practise their language skills with peers who have more developed English abilities to support English-language development and social inclusion; using evidence-based curricula, including activities in small-group, and direct instruction in different language-related areas to support children's learning. At the level of strategies embedded in interactions, they mention: providing instruction in the home language, as well as in the target language (English), to support the development of skills in both languages. The authors propose these two different levels of support and stress the relevance of the use of the home languages, which will be further discussed in section 3.3.3.

In the next section, I discuss how children not only learn languages in formal and planned activities, but also in informal situations where they are exposed to rich language and are capable of producing language themselves.

### **3.3.2. Informal language learning opportunities at ECEC**

The following sections provide insights into informal learning opportunities, during free play, or through daily routines, songs, and rhymes.

Tabors (2008) described several supporting measures that had been demonstrated to be especially beneficial to the emergent multilingual children she investigated. At the physical setting level, she cites the organisation of the classroom to provide safe havens for free play, i.e., prepare spaces in the classroom where the new child can feel competent and occupied, without needing to ask for help or interact with other children. Some examples are places for

playing with building blocks, puzzles, etc. As the target language is better learned through interaction, the teacher should also provide opportunities to facilitate contact with the language and opportunities for the new child to interact with and use the new language. This can happen during hands-on activities, when teachers take the opportunity to explain what they are doing while doing it (making a cake or drawing, for instance). The actions, sequence of events and vocabulary are then presented in a meaningful way (Tabors, 2008). Snack time is also an opportunity for the teacher to sit at the table with the children and speak, extend conversation, name the food items, etc.

At the activity level, Tabors (2008) writes that the classroom must have a consistent set of routines, because they give cues about what to do and how to behave (Tabors, 2008). This predictability allows children to act like a member of the community. The familiarity of the context makes it easier for the children to predict the meaning and intention of the language used in the routine (Cameron, 2001). During circle time, for example, the teacher can perform routines, such as reciting the days of the week, discussing the weather, practising numbers, and taking attendance. Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) also assert that classroom routines can reduce children's uncertainty. When children take part in routine activities, they observe and listen and attempt to grasp the language to know what to do. In these situations, the children learn the language and the instruction at the same time (Cameron, 2001).

Songs and rhymes, often related to morning routines, are another way of learning languages formally and informally. Songs have been taken to be beneficial in teaching a second language (Murphey 1992; Foncesa-Mora, 2000). Foster (2006) argues that using songs and chants for young learners has a pedagogic value based on the different aspects of the left and right brain hemispheres and how the brain processes and produces speech. Foncesa-Mora (2000) also points out the memorisation character of singing and adds that the activity can have an

emotional impact on the learner by enhancing motivation. Coyle and Gómez Gracia (2014) assert that children also benefit from action songs with movement and gestures, as they facilitate the memorisation of new words. Based on pre-test and post-test, the researchers found that most of the young learners had learned vocabulary from the song input and follow-up activities. Brown (2006), for example, asserts that songs and nursery rhymes can benefit pronunciation and, because they typically are repetitive, they can help children recall the vocabulary of the new language. By contrast, Schwartz and Deeb (2018) argue that the evidence of recent studies is unclear as to whether the repetitiveness of songs and rhymes enhances learning of the second language, as children seem to memorise songs without being able to completely understand the lyrics and productively reuse the words. Their study with bilingual Hebrew- and Arabic-speaking preschool children looked for associations between the formulaic language of the songs and children's use of them in other contexts. They could not observe children using chunks of songs in other moments besides the singing events. However, they observed a boy who was practising words in his second language by singing a song in front of the mirror, which could indicate an informal type of learning.

Play in different forms has been in the curriculum of early childhood education and care for more than a century (Mourão, 2018). Similar to the relationship between play and language development discussed in section 3.2.1, free play (or child-initiated play) has also been related to second language learning. Markova (2016), for example, investigated whether bilingual Spanish- and English-speaking preschool children used English during academic teacher-led activities or non-academic activities such as free play. She found that children used more English expressions during child-initiated activities, such as sociodramatic play, rather than during structured activities proposed by the teacher. Robinson et al. (2015, in Mourão, 2018) analysed the appearance of second language use during free play interactions in kindergartens

in Portugal and Korea with children learning English as a second language. They concluded that much of the English language used by the children during free play was repetition of language spoken by the teacher when using prompts, such as flashcards, picture books and games. The children also played the teacher/student roles, imitating teacher-led activities. Among the different types of play, dramatic play was discussed by Vygotsky (1978) as an activity happening inside the ZPD, as children incorporate roles and play adult activities.

Play is an activity that affords interaction. In their longitudinal study, Schwartz, Hijazy, and Deeb (2021) examined 14 children with a starting age of 2.5 to 3.5 years to shed light on how second language learners talk during free play. They found that emergent bilinguals produced language by repeating what their more knowledgeable peers said, sometimes expanding the original utterance. During free play, emergent bilinguals also used the new language in self-talks and heard meta-linguistic comments, i.e., their peers made observations about the language itself. The authors suggested including more free play in early education and, similar to what Mashburn, Justice, Downer & Pianta (2009) proposed, the authors also found that training the more knowledgeable children to employ language scaffolding strategies could benefit the target language learner. These strategies could, for example, be repetitions, recasts, and demands for clarification.

Wasik and Jacobi-Vessels (2017), while recognising that child-initiated play is very effective in language development because it is an opportunity for self-expression, motivation, and creativity, investigated the role of adults in scaffolding language and vocabulary during these playful moments. They argued that, when adults know how to scaffold children's learning during play instead of directing the play, they can be very effective in creating learning opportunities. Similar to the interactive character of 'dialogic reading' described in section

3.2.2., adults can scaffold children's language during play by asking questions, inviting longer responses, explaining the meaning of words, etc.

The previous sections in this chapter reviewed literature on supporting measures for the development of a target language. I favoured including authors that tended to focus on learning a first language at home (in section 3.2) and a second language at school (in section 3.3.1. and in the present section). However, in settings similar to those in my study, the school population is highly diverse and educational public policies request the development of academic competences in more than one language. Therefore, it is important to look at multilingual approaches, which are underpinned by a more heterogeneous view of language.

### **3.3.3. Multilingual approaches in early childhood education**

While I have not found literature that proposes distinct activities or strategies to be introduced in multilingual preschool settings, I will discuss one relevant particularity of multilingual settings in this section: the perception of multilingualism, which influences the use of languages.

Before looking at possible approaches, it is important to remember different understandings of bi/multilingualism. While a 'monolingual lens' to understand multilingualism is still predominant in society and in schools, where children learn several languages, research findings have shown that this perspective puts students at a disadvantage. These studies (e.g. Garcia, 2009; García & Flores, 2012; Cummins; 2018) assert that home language should not be depreciated in favour of other languages, and all students' linguistic resources should be valued. As discussed in section 2.4.2, among scholars who share a heteroglossic comprehension of bi/multilingualism, i.e. those who reject the notion that different named languages are stored in the brain separately and should not be mixed, there are still divergent

perspectives on language boundaries and language crossing (Cummins, 2021; García et al, 2021). Nevertheless, they all agree on shifting perspectives, i.e., displacing monolingualism and embracing multilingualism.

In the foreword of García and Kleifgen's (2018) study, Cummins (2018) maintains that if schools and society want "intelligent, imaginative, and linguistically talented" students (p. 1 Kindle), students should be viewed and treated as such. This demands a shift in the perspective of schools. Teachers must cease to stigmatise students whose first/home language(s) differ from the main language of instruction because of the belief that they lack general knowledge (García, 2009). In fact, García and Kleifgen (2018) reject labelling these students as 'language learners' because the term suggests a deficit. On the contrary, these students and their home languages should be considered classroom assets.

Educational systems must integrate the different languages that are part of the classroom environment into their curriculum, and appreciate the children's linguistic background, because they are valuable elements onto which multilingual communicative competences can be built (Llompart and Nussbaum, 2018). Teachers should make use of children's entire semiotic repertoires (including home languages), value what they already know, and help children build new repertoires from there. Ehrhart et al. (2010) explain that the multilingual repertoire should be acknowledged and encouraged for the distinct linguistic competence to flourish. This means that all language practices count, including diverse languages, such as home language, minority language, heritage language (learned in formal and informal environments), because these repertoires do not hinder the acquisition of the target language. The latent but diverse language knowledge that children bring to school must be explored and nurtured.

Moving on to different multilingual approaches, in Europe, Candelier, Camilleri-Grima, Castellotti, De Pietro, Lörincz, Meissner, Schröder-Sura, Nogueroles & Molinié (2007)

presented ‘Pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures’. According to the authors, these are “didactic approaches which use teaching/learning activities involving several (i.e., more than one) varieties of languages or cultures” (ibid). Such approaches are compiled by the European Centre for Modern Languages in a framework of reference put forth by Candelier et al. (2007). From the different approaches presented in the framework, one that relates to preschool and primary education is the ‘Awakening to Languages’. Teachers should provide activities that allow children to draw on their own linguistic repertoire and those of other children, to encounter new sounds and new writing systems (Coelho, Andrade, and Portugal, 2018). Such activities are based on the ‘pedagogy of discovery’ (Candelier, 1998, p. 305) under the socio-constructivist and ecological frameworks. The objective of such an approach is to encourage positive attitudes towards different languages, develop metalinguistic awareness and metacommunicative competence, and thus encourage the desire to learn new languages (Lourenço and Andrade, 2013). While “Awakening to Languages” is a valid method, much more is needed to promote multilingualism more systematically and make sure that all languages are included.

One approach that goes further is “translanguaging”. Researchers such as García and Flores (2012), García and Li Wei (2015), and Kirsch (2020) have argued for the introduction of multilingual pedagogy in the classroom, valuing the family languages and developing other languages. Translanguaging occurs naturally in bilinguals and refers to an individual’s ‘dynamic and flexible use of one’s semiotic repertoire’ (Kirsch, 2020, Kindle ed.). Multilingual children mix languages in interaction with other children who share the same repertoires. A translanguaging pedagogy encourages teachers in early education to see the children’s home languages as an asset and not a problem. Teachers can be trained to develop a translanguaging stance and understand that languages are part of a child’s unitary system, which can be used to

leverage learning (ibid). Beyond acknowledging the languages, teachers should also create opportunities for the children to have contact with the different languages by creating a multilingual learning environment, with multilingual resources and activities. Teachers should also monitor their own interactions with the children when necessary: adapting to their needs, translating, and using the child's home language, if possible. Kirsch (2020, 2021) presented the strategies used by preschool teachers and educators to promote interaction and model language use, most frequently translanguaging and using words from Luxembourgish, French and children's home languages. Kirsch and Aleksić (2021) looked at the use of home languages in literacy activities at home and in ECEC institutions in Luxembourg, showing that teachers' and educators' attitudes towards multilingualism had changed since their previous study in 2016 (Kirsch & Aleksić, 2018). At that time, teachers and educators had shown an overall negative perspective on multilingualism. In their more recent study, Kirsch & Aleksić (2021) showed that parents and educators made use of several languages, at home and at the ECEC institutions, and appeared to have changed their perspective. This is perhaps an indication of the effect of the 2017 law on "éducation plurilingue". Having said this, there remains a hierarchy of values in language.

### **3.4. Connecting the settings**

Children's development is influenced by the settings in which they participate (Fabian & Dunlop, 2002). Children participate in distinct physical and/or social settings, for different reasons, at different periods of time and with varying frequency (Penuel et al., 2016), subject to their parents' arrangements. The different settings form the children's web of learning ecologies (Barron, 2006). Such settings can present differences at many observational levels: physical structure, quantity and quality of social interactions, expectations, rules, shared values,

and beliefs to name a few (Fabian & Dunlop, 2002). However, part of children's well-being is their feeling safe in all places. This feeling of safety is created through a perception of continuity and coherence across spaces (Holtappels, Lossen, Spillebeen & Tillmann, 2011; Fabian & Dunlop, 2002). Discrepancies between them, for example, different discourses and expectations, can act as boundaries and may hinder children's development (Bronkhorst and Akkerman, 2016).

An existing body of research has described the continuities and discontinuities between home and school and shown how the difference of practices and values affects academic achievement. The concept of "funds of knowledge" (Moll et al., 1992) is a relevant starting point to explain the discrepancies of what counts as knowledge between some communities and school. The concept was first introduced by Moll and fellow researchers (Moll, Amanti, Neff, and Gonzalez, 1992) when conducting ethnographic research with children in schools located in areas inhabited by largely Mexican communities in Arizona/USA. They found that these children's households carried varied information, material, and intellectual knowledge, from mining and farming to business and finance. They described funds of knowledge as "historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and well-being" (Moll et al. 1992: 133). They propose that teachers should draw on children's funds of knowledge to develop a "participatory pedagogy" (p. 139), valuing the children's knowledge drawn from their experiences at home, in communities or former schools.

The issues encountered by children who experience disconnections between home and school have been described by Heath (1983) in her seminal work on three communities in the USA. Her research depicted the ways in which families used languages at home, from infancy onwards. In this classic study, the author depicts the communities' distinct beliefs, values, and

ways of interacting. The children from the communities where language use was closer to that valued in school were more successful than children from the other communities. Even though both communities spoke English, each displayed distinct discourses. Inspired by Heath, Gregory (1997) collected several case studies showing how children's language practice at home differed from what their schools expected. What was most valued in school was inconsistent with what was most valued in their homes and communities.

Looking at literacy practices, Gregory (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996) demonstrated how these can differ in the homes of ethnic minority children and British schools. For example, ethnic minority families engage in particular processes when reading specific texts, such as the Quran, and have different expectations from the teachers in school. Kelly (2010) also showed the discontinuities of literacy practices in the schools and homes. She illustrated how children created a third space by joining what they had learnt from school with what they had learnt from home. McCarthy (2000) reviewed the literature on the mismatches between home and school environments from the 30 years prior to her study, showing how such discontinuities created barriers for learners. She listed studies that looked at mismatches regarding literacy practices, discourse patterns, and how parents understood their roles in their children's education. The author listed studies that investigated the strategies used to facilitate the connection between both settings. Understanding students' backgrounds and drawing on the communities' practices to inform classroom practices, were two of these strategies (emphasised also in section 3.3.3).

Children whose settings present discrepancies can nevertheless succeed at school, provided that they have a supportive environment that does not undermine their confidence. Jean Conteh (2003), for example, investigated how a small group of children of Pakistani Muslim heritage in an English public primary school successfully navigated between social contexts, cultures

and languages. These children were supported through family involvement and encouragement, the use of their stronger languages in the classroom, and having their languages and cultures valued and respected. They became confident and independent enough to access and develop the school programme. Hélot and Young (2006) presented a project that took place in France, where the families' languages and cultures became the resources onto which an intercultural education could be built and fostered, based on the "awakening to languages" approach presented earlier. According to one of the teachers in the project, the approach brought down the walls between settings, forging an educational partnership between parents, students, and teachers.

As exposed above in the multilingual approaches, for a more inclusive and fair education for all children to happen, educational policies, schools, and teachers should acknowledge and build upon their practices to value each child's cultural background. This is one important arrangement for connecting the home and the school. In fact, as Conteh (2003) recalls, good teaching practices, in general, require building on what each child already knows, valuing their strengths, ensuring new things can be learned/taught. This is especially relevant for emergent bi/multilingual children who are learning the majority language of the school, because these children are silenced by default.

My research not only looks at home and school continuities and discontinuities, but also includes a third setting: the day care institutions, where children experience different routines, different key workers, and encounter new rituals and new rules. The educational and professional backgrounds of the educators as well as the educational goals and practices also differ in both settings. In Luxembourg, one of the pillars of the non-formal educational sector is its collaboration with families and schools (MENJE, 2021d). I have not encountered one study that has looked across three different settings. Having said this, Kirsch and Aleksić

(2021) did report on the collaboration between educators in the non-formal educational sector and parents, showing an improvement from 2016 to 2020.

Furthermore, I have not encountered new studies on children learning languages cross-contextually in a multilingual society, with a focus on language opportunities inside the non-formal educational institutions. The present research attempts to address this gap and bring the three settings together.

### **3.5. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have presented a literature review on relevant aspects of first and second language teaching and learning, from a range of sociocultural and ecological perspectives, guided by my theoretical framework and drawing attention to different learning spaces. I focused on the interactions between adults and children and how these environments and moments afford language and literacy acquisition. Then, I moved away from the monolingual understanding of languages as existing separately from one other and reviewed multilingual approaches and pedagogies, which stress the relevance of respect and inclusion of home languages – seeing them as not a problem in the classroom but rather a powerful resource to ratify multilingualism. I also stressed the importance of translanguaging, which allows children whose home languages differ from the main language of instruction to use their full linguistic and non-linguistic repertoires in the classroom. I then moved to the literature on continuities and discontinuities between spaces and how the perception of coherence from the point of view of a child is important for their wellbeing.

There is abundant literature looking at adults' optimal language-supporting structures for early children's language learning at different levels. At the physical and material level, existing

literature emphasises the creation of language-rich environments, which provide children with access to print material and with the affordances to use language. At the level of language and literacy activities, studies emphasise book readings, especially shared reading, phonetical awareness exercises, songs, and play. Many of the proposed activities favour interaction and talk between children and more knowledgeable others, adults, and/or peers. At the interactional level, studies list scaffolding strategies that facilitate language comprehension for children, such as sharing the focus of attention and labelling objects and actions that are in the child's view range, inviting children to express themselves, and directing their attention to certain language elements.

The fact that many studies show similar activities and strategies, regardless of language learning settings or if the target language is the child's first or not, indicates a possible conclusion on how children learn languages. One of the conditions for language development is contact with the language and, thus, investigating the settings where children spend their days can illustrate the richness or absence of language supporting structures. However, most of the studies focused on the language learning spaces of home and/or school, overlooking other settings. Studies looking at language learning in ECEC institutions or under the supervision of childminders are scarce, but these settings play a significant role in supporting early language development. Furthermore, most of the studies were conducted in essentially monolingual countries, where the word "multilingual" is used to refer to the minority migrant child whose home language differs from the school's main language of instruction. However, in some countries, like Luxembourg, multilingualism is the educational goal, and few studies have included this perspective.

There is some literature on the continuities and discontinuities of home and school, the culture of the family and the culture of the host country. However, I have not found studies looking at

the connection between three different settings, nor have I encountered literature on family language policy that represented the families in my study, i.e., middle classes families from former European countries' colonies who deliberately migrated in search of better education for their children.

While much has been written about how adults can help children develop languages, there is little literature looking across settings and in multilingual contexts. The present thesis addresses this research gap.

## **Chapter 4 - The context of the study**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents the macro context of my study. I introduce the language profile of Luxembourg's population and educational system. I present the challenging scenario for students in the Luxembourgish mainstream public educational system, which requires students to follow academic courses in German and French while using Luxembourgish as the vernacular language. This is also the case for non-academic disciplines. While the mastery of these three official languages is essential for educational success, the majority of the school population is made up of students with a migrant background (MENJE, 2019). Among them, the Portuguese-speaking students appear in the statistics as the group of students most prone to school failure, misrepresented in the most prestigious secondary schools. I also present the non-formal educational sector and its historical development, as well as its important role in accommodating a great proportion of the migrant population and helping them succeed academically along with the schools. I conclude the chapter by showing the statistics on the Brazilian community in Luxembourg.

### **4.2. Luxembourg and its multiple languages**

Luxembourg is a trilingual country, with Luxembourgish, French, and German as its official languages. This multilingualism is not encountered in separated regions of the national territory, as is the case in countries like Belgium, Canada, and Switzerland. In Luxembourg, the different named languages are commonly used throughout the country by individuals who adapt their linguistic repertoire according to the situation and the interlocutor.

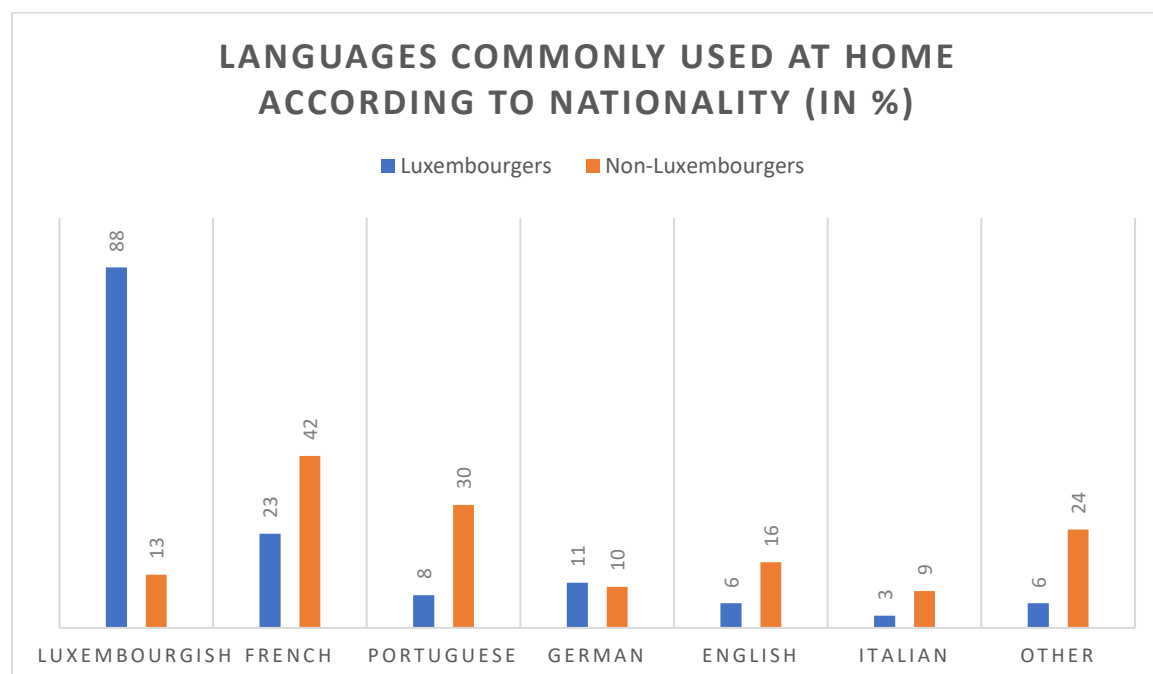
Among the three languages, Luxembourgish has a special status. The historical background of Luxembourg and its languages will not be approached here as it has been discussed in depth in, for example, Horner and Weber (2008) and Sharma (2018), who described the country's history and its influences on the national identity and language status. More recently, in 1984, Luxembourgish officially became the national language following a general feeling that the language was being threatened due to the high influx of new migrants from the 1970s onwards. This new migration created an ambience that was reminiscent of World War II, when Luxembourg was to be annexed to Germany, and Luxembourgish was seen as a dialect, not a language. Historically, there has been a collective belief that, because Luxembourg has been oppressed by other countries (Sharma, 2018) and suffered from invasions to its territory several times, especially after World War II, it must have its identity protected.

Mastering the Luxembourgish language, rather than German or French, is mandatory for the processes of naturalisation, while knowledge of the three official languages is mandatory for employment in the public administration domain and for teachers. Luxembourgish is the vernacular language in these public institutions. Mastering Luxembourgish is necessary in government positions that demand higher educational degrees (Sharma, 2018). Even though French is the most used language in the workplace (FIGURE 1), Luxembourgish is the language used in state careers and politics. Language competences are not listed as one of the requirements for becoming a candidate for the legislative elections; however, the political debate in the Chamber of Deputies is held using the national language.

Besides the three official languages, there is a high percentage of foreign residents in Luxembourg. According to the 2021 population census (STATEC / CTIE), 47.2% of the 634,700 inhabitants in Luxembourg are of a foreign nationality. This has led to high language diversity, especially when considering that the 52.8% of inhabitants with a Luxembourgish

nationality are not exclusive of those with a migratory background. This is because foreigners can apply for the Luxembourgish nationality after five years of residence in the country.

Among the many languages encountered in the country are English and Portuguese. These are among the top five most used languages, both at work and at home (Reiff & Neumar, 2019). In a report for STATEC, Portuguese was found to be the third most mastered language in the country with 14% of residents declaring being competent in it, after French, 20%, and Luxembourgish, 42%. As for languages used at home among non-Luxembourgers, 30% use Portuguese and 42% use French. Luxembourgish is used by only 13%. As for those with Luxembourgish citizenship, 88% of them use Luxembourgish at home, followed by 23% who use French and 8% who use Portuguese. The chart below shows this data and the relevant presence of Portuguese in the society.



*Figure 1 - Percentage of residents with and without the Luxembourgish nationality and the languages used at home. Extracted from Reiff and Neumayr (2019)*

In the workplace, French, Luxembourgish, German, English, and Portuguese are again the five most commonly used languages, even though we can observe in FIGURE 2 that Portuguese is not frequently used in positions which require a higher degree of education.

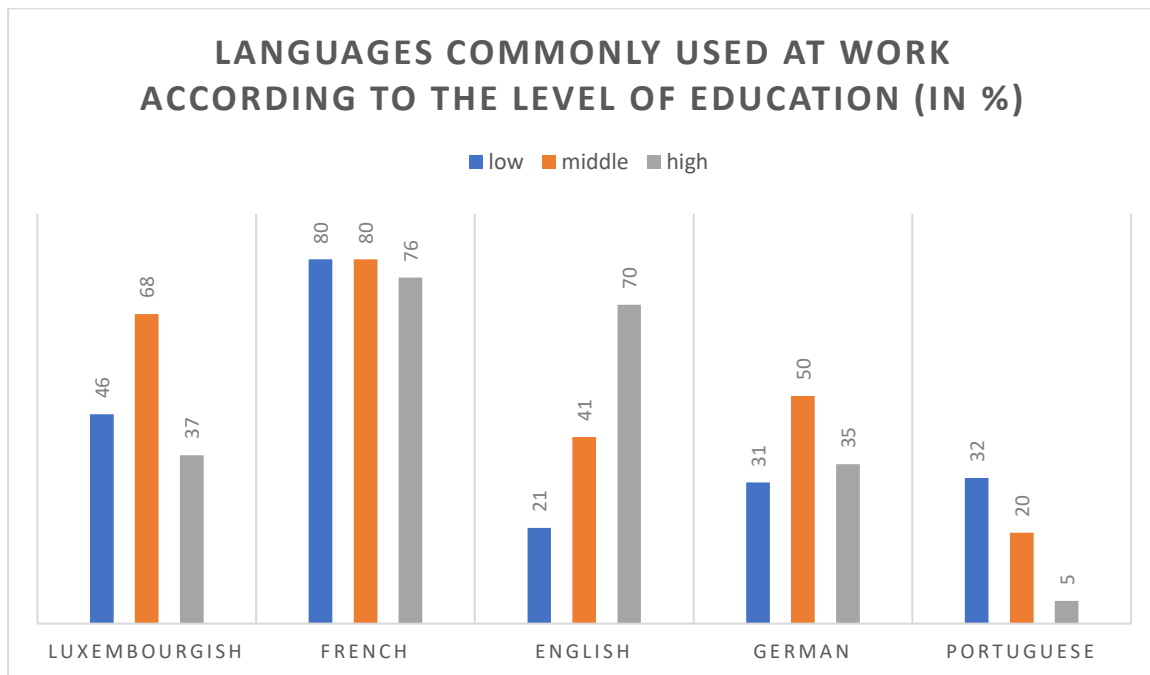


Figure 2 - Languages used at workplace according to the degree of education. Extracted from Reiff and Neumayr (2019)

While English and Portuguese are not official languages, the former is taught in secondary and international schools and carries a high status, while the latter remains the language of the lusophone community. Portuguese has been gaining recognition in Luxembourg in the recently established public international schools (starting in the school year 2017/2018), which offer Portuguese classes as a first, second or third language. Portuguese is also taught through the initiatives of Instituto Camões, which offer complementary Portuguese classes for children and adults.

### 4.3. Luxembourg's mainstream educational system

Education is mandatory for all residents of Luxembourg from the age of 4 to 16 (*loi du 6 février 2009 relative à obligation scolaire*). Before the first mandatory school year, parents can opt to enrol their three-year-old children in the education *précoce* of the Luxembourgish mainstream public school or in private schools.

Parents who reside in Luxembourg can choose between different schooling systems. Most schools are run by the state but parents can also opt for private schools. Among the public offers, there are three main options: 1- the Luxembourgish mainstream system; 2- international public schools following the European curriculum, and 3- an international public school following the British curriculum. In the school year of 2020/2021, only 2.4% of children in primary education were enrolled in public international schools following the European or the British curriculum (MENJE, 2021a). Another 10.55% of primary school children went to international private schools, which can offer the European, English, International, or French curriculum. 87% of the children followed the Luxembourgish curriculum in public or private schools. As the present study took place in the mainstream Luxembourgish public schools, I will present this system.

In the Luxembourgish education system, primary school runs for eight mandatory years, plus one optional year before, the “*précoce*”. This optional preschool year prepares children for the mandatory school years ahead, focusing mostly on children’s learning through playtime and their learning of language, as well as their well-being and social skills. Depending on the municipality, parents can opt the days their children will attend the school.

After the “*précoce*”, children start the eight mandatory years of primary school. These eight years are divided into four biannual cycles. At the end of each cycle, children’s competences

are assessed according to the curricular objectives. The class teacher normally remains with the same class throughout the two-year cycle.

The present study took place in the first biannual mandatory cycle of primary education in Luxembourg, cycle 1, preschool, previously called “Spillschoul” (meaning playschool). Although the national curriculum of the preschool affords a significant portion of free play time, it does gradually prepare children for primary school. It comprises the following areas of development and learning: logical and mathematical reasoning; discovery of the world through all the senses; psychomotor skills; body expression and health; common life and values; creative expression; awakening to aesthetics and culture; and Luxembourgish language (Legislux, 2021). In 2017, the Ministry added “initiation to French” (ibid, translated by the author) to the language objectives of the first cycle. This addition follows the 2017 law emphasising measures to foster multilingualism in the formal and non-formal education sector (further discussed below). During this cycle, children are not formally taught to read, write, do mathematics or science exercises, and the language learning focuses on oral competences. Out of these oral competences, only Luxembourgish is evaluated, and a certain degree of Luxembourgish competence is a prerequisite for admission to the second cycle. At the time of the present study, competences in spoken French are not assessed. As data will show, teachers in the Spillschoul prepare several literacy activities according to pre-selected themes, mainly in Luxembourgish.

At the end of cycle 1, children move up to primary school where the education becomes more traditional and formal, with children learning to read, write, and do math in German. Written French is also introduced and it progressively gains traction until the end of the fourth and final cycle. From cycle 2 onwards, children only move up to the next cycle if they have attained a specific set of competences, evaluated through tests. Teachers can suggest that a child remain

in the same cycle for three years if the child has not attained the necessary competences outlined in the curriculum.

In the fourth and final cycle, when children are about 11/12 years old, they must sit tests, organised at the national level, which allow an educational board to determine what kind of secondary school, *lycée*, they can apply to: first, a classic and more prestigious track which lasts seven years and prepares students for university; second, the general track (formerly referred to as ‘technique’), which allows students to either follow a more profession-oriented path after the third year or conclude the seven-year programme with a secondary diploma allowing access to the university. A preparatory track, previously referred to as ‘modular’, is also integrated in the general secondary. This is aimed at students who have not attained the basic target competences of primary school and thus receive their education in modules. Students who have attained high competences in German, French and mathematics are directed to the classic secondary (MENJE, 2015). In the 2020/2021 school year, 47.1% of students were oriented to a *lycée général*, 39.9% to the classic, and 12.5% to the preparatory school (MENJE, 2021b).

#### **4.3.1. Languages in the Luxembourgish Educational System**

The formal language of instruction changes throughout the schooling path. At the *précoce* and during the remaining two years of preschool, the vernacular language is Luxembourgish. As mentioned previously, one of the competences that must be attained by the end of cycle 1 is oral competence in Luxembourgish. At the end of this cycle, students are expected to express themselves about subjects that are familiar in the classroom, using simple and short sentences. From cycle 2 to 4, German becomes the language of instruction of all academic disciplines, except French. The language of instruction for non-academic subjects, such as arts and sports,

is Luxembourgish. Children begin formal literacy classes in German in cycle 2 and are introduced to written French in cycle 3. Spoken French, however, is introduced in cycle 1 and progresses through oral activities in cycle 2, until it is formally taught from cycle 3 onwards.

In the classic and general secondary schools, the first three years are similar in terms of languages: German continues to be the language of most disciplines, except mathematics and French which are taught in French. From the fourth year until the seventh, however, French becomes the dominant language in all disciplines, except German and English, in the “classic lycées”. Meanwhile, German remains the dominant language in the general lycées, where French is used in fewer disciplines (MENJE, 2021c). While French and German are the main languages of instruction, English is also taught from the second year of secondary school (unless students opt for Latin, who then learn English from the third year).

#### **4.3.2. Children’s linguistic background**

Adding to the trilingual educational system is the diversity of languages spoken by the students. 54.9% of the participants in the 2018 PISA exam, for instance, had a migrant background (MENJE, 2019). It is the OECD country with the highest rate of students of migratory origin (the average was 13% among other countries), and with the highest increase in the rate of students with a migratory background, increasing from 40% in 2009 to 55% in 2018 (ibid).

FIGURE 3 shows the presence of Portuguese and other nationals, while FIGURE 4 shows the presence of various home languages of the students in the primary schools.

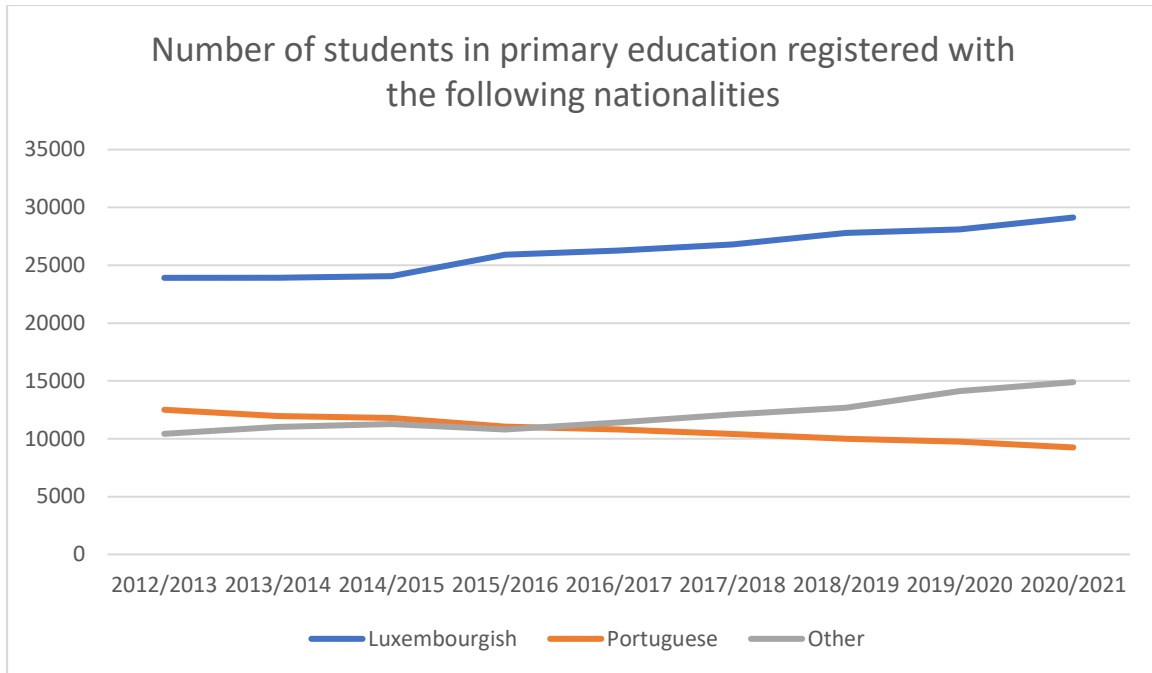


Figure 3 - Number of students in primary education registered with the following nationalities. Edustat, accessed in July 2021

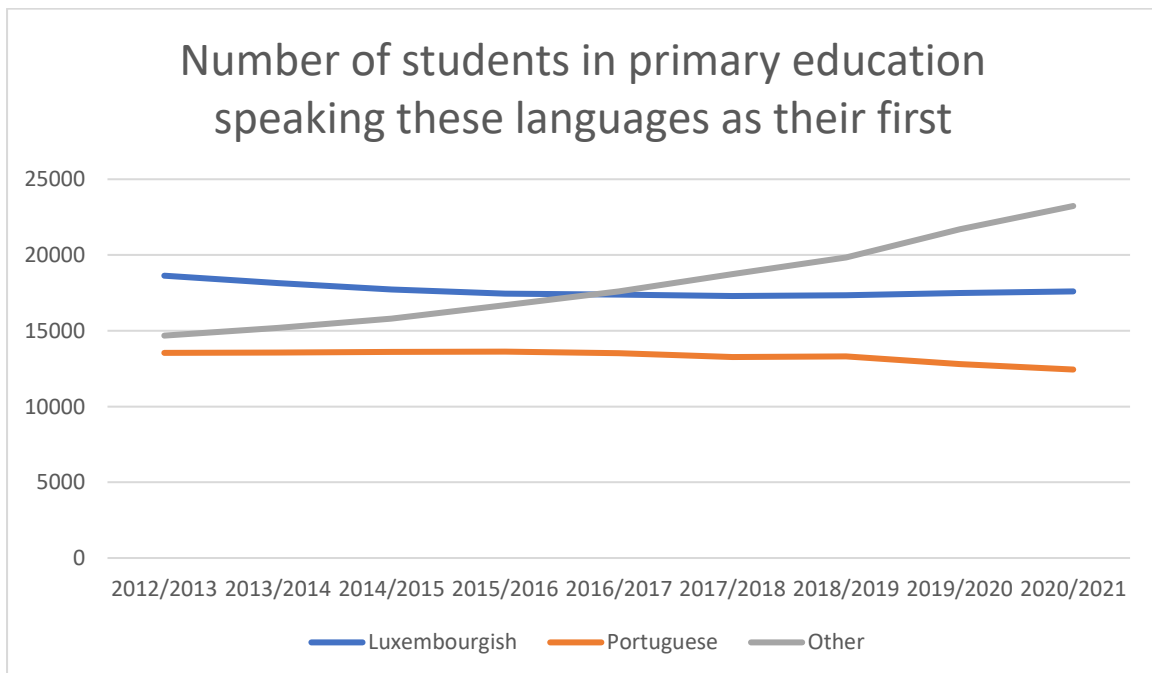


Figure 4 - Number of students in primary education speaking the following languages as their first. Edustat, accessed in July 2021

FIGURES 3 and 4 above show that the presence of students with Portuguese nationality is meaningful but that the number of children speakers of other languages has been increasing.

Among them, the most frequent is French. However, “first language” is a slippery term, because there are families who use two or more languages at home.

When looking at the main language of the newly arrived children in the primary schools, FIGURE 5, Portuguese was the most expressive, despite decreasing its use while increasing that of French.

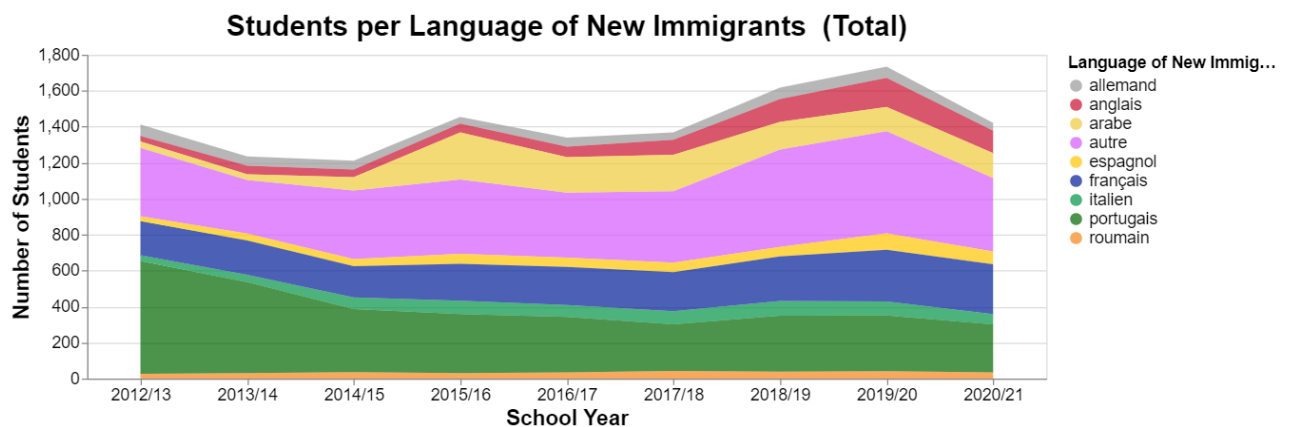


Figure 5 - Students per language of New Immigrants - Print of chart by Edustat, accessed in July 2021

#### 4.3.3. Educational challenges for newly arrived migrant children from Brazil

The term ‘students with migrant background’ is defined by the OECD as those whose mother and father were both born in a country other than the host country. They can be both first-generation migrant students who, together with their parents, were born in another country, and second-generation migrant students who were born in the host country to parents who were born abroad. The first-generation students are also referred to as ‘newly arrived migrant students’, henceforth NAMS, by the European Commission (EC, 2013). They are “person up to 18 years of age, born outside their current country of residence to parents also born outside this host country and who has arrived in the host country during or before the age of compulsory education and enters formal education in his or her host country” (ibid: 37). Although both groups of migrant students share some characteristics and may experience the same challenges

at school, the NAMS are in a more delicate situation. In most cases, they have feeble results at all levels of education and are more likely to skip pre-primary education in the host country, instead attending schools that predominantly retain students with more disfavoured social backgrounds. They are also more likely to drop out before completing upper secondary education (ibid). Newly arrived migrant children vary in language combinations, culture, types of immigration, socioeconomic status, and opportunities to learn. These factors affect children's social, language, and cognitive development, and later their school achievements (Winsler et al., 2014).

As discussed earlier, Luxembourgish mainstream schools have an early tracking and streaming system that segregates students according to their abilities. In many countries, the initial language barrier in the educational system prevents NAMS from succeeding at school and gaining access to the most prestigious academic tracks (EC, 2013). However, in Luxembourg, this problem is accentuated by the fact that NAMS who enter mainstream primary schools must learn German and French, as well as Luxembourgish. While the former languages are academically valued by the school, the language of oral interaction among children at school and after-school programmes is normally Luxembourgish. Depending on when the NAMS join the primary school, they may have little time to master these languages in which competences are required for a child to be accepted into a classic lycée (MENJE, 2016a).

Lusophone NAMS in Luxembourgish mainstream schools are more susceptible to school failure, as they make up a group of students with one of the lowest school performances (Glock, Krolak-Schwerdt, Pit-Ten Cate, 2015) and are disproportionately represented in the different secondary education streams. The same trend has already been demonstrated over the past three decades in studies by Davis (1994), Sharma (2018), and others.

According to the statistics in Edustat (2021), in the first four years of the classic lycée, 44.65% of students declared Luxembourgish as their first language, followed by 15.63% French, 10.43% Portuguese and 29.9% any other language. In the last three years, Luxembourgish is the first language of most, accounting for 52.56% of the students, followed by French at 12.58%, Portuguese at 10.07% and any other language at 24.79%.

In the general stream, Portuguese speakers are the majority, 38.25%, in the first three years, whereas students whose first language is Luxembourgish account for 28%, French for 9.49%, and speakers of any other language at 24.26%. However, something curious can be observed over the next four years of the general education stream: the percentage of Portuguese speakers declines. Luxembourgish speakers, 38.78%, surpass Portuguese speakers, 31.14%. This might mean that a portion of the students starting general education do not get to the superior cycle (the last four years) and the professional track.

In the preparatory schools, the dominance of students whose first language was declared Portuguese is even more highlighted at 46.04% of all students. In the classic stream, there are only about 10% of students whose first language is Portuguese. This number rises to 38.25% in the first three years of general secondary education, making Portuguese speakers the largest group of students.

This section has shown a challenging scenario for the population represented in my study: Brazilian NAMS in a multilingual education system. They combine three challenges, i.e. being NAMS, facing a multilingual education system, and being part of a group of students that is more susceptible to school failure (lusophone).

#### **4.4. The non-formal education sector, including the Maison Relais**

The non-formal education sector in Luxembourg covers the out-of-school care for children in three age groups: young children, aged 0 to 4; children in primary education, aged 4 to 12 years; and adolescents and young adults, or, more specifically those who have left primary school or differentiated education and are aged less than 30 (Legislux, 2016). The 2016 law that currently guides the non-formal educational sector distinguishes two groups: enfants (young children and primary education age children) and jeunesse (teenagers and young adults). For practical purposes, I will only approach the SEA (service d'éducation et d'accueil pour enfants) institutions attended by children. Among the SEA institutions were the formally Maison Relais (MRE). These institutions continue to be referred to by this term by some children, families and professionals, myself included.

What I call “educators” throughout this thesis deserves an explanation. In Luxembourg, professionals who work in non-formal educational institutions, i.e. crèches, MRE and Maison de Jeunes, are often éducateurs and éducatrices. They do not hold a teaching degree, and many times exercise the role of social workers in other institutions. MRE are daycare centres offering extracurricular and non-formal education for primary school students, aged 3 to 12. Children can participate in the MREs that offer before- and after-school hours as well as lunch hours. There are two types of structure, the non-profit and the for-profit. The former uses state resources to maintain and administer the personnel and is normally administered by the villages' administration or an ASBL, such as the Luxembourgish Red Cross, Caritas, and Elisabeth, among other providers. The latter functions as a private company. The participants in this study all go to a non-profit MRE.

While some studies examined crèches (Neumann, 2015), few studies have examined MRE in Luxembourg (Seele, 2015; Kirsch t 11., 2020). I find it important to approach the history of childcare structures in Luxembourg as it forms the basis of what they are today and explains

their relevance in the national context. MREs date back to 1890 with the “Plateau Altmünster” as the first *foyer du jour*, offering a similar service to the one provided by MREs today (Abreu, Hoffmann & Olivieri, 2009). At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, school canteens and other childcare structures appeared, particularly in the south of the country where there were numerous workers in the metallurgical industry. It was however first in the 70s that childcare structures started to appear, such as those organised by the ARBED, le Mouvement pour la Liberation de la Femme, le CAPEL and L’ASTI (Association de soutien aux travailleurs immigrés) (ibid).

Designed in 2000, the Lisbon Strategy was a development programme that had the aim of making the European Union a more competitive and dynamic economy over the following 10 years, focusing on creating more jobs and greater social cohesion (ibid). To develop a stronger economy and for the maintenance of the social welfare system, more citizens, including women, should actively participate in the economy of the country for as long as possible. Under the Lisbon Strategy, the member states of the European Union set the goal of reaching 60% female employment by 2010 within the age group 15-64 (Majerus, 2009). In this context, the Luxembourgish government, concerned about reaching the objectives of the economic agenda and answering the demand of the families, took concrete measures and created the MREs in 2005.

The Grand-ducal regulation “Maison Relais pour Enfants” (legislux 2005) delineated the objectives and exigences for these childcare structures. In its second article, it stated that the MRE should supply the following services: surveillance of children, entertainment, and socio-educational activities; midday catering and intermediate snacks; support for the children for during the homework. Other services were optional and subject to the decision of the manager,

such as socio-educational support, care for sick children, leisure and socio-educational activities, and parental training sessions, among others.

Besides providing childcare during out of school hours and the parents' working hours, the MREs had other objectives, as specified by Majerus (2009: 34, translated by the author):

“MREs must welcome the children as though it were their home, in the sense that there must be relationships among people in there, where they meet, talk and listen to each other and where feelings for each other are developed”.

Here, Majerus specified that MREs could not be understood as simply “restaurants” or “canteens”, but homes that provided care and safety.

Other objectives closer to the purpose of the present study were: “linguistic support, especially for foreign children“ (ibid: 30, translated by the author); maintenance of “Luxembourgish as a common everyday language and as an expression of a common identity” (p. 32); introducing “children to the culture of their local and national environment through rituals, symbols, songs, fairy tales, legends, customs, and celebrations, and to respect the cultural practices brought in by immigrant families” (p. 32); discovery of books “leafing through them, reading to oneself, reading aloud, writing, illustrating and creating” (p. 32).

Neumann (2015) argues that the promotion of Luxembourgish was one of the main concerns of the government when establishing the aims of the state-funded MREs (i.e. formation of national identity, integration of immigrants, and usefulness for a successful school path). These reasons influenced the conceptual framework of the MREs and were acknowledged by the institutions, or at least by those that were publicly funded. The professionals in these institutions assumed that they should speak Luxembourgish with the children, observe their

language skills and make sure that the children were communicating in this language. However, there is no legal article with emphasis on the Luxembourgish language, except for article 11 which states that the supervisory personnel must attest their understanding and ability to express themselves in at least two of the commonly used languages in Luxembourg, including Luxembourgish. Even though there was no requirement to commit to the promotion of the Luxembourgish language, this article somehow reinforced Luxembourgish's status as the common language.

In the same MRE manual where Majerus (2009) laid down the aims of the institutions, Rocha (2009: 182-183) included other languages when describing goals for migrant children. According to Rocha, one of the main objectives of the MREs was the advancement of equal opportunities for children, thereby comprising the integration of children of foreign origin. She writes that the MREs should allow the migrant children to learn to take part in social and cultural life but should also supply useful bases for their academic progress. Some of these goals were “fluency in Luxembourgish and equally in French and German” (p. 182, translated by the author); “familiarity with Luxembourgish culture and tradition, such as Kleeschen, Liichten, Klibberen...” (p. 182) and the “the ability to understand and appreciate the company of people of different origins while respecting their identity” (p.182).

In 2009, the government introduced a voucher system, *chèque-service accueil*. The system enabled parents to send their children to SEA and gave them partially free access to the institutions offering non-formal education, i.e., the MREs, crèches, foyers du jour, and garderies (Legislux, 2009). Since then, the number of parents looking to enrol their children in such institutions grew considerably, and with this the number of daycare centres, both crèches and MREs (Honig and Haag, 2011; Neumann, 2015).

More recently, the 2016 law, amending the 2008 law on childhood and youth, emphasised the professionalisation of the non-formal education sector. The law asks for the “construction of an environment favourable to the proper development and integration of children and young people in our society” (Legislux, 2016, art. 1ere, translated by the author). This includes the fight for equality and against the mechanisms of exclusion and failure, the promotion of “solidarity and mutual understanding of children and young people in a multicultural society” (ibid), the promotion of academic success of the same population, and the contribution “to the learning of the languages of the country in order to promote social and educational integration” (ibid), among other objectives.

In order to assure the quality of the non-formal educational institutions, the 2016 law demanded that each structure that benefits from the governmental voucher systems follow certain measures, such as complying to the reference framework laid down for the sector. The 2017 law added another requirement for the staff: high levels of competence in French and/or Luxembourgish (level C1 of the common European reference framework).

The reference framework (MENJE, 2017) asked professional educators to promote the children’s home language, in partnership with the primary school and the families. Educators were also required to attend professional development courses, including training related to language education. Courses on language education are compulsory for the “référénts pédagogiques” of each institution. (ibid: 38). This means that the educators needed to quickly adapt, as they moved from their previous role of caring to children to their new assignment of educating children, including developing their languages.

The same law granted parents 20 hours/week, free-of-charge, for their young children, aged 0 to 4 years, to participate in crèches that followed the ministry of education’s reference framework. This was to give all young children, i.e., 0 to 4 year-olds, the opportunity to become

familiarised with Luxembourgish and French in the crèches, so that they would be better prepared for the multilingual school and society, and thus start formal primary education with a better outlook (MENJE, 2017).

In general, the three main principles of the non-formal educational sector are: multilingualism, inclusion, and participation. In its reference framework, non-formal education is understood as “an active day-to-day process” (MENJE, 2021d) where educators support children’s own interests and create a favourable self-learning environment. Children should feel at home and, at the same time, stimulated to learn autonomously by exploring the surroundings and taking responsibility for their choices. There are no competences to be attained and participation is optional.

#### **4.5. Brazilian immigrants in Luxembourg**

Brazilians have a long history of migration but few studies have approached the diasporas abroad, and none have done so in Luxembourg. My contribution here is mainly through numbers showing a rising trend of Brazilian migration to Luxembourg over the past years, even though I acknowledge that an entity such as “Brazilians in Luxembourg” is abstract. The numbers here do not show the reality because “nationality” is a deceptive term to use when trying to determine the number of Brazilians in Europe for two reasons. The first is that several Brazilians are descendants of European migrants and thus have dual citizenship. It is this second European nationality that allows them to move to Europe legally. When registering as residents, the national authorities record them according to their European nationality as a visa would otherwise be required. Thus, in the state statistics, several Brazilians are listed by their European nationality. The participant families in my study, for instance, are all registered in Luxembourg as Italians, i.e. eight Brazilians who were all listed as Italians. Second, it is well

known that many Brazilian migrants are undocumented and, thus, do not appear in the official numbers.

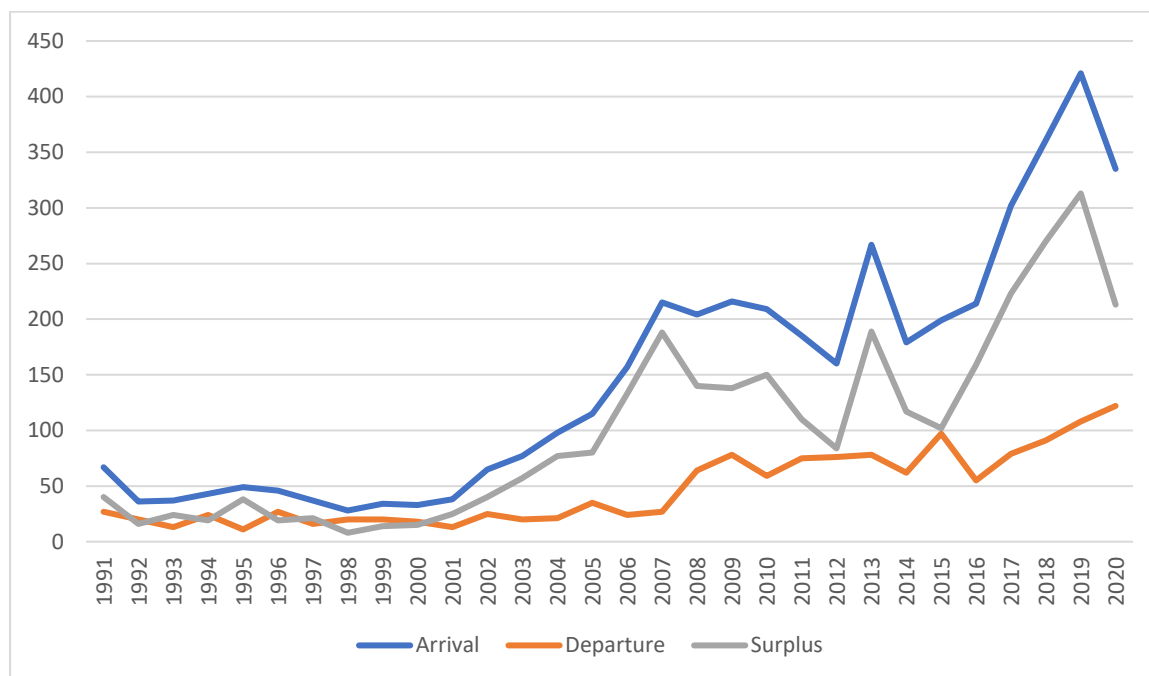


Figure 6 - Number of departures, arrivals and the surplus of Brazilian residents in Luxembourg. (Source: STATEC/CTIE, 2021)

FIGURE 6 shows the rising trend of documented Brazilian migrants in Luxembourg. It does not show the total number of residents, but if we consider the lowest number possible, i.e. 0 Brazilians in Luxembourg in 1991, just by adding the surplus, the total number of registered Brazilians in Luxembourg at the end of 2020 was at least 3,022. This represents less than 0.5% of the total inhabitants, which is not a representative diaspora.

We can also look at the number of migrants according to the country in which they were born. FIGURE 7 shows the rising trend of new residents who were born in Brazil (STATEC, 2021), though without the departures.

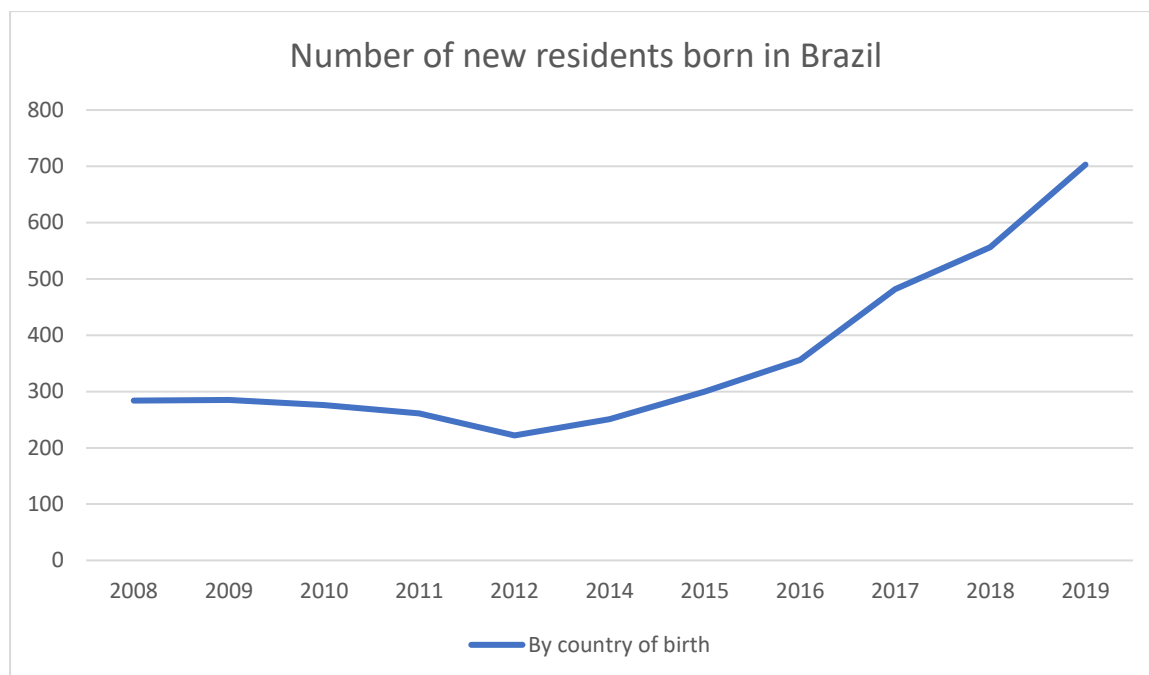


Figure 7 - Number of new residents born in Brazil. Source: Statec (Dernière mise à jour: 27-04-2021).

Despite the small size of the Brazilian diaspora in Luxembourg, these new residents add to the expressive lusophone population in Luxembourg.

#### 4.6. Summary

In this chapter, I presented the macro context encountered by these newly arrived migrant children and their families: a country and an educational system that demand competences in more than one named language while accommodating the high proportion of migrant residents. I also discussed why a trilingual educational system with an early tracking system is challenging for children with a migrant background, especially NAMS, and how lusophone students are more prone to school inadequacy. I then showed how official statistics regarding the Brazilian community are not representative and that Luxembourg has been attracting more Brazilians over the past years. These new residents add to the most expressive group of migrant students, the lusophone community.

## **Chapter 5 – Methodology**

### **5.1. Introduction**

In Chapter 2, I presented the theoretical framework which grounds the present thesis. I discussed how language learning phenomena are shaped by their context and how the context moreover interacts on different scales with other institutions as well as historical and cultural features. Therefore, in order to understand the emergence of multilingualism in young migrant children, such phenomena must be examined in a holistic way, as opposed to, for instance, only framing the formal learning of languages in the classroom.

The present chapter describes how my research developed so that it could answer my research questions. I address the interpretive research paradigm, the principles and practices of qualitative research, and the study design. I explain how I drew on an ethnographic approach to collect data, define and explain my different methods, as well as my process for data analysis. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the research's ethical considerations.

### **5.2. Legitimation of the methodology**

A research project is influenced by a research paradigm. A research paradigm has three main elements: an assumption of what the nature of knowledge is (epistemology), an idea of how to gain knowledge from what is seen (methodology), and a decision of which elements observed are valid (validity) (MacNaughton, Rolfe & Siraj-Blatchford, 2001; LeCompte and Schensul, 2010; Thanh & Thanh, 2015). In this section, I approach epistemological distinctions that legitimate my methodology.

There are two main contrasting assumptions when it comes to understanding what knowledge is: positivist and interpretivist (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). The former understands that knowledge derives from the uncovering of universal laws, often determined by cause-effect relations (ibid); whereas the latter is interested in understanding how individuals perceive the world and understand a context. The reality is understood as being socially co-constructed (Merriam, 1998; Willis, 2007; Thanh & Thanh, 2015).

When I began my doctoral studies in 2015, I did not clearly differentiate between the two contrasting epistemological assumptions. While I was motivated to discover “how things happen”, I also wanted to find some universal law of language learning. This position revealed my perspective of languages as a measurable hermetic unit and not as linguistic repertoires. Although I had many years of teaching experience – and my positionality will be discussed in section 4.3.2, my initial understanding of researching language was blurry and ill-defined. Later, I understood that what I wanted to look at was not universal, but particular: teaching and learning named languages in particular spaces, to a particular group of people, during a certain period of time. The “reality” onto which I wanted to shed light belonged to a specific group of people, in a certain context. This revealed the local- and case-oriented aspects of the phenomena. Once I understood that the nature of knowledge was interpretive, I needed to understand how to gain knowledge from my observations, and which methodology to employ.

### **5.3. Qualitative Research**

To gather contextual evidence for answering questions related to how a certain phenomenon happens, and more specifically, to describe and understand how specific environments influence learning, a qualitative research methodology needed to be employed (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004; Willis, 2007; Thanh & Thanh, 2015). It was clear to me that I would not collect

and analyse numerical data but would describe and interpret what I was observing. I would not test hypotheses but try to generate hypotheses or theories during research and analysis (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, the fact that qualitative research favours studies in natural environments rather than in artificial isolated spaces (Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004) supports the essence of the sociocultural theory and ecological framework. TABLE 1, extracted from Merriam (1998: 9), summarises the main characteristics of the qualitative methodology and contrasts them with those of a positivistic philosophy.

*Table 1 - Reproduction of Merriam (1998:9) table Characteristics of Qualitative and Quantitative Research*

<b><i>Point of Comparison</i></b>	<b><i>Qualitative Research</i></b>	<b><i>Quantitative Research</i></b>
<b>Focus of Research</b>	Quality (nature, essence)	Quantity (how much, how many)
<b>Philosophical roots</b>	Phenomenology, symbolic interactionism	Positivism, logical empiricism
<b>Associated phrases</b>	Fieldwork, ethnographic, naturalistic, grounded, constructivist	Experimental, empirical, statistical
<b>Goal of investigations</b>	Understanding, description, discovery, meaning, hypothesis generating	Prediction, control, description, confirmation, hypothesis testing
<b>Design characteristics</b>	Flexible, evolving, emergent	Predetermined, structured
<b>Sample</b>	Small, non-random, purposeful, theoretical	Large, random, representative
<b>Data Collection</b>	Researchers as primary instrument, interviews, observations, documents	Inanimate instruments (scales, tests, surveys, questionnaires, computers)
<b>Mode of Analysis</b>	Inductive (by researcher)	Deductive (by statistical methods)
<b>Findings</b>	Comprehensive, holistic, expansive, richly descriptive	Precise, numerical

In the previous chapter, I reviewed studies of both methodologies, although my own study will draw on qualitative methods.

### **5.3.1. Ethnographic case studies in qualitative research**

As discussed in the previous section, qualitative research is based on a philosophical assumption that “reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds” (Merriam, 1998: 6). Nevertheless, qualitative research is a broad term that encompasses different methods of participant observational research.

Labelling the category in which the present study falls has been challenging. I needed to understand the distinction between ethnography and ethnographic methods. O’Reilly (2012), for example, discusses ethnography as research grounded in sociocultural theory which aims at exploring how people are, feel, and behave within their communities. Merriam (1998) emphasises culture as the main phenomenon being observed in ethnographies. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) also highlight culture as the shared construct in this tradition, stating that ethnographies “re-create for the reader the shared beliefs, practices, artifact, folk knowledge, and behaviours of some groups of people” (p.2-3). This is the traditional view of ethnography, coming from the works of Malinowski and Geertz, who favoured long-term immersion with “the natives”, detailed descriptions, and a territorial site (Kenway, 2015). In order to distance my study from these classical anthropological ethnographies, I have chosen not to employ this terminology. Although I acknowledge that contexts are socially constructed spaces, with their own cultural and social practices, values and norms, the macro historical and cultural forces responsible for shaping the participants’ ideologies and beliefs are not the central aspect of my study. I do not analyse and interpret the social meanings of the context, but rather how they afford language emergence. Thus, I do not deliver an ethnography, but a qualitative study that employs ethnographic methods. Gregory, Long and Volk (2004), for example, write that much of the research carried out within the sociocultural framework has been ethnographic, meaning that researchers employed various ethnographic methods to gather data from various sources,

such as interviews, photographs, audio recordings, video recordings, participant observation, and social observation. Drury (2007) wanted to capture the voice of young bilingual children in her ethnographic study and, thus, collected data for almost a decade through observations, interviews, documentary evidence, and audio recordings. The data was analysed, and themes emerged, the main one being the difference in how parents and teachers understood the learning processes of the participating children. Gogonas and Kirsch's (2018) qualitative study employed interviews, observations, and video recordings to explore the language ideologies and management strategies of two families of Greek newly arrived migrants in Luxembourg. Brice Heath (1983) wrote a detailed ethnography of communication to display the different forms of language acquisition and use in two different working-class communities in the USA. Kelly's (2010) book on multilingual young children and their acquisition of literacy also employed a qualitative methodology to capture the home literacy activities of the children in her study.

The terminology "case study" is employed here to delimitate two different studies which were carried out to observe the same phenomena more than once. Merriam (1998:27) describes a case as "a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries. I can "fence in" what I am going to study". As the research is inductive, and the boundaries were not delimited from the outset, I see "case studies" as a post-research choice, a manner of analysing and presenting the results. Wolcott (1992 in Merriam, 1998) also understands it "as end-product of field-oriented research (p. 36). This means that a case study is not a strategy or a method.

### **5.3.2. Principles and practices of qualitative research**

This section describes essential features of qualitative research and how I have addressed them.

### 5.3.2.1. Emic perspective

A distinctive feature of qualitative and particularly ethnographic research is its interest in understanding the observed phenomenon from the participants' viewpoints (Merriam, 1998), i.e. 'emic' perspective.

This study aimed to provide a description of the settings from the point of view of the children. This means that, although I analysed the role of the adults in shaping the contexts, I did so from the perspective of the children, i.e. I observed the settings by following the children and describing what was happening around them. By following the children, I was physically present in the spaces in which they participated, looking at the activities in which they were involved. If I were to shed light on the adults only, excluding the child's perspective, I would have remained in the room after the child had left it, looking at what the adults around the focus child proposed. This became very dynamic in the study of the twin girls, both in the Maison Relais and at school, as they frequently moved among different ateliers or classrooms. During school breaks, it was impossible to run along with the children in the school courts or playgrounds, but I was there trying to understand how the surveillant eyes of the teachers could play a role. Furthermore, when looking at the settings across, I attempted to see the coherences, continuities, and discontinuities from the perspective of the child (see Chapter 8).

The emic perspective, however, cannot be maintained throughout the research. The researcher often needs to step back to look at the phenomena from an etic perspective. This happens when we contrast what is being observed with the theoretical framework and literature. Moreover, the emic perspective is not always possible, as data is collected and analysed from the perspective of the researcher and their interpretation of the participants' reality (Davies, 2008). This is discussed in the next section.

### 5.3.2.2 Researcher reflexivity

The previous section introduced the paradox of the 'emic perspective' by stating that the research cannot be undertaken entirely from the perspective of the participants. This is because the researchers are the data collection instruments themselves, thus, subjective rather than objective (Merriam, 1998). Davies (2008) discusses the role of the researcher in terms of responsibility for selecting the topic, the participants, choosing what aspects to register and analyse. This means that all aspects of an ethnographic study happen through the interference of the researcher. Merriam (1998) explains that, because the researcher is human, mistakes can be made, the researcher's bias can interfere, and opportunities can be missed. The behaviour of the researcher can also interfere with that of the participants, who acknowledge the presence of the researcher and may behave selectively (Duranti, 1997). This is referred to as "the observer paradox", discussed in section 4.6.2. Even in an essentially descriptive study as this one, in which I attempted to portray the physical spaces, activities and conversations as close to the reality as possible, my observations were filtered by my researcher lens in that I registered what I thought would be relevant. Indeed, after the data is subjectively collected, the analysis is once again subject to my perspective, influenced by my own worldviews.

Nevertheless, this is a characteristic of the interpretive philosophical assumptions described earlier. Reality is understood as co-constructed (Thanh & Thanh, 2015) through multiple interpretations of reality (Merriam, 1998). As a researcher, I contribute "to ongoing social change" (Conteh, 2005: 97) with my perspective and interpretation of the reality.

Reflexivity is the researcher's awareness that they influence the result of the study (Davies, 2008), and, therefore, they must admit their subjective perceptions and bias (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993). To begin with, I thought that I could not be subjective and biased towards the collection of descriptive physical contextual data and activities (rather than beliefs, ideologies

and meanings), but I soon saw my limitations. Photos helped me to demonstrate and confirm the description of places, but they were nevertheless selected by me based on what I perceived as representative. Also, during the data analyses, I missed some photos and regretted not having taken more. This probably happened because, during the fieldwork, they did not seem relevant. When looking at language promoting or conducive events and activities, I double-checked them with teachers during interviews, but I was not there the whole time and other activities took place in my absence. Moreover, I could not interview the educators in the Maison Relais. I felt shy when mingling with the many educators because my cultural background perceptions on 'openness', 'welcoming' and 'friendliness' played a role, convincing me I should not. When recording interactions between adults and children, I missed many spontaneous but very brief moments because the camera was off and when I turned it on, the event had already ended. This meant that I collected more interactions that lasted for a certain period of time and in one single place.

I reflected on my biases because I have very strong opinions (some may say even radical) regarding my home country. I feel strongly about social injustice, especially regarding children, and I have been overtly critical of the Brazilian educational system for more than twenty years (thus, traversing political administration changes), on many levels. However, these views are not included in this study. Social injustice is what moved me to start this PhD, after I learned about the early tracking education system that diverted most of the newcomers to less prestigious streams due to their language capacities. Once again, this is not included in my study. It was the propelling force, but my study is not about it. Another possible bias is my coming to Luxembourg with the expectation of finding better educational examples, and indeed finding them. I looked up at all educational professionals, from the point of view of a person with less power (minority/migrant). However, once again, I do not feel my study is about stressing good educational examples, but pointing out the supporting structures encountered.

Overall, I do not compare countries or families, nor do I judge my participants. I attempted to gather data in the most descriptive way possible. This is not to deny, however, that the result of the study has not been influenced by my limitations and perspectives on what counted as language learning and teaching in the settings.

### **5.3.1.3. Researcher's positionality**

In this section, I present my positionality as the researcher, and revisit the discussion on emic and etic perspectives. I shall argue that, contrary to similar studies conducted by the perspective of the majority/insider to the minority/newly arrived, this study was conducted from the point of view of a migrant/minority. I posit myself as an insider when visiting families, and an outsider in classrooms and the Maison Relais. I also attempted to disclose my perceptions as honestly as possible and argue that both situations, insider and outsider, present benefits and challenges.

Factors such as ethnicity, gender, experience, and race influence the researcher's positionality, which in turn influences data collection and analysis (I Gelir, 2021). I maintain that my origins, gender, length of stay in the new country, as well as my being a mother of a newcomer in the Luxembourgish public school system were factors that helped me access the families and take an insider role. As previously mentioned, I am also a newly arrived Brazilian migrant mother. The fact that I am a woman and mother might have helped families feel secure in my presence. An unknown man, for example, might not have had the same easy access to these families. Nonetheless, besides gender, these factors positioned me as a foreigner/outsider in the schools and the Maison Relais.

This perception of positionalities happens both ways, from the researcher to the participants and from the participants to the researcher. From my own perspective, I was an outsider in the

schools and the Maison Relais. I sat down in the corners of the classroom or ateliers in the Maison Relais, normally close to the children I was observing, but also 'at the border', which afforded me independency when collecting data. I was not asked to participate or engage in conversations. From the teachers and educators' perspectives, I was most probably seen as an outsider, too. I was not one of them, not only regarding my linguistic and cultural origins, but also in terms of the fact that I was imposing an academic perspective and judgement onto their work. The way they saw me probably interfered with what they wanted to show, as the teachers had the freedom to choose when I could visit them in a given period of one or two weeks. At the families' homes, I felt like an insider, more intimate with the parents in both families. I believe they also saw me as 'one of them', because of our origins and somewhat similar stories, but I was still a stranger in their homes. Parents might have felt uncomfortable in my presence and with the fact that I was observing, filming, and writing. They might also have seen me as different from them in terms of experience in the country, or knowledge about the educational system. While I felt invisible at many moments at the schools and in the Maison Relais, which allowed me to make several notes, I was highly visible in the homes, as the parents often spoke to me as if I was their guest. This made it difficult for me to step back, observe, and take notes.

There are advantages to being an insider and being seen as one in the families. Because Brazilian families saw me as "one of them", I had easier access (Chavez, 2015). Throughout the research, including in my pilot study, five different families invited me into their homes, disclosing their perceptions and worries through comments on the new community, school system, teachers, other parents, often comparing how things are in Brazil and in Luxembourg. My perception was that, as Brazilians, we shared a common language and we had an underlying mutual comprehension that we did not need to be formal with each other. By choosing to be informal, I could 'break the ice' so that everybody felt more comfortable and conversation could flow. One benefit for the insider researcher is related to the time needed to familiarise

oneself with the setting (Stephenson and Greer, 1981). This is something researchers may take for granted, only realising how much more challenging it would be if they were from a different background. Gregory and Ruby (2011) describe how cultural codes are shared among insiders but are completely new to the outsider: for example, the insider explaining to the outsider that she may not touch the Quran in a community shop. Similarly, when visiting the families' homes, I knew I could do some things without asking for permission, such as helping them to clear dishes off the table, or entering the children's bedrooms and sitting on their beds. These activities that come to me as 'natural' might have been offensive in other cultures, or could be seen as worrisome if I were a man. Being a migrant Brazilian mother allowed me to build a rapport with the families and observe the settings without it feeling too intrusive. I Gelir (2021) writes that the insider may also have an instinctive comprehension of the sociohistorical situation of the observed participant. Indeed, the reasons of the parents wanting to leave Brazil, of them mostly forbidding their children from walking to and from school alone, of their exclusive use of Portuguese at home, even though parents were competent in others, were clear to me.

Being an insider brings about challenges. For example, I Gelir (2021) discusses how 'insiderness' can make the researcher overlook some patterns. This is what Gregory and Ruby (2011), among other scholars, term as the 'insider's dilemma.' In their study, Ruby explained how her assumptions contrasted with reality. In a similar fashion, I knew I was going to investigate "my own people" (Gregory and Ruby, 2011: 168). However, this choice was not "because it would be easy" (ibid), but because it was deep-seated in my own motivations and was where I saw myself contributing to research. Being an insider made me feel uncomfortable in switching from the position of a guest to the position of a researcher. While I needed to write down my observations, I did not want to break the stream of conversation. I attempted to solve this dilemma by leaving the camera on over longer periods of time. Through interviews and a

questionnaire, I tried to gather the parents' beliefs about language while refraining from overanalysing their language ideologies, in order to distance the study from my own bias and because these ideologies were not the focus of my research questions.

As mentioned earlier, at schools and in the Maison Relais, I felt like an outsider, and I argue that this is where I see my study being different from most other studies I have encountered. Having teaching experience did not position me as an insider. I had never studied pedagogy and did not have experience of early education. At the time of the observations, my Luxembourgish and French skills were mainly receptive, i.e., I could understand what people said but struggled to express myself in these languages. This positioned me as an observer and not a participant observer. I tried to make sense of a context that was not only new for the children in my case study, but also new to me. I did not need to make the familiar strange, it was already strange, in many senses. This allowed me to make notes as detailed as possible. Delamont (2012), for instance, speaks of the benefit of the circumstance: "going into schools in a different country provides instant 'strangeness', but on our own it is hard to force oneself to focus on what is happening rather than what one 'expects', 'knows' and is familiar with" (p. 345). Perhaps exercising objectivity in my home country would have been more challenging, as my bias might make me focus on the issues that were most striking to me. However, being an outsider and not speaking Luxembourgish made it more difficult for me to talk to the participants and build a rapport with them. I could talk to the teachers and check my observations with them separately during scheduled interviews. In the MRE, I did not have the opportunity to engage in conversation with the educators. This will be discussed later in methods for data collecting.

#### **5.3.1.4. Criteria to assess qualitative research**

In this section, I discuss the credibility, i.e. the trustworthiness of my study. The credibility of qualitative studies is frequently disputed by empiricists or positivists who argue that the principles of reliability and validity cannot be addressed in the qualitative tradition (Shenton, 2004). However, writers such as LeCompte and Goetz (1982), and Guba and Lincoln (1995) have proposed standards to address these principles in qualitative studies. The first authors maintain the reliability and validity terminology, while the latter propose other terms to dissociate themselves from the quantitative tradition (Shenton, 2004). In this section, I address the issues relating terminology from both authors.

External reliability (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982) or dependability (Guba and Lincoln, 1995) relate to the replicability of the study's findings. According to the authors, external reliability attempts to ascertain that other researchers would reach the same results given the same research settings. Due to the naturalistic quality and singularity of an ethnographic study, as well as the complexity of the object of the study, it is more honest to admit that reliability, as understood by positivism, cannot be accomplished. LeCompte and Goety (1982) discuss that an approximation (not its full attainment) of external validity is possible through the clarification of five major issues: "researcher status position, informant choices, social situations and conditions, analytic constructs and premises, and methods of data collection and analysis." (p. 37) Similarly, Shenton (2004) asserts that to address dependability, the researcher should describe the research process precisely, making it possible for another researcher to reproduce the design to reach similar results. The study should present how the study was planned and executed, how data was gathered, what was done in the field, as well as the researcher's reflexivity. These standards have been followed in the present study and are addressed in different sections. I have addressed my positionality by answering the degree of

which I was a member of the studied group and in section 5.3.2.3, when revealing my role as an insider and outsider across settings. I have described the participants in my study in the research design section, acknowledging that data depends on the actors who allowed my access to them. I also discussed the discrepancies among 'the reality' in different situations, as the same participants may behave and provide information differently, according to social situations and contexts. This issue is solved by delineating and describing the settings where data was collected comprehensibly. I address this issue by informing where and when data was collected, contextualizing the interactions. These are shown in the data analysis found in Chapters 6 and 7. I also defined constructs, terminologies, and units of analysis in the theoretical framework and literature review. There, I made it clear that I looked at the phenomena from a sociocultural standpoint. As for the unit of analysis and the codes, they are clarified in section 5.8, which is where I also detail the methods of data analysis, the fifth issue.

Internal reliability, objectivity or confirmability deal with the issue of whether other researchers observing the same phenomenon would come to the main conclusions as the main researcher. There are strategies to improve internal reliability. LeCompte and Goetz (1982: 41) cite five of them: "low-inference descriptors, multiple researchers, participant researchers, peer examination, and mechanically recorded data". I employed two main strategies, i.e., low-inference descriptors and mechanically recording of data, as well as a third one to some extent: participant researchers. Multiple researchers and peer examination are strategies that professional research teams can employ, and as I work on my own, I could not apply these strategies. However, I have received comments from my supervisor and from the thesis evaluation committee, as well as when I presented the study at conferences. My supervisor and the committee have checked my methods and analysis and ensured its correctness. Low-inference descriptors is a type of field notetaking, whose characteristic is basic observational data (ibid) without interpretive comments. As it will be shown in the data collection methods

and analysis, my fieldnotes had low-interference and were descriptive. Later, I would organize my notes by creating digital documents, while I reflected over what had been observed. I created fieldnote documents distinguishing facts (low interference observational data) in one column and personal observations and indexation in a second. I also made use of photos, video, and audio recordings which I used as resourceful information for analysis. As for “participant researchers”, termed by the authors to imply that the participants could see the data and confirm, it happened with classroom teachers in interviews. I checked with them if I had understood their routine well and listed what I had observed as language-conducive activities, also giving them an opportunity to add other activities they do and that I had not observed.

Validity concerns the accuracy of the findings (LeCompte and Goety, 1982; Johnson, 1997). Davies (2008: 96) explains validity as ‘the truth or the correctness of the findings’, i.e. to what degree the study’s conclusions represent the “truth”. Johnson (1997) distinguishes five types of validity: descriptive, interpretative, theoretical, internal, and external. The first deals with the accuracy in describing events, settings, people, their beliefs, etc. To increase descriptive validity, I employed a variety of methods to illustrate the settings, the events, and participants, such as field notes, video recordings and interviews. Interpretative validity refers to the degree of truth in reporting the participants’ opinions, feelings, and meanings (ibid). To overcome this challenge, I observed the participants over an extended period and considered their views on the phenomena in interviews and conversation. This means that I not only observed, described, and listed how the adults in the different spaces supported language learning, I also asked them about how they viewed their roles. Theoretical validity refers to the degree to which the results can be explained by theory (ibid), which I address in chapter 9 when discussing my findings.

Internal validity is concerned with the justification of the results and conclusions (LeCompte and Goety, 1982; Johnson, 1997), i.e., how compatible with the reality are the findings

(Merriam, 1998). Once again, it is necessary to recall the philosophical assumptions of the interpretive view of reality as multidimensional, holistic, dynamic, and co-constructed by the participants. What is investigated, i.e., the 'reality' proposed by the researcher, is how certain people understand it. From this perspective, qualitative research has strong internal validity: research conducted by a human in close contact with the studied humans provides more accurate observations than tests and interventions (ibid). To increase my study's internal validity, I employed four main strategies: (1) triangulation, i.e., I made use of multiple research methods to collect data, so that the 'reality' could be confirmed by other methods; (2) participant-feedback, meaning that I often attempted to cross-check my observations with the participants; (3) extended field observations at the sites, so that I could observe the same phenomenon repeatedly, and (4) clarification of biases, positionalities, and theoretical orientations (Merriam, 1998), as stated earlier in the thesis.

External validity measures the extent to which the findings can be generalised and transferred to other situations or other people (LeCompte and Goety, 1982; Johnson, 1997; Merriam, 1998). Similar to the issue of external reliability discussed earlier, findings in qualitative studies are not generalisable if we think in terms of the transferability of the results to the general population, as this is not the aim of ethnographic studies. According to Merriam (1998: 210), in qualitative studies, "the general lies in the particular". Heath (1983), for example, described the language practices of three different communities in-depth. Her findings cannot be replicated in other communities, but her in-depth descriptions helped readers all over the world identify similar patterns in their own respective contexts. Gregory and Ruby (2011) illustrate how one case study of a Chinese child brought insights into what "child-centred" activities meant, as children from different cultural backgrounds could have different preferences when learning. Similarly, my insights on how different settings promoted language learning might be pertinent to related studies on preschool bilingual education.

#### 5.4. Research Questions

In this section, I discuss my process for arriving at the final research questions.

As outlined in the introduction, the present study explores the following questions about newly arrived migrant Brazilian children and their language learning in the multilingual contexts of Luxembourg:

- What are the material affordances of the physical spaces that can help these three children develop multilingual repertoires including features of Luxembourgish?
- What are the activities that their parents, teachers and educators propose to support the development of children's language and literacy skills in Luxembourgish and other languages?
- What are the language strategies employed by the adults on such occasions?

These three questions help me describe the different types of language learning affordances available for these children. I then ask another question:

- What are the continuities and discontinuities among these spaces?

These research questions were developed throughout the research process, through an interplay of consulting literature, being in the field and collecting data, and analysing to understand what the data were indicating. This is aligned with how Erickson (2004) described qualitative, interpretative research, where data and research questions develop mutually during the research. I did not start my study with fixed hypotheses or pre-established research questions.

To illustrate how my research questions changed during the process, I present them chronologically. In my pilot study in 2016, for example, I wrote that my research question was "How do Brazilian immigrant children become multilingual in Luxembourg?", showing that I

had imprecise ideas of what I could observe. “Brazilians” is a vague notion, and the verb “become” communicates to me the inaccuracy of understanding multilingualism and its continua. Once I understood the sociocultural theory better, I became interested in seeing mediation in practice, i.e., how the more knowledgeable individuals, more specifically teachers and educators in the after-school non-formal education institutions, mediate the new language(s) for the migrant children. As children also learn languages at home, I wanted to include families in the research. Thus, early on, I was already interested in looking at the role of the adults in teaching language for newly arrived children, and the research questions became more focused. This is obvious in the application form for the ethics committee in April 2017. In this document, I wrote:

“As language learning is a key factor for better schooling in Luxembourg (MENJE, 2016a) and for integration, the present research intends to investigate how some Brazilian children are learning the three languages of the country and becoming multilingual individuals thanks to the support of parents, teachers and professionals in the Maison Relais. The focus is on the adults responsible for assisting these children in three different spheres: home, school, and Maison Relais. Research Question: How do the teachers in schools, professionals in Maison Relais, and families at home support the development of multilingualism of newly arrived migrant Brazilian children?”

Again, “become” and “support” are vague concepts.

As the application form for the ethics committee stated, when I started field observation, I had already established that I would be looking at the role of the adults. Notwithstanding this, I noted the actions of the focus children and the adults surrounding them in the different settings. Some moments were children-centred and I made notes of what the children were doing – for example, moving from one room to the other, drawing, playing in the play kitchen, even though

teachers were not actively participating in such moments. When the event was teacher-centred, on the other hand, I described what the teachers were offering and filmed them interacting with the students. FIGURE 8 shows part of the notes I made in the early stages (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> visit to Bianca's classroom), describing both children and teacher-centred moments. The right column shows my impressions of what the teacher was doing.

Facts	Feelings and Observations for next time
<p>I arrived at the school at about 9 a.m. When I entered the school, I noticed how quiet everything was. <u>I couldn't hear a single sound.</u> I couldn't find anybody in the corridors, either. After wandering for a few minutes, I finally noticed once classroom with the door open and then I could make myself visible, the teacher came to me, I introduced myself and asked for the classroom I was looking for. I was then directed to the right floor and could find the room. The teacher was aware that I was coming and welcomed me. She did not present myself to the group, said they didn't have much room for me to hang my coat and bag or even sit down. <u>The kids were divided into different groups,</u> each group performing a different activity. There was a table with girls playing with the alphabet "ruler", as a stencil, where letters are there to be traced on the paper. On a second table there were two girls, one of them being the participant of my research. They were cutting a paper with scissors, around the image of a witch. More kids played around a table which had flat gems to be played over a light table. Other kids were playing with blocks, others with a toy with connectors and foams. <u>I asked the teacher about the languages</u> and she said that she only spoke Luxembourgish, but that the kids speak many languages among them. I asked from where most of the kids came and she said some countries. I remember now that she said there were two Brazilians in the classroom. The second was a boy. Other nationalities I remember are: Bulgarian, Portuguese, Polish, English and New Zealander. Soon one girl gets curious about me there and she talks to me, she shows she has lost a tooth, she spoke German. Then another girl arrived asking my name. I asked hers.</p> <p>The teacher did not interfere in the kids' activities. <u>I asked to see the portfolios.</u> I opened Bianca's portfolio. There were pictures of the celebration of her birthday, her activities for the Father's Day. Activities of fine motor skills. mathematics and others.</p>	<p>I felt like the school had been evacuated.</p> <p>How does the teacher divide the groups? Looking back now I am not sure of all the activities that were going on at that moment. I could not find a place for me to sit so I walked around feeling strange, completely outsider.</p> <p>I was not interviewing, just ice-breaking.</p> <p>But I was not actually analyzing, just gaining time to become invisible. At that moment I realized I did not know what I was doing and yet I knew that I came with open heart for this first visit for the subsequent ones focus on determined things.</p>

Figure 8 - Print of the screen of field observation files - Bianca 20/11/2017

<p>290518 – Bianca Theme: hearts and Mother’s Day Tem uma pasta com videos e fotos desse dia</p> <p>Children can now choose in which one of the four classrooms they can play up to 09h30 (like MRE)</p> <p>Bianca explica para o pai como está funcionando o atelier.</p> <p>Crianças soltas no corredor. Crianças podem pegar um pregador de roupa e escolher uma sala. Bibi escolheu uma sala que é de uma terceira professora. A irmã Lulu procura o nome de cada criança no pregador do lado de fora da sala de aula, pelo jeito encontra o da irmã e entra.</p> <p>Bianca datilografia Typewriting.</p> <p>08h01 – crianças e pais ainda no corredor.</p> <p>Teacher speaking three different languages with three different parents. German with one parent, children around speaking French with another father.</p> <p>Bianca : “Wou wëllst du spillen ? »</p> <p>Play – cooking, ironing clothes, translanguaging Luana and Bianca playing in Portuguese and when Alice arrives Luana says “Mir schwätzen Brasilianisch” Playing in Luxembourgish and Portuguese/ Bianca brinca de casinha com amiga Luana falando português meninas param de brincar para ouvir e prestar atenção no que a professora fala para outro menino Continuam brincando em português Alicia se une e fala português Falam luxemburguês</p>	<p>Continuities school and MRE</p> <p>Agency Literacy</p> <p>Literacy</p> <p>Multilingual society</p> <p>Free Play – Make believe Translanguaging</p> <p>Attention Focus to Teacher and Student interaction</p> <p>Literacy</p>
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Figure 9 - Print of the screen of field observation files - Bianca 29/05/2018

Despite my focusing on the role of the adults, I did not see the many levels of support structures. When talking to the parents, for example, I was many times inclined to analyse their ideologies. The process made me narrow down the scope of my observations so that I could go deeper. I understood that I could not look at all the different levels influencing a child’s language development but instead had to select a few levels of observation.

Before analysing my data, I reviewed relevant literature, and through an interplay between data, tutorials with my supervisor, theory, and insights, I could distinguish three different levels of adults’ assistance in language promotion: 1 – adults design physical elements of a setting that could afford language learning, including decoration and room arrangement, or material,

such as books and prompts; 2 – they suggest, allow or demand specific activities that help children learn language; and 3 – they deploy specific scaffolding strategies when interacting with children, such as encouraging children to speak and modelling the language for them.

These three different levels of adults' assistance in promoting language learning became the focal points of the three first research questions. These three questions were mostly descriptive, as they asked specifically what could induce language learning in the different environments. These questions would, nevertheless, be disconnected if I did not attempt to look at them from the perspective of the children, as the children move from one settings to the other daily. This became the focus of the fourth research question and reflects my emic perspective.

## **5.5. Research Design**

As the framework of my analysis is sociocultural, my investigation would need to happen in natural settings to understand how they were shaping children's learning. Contexts can influence learning, both positively and negatively, according to the resources available (Palfreyman, 2006). Investigating second language learning thus included looking for affordances in the environments where the learners spend most of their time. As explored in the theoretical framework, learning is ingrained in the social and physical environment, which is co-constructed by the participants. Language learning, nonetheless, is not limited to any of these spaces. It happens in all of them and across them (Barron, 2006). We can observe formal learning events at home, the Maison Relais' activities in the schoolbuilding, familiar moments in the Maison Relais, and informal learning at school. Language permeates all settings. When children participate in different contexts and practices concurrently, they also learn how to move across different roles (Akkerman & Bakker, 2012; Akkerman & van Eijck, 2013), from "daughter/son" to "student", to "peer", to "the newcomer", and behave according to what is

expected of them in each context (ibid). My study thus attempts to show what each setting communicates to and expects from the children.

As already stated, I will present two case studies. The fact that there are two studies is consequential. It could have been one or three, as this was not established from the beginning. The research design also demands a certain degree of flexibility (O'Reilley,2005; Elliot and Timulak, 2005). The fact that I am presenting two case studies is due to my being able to engage two families, their schools and their Maison Relais. In the research proposal presented to the Ethics Committee of the University of Luxembourg, I had stated that I would conduct the study with three different families and addressed how to solve the challenge of not finding three families. I then stated that, in such a case, the research would be conducted with two families in greater depth. The following sections delineate the process of study design.

### **5.5.1. Pilot Study**

By the end of my first year in the doctoral school, in the summer of 2016, I attempted to conduct a pilot study with a family of Brazilians who had arrived in Luxembourg six months earlier, with their six-year-old girl. My aim was to learn some interview techniques while also learning how to structure the presentation of the data. I asked the couple if I could talk to them about their perceptions of their child's early adaptation in the new school, to which they promptly agreed. We were all members of the same group on social media, a group of newly arrived Brazilians in Luxembourg.

I explained to the mother what I was investigating, and that I would like to have a first glimpse of how the girl was learning languages. Before the interview, I had asked the mother to help her child photograph situations that represented moments of language learning. At that time, I also wanted to identify particular helpful factors contributing to their child's language learning.

By interviewing the parents, I learned about their language background and motivations. Both parents presented themselves as being from families that valued foreign language learning and understood that this was also important for their daughter, from an early age. I also asked them about their role in helping their child learn languages and if she was learning in any other ways.

When re-reading the study, I notice issues. The most serious one is realizing my bias and lack of understanding of my positionality. I discussed the comments of the parents from my own perception of a “Brazilian reality” without any data supporting my claims. This would have serious implication for the study’s trustworthiness, because it addressed neither the principles of internal reliability/confirmability, nor the principle of validity.

By conducting a pilot study and receiving feedback from my supervisor, I learned to ask more appropriate questions and to not draw conclusions from a biased perspective, based on one single visit and interview with the family.

### **5.5.2. Getting access to and choosing the participants**

According to Merriam (1998), choosing the best case to study should start with the definition of the criteria. I established key inclusion criteria:

- 1 - children must be enrolled in the mainstream public Luxembourgish primary school
- 2 - children must be born to Brazilian parents, who speak Portuguese at home
- 3 - neither the parents nor the child was born in Luxembourg, thus they must have migrated a few years earlier
- 4 - children must be attending a Maison Relais after school.

The participant families were recruited through two social network communities: ‘Brasileiros em Luxemburgo’ (Brazilians in Luxembourg) and ‘Mães e Pais Brasileiros em Luxemburgo’ (Brazilian Parents in Luxembourg). I posted the Call for Participants text, with approval from the Ethics Committee (Appendix 1- Call for Participants approved by the Ethics Committee), in these two mentioned groups on 14th June, 2017. The text stated that I was looking for the following profile:

- 1) Parents or legal guardians that are Brazilian, with Portuguese as their family language.
- 2) Neither the parents nor the child was born in Luxembourg.
- 3) The child is enrolled in a mainstream Luxembourgish primary school.
- 4) The child attends a “Maison Relais”.

At first, a few people replied to the post by praising the initiative but saying they did not fit the criteria. Nonetheless, my post called the attention of the honorary consul of Brazil in Luxembourg, who felt it was important for our community to engage in my research. He posted my file “Call for Participants” himself with his own text (FIGURE 10).



Figure 10 - Brazilian Consul, h.c. post on a social network about my research

Due to the consul's assistance and his ample divulgation, seventeen mothers contacted me. I then created a table with the name of each person, their situations, whether they fitted my criteria and the reason, and their contact email. Three of them did not follow up after I contacted them. Ten others, unfortunately, did not meet the inclusion criteria. The most significant exclusion reason was children not attending a Maison Relais. The second reason was that the child had been born in Luxembourg. At the end, I had four families that fit my criteria, and I excluded one because the child had been in Luxembourg from infancy. With the three final families decided, a letter and a consent form in Portuguese, approved by the Ethics Committee of the University of Luxembourg, were sent to their e-mail addresses. None of the three families sent me their signed consent forms, and the engagement was soon interrupted by summer vacations. At that same moment, I was informed I needed to change my consent forms for the CNPD approval. The CNPD approval was resumed in September 2017. I then re-contacted the families and scheduled my first visits to them.

In order to gain access to their children's schools, I first needed ministerial authorisation. Next, I contacted the regional inspectors responsible for the administrative district where the families lived (and the schools were), as well as the directors of the school. As for the Maison Relais, gaining access was more challenging as negotiation took more time, and because I was asked for a collaboration agreement between the MRE and the university.

Despite having started the research with these 3 families and their schools, interviewing parents and being an observant in their classrooms (at that time I had not yet received the authorisations to be in the three Maison Relais), these children were not the final cases for my studies. The three profiles were different in terms of school cycles, phases of development, time in the country, and language competences. One of them was a boy enrolled in the last year of primary school. He had been in Luxembourg for seven years. The second was an eight-year-old girl

who had started Cycle 3.1 and had been in Luxembourg for three years. The third family consisted of two twin girls in the second year of Spillschoul (Cycle 1.2) who had arrived eight months prior and were in the early stages of learning a new language. Furthermore, the Maison Relais of the eight-year-old girl had decided not to authorise my visits without the consent of all parents or guardians of all children enrolled.

My supervisor and I then decided that I should find more similar profiles. I discontinued the investigation with the two older children and made a new call looking for families with the same criteria as well as a new one: being enrolled in the Cycle one (Spillschoul). One woman answered the call and agreed to participate. Then, both her child's school and the Maison Relais also approved. I continued my research with this last family and that of the twin girls, as my starting point on the journey.

### **5.5.3. The participants**

To introduce the participants in the study, I tell their stories from data collected through interviews and institutional website and documents.

#### **5.5.3.1. Thiago Gastão and Parents**

Ms. Gastão (pseudonym) came from the southernmost region of Brazil, the state of Rio Grande do Sul, from a family of Italian immigrants with a strong presence of Italian culture, as she mentioned in an interview. She was the daughter of an English teacher and the granddaughter of a man who regularly taught his grandchildren words and expressions in Latin. When she was a teenager, she took an exchange in the USA, which enabled her to learn English. Ms. Gastão had a Master's degree in marketing, and dual citizenship, Brazilian and Italian. At the

time of data collecting, she was learning French formally, and using it in the community. She mentioned that she also knew a little bit of Italian and Spanish.

Mr. Gastão worked as an engineer, both in Brazil and Luxembourg, and held a doctorate from a Spanish university. He was from São Paulo, from a family of Italian descent. Nevertheless, he made it clear that the only language he had heard at home was Portuguese. At the time of the interviews, Mr. Gastão stated that he made use of English at work and was starting to learn French formally, because he felt it was crucial in Luxembourg. He could also speak Spanish and Catalan. Both Thiago's parents took private German classes before moving to Luxembourg, but said they could only identify some words.

When Mr. Gastão was in Spain enrolled in doctoral studies, he met Ms. Gastão, who was studying for her Master's in marketing. They returned to Brazil together. Ms. Gastão moved from Rio Grande do Sul to Sao Paulo to live with her husband, in a municipality that lies 50 km away from the capital. From that moment on, they shared the desire to move away from Brazil and live in either the USA or Europe. In a recorded interview, the father said that, in the three years prior to moving to Luxembourg, he kept asking his superiors at work to move him to another country, making it clear that he would rather move to Europe than to the USA, as the European lifestyle had greater appeal to the couple. They explained that, even though they could have a good standard of living in the USA, Europe would provide their children with richer cultural experiences. They came to Luxembourg in 2017, but not through an expatriate programme (in which the company pays for the moving expenses and helps find housing for the family and schooling for their children). Mr. Gastão deliberately asked his superiors to be transferred to one of the company's branches in Europe, and they moved by their own means. Ms. Gastão's European passport facilitated their entrance into Europe.

Thiago was born in the aforementioned municipality in the state of São Paulo, in 2012. Four years later, Thiago's little brother, Diogo, was born. In Brazil, Thiago went to a private school (not a crèche but a private early childhood school). When they decided to move to Luxembourg, the parents enrolled Thiago in an extracurricular English language school, so that he could learn the basics – for example, asking for water or for permission to go to the bathroom. The parents described him as a very curious boy, who reacted in a positive way towards these changes. The mother said that moving to a new context could have put him off, but that this was not the case. Ms. Gastão also mentioned that Thiago often asked what people were saying when he did not understand them, voicing his curiosity. As soon as he turned six, Thiago could read isolated words and the parents reported that he had been reading more and more things around him. In June 2018, for example, they sent me a home video of Thiago reading the names of football players on a sticker album. At home, while the mother was cooking lunch/dinner, Thiago spent his time watching TV, using the remote control of which was at his disposal. He easily navigated through the cartoon catalogues of different streaming systems and watched them attentively in different languages, though mostly in Portuguese and English. According to his parents, he was interested in English, possibly because his cousins lived in London and because his parents used English to communicate with teachers and other parents.

The Gastãos arrived in Luxembourg in October/2017 and soon Thiago joined the local public school closest to his home. The mother had not been working after they arrived and seemed very dedicated to spending time with their children. She would take the children to the swimming pool and parks on the weekdays, and they made several trips on the weekend as a family. The mother also told me how she enrolled Thiago in different activities, such as LASEP (Ligue des Associations Sportives de L'Enseignement Primaire) and swimming, so that he could be exposed to the new languages. The parents kept the drawings and objects that Thiago had made in school in their living room and the mother showed that she cared about school by

asking Thiago how his day had been, by reading the school *Bichelchen* (small notebook used as a means of communication between teacher and parents), and by asking questions about his drawings and activities.

When I first visited Thiago at school, he had been there for less than four months, including three weeks of holidays. Nevertheless, his teacher told me he was already very well integrated and using Luxembourgish, which is something I also observed from the first day. In the classroom, Thiago was calm, respectful, and participative. He often played by himself or with three boys, who were those he interacted most with – having said this, Thiago played with all the children in his class. He also spent his free time in class leafing through books, often together with a friend. From my first observation, he was familiar with the class routine and responded to the teacher's instructions: for example, when she asked him to go to the painting desk and take his turn painting the object, he promptly opened the cupboard and took his plastic apron on before starting the activity.

Whereas he was positive towards the school, he complained about the Maison Relais to his parents. He went to the Maison Relais, which he and the parents call canteen, only three times a week – Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. On these days, he had classes in the afternoon, but he asked his parents if he could stop going. He complained about the professionals, saying that they were too rigid. The parents demonstrated similar concerns during the interview. However, they said that it was important that he stayed in the MREs for his integration.

### **5.5.3.2. Thiago's Community**

The Gastões settled in a municipality in the central region of the country, belonging to the canton of Luxembourg. This municipality is one of three forming an administrative unit. According to the website of this administrative unit, there are 8,000 inhabitants, 51% of whom are non-Luxembourgers, counting approximately 90 different nationalities.

### **5.5.3.3. Thiago's School**

Thiago's school welcomed children from 3 to 10 years of age, i.e., from *précoce* to Cycle 3.2. Cycle 4 demands a move to another primary school of the municipality. They had about 260 children, with approximately 75 of them in pre-school (Cycle 1).

### **5.5.3.4. Ms. Majerus, the preschool teacher**

At the time of the interviews, Ms. Majerus had been a teacher for around 10 years. She was born in Luxembourg and spoke Luxembourgish with her parents. She had attended Luxembourgish public school, where she had learned German, French, and English. When she was in secondary school, she opted to study Italian, for four years. She explained that her knowledge of the languages was reinforced by other situations – for example, she stayed in Italy for half a year to work and practice the language. She also studied at a Belgian university, where she reinforced her French skills, and obtained her Master's degree from the University of Luxembourg, in a programme which was mostly in English. Chapter 6 explores Ms. Majerus further in her role as a teacher.

### **5.5.3.5. Thiago's Maison Relais**

The non-formal education institution available in Thiago's school was administered by a non-profit organisation. At the time of the data collection, their main building was being built, on the same site as the school, but separated from the school's main building. At the time of the field observations, the educators made use of four rooms on the ground floor of the school's building and shared the school playgrounds. The educational structure's main objectives, according to their website, was welcoming children before school (from 7 to 8 am), providing lunch (11.45 a.m. to 13.45), and offering after school surveillance (until 7 pm). Their role was

also to provide entertainment, and help them with homework. They cared for about 190 children.

The institution emphasised the development of children's autonomy. Thus, the environment of the rooms was designed with the children's interactions in mind.

Through a questionnaire sent to the educators in Thiago's MRE (discussed in section 5.6.4), I wanted to know the language diversity of the educators, by asking what language(s) they used or had used during their lives. The answers were: Luxembourgish (cited 25 times), German (23), French (23), English (21), Portuguese (12), Spanish (9), Italian (4), Cape-Verdean (3), Polish (1), Japanese (1), Russian (1), Arabic (1), Serbian (1), Brazilian (1), Thai (1), and Créole (1). When asking them, what language(s) they used in the MRE, not as many languages were mentioned: Luxembourgish (25), French (15), German (15), English (11), Portuguese (4), Cape-Verdean Créole (2), while 5 educators answered that they spoke Luxembourgish, but changed language to adapt to certain children's language needs.

#### **5.5.3.6. Bianca, Luiza Rizzo and Parents**

Ms. Rizzo was born in Rio de Janeiro in the mid-80s, in a catholic household to parents of Portuguese and Spanish origins. In Rio de Janeiro, she went to private school as a child, and chose to take her Bachelor's in computing at the Catholic university of Rio de Janeiro, where she met her husband. Before moving to Luxembourg, Ms. Rizzo was a project manager in a state pension funds firm. In Luxembourg, at the time of the visits, she was not working. She had explained that, although she had good professional experience, it had been hard to find a job, because she needed to improve her French and English skills. She was attending formal French classes. She was always very accessible and open, sharing much of the girls' lives with me and in social networks, up until and including the time when this thesis was written'.

Mr. Rizzo was the son of an Italian man, who migrated to Brazil as a child, and of a woman with African roots, whose grandmother had been a slave in Brazil. He studied computing at the Catholic University and, according to Ms. Rizzo, was always a bright student, who helped his peers at the university. Before moving to Luxembourg, he had been approved for work in a big national enterprise, by the national selection process, which provided him with a high salary and career stability. He had worked in this state company for some years but later quite this job so that the family could move to Europe and restart their lives. At the time of the data collection, he spoke Portuguese, English and Italian.

They met in 2003, when they were students at the university, got married some years later, and in 2012, the twins were born. Ms. Rizzo told me that her husband often talked about moving abroad, but that it did not initially appeal to her. Despite both being well-established professionally, in 2014 they started to feel more tempted to move away. They explained that this was due to the increase in violence and political instability. Mr. Rizzo described one day to me, in which he had woken up at home with a gun pointed to his head. Furthermore, many state companies, including the ones they worked for, were witnessing their directors being investigated and arrested because of corruption. As Mr. Rizzo had dual citizenship, Brazilian and Italian, he could also work in the European Union. They decided he should start applying for IT jobs in the EU. The parents carefully investigated what better places existed for raising a family, and were attracted to what Luxembourg could offer them, in terms of safety and career opportunities. Mr. Rizzo applied for a doctoral job in Luxembourg and was accepted. He firstly moved alone and lived in a student apartment, while preparing for when Ms. Rizzo and the girls arrived. In May 2017, Mr. Rizzo rented a two-bedroom apartment in a village in the centre/southeast part of the country, and his wife and daughters then joined him. The girls were soon enrolled in the nearest public school, starting together in the same classroom in the

Spillschoul for a few months, Cycle 1.1. Shortly after, the summer vacations started, which was when the girls turned five years old.

Bianca and Luiza Rizzo were born in 2012 in Rio de Janeiro, and were from an early age enrolled in private preschools, which offered them some activities in English. They were described by their parents as active, creative, and intelligent girls, who always played together and competed with one another. At the beginning of my visits, they were reserved, preferring to ignore my presence and my questions. They exhibited the same behaviour in the school. During my first visits, I observed how they responded to neither the other adults' nor my initiatives to starting conversations with them, even though they were responsive to the class routine, showing that they understood it. Both respected their teachers and followed class rules. While they were not fond of talking to adults at the beginning, they played actively with other girls in class. Luiza was normally in the crafts corner of her classroom, painting, pasting, colouring, and creating beautiful expressive art. Bianca liked drawing and colouring too, also creating vivid drawings, but I would more often find her interacting with different prompts of her classroom (as, for example, the magnetic black board or portfolios), or simply talking with a friend under a table, playing teacher by reading books to her friends, or playing with other toys. At the beginning, the girls each had two Portuguese-speaking girl friends in each classroom. These six girls would often play together during recess or in the Maison Relais. The more Bianca and Luiza learned Luxembourgish and felt integrated in the new school, the friendlier they became towards me and their teachers. They were great observers and were especially gifted when it came to imitating the teachers, when replaying scenes from school at home. Ms. Rizzo told me how they could even reproduce each teacher's distinct facial expressions and speech melody, simulating the Luxembourgish language at first, and later speaking it. I also observed how both liked to play teacher at home, by reading a book aloud

and showing the pictures to each other, or to dolls. They both liked going to school and the Maison Relais, though it was customary for Bianca to complain on Sunday evenings.

During the week, Mr. Rizzo drove the girls to school before 8 a.m., and Ms. Rizzo picked them up from the Maison Relais around 5 p.m. At the weekend, they usually went sightseeing in nearby villages, had gatherings with other Brazilian friends, or went to playgrounds to cycle or skate.

#### **5.5.3.7. Bianca and Luiza's Community**

The Rizzos lived southeast of the Gastões, also in a municipality that belonged to the Canton of Luxembourg, thus still in the central region of the country. Their municipality comprised around 3600 residents in 2018, about 46% of whom were non-Luxembourgers with 79 different nationalities, according to the official website.

#### **5.5.3.8. Bianca and Luiza's School**

Bianca and Luiza's primary school was the only one in their village, welcoming children from précoce to the last year of primary school. It was situated on a large pedestrian block, sharing the space with the Maison Relais' building, the playground, the church, and the town hall. It welcomed about 290 students, 52% of whom were non-Luxembourgers with 31 different nationalities.

#### **5.5.3.9. Ms. Faber**

Ms. Faber was in her late thirties or early forties at the time of my observations. She had been teaching for about 15 years. Having been born and raised in Luxembourg, she could speak

Luxembourgish, German, French, and English. She said that she learned Luxembourgish with her family, and German from a very young age on the TV, so she felt comfortable with these two languages. She explained that she always felt French was a foreign language, so she had to work harder on it. She could speak English, which she had learned with a basketball coach during secondary school's years.

#### **5.5.3.10. Ms. Keller**

Ms. Keller had been a teacher for 30 years when I first interviewed her. Having been born and raised in Luxembourg, Ms. Keller spoke Luxembourgish, German, French, and English, all learned in school. She could also speak Spanish, which she had deliberately learned by staying in a country in South America for some months. She said she could also make use of a few sentences in Portuguese and Dutch, and that she had receptive competences, i.e. she could understand but not express herself in these languages.

#### **5.5.3.11. Bianca and Luiza's Maison Relais**

The Maison Relais where Bianca and Luiza participated was a different non-profit association to that of Thiago. It welcomed children from 4 to 12 years of age from 7.30 am to 6.30 p.m. They promoted children's autonomy and creativity.

The educators were multilingual. Seven of them answered my questionnaire (discussed in section 5.6.4) saying that these are the languages they use (or have used) in their lives: Luxembourgish (7), German (6), French (6), English (5), Portuguese (5), Spanish (5), Italian (2), Cabe-Verdean (1), Polish (1), Japanese (1), Serbian (1), Russian (1), and Arabic (1). When asking them, what language(s) they used in the MRE, not as many languages were mentioned: Luxembourgish (7), French (4), German (3), English (2), Portuguese (1), while two educators

answered that they spoke Luxembourgish, but that they also adapted to the children's language needs when they did not understand Luxembourgish.

## **5.6. Methods of Data Collection**

I started collecting data after the consent letters were signed (Appendix 2). It was my first time conducting ethnographic research, but I had prepared by reading about ethnographic methods. O'Reilly (2005), for example, suggests collecting data "on as many facets of life as possible" (p. 15), and I therefore employed several ethnographic methods to generate data: participant observations, audio and video recordings, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, photographs, and document analysis. By employing different methods, data can be triangulated, which strengthens the validity of the research, as discussed earlier.

### **5.6.1. Participant observation/ field notes**

Participant observation is 'not a method on its own' (O'Reilly, 2005: 101), but a general term that involves observing, making notes, and asking questions, to name a few. It refers to the immersion of the researcher in the settings, for long periods, observing objects, people or the physical setting itself (Guest et al., 2013). Delamont (2012) describes participant observation as spending continued periods of time observing what people are doing and talking to them to understand what they are doing, how they function, and how they experience their lives. She explains that researchers do not always participate in the actions, but rather observe people doing them. Contrary to traditional anthropological ethnographies, in which researchers live with the observed people, educational ethnographic researchers are partially immersed in the field (ibid). Spending time in the settings is what helps the researcher gain an emic perspective

(Bryman, 1988), as discussed earlier. Time in the field also allows the researcher to provide detailed descriptions, oftentimes of particularities that would normally get overlooked.

Observations, nonetheless, represent a fraction of what is happening in the setting at that moment. Müller (2021) discusses that they are, too, intentional, as the researcher cannot observe everything that is happening – there is always a ‘blind spot’ (p.40). As discussed earlier in regards to the researcher’s reflexivity, observations are also filtered through the researcher’s focus of attention on what they think is relevant, which, in turn, is informed by their previous knowledge (ibid). I attempted to exercise shifting my focus from where the central activity was happening, often looking at what the focus children were looking at and what they could hear, besides the general physical setting.

These observations must be written down. LeCompte and Goety (1982) explain that field notes are the main data collection technique in ethnographic work. They suggest low-inference descriptors for increasing internal reliability. Delamont (2012) discusses how she emphasises taking notes of concrete details, rather than feelings and impressions, as concrete details are easier to forget later – for example, the number of children in the classroom, or the sequence of activities. In fact, in my field notebooks (FIGURES 11 and 12), I wrote down the actions that took place in the settings chronologically, including the time they happened, space, the actors, etc.



Figure 11 - Notebooks used to collect data

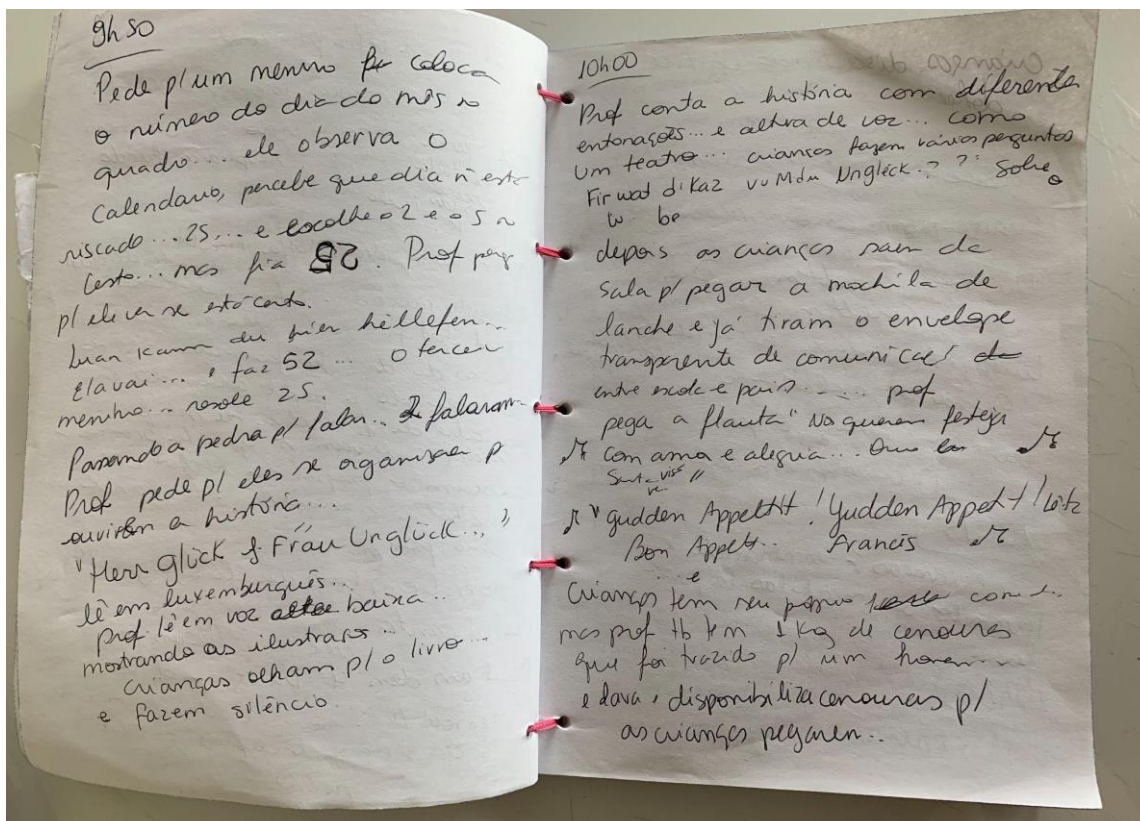


Figure 12 - Detail of the book open

I started my observations by acknowledging that I would investigate the role of the adults in children's second language acquisition. Nevertheless, I made notes of everything that I observed happening, including children's activities and movements. Later, at home, I transformed my scribbles into more comprehensive Word documents. At the beginning, they were exhaustive, and my first field notes included feelings and personal notes in a separate column (FIGURE 8), which were later replaced by themes. At the end of the school year, my notes became more focused (FIGURE 9). After typing the sequence of observed events, I noted associated themes in the right column to summarise what that event was telling me. These index terms would later help me analyse the data. I often included photographs of the events in these observation files. (FIGURE 13)



Reading at this age is a social event, they need to touch, show, talk about what they are seeing.

I record two short videos of Thiago leafing through his book, pointing and naming the objects or actions he is seeing in the book, all in Luxembourgish. The second video other two boys have joined him and are interacting among them and with the book.

[VIDEO\_TRANSCRIPTION\_190318].

It is 10h06 and the teacher says "Mir raumen d'Bicher!". It is time for the circle time. While they are getting ready, I look around and realize the theme they have been working on is POST. There are letters fixed on the blackboard, there are postcards, the symbol of the post horn, the drawing of a postman, the word POST written on the board.



Figure 13 - Print of the screen of the file Second Visit to School 4 190318

The extent to which I was able to take notes differed in each setting. At the schools and the MRE, I was an observant most of the time, writing down details of what I was observing in my notebooks. In the families' homes, I was mostly a guest, a person who had been invited to sit at the table and engage in conversation with the parents and children. However, I had my notebooks, pen, mobile phone, and video recorder at hand, allowing me to make short written notes on the sequence of events, or turning the camera on to video record longer stretches of family interaction.

As a first step into the data analysis, I created a file with the summary of my field notes. This was not only to help me find files (videos, photos, or field observations) more quickly, but also to verify some possible trends. FIGURE 14 shows part of the summary.

				instrument/teacher shows a book and ask the children to describe the house picture/teacher elicits questions/ makes children answer with full sentences/she repeats after the children/class teacher playing with the kids in class
03/02/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	First visit to the family/authorization forms/explanation/getting to know the family
08/02/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	First visit to Thiago's school/ The teacher tells me that Thiago is well-integrated and speaks and understand Luxembourgish very well/Writing CLOWN activity/ Teacher presents the nationalities of the children for me/Thiago says "Ech schwätze Portugiesisch mat Flavia"/ Circle time about carnival party on the next day/ teacher explains the clown activity/teacher going one by one writing what the children drew/German speaking man visits the class – musician for the party next day/
12/03/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	Theme: ships/ Started video recording/ Bianca and Luana seeing their portfolios and interacting in Portuguese/ teacher expresses that Bianca is now speaking Luxembourgish/teacher calls Luana to another group and places Alice next to Bianca and Bianca starts using Luxembourgish/Circle time: the teacher gives many opportunities for the children to share their opinions and tell stories, she invites Bianca to tell/Bianca and Alice drawing together, Alice reading a book to Bianca/ Atelier: swapping children from other groups/children making photocopies of their hands in the photocopy machine/
16/03/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	Theme: planets/Luiza and Brenda drawing a planet/Luiza using Luxembourgish with Brenda/Luiza, Brenda and Eva singing the Gudde Moien song in French and Luxembourgish/ girls playing in Luxembourgish and Portuguese/ teacher interacting with the girls' playing/Luiza is asked to speak in the circle time/Teacher supports, praises and give her time/Storytelling: The Lion and the Mouse/Second Circle Time Moment: Planets song/ planets circulating around the sun activity/
19/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	Theme: Post/ Thiago reads a book with his friend/Vocabulary related to letters and the Post/counting syllables exercise/craft activity: children making the letter stamp of the Grand-duke/can telephone decoration/Hokey-pokey in French/In the afternoon: birthday party of a girl
19/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	MRE	First visit to understand where it is, the installations/ Children go to the ground floor/ form lines to wash their hands/ enter in a room to eat/ the door is closed
23/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	Mother with two boys at home, dad at work/ Mother said that the first thing that she can say it changed in Thiago was the awareness that there are different languages/Thiago watches TV/ Thiago comes to the table to colour/ Thiago's little brother shows us the can telephone Thiago did in school/Mother tells Thiago was enrolled in an English school before coming here to learn the basics/Many books in Thiago's bedroom/mother reads for the boys every night (part of the ritual, she says)/Thiago teaches Luxembourgish to his parents/game with numbers and letters on the floor/
25/04/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	Theme: farm animals/ the mother brings Thiago to school and tells me about the two weeks in Brazil/ I ask her if it is always her that brings Thiago to school and she confirms. She adds saying that she

Figure 14 - Print of the screen of the file Summary of Field Notes.docx

### 5.6.2. Audiovisual records

Audiovisual recordings are very advantageous for educational qualitative research. One advantage is the provision of access to the “trivialities” taking place in the setting (Knoblauch and Schnettler, 2012). These can be missed while notetaking, especially because – as described in the previous section – there is still a ‘blind spot’ (Müller, 2021: 40), since the researcher can only focus on one thing at a time. Thus, audiovisual recordings give the researcher an opportunity to access the video several times, focusing on one thing at a time, so that a thorough description of the captured moments and interactions is possible, i.e. contextual data, which cannot be captured with only audio recorded data (DuFon, 2002). Since audiovisual recordings also include audio, the researcher has the option of listening to what is happening in the scene while focusing on one actor at a time. The fact that these recordings capture both image and sound allows for more detailed transcriptions, including linguistic and paralinguistic features, such as posture, gestures, facial expressions, among others (ibid). The writer writes that “non-native speakers, especially those whose linguistic means are limited, may rely extensively on extralinguistic means, as well as linguistic and paralinguistic means, to convey both their referential message and their relational message” (p. 44). Audiovisual recordings are thus helpful when investigating second language acquisition from a sociocultural perspective, because it can capture non-verbal language in interactional moments – necessary when the research demands their microanalysis.

Nevertheless, as with all other methods, audiovisual recordings also present drawbacks. The main disadvantage is the “dichotomy between natural and artificial situations” (Müller, 2021: 57), or the camera effect, which puts pressure on the person being filmed, who may then act artificially. This dichotomy is similar in natural observations, as participants can choose what they want to show. This is what Duranti (1997) terms the “participant-observer paradox” (p.

118). To observe the participants in an ethical way, the researcher needs to be present, but being present affects what the researcher sees because participants acknowledge the researcher's presence and may behave differently. While I acknowledge that adult participants may feel intimidated by my presence and the camera, they still need to carry out their daily activities. I observed how children aged four to six years, when in the context of the classroom, seemed to forget my presence and the presence of the camera after a few minutes. At home, on the other hand, children were aware they were being filmed. For example, Bianca and Luiza liked to act in front of the camera, while Thiago was interested in filming things himself, often asking to borrow my camera.

During my first visits to the settings, I did not record the participants. I only took written notes. Once I had the participants' consent for filming, I started to register children engaged in activities, when they were interacting with their teachers, and the "circle time" moments which consisted of a teacher-centred activity lasting more than a few seconds, with the children sitting still in one place. I could not film the classes entirely because not all the parents of the children in the classrooms of Luiza and Bianca had given me their consent. As such, I always had to position the camera so that the non-authorized children would be left out of frame. This was contrary to Thiago's classroom, as all the children's parents consented and I could therefore leave the camera on for several stretches of time. I could also film for longer when the activity happened in one single space, so that all fit within the camera's frame. These activities included circle time, Luxembourgish pull-out classes, children playing in a certain space. In the participants' homes, I chose to film moments of interactions between parents and children, but also to leave the camera at a steady point to film what was happening for longer stretches of time.

I would normally turn the camera on when I observed an interaction between adult and child. However, I did not always have enough time to film them as the interaction would often finish just as I started filming. At school, there were teacher-centred moments that I could capture in full, as with the circle time and Luxembourgish classes. Informal exchanges between the teacher and the children were rare or very brief. When visiting the families, I would either leave the camera on for several minutes or turn it on when a conversation started. To give an example, if the child was focused on the TV or a tablet and Ms. Rizzo was cooking dinner, I would not be filming. As soon as the mother re-joined the living room, I would turn on the camera.

I also asked the parents to video record moments related to language or literacy that they found interesting. I received 28 video files from Ms. Rizzo, but just one from Ms. Gastão. I did not receive authorisation to film or photograph people in both the Maison Relais, which I respected. Gómez-Fernández's (2011) doctorate thesis discusses the same difficulty in gaining authorisation to film in a similar non-formal education institution in Luxembourg.

I started filming with a Panasonic Lumix Camera as well as an external microphone and tripod. I then realised that the videos were dark and had a low resolution. This was on top of the fact that the camera was heavy and moving around with a tripod was not ideal. I then got a Sony handycam, which was always on hand and provided me with clearer videos.

Audio recordings were used for all the interviews which were not filmed. I also recorded the audio in a few situations, such as when I did not have authorisation to film a child but wanted to have evidence of what I was observing. On one occasion, I wrote down that the children were communicating in French next to my focus child, then turned the audio recorder on because I could not film those children. I used an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder. However, this did not occur often. When interviewing the teachers, and to ensure that I would not lose

the data of a scheduled interview, I made use of three different sources at the same time: the digital voice recorder, my mobile phone, and a tablet.

### **5.6.3. Semi-structured interviews**

Interviews differ from everyday conversations because they are artificial (Müller, 2021), often happening parallelly to the observed phenomena, i.e., the interviewee is taken from the natural setting to answer a set of questions. The questions in semi-structured interviews are elaborated and scripted before, but they are open ending to allow flexibility (Merriam, 1998). Despite being 'artificial', they are a useful instrument to discover what cannot be discovered only by observation (Merriam, 1998), as for example the interviewee's past events and beliefs. More than finding out what cannot be observed, Müller (2021) discusses the clarification trait of interviews, as a tool to elucidate ambiguous situations.

I audio recorded two semi-structured interviews with each family (both parents together). The Rizzos were interviewed on 06/12/2017 and 05/07/2018. The interview with Thiago's parents took place on 03/02/2018 and 16/10/2018 and 18/09/2018. I maintained informal conversation with the 3 main classroom teachers throughout the time in of field-observation, but each of them was also interviewed more formally, outside class time twice. The first round of interviews happened almost at the end of the 2017/2018 school year. The second round happened many months after when I was already starting to analyse the collected data. Ms. Majerus' interviews happened on 02/07/2018 and 04/03/2019. Ms. Faber's interviews happened on 28/06/2018 and 06/03/2019. I interviewed Ms. Keller on 04/07/2018 and 15/03/2019. For the parents, the interviews were conducted in Portuguese and I asked questions about their backgrounds, linguistic competences, their perceptions of multilingualism, the meaning they attributed to multilingualism, the relevance of developing

Portuguese with their children, their roles in helping their children learn languages, and opportunities they create for them to have contact with the languages (Appendix - Interview with parents). The interviews with the teachers were conducted in English, but they were told they could use other languages, if preferred. I asked about their linguistic background, their perceptions of the challenges of teaching children from many different backgrounds, their thoughts on the Luxembourgish educational systems, their views on the maintenance of the home languages, their roles in teaching children's languages, including their roles in the maintenance of the home languages, and also their cooperation with the MRE. In the second round of the interviews, I was more focused on the activities proposed as it was decided I would not investigate the adults' ideologies in-depth, and the interview questions were more solid. I conducted a member check, as discussed in section 5.3.2, asking them if I had understood the daily routine well, and the activities proposed for language learning, giving them a chance to correct and add information. They agreed with my observations, adding relevant activities that I had not observed.

I did not conduct interviews in the MR because there were several educators and I had the impression that many of them differed from one observation day to the other. As for the MRE professionals, I decided to ask them to complete a questionnaire, presented in the next section.

#### **5.6.4. Questionnaires**

Questionnaires are often used in quantitative research and applied to many people to be able to count the proportion of different answers, for example, in a census. Questionnaires can also be used to find out the respondents' opinions and predictions, and then analysed numerically (Rowley, 2014). I employed a questionnaire for non-quantifiable purposes. I was interested in having teachers and parents position themselves in relation to statements about language, which

would present their beliefs regarding languages learning, language teaching, the relevance of each named language, among others. I asked teachers and parents to rate, from 1 to 4, how much they agreed or disagreed with 20 statements. I ended up not using these questionnaires for my data analysis, as they ceased to be relevant to my research questions.

As for the educators in the MRE, I offered them an anonymized questionnaire which resembled a written structured interview with the intention of understanding their linguistic background and language use at the MRE, and of giving a voice to those being observed. This way, I could gain insights into the language policies of the MRE. The questions were written in English, French and German and the educators were asked to answer them in whichever languages they felt more comfortable (Appendix 3– Educator’s questionnaire). For Bianca and Luiza’s Maison Relais, I sent an email to the director on 04/07/2018, asking them and all the educators to answer the anonymized questionnaire attached. I also explained that I would pick the questionnaires back in the following week. As for Thiago’s MRE, I needed to go personally to the director’s office to hand the questionnaires. This happened on 06/07/2018. I picked up the answered questionnaires after the school year was over, on 24/07/2018. I have used these answers to describe the linguistic background of the educators (section 5.3.3). Their answers helped me confirm my observations, such as that educators used Luxembourgish as the vernacular language.

### **5.6.5. Photography**

Photography as a research method contributes to additional sources of data. Allen (2012) cites some of its benefits: it captures the material and depicts physical objects or details that could be overlooked. Furthermore, one may find it difficult to articulate a description of some objects

in the study. Allen (2012), for example, discusses how photos helped her portray sexual cultures in schools, as these were difficult to put into words.

Photography has helped me to answer the first research questions in particular. When examining how the physical spaces provided affordances for language learning, photos helped me describe, analyse, and present the language in the setting. I could often go back to photos, search for details that I might have missed, and try to review them from different perspectives. I photographed children's artwork hanging on the walls and corridors, as they helped me to understand what the teachers wanted to communicate to the parents. They informed me, too, of some activities that happened when I was absent. When children were given exercise sheets, I photographed them to have evidence of what I was describing, and to gather information for analysis. All the activities in class had values attached to them, i.e., they were there for a reason.

Beyond the register of physical settings, photos are used for documenting. Rogoff (1990), for instance, offered photos and illustrations of children being guided by adults into sociocultural activities, with the intent of adding to the discussion and providing evidence (p. viii). In a similar way, I took photos of children sharing the same focus of attention with their peers, and of them holding books open to an imaginary audience, simulating the teacher's behaviour. Evidence for research credibility is one of the key photograph benefits for Becker (2002, in Allen, 2012): "I can lead you to believe that the abstract talk I've told you has a real, flesh and blood life, and therefore is to be believed in a way that is hard to do when all you have is the argument and some scraps and can only wonder if there really is anyone like that out there". (Becker, 2002, p. 11)

While photographs can objectify and tell an incomplete story (Allen, 2012), in the present study they served as an additional data source, complementing my observations and descriptions.

### 5.6.6. Documents

I did not do a project on documentary data, but I referred to governmental or institutional publications, teaching materials or children's productions that could provide me with information. Guba and Lincoln (1981: 228 in Uddin Ahmed, 2010) define documentary data as "any written material other than a record that was not prepared specifically in response to some requests from the investigator". To understand the pedagogical concepts of the Maison Relais, for instance, I turned to their pedagogical concept publications, the general presentation of the institution, as well as the non-formal education framework published by the Ministry of Education. At school, I looked at the children's portfolios to see what was emphasised in them, as teachers often choose to display activities which are considered representative of the children's work.

When conducting fieldwork, I mainly saw these documents as supplements to my observations. However, during data analysis, I often needed to revisit them, especially the websites and publications of the municipalities, schools and the Maison Relais.

### 5.7. Data collection

Data was collected from October 2017 to October 2018. Visiting days were arranged with parents and teachers. After agreeing with my staying and observation, both MRE allowed me to visit them any days. I favoured the same days visiting the children's classrooms to observe the activities in the MRE. Table 2 summarizes the number of visits/days in each setting.

Table 2 - Summary of data collection occurrences. \* amounts of days/visit

		Bianca	Luiza	Thiago
Home	Participants' observation*	8		5
	Videography*	5		4
	Semi-structured interviews	2		2

	Questionnaire	1			1
School	Participants' observation*	8		8	8
	Videography*	6		6	6
	Semi-structured interviews	2		2	2
	Questionnaire	1		1	1
MRE	Participants' observation*	7			4
	Videography*	0			0
	Semi-structured interviews	0			0
	Questionnaire	1			1

Table 3 shows the dates of visits and length of time in the settings. I added the total amount of time in each day, even though two visits in the same day occurred, as for example, when children had classes in the morning and in the afternoon, or when I visited the family before school and after school on the same day.

Table 3 - the dates of visits and length of time in the settings.

Date	Family	Child	Setting	Length of staying in field	Videography (time of analysed material)
06/10/17	Rizzo	Bianca	Home	3h15 (195 minutes)	
		Luiza			
20/11/17	Rizzo	Bianca	School	2h45 (225 minutes)	
20/11/17	Rizzo	Bianca	MRE	3h35 (215 minutes)	
		Luiza			
06/12/18	Rizzo	Bianca	Home	3h35 (215 minutes)	
		Luiza			
07/12/17	Rizzo	Luiza	School	3h00 (180 minutes)	
16/01/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	3h10 (190 minutes)	
25/01/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	3h20 (200 minutes)	
03/02/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	1h45 (105 minutes)	
08/02/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	3h35 (215 minutes)	
12/03/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	2h55 (175 minutes)	18 min
16/03/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	3h10 (190 minutes)	28 min
19/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	2h15 (135 minutes)	14 min
19/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	MRE	45 min	
23/03/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	2h30 (150 minutes)	42 min
25/04/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	3h10 (190 minutes)	16 min
26/04/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	3h15 (195 minutes)	48 min
04/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	4h50 (290 minutes)	33 min
07/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	MRE	2h15 (135 minutes)	
16/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	5h35 (335 minutes)	18 min
16/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	MRE	2h10 (130 minutes)	
16/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	3h45 (225 minutes)	47 min

17/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	3h35 (215 minutes)	53 min
17/05/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	4h15 (255 minutes)	48 min
29/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	Home	6h15 (315 minutes)	102 min
		Luiza			
29/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	3h45 (225 minutes)	67 min
29/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	MRE	4h20 (260 minutes)	
		Luiza			
30/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	Home	4h05 (245 minutes)	78 min
		Luiza			
30/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	5h35 (335 minutes)	68 min
30/05/18	Rizzo	Bianca	MRE	3h45 (225 minutes)	
		Luiza			
06/06/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	5h45 (345 minutes)	107 min
06/06/18	Rizzo	Luiza	MRE	2h10 (130 minutes)	
		Bianca			
07/06/18	Rizzo	Luiza	Home	4h20 (260 minutes)	140 min
		Bianca			
07/06/18	Rizzo	Luiza	School	3h25 (205 minutes)	43 min
07/06/18	Rizzo	Luiza	MRE	5h20 (320 minutes)	
		Bianca			
12/06/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	3h55 (235 minutes)	89 min
12/06/18	Gastão	Thiago	Home	4h55 (295 minutes)	96 min
27/06/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	4h55 (295 minutes)	79 min
27/06/18	Rizzo	Bianca	MRE	2h45 (165 minutes)	
		Luiza			
28/06/18	Rizzo	Bianca	School	3h10 (190 minutes)	15 min
28/06/18	Rizzo	Bianca	Home	2h50 (170 minutes)	18 min
		Luiza			
02/07/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	5h50 (350 minutes)	133 min
02/07/18	Gastão	Thiago	MRE	2h10 (130 minutes)	
03/07/18	Gastão	Thiago	School	1h15 (75 minutes)	27 min
04/07/18	Rizzo	Luiza	school	4h30 (270 minutes)	52 min
04/07/18	Rizzo	Luiza	MRE	1h45 (105 minutes)	
		Bianca			
05/07/18	Rizzo	Luiza	school	2h20 (140 minutes)	8 min
05/07/18	Rizzo	Luiza	home	3h55 (235 minutes)	16 min
		Bianca			

TABLE 4 shows the total amount of time spent observing Bianca, Luiza and Thiago in the different settings. Furthermore, it shows the total time of video material analysed, made up by several clips during each visit.

Table 4 - total amount of time spent observing Bianca, Luiza and Thiago in the different settings

		Bianca	Luiza	Thiago
Home	Participants' observation	1635 minutes (27h15)		1030 minutes (17h10)
	Analysed video material	354 min (5h54)		233 min (3h53)
School	Participants' observation	1590 minutes (26h30)	1725 minutes (28h45)	1750 minutes (29h10)
	Analysed video material	280 min (4h40)	286 min (4h46)	350 min (5h50)
MRE	Participants' observation	1420 minutes (23h40)		440 minutes (7h20)

## 5.8. Data Analysis

In this section, I shall discuss my methods for data analysis, consistent with the ethnographic approach. This study takes an interpretivist approach to the phenomena. It understands that reality is co-constructed socially in loco.

Data analysis is the cognitive process of gathering all the collected information and sorting it into coherent categories. Because I wanted to analyse descriptive and textual data (coming from field observations and video transcriptions), I made use of qualitative and interpretive methods.

To address each RQ, I employed different methods, which are outlined in this section: Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019), Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (SDA) (Mercer, 2004), and Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) (Anderson, 2007; Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). I shall now describe each one of these three methods.

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) share similar features, such as their philosophical backgrounds, the attention to the socio-context, and data immersion to look for identifiable patterns. (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). They are, too,

both applicable in research design that favour descriptions, aiming attention to “the explicit description of the content” (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016: 101).

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA), nevertheless, is a method of data analysis that systematically identify, classify and analyse textual data, by identifying categories of similar meanings (Cho & Lee, 2014). In my study, for example, the categories analysed through the QCA method, were highly descriptive and came straightforward from the observation texts. They were identifiable before any deeper analysis. Such categories labeled the content of my field observations. Categories in QCA can, too, be quantified. In section 5.8.4, for example, I describe how after having concluded the categorization of the content of my observations, I could easily identify categories that occurred more often than others, as for example, quantifying that I had observed Teacher A reading a storybook for their students only once.

Differently, the themes in the TCA are latent (Vaismoradi et al. 2016) and represent repeating topics (ibid). Themes are often recurring across participants, settings or case studies, and may be identifiable after a deeper analysis, revealing more subjective meaning (ibid). These authors assert that the way in which analysts find theme can be challenging to be explained, because it involves a certain degree of intuition, suggesting, however, the analyst to show their development of categories from more concrete/descriptive to more abstract. In section 5.8.6, I describe how I applied TCA to answer my fourth research questions.

As for Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (SCDA), it is a paradigm of enquiry employed to understand how language is used as a tool for people “to think together” (Johnson & Mercer, 2019: 267). i.e. language as a medium for “joint intellectual activity” (ibid: 268). Mercer (2004) explains that SCDA is a methodology because it combines theory, with a specific type of research question and with methods for data collection and analysis. The theoretical perspective is sociocultural. As discussed previously, children learn languages through interactions with

more knowledgeable others, who employ specific strategies for helping children learn (Snow, 1972; Rogoff, 1990). The literature review chapter cites studies that looked at these adults' scaffolding behaviours when interacting with children. Mercer (2010) argues that SCDA is employed to answer research questions as, for example, "how does dialogue promote learning and the development of understanding?" and "what types of talk are associated with the best learning outcomes?" (Mercer, 2010: 2). Excerpts of dialogues are transcribed, and scaffolding strategies are identified, as for example moments in which one person attempts to have and guide one's attention, by using specific conversational strategies. Section 5.8.5. describes how I made use of this data analysis methodology to answer my third RQ.

All these approaches to collecting and analysing data do not impose codes and categories; instead, they "emerge" from the data itself and are later assembled into patterns to be interpreted (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010). The authors discuss that no computer software can generate codes and categories for the researcher. They can assist but cannot create them. I did my analysis manually using Microsoft Word and Excel only. In interpretive research, the 'raw data must first pass through the researcher's brain' (p. 159). This process will be further described in the next sections.

Interviews were not analysed. I did not employ codes to them because the parents' and teachers' answers did not help me answer the RQ, which are rather descriptive. They served me, nevertheless, to confirm and/or emphasize a piece of analysis. Questionnaires applied to teachers and parents were not used, as their aim was an attempt to grasp their language ideologies. The answers in the questionnaires for educators were analysed quantitatively as a census. I have used the educators' answers to describe their linguistic background (section 5.3.3), and to confirm my observations, such as that educators used Luxembourgish as the vernacular language.

### **5.8.1. First steps into the analysis**

In this section, I describe the process in which I started looking at data. I will describe the data analysis methods in sections 5.8.3, 5.8.4, 5.8.5, and 5.8.6., when I address each research question.

In my fieldnotes, I registered the sequence of activities happening in the different settings and the description of the material elements, such as sitting arrangements, worksheets, prompts, and decorations. Later, on the same day, I organised these notes into Word documents, from scribbles and doodles into text. I kept these documents organised chronologically, by fieldwork day, sometimes including two or three settings in the same day/document. Thus, one document summarised each fieldwork day. In these documents, I created two columns: a larger and more descriptive column on the left, where I included facts, and a narrower column on the right, where I mixed my reflections with content words that summarised the observed event. These words were not codes or categories, and they were written in a rather unsystematic manner. In those early stages, I did not see my categorizations as codes. My index words served as a categorisation or summary for future references. If I wanted to look at translanguaging moments, for instance, I could look for these index words that would inform me that on a certain day and time there was an event where translanguaging was observed. I could then watch the video file or reread the original notes to understand the event. I made notes of several things that I did not use in this present study for answering my specific research questions, even in the last days of data collection, as for example, children discussing about languages.

At the end of the fieldwork stage, I had several Word documents with chronological descriptions of participant observation days, but it was still not clear to me what exactly to analyse. I then recalled my greatest underlying curiosity, which was twofold: what exactly in the new country makes children learn languages? How different is teaching when there is more

than one language at play? When reviewing ecological approaches to language learning and how they emphasise the environment, I turned my attention to the settings' affordances. In each setting, adults provided elements conducive to language learning. I then went back to my field notes, videos, and photos to reread them with this language-conducive elements perspective in mind.

As already discussed in the process of defining my research questions, I could distinguish three different levels of adults' support in promoting language learning. They provided materials, they prepared specific activities, and they employed strategies to interact with the children and model language use. These three strategies are my first three research questions. Each question will be discussed separately, as for each of them, different methods of analysis were used.

### **5.8.2. Transcription and Translation**

Transcriptions and translations are also influenced by the person conducting them. In this section, I shall discuss my process for transcribing and translating the audiovisual materials.

When transcribing spoken conversation events, there are always decisions to be made. Firstly, the researcher needs to decide whether all the audio and audiovisual material will be transcribed (Granström, 2019), and if not, what the criteria for transcriptions is. Interviews were captured by a voice recorder only, and all of them were transcribed. I attempted to transcribe all the audiovisual material; however, audiovisual transcriptions are more time-consuming in that they demand the inclusion of paralinguistic features, which is impossible for a single independent researcher to fulfil. I decided to watch all the videos, make notes of activities and events happening in each of them, and select some moments to be transcribed: moments where the main adults in each setting interacted with the focus children or moments where I could identify some first supporting language-promotion strategies. Secondly, the researcher needs to decide

how many details of the audio and audiovisual material should be transcribed (ibid). While acknowledging that transcriptions always distort oral statements, as they are translations from oral language to written language, my aim was to produce a readable transcript that represented the source as accurately as possible. When transcribing audio files from the interviews, I did not use any special conventions. I included the following elements: spoken language, pauses, hesitations, stutters, giggles, and punctuation to distinguish questions from statements. The audiovisual material, on the other hand, demanded not only these elements, but also the detailed description of paralinguistic features, as they were essential for the purpose of my analysis. I made tables including not only the utterances – which were often from different participants and therefore overlapping – but also a description of what adults and children were doing or gesticulating during the interactions. These descriptions may inform as to what the actors were doing, but they can nevertheless overlook facial expressions that are often difficult to paint in words. Examples can be seen in sections 6.4 and 7.4.

Each transcription was made in the recorded language, using standard orthographic rules (not phonetically and without distinguishing accents). I was able to transcribe the Portuguese and English language interviews myself, as well as much of the Luxembourgish classrooms moments, though the latter was not as straightforward as the former. Sometimes I understood what was being said but did not know how to write it. For these moments, I consulted the website [lod.lu](http://lod.lu). During other moments, the spoken language was clear, but I did not understand what was said due to my lacking competence in the language. For these moments, I needed assistance. I started by asking my son, who was around 15 years old at the time, a non-native speaker of Luxembourgish, who had been in Luxembourgish mainstream school for around five years. It was initially experimental, and if he had not been able to help, I would have looked for a professional service. Nevertheless, he filled my transcription gaps instantly and without hesitation. His propositions, pronounced clearly, made sense. From then on, I used his

assistance every time I did not understand a speech instead of looking for a native speaker. Nonetheless, during some other moments, the speech was indeed inaudible because there were many children speaking at the same time, or because the utterances were muffled. The transcriptions were anonymised.

The translation process needs to be discussed, as the original data was collected in Portuguese, Luxembourgish, and English (with a few moments in French and other languages) and are now presented in English, as well as the original languages. The consequences for research validity have been discussed (Temple, 1997; Squires 2009; Temple and Young, 2004; Van Nes et al. 2010). Temple and Young (2004) remark that when the researcher is the instrument for collecting and analysing data themselves, the elimination of bias must be their main concern, and that translation processes can threaten the study's credibility. Within a qualitative reflexive research paradigm, the authors continue, validity is achieved through “‘correct’ interpretations, register, ethics, matching of social characteristics and neutral stances” (p. 163), which can only be achieved if the translation process is discussed, by addressing the languages used during data collection, the stage during which interviews were transcribed and translated, and whether a professional translator was employed.

Most threats to validity during the translation stage are, nevertheless, discussed when a translator is needed (Temple, 1997; Squires 2009; Van Nes et al. 2010), which was not the case in this study. I did not employ a translator because I understood what the actors said and what the transcribed data meant. As data was transcribed and analysed in the original language, I understand that my research does not pose validity issues regarding its translation process. Data analysis was not conducted after translation – for example, by using the translated text as data source. Data was translated into English because the language of the present thesis is English, thus the translation is only provided for readers who cannot understand the original text. Both

the original text and my translations are presented next to one another so that the translation can be checked, if need be.

Having said this, the translations presented remain proposals, and other suggestions are of course possible. Van Nes et al. (2010) recall that translation from the original language involves interpretation by the researcher, who subjectively proposes translations for the readers. My proposals were influenced by how I understood the original utterance and how I would say it in English. Some excerpts were more challenging – for example, when a parent corrected the subject-verb agreement in the simple past tense in Portuguese. In English there is just one conjugation of the verb in the past tense, thus a literal translation would not show the subject-verb mismatch. In such cases, I needed to explain what was happening in the interaction, because translation alone would not suffice.

### **5.8.3. Answering my first research question**

*What are the material affordances of the physical spaces that can help these three children develop Luxembourgish and/or multilingual repertoires?*

Answering this first RQ was essentially descriptive. I had videos, photos and notes about the homes, classrooms, and day-care institutions. I rewrote my notes and attempted to put what each photo was telling me into words. The photos and videos helped me go back to those places and portray them as realistically as possible, noting down material elements and the approximate size of each room. That is when I realised, I should have photographed more of the environment. For example, I regret not having taken specific photos of the books available, as it would have helped my descriptions.

By looking at photos, watching the videos, and revisiting my fieldnotes, I listed the language-inducive material elements observed in all settings. They were: (1) reading corner with books, (2) availability of books in different languages, (3) language-related prompts (as stencil ruler, alphabet puzzles, blackboard, etc.), (4) posters with writings /signs, (5) technological devices available for children, (6) labels naming people, objects, or spaces, (7) other print materials, such as documents, letters, magazines, folders, and advertising. This helped me to answer my first research question. These findings will be discussed in the following chapters.

#### **5.8.4. Answering my second research question**

*What are the activities that their parents, teachers and educators propose to support the development of their language and literacy skills in Luxembourgish and other languages?*

To answer this second research questions, I qualitative content analysis (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019). Different from quantitative content analysis, QCA allows reflexivity during coding, as new categories can emerge during the analysis. From my field observations files, I started extracting and categorizing events happening around language and literacy. For activity I meant moments that associated action and language.

I chose one child to begin with, Bianca. While my data had been presented chronologically thus far, I needed to sort the data by category for this section. I created an Excel folder for each setting from where data was collected: home, teacher A (classroom teacher), teacher B (Luxembourgish teacher), and MRE. Each folder was organized into three columns: language-related activity, data of observation, and a short summary of the event. Next, I reread the fieldnotes and watched the videos attentively, chronologically, taking one fieldwork day at a time. I then sorted the activities, grouping them by the category/code describing the action,

such as doing rhymes, listening or singing songs, storytelling, i.e., I analysed the content of my observations by classifying them into categories. These categories had not been previously chosen; I was informed of them by the data itself throughout the reconstruction of the visit through data. After sorting out field notes and videos into categories, I ended up with documents like the one below (FIGURE 15).

By looking at the activities organised by category, such as “Literacies Activities – storytelling” (FIGURE 15), I could see patterns that I had not identified before. For example, I had observed Teacher A’s storytelling only once.

Moreover, I identified several child-initiated activities. For example, a child leafing through books could be left out, had I understood that this was not an activity proposed by adults. However, it was kept in the tables because it happened due to an adult intention. Adults either asked children to read while waiting for others, took the children to the school’s library, chose books for them, or left books around the room so that the children could look at them when they wanted. This made me realise that the list of language-related events would need to be again split into adult-led and children-led events. Furthermore, I included events where adults were acting outside planned activities, but in which children were observing, as for example, using different named languages.



Home A Activities	Teacher AB Lux Activities	MRE A Activities
	Teacher B Activities	
Home B Activities	Teacher C Activities	MRE B Activities
Teacher A Activities	Teacher D Lux Activities	

Every time a new category of language-related activity was encountered, such as ‘asking children to clap to count the syllables’, I added this category to the tables of all the other settings. This way, I would have nine similar tables, if looking at their list of activities, allowing me to see not only what had been observed in each setting, but also what had not. If I had encountered a grammar/syntax activity in the Luxembourgish pull-out class, for example, I added grammar/syntax activity in the other tables representing other setting. This informed me that in a specific setting, I had not observed activities related to grammar or syntax.

The final list of language-related events observed presented 24 categories. Once again, these categories mixed events proposed by adults, events in which adults were doing things without including children, who were observing, and child-initiated events. Table 5 below illustrates how I sorted the different events observed. The full tables are presented in sections 6.3 and 7.3.

*Table 5 - Language-related events proposed by adults.*

<b>(a) adult-led language &amp; literacy activities</b>	<b>(b) adult’s (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities</b>	<b>(c) child- initiated activities. children interacting with available resources</b>
(1) practicing phonemic awareness	(14) interacting with books or other written material	(20) reading/ leafing/ interacting with books
(2) exercising writing/ tracing letters	(15) regulating language use – insisting on particular languages	(21) interacting with letters or words prompts/ toys
(3) reading/ identifying letters or words	(16) regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	(22) listening to music or singing
(4) exercising grammar/syntax	(17) using other languages besides the target one	(23) writing

(5) vocabulary teaching	(18) giving attention to material brought from home or school	(24) watching tv / videos streaming
(6) reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	(19) writing	
(7) asking children to retell a story		
(8) writing down what children say		
(9) discussing a specific theme		
(10) listening to music or singing		
(11) asking children to describe an image		
(12) doing rhymes		
(13) playing games with children		

Without going too in-depth, just by looking at the nine tables, some trends were promptly revealed. One trend was the disparity in the frequency of language-related activities across settings, as they were extensive in some tables while mostly empty in others. Looking at the table by setting allowed me to identify which settings provided more language-inducive elements and used different languages. The fact that I had separated adult-initiated events from children-initiated events helped me see with more clarity that I had not observed any child-initiated activity in Luxembourgish classes, whereas in the Maison Relais, most activities were children-initiated.

### **5.8.5. Answering my third research question**

*What are the language strategies employed by the adults on such occasions?*

The third RQ analysed adult-child interactions. To analyse the language-supporting strategies happening during interactions, I made use of Sociocultural Discourse Analysis (Mercer, 2004), as defined in section 5.8. According to Mercer (2010), there are two main methodological traditions in the study of classroom talk: linguistic ethnography and sociocultural research. Even though I did not only analyse talk in the classroom, but also at home, the sociocultural paradigm of enquiry helped me answer this 3<sup>rd</sup> RQ.

Because I was guided by literature, the data has been analysed inductively, as well as deductively, looking for strategies stated in literature, and by inferring the categories from my data. EXCERPT 1 shows several strategies employed by Ms. Keller to assist Luiza in situating herself in the calendar and proposed activity for that day of the week.

Context: It is March 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2018, at about 10.00 in the morning during circle time. As soon as the sequence of routine song ends, Ms. Keller addresses herself to Luiza.					
Record ing time	Actor	Original transcription	English Translation	Strategy	Description
08:27 (1)	teacher	Luiza, wëss de wat haut ass?	Luiza, do you know what (day) is today?	Asking question	
08:28 (2)	Luiza				The teacher waits four seconds
08:32 (3)	teacher	De fënneften Dag	The fifth day...	Gesturing, giving prompts, waiting	She opens her right hand and shows the five fingers. She waits other 4 seconds for Luiza to answer.
08:36 (4)	A child	Ech wëss !	I know		Other children are raising their hands. The teacher is still holding the five fingers open.
08:37 (5)	teacher	Nee. Mer ginn hir méi Zäit, elo hunn ech Luiza gefrot. Luiza, ech wëss dat du wësst ....	No. We are giving her more time, now I have asked Luiza. Luiza, I know	Giving time and space, assuring the child, giving confidence	The teacher is still holding the five fingers open. She waits other 4 seconds.

			that you know.		
08:39 (6)	Luiza				

*Excerpt 1 - strategies employed by Ms. Keller to assist Luiza during circle time*

Based on sociocultural theory and literature on language promoting strategies, described in Sections 3.2 and 3.3, I identified the language supporting strategies occurring during interactions. Later, I used them as categories to come up with an account of the most observed strategies happening in each setting. Like what was described in section 5.9.2., I created “strategies” folders in Excel. For each child I had four tables, one for each setting, totalling 9 different tables.

According to the literature, the two most comprehensive categories were identified: 1 – adults stimulate conversation with children; and 2 – they model and correct language for them. Each of them had specific language promoting strategies. The final list of strategies presented 11 categories: (1) initiating conversation; (2) encouraging verbal expression/ conversation; (3) insisting on information; (4) asking questions; (5) praising; (6) corrective feedback; (7) repeating after the child; (8) gesturing for aiding comprehension; (9) expanding children’s vocabulary; (10) articulating clearly; and (11) using visuals to deliver meaning.

Table 6 shows part of a table in which I listed my observations of Ms. Keller’s language promoting strategies.

*Table 6 - Ms. Keller’s language promoting strategies*

Ms. Keller’s language promoting strategies		Date	Short description/ excerpts
Interacting stimulation	Asking questions	16/03/2018	Ms. Keller makes closed questions about the book. Si könnte de grouse Léiw hëllefen, oder ? Wat huet hie gemaach ? Wat hues de Maus gemaach, Luiza? De wëss, wat huet hie gemaach?
		26/04/2018	closed questions about the book Reginald Tyrannosaurus

		06/06/2018	There are many examples of asking open questions in the transcription of the afternoon circle time moment
	Praising	25/01/2018	When it is over I hear the teacher saying "Ganz gutt! Super!".
		25/01/2018	The teacher answers but also praises the question and returns the question to the other children to answer.
		26/04/2018	"Gutt, Eva!" (during circle time) "bravo"
		26/04/2018	"Jeudi" "Bravo, jeudi"
Language modelling, and correction	Corrective feedback		
	Repeating after the child	26/04/2018	Jo... Mä hatt kann net Blo soen! Teacher: kann net Blo soen?
		26/04/2018	"Jeudi" "Bravo, jeudi"
		06/06/2018	Kuss. Kuss.
		06/06/2018	Am Bauch ? Am Bauch ? An wem säi Bauch ?
	Gesturing for aiding comprehension	06/06/2018	While reading/telling the book, she gestures 1 to 10 with her fingers as in the story there are 10 "Nees"
		06/06/2018	While reading/telling the book, she makes angry faces, surprise face, etc.
		06/06/2018	She gestures/mirrors the lyrics of the Mother's Day song. Many occurrences. She uses her hands to mimic "babbeleg" and then she puts her hands over her ears to explain "daf".
		06/06/2018	When she says "vir" and d'Krees, she gestures pointing at the place they are sitting as drawing a circle in the air.
		07/06/2018	While telling the story Das Monster alles Monster

Choosing which interactions were most representative and which should be presented in the findings and analysis chapters was challenging, because there were many moments, and yet none compressed several strategies or were the perfect epitome of how the adult talked to the child.

### 5.8.6. Answering the fourth Research Question

*What are the continuities and discontinuities among the spaces?*

The fourth and final research question refers to the main findings of each case study. First, I merely compared settings, by contrasting different tables of observed elements in each setting. Second, I employed a Thematic Analysis (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019; Anderson, 2007) to find the main themes and discuss them in Chapter 8.

After having described and presented the different levels of language support that each setting supplied for the children, I needed to look at them from the point of view of the child who travelled across the four spaces. Each table informed me of (1) the physical elements containing written language in each setting; (2) the activities proposed for language development in them; and (3) the strategies used by the adults. Each table was compared so that I could reflect over the perspective of the child moving across them. Each child participated in four main learning spaces: home, classroom, the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons' classroom, and the Maison Relais. I wanted to look at physical elements, language activities and language strategies across them, so that I could have a comparative overview when attempting to interpret what each setting communicated for the child. Therefore, I created new tables. Table 7 is an example, and the full tables will be discussed in the following chapters.

*Table 7 - Bianca's contexts and the presence of language-related elements in them.*

<b>Written language in the Physical Environment</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Faber's Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's classroom</b>	<b>MRE</b>
Reading corner with books		x		x
Availability of books in different languages	x (P, F, D, L)	x (F, D, L)		x (F, D, L)
Language-related prompts (as stencil ruler, alphabet puzzles, etc.)		x		

Up to this point, the analysis was rather descriptive, sorting the content of observed language-related events into categories. Chapters 6 and 7 will present findings on these three levels of observations in a very detailed manner.

I then analysed these same findings from a different perspective, i.e. looking for themes that emerged from the descriptive findings at the different levels of observation. According to Vaismoradi & Snelgrove (2019), themes appear in a later phase, when the researcher wishes to extract the data's essence. I did this analysis after writing chapters 6 and 7. In fact, I used these two chapters as the data source for a thematic analysis. I began to summarize each few lines with a word or phrase, as for example, "ritual", "mother", "literacy", "play" or "literacy with play". Data came exclusively from language-related events. I did not use interviews to bring out themes because this 4<sup>th</sup> RQ is related to my observations and descriptions, and not the participants' meanings and beliefs. And because my unit of analysis was language-related materials and events, the themes were obviously related accordingly. I observed that the themes were related to three main things. The first is a more comprehensive category that describes why/ how language was present in them. For example, the event had been initiated for a reason, either because it was a formal adult-centred moment, such as circle time, or because the child was stimulated by another person, as a peer/mother, or by a material affordance, such as a book or a play kitchen. The themes that emerged were structure, play, and literacy. By looking at the reason behind the language events or affordances, I could observe some differences between the two case studies, as for example, that most literacy events with Bianca and Luiza were also moments of play (play teacher), and that play was a dominant theme in their case studies. Second, another emerging theme was named languages, in the sense that some events were put on record because a non-dominant language was heard in setting, as for example "There is a boy next to Luiza speaking French". Furthermore, when looking at the column of languages

present in each table describing the activities in the different settings, I observed the existence of other languages besides the main one. Third, and because of the third RQ, one theme that emerged was that of formality in interactions. In chapter 8, I present my interpretation on how children navigated the different settings.

## **5.9. Ethical Considerations**

In qualitative research, there are two main dimensions of ethics: 1 – “procedural ethics” and 2 - “ethics in practice” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004: 263). The first concerns ethics approval necessary to do research with human beings. The second refers to ethical behaviour during the practice of conducting research with humans. I will start describing my procedural ethics conduct and conclude with the practical issues of ethical conduct.

Before starting fieldwork and data collection, researchers must address ethical considerations and accord with ethical regulations. They are asked to complete application and wait for its approval by an ethics committee (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). This is essential because individuals must not be exposed to risks, nor must their privacy and interests be harmed by scientific endeavours. The research benefits must outweigh the risks for the individuals involved. All researchers conducting their study at the University of Luxembourg must guarantee that their study comply with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the university’s guidelines. If their research involves human participants and personal data, as mine does, it needs an ethics approval before research activity can begin. Thus, this study’s project underwent the analysis and approval of the University of Luxembourg Ethics Review Panel (ERP) responsible for evaluating its ethical conditions.

For this approval (ERP 17-019), I had to specify the reason for my involving human participants and a vulnerable group of participants (children) in my research. I had to commit

to a specific length of time during which I could conduct research with the individuals. I also had to specify places, and methods for data collection. I was asked to assess possible health and safety risks for the individuals in my study, addressing the ways I could minimise them. There, I committed to discontinuing the research with a given child if my presence or the presence of the camera was in any way distressing with the child.

Informative letters with consent forms were produced, in which participants were informed about:

- 1- the objective of the study;
- 2- the research procedures (frequency of visits and methods for collecting data used);
- 3- the way the data would be treated, i.e. that their names, names of the schools and day-care institutions would be anonymised and the faces of the participants would not be displayed in any publication;
- 4- the confidentiality of the material collected, as I would not allow any external people access to my raw data;
- 5- the voluntary basis of their participation;
- 6- their right to withdraw at any time;
- 7- their right to ask for the deletion of their data;
- 8- my contact and the contact of my supervisor in case of any doubts.

The process of seeking approval from an ethics committee and filling ethical application forms serves as “an ethics checklist” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004: 268). It helps design the study in an ethic manner, but it does not cover all ethical situations that may occur during data collection, and further analysis. Certain situations demand the researcher’s reflexivity on how to act. During data collection, I respected the actors’ autonomy. Many individuals and entities

were asked for permission for the research to go forward, from the Ministry of Education to regional educational inspectors, school directors, teachers, parents of the focus children, parents of all children in their classes, and the Maison Relais' directors. Not all the parents of the children in the classrooms consented, and as described earlier, I respected their wishes by not filming or photographing their children. The Maison Relais' directors did not sign the consent form but allowed my visits as long as I did not film or photograph the children or professionals. I respected their wishes rigidly, and only started fieldwork after receiving their approval.

During data collection, I maintained a perspective of a person disturbing the normal stream of activity, and I tried not to disturb or disrupt any activities. I collected data when I had their consent and did not compel participants. This is discussed in section 5.3.2, for example, when I stated that I did not feel openness from the MRE's educators, when asking them some questions, thus I did not force formal interviews with them.

I also kept the participants well-being and integrity in mind during all the phases. I asked for the best time to visit them and respected their wish. Before starting to film, I asked if I could. Furthermore, I did not film the settings in the first encounters, and filmed shorter stretches of time in the first visits. I was also attentively observing any signs of distress in the participants, especially children. I did not encounter issues in the schools or MREs. And I did not encounter serious issues at the families' homes. Moments that could demand ethical decisions were, for example, when parents talked about third people or when they revealed more intimate details. I decided not to transcribe and deleted these stretches of conversation, because the information in them did not help me to answer my research questions. I made sure of portraying participants in their roles for helping me answer my research questions, and all extra information that could

slightly harm their right of integrity have been removed. I did not include aspects of the MRE pedagogy or specific information related to schools which could have led to their identification.

Ethics in research, however, is not only important for the participants' integrity, but also for the integrity of the study. I respected the principles of integrity by being honest about how I conducted my research. In this chapter, I addressed several issues that may have threatened its integrity and quality. I also acknowledge having read and respected all the principles stated in the University of Luxembourg Policy on Ethics in Research document.

### **5.10. Conclusions**

I started this chapter addressing the research paradigm that informed my methodology, by stating that I took an interpretivist perspective that understands that 'reality' I wanted to investigate belonged to a certain group of people and that I could understand their 'reality' by participating in these people daily activities, gathering evidence, and asking questions to understand their perspective. This could only be accomplished through a qualitative methodology, i.e. one that looks at the essence of a phenomenon, through longitudinal fieldwork. I also explained that my study is not understood as an ethnography, but a qualitative study that employed an ethnographic approach to data collection. I then addressed the principles of qualitative research, discussing that I collected data by considering the children's perspective as central, i.e. describing what was happening around them in the different settings. The 'emic perspective' of the children is part of my findings discussed in the next chapters. Next, I acknowledged my role as a researcher, because I was the primary instrument of data collection. I reflected on how I could interfere with the study's results, admitting that data was collected through my comprehension of what counted as relevant and important. I discussed how, in fieldwork, there is always a blind spot when observing the participants, because the

researcher can only look at one thing at time, and this choice is human and thus subjective. I reflected on my biases and how they could influence the results, and my positionality as an outsider and insider across settings, and its consequences for the research. I then moved on to discuss the study's credibility, by addressing the principles of reliability and validity, external and internal, and how I resolved possible threats. The next part discussed the process for arriving at the final research questions, in line with the flexible inductive features of qualitative research. When approaching the research design, I described the process of finding participants to my study, followed by their introduction. I also described the employed methods for data collecting observations, audio-visual recordings, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, photography and documents. The data analysis was discussed in the following section, where I detailed the process for arriving at the final categories and I did so in addressing each research questions and how they were answered by data that came out of field observations and audio-visual material. The ways the audio-material was transcribed and translated were also presented.

## **Chapter 6 – Language affordances in Thiago's learning spaces**

### **6.1. Introduction**

In the present chapter, I shall present and discuss data so as to answer the following research questions: what are the material affordances of the physical spaces that could help Thiago develop Luxembourgish and/or multilingual repertoires? What are the activities that the parents, teachers and educators offered to support the development of Thiago's language and literacy skills in Luxembourgish and other languages? What are the language supportive strategies employed by the adults on such occasions? What are the continuities and

discontinuities across the spaces? The first three questions are answered separately in sub-sections 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4. The fourth question on the continuities across the settings is discussed within these three sub-sections and further analysed in Chapter 8. Here, I discuss how the adults organising the different spaces in which Thiago participated helped him to learn Luxembourgish and develop literacy.

As discussed in the theoretical framework and literature review, children develop language skills in several named languages through the right amount of rich and varied “input” (Dale et al., 2015; Rowe, 2012). Furthermore, they are given ample opportunities to produce “output”, i.e., to express themselves with a range of interlocutors (Swain, 2000). In such interactions, the more knowledgeable person will need to scaffold the interactions with conversational strategies, thereby stimulating interactions and modelling language use (Hoff, 2006; Kirsch, 2021; Rowe, 2012).

As the framework of my analysis is based on ecological and sociocultural perspectives, I turn my investigation to the physical settings and their available resources as they influence learning (Palfreyman, 2006). Such resources, or affordances, can be physical, metaphysical or social (Van Lier, 2001; Van Lier, 2004). They can all be sources for support, such as offering feedback or models for learners. Thus, investigating how a new language is taught and/or learned means analysing the affordances in the environments, which happen in different layers. In line with the research questions, I will also examine the typical activities and strategies used by the parents, teachers, and educators.

Thiago’s four language learning spaces - home, preschool classroom, pull-out Luxembourgish class, and Maison Relais - have different purposes and objectives. School, where attendance is mandatory, is the place for formal education, dependent on curriculum-based learning goals and assessments (Bronkhorst & Akkerman, 2016). At the school, I observed two distinct

settings: the classroom and the pull-out Luxembourgish class. Each had its own purposes and practices, as the data below will show. The day care centre, the Maison Relais (MRE henceforth), is a space for non-formal education (Hartmann et al., 2018). As explained in Chapter 4, this sector is guided, among other matters, by the principles of learning through exploration and social participation (ibid). Attendance is voluntary. Multilingual education is common to the formal and non-formal education sectors. Education that takes place within families does not follow a framework. It falls under the category of non-formal education and is subject to the notions of parenthood/parenting as well as parents' available resources and values.

Language learning happens in and across all these contexts (Barron, 2006). As will be shown, we can observe moments of formal and informal learning in all of them. Language permeates all settings, varying according to the degree of structure and authenticity. The development of the children's linguistic repertoires can also vary depending on the different opportunities afforded to them to participate in distinct language practices. The ways in which the children make sense of these opportunities likewise has an effect.

To understand what each setting communicates to and expects from the children, as well as what the adults do to promote language learning, I will begin by describing the physical environment in the four settings (RQ1), followed by a description of the typical language-focused activities I observed (RQ2). Next, I will show transcripts of interactions and examine typical strategies deployed by the adults (RQ3). I conclude the chapter with a summary of the data presented. The present chapter focuses on Thiago. The next will examine Bianca and Luiza.

## **6.2. Physical Environment**

Thiago transited from one physical space to another on weekdays: his home and the school building. Inside the school building, Thiago participated in three distinct settings: his preschool classroom, organised by Ms. Majerus; the pull-out Luxembourgish classes, led by Ms. Wagner, three times a week; and the MRE, which made use of the school building but was run by a non-profit organisation. These four settings make up Thiago's language learning environment, subject to my analysis. In this section, I describe the physical settings with the help of photos and look for tangible affordances which could stimulate language learning.

### **6.2.1. At home**

The Gastãos lived in a two-story ground-floor apartment in the central region of Luxembourg. The ground floor had an open kitchen, a living-room/TV room, a pantry, a closet, a guest bath/powder room, and a garden. Upstairs were two bedrooms and a bathroom.

When entering their apartment, I could see almost the entire ground floor. To the left, next to the door, there was a lavatory/restroom. A couple of steps forward, to my left, there was a big dining table in front of the kitchen cupboards and oven. In this small kitchen space, there were some shelves with handcrafts and books against the wall leading to the garden. Opposite this wall was a small door that led to the pantry. To the right was the living room/TV room. It had shelves with books, children's school activities, CDs and DVDs, games, and a painting, among others. FIGURE 16 below shows the living room with educational and artistic elements.



Figure 16 - Thiago's Living Room

Opposite to the entrance were glass doors leading to the garden. I could oversee a barbecue grill, another table, and some toys.

On the upper floor, there were two bedrooms and a bathroom. I visited Thiago's bedroom only, which he shared with his younger brother Diogo. There were two beds, positioned to form an L-shape in the first right corner of the bedroom when entering the room. There were also shelves with games, books, and toys, occupying the wall to the left. Across from the bedroom door, there was a window that led to a balcony with a view to the garden. I noticed that Thiago had more than 50 books written in English, Portuguese, German, and French. FIGURES 17 and 18 below show the play area in the bedroom and the availability of books, a little sofa next to the books, games and other toys.



*Figure 17 - Thiago's bedroom*



Figure 18 - Availability of books in Thiago's bedroom

### 6.2.2. School

Thiago's classroom was accessed by passing through the ground floor towards the stairs, climbing the stairs to the first floor, and turning left. There, at the corridor, there was a glass door with an interphone for parents to identify themselves before being buzzed in. This specific area comprised three *Spillschoul* classrooms. The corridor was used to display artwork, posters, and signs. There were also spaces for children to hang up their apparel, as well as a restroom and a kitchen. The Luxembourgish lessons happened in a part of this kitchen, as will be discussed below.

### 6.2.3. Ms. Majerus' classroom

Ms. Majerus' classroom was the second to the left. It was vibrant in colour and most of the walls were covered with prompts, images, or shelves. There was little space between the desks and the shelves. The door displayed the photo and name of each child in the class. The wall to the right of the door was taken up completely by coloured shelves. Folders, games, puzzles, and art material were visible. There were also closed cabinets and drawers, where the children kept their pencil cases, aprons, and other material. The content of most drawers or cabinets was identified by written or illustrated labels. This was the first indication that literacy, here letters and words, mattered to the teacher.



*Figure 19 - Ms. Majerus' classroom 1*

Across from the entrance door was a yellow wall with two windows overlooking some fields. On the windowpanes were plants and other prompts. Next to this wall, below the first window, was a small craft desk, where children could paint. Following along this wall and moving to

the centre of the room, there was a set of drawers with labels identifying their contents: scissors, glue, etc., as FIGURE 20 shows. The children's desks were also labelled, identifying the children's seats.



*Figure 20 - Drawers with written labels*

Still at the wall opposite the entrance door was the teacher's desk, with plastic containers for the children's notebooks (Bichelchen) and other activities.

The wall to the left of the entrance door was painted blue and this was where the teacher-centred moments happened, such as circle time, theme discussion, and storytelling. Many of the teacher's prompts could be seen, such as flashcards and wooden figures. These were used to represent who was in class on a particular day, the weather, numbers, and the sliding black board. FIGURE 21 shows more evidence of elements that could afford literacy development.



Figure 21 - Blackboard and circle time area



Figure 22 - Blackboard

To the left of the blackboard was the playing corner, or a place for dramatic play affordances. That space served as a safe haven where children played among themselves, roleplayed or talked freely, usually lying or sitting on the floor. This space had a play kitchen, a shelf with toys, a string with stuffed animals hanging from it, and a patchwork panel for displaying the days of the week.

The fourth wall was where boxes of books were kept. There was also a sink and some artwork. Thiago's desk was right next to this wall and very close to the book boxes. Books were kept in four wooden boxes. There were approximately 70 books, mostly written in German, though also in French and Luxembourgish. These boxes were not in a calm reading space. Children would pick their books and then go to the circle time space, where they sat on the benches and interacted with the books. Even though it was not library-like, I still count it as a setting with a reading corner because the children had a specific place to gather books and read them (FIGURE 23).



*Figure 23 - Availability of books in Ms. Majerus' classroom*

#### 6.2.4. Ms. Wagner's classroom

The pull-out Luxembourgish lessons happened in the kitchen on the same floor, right across from Ms. Majerus' classroom. Ms. Wagner would call three or four children to participate in 20-minute sessions. They all sat around a table where they engaged in activities with games and flashcards. Ms. Wagner kept a range of materials for her different activities in a cupboard behind the table. Some walls were bare and the room appeared cold compared to the classroom, as FIGURES 24 and 25 show. A few posters about the human body hung on the door. Thus, the room itself was not prepared as a classroom, nor did it encourage children to play with prompts. The learning environment consisted mainly of the peers, Ms. Wagner, and her activities.



*Figure 24 - Kitchen where Luxembourgish lessons took place*



*Figure 25 - Another perspective of the kitchen where Luxembourgish lessons took place*

Activities happened around a table, as FIGURES 26 and 27 illustrate.



*Figure 26 - Luxembourgish lessons with Ms. Wagner*



*Figure 27 - More details of the Luxembourgish lessons' setting*

### **6.2.5. Maison Relais**

The MRE was inside the school building on the ground floor, across the main entrance and to the left. It used four rooms during lunch time, three of which were equipped with tables for eating lunch and snacks as well as for doing activities. The other room was the kitchen. The corridor had a space for children to hang their jackets and a restroom. The first room had two round tables seating four children each and, moreover, a corner with a circular rug and cushions, a bookshelf with about 20 German and French books, games and toys. The second room had two larger rectangular tables seating eight children each and a smaller round table seating four. There was also a small desk for employees to do paperwork and a narrow table

serving the salad buffet. These two rooms and the kitchen were interconnected. The third room was not used by Thiago, so I will not describe it here. After lunch, the MRE educators took the children from the *précoce* (early education, for children aged 3 to 4), and Spillschoul/Cycle 1 (children aged 4 to 6) to the playground commonly that they commonly used during school hours. To reach the playground, the educators had the children walk in line from the lunchrooms, along a corridor on the ground floor, to a *précoce* classroom. Children needed to cross this classroom to reach the playground. The playground had a sandbox, a seesaw, four spring riders, a slide, a wooden house, and a jungle gym.

### 6.2.6. Comparing settings

Table 8 below shows how the settings differ in relation to language-related elements.

Table 8 - Signs of written language in the four learning environments.

Written language in the physical environment	Home	Ms. Majerus' Classroom	Ms. Wagner's classroom	MRE
Reading corner with books	X	X		X
Language-related prompts (as stencil ruler, alphabet puzzles, etc.)	X			
Posters with writings/signs		X	X	
Technological devices available for children	X			
Labels naming people, objects, or spaces		X		
Availability of books in different languages	X (P, E, G, F*)	X (G, L, F)		X (G, F)

\*P stands for Portuguese, E for English, G for German, F for French, and L for Luxembourgish.

TABLE 8 indicates that both Thiago's home and his preschool classroom were rich in language and literacy elements. When freely interacting with what this surrounding had to offer, Thiago encountered books, posters, labels, and an interactive TV where he needed to make sense of the titles to identify his favourite programmes. This independence in interacting with what the room had to offer was not provided in the Luxembourgish classroom. I did not observe the atelier rooms, where indoor free play activities occurred.

The items that were most common across the home, preschool and MRE were books, including a reading corner. In the case of Thiago's home, this was located in his own bedroom. The availability of books in different languages is also noteworthy. Across all the settings, books written in German and French were most frequent. This might be because these are the two languages most common in children's books in bookstores or supermarkets in Luxembourg. Books written in Luxembourgish are also found in Luxembourg stores but in smaller quantities (which can be explained both in market terms and cultural/historical terms by the Luxembourgish/German dichotomy as oral/written languages). Books in Luxembourgish were only found in the classroom. Ms. Gastão revealed during informal conversation that she had brought many Portuguese books with them when they first moved to Luxembourg and had brought more after visiting their families. She also said that Thiago had received English books from his grandmother, an English teacher, as well as from other family members living in England. Furthermore, she declared that both herself and her husband bought books when visiting the UK. Looking at the books in different languages, it is evident that Thiago's parents prioritised two valuable languages for their children: Portuguese and English. By contrast, the classroom only provided books written in the school education system's main languages.

At home, there were other types of literacy materials, including letters and communication materials, a magnetic alphabet, the interactive TV, and school material. In his classroom,

however, I observed Thiago using mainly toys and books. Specific material developed for literacy development, such as alphabet puzzles and alphabet stencils, were not observed in Thiago's classroom, but there were craft activities and illustrations/posters, such as flashcards related to the theme on the blackboard. These could afford Thiago with literacy learning opportunities.

The MRE and Ms. Majerus' classroom were designed according to the professionals' intentions of serving the children's best interests. Ms. Majerus' classroom also differed from the MRE because it conveyed teaching through thematic content (e.g., post, farm animals, dinosaurs, teeth hygiene, etc.) and activities that familiarised children with literacy and mathematics. I did not observe any teaching or planned activities for learning in the MRE. It is however important to note that Thiago only attended the MRE over lunch and, therefore, did not participate in any of the activities and ateliers offered. The centre's 'concept pédagogique' was based on the pedagogy of Reggio and emphasised self-activity and space design. During the lunch breaks, I could observe neither thoughtfully designed spaces nor child-centred activities, except for free play in the playground.

The Luxembourgish classroom appeared poorest in language and literacy affordances as it took place inside a kitchen. Children did not use the space fully, only occupied the table. As discussed in the theoretical chapter, children are likely to learn to use the language when the language itself is necessary to undertake an action (Schwartz, 2018; Van Lier, 2004). Ms. Wagner's teaching space did not provide Thiago with opportunities to notice affordances in the settings and use them. The opportunities came from Ms. Wagner's proposed activities, discussed in section 6.3.3.

### **6.3. Language and literacy-related events**

Next, I will look at the range of literacy-related events observed in these settings. I will thereby address my second research question.

#### **6.3.1. At home**

##### **6.3.1.1. A typical day**

Before looking at observed events, I shall present my observation of the family's typical day, drawn from fieldnotes and informal talks with Ms. Gastão. Weekdays started with the father leaving home in his car to go to work, while the mother drove Thiago to school and Diogo, the little brother, to his crèche. The mother picked Thiago up from school on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when school ended at 4 p.m. She waited for him at the bus stop on Tuesdays and Thursdays to take him home for lunch. When picking Thiago up at school, Ms. Gastão often let Thiago play on the patio, usually with his friend Mattieu, while she talked to Mattieu's mother. Ms. Gastão informed me that she took Thiago to swimming lessons in a village 14 km north on Tuesdays and Thursdays and that Thiago attended the sports activities of the LASEP (Ligue des Associations Sportives de l'Enseignement Fondamental), developed especially for children in the Luxembourgish pre-schools and primary schools. On other days, Ms. Gastão and her two sons would stay home or go to a nearby park. The father arrived home at about 6 p.m. and they had dinner together. During an interview conducted in September 2018, Ms. Gastão told me that she would read books together with the boys as part of the bedtime ritual. On weekends, the family was fond of outings in villages nearby or around Luxembourg (Interview with Ms. Gastão, September 2018).

Thiago had frequent and varied literacy experiences at home. Ms. Gastão would take time to read different types of texts available with him: mailing promotional flyers, material from school, official documents, and storybooks, the last as part of a daily bedtime ritual, which was not observed. Ms. Gastão would point at words explaining what they meant or ask questions to involve Thiago in reading.

Given my focus on language and literacy events, TABLE 9 below summarises the events observed, which were captured on video or noted in my fieldnotes. As explained in the methodology chapter, the final list of language-related events observed across several settings presented 24 categories. These events have been assembled into three groups: A) Adults suggesting or initiating activities for children; B) Adults doing certain activities, thereby modelling a behaviour for the observing child; C) Children interacting with available resources arranged by the adults. There are more formal and informal activities among these three main groups. Categories are never clear-cut. When a child is singing, for example, I see an activity in progress, but the role of the adult in it is not clear, as the child could have learned the song from peers rather than the adult. I attempted to distinguish activities which adults had clearly suggested from those that the children had started on their own. I also included the date when the event was observed, a short description of the event and the language(s) used. Empty lines highlighted in grey mean that the specific activity did not occur in this setting, even though it was observed in other settings.

*Table 9 - Observed language activities in Thiago's home.*

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Language Present*</b>
	Practicing phonemic awareness	12/06/18	Mother and Thiago read the passport together. Mother shows some letters and their sounds.	P, It
	Practicing writing/			

Adult-led language & literacy activities	tracing letters			
	Reading/ identifying letters or words	12/06/18	Mother shows the Mother's Day cards to me and asks Thiago to read them and translate them.	L, P
		12/06/18	Passport reading event.	P, It.
	Practicing Grammar/ syntax			
	Vocabulary / teaching			
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	12/06/18	Mother reads cards from Mother's Day in Luxembourgish.	L, P
		12/06/18	The passport reading event.	P
		daily	Bed ritual	Unknown
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say			
	Speaking about a specific theme	17/05/18	Speaking about Kichelchen	P, L
		16/05/18	Speaking about the world Schwester and classmates' siblings	P, L
		12/06/18	Speaking about nationalities with passports	P, It
		12/06/18	Speaking about family relations and history in the car.	P
	Listening to music or singing	12/06/18	Mother and Thiago watch Youtube together. They watch a videoclip.	E, P
	Asking children to describe an image	12/06/18	Mother asks Thiago to describe and explain what he had drawn	P
Making rhymes				
Playing games with children				
Adult's modelling behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	12/06/18	Thiago opens the mailbox and gives the envelopes to his mother who quickly reads them and leave them on the table.	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on			

	particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use			
	Using other languages besides the home language	25/04/18	Thiago's mother speaks English with Ms. Majerus	E
		17/05/18	Mother speaks French at the swimming club's front desk	F
		16/05/18	Mother speaks English with Mattieu's mother and a few expressions in Italian	E, It
		12/06/18	Mother greets the professional in the bus in French	F
	Showing interest in material brought from home or school	16/05/18	Mother kneels to see the paper/exercise Thiago has brought from school. He explains the exercise to her.	P, L
		17/05/18	Thiago continues the classroom craft he took home by cutting/pasting. Mother offers coloured paper	P
		12/06/18	Mother shows me the Mother's Day gifts made at school.	P, L
		12/06/18	Mother checks the schoolbook (Bichelchen) with Thiago	P, L
		16/05/18	Mother kneels to see the paper/exercise Thiago has brought from school. He explains the exercise to her.	P, L
	writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books	23/03/18	Thiago interacts with a book called Monkey Puzzle	P, E
		16/05/18	Thiago draws elves ears on the illustrations of a book written in English	P, E
		17/05/18	Thiago asks me to read some tongue twisters from his Brazilian book (Monica's Gang)	P
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys	23/03/18	Magnetic letters and numbers spread on the floor	-
	Listening to music or singing			
	writing	23/03/18	Thiago writes people's names on my notebook	-
	Watching TV/streaming videos	16/05/18	Thiago and brother watch a cartoon in English	E
		17/05/18	Thiago watches Mickey in French.	F
		17/05/18	Thiago watches Pink Panther in English	E
		17/05/18	Thiago watches a cartoon in Portuguese	P

		12/06/18	Thiago watches a cartoon that is only musical (no language)	-
		12/06/18	Mother and Thiago watch Youtube together. They dance the “flossing dance”.	E

*\*P stands for Portuguese, It for Italian, L for Luxembourgish, E for English*

TABLE 9 shows that even though Ms. Gastão did not engage in formal teaching activities, such as asking Thiago to do grammar exercises, trace letters, or describe an image while she writes his description down, she did engage in activities focusing on literacy, as she read Mother’s Day’s cards and passports with him. Ms. Gastão also cared for what Thiago brought home from school, not only through observed events but also because his work was displayed in the living room. Thiago also interacted with elements that could afford him language and/or literacy development, such as watching TV in other languages – even if in a passive way – as well as playing with magnetic letters and leafing through books.

It is interesting to highlight the range of named languages observed in the Gastão’s home. Despite Portuguese being the main language, and the language of interaction between the family members, Ms. Gastão was interested in having Thiago explain her words in Luxembourgish. Moreover, English was present, not only because Thiago has an English-teacher grandmother, but also because family members lived in England. With strong presence on the Internet, English was also encountered in videos Thiago selected on TV. Ms. Gastão did not exempt Thiago to encounter a few words in Italian, when reading his Italian passport with him (FIGURE 28).



Figure 28 - Ms. Gastão reading a passport with Thiago

### 6.3.2. Activities and practices in Ms. Majerus' classroom

#### 6.3.2.1. Daily Routines

Daily routines help children because they increase predictability, allowing children to not only feel secure but also to be capable of grasping the language from its context (Wood et al., 1976; Tabors, 2008; Cameron, 2008). Even though there was an overall standard predictability of what would happen in different timeslots and their order, the routine in the preschool was not rigid.

#### *A typical day described by Ms. Majerus*

During an interview on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2019, when Ms. Majerus was asked to describe a typical morning in her classroom, she answered that the typical routine consisted of children playing freely from eight to nine in the morning. They would then gather in the circle time space and Ms. Majerus would conduct the circle time activities, starting by checking who was in class

that day. The teacher would put wooden figures on the floor and, one by one, each child would look for theirs so as to place it on a little desk. They would also count how many girls and how many boys were in the class. Then they talked about the day, mentioned the day of the week, presented any specific information to do with that day and described the weather outside. One of the children would change the clothes of a toy wolf according to the weather. After circle time, they would eat and then engage in activities until around 11 am, at which point they would go outside until 11.45. They would then go back to the classroom to be picked up by the MRE's professionals or parents/responsible to go home. During the two-hour afternoons on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, children remained in the classroom engaging in free play or doing crafts and activities.

#### *My observations of a typical day*

During my visits to Thiago's preschool, I did not observe a steady routine. Not all mornings had the same circle time activities, nor would children go outside to play in the playground each day. All the activities described by Ms. Majerus were, indeed, observed. However, not all in the same morning or in the same order. On 16<sup>th</sup> May 2018, for example, I observed that children were busy with a craft activity and Ms. Majerus asked one child to go change the wolf's clothes according to the weather. This activity, which was described as pertaining to the circle time moment and involved speaking about the weather, occurred outside of the ritual, with one child and without any discussion about the weather.

When Ms. Majerus stated, during the interview on 4th March 2019, that staying inside rather than outside was preferred when children had to finish an activity, she emphasised her priority: her emphasis on the production of activities, such as crafts or language-related activities, related to the thematic unit. She employed several activities during class time. It was customary for her to explain the craft activities during circle time and, later, children would finish one

activity and start the next, always related to the theme they worked on. EXCERPT 2, from one of my observations, illustrates the number of activities in a single day in Ms. Majerus' classroom, all related to the theme "Post".

"It is 10h27 and the children are working on an exercise sheet that presented vocabulary related to Post (FIGURES 33, 34 and 25). Children were asked to clap to count the syllables in each word and colour the squares according to the number of syllables. The teacher walks from desk to desk and helps them clap and count. Some children have already finished the syllables exercise and the teacher explains that they can take a piece of craft paper to draw. The different number of activities is very dynamic. Those who finish drawing can take another sheet with a shape. The children take their scissors and cut this shape out. I later realise that this shape is going to be the collar of another art piece they are working on, a stamp of the Grand-duke. I understand that the children had previously painted the profile of a bust and now they must stick the collar (...) There are children working in different activities at the same time. While there are children already working on the Grand-duke's collar, some are still counting the syllables. It is 10h49 and Thiago finishes the syllables worksheet (...) Thiago walks toward the cupboard, opens its door and takes his pencil case. He then goes back to his desk to draw. I observe that the children who have already finished the drawing on the craft paper go to the benches in the circle-time space to pick up another craft activity paper that they had previously started, the bust of the Grand-duke. Here, they need to identify their paper by reading their names on that paper. They identify their names, take their paper and go back to the desk to finish it."

The craft project was often split into different activities, as observed in EXCERPT 2. Children had already painted the bust of the Grand-duke another day. Then, they painted the collar, as a separate activity. The drawings on the craft paper would become the decorations on tin cans comprising a tin can telephone. Thus, Ms. Majerus organised several activities – most of them craft – leaving little time for free play moments, which took place before and after breakfast. However, even before breakfast, some children would be asked to finish an activity from a previous lesson. Theme-focused activities were characteristic of Ms. Majerus' classes.

### **6.3.2.2. Language and literacy activities**

The existing literature has established that the development of literacy begins in the early years before children are formally exposed to written language. Preschool education can play a crucial role in developing children's language and literacy skills (Barnett, 2001; Dickinson and Sprague, 2001; Halle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson, 2003). Preschool teachers can promote them by providing literacy-rich settings; making books and other print material available for children to interact with them; increasing the quantity of print material in the settings; reading books or narrating stories in an interactive way; having individual one-on-one conversations; formally introducing the alphabet and phonological awareness activities; and also supporting families with additional resources (Green, Peterson and Lewis, 2006; Halle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson, 2003; Snow, Burns, and Griffin, 1998; Tabors, 2008).

In Ms. Majerus' classroom, children had the opportunity to interact with books during particular times of the day. They could leaf through them during free play, before breakfast, and when finishing a snack or an activity. Books appeared to be a "waiting time" activity. Children would often share the books with other classmates and talk about the pictures. In this way, they shared their focus of attention, pointing and naming objects (FIGURE 29).



*Figure 29 - Mattieu, Thiago and Steve leafing through books after breakfast*

I observed various storytelling moments. Ms. Majerus would choose books related to the thematic unit and tell the story, either reading the content and translating it into Luxembourgish or narrating the story in her own words. She would normally turn the book to herself to read the text, then turn the book to the children to show them the images. As discussed previously, reading books aloud for children can promote language and literacy skills (Halle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson, 2003) if the teachers work on the language by encouraging dialogue and the use of the vocabulary in discussions or follow-up activities (Wasik, Hindman and Snell 2016). Most storytelling moments I observed were, however, not interactive, in the sense that Ms. Majerus did not involve the children in the story by giving them opportunities to use language, inviting them to predict or re-tell the stories, asking questions to encourage dialogue or discussion, or drawing parallels to the children's lives. The one exception is the book "Wolkenbrot" and a more comprehensive activity, which included retelling its story. As

introduced in section 3.3.2 on home literacy practices, asking to recall a story is a language-inducive strategy which is beneficial to language development. (Zevenberger et al., 2016)

FIGURE 30 illustrates a storytelling moment.



*Figure 30 - Ms. Majerus reading a book for the children*

Ms. Majerus also organised exercises for developing phonemic awareness, which is recognised as an important skill in early reading (Neuman & Dickinson, 2003). FIGURE 31 illustrates an activity in which children had to choose, cut and paste syllables to spell the name of their dinosaurs. FIGURE 32 is another example of a phonemic awareness exercise, which was described earlier in the EXCERPT 2.

Vocabulary building activities were also observed. These were normally connected to the thematic units. When children were learning about the post office, for example, Ms. Majerus created different activities related to communication. These included letters, postcards, the tin

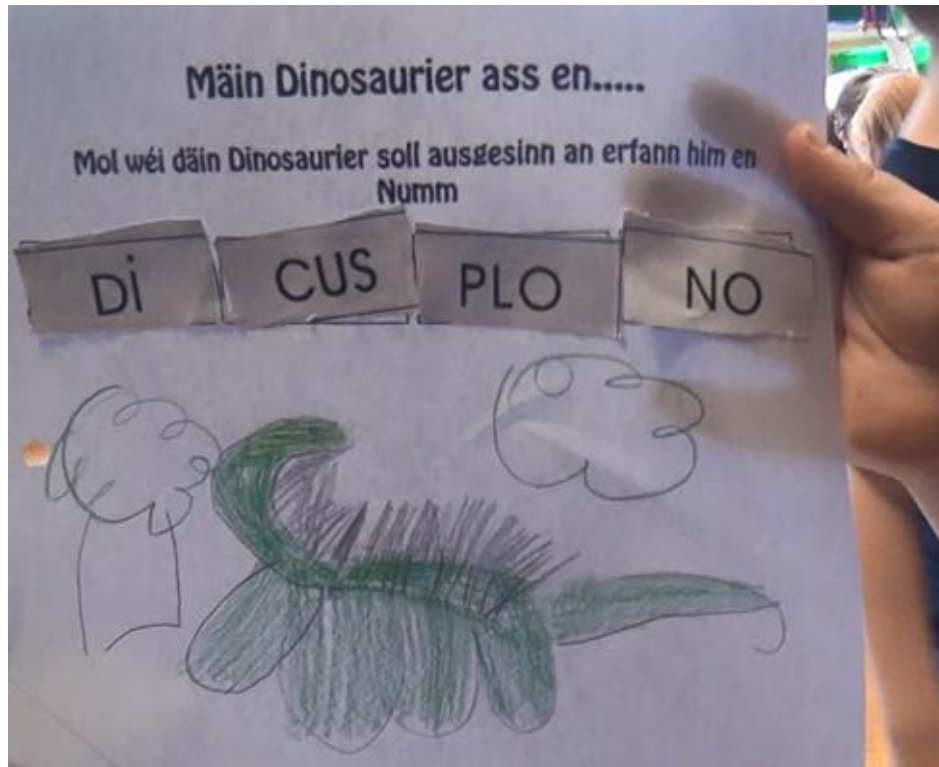


Figure 31 - Activity naming dinosaurs' species with random syllables

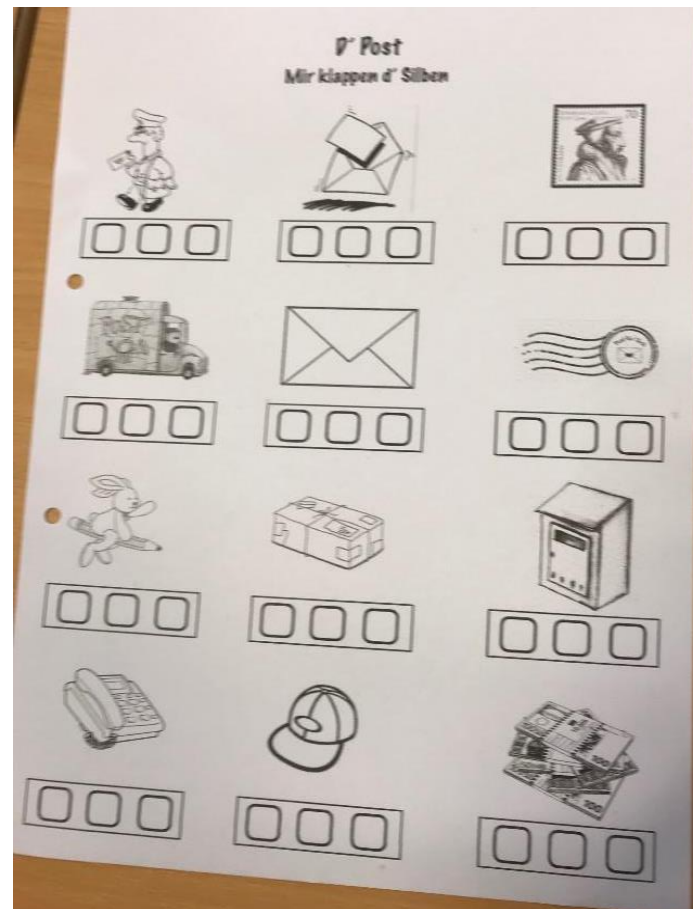


Figure 32 - Syllable-counting exercise with vocabulary related to the Post Office

can telephone, letter boxes for children to send letters to each other, as well as a theme-related vocabulary exercise for syllable-counting. FIGURES 33, 34 and 35 illustrate such activities.

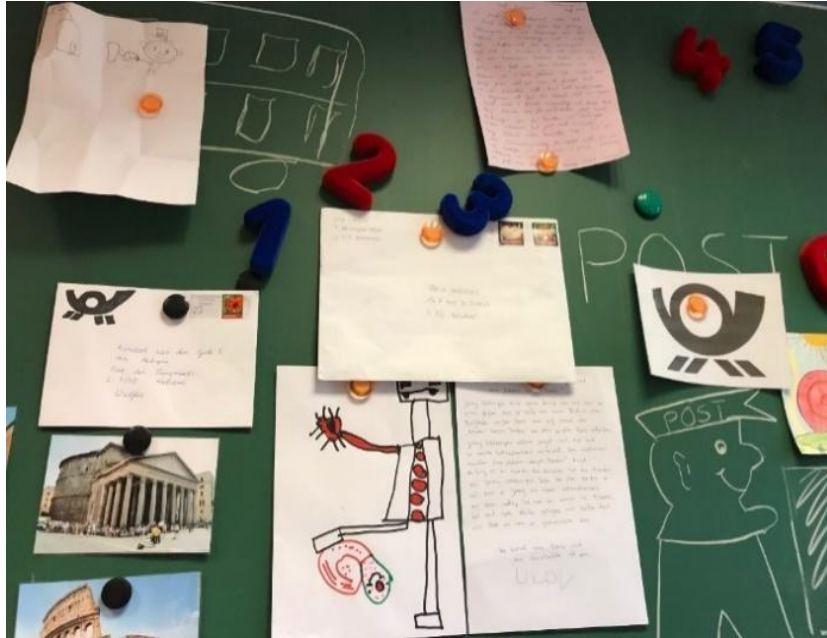


Figure 33 - Letters and illustrations related to the Post Office on the blackboard



Figure 34- Detail of children's first names with a corresponding number of their PO box



*Figure 35 - Children's PO boxes for receiving letters from peers*

FIGURES 33, 34 and 35 illustrate an activity which valued written language. In order to facilitate learning about the post office, Ms. Majerus displayed letters and envelopes on the blackboard. These had been discussed prior on days when I was not observing the class. Nevertheless, I understood that children were encouraged to send letters to one another by reading the name of the child on the board and the associated mailbox number. This activity not only emphasises written communication, which is the main duty of the post office, but also demands letter recognition and early production of writing names.

The space in the classroom where activities take place may well illustrate the “academic” value of the activities. Interaction with books, storytelling or circle time happened in the circle time space, facing the blackboard. Other activities, such as eating, drawing, pasting, and painting

took place at the children's desk. Free play with toys, building blocks or games could happen at children's desks or other spaces chosen by the children.

TABLE 10 summarises the observed events. Similar to how the events were presented in the section on Thiago's home, activities are separated by those proposed by the teacher or initiated by the child. Another category shows the teacher modelling behaviour outside planned activities, such as speaking English with a parent or giving attention to material brought from home by the children. The blank rows, highlighted in grey, show that such activities were not observed.

Table 10 - Ms. Majerus' observed language related activities

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Languages Present*</b>
Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing phonemic awareness	12/06/18	Activity with syllables for creating a new dinosaur species.	L
		19/03/18	During circle time, vocabulary related to the post office.	L, G
		19/03/18	Exercise sheet with images and number of syllables to clap.	L
	Practicing writing/ tracing letters	08/02/18	The teacher sits and calls one boy. He has to write the word CLOWN by copying it from a paper on his craft work. The teacher stays with the child while he is writing CLOWN.	L
		08/02/18	The teacher goes to the boy who is tracing over dotted lines and she holds the pencil with him to show him how to do it.	L
		25/04/18	Thiago « Joffa, ech si scho faerdeg»/ Teacher: “Hues du schon dain Numm geschwriwwen ? Thiago: Nee Teacher: Dann	L
		16/05/18	Children practice tracing numbers with the movement of a car on a track.	L
		12/06/18	Exercise for pinching/perforating the paper over different lines (motor skill).	-
	Reading/ identifying	08/02/18	An exercise paper with written instructions: “De Clown ass erschreckt. Mol and erziel wat dem Clown so Angscht mecht!” (The clown is scared. Draw and tell what frightened the clown).	L
		19/03/18	Children go to the benches in the circle-time space and need to identify which paper to pick up by reading their names on the papers that are laying there.	L

	letters or words	12/06/18	Identifying the numbers.	L
		12/06/18	Teacher gives the children a paper with short syllables, such as “di”, “no”. Children are asked to choose four syllables to create the name of their own dinosaur. Teacher reads the names and shows the children’s drawings to the class.	L
		02/07/18	Flashcards with the musical notes (syllables) do/re/mi.. Ms. Wagner points at each flashcard when saying Do, Re, MI...	L
	Practicing grammar/syntax			
	Vocabulary teaching	19/03/18	Learning vocabulary related to the post office	L
		25/04/18	Teacher puts flashcards of birds on the floor and teaches the vocabulary of different birds, she elicits vocabulary (Goose, chicken, swan, duck, turkey).	L
		12/06/18	Learning the names of dinosaur species. Gabriel brings a book about dinosaurs written in Polish and the teacher shows the images and asks for the name of the dinosaurs.	L
		02/07/18	Revising the vocabulary about mouth hygiene.	L
		02/07/18	Reviewing the names of dinosaur species	L
	Reading aloud/narrating books or other material	25/04/18	The teacher adapts the reading of a book called “La Ferme du Père Castor”. She tells the story of the animals in Luxembourgish, asks children to say the sounds of the animals: “Wat seet d’Kou?”	L
		16/05/18	Another teacher reads Wolkenbrot (cloud bread roll) to them in another room. She projects the books’ illustrations on a screen.	L
		12/06/18	Gabriel brought a book about dinosaurs written in Polish and the teacher shows the images and asks for the name of the dinosaurs.	L, Pol
		12/06/18	The teacher tells a story based on a book (in German). She says they had started it the day before. She does not show the images to the children but uses flashcards to show the different dinosaur species.	L
		02/07/18	Ms. Wagner reads “De schleschste Pirat”.	L
		02/07/18	Ms. Majerus tells a story with the help of a book and uses the story to recall what they have learned about teeth hygiene.	L
Asking children to retell a story	16/05/18	The teacher shows the image of the book “Wolkenbrot” and asks the children to retell the story. She asks comprehension questions (e.g. actions, ingredients of the cloud bread, reason why the sister is still hungry).	L	

	Writing down what children say	08/02/18	The teacher goes to one child, kneels to listen and writes what the child tells her about his/her drawing. The teacher writes down what the child says. Afterwards, she puts the paper in the child's specific drawer.	L
		12/06/18	We see on the board a previous activity about the adjectives children used to describe their mothers: léif (good), schéin (beautiful), chic, déi Bescht (the best), cool, witzeg (funny), grouss (big) and MAMA. These words appear in the Mother's Day card at home.	L
		02/07/18	One by one, the teacher writes what the children say about their dinosaur drawings.	L
	Speaking about a specific theme	19/03/18	Circle time – talking about the post office.	L
		12/06/18	Talking about dinosaurs with the help of a book and its illustrations.	L
		02/07/18	Ms. Majerus talks about dental hygiene.	L
		02/07/18	Talking about dinosaurs.	L
	Listening to music or singing	08/02/18	The teacher sings "Bass du hongreg an du wëss et... bass du (thirsty) an du wëes et..." in the tune of "If you are happy and you know it clap your hands".	L
		19/03/18	Hokus Pokus in French	F, L
		17/05/18	Music class, conducted by Ms. Wagner. "Bonjour ass wat fir eng Sprooch? (..) e Kalimera?"	L, F, Sp, Greek, Por, It, Cze, Pol, Slov
		17/05/18	Le petit lapin s'est caché dans le jardin..	F
		17/05/18	Dans sa maison un grand cerf regardait par la fenêtre...	F
		17/05/18	Ich bin ein dicker Tanzbär und komme aus dem Wald	G
		17/05/18	Wandmillen - Mir ginn ronderëm/ Mir ginn ronderëm/	L
		17/05/18	Die Sonne Rap in German and English.	G, E
		17/05/18	Samba music to dance (no lyrics)	-
		12/06/18	Short song before eating snacks.	L
		02/07/18	Music class, conducted by Ms. Wagner. Ms. Wagner teaches music notes.	L
		02/07/18	Music with action/dance. "Mir kënnen net driwwer goen. Mir kënnen net ënner goen. Da gi mer derduerch." ("We can't go over it, we can't go under it. We must go through it" = Book "We're going on a bear hunt").	L
02/07/18	Dinosaur song.	L		
03/07/18	Birthday song.	L, F, P, I, Pol, Slov, E, Swed, G		

	Asking children to describe an image			
	Doing rhymes	16/05/18	Activity on paper – Linking words that rhyme, ex. Buch Zug (Book and train)	L
	Playing games with children			
Adult's modelling behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	daily	Tasks on her desk (Bichelchen and reports)	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages	16/05/18	While I sit on the bench, I hear the teacher saying “Lucas, lëtzebuergesch!”.	F, L
		16/05/18	Teacher tells the class that it has started raining and Andrea says “Temporale”. Then Gabriel repeats “Temporale!” and many others start saying “Temporale. Temporale. Temporale”. The teacher asks them to stop and concentrate on what they are doing.	It, L
		12/06/18	“Lucas, Lëtzebuergesch”.	F, L
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	19/03/18	Lucas is speaking French.	F
		16/05/18	Lucas is speaking French with Andrea.	F
		16/05/18	Gabriel says “Dat ass futti. Il manque une roue.” to what Thiago replies with a “oui”.	F, L
		17/05/18	Lucas and Lilou play “tir à l’arc” in French.	F
		12/06/18	Mattieu and Andrea speaking Italian while teacher is conducting a circle time activity.	It
		02/07/18	Thiago, Lucas, Milene and Andrea playing in the playing corner (safe haven) and employing Portuguese and French as well.	P, F, L
	Using other languages besides the target language	16/05/18	The teacher realises Lucas is crying. She talks to him in French “ça va passer! Tu es tombé?”	F
		16/05/18	Teacher talks in German with a worker who was helping prepare the school for a festival.	G
		25/04/18	Thiago's mother speaks English with Ms. Majerus	E
		02/07/18	Ms. Majerus speaks French with Lucas.	L, F
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school	12/06/18	Gabriel and the dinosaur book written in Polish	L, Pol
	Writing	daily	Bichelchen	unknown
			19/03/18	Thiago and Mattieu share the same book and talk about the pictures.

Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books	19/03/18	Thiago points at objects in the book and says their names in Luxembourgish. Mattieu calls his attention and shows his own book and describes the image.	L
		19/03/18	More boys come close to see the book. They interact around the book's images.	L
		25/04/18	Thiago looks at the images of the book "Kenns du das?"	L
		16/05/18	After breakfast, Thiago takes a book to read.	L
		16/05/18	Thiago and Mattieu read together. Then Gabriel approaches them.	L
		16/05/18	After a drawing activity, Thiago takes a book to read.	L
		16/05/18	Melanie pretends that she is the teacher reading the book for some friends.	L
		17/05/18	Ms. Majerus allows Lilou to show and tell the story she has written (drawn).	L
		02/07/18	Thiago and Chloë share a picture book about dinosaurs.	L
		19/03/18	Thiago and Mattieu share a book and talk about the pictures.	L
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys			
	Listening to music or singing	16/05/18	There are some girls singing "Old McDonald had a farm" in Luxembourgish. The teacher asks them where they learned it. The children do not answer.	L
	writing			
	Watching TV/streaming videos			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, G for German, Pol for Polish, F for French, Sp for Spanish, Por for Portuguese, It for Italian, Cze for Czech, Slov for Slovak, E for English, Swe for Swedish*

TABLE 10 illustrates the abundance of language-related activities observed. Other activities, such as sports and crafts, were not included in my analysis. Thiago was exposed to several activities that promoted literacy, both as a skill (phonemic awareness, tracing lines, letters, and numbers) and as a social practice (sharing books, writing, and sending letters, the daily activity of exchanging the *Bichelchen* between parents and teacher). He heard Luxembourgish almost constantly when in school, and vocabulary activities were moreover organised with lexis in

this language. Thiago had opportunities to use Luxembourgish with his peers and teacher; however few informal moments of the teacher interacting with Thiago or other children were observed.

Thiago heard several other languages on fewer occasions, either because the teacher offered activities that included the children's home languages in songs which is related to the "Awakening to Languages Approach", or because children around him used French, Italian and Portuguese. The number of children's home languages in songs and birthday celebrations points to the high diversity of languages

The fact that Polish, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Czech, Slovak and Swedish were used in songs also shows the diversity of the school population, and that teachers have answered to the 2017 educational law that demands them to value children's home languages, using children's languages as assets. These activities are related to the 'Awakening to Languages' approach (Candelier et al., 2007) that encourages activities in which the linguistic repertoires of the students should be explored so that other children benefit from the diversity to develop metalinguistic awareness, a positive attitude towards languages, and explore new sounds (Coelho, Andrade, and Portugal, 2018; Lourenço and Andrade, 2013). The fact that several languages were heard was highlighted by Ms. Gastão as a relevant factor for Thiago's awakening to languages. On 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2018, she stated that her first perception of what the new country had changed in Thiago was his newfound awareness that different languages existed, which prompted him to ask his parents questions about them.

### **6.3.3. Ms. Wagner's classes**

Ms. Wagner's pull-out Luxembourgish classes were for children who needed extra support with the language, i.e., newly arrived children such as Thiago, or children who did not speak

Luxembourgish at home nor in the crèches they might have attended before joining preschool, and who thus lagged behind their peers. These lessons focused on vocabulary teaching and sentence formation. The language used was formulaic, i.e., children were asked to produce particular sentences according to the activity proposed by the teacher. Most of the activities involved board games, card games, and flash cards, either made by the teacher or part of game sets.

The activities in Ms. Wagner's lessons did not follow the thematic unit proposed by Ms. Majerus and were decontextualised. In a similar lesson, the children practised numbers and body parts and played a Halloween-themed card game. The focus was not on the themes, but rather on them practising vocabulary and sentence structure.

A typical Luxembourgish class conducted by Ms. Wagner consisted of her picking up flashcards and distributing them on the table, face down, as though it were a game. Children turned the card over to describe the picture, following a game-like structure of taking turns and collecting cards. She then gave the children some options of board games to choose from. With the exception of one exercise where Ms. Wagner used writing, illustrated in FIGURE 36, I have not observed any other writing. However, Ms. Wagner showed me many exercise sheets that she had already completed with specific children. She also told me that she had sent exercises for them to do with their parents at home. In fact, when visiting the Gastãos on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 2018, I asked the mother about the Luxembourgish exercises. Ms. Gastão informed me that Thiago took pleasure in using the work sheets from his Luxembourgish class to teach her and her husband.

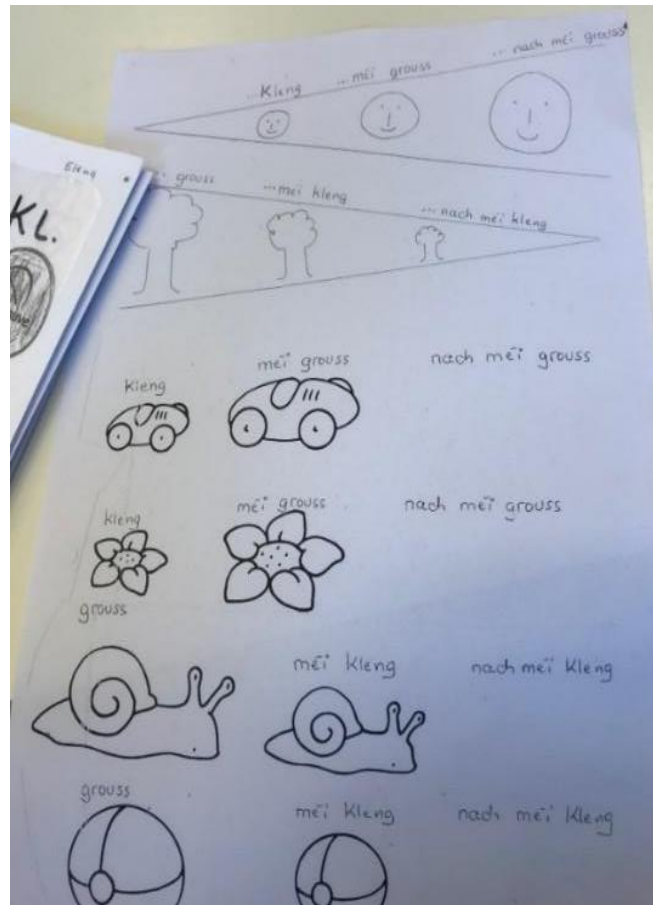


Figure 36 - Written exercise proposed in Ms. Wagner's Luxembourgish lesson



Figure 37 - Activity with flash cards during a Ms. Wagner's lesson



*Figure 38 - Vocabulary activity during Ms. Wagner's lessons*



*Figure 39 - Some of the flashcards used by Ms. Wagner*

TABLE11 summarises the language-related observed events during the Luxembourgish classes conducted by Ms. Wagner. As illustrated in section 6.2.4., the room did not contain material affordances for children to decide to act upon them. The observed activities followed the same line, as the lessons were teacher-centred only. Nevertheless, as the lessons took place around a table with fewer children, Thiago had more opportunities to speak. This will be better shown in section 6.4.3 when I look at the quality of such interactions. The table also shows fewer varieties of activities when compared to the previous two settings, and a strong focus on Luxembourgish.

Table 11 - Ms. Wagner's language-related events

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Languages Present*</b>
Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing phonemic awareness	25/04/18	The teacher asks: "Wat heescht dat dann?" Thiago knew many words, including Fliedermaus, Ritter. The teacher asks them to clap the three syllables in Flie-der-maus.	L
	Practicing writing/tracing letters			
	Reading/identifying letters or words			
	Practicing grammar/syntax	25/04/18	Exercise with comparatives "kleng – méi kléng – nach méi kleng"	L
		03/07/18	Attention to feminine and masculine articles "Een, eng."	L
		25/04/18	Phrasal verb - "undoen"	L
	Vocabulary teaching	19/03/18	Asking children to say the colours of the little balls quickly.	L
		19/03/18	Children describe images, such as a girl riding a bike, a girl brushing her hair	L
		19/03/18	The same drill as above but with different flash cards.	L
		25/04/18	Flash cards KIKUS, children describing words as sunflower, folder, etc.	L
		25/04/18	Throwing dice and saying the numbers.	L
		16/05/18	Children look at flash cards with body parts and then say to the peers "That's my mouth", "These are my eyes".	L
		02/07/18	Saying the name of animals through a card game.	L

		02/07/18	Numbers.	L
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material			
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say			
	Speaking about a specific theme			
	Listening to music or singing			
	Asking children to describe an image	17/05/18	Describing actions illustrated on flashcards.	L
	Doing rhymes			
	Playing games with children	daily	Card and board games.	L
Adult's modelling behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material			
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	25/04/18	Ms. Wagner asks the boy to explain in French, he does and she continues in Luxembourgish.	L, F
		25/04/18	“An Franzéisch Flexibus”	L, F
		25/04/18	Teacher: “Wat schnéit hatt mat?” Lucas: “Couteau” Teacher: “Couteau ass Franzéisch.	L, F
		16/05/18	Accepts that Lucas explains a story in French but uses Luxembourgish herself.	L, F
Using other languages				

	besides the target language			
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			
	Writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books			
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys			
	Listening to music or singing			
	writing			
	Watching TV/streaming videos			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish and F stands for French*

Despite the emphasis on Luxembourgish, Ms. Wagner sometimes used French words, translating words, as a supporting structure to help Lucas associate the Luxembourgish words with what was already familiar for him.

#### **6.3.4. Maison Relais**

Looking at the language learning opportunities Thiago had in his MRE, I did not observe many types of activities provided by the professional educators, as shown in TABLE 12. I did not observe planned language activities, probably because Thiago was only there for the lunch hour and thus did not profit from the ateliers proposed by the institution at other times. During lunch time, the educators' role was to ensure the organisation of the meal, so that children served themselves and ate in an orderly fashion. Next, educators took the children outdoors to play

and their role was to guarantee the safety of the children. For example, educators gave instructions (e.g. blow on the food to cool it down) and engaged Thiago in casual conversations, for instance asking him why he played alone or how quickly he preferred the seesaw to move. The educators tended to speak in Luxembourgish, but they let children use their home languages during free play. As such, children had some opportunities for informal language learning with educators and other children.

Table 12 - Observed language-related events in the Maison Relais

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Languages Present*</b>
Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing phonemic awareness			
	Practicing writing/ Tracing letters			
	Reading/ identifying letters or words			
	Practicing grammar syntax			
	Vocabulary teaching			
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material			
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say			
	Speaking about a specific theme			

	Listening to music or singing songs			
	Asking children to describe an image			
	Doing rhymes			
	Playing games with children	02/07/18	Educator pours water over the children, as in a tag game. Children run and laugh and tease the educator to pour water on them again.	L
Adult's modelling behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	daily	Paperwork, documents, lists	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	07/05/18	Thiago, Zara and Melanie are speaking Portuguese at the lunch table. Timio joins them and the language switches to Luxembourgish. The four ask each other which languages they speak.	Pt, L
	Using other languages besides the target language	07/05/18	At the playground, an educator uses French to talk to a girl near Thiago.	F
		07/05/18	At the playground, another educator shouts an instruction to the children using two languages: “Nëmmen drai/Maximum trois”/	L, F
		16/05/18	While Thiago and classmates are sitting in the corridor waiting to wash their hands, an educator speaks Portuguese with another woman.	P
		02/07/18	Educator speaks in French with Lucas “on n’a pas de pommes de terre aujourd’hui”.	F
		02/07/18	Educator leaves the building to the playground, carrying two bottles of water and says in French “une bouteille d’eau pour boire et l’autre pour nous mouiller”.	F
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			

	Writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books			
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys			
	Listening to music or singing			
	writing			
	Watching TV/streaming videos			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, F for French, Pt for Portuguese*

TABLE 12 shows that Thiago also heard different languages and could use Portuguese with his peers. It again shows that the staff is multilingual and use other languages despite the overall institutional language being Luxembourgish.

Section 6.4.4 will look at the informal conversations initiated by the educators.

### 6.3.4. Comparing settings

TABLE 13 shows the occurrence of observed language-conducive events across the different settings. For discussion purposes, I separated the events in which adults modelled behaviour outside planned activities.

*Table 13 Observed language-related events across settings 1*

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Majerus' Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Wagner's classes</b>	<b>MRE</b>
	Practicing phonemic awareness	x	x	x	
	Practicing writing/tracing letters		x		

Adult-led language & literacy activities	Reading/ identifying letters or words	x	x		
	Practicing grammar/syntax			x	
	Vocabulary teaching		x	x	
	Reading aloud/narrating books or other material	x	x		
	Asking children to retell a story		x		
	Writing down what children say		x		
	Speaking about a specific theme	x	x		
	Listening to music or singing	x	x		
	Asking children to describe an image	x		x	
	Doing rhymes		x		
	Playing games with children			x	x
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/ leafing/interacting with books	x	x		
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys	x	x		
	Listening to music or singing		x		
	writing	x			
	Watching TV/streaming videos	x			

TABLE 13 indicates that the classroom had the greatest range of language and literacy activities, while the MRE had the lowest. It is also interesting to highlight that almost all events happened in two settings, mostly at home and in the preschool, but none happened in all four settings. It seems that there are many parallels between the home and the preschool in helping Thiago make connections. His family provided activities which are valued in school as this makes life easier for Thiago. In sections 8.4 and 9.4.2, I discuss how the high frequency of interaction with written texts at home might have prepared Thiago for more formal school activities, and less for the play-based non-formal learning which took precedence in his MRE.

Adults around Thiago had other similarities. TABLE 14 shows that all adults used more than one language, depending on the situation. This emphasises the multilingual characteristic of Luxembourgish schools, which is likely to be very different from what Thiago encountered in Brazil.

TABLE 14 - - Observed language-related events across settings 2

	<b>Language-related event</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Majerus' Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Wagner's classes</b>	<b>MRE</b>
Adult's modelling behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	x	x		x
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages		x		
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use		x		x
	Using other languages besides the target one	x	x	x	x
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school	x			
	Writing		x		

As for “allowing for flexible language use” TABLE 14 can be misleading. Thiago watched cartoons in different languages and had books in other languages, which indicates that other languages were welcome in his family. I did not observe Thiago and his brother communicating in different languages at home because Thiago's little brother was still learning his first words in 2018. I did not observe children speaking other languages than Luxembourgish in Ms. Wagner's lessons, either. The most interesting aspect to stress regarding the flexible use of other languages at school is that although Ms. Majerus had a Luxembourgish-only language policy (Excerpt 3) and would typically divert a child's attention by asking them to concentrate or make less noise, or explicitly ask them to speak Luxembourgish, when children were making use of any other language, she sometimes overlooked the same behaviour.

[00:14:00] Teacher: *giggles*.. well, at first we interrupt them a lot, as soon as they start talking Portuguese or French. We often ask them to talk Luxembourgish. So. Please talk Luxembourgish or stop talking Portuguese. It's a bit of a pity because they don't use other languages anymore but it's difficult for the children who don't learn so fast if they talk all the time in Portuguese or in French, so there's kind of a law at school that they should talk Luxembourgish in the classroom.. when they are outside they can talk whatever they like. Because there's often also like some children only talking in Portuguese and then the other children don't understand them. Luxembourgish is the common language, so we encourage them to talk in Luxembourgish... it's more important. (Interview 02/07/2018)

*EXCERPT 3 – Ms. Majerus on her language policy on 02/07/2018*

Thiago understood that each setting had a main language: Portuguese at home and Luxembourgish at school. This became evident when he reminded me that I should speak Luxembourgish when in his classroom (fieldnote Thiago 1 080218). He encountered more language flexibility in non-formal settings, at home and at the Maison Relais, contrasting with the more rigid rule in both formal education settings where language rules were loosened in the playground only. This may have informed Thiago that formal language learning happens in Luxembourgish only, the most “important” language at school.

In section 6.2.6., I compared the physical settings across the four settings and discussed how both Ms. Wagner’s “classroom” and Thiago’s MRE seemed poorer in language affordances. This is again true when looking at types of language or literacy-related events in both settings. The home and classroom settings were closer in this regard.

#### **6.4. Language supporting strategies**

Now that the activities have been presented, this section will look at some of these events in more depth by looking at the quality of adult talk, i.e., how the more knowledgeable other scaffolds children's talk (Wood, 1998), for instance when they make use of intentional tutorial behaviour (Guerrero and Villamil, 2000) with the purpose of mediating content or language for the children. As described in the literature, these interactional moments between adults and children can encourage language learning (Gibbons, 2015). In this section, I shall look at the quality of some interactions so as to identify scaffolding strategies employed by the adults that may contribute to language learning.

It is known from literature review that language development depends on quantity of contact with the target language, including interactive moments where strategies are used to have the children share the focus of attention with the more knowledgeable other (Rogoff, 1990; Carpenter et al., 1998; Laakso et al., 1999, Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2014) and opportunities to use the language (Kirsch, 2021). This is aligned with the concept of scaffolding (Wood et al., 1976) and guided participation (Rogoff, 1991) described in section 2.2.1.

I will begin by listing some moments in which the adults initiated conversations with Thiago. Different types of strategies were observed in these moments. All adults, for example, made use of gestures, gazes, and changed their tone of voice or stress (use of prosodic cues), but the focus here is on verbal strategies. Verbal strategies occurring in these moments fall into two main categories: strategies employed to stimulate interactions (e.g., ask questions) and strategies that model language use, such as when the adult acts on the children's speech (e.g., correct grammar or pronunciation) (Hoff, 2006; Gibbons, 2002; Zevenberger et al., 2016)

Lists of other interactive moments I captured during my fieldwork can be found in the appendix (Tables of interactive moments).

#### 6.4.1. At home

In this section, I present three excerpts to illustrate Ms. Gastão's main traits when speaking to Thiago. She employs many questions for different purposes. The interactions in EXCERPT 4 shows how she wanted to develop a conversation based on Thiago's drawing at school.

Line	Actor	Utterance	Translation	Description
1	Thiago	Não era de nada, mãe !	It was about nothing, mom!	Giving his drawing to his mother and explaining it.
2	Mother	O que que não era ?	What was about nothing?	
3	Thiago	O desenho, olha.	The drawing, look!	
4	Mother	Não?	No?	
5	Thiago	É só assim	It's just like this.	
6	Mother	É algo ou alguém ?	Is it something or someone?	
7	Thiago	É só assim o meu desenho.	It is just like this, my drawing.	
8	Mother	É só assim ? Isso é um.. isso é um papai noel ?	Just like this? This is a... is this Santa Claus?	
9	Thiago	Isso é um anão.	This is a dwarf.	
10	Mother	Ah um anão!	Oh a dwarf!	
11	Thiago	E esses, 3 duendes.	And these, 3 elves.	
12	Mother	Eles são amigos?	Are they friends?	
13	Thiago	Hm-hmm	Hm-hmm (agreeing)	
14	Mother	É ? E onde eles estão?	Yes? And where are they?	
15	Thiago	mmm... na floresta.	Mmm.. in the forest.	Raising his shoulders
16	Mother	Na Floresta? Que jóia. Vamos por ali junto com as suas artes.	In the forest? How nice! Let's put it together with your (other) art pieces.	

EXCERPT 4 - Mother asking questions about Thiago's drawing.

EXCERPT 4 shows the mother's elicitation strategies (e.g., follow-up questions) and her insistence on him speaking, through repetition. This may in turn show the importance she gave to communication. It also shows that Ms. Gastão gave attention to what Thiago did in school and his artwork.

EXCERPT 5 shows how several interactive moments occurred in relation to the meaning of some Luxembourgish words. The main communication trait employed by Ms. Gastão was repeating after Thiago and asking questions as if she did not know the answers (lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 11 and 17), so that Thiago could explain or describe. Ms. Gastão spoke in a specific way, as if Thiago were the one in possession of the knowledge, and would ask him questions not only to gain real information or to develop the conversation, but also to have him think, pay attention, and explain. Ms Gastão also asked open questions to make Thiago speak more (line 3).

Context: It is June 12 <sup>th</sup> . Thiago and the mother are sitting at the dining table showing me the Mother's Day's cards and gifts that they did in the school. There were cards and gifts from Diogo's crèche, too, so there was much material on the table. Thiago takes one card in which each petal of a flower is an adjective/quality of the mother.				
Line	Actor	Utterance	Translation	Strategy
1	Mother	E aqui, o que eu sou, né ? Witzeg ?	And here what I am, right? Witzeg (funny)?	
2	Tiago	Witzeg ! ( <i>Correcting her pronunciation</i> )	Witzeg ! ( <i>Correcting her pronunciation</i> )	
3	Mother	O que que é isso ?	What is that ?	Open question
4	Tiago	Engraçada.	Funny	
5	Mother	Ah é, eu sou engraçada ? É ? E grouss.	Ah right, am I funny? Am i? And grouss.	Tag question
6	Tiago	Grouss, grande.	Grouss, big,	
7	Mother	(risos) e léif ? /laif/	(laughter) and léif /laif/	closed question
8	Tiago	Léif /leif/ ( <i>Correcting her pronunciation</i> )	Léif /leif/ ( <i>Correcting her pronunciation</i> )	
9	Mother	Léif /leif/ ?	Léif /leif/	Repeating
10	Tiago	boazinha	kind	

11	Mother	Boazinha. Daí... déi bescht ?	Kind. And then... déi bescht (the best)?	Repeating and closed asking
12	Tiago	déi bescht ( <i>Correting her pronunciation</i> )	déi bescht ( <i>Correting her pronunciation</i> )	
13	Mother	déi bescht	déi bescht	Repeating
14	Tiago	A minha favorita.	My favourite.	
15	Mother	Own, você também é meu favorito. ( <i>She smiles and reaches her hand towards him.</i> )	Own, you, too, are my favourite. ( <i>She smiles and reaches her hand towards him.</i> )	
16	Tiago	E cool.	And cool.	
17	Mother	E cool ? Você é.. eu sou seu favorito, você também é meu favorito.	And cool? You are... I am your favourite, you too are my favourite.	Repeating
18	Tiago	É legal !	It means cool.	
19	Mother	Eu gostei muito dos meus cartões, ó.	I liked my cards very much, look.	

EXCERPT 5 - Ms. Gastão and Thiago reading Mother's day's cards

Ms. Gastão behaved as Thiago's private teacher throughout the time they spent together at home. Their dialogues were not only focused on here and now, but she would use a passport, for example, as an affordance not only for teaching reading, but also to talk to him about migration and nationalities.

EXCERPT 6 shows Thiago's curiosity in words and how Ms. Gastão responded to his questions, and it portrays what I understood as more natural moments, in which Thiago had more opportunities to pose questions and thus guide the conversation. It illustrates Thiago's curiosity towards words and how his communication with his mother was built on this. Furthermore, it shows (LINE 11) Ms. Gastão making a reference to a popular Brazilian children's book called *Marcelo Marmelo Martelo* by Ruth Rocha, stressing Thiago's contact with books at home.

Context: It is June 12th. We are in the car, leaving the garage. Ms. Gastão is driving. I am in the passenger's seat, and Thiago is in the back seat on his safety chair. I film Thiago only not to distract mother's driving.

Line	Actor	Utterance	Translation
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1	Mother	Fecha que pode entrar água nele, filho. Depois ele estraga por dentro.	Close it, otherwise water can enter in it, son. Then it gets damaged inside.
2	Thiago	E por fora, mãe?	And on the outside, mom?
3	Mother	O que? Sim, meu amor, mas você consegue vedar ele?	What? Yes, my love, but can you seal it?
4	Thiago	O que é vedar?	What is “seal”?
5	Mother	É tapar, fazer com que nenhuma água entre.	It is closing, making sure that no water enters.
6	Thiago	mmmm sim!	Mmmm yes!
7	Mother	Aah então é uma coisa muito potente! (to me) eu estava dizendo que a família da minha mãe é, sempre trouxe muito forte a origem italiana e mais aberta para línguas. Meu vô falava latim às vezes na casa da minha... na casa dele. Umas coisas bobas. Mas sabe quando vai... vai pegando	Aah then it is a very powerful thing! (to me) I was saying that my mother's family is, it always brought the Italian origin very strongly and (they are) more open to languages. My grandfather spoke Latin sometimes at the house of my... at his house. Some silly things. But you know when it catches...
8	Thiago	Mãe? Quem é a sua sua vó? Não vó do coração. Só quem é vó.	Mom? Who is your granny? Not a granny from the heart. Only who is the granny.
9	Mother	O biso Dingo, o biso Dingo falava latim, aí ele falava no na refeição	The grandpa Dingo, grandpa Dingo spoke Latin, then he spoke it in in the meals
10	Thiago	O que é latim, mãe?	What is Latin, mom?
11	Mother	Latim é a língua do cachorro que nem o Marcelo Martelo Marmelo fala? Não não é, o latim é a língua mãe, é de onde muitas línguas surgiram, elas foram... algumas línguas foram se transformando e virando outras coisas	Latin is the language of the dog, as Marcelo Martelo Marmelo says? No, it is not, Latin is the mother tongue, it is where many languages came from, they were ... some languages were transformed and became other things
12	Thiago	Latim é língua de cachorro? (smiling)	Is Latin the dog's language? (smiling)
13	Mother	(laughs) Não, e o biso falava assim na mesa, ele brindava e falava <i>In vino veritas</i> .	(laughs) No, and grandpa spoke like that, at the table, he toasted and said <i>In vino veritas</i> .
14	Thiago	O que que é isso?	What's that?
15	Mother	No vinho jaz a verdade... que quem toma vinho não sabe mentir, fica com a língua frouxa e fala um monte de verdade. Não é?	In wine lies the truth ... that those who drink wine don't know how to lie, they have a loose tongue and say a lot of truth. Right?

16	Thiago	eu não tomo vinho.	I don't drink wine.
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EXCERPT 6 - Ms. Gastão talks to me while addressing Thiago's questions

Most of the interactions, however, were adult-centred and focused on teaching. EXCERPT 7 exemplifies this trait. Ms Gastão is checking Thiago's comprehension of a word, by checking and rechecking it several times.

Context: It is May 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2018. Thiago is leaning over a couch, holding a remote control. Ms. Gastão takes one paper from Thiago's school work and starts to ask him about a word.				
Line	Actor	Original Utterance	Translation	Description
1	Mother	O que é Schwester ?	What is Schwester ?	
2	Thiago	Irmão é Schwester	Brother is "Schwester" (sister).	
3	Mother	O que que é a Schwester ?	What is Schwester ?	
4	Thiago	Irmão	Brother.	Seemed as without patience
5	Mother	Irmão ?	Brother ?	
6	Thiago	É	Yes	
7	Mother	Você tem Schwester ?	Do you have a Schwester?	
8	Thiago	Tenho, o Diogo.	I do. Diogo.	
9	Mother	Ah, o Diogo é Schwester?	Ah, is Diogo a Schwester?	
10	Thiago	É	Yes	
11	Mother	E Brudder ? O que que é Brudder ?	And Brudder (brother)? What is Brudder?	He is not looking at the mother when answering.
12	Thiago	Irmão também	Brother, too.	
13	Mother	Irmão ou irmã ?	Brother or sister?	
14	Thiago	Na verdade, Schwester é irmã ...	Actually, Schwester is sister ...	
15	Mother	ah	ah	
16	Thiago	e Brudder é irmão.	and Brudder is brother.	
17	Mother	Irmão? Então você tem um Brudder, é isso?	Brother? So you have a Brudder, right?	
18	Thiago	É	Yes	
19	Mother	E você tem Schwester?	And do you have Schwester?	
20	Thiago	Ahn... Schwester? O que que é Schwester ?	Ahn... Schwester? What is Schwester?	He seems confused or thinks the mother has changed the word, as he checks comprehension by employing a closer /e/.

21	mother	O que é Schwester?	What is Schwester?	Brief giggling
22	Thiago	Eu não sei	I don't know.	
23	mother	Você não tem, né? Uma irmã, né? Tem ou não tem?	You don't have, right? A sister, right? Do you have one or not?	Giggling
24	Thiago	Ãhn ãhn	Ãhn ãhn	Interjection as no. Standing up and finally looking at the mother
25	Mother	Não? Quem que tem?	No? Who has one?	

EXCERPT 7 - Ms. Gastão checks Thiago's comprehension on the word Schwester

In EXCERPT 7, Thiago watches TV and Ms. Gastão interrupts him to ask a question regarding a word in Luxembourgish (line 1). Thiago was not paying much attention to his mother and answered that “Schwester” meant brother (line 2). The answer is wrong and apparently Ms. Gastão knew that (“Schwester” means sister in English), which is why she posed several other questions to see if he perceived his own mistake (lines 3, 5, 7, 9, 11 and 13). Thiago then acknowledges that Schwester means sister and Brudder means brother (lines 14 and 16). Ms. Gastão continues asking questions to check his comprehension (lines 17, 19, 21, 23 and 25), even confusing Thiago who at one point says he does not know what Schwester is (lines 20 and 22). It is worth noting that these moments may have happened because Ms. Gastão knew that she was being observed and wanted to show me something about bilingualism. If so, these interactions may constitute what she believed was good language modelling or teaching. Another point worth noting is that I did not observe any immediate correction of what Thiago said. The mother would employ other questions but would not correct him straight away.

#### 6.4.2. Ms. Majerus

In section 6.3.2, I discussed theme-focused lessons as one of the features of Ms. Majerus' classes, as her activities mostly evolved around a theme. When discussing a topic, she wanted

the children to learn many things about it. She discussed it during circle time and her interactions with the children followed the initiation (I), response (R) and feedback (F) pattern (Nassaji & Wells, 2000), with the feedback often being a repetition of the correct answer. Her utterances followed a rhythmic, accentuated sequence of asking direct questions or leaving the ending of a sentence open by employing an intonation that invited children to complete the sentence. Once the children had answered her question, Ms. Majerus either rephrased the question or simply repeated what was said in a slow, clear way. These types of interaction took place several times during each teacher-centred moment of topic discussion.

To show this trait, I chose one excerpt. The interactions in EXCERPT 8 shows Ms. Majerus engaging children in a conversation about oral hygiene while reading a book.

Context: It is 02/07/2018. Ms. Majerus has gathered children around the circle time area to read a story. Behind her, children's craft work with dentists are stuck on the blackboard.			
Line	actors	original utterance	English translation
1	Ms. Majerus	ihr Zähn wäschen... wat brauchen mir fir Zähn ze wäschen?	brush your teeth... what do we need to brush our teeth?
2	Multiple children	Zähnbischt	Toothbrush
3	Ms. Majerus (nodding)	Ah (nodding) "Mama gëtt dem Benny mol eng Zähnbischt an en schéinen Bescher. -Ah super - seet de Benny! -sou - seet d'Mama - elo kann et las goen. An d'Mama stëllt sech bei den Lavabo. - hei, fir d'éischt kuckst du mol ganz genau". Fir d'éischt hëllt een ? Wat braucht hien?	Ah (nodding) "Mama gives Benny a toothbrush and a nice brush - Ah great, says Benny. So - says Mama, now it's time to go, and Mama stands by the sink. - Here, first you look very closely". First he takes a? What does he need?
4	Two girls	Zähnbischt	Toothbrush
5	Ms. Majerus	Zähnbischt. A wat maache mir dann ?	Toothbrush. And then what do we do?
6	Nils	An dann Zahnpasta	Then the toothpaste.
7	Ms. Majerus	oh,... wat mëcht een? Mëcht een dat op die drëschen Zähnbischt ?	oh,... what does he do? Does he put that on the dry toothbrush?
8	Melanie	Zahnpasta	Toothpaste
9	Ms. Majerus	nee, mëcht een die Zähnbischt nass, an dann mëcht een ?	No, he wets the toothbrush and then he does what?

	(gesticulating as squeezing a tube)		
10	Multiple children	Zahnpasta	Toothpaste
11	Ms. Majerus	Zahnpasta drop an dann ganz gutt schruppen, schruppen, schruppen, schruppen, schruppen	Toothpaste on it and then scrub, scrub, scrub, scrub very well.
12	Melanie	1, 2, 3...	1, 2, 3..
13	Ms. Majerus	4, genau!	4, exactly

EXCERPT 8 - Ms. Majerus narrates and reads a storybook

Ms. Majerus used the storybooks to teach content related to a theme. The book was not turned to face the children, while she read and translated. Then, she showed the pictures to the children before turning the page. When reading, she employed a specific intonation and melody, pronouncing the last words of a sentence in a slow and clear way. EXCERPT 8 shows her frequent use of closed questions, possibly intended to elicit the appropriate word (lines 1,3, 5, 7, and 9).

I did not observe spontaneous interactive moments between the teacher and Thiago, only instructional moments that did not develop into longer conversations. Her way of speaking about a topic was teacher-centred, as interaction EXCERPT 8 illustrates.

While Thiago asked several questions at home, he did not seem to have the opportunity to do so in his classroom. However, both his mother and teacher frequently employed closed questions to engage the children in conversation.

It is relevant to point out that the dominant language of the classroom was Luxembourgish. During an interview (EXCERPT 3), Ms. Majerus clearly stated the language policy, saying that she did not allow children to speak other languages in classroom. This rule, however, was

disrespected several times, even by Ms. Majerus herself, without consequences or even acknowledgement.

### 6.4.3. Ms. Wagner

As seen in the section 6.3.3. on language-related events, Ms. Wagner offered a few activities that were similar to Ms. Majerus', such as clapping syllables and learning vocabulary related to a theme. However, Ms. Wagner focused on the grammar and syntax of the sentences. Because of this emphasis, several moments of corrective feedback were observed. These occurred neither in Thiago's home nor in his classroom. In fact, corrective feedback is one of the essences of Ms. Wagner's lessons. For example, if the children labelled a word or described an action based on an image, Ms. Wagner would reformulate it correctly or praise it if the children had said the word or sentence correctly. She used games and flashcards to teach vocabulary and grammatical structures. Her objective was to help the children learn many words and use them correctly in a sentence. The many prompts she used helped her in serving this purpose. The I-R-F pattern of interaction (Nassaji & Wells, 2000) was frequently observed. The focus on form rather than meaningful content is illustrated in the following representative excerpt, EXCERPT 9, and explored in other descriptions.

Context: It is 25/04/2018, Thiago, Mattieu and Lucas are sitting at the table with Ms. Wagner describing images and actions on flash cards.			
line	Person	Utterance	Translation
1	Ms. W.	Kuck! Wat mechst d'Meedchen, Thiago?	Look, what does the girl do, Thiago?
2	Thiago	un Schong!	On shoes!
3	Ms. W (pointing at Lucas).	Huet en dat richtig gesot?	Did he say that correctly?
4	Lucas	Nee! D'Meedchen...	No, the girl...
5	Ms. W.	Deet	Puts
6	Lucas	deet ... seng Schong un.	Puts... her shoes on.

7	Ms. W.	Gutt! Nach eng Kéier, lauschert! Dat war ganz gutt. Nach eng Kéier. Sot méi haart, fir datt hien dech héiert.	Good! Once again, listen! That was very good! Once again. Say it louder so that he can hear you.
8	Thiago	De Meechen...	The girl..
9	Ms. W.	Nee, nee, nee du lauschers	No, no, no, you listen!
10	Lucas	D'Meedchen...	The girl
11	Thiago	D'Meechen	The girl
12	Ms. W.	deet	Puts
13	Lucas	deet	Puts
14	Thiago	deet	Puts
15	Lucas	deng	Her
16	Thiago	deng	Her
17	Ms. W.	Lauschter!	Listen!
18	Lucas	deng seng Schong un!	Your her shoes on!
19	Ms. W. (in a rhythmic manner)	D'Meedchen deet seng Schong un	The girl puts her shoes on
20	Lucas	un	On
21	Ms. W. (pointing at Thiago)	nach eng Kéier	Once again
22	Thiago	D'Meedchen seng	The girl her
23	Ms. W. (in a rhythmic manner)	Nee. Nee. Lauschter. D'Meedchen deet seng Schong un	No. No. Listen. The girl puts her shoes on.
24	Thiago	D'Meedchen seet seng Schong un.	The girl `huts´ her shoes on.
25	Ms. W.	D'Meedchen deet	The girl puts
26	Thiago	D'Meedchen deet	The girl puts
27	Ms. W. (in a rhythmic manner)	seng Schong un. D'Meedchen deet seng Schong un.	Her shoes on. The girl puts her shoes on.
28	Thiago	D'Meedchen seet ...	The girl `huts´ ...
29	Ms. W. (completing along with Thiago)	...seng Schong un. Gutt!	... her shoes on. Good!

EXCERPT 9 - Ms. Wagner focuses on the sentence structure

In EXCERPT 9, Ms. Wagner practised the following sentence structure of the verb *undoen* (put on/dress) in the sentence “The girl puts on her shoes”. Ms. Wagner asked Thiago to look at a flashcard and say what the girl was wearing (line 1). Thiago offered a short answer, consisting of an article and the correct noun. Rather than correcting the boy herself, the teacher asked Lucas whether the answer was correct (line 3), thereby emphasising her focus on form. Lucas began, stopped and eventually finished the sentence, helped by Ms. Wagner who offered the missing verb (line 5). The teacher praised the child, asked for a repetition, and encouraged everybody to listen (line 7). In the following 20 speaking turns, Thiago first repeats after Lucas and the teacher, word for word. She asks Thiago to listen again for the whole sentence, as Lucas was unable to say it. Thiago was still not able to repeat the whole sentence, missing either the verb or saying it incorrectly. Ms. Wagner said the whole sentence in a rhythmic manner, to help the children to memorise it. Eventually, she said the sentence together with Thiago and praised him.

The focus on form rather than meaningful content is also obvious in the following example, EXCERPT 10, where Lucas showed Ms. Wagner the plaster on his knee (line 1). Ms. Wagner first asked him what he had on his knee and whether he had fallen (line 2). Lucas then points at his bruise and says “boo-boo” (line 3). Ms. Wagner acknowledges that bruises hurt by using a tag question and, immediately after, takes advantage of the moment to have Lucas say the word “plaster”, by asking what his mother had put there. She even offers the indefinite article “eng” (a) in a question-like intonation, inviting Lucas to complete the sentence (line 4). Lucas instead corrects it by saying that it was not his mother who had put the plaster on, but his father (line 5). Ms. Wagner tries again by asking what his daddy had put there (line 6). Lucas then answers “Plooscht” (line 7), and Ms. Wagner corrects him by saying “Eng Plooschter” (a plaster), and closes the conversation by asking Lucas to put his leg down (line 8).

Context: It is 17/05/2018, Thiago, Lucas, Mattieu and Agathe are sitting at the Ms. Wagner's desk, describing flash cards.

Line	actors	Original utterance	English translation	Description
1	Lucas	Kuck, Joffa !	Look, teacher!	He raises his knee to show he has a plaster on it.
2	Ms. Wagner	Wat hues du do drop? Bass du gefall?	What do you have there? Did you fall?	She leans forward to see better.
3	Lucas	Bobo !	boo-boo	He points at his bruise.
4	Ms. Wagner	Et deet wéi, oder? Wat huet deng Mama drop gemaach? Eng?	It hurts, right? What did mama put there? A?	
5	Lucas	Nee, Papa.	No, daddy!	
6	Ms. Wagner	De Papa. Wat huet den Papa drop..	The daddy. What did the daddy put there?	
7	Lucas	Plooscht	Plast	
8	Ms. Wagner	Eng Plooschter. Da maach däi Been elo erof.	A plaster. Now put your leg down.	

EXCERPT 10 - Ms. Wagner wants Lucas to say "Plooschter".

As shown in section 6.3.3., Ms. Wagner also made use of French, probably to scaffold language for Lucas whose main language was French. However, this also modelled the use of French for Thiago, and particularly how languages can be used to say the same things in different ways. When asking children to describe the drawing on a particular flashcard, Ms. Wagner asked what the character had on his head, pointing at his cap. Lucas then answered that he had a hat. Ms Wagner then said that it was neither a "hut" (hat) nor a beanie and that the item was common in France. She then said, in French, « *C'est le même mot en français. C'est un béret, béret* » (It is the same word in French. It's a cap/beret, cap/beret). She then concludes the event by saying the complete sentence to model it for the children "Hien huet e Beret um Kapp" (he has a cap on head). This Luxembourgish vocabulary exercise exposed Thiago to French words, which he may well have learned.

#### 6.4.4. Maison Relais

Because Thiago remained in his MRE for the lunch hour only, I observed few interactions between the adults/educators and the children. Even though there were few moments and I was not allowed to record them, I observed more one-to-one interactions between educators and Thiago than I observed in his classroom. This is especially significant when considering that less time was spent observing Thiago in the MRE than in his classroom. However, no specific strategy was observed, except that the educators provided Thiago with input and opportunities to interact. TABLE 15 below summarises my written notes on the interaction moments observed.

TABLE 15 - Observed interactive moments between Thiago and three different educators

Activities/ Events	Date	Short Description	Languages present
Asking how the day was or how the child is, developing conversation	07/05/18	Educator sits at the TABLE with Thiago and three other children. She talks to them, first asking them to blow on the food that is hot, then about the food and the bruise on a boy's arm.	L
	16/05/2018	Educator asks if Thiago does not want to play with the others. Another educator, a few minutes after, asks Thiago why he is playing alone.	L
	16/05/2018	Educator plays with Thiago in the seesaw and tries to develop a conversation with him, for example by asking if he prefers slow or fast.	L

#### 6.4.5. Comparing settings

TABLE 16 shows the occurrence of observed language-conducive strategies employed by the adults across settings. They were drawn from the tables that list the interactive moments I observed during my fieldwork (Appendix – Tables summarizing interactional moments and strategies observed).

TABLE 16 - observed language-conducive strategies employed by the adults across setting

language promoting strategies		Home	Ms. Majerus' Classroom	Ms. Wagner's classes	MRE
Interaction stimulating	Initiating conversation	x	x		x
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Conversation	x	x	x	
	Insisting on an information	x			
	Asking questions	x	x	x	
	Praising		x	x	
Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		x	x	
	Repeating after	x	x	x	
	Gesturing to aid comprehension		x	x	
	Expanding children's vocabulary	x	x	x	
	Articulating clearly		x	x	
	Using visuals to deliver meaning		x	x	

TABLE 16 clearly shows that the setting with fewer types of observed language promotion strategies is the MRE. In fact, the lack of interactional moments I observed in the MRE did not provide me with data to analyse the quality or quantity of the interactions. However, it is important to note that the activities proposed in the MRE encouraged children to talk. An analysis of their interactions is necessary, but would answer another research question.

Both teachers, on the other hand, made use of the same range and type of strategies in order to help children learn new words in Luxembourgish and hear them being pronounced clearly. Teachers also employed corrective feedback and repeated after the children to model and confirm the word or sentence. The formal trait of interaction illustrated in the transcribed excerpts shows a constant pattern of questions. Nevertheless, in the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons, Thiago had the opportunity to say or repeat Luxembourgish words or sentences, despite them being formally taught at word-level/ sentence-level. In neither setting were informal conversations between teachers and Thiago observed. Ms. Majerus did not tend to explicitly correct children's utterances, and did not encourage children to explain a topic, tell a story or give opinions and examples.

Ms. Gastão made use of many strategies and, like Ms. Majerus, she did not correct Thiago's utterances. This does not mean that their interactions did not have traits of formal teaching, as I observed several moments in which the conversation occurred around Thiago's knowledge of vocabulary, where he was asked questions and follow-up questions to check his comprehension. Despite the formal language teaching strategies, Thiago could interact with his mother around meaningful content and not only form, which was not observed in any of the other settings.

### **6.5. Summary**

In this chapter, I showed that the ways in which the physical spaces Thiago occupied had the potential to help him develop his language and literacy. His home and classroom environments were filled with books, illustrations, posters, name tags, interactive TV, and games. By contrast, the Luxembourgish classroom and the MRE did not afford similar rich and varied encounters with language and literacy. While the former was integrally teacher-centred, thus not allowing spaces for the children to play freely, the latter was the exact opposite, characterised by the complete absence of formal teaching. In line with the day care centre's institutional aim to distinguish themselves from formal education institutions, this MRE did not physically include language affordances in its rooms. A similar pattern was observed in relation to language-conducive activities, relevant to my second research question. Varied forms of language learning activities were observed at home and in Thiago's classroom, even though they differed from each other in that the activities at home were mostly (but not only) informal, whereas at school, Ms. Majerus focused on formal literacy development with more phonological awareness activities. All activities taking place under the direction of Ms. Wagner, the Luxembourgish teacher, were language-oriented and highly formal. All the

activities around her table had a clearly defined purpose of teaching Luxembourgish vocabulary and grammar, disguised as card games or board games. In the MRE, I observed the opposite of adult-led proposed activities. Adults did not propose any formal language learning activities. This does not mean, however, that by letting children engage in play free in the playground, the institution was not providing these children with opportunities for language learning. In fact, by letting children engage in free play and negotiate games and roles among their peers, these adults afforded spaces for authentic language to flourish. Some moments of free play also happened in Ms. Majerus' classroom. Finally, when looking at the interactions between adults and children during activities in greater depth, I noticed that the teachers appeared to systematically employ questions so as to prompt children to say appropriate sentences or words. Ms. Gastão also made use of language supportive strategies, though more formal ones. These strategies place the attention on form and not content and were frequent at school. The limited observed interactions between educators and children in the Maison Relais did not provide me with enough data to analyse them. What happened in the activities offered by the MRE was language emerging from children themselves; thus, a thorough analysis of the children's interactions would be necessary if I were aiming to answer a different research question. His mother, teachers and educators, as well as peers at times, used more than one language and he observed them switching languages depending on the situation. They may possibly have served as role models for Thiago.

## **Chapter 7 – Language affordances in Bianca and Luiza’s learning spaces**

### **7.1. Introduction**

This chapter will continue addressing my four research questions, following the pattern used in the first case study in chapter 6. In the following sections, I will present data on language learning opportunities, starting with a description of physical environments. I will then look at activities proposed by adults that could afford language and literacy learning, before examining language during moments of adult-child interaction by analysing transcription excerpts to reveal language teaching strategies. I conclude the chapter with a summary of the data presented.

Bianca and Luiza Rizzo are twins, five years old at the time of data collection. They had recently moved from Brazil to Luxembourg with their parents. Bianca and Luiza occupied three different spaces on weekdays: home, school, and the Maison Relais. They shared all the same settings except for the preschool classroom: they were split into two different classrooms, organised by two different teachers. Inside the school building and structure, the twins went to Luxembourgish pull-out lessons conducted by Ms. Thill, three times a week. Similar to Ms. Wagner, Ms. Thill taught Luxembourgish to children whose home languages were not Luxembourgish. These four settings together form Bianca and Luiza’s language learning environment, subject to my analysis. From a sociocultural and ecological perspective, I examine the settings and identify their possible language learning affordances.

### **7.2. Physical Environment**

In this section, I describe the settings physically by looking for concrete affordances which could encourage language learning.

### 7.2.1. Home

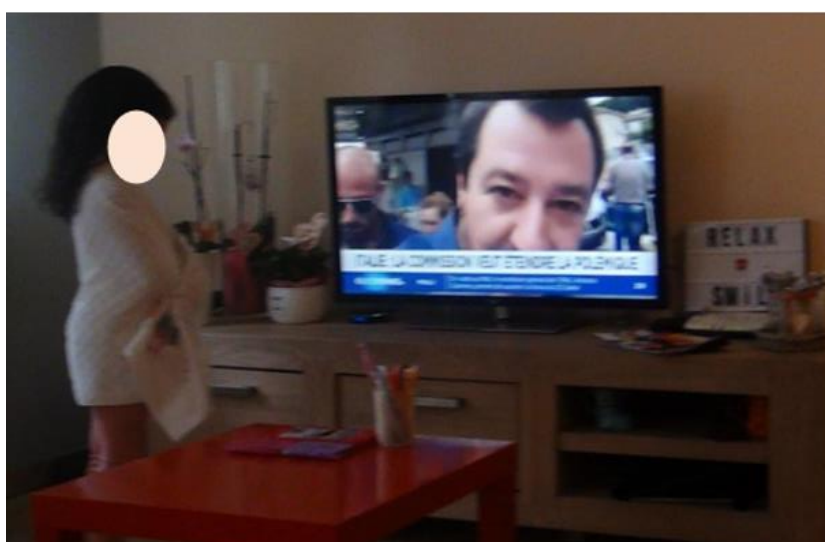
At the time of data collection, the Rizzos lived in a two-bedroom apartment, approximately 80 m<sup>2</sup>. Besides the living room, the Rizzos' apartment had a kitchen, a corridor, two bedrooms and a bathroom. The common area was the living room, where the family gathered. Next to the TV, on the TV rack, was a light sign displaying messages created according to the occasion or season. There were sometimes flowers on this TV rack and small souvenir objects. There were few decorations. There was an image of the Virgin Mary with Jesus on one of the walls. Between the TV and the sofa, there was a children's plastic table with two chairs. Next to the children's plastic table was a dinner table with six seats. In one corner, there was an office chair, along with file folders, a laptop, a printer, storage boxes, and some photo frames. There were also two armchairs in this room. The mother ensured the home's cleanliness and organised structure. It was a tidy and orderly home.



Figure 40 - The Rizzos' Living Room



*Figure 41 - Children having dinner in their plastic table*

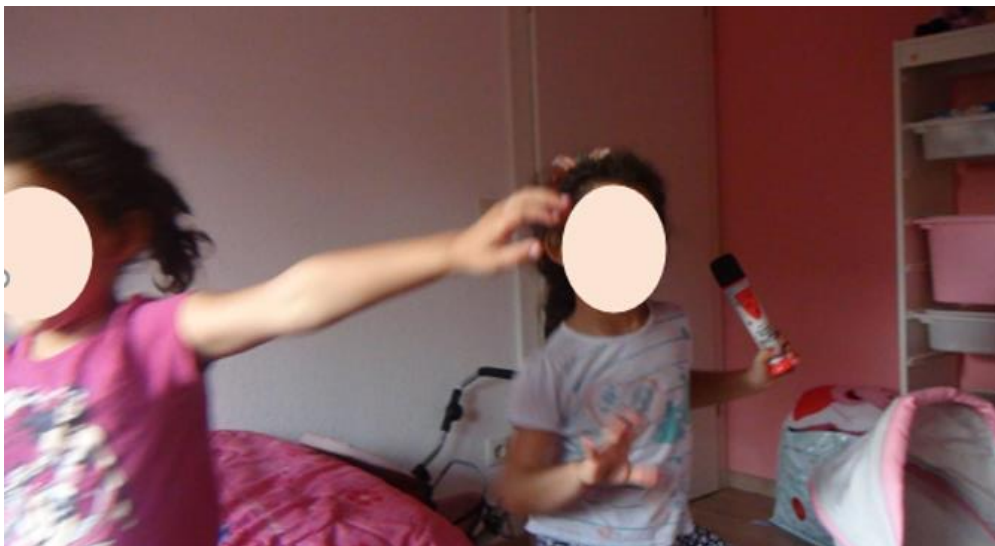


*Figure 42 - Light sign in English, TV on a French-speaking channel*

There were framed family photos in the corridor. Shoes and jackets were also kept in the corridor. The kitchen was separated from the dining room. There was one bathroom/toilet.

In the girls' bedroom, there were two beds with pink bed covers and, between them, there was a pink chest of drawers. There were some small toys on the windowpane. These three pieces of furniture took up almost all three walls of the bedroom. The fourth wall was occupied by the white wardrobe and an organisation rack with plastic drawers. All children-related materials,

such as toys, drawings and books, were kept in the girls' bedroom, inside the wardrobe or in storage boxes.



*Figure 43 - Bianca and Luiza's bedroom 1*



*Figure 44 - Bianca and Luiza's bedroom 2*

Looking for written language in the physical environment, I discovered the following objects: one written light sign; technological devices, including the television, table, laptop, printer and parents' mobile phones; a couple of books brought home from school; paper and notebooks; pens and pencils.

### 7.2.2. School

To enter their classrooms, the twins walked through a common corridor of the school building where posters and students' artworks were displayed. There were flights of stairs leading to upper floors. Inside the school building, they opened a glass door that led to a specific dead-end corridor with four other doors, two on each side. Each door led to a Cycle 1 (Spillschool) classroom. This corridor was packed with children's belongings, artwork, posters, and signs.

### 7.2.3. Ms. Faber's classroom

Ms. Faber's classroom was the first door on the right. When Bianca entered her classroom, she encountered an explosion of colours, artwork, noises, and children. Ms. Faber's classroom was about 30 m<sup>2</sup> and packed with visual stimuli. On one wall was a full red wooden shelf with doors on the upper half and a counter in the middle. This counter had many art/stationary materials, storage boxes, tins, etc. In front of the shelf doors, the teacher had placed clothes lines from which to hang the children's activities.



Figure 45 – Ms. Faber's classroom 1

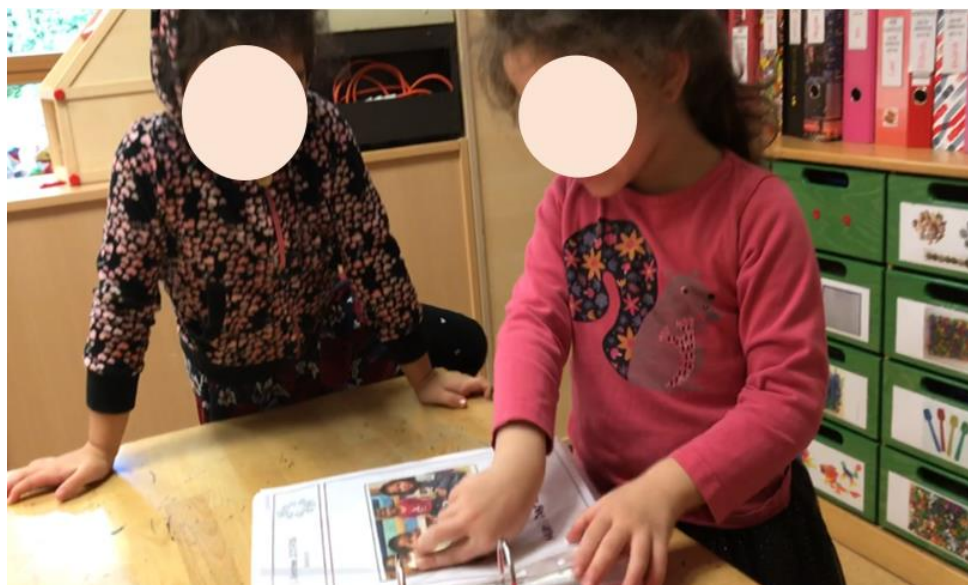


*Figure 46 - Ms. Faber's classroom 2*

The teacher's desk was in front of the full shelf and faced the class. On it was a computer and many stationery and office materials. Another wall was completely occupied by a shelf with drawers, from which the children took their pencil and marker cases, along with other materials such as blank paper, plastic cups, glue sticks, etc. The room had a half-wall made up by a piece of furniture that separated two quarters of it. On one half, forming about one quarter of the room, there was an activity table with drawers containing materials identified mainly by illustrations, as well as a counter with the portfolios on top.



*Figure 47 - Ms. Faber's desk and exercise sheets hanging*



*Figure 48 - Ms. Faber's classroom - children looking at their portfolios*

The other half created a smaller, more controlled, and intimate place for circle time. In the circle time area, there was a small car-shaped sofa, a round carpet, and a blackboard behind the sofa. The blackboard displayed pictures and extra written material, such as sheet music with lyrics, according to the thematic unit. The blackboard was decorated with light strings. Next to the blackboard, there was a ruler for measuring the children's height. The sofa lay between a wooden box where books were kept and a side table on which other books (replaced from time

to time, according to the thematic unit) or prompts for the circle time lay. The wooden box contained about 30 books, mostly in German, with a few in French. The circle time area was also the reading corner for free playing time.



Figure 49 - Circle time area in Ms. Faber's classroom



Figure 50 - theme-related books available on a side desk next to the sofa



*Figure 51 - more books available next to the sofa*

Next to the circle time area, there was a magnetic blackboard with magnetic letters for the children to play and spell with (FIGURE 52).

Written language was everywhere but there were no representations of other languages besides Luxembourgish, German, and French, nor representations of other written systems. The drawers and cupboards had name tags or drawings of objects on them. The children's desks were labelled with their names, written in capital letters. Around Bianca, images and children's art pieces reminded her of the topic/theme they had been learning, normally hanging from clothes lines across the classroom.

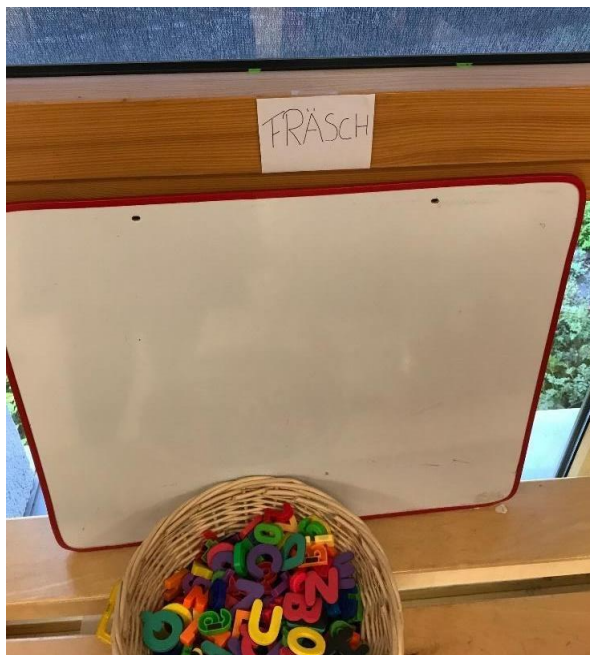


Figure 52 - Magnetic Board with Letters and the word Fräsch as model

#### 7.2.4. Ms. Keller's classroom

After passing through the glass door that led to the four classrooms of the Cycle 1 in the school, Luiza entered the second door to her left leading into Ms. Keller's classroom. The room was ample, about 40m<sup>2</sup>. One wall was made up of windows overlooking the school yard. On this side of the classroom, there was a bookshelf and an armchair with a carpet, designating the reading corner. There, the books were displayed with their covers facing the children. There were about 30 titles, mostly in German but a few in French and Luxembourgish. The titles were replaced from time to time.



Figure 53 - Reading corner in Ms. Keller's classroom



Figure 54 – Books Availability

There was a wooden play kitchen and cupboard with play cups, saucers, and plates, a space for dramatic play affordances (Kimberly K. Cloward Drown, & Keith M Christensen, 2014). On the back corner, there was a crafting desk. The shelves next to it, where paintbrushes, paints, scissors, and glue were found, blocked the view of the desk. This back corner was isolated from

the rest of the class. This corner appeared to serve as a safe haven because children could not be seen there by those entering the classroom. According to Tabors (2008), providing safe havens is favourable for newly arrived children because they provide a space in which children can feel protected from exposure while also feeling competent and occupied. Luiza was often there (FIGURE 55).

On the back wall was a wooden cupboard, in which portfolios and other materials were kept, such as plastic tableware for birthday celebrations, stationary items, and games.



*Figure 55 - Overview of Ms. Keller's classroom*

The wall across the window had a set of drawers. Some of these had pictures on them identifying their contents, such as a red cross for first aid material, a stick figure drinking water for plastic cups, and so on for pencil cases, tissues, etc. On top of the set of drawers sat some plants and documents. On the wall above it were illustrations related to the theme the children were learning at the time (dinosaurs, planets, summer, penguins, etc.). The door and a sink were also on this side of the classroom. The teacher's desk was in the corner at the back of the classroom. Beside her desk she had a computer, a chair, and shelves.



*Figure 56 - Left side of Ms. Keller's classroom. No written language observed.*

On the fourth wall, there were pictures of the families, as well as cardboard boxes for children to build fortresses. There was a blackboard where images according to the theme and prompts for the circle time activities were attached. The circle time activity happened in front of the blackboard. There was no sofa for the teacher. She sat on the floor, with children sitting around her.



*Figure 57 - Ms. Keller's decoration with families' photos*

A clothesline, from which parents' letters hung, was suspended over the blackboard. They were displayed chronologically, starting with the letter for the child whose birthday was the first in the school year. With each birthday, the letters were opened and, after being read, they would remain hanging from the clothesline.

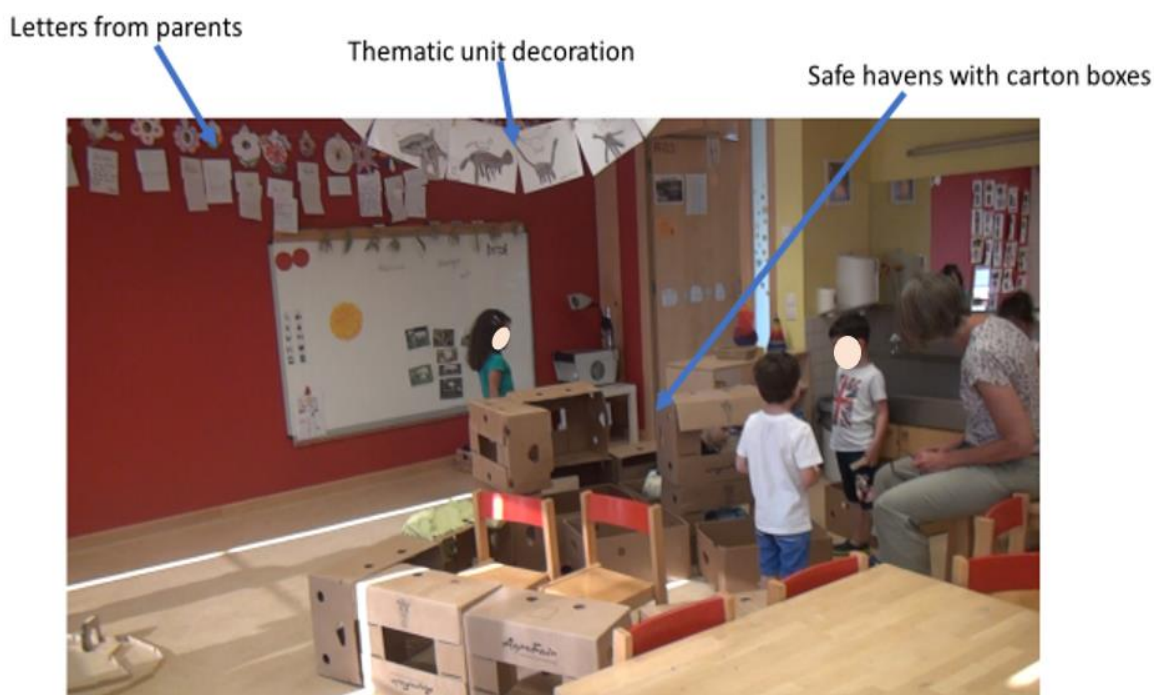


Figure 58 - Ms. Keller's Room - View from opposite corner of the entrance

In the middle of the classroom there were desks where children would eat, play games, and do activities, such as drawing.

### 7.2.5. Ms. Thill

Ms. Thill's classroom was ample, about 40 m<sup>2</sup>, and looked like other preschool classrooms which typically contain desks, shelves, a teacher's desk, and toys. Nevertheless, children were always led to a small and controlled area, which took up less than one quarter of the whole classroom space. This small area, about 9 m<sup>2</sup>, was where the teacher-centred activities took

place. Around this teaching area, there were many visual aids for the lessons. This area was separated by a movable/portable wall/mural which had plastic pouches in which Ms. Thill inserted illustrations of song lyrics. There were many prompts used by the teacher: puppets, cards, books, games, etc. on a side table to the right of the teacher's small sofa, as well as behind her on a wall niche. During that specific school year, Ms. Thill's room was not used for activities other than Luxembourgish lessons and "feelings" lessons.



*Figure 59 - Active area of Ms. Thill's classroom*

As for the presence of written language in the physical environment, nothing was observed during the Luxembourgish class. During the feelings class, illustrations of fish with different facial expressions were labelled with the names of different feelings.



Figure 60 - Wheeled piece of furniture with feelings

### 7.2.6. The library – D'Médiathéik

In this case study, I have included the library because children would visit it weekly as part of their school activities. They could choose books, look at them there, and borrow them to take home. Every week, Bianca and Luiza took books home. The library was of an ample size, and had over a thousand items, including books, CDs and DVDs.



Figure 61 – Médiathék



Figure 62 - Detail of bookshelves with signs for books in German, French and other languages.

The library had different sections, such as Märchen (Fairy tales), Witz (jokes), Vorlesegeschichten (stories to read aloud), bilingual books, among others. Inside plastic boxes (not in shelves) and right next to where children sat to read, there were books written in Portuguese, Spanish, English and Greek, as FIGURES 63 and 64 illustrate.



Figure 63 - Availability of books in Spanish, Italian, English and Greek



Figure 64 - Availability of books in Portuguese

### 7.2.7. The Maison Relais

The MRE building was located in the same site, sharing the school's playground. Bianca and Luiza's MRE had three floors. Upon entering the front door on the ground floor, part of the

second floor and part of the underground level were visible. Inside the MRE, there was a reception desk to the right where an employee controlled who entered and exited the building. The educator responsible for the reception desk gave each child their own photo. Children were asked to stick their photo on a large panel. This panel displayed the different workshops' options (FIGURE 65), and children were asked to stick their photos on the appropriate workshop they chose to go. This way, educators would know who was in each workshop room. The panel was right across from the reception desk. The different spaces were displayed in written language (Luxembourgish) with illustrations that represented the activity happening in each given space, providing information and guidance for those children who could not read them. For example, the "Spiller" (Play) atelier was accompanied by an illustration of dice, the "Molen" (Painting) atelier the illustration of a child painting on an easel.



Figure 65 - Panel showing the availability of workshops

The reading corner was on the ground level, next to the reception desk. It had a bookshelf with 20 niches measuring about 40 cm X 40 cm each. There were mostly magazines, such as Galileo, Geo, and Disney comics, but also about 60 reading books. Most books were in German, but there was a column labelled 'Français' (French) with a few copies available, as FIGURE 66 illustrates. This reading corner was right next to the reception desk and, thus, noisy.



Figure 66 - Reading corner and the availability of reading material

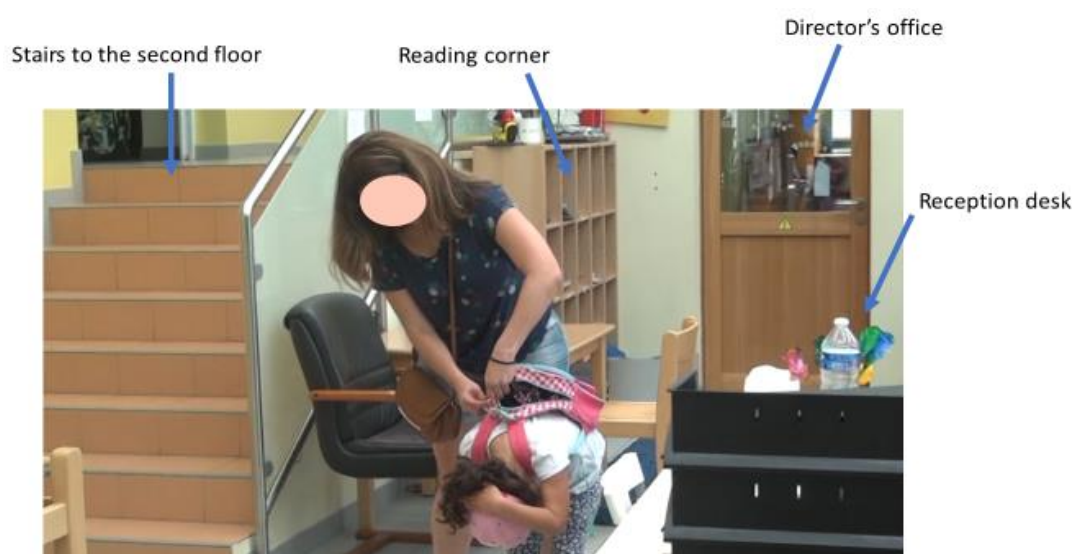


Figure 67 - MR's reception and the reading corner

On the upper floor were the different atelier rooms. Each room had its own function: one room for sleeping/resting; one for doing homework; one for construction, nature, and technique; one for drawing; and one for theatre. There were also restrooms on this floor. The rooms had posters with rules stuck on the wall, but apart from these few posters, the rooms were not rich in written language.

On the lowest level, the underground level, there was a restaurant with a kitchen, restrooms, another atelier room for games, and niches for children to keep their belongings. Their names were written on each niche. As for the written language present in the physical environment, I observed the following: a bookshelf with books available in more than one language, written posters and/or signs, and labels on certain spaces and objects.

### 7.2.8. Comparing settings

Looking at the physical affordances across settings, Tables 17 and 18 show the presence of written language in the different spaces in which Bianca and Luiza participated. The first thing that the tables show is that the settings do not have a common element. Ms. Thill's physical space offered fewer language learning affordances. This confirms the teacher-centredness of her lessons, which will be shown in section 7.3.4. In her lessons, children could not interact freely with the room's prompts; as such, affordances were not made available to the children. The items that were most common across the settings were books, even though the twins did not have a specific reading space at home as they had in their classrooms.

TABLE 17 - Availability of language-inductive elements in Bianca's settings

<b>written language in the physical environment</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Faber's Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's classroom</b>	<b>MRE</b>
reading corner with books		x		x

language-related prompts (as stencil ruler, alphabet puzzles, etc.)		x		
posters with writings /signs	x	x		x
technological devices available for children	x			
labels naming people, objects, or spaces		x	x	x
availability of books in different languages	x (P, F, G, L)*	x (F, G, L)		x (F, G, L)

\* *P* stands for Portuguese, *G* for German, *F* for French, and *L* for Luxembourgish.

TABLE 18 - Availability of language-inducive elements in Luiza's settings

<b>written language in the physical environment</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Keller's Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's classroom</b>	<b>MRE</b>
reading corner with books		x		x
language-related prompts (as stencil ruler, alphabet puzzles, etc.)		x		
posters with writings /signs	x	x		x
technological devices available for children	x			
labels naming people, objects, or spaces			x	x
availability of books in different languages	x (P, F, G, L)*	x (F, G, L)		x (F, G, L)

\* *P* stands for Portuguese, *G* for German, *F* for French, and *L* for Luxembourgish.

The overall physical environment of the Rizzos' apartment was not language-rich. We could see some children's books in the living room but not more than four, two of them brought home weekly from the school's library. The setting suggested that the Rizzos had not aimed their attention at enrichment or educational resources, i.e., there were no art pieces, musical instruments, or books around the house. Even though this may be typical of migrant homes, inhabited by people who have restarted their lives and left much of their belongings and cultural customs behind, it also relates to the traits of the family, i.e., their values, choice of pastime activities, and how they appreciate a home. For example, there were no children's paintings or schoolwork hanging on the walls or sitting on shelves.

Ms. Faber's classroom, Ms. Keller's classroom and the MRE were deliberately prepared beforehand, and children were free to perform previously selected activities according to the professionals' intentions. Free play occurred using spaces and prompts designed and selected by adults. Bianca and Luiza's MRE, for example, is inspired by the pedagogy of Réggio. The environment is thus considered to be the third teacher, where the child is his/her own first teacher, and the peers and educators the second. Thus, just like in the schools, the rooms were prepared beforehand to encourage children's interactions.

Both classrooms differ from the MRE in their organisation, decoration, and availability of literacy-purposed elements. At school, the twins had their own classrooms and they belonged to a group, that remained most of the time inside a determined classroom. This was not the case in the MRE. The classrooms were decorated according to the theme that had been selected and was being studied, e.g., penguins, planets, pirates, and dinosaurs. At the MRE, the decoration was permanent. There were random drawings on the walls or corridors which were not related to the theme. This shows the difference in intent in both places. The MRE is less geared to formal educational and does not promote any particular type of content, whereas the teachers must develop curricula and lesson plans, designing new thematic units regularly. Focusing on language learning and/or literacy, I observed that the linguistic landscape in the classrooms is richer.

Having said this, both classrooms differed from each other. Ms. Faber's classroom displayed more formal learning content, such as exercises and tasks hanging around the room. We also saw labels on desks and drawers. The physical elements of Ms. Keller's classroom, on the other hand, conveyed an emphasis on well-being. She did not tag elements in her classroom or display language-related sheets around the classroom. By creating safe havens, such as the craft corner, the big carton boxes with which the children could build fortresses and hide, the cosy

reading space and the photos and letters from families, she communicates comfort rather than emphasising academic competencies. Literacy opportunities were thus less physically present. Ms. Faber's classroom indicates an emphasis on fostering academic skills. Bianca and Luiza had different ranges of language affordance in their classroom settings. In this sense, Bianca was more exposed to formal language learning than Luiza.

Comparing home and school with the fourth space, Ms. Thill's classroom, revealed the purpose of the latter: it was a controlled space, with prompts and visual aids that served the teacher's pre-designed, exclusively teacher-guided lesson. The room was rich in illustrations that represented taught concepts and actions according to classroom activities (presented and discussed in the next section).

Comparing the four spaces revealed that the children's classrooms and MRE seemed similar, as their spaces were designed for children to be safe, interact with the prompts, and possibly learn from them. These two spaces contrast with the home and the Luxembourgish classroom, where the settings were not prepared for children's interaction but according to the adults' needs. The Rizzos had set two special play spaces where the girls could abstract themselves from family life and play more independently: their bedroom and the child-sized plastic table next to the dinner table. In sections 8.3 and 9.4.1, I discuss how these two spaces allowed the girls to play and act out school and MRE activities.

It is also worth noting that from April 2018, the four preschool classes (Cycle 1) classrooms in Bianca and Luiza's school were made available to all children during the first morning period. This means that Bianca and Luiza could choose and play in any of the four classrooms they wanted, similar to what they did in the MRE. In fact, they were also asked to place their photos at the classroom door. This way, children and teachers could see who was in each classroom.

In those rooms, they also interacted with their prompts, including a typewriter which they often used.

### **7.3. Language and literacy-related events**

Now that the physical environments have been presented and discussed, I will look at the literacy-related events observed in these settings.

#### **7.3.1. Home**

A typical day for Bianca and Luiza consisted of their father driving them to school, walking them to the common corridor of the *Spillschoul* classrooms, and helping them to take off and hang their jackets and other apparel. The girls often jumped on his lap to say goodbye and ran to a window to watch him walking away. They stayed at school campus, switching from school to MRE, from 8 in the morning until 5 in the afternoon when the mother would pick them up to go home, either by car or on foot. The girls would go straight to the shower while their mother cooked dinner. When the girls finished showering, they waited for their father while watching videos on a table playing with a toy/doll or leafing through books. When Mr. Rizzo arrived, he helped the girls brush and blow-dry their hair while Ms. Rizzo prepared dinner. On spring or summer days, Ms. Rizzo would wait in the school's playground while the girls played. Sometimes, she would take the girls to other playgrounds in their village.

Similar to the previous chapter, I will here present observed language and literacy events. TABLE 19 summarises them and indicate that many literacy events were observed in the Rizzo household.

TABLE 19 - Observed language-related events in the Rizzo's home.

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Languages present*</b>
Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing phonemic awareness	06/12/17	Parents tell me that they play guessing word games when the family is in the car. Example: "I am thinking of a word that starts with P".	Pt
		29/05/18	Parents tell me how they play with words when the family is in the car.	Pt
	Practicing writing/ tracing letters	07/06/18	Mother asking Bianca to write some people's names.	Pt
	Reading/ identifying letters or words			
	Practicing Grammar/ syntax			
	Vocabulary / teaching			
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	Home video 14/05/18	Mother reading four Brazilian books for the girls	Pt
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say			
	Discussing a specific theme	30/05/18	Mother asking what they ate in the Maison Relais	Pt
		07/06/18	Parents teaching the girls about the game tic-tac-toe	Pt
	Listening to music or singing	29/05/18	While the girls are singing several songs with toy microphones, the parents say "sing the Planet song", "now the Moien song"	Pt, L
		07/06/18	Mother asking girls to sing Mother's Day songs	Pt, L
	Asking children to describe an image			
	Doing rhymes			

	Playing games with children	07/06/18	Father plays tic-tac-toe with them	Pt
~  Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	07/06/18	Father looking at the books the girls brought from school, flipping their pages and asking questions.	G, Pt
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages	06/12/17	Bianca is showing an illustration on a paper. The mother asks how many rabbits were there. Bianca says 4. Mother asks her to count in Luxembourgish.	Pt, L
		30/05/18	Mother asks girls to count to 10 in Luxembourgish, English, French, German, Italian and Spanish	Pt, L, E, F, G, It, Sp
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	Home video (March 2018)	girls playing with Minnie on the living room floor and speaking Luxembourgish	L
		idem	girls playing with Polly dolls on the sofa and speaking Luxembourgish	L
		idem	girls talking "Ech schwatze mega Lëtzebuergesch" in the car (I speak a lot of Luxembourgish or I speak Luxembourgish very well).	L
		Home video (Dec. 2017)	Girls walking and pretending to be speaking Luxembourgish. Their first time at home (home video).	L
		idem	Bianca playing she is speaking Luxembourgish home floor with cards (home video)	L
		Home video (March 2018)	Luiza reading Cinderella out loud in Luxembourgish and the mother is filming	L
		idem	Bianca reading A Princesa e o Sapo (The princess and the frog) out loud in Luxembourgish and the mother is filming.	Pt, L
		Home video (May 2018)	Girls playing with mother that they are at a restaurant, and they are orders. In Luxembourgish and the mother plays along (home video)	Pt, L
		idem	Girls cutting cardboard paper on living room floor and speaking Luxembourgish	L
		07/06/18	Girls speaking Luxembourgish among themselves, while eating dinner separately from parents.	L
		29/05/18	Girls presenting a show - Princesses Show – in Portuguese but there are moments that they use Luxembourgish.	Pt, L
		30/05/18	Girls playing in the swing in the playground with mother next to them.	Pt, L

		30/05/18	Girls playing with a balloon in the corridor of their home and speaking Luxembourgish	L
		07/06/18	Girls eating dinner separately at another table, and interact sometimes in Portuguese and Luxembourgish	Pt, L
	Using other languages besides the home language			
	Showing interest in material brought from home or school	06/12/17	Mother shows me Luiza's school drawing.	Pt
		07/06/18	Father looking at the books the girls brought from school, flipping their pages.	G, Pt
		07/06/18	Mother wanting to know how the Mother's Day's gift was made	Pt
	writing	Home video (March 2018)	Mother had changed the light sign to the sayings "Joyeuses Pâques/ Happy Easter"	F, E
Child-initiated activities.	Reading/ leafing/ interacting with books	Home video (March 2018)	Luiza reading Cinderela out loud in Luxembourgish	L
		idem	Bianca reading A Princesa e o Sapo (Princess and the Frog) out loud in Luxembourgish.	Pt, L
		29/05/18	Bianca is leafing through the book Le Loup from school / Bianca with "Meus Contos Favoritos"	F, Pt
		29/05/18	Luiza opening the book Le Loup and showing it to the public (me and her father) leafing through the book for us to see it.	F, Pt
		29/05/18	Luiza reading to her sleeping sister, showing the book open.	L
		29/05/18	Girls read for me to sleep.	Pt
		Home video (June 2018)	Girls playing "Quente ou Frio" by writing/reading clues on cards	Pt
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/ toys			
		Home Video (Dec. 2017)	Girls singing Vill Gléck Neier Joer (home video)	L
		Home Video (Jan. 2018)	Girls singing Liichtmëssdag Lidd/ Schnéi Lidd (home video)	L

	Listening to music or singing	14/05/18	Girls sing the Planets Song while mother reads to them.	Pt, L
		29/05/18	Girls singing Abracadabra. Sim Sallabin	L
		29/05/18	Girls singing Gudde Moien, Gudde Moien, schéin dass du do bass	L
		29/05/18	Mother saying that the girls always sing and that they come home saying they have learned a new song!	Pt, L
		29/05/18	Girls singing Jean petit qui danse	F
		29/05/18	Girls singing Kapp, Shouler, Knees a Schiss (?)	L
		07/06/18	Girls singing on their way home: Uma vez Flamengo, sempre Flamengo (Football's team's hymn)	Pt
		07/06/18	Girls singing "Eu to bem, tu ta bem..." (Portuguese or Brazilian song they learned with children at school or Maison Relais, as the parents were not familiar with that)	Pt
		07/06/18	Girls singing "Olha a explosão. Quando ela bate com a bunda no chão" (Brazilian song they learned with children at school or MRE, as the parents were not familiar with that)	Pt
	writing	29/05/18	Luiza writing in a notebook.	-
		29/05/18	Bianca writing something over the TV rack.	-
		07/06/18	Luiza writing their names on my notebook	-
		07/06/18	Bianca writing names on my notebook.	-
		Home video (May 2018)	Girls playing restaurant/taking orders with mother.	L, Pt
	Watching TV / videos streaming	Home Video (March 2018)	Girls watching Peppa Pig in German while having dinner (home video)	G
		29/05/18	Girls wanted to try a game they had learned on Youtube	Unknown
		30/05/18	Luiza wanted to know in which language the TV was on	Pt, F

*\*Pt stands for Portuguese, L for Luxembourgish, F for French, G for German, E for English, It for Italian, and Sp for Spanish*

As TABLE 19 above shows, many language and literacy events were observed in the Rizzo's family, especially events initiated by the twins. In their free time, they were almost always actively engaged in play. Bianca and Luiza interacted with books and pretended to read the stories aloud or to one another quite frequently (a behaviour that appears at school, too). They also played being TV show presenters and performers, and played restaurant script roles.

TABLE 19 shows that many events included Luxembourgish. Bianca and Luiza's parents were proud of the girls' achievements and enjoyed seeing them speak Luxembourgish, often quieting down to be able to hear the girls talking in Luxembourgish. This indicates that the parents valued and encouraged the use of a language they did not master.

Another event that illustrates how the parents valued what the girls learned at school was Bianca and Luiza's made-up singing show, after dinner on the 29<sup>th</sup> May 2018. The twins had left the dinner table and gone to their bedroom. After a few minutes, I followed and asked if I could spend some time there. They started singing songs. The mother joined me and later the father did the same. Holding a toy microphone, the girls sang many songs from their repertoire. The mother asked them to sing songs from school, so they started singing a birthday song. Then the mother asked for the "Gudde Moien" song (which is part of Luiza's daily circle time ritual). Later the father said, "Now the planet songs". The fact that the father and mother asked for songs implies that they were familiar with the songs and that the girls had sung them in the family context. During this singing show, the girls sang a French song called "Jean Petit qui danse". I had not observed French songs in class, so I asked where they had learned it. The mother replied that it was from Luiza's classroom.

Ms. Rizzo told me she read books for the girls, though not as a bedtime ritual. Ms. Rizzo read Portuguese books that the girls brought home from school. When the girls brought home books written in other languages, she would ask what the books were about. I did not observe a parent-child reading moment, but I asked the parents to record one and Ms. Rizzo sent me two videos. Furthermore, despite not having many books around the home, the girls created several roleplay scenarios which included written language, such as restaurant roleplay, teacher roleplay, and a game with clue cards.

### 7.3.2. Activities and practices in Ms. Faber's classroom

#### *A typical school day described by Ms. Faber*

When I asked Ms. Faber to describe a typical morning in her classroom during an interview, she said that children played freely across four different rooms until almost 10 in the morning, at which point they were asked to tidy up the room. Afterwards, pupils would go to her classroom, where she waited for them in the circle time area. They talked about the calendar and about a theme they were discussing. Then they ate breakfast and interacted with books while waiting for all the children to finish eating. After breakfast, they did activities, such as crafts or exercises focused on language or mathematics, as Ms. Faber explains in EXCERPT 11.

<b>Time</b>	<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Utterance</b>
[00:13:15]	Ms. Faber	Yeah and then we start an activity
[00:13:19]	Me	Uh craft er painting..
[00:13:20]	Ms. Faber	Yes. Whatever. Mathematics or language or German.

*EXCERPT 11 - Ms. Faber on her routine – 06/03/2019*

After the activities, children would get dressed to go play outside until 11.45. Then, they all returned to the classroom to get their backpacks before going to the MRE or getting picked up by their parents. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when children were back at school from 2 to 4 p.m., children played freely and did activities such as those described by Ms. Faber in EXCERPT 11.

### ***My observations of a typical day***

My observations match Ms. Faber's description, except that during circle time, the typical routine of talking about the days of the week and the weather was not observed. Ms. Faber would normally ask one of the children to count how many children were in class and then say who was missing if this was the case. Then, they talked about a theme or received instructions on how to do an activity. When they talked about a theme, Ms. Faber mainly elicited vocabulary, such as types of ships or words associated with summer. Children would then go pick up their snack packs and sit down at their desks. Before eating, they recited a poem aloud, holding their hands behind their bodies. The teacher did not need to recite the poem along with them, the children could on their own. As soon as they finished the poem, they all said "Gudde Appetit!", including the teacher. They ate their snacks, tidied up their desk and lunch packs and picked a book to leaf through in the reading corner/circle time. It was customary for the teacher to gather them again in the circle time area to explain the previous activity, if she had not already done so. At about 11 or 11.15, the children went outside. In terms of activities, three-quarters of the morning was free play, while the last quarter comprised circle time, eating, and doing an activity. Apart from these daily activities, on specific days, they went to the library, to the forest, or to the gymnasium for the sports' class.

#### **7.3.2.2. Language and literacy activities**

In Ms. Faber's classroom, children had the opportunity to interact with books during their two hours of free play and when they had finished eating breakfast. During these moments, Bianca often took on the role of storyteller and told stories to one of her friends by holding the book open with one hand and showing the illustrations. At other times she had one of her friends

read to her while she listened. This shows a learned behaviour: Bianca reproduced the way adults read to her. Such behaviour also appeared at home, as seen in the previous section.

Ms. Faber did not include storytelling moments in the daily routine. In fact, TABLE 20 shows more occurrences of children-initiated literacy events than teacher-led ones. I observed one single teacher-led storytelling event. As presented in the literature review chapter, reading to children is an important strategy to develop language and literacy, especially when reading is interactive (Halle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson; 2003; Whitehurst and Lonigan, 2001). My observing only one storytelling moment, however, does not mean that they were so few and far between. During a visit in November 2017, I noticed the class theme was Hänsel a Gréidel (Hansel and Grettel). In addition, on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2018, I observed how the children had created a drawing cover for the story “De Fräschekinnek” (The Princess and the Frog), FIGURE 68. Furthermore, there was a collective story hanging on one of the walls (FIGURE 69). These stories were probably told before they started doing activities related to the themes. Furthermore, during a storytelling moment in the Luxembourgish class, one boy said that they had already read that book in class with Ms. Faber.



Figure 68 - cover for the story "De Fräschekinne" (The Princess and the Frog)

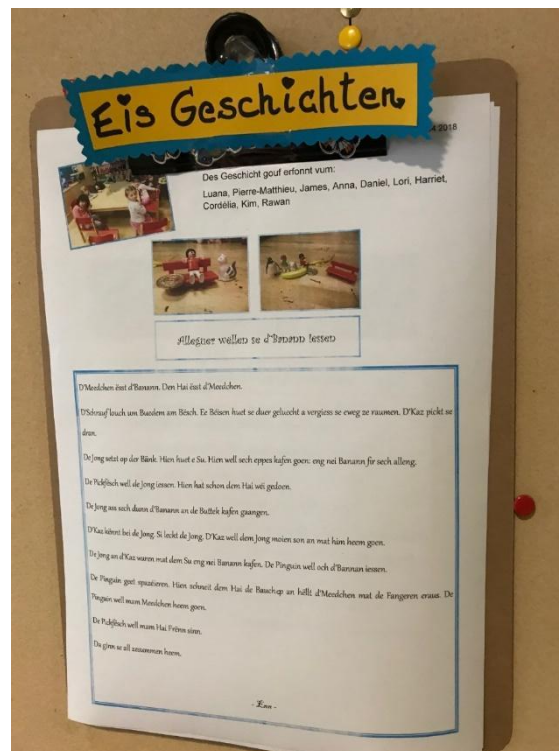


Figure 69 - Collectively created story

The teacher also applied exercises for identifying written words, tracing letters and developing phonemic awareness. FIGURE 70 below shows an activity in which Ms. Faber asked children to recognise the words Hänsel, Gréidel and Hex (witch) written in different forms (uppercase, lowercase, cursive, etc.)



Figure 70 - Recognizing Words activity sheet

Furthermore, on May 4<sup>th</sup> 2018, during the thematic unit of frogs, children were offered the activity of creating a booklet by folding A4 paper sheets and writing and drawing the different phases of the frog's life cycle.



Figure 71 - Bianca folding the paper sheets to form a booklet 1.



*Figure 72 - Bianca folding the paper sheets to form a booklet 2.*



*Figure 73 - The title of the book written by Bianca.*

An observation relating to FIGURE 73 above is that, on Bianca's desk, her name was written in uppercase letters and lowercase letters to signal her place.



Figure 74 - Booklet activity - Bianca is looking for model at the board

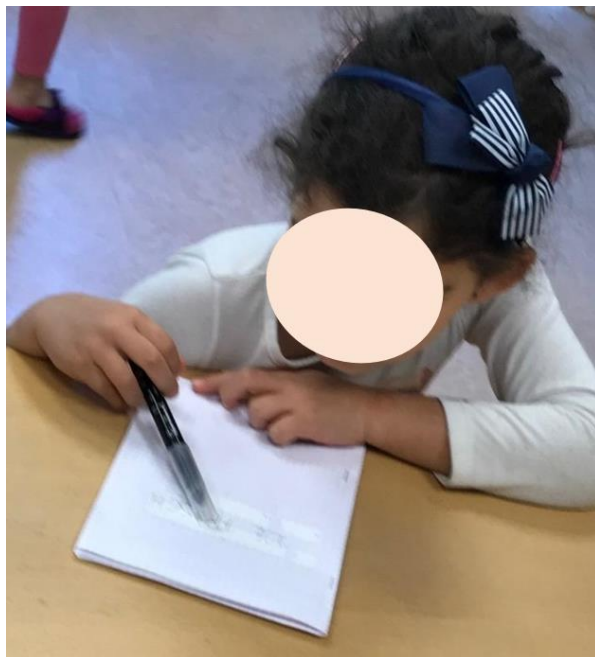


Figure 75 - Bianca is checking how to write the title of her booklet

FIGURE 75 was taken when Bianca stood up to go to the counter to look at the model booklet. She was checking the title. She had already written hers but was verifying if she had done it correctly.

Songs as part of the daily activities were not observed. Even though the benefits of employing songs in language learning is unclear to some authors (Schwartz and Deeb; 2018; Prošić-Santovac and Radović, 2018), others see pedagogic value in them (Foster, 2006; Foncesa-Mora, 2000; Coyle and Gómez Gracia, 2014). Ms. Faber brought more traditional songs to class, which she presented to children on paper with sheet music, lyrics and drawings. These songs went to the portfolio. During my visits, I watched only one activity involving music. Children were learning about frogs and creating a booklet by drawing the different phases of the evolution of the frog. Those who finished their booklets received a music sheet with the lyrics of the song *Beim Weier, beim Weier* by Norbert Zeches and Marcel Reuland. As this is a traditional Luxembourgish song, the purpose is cultural and to bridge the gap between generations. Ms. Faber turned the stereo on and the children listened to the song twice, more than half of them still working on the frog booklet. When the song was over, I could hear some of the children humming its melody. Then, they sat down in a circle and Ms. Faber explained the lyrics of the song and sang it with them. I observed that Bianca tried to sing along, mostly moving her lips. This song was not reproduced in other settings. I could also observe that Bianca received a paper entitled *Lidd fir Mammendag* (Song for Mother's Day). She was asked to colour in the illustration on the paper. The song for Mother's Day was sung at home.

TABLE 20 - Ms. Faber's observed language related activities

	Language promoting activities	Date	Short description	Languages Present*
	Practicing phonemic awareness	07/06/18	Mother's day activity: "Wien wësst wei Mammen geschriwe gëtt?/ Mengt der dass der an der Tafel schreiwen Op däitsch schreiwen mer esou MAMA mat M-A-M-A (here she makes the sound of M and A not the name of the letter /m/ /a/ /m/ /a/). Dat ass op däitsch, ok? Wann et ass op lëtzebuergesh..."	L, D, E, F,
		16/01/18	Teacher asking them to write their names on the paper where they drew a penguin.	L

Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing writing/ tracing letters	16/01/18	Some children were writing “penguin” many times, as a calligraphy task, in majuscule and minuscule.	L
		04/05/18	Frog booklet activity- teacher asks children to create a booklet, by folding the paper, drawing, coping the title, etc.	L
	Reading/ identifying letters or words	20/11/17	Hänsel and Gréidel task - recognizing written words (capitals, minuscules)	L
	Practicing grammar/ syntax			
	Vocabulary teaching	12/03/18	Talking about different types of ships	L
		27/06/18	Talking about summer, and elements associated to summer	L
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	27/06/18	Teacher reads the book Ms. Birthday.	L
	Asking children to retell a story	20/11/17	The teacher elicited the story of Hänsel and Gréidel. “Wien ass dat do?” “Wéi heescht ...?” She made the kids remember who was Hänsel, who was Gréidel and also the word Hex (witch). Who was the girl and who was the boy. She asked where was the witch’s house, what was there in her house...	L
	Writing down what children say	04/05/18	I observe there is a story created conjointly. The name of story is “Alleguer wëllen se d’Banann iessen” (everybody wants to eat the banana).	L
	Discussing a specific theme	18/03/18	The teacher giving many opportunities for the children to share their opinions and tell stories during circle time on ships.	L
		07/06/18	Circle Time discussion about Mother’s Day	L, Mult
		27/06/18	Circle Time discussion about summer	L
	Listening to music or singing	04/05/18	Teacher playing a CD with the song Beim Weier, bem Weier by Norbert Zeches and Marcel Reuland	L
		07/06/18	Bianca learns a mother’s song.	L
	Asking children to describe an image			
	Doing rhymes	Daily routine	As part of the snack routine, thus daily, children need to say this poem before starting eating. “Äppel, Schmierer kommt hei hinn/ Well mir ganz vill hongrech sinn/ Schoulsak op, Këscht eraus/ Hmmm gesäit dat lecker aus/ Duerno si mir rem ganz fit/ Duerfir gudden Appetitt”	L

	Playing games with children			
Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	daily	Documents, computer, exercise sheets	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	20/11/17	Teacher tells me that she only speaks in Luxembourgish in the classroom, but that the kids speak many languages among them	L, Mult
		20/11/17	Bianca sat across from her friend, next to a boy who was speaking French at that time and two other quiet girls.	F
		12/03/18	Bianca was with her “Portuguese-speaking” friend, Lea, they were leafing through their portfolios. They were speaking Portuguese together.	Pt
		04/05/18	I record an audio file of one boy in this sandbox speaking French and the others listening to him quietly.	F
		04/05/18	There are boys playing nearby on the floor speaking loudly and one of them speaks French. It is caught in the audio file.	F
		04/05/18	Next to the couch where the girls read there are two boys speaking French.	F
		29/05/18	In a different classroom with another teacher. Bianca and her friend Luana role play in a house speaking Portuguese	Pt
		29/05/18	Two boys play in French	F
		30/05/18	In a different classroom with another teacher. Bianca plays with her friend Luana and they use Portuguese - translanguaging	Pt, L
		30/05/18	In a different classroom with another teacher. Bianca and Luana move to the section that has a store. Bianca speaks Portuguese. First alone and then with Luana. They play in Portuguese to transfer nuts to baskets and other containers.	Pt, L
	30/05/18	In a different classroom with another teacher. Teacher knows that they are speaking Portuguese but does not interrupt.	Pt	
	Using other languages besides the target language	occasionally	With parents or with me	L, F, E

	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			
	Writing	30/05/18	Teacher writes “mother” in different languages on the blackboard	L, G, Pt, F, Pol
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books	20/11/18	Luana pretending she was reading it to Bianca. Bianca was paying attention.	P, L
		12/03/18	Alice and Bianca on the couch and sharing a book.	P, L
		07/06/18	Daniel standing in front of the blackboard and reading a paper that is attached to the blackboard called “Lidd fir Mammendag” (Song for Mother’s Day).	L
		18/03/18	Alice playing reading a book to Bianca. Alice is creating her story with the images of the book which is open facing Bianca. She points and tells. All in Luxembourgish.	L
		04/05/18	A boy leafs through a frog’s book, which was deliberately left on a sidetable by the teacher.	G
		04/05/18	Bianca is looking at the book "Das Leben unter Wasser".	G
		30/05/18	Bianca reading the Katzen book to her friend Luana who is on the floor. Bianca invents the text according to the images and shows the photos to Luana. Luana begins to imitate the positions of the cats in the book.	G, L
		07/06/18	Teacher gives a paper where it is written” Lidd fir Mammendag”. She asks children to color the image on the paper.	L
		07/06/18	Mediathéik - Children from cycle 4 reading for the the children in cycle one. One by one. (Observed in Ms. Keller’s visiting day, but happened in the class of Ms. Faber too).	L, G
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys	20/11/17	Girls playing with the alphabet “ruler”, as a stencil, where letters are there to be traced on the paper.	-
		12/03/18	Bianca playing with the magnet letters on the board.	-
		04/05/18	“De Fräsch” on the magnetic board, Bianca interacts with the magnetic letters	L
		29/05/18	Bianca types in the typewriter	-
		30/05/18	Bianca plays with the magnetic board. She asks me to write MAMÃE in Portuguese. I write it in my notebook.	Pt
		07/06/18	Girls are colouring objects on a paper. These objects were labelled with their names in French. E.g., an illustration of a ball to be coloured with the word BALLE under it.	F

	Listening to music or singing			
	writing			
	Watching TV / videos streaming			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, G for German, Pol for Polish, F for French, Pt for Portuguese, and E for English*

TABLE 20 illustrates that several language-related activities were observed. I did not observe Ms. Faber proposing literacy exercises focused on learning how to read and write, such as phonetics exercises, counting syllables, and tracing letters. She proposed activities that included reading and writing at the word level, i.e., recognising words, as observed in the frog booklet activity and the Hansel and Gréidel exercise sheet. She reinforced word level recognition by putting words up on the magnetic blackboard as models for the children to read and copy, which Bianca did. Children also interacted with books daily, even though storytelling was observed just once and not in an interactive manner. Bianca heard and used Portuguese often in the classroom, as well as some French, but not other languages.

### **7.3.3. Activities and practices in Ms. Keller's classroom**

#### **7.3.3.1. A typical school day**

As discussed earlier, a steady circle time routine is known to benefit children in making them feel secure with the predictability of the day (Wood, Bruner and Ross, 1976; Tabors, 2008; Cameron, 2008). Ms. Keller had a steady routine, which also included a steady circle time ritual. The way she described her routine, during an interview on 15 March, 2019, was very brief:

<b>Speaker</b>	<b>Utterance</b>
Me	So there is always a ritual in your class and children that are welcome during free playing time. Then there is circle time and snack. Can you tell me again?
Ms. Keller	In the classroom, just now? Well, we have free play 'til ten o'clock. Then we gather in our circle. We have our song to welcome to welcome each one. And er we look at the day which day we have today and we are most storytelling. And then we are planning activities something together. And then we go and play outside outside.

*EXCERPT 12 - Mr. Keller explains her routine 15/03/19*

However, I observed many more details that I find interesting because they describe Ms. Keller's main teaching style. Children had indeed free play until a quarter to ten. Ms. Keller then played her Tingsha handbells twice and started singing "Mir raumen/ Mir raumen" slowly. While children tidied up the room, Ms. Keller lit a large tealight and placed it in the centre of the area where circle time took place. As children finished tidying up, they sat in the circle. This all happened calmly, without the teacher needing to repeat or shout. Naturally, some children took longer to tidy up, but normally it was the other kids who reminded them with "mir raumen". During circle time, there was a fixed ritual sequence of activities that the children already knew and that therefore happened without instructions. They started by singing a song to know who was present in the class, greeting all of them. As each child was called, he/she stood up, picked up a petal-shaped paper with their face on it and went to the board to stick this paper around a circle, forming a big flower where each child was a petal. This song was followed by the song of the days of the week, sung in Luxembourgish and in French. The teacher chose a child to place the day of the month on the board. They did it by looking at the month calendar. Each new day was crossed out, so that the child knew that "today" was the next day from the last one crossed. Next, they looked for the magnetic number to place them on the board. Then it was time for the children to pass a small pebble around, starting from the child sitting to their left. When someone wanted to share something, they did

so while holding the pebble. If they did not have anything to share, they passed the pebble to the next child to their left. All of them had the opportunity to say something. When they were speaking, normally recounting something they had experienced, the teacher listened but did not interact or ask questions, just acknowledged the child's declaration, sometimes signalling with her head, "Ok, you were heard, now please pass the pebble". After they had all had a chance to say something, the teacher used this space to explain something that they were going to do or to discuss a theme. Immediately after, Ms. Keller asked children to turn to her while she read a book. Then, they would eat breakfast, free play again, do a craft activity and go outside to play.

It is worth mentioning that Ms. Keller conducted birthday celebrations in class following a Tibetan ritual, in which the birthday child lays on the floor and the other children sit around her, each coming next to the centre to play a bell.

### **7.3.3.2. Language and literacy activities**

Part of Ms. Keller's morning routine was reading books aloud for the children. Sometimes she started the book one morning and finished it the next day, but every day, after the circle time dialogic activities, she read a story. Her reading, however, was not dialogic, i.e., it did not invite children to participate in the story (Zevenberger et al., 2016). She would read the story, acting it out by raising or lowering her voice, but the children did not participate in the storytelling. When the book was finished, she would often ask if they liked it and sometimes what they understood, but those were brief discussions with closed questions, which will be looked at in the next section. Nevertheless, the fact that storybooks were part of a steady routine is a beneficial strategy for promoting literacy (alle, Calkins, Berry, and Johnson; 2003).

Songs permeated Ms. Keller's classroom. During circle time, there was a sequence of three songs: one that says good morning, another that says who is there in the classroom that day and who is absent, and one for the days of the week, sung in Luxembourgish and French. There was a trilingual song before breakfast and a song for cleaning up the classroom. The teacher played the flute before breakfast and also to teach the Mother's Day song. She taught the Planets' Song. She sang "Happy Birthday" in all the children's languages. Ms. Thill also made use of many songs related to their teaching objectives.

In Ms. Keller's classroom, children also had the opportunity to interact with books, but this did not occur during particular times of the day. They could leaf through them during free play time if they wanted. The books read by the teacher were also available in the classroom library and were often related to the thematic unit. During my fourth visit to the class, on April 26<sup>th</sup> 2018, I observed how Luiza and her friends picked up a book the teacher had read before and could retell the story the way the teacher had. Luiza and her friends, Brenda and Eva, were in the craft corner. Brenda brought a dinosaur book to their desk and I recorded two short sequences of them interacting around the book. They were speaking Luxembourgish, pretending to be the storyteller by raising and shifting their voices to sound like an angry character/narrator. FIGURE 76 shows them rereading part of the book. Luiza was saying the following sentences in Luxembourgish, in a rhythmic manner, tapping along to the rhythm: "Ee fir mech, ee fir dech, ee fir d' Dinosaurien/ Ee fir mech, ee fir dech, ee fir d' Dinosaurien" (one for me, one for you, one for the dinosaurs/ one for me, one for you, one for the dinosaurs). In the book, "Und eins für mich" (and one for me) is written in German. This shows how they learned chunks of the oral story so that they could reproduce when assisted by illustrations.

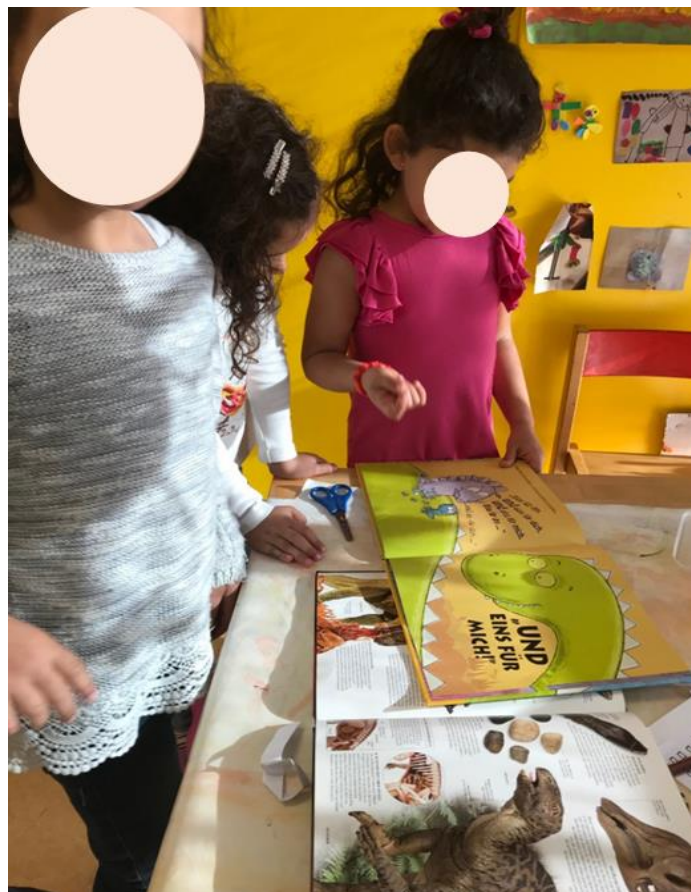


Figure 76 - Luiza and friends retelling the dinosaur book

I did not observe any activity or exercise involving formal literacy skills, such as phonemic awareness exercises or counting syllables. TABLE 21 summarises language-related observed events.

TABLE 21 - Ms. Keller's observed language related activities

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Language Present*</b>
	Practicing phonemic awareness			
	Practicing writing/tracing letters	26/04/18	two girls were doing an exercise of tracing waves on the paper, tracing over the dotted lines in the beginning and then continuing the pattern along a line.	-
		06/06/18	Teacher writes EVA on the board so that children can copy and write it on their birthday cards	-
	Reading/identifying			

Adult-led language & literacy activities	letters or words			
	Practicing grammar/syntax			
	Vocabulary teaching			
	Reading aloud/narrating books or other material	17/12/17	Ms. Keller reads L'Ange de Noël" and she says "let's read in French today"	F
		25/01/018	Ms. Keller reads Herr Glück & Frau Unglück.	L
		25/01/18	Ms. Keller reads a book called Chhhhht!	L
		16/03/18	Ms. Keller reads De Léiw an de Maus	L
		26/04/18	The way the teacher told the dinosaur book story (before, when I was not there) was acquired by the children and they repeated it when they saw the illustration.	L
		26/04/18	Ms. Keller reads Reginald Tyrannosaurus	L
		06/06/18	Ms. Keller reads Das Monster alles Monster	L
		06/06/18	Ms. Keller reads the family letter for the birthday girl in French and then she translates the letter into Luxembourgish	F, L
		07/06/18	She continues the story Das Monster alles Monster	L
		07/06/18	Mediathéik - Children from cycle 4.1 reading for the the children in Luiza's class. One by one.	L
	04/07/18	Ms. Keller reads a birthday wishes letter .	L	
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say	25/01/18	Teacher writes down what children say to make a poster/activity about penguins	L
		06/06/18	Teacher writes down all the birthday wishes the children are saying to the birthday girl	L
		04/07/18	Teacher writes down all the birthday wishes the children are saying to the birthday girl	L
	Discussing a specific theme	16/03/18	Teacher explains the planets	L
		06/06/18	Teacher explains what they are going to do for Mother's Day, and the baby in the belly.	L
	Listening to music or singing	Daily	Songs sung daily : Gudde Moien Moien, Luiza, bass du do ? Days of the week song – Luxembourgish and French Mir raumen. (We clean up)	L, F
		Daily	Snack eating song	L, G, F
		16/03/18	Activity about the planets with the Planets song	L
		06/06/18	Birthday song in all languages in the class, including Japanese and Sweden.	L, F, G, E, Sp,

				Pt, It, Sw, Jap
		06/06/18	Teacher teaches a Mother's Day song and plays it in the flute.	L
	Asking children to describe an image	25/01/18	Teacher writes down what children say to make a poster/activity about penguins	L
	Doing rhymes			
	Playing games with children	25/01/18	The teacher is lying down on the floor, with a small pillow and the assistant teacher covers her. The teacher says she wants to sleep and that the children must be quiet.	L
Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	Daily	Documents, computer, books	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	25/01/18	Luiza is playing with a girl. They are using Portuguese. They are taking all the chairs to another part of the classroom to form a line of chairs, as a wall/fortress. They are using Portuguese to play.	Pt
		25/01/18	Luiza gathers with two other Portuguese-speaking girls and they discuss their books in Portuguese.	Pt
		16/03/18	Girls are playing restaurant in Portuguese. Teacher is near them and listens.	Pt, L
		26/04/18	Luiza is playing with a girl. They are using Portuguese. They are taking all the chairs to another part of the classroom to form a line of chairs, as a wall/fortress. They are using Portuguese to play	P
		26/04/18	Luiza tells me “Não pode falar aqui português (One cannot speak Portuguese here)/ aqui é só luxemburguês. (here it is Luxembourgish only)”	Pt, L
		06/06/18	Teacher invites Luiza to say something in Portuguese to wish her friend Eva a happy birthday	Pt
	Using other languages besides the target language	07/06/18	teacher speaks French to a parent in the corridor	F
		daily	With me	E

	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			
	Writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books	26/04/18	Children retelling a dinosaur book using a specific rhythm.	L
		06/06/18	Luiza reading to Eva, the way the teacher does.	L
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys	16/03/18	During freeplay, I see a girl playing with an alphabet ruler/template.	-
	Listening to music or singing	16/03/18	Girls singing « Moein, Luiza, bass du do?» intercalating with its French version (Bonjour, Luiza, est-tu lá?)	L, F
	writing	16/03/18	During freeplay, the girls play with writing names. "They are now writing people's names on small pieces of paper".	-
	Watching TV / videos streaming			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, G for German, F for French, P for Portuguese, E for English, Sp for Spanish, It for Italian, Sw for Swedish and Jap for Japanese*

Like her sister, Luiza could also use Portuguese in her classroom. Ms. Keller herself invited Luiza to say something in Portuguese during a circle moment, even though Luiza and her friend Brenda told me that they were not allowed to speak Portuguese there. Luiza was also exposed to other languages when celebrating birthdays and when singing before eating her breakfast. Ms. Keller provided authentic interaction with written text, through letters from parents and birthday cards, but children did not have a specific time slot to interact with books in the classroom, as observed in other classes. The several songs that Mr. Kesten proposed were learned by the children and reproduced in other moments and even in other settings (e.g., I heard the “Planets Songs” at home and in the MRE). Overall, Ms. Keller’s practices

communicated to me an emphasis on well-being and calmness as opposed to academic learning.

#### **7.3.4. Ms. Thill**

Bianca and Luiza visited Ms. Thill's classroom three times a week for Luxembourgish lessons and twice a month for a "Feelings class", in which Ms. Thill emphasised the identification of feelings through stories and follow-up activities. Luxembourgish and "feelings" lessons lasted 20 minutes each and were taught for groups of three to six children at a time. Luxembourgish lessons were exclusively for children who did not speak Luxembourgish at home and who lagged behind their peers, whereas "feelings" lessons were targeted towards all Cycle 1 children.

Luxembourgish lessons focused on vocabulary teaching and sentence formation. There was a fixed routine starting with a sequence of two or three songs, whose lyrics were illustrated on a moveable wall with pouches, followed by a variation of other songs. Next, children would sit around Ms. Thill and participate in activities that provided formulaic language, i.e. children were asked to utter particular sentences. The activities proposed by Ms. Thill did not follow a theme, nor did they accord with the themes being developed by the class teachers. For instance, during the same lesson, they practised sentence formation and a rhyme. Like Ms. Wagner's pull-out Luxembourgish lessons discussed in section 6.3.3., Ms. Thill's lessons did not focus on written language, i.e., she did not suggest activities for children to identify letters. When the twins went to the same space for the "feelings lessons", a lesson that was not designed specifically for Luxembourgish learners, Ms. Thill would read storybooks.

TABLE 22 summarises language-related observed events during Ms. Thill’s lessons, without differentiating lessons given to Bianca or to Luiza. It also includes observations that I gathered while observing Ms. Thill’s ‘feelings classes’ for both girls.

TABLE 22 - Ms. Thill’s observed language related activities

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Language Present*</b>
Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing phonemic awareness	25/01/18	They say words and clap in their syllables at the same time. The teacher says: “Probeiert noch eng Kéier mat Instrument”. They do the exercise again by playing a drum and counting the syllables.	L
		25/01/18	When she said a words that I wrongly noted down as “Kavechelchen” she made the children clap 4 times, one for each syllable.	L
	Practicing writing/ tracing letters			
	Reading/ identifying letters or words			
	Practicing grammar/ syntax	16/01/18	Children describe the images of a house using complete sentences.	L
		25/01/18	The teacher takes a book with many illustrations. They describe what they see, the teacher turns the page to the Bauerhoff setting, third page: shopping. The teacher asks “Wéi heischt ...?” “De Pappa ass beim Zahndokter” “Wou ass Boma?” Luisa says “Do”. “Wat maache sie?”	L
		26/04/18	Activity with flash cards with illustrations for children to form sentences as “D’Saxxy hängt d’Box op” (Saxxy hangs her pants). “D’Eil an d’Saxxy hänken d’Jackett op”. (Saxxy and the Owl hang the jacket). The teacher emphasizes the difference between singular and plural.	L
		30/03/18	Activity with flash cards with illustrations for children to form sentences as “D’Saxxy spingt iwwert d’Waasser Punkt”. (Saxxy jumps over the water full stop).	L
		29/05/18	Teacher teaches the body parts and focuses on the plural of each part. “Ech hunn hei eng Shëller and zwou?/Children: Schëlleren” (I have here one shoulder and two?/ Children shoulders).	L

Vocabulary teaching	17/12/17	The children were learning clothes vocabulary and the teacher used puppets, songs and other sensorial activities.	L
	26/04/18	Body parts with song and memory game	L
Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	16/01/18	The retelling a story activity indicates that the book had been read in a previous class. (Feelings' lesson)	L
	25/01/18	The teacher takes a book with many illustrations, starting with the illustration of a house cut so that we can see what is happening inside in all the floors. It is the same image I saw the previous week with the other group, but this time it is in the book. (Luxembourgish lesson)	L
Asking children to retell a story	16/01/18	The teacher asks children to remember and reconstruct the story of an elephant. She uses the book's illustration to have children retell the story. (Feelings' lesson).	L
Writing down what children say	16/01/18	The teacher calls one by one to sit next to her and complete the comprehension exercise of the story. She had an exercise sheet which she completed herself, writing down the answers of the children. The children should say what the three things were, that the owl suggested the elephant to do when sad. (Feelings' lesson)	L
Discussing a specific theme	29/05/18	Teacher elicits some feelings before starting to read the book.	L
Listening to music or singing	Daily Lux lessons	D'Wecker rabbelt... Moien! Joffa! Moie Frënn!"	L
	Daily Lux lessons	Geescht song	L
	Daily lux lessons	Song "ech sinn ech, du bass du, hien ass hien, hatt ass hatt."	L
	Daily feelings lessons	A song about different people, the fat and the thin, the small and the big, etc.	L
	Daily feelings lessons	If you're happy and you know it clap your hands", but in Luxembourgish. They also continue the song with other feelings "wann s du traureg bass/Ängscht hues/bäis bass and du wëes..."	L
	26/04/18	Hoki Poki (parts of the body)	L
Asking children to describe an image	25/01/18	The teacher takes a book with many illustrations, starting with the illustration of a house cut so that we can see what is happening inside in all the floors and asks the children to describe the actions happening in the illustration.	L
	16/01/18	Then they say a poem, "Tomaten si rout... ass ganz giel!"	L

	Doing rhymes	16/01/18	After they say the poem, the teacher distributes cards with illustrations of items that were in the poem, as Tomaten, Schnéi, etc. Each child takes a card and must say the sentence of the poem. For example, the card of a grey sky. The child says “Gëschter war den Himmel gro. An haut ass et schéi blo!“.	L
		30/05/18	Prof : Mir maachen eng Reim! Knuddel Knuddel Maischen, den Hond leeft a säin Haischen, e Schwénschen grunzt, eng Kou mécht Moo, eng Katz miaut, an eraus bass du!”	L
	Playing games with children	30/05/18	Circle game - Knuddel Knuddel Maischen	L
Adult’s (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	daily	documents	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	16/01/18	the teacher asks me to do the exercise with Bianca in Portuguese (Feelings’ class)	L, Pt
		16/01/18	The teacher does the exercise in French, with the French speaking boy.	L, F
		16/01/18	The teacher says to Bianca “Haus ass casa”.	L, Pt.
		16/01/18	The teacher asks Bianca “Wat geseiss du op Portugiesesch... a Kado op Portugiesesch...” (What do you see, in Portuguese... a gift in Portuguese...) Bianca does not answer.	L, Pt.
	Using other languages besides the target language	16/01/18	For one specific boy she asks and says “tu peux parler en francais, si tu veux”. He answers in French.	L, F
		16/01/18	The teacher does the exercise in French, with the French speaking boy.	L, F
		29/05/18	Asks the boy what was there (pointing at her shoulder). The boy is silent. The teacher says "en français?" And he replies "Un epoule". She repeats “Un epoule”.	L, F
		29/05/18	“Wat ass dat do?” "op franzéisch? Les hanches" En Hift. Zwou Hiften.	L, F
		30/05/18	Mattieu: Mëllech? Prof: Mëllech. Qu’est-ce que c’est Mëllech ? Mattieu : lait Prof : en français ? Ja (nodding) genau ! Du lait	L, F

		30/05/18	Mat dengem.. schmusen. Faire de calin op franzéisch (looking at Mattieu).	L, F
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			
	Writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books			
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys			
	Listening to music or singing			
	writing			
	Watching TV / videos streaming			

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, F for French, and Pt for Portuguese*

TABLE 22 reinforces the teacher-centred nature of Ms. Thill's lessons, as children were always interacting with the teacher as opposed to playing freely. This is in accordance with what was presented earlier, in the section describing Ms. Thill's classroom's physical affordances. Both Bianca and Luiza had the courage to speak in Ms. Thill's classes, especially compared to circle times with Ms. Faber or Ms. Keller, where they never expressed themselves. The reason for this may be that, during Luxembourgish pull-out lessons, there were fewer children and the language was formulaic, i.e., the children knew what they had to say.

### 7.3.5. Maison Relais

I observed few language-related activities provided by the professionals in the MRE, as TABLE 23 shows. Although the 2016 law that regulates the non-formal educational sector

states that MREs should have a role in the promotion of academic success and the learning of the country's languages (Legislux, 2016, art. 1ere), I did not observe planned language activities.

A typical day in Bianca and Luiza's MRE consisted of them arriving from school and standing in line to pick up their photos at the reception desk. They would then choose which workshop to go and then stick their photos onto the panel, displaying their choice of activity. There, the role of the educators was to assure the organisation of the meal. Children would serve themselves and find an empty table to sit at. Next, children chose ateliers to go to throughout the afternoon. There were several possibilities, including indoor ateliers, outdoor playground or even yoga class. The girls were also enrolled in sports activities proposed by the LASEP (*Ligue des Associations Sportives de l'Enseignement Fondamental*), whose professionals would pick them up at the MRE once a week to do sports at the school's sports hall. Educators thus supervised children to ensure the organisation of the activities and to guarantee their safety when playing – they engaged in a few casual conversations.

TABLE 23 - Observed language related activities in Bianca and Luiza's MRE

	<b>Language promoting activities</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Short description</b>	<b>Languages Present*</b>
	Practicing phonemic awareness			
	Practicing writing/ tracing letters			
	Clapping to count the syllable			
	Reading/ identifying letters or words			

Adult-led language & literacy activities	Practicing grammar syntax			
	Vocabulary teaching			
	Reading aloud/ narrating books or other material			
	Asking children to retell a story			
	Writing down what children say			
	Discussing a topic			
	Songs and singing			
	Asking children to describe an image			
	Rhymes			
	Playing games with children	occasionally	some educators played with the children in the playground, as picking them up and making them fly as an airplane, playing tag, or a ball game.	L
Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	daily	Documents, presence list	Unknown
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	20/11/17	Luiza and Bianca speak Portuguese in the line for the restaurant	Pt
		29/05/18	Luiza, Bianca and Brenda speak Portuguese while drawing	Pt
		07/06/18	Bianca speaks Portuguese with me and Luiza asks her sister to speak Luxembourgish.	Pt, L
Using other languages besides the	daily	Educator in the reception desk speaks French with some parents	F	

	target language			
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school			
	Writing			
Child-initiated activities. Children interacting with available resources	Reading/leafing/interacting with books	07/06/18	Girls choose to go to the Lesenecke (Reading Corner) but do not read/leaf.	-
		07/06/18	On a second visit to the Lesenecke (Reading Corner) Bianca leafs through a comic Hagar.	G
	Interacting with letters or words prompts/toys			
	Listening to music or singing	06/06/18	Brenda and Luiza sing the Planet song	L
		07/06/18	Children sing a Brazilian song.	Pt
		07/07/18	Children sing a Brazilian football team's anthem	Pt
	writing			
Watching TV / videos streaming				

*\*L stands for Luxembourgish, G for German, F for French, and Pt for Portuguese*

Similar to what I discussed in the previous chapter on Thiago Gastão's case study, the activities proposed by the MRE induced the emergence of languages through the interactions between the children themselves. Bianca and Luiza had opportunities for informal language learning by interacting with other children and with the overall instructional language of the educators

### 7.3.6. Comparing settings

Having described the language-related activities in the different settings, I now present how they compare to each other, with the aid of the two tables below, representing Bianca and Luiza's language opportunities across settings, respectively. For discussion purposes, I separated the events when adults were modelling behaviour outside planned activities.

TABLE 24 - Language-related activities across settings for Bianca

	<b>language promoting activities</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Faber's Classes</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's Lessons</b>	<b>MRE</b>
adults proposing	Practicing phonemic awareness	x	x	x	
	Practicing writing/tracing letters	x	x		
	reading/ identifying letters or words		x		
	Practicing exercising grammar/syntax			x	
	vocabulary teaching		x	x	
	reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	x	x	x (feelings)	
	asking children to retell a story		x	x (feelings)	
	writing down what children say		x	x (feelings)	
	discussing a specific theme	x	x	x	
	listening to music or singing	x	x	x	
	asking children to describe an image			x	
	doing rhymes		x	x	
children interacting with what was available	reading/ leafing/ interacting with books	x	x		x
	interacting with letters or words prompts/ toys		x		
	listening to music or singing	x			x
	Writing	x			
	watching tv / videos streaming	x			

TABLE 25 - Language-related activities across settings for Luiza

	<b>language promoting activities</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Keller's Classes</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's Lessons</b>	<b>MRE</b>
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adults proposing	exercising phonemic awareness	x		x	
	exercising writing/tracing letters	x	x		
	reading/ identifying letters or words				
	exercising grammar/syntax			x	
	vocabulary teaching			x	
	reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	x	x	x (feelings)	
	asking children to retell a story			x (feelings)	
	writing down what children say		x	x (feelings)	
	discussing a specific theme	x	x	x (feelings)	
	listening to music or singing	x	x	x	
	asking children to describe an image		x	x	
	doing rhymes		x	x	
	playing games with children	x	x	x	
children interacting with what was available	reading/ leafing/ interacting with books	x	x		x
	interacting with letters or words prompts/ toys		x		
	listening to music or singing	x	x		x
	Writing	x	x		
	watching tv / videos streaming	x			

TABLES 24 and 25 show that, apart from in the MRE where language/literacy activities initiated by the educators were not observed, the girls were exposed to a range of language activities. At home, the opportunities were more informal, such as playing games, watching TV, developing conversations on specific themes, and spontaneous singing. The parents also

included activities that taught them how to read and write more formally, such as having them think about how different sounds form a word and asking them to write names. In terms of languages, both at home and at school, Bianca and Luiza encountered and used Portuguese and Luxembourgish. Even though the classroom activities differed between the three teachers, they did overall propose more language-focused activities, such as asking children to describe an image and write the text for them and teaching them songs related to the festivities.

In all the settings except for the MRE, adults read books to the children, though rarely in a dialogic interactive way, as the next section will clarify.

Ms. Thill interacted more with the children during her 'feelings' lessons, as she would read stories, ask them to retell the stories and discuss feelings accordingly, giving the children an opportunity to describe when they are scared, for instance. This did not happen in the Luxembourgish lessons, as the activities there emphasised language structure. When Ms. Thill interacted with a book during a Luxembourgish lesson, she used its illustrations to help the children articulate what the characters were doing.

Word-level activities were performed in all settings except in the MRE; however, they were much less frequent in Ms. Keller's class. In fact, stating that Ms. Keller asked children to write or trace letters does not mean that it was a customary activity, as I only observed this once: the teacher wrote the name of a child who was celebrating her birthday on the board and, thus, children could copy the name onto their drawings for the birthday child. Asking children to write a word for a birthday card is an authentic use of written language, with the genuine purpose of writing to please a colleague to whom the drawing was being addressed. Thus, written language is put into context and does not appear disconnected from the context in exercise sheets.

Songs cross boundaries. The anthem of the Brazilian football team that the Rizzos avidly support was sung by the girls in the schoolyard during MRE time, echoed by classmates. The songs learned in classes were sung at home and in the MRE. The twins also learned other songs and brought them home, such as pop songs with classmates during MRE time. Sometimes the songs were in Portuguese, to the parents' surprise. Songs, thus, travel across spaces, illustrated through the acquisition and reproduction of their lyrics. As the school songs were frequently performed at home, I understand that they served Bianca and Luiza as a way of showcasing their competence in the new language, which was valued by the parents. Ms. Faber did not make use of songs in her routine, which contrasts with Luiza's teacher's practices. The fact that Bianca also knew how to sing the songs proposed by Ms. Keller indicates that she might have learned them in the few last months of school year 2016/2017, when both sisters joined the school and were together in Ms. Keller's class, and/or that she learned the songs with her sister. A moment that illustrates how songs learned in class had been memorised and reproduced at home was discussed in section 7.3.1.

Ms. Faber and Ms. Keller declared in interviews (Interview with Ms. Keller on 04/07/18 and Interview with Ms. Faber on 28/06/18) that they allowed children to speak their languages in class, and I also observed this. The educators in the MRE answered questionnaires stating that children could use their home languages if this action did not exclude other children around them who did not know the language.

Because my argument is that teachers' practices can differ even inside the same school, I included two columns from TABLES 24 and 25 to compare the activities proposed by teachers (TABLE 26). TABLE 21 shows how Ms. Faber proposed more formal language learning activities than Ms. Keller.

TABLE 26 - Comparing types of language activities proposed by Ms. Faber and Ms. Keller

	<b>language promoting activities</b>	<b>Ms. Faber's Classes</b>	<b>Ms. Keller's Classes</b>
adults proposing	practicing phonemic awareness	x	
	practicing writing/tracing letters	x	x
	reading/ identifying letters or words	x	
	practicing grammar/syntax		
	vocabulary teaching	x	
	reading aloud/ narrating books or other material	x	x
	asking children to retell a story	x	
	writing down what children say	x	x
	discussing a specific theme	x	x
	listening to music or singing	x	x
	asking children to describe an image		x
	doing rhymes	x	x
	playing games with children		x
children interacting with what was available	reading/ leafing/ interacting with books	x	x
	interacting with letters or words prompts/ toys	x	x
	listening to music or singing		x
	writing		x
	watching tv / videos streaming		

If we look at the different adults as role models for the children, they are quite similar across settings. Children can observe adults writing in the four settings, whether in the form of a luminous decorative letter sign in the home living room, or a school activity, such as a birthday card or a collective story. They are all bilinguals, too. Even though I did not observe the Rizzos using other languages, they did do so, for instance when Mr. Rizzo frequently asked the teachers questions.

When Bianca and Luiza looked at the adults around them, they could see other similarities. TABLES 27 and 28 show that all adults allowed for flexible language use, even though Ms. Thill's lessons did not offer space for language choices.

The family was interested in knowing what children brought home from school. By contrast, the school was not interested in what children brought from home, with the exception of Ms.

Keller's classes, in which birthdays were celebrated by reading birthday cards from family and children were given the opportunity to share something when passing the pebble around in the circle time moment. When children recounted their experiences, Ms. Keller had the chance to learn about the children's lives outside school.

TABLE 27 - Adults' language related actions observed by Bianca

	<b>Language-related event</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Faber's Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's classes</b>	<b>MRE</b>
Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	x	x	x	x
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages	x			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	x	x	x	x
	Using other languages besides the target one		x	x	x
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school	x			
	Writing	x	x		

TABLE 28 - Adults' language related actions observed by Luiza

	<b>Language-related event</b>	<b>Home</b>	<b>Ms. Keller's Classroom</b>	<b>Ms. Thill's classes</b>	<b>MRE</b>
Adult's (modelling) behaviour outside planned activities	Interacting with books or other written material	x	x	x	x
	Regulating language use – insisting on particular languages	x			
	Regulating language use – allowing for flexible language use	x	x	x	x
	Using other languages besides the target one		x	x	x
	Giving attention to material brought from home or school	x			
	Writing	x			

## **7.4. Language supporting strategies**

With the activities presented, this section looks at some of the events in depth to identify the scaffolding strategies (Wood, 1998) employed by the adults that may contribute to language learning.

Two overall strategies are employed by adults to promote language learning opportunities for their children: they stimulate interaction, and they direct attention to the language itself, such as correcting the grammar or pronunciation. Tables listing the several input opportunities and strategies can be found in the Appendix, as they are extensive in this discussion.

### **7.4.1. Home**

For this section, I chose two moments that were representative of formal language instruction in interactions, as the frequency of occurrences was high. The formality in interactions contrasts with the home's physical setting, which showed few affordances (section 7.2.1), and with the number of observed language related events (section 7.3.1.), which was not high. When observing the parent-child interactions, I noticed how both parents focused mainly on form and put little emphasis on content. Another frequent trait was that both parents stimulated conversations by asking several questions and insisting on answers. There were several occurrences of mother insisting on answers.

The first analysis is extracted from a storybook reading moment, split into two excerpts. When reading books for the girls, Ms. Rizzo employed several strategies to invite the girls to participate, mainly questions. There were 51 questions throughout the whole storybook reading event, which indicates a formal "school-like" talk. Ms Rizzo invited the girls to complete a phrase or a word by employing a specific rising intonation that ended as a question. This is

typical behaviour of early education teachers or parents – inviting children to guess what is going to happen next. This strategy appeared 12 times, especially in the first two stories which were written in rhymes and so the mother invited the girls to complete the word that would rhyme with what was read prior. The girls responded to three of these 12 invitations.

Context: Recorded in the evening of May 14th, 2018, a Monday. The mother is sitting on one of the girls' bed, with their backs to the wall and facing the middle of the room and the camera. The twins are sitting to her right, first Bianca and then Luiza. The mother's mobile phone is filming them. The girls are aware that they are being filmed and they play as if the camera was an invisible audience. The mother has a crochet stuffed sheep on her lap. There is a pile of books to the left of the mother, but it is not caught on tape.				
Line	Actor	Utterance	English Translation	Strategy
1	Mother <i>Gesturing as a tracing movement</i>	Oi, eu sou o astronauta. Traço no céu caminhos	Hi, I am the Astronaut. I trace paths in the sky	Rhythmic reading/ Clearly articulating
2	Mother <i>gesturing as an airplane</i>	Viajo pelo universo, nas histórias em?	I travel through the universe in the?	Asking for completion
3	Girls			
4	Mother	Qua-dri-nhos.	Co-mics.	Clearly articulating, saying each syllable separately.

EXCERPT 13 - Ms. Rizzo reads a storybook for the girls

EXCERPT 13 shows how Luiza and Bianca did not respond to the mother's invitation (line 3), leading the mother to respond herself (line 4). The text shows the rhyme between "caminhos" and "quadrinhos" (Lines 2 and 4). When the mother invites the girls to complete the story, she is trying to engage them, but also checking if they know the vocabulary, as "histórias em quadrinho" is the expression used for comics. When asking for completion and then answering clearly, articulating each syllable separately, the mother is employing a typical instructional turn in formal education: the teacher asks a question to the class and the children say the answer at the same time. This is achieved by employing a typical intonation, both in the question,

which invites the children to answer/complete, and in the way the answer is delivered, in a paused manner, as though a chant.

EXCERPT 14 illustrates the employment of questions, but here Ms. Rizzo invites the girl to add to the story, to complement the text.

<b>Similar context as EXCERPT 13</b>				
<b>Line</b>	<b>Actor</b>	<b>Utterance</b>	<b>English Translation</b>	<b>Strategy</b>
1	Mother (laughs)	eles são diferentes, mas eles são todos cachorros, não é isso?	they are different, but they are all dogs, right?	Tag question Informing
2	Bianca	então, cachorro	so, dog	
3	Mother	então eles tem que ficar bem, eles tem que se dar bem.	so they have to be fine, they have to get along well.	Informing/ explaining
4	Mother	“Um cachorrinho feliz precisa ser bem cuidado. Casa, comida...” O que mais eles precisam?	“A happy puppy needs to be well-treated. Home, food...” What else do they need?	Open question
5	Luiza	banho	bath	
6	Mother	banho, brinquedos...	bath, toys...	Confirming and complementin g
7	Luiza	e ossinhos	and little bones	
8	Mother (agreein g)	e uma casinha, né? Cheirosinha	And a little house, right? With a good smell.	Tag question Adding, elaborating
9	Luiza	ã-ham	ã-ham (as agreeing)	
10	Mother	deve ser vacinado também pra não ter doenças. Aí chegou o?	It must be vaccinated, too, so that it does not have any diseases. Then what arrived?	Adding, explaining. Inviting to predict the plot or to recall (if the story was familiar)

EXCERPT 14 - Ms. Rizzo reads a storybook for the girls 2

I also observed and transcribed moments where the mother insisted on verbal expression or repeated after the girls so that to encourage them to elaborate on what they were. On 30<sup>th</sup> May 2018, after school, we went to a public playground in the neighbourhood. When we arrived at

the playground, the mother did not let the girls leave the car without explaining what they had eaten in the MRE that day. Over a period of 2 minutes and 17 seconds, the mother asked 24 supplementary questions in an attempt to ensure the girls' engagement in the conversation and elicit their response to her first question. She started with open questions, such as "what did you eat for lunch today?" and then she moved on to closed questions, such as offering food suggestions, so that the girls could only agree or disagree. Ms. Rizzo insisted on asking about salad, dessert, etc. The event emphasises the degree of insistence on the conversation and illustrates how the mother wanted to develop a dialogue with them. It was customary for the girls not to respond to adults, including teachers and parents. Thus, insisting on an answer may be also related to teaching them social appropriateness. A similar event during which the girls were pushed to answer was observed in relation to the songs the girls had learned for Mother's Day. Ms. Rizzo insisted on having the girls answer questions about the lyrics and the translation before opening the door to enter home.

As written before, I observed seven occurrences of either the father or the mother correcting the girls' grammar or pronunciation. EXCERPT 15 shows the mother repeating the correct subject-verb agreement several times.

Context: It is 7<sup>th</sup> June, 2018. Bianca and Luiza had taken shower and were waiting for dinner to be ready. They had brought books from the library, which came inside a fabric bag. Luiza notices that she has an extra book in her bag and said that one was not hers. Bianca explains that one that special day she had brought two books.

Lin	Actor	Utterance	English Translation
e			
1	Bianca	não, Luiza, os dois é meu! Porque um era com os grandes. Esses daqui, esse daqui eu escolhi que ela leu, o grande leu! E esse daqui é pra achar! Olha, mamãe, esses dois eu tenho. Isso daqui.	No, Luiza, the two is mine! Because one was with the big (kids). These here, this one I chose because she read, the big (kid) read! And this here is for looking for (things)! Look, mummy, I have these two. This here.
2	Mother	agora você vai contar uma história	now you will tell a story
3	Bianca	olhe mamãe, esse daqui os grandes leu.	look, mummy, this one here the big kids was reading!

4	Mother	leram!	were reading!
5	Bianca	esse daqui é pra achar!	this one is to look for!
6	Mother	os grandes leram! (...)Bianca? Quer dizer que os grandes leram para você? Bianca, os grandes..?/	the big kids were reading! (...)Bianca? Did you mean that the big kids were reading for you? Bianca, the big kids?
7	Bianca	tem que escrever isso	one must write this
8	Mother	Bianca, os grandes leram onde, Bianca?	Bianca, where were the big kids reading, Bianca?
9	Bianca	na biblioteca!	in the library!
10	Mother	que legal, hein? E eles leram direitinho?	Cool, huhn? And were they reading it correctly?

*EXCERPT 15 - Ms. Rizzo corrects Bianca's grammar*

Bianca does not make the subject verb agreement (Line 1) and the mother does not pay attention or decides not to correct it. On the contrary, the mother invites Bianca to tell her a story (line 2). Bianca does not tell the story but shows her mother that the book she was holding was the one read by a Cycle 4 child (an activity that had happened in that morning). However, when she does not use the subject and verb correctly for the second time (line 3), the mother insists on modelling the right agreement and makes sure to repeat the correct form four more times (lines 6, 8 and 10). This event shows again the emphasis on form rather than content, and the mother's interest in having Bianca talk more about the event.

Mr. Rizzo, too, talked to his daughters by asking many questions, and inviting them to reflect, develop their ideas, explain further, or engage in conversation. There was also a high frequency of requests and imperatives in his speech, as he often asked three or four questions in the same sentence. I did not observe any moment in which the family spoke about a topic other than the "here and now". The parents invited the girls to converse by asking, but the conversations did not evolve from that.

### 7.4.2. Ms. Faber

When looking at the table that summarises the strategies observed when Ms. Faber talked to the children (Appendix – Tables summarizing interactional moments and strategies observed), I could see that she deployed more strategies to encourage children to talk than to correct or model language. She focused much less on the language itself and more on the content of the discussion. I did not observe any correction on their speech.

I observed Ms. Faber starting a conversation with Bianca and the other children just once. Moments of her talking to children were captured in circle time moments. Ms. Faber brought themes to circle time so that children could discuss them and learn from the discussion, by listening to the other children and familiarising themselves with the vocabulary that she had chosen to teach them. I observed two of these moments: when Ms. Faber talked about ships and presented images of different types of ships, and when children had the opportunity to talk about what they liked most in the summer. Ms. Faber would start by asking open-ended questions, inviting children to share what they knew about the topic or to tell stories. When children talked, she would add a remark, such as “flott” (nice!), displaying the (I), response (R) and feedback (F) pattern (Nassaji & Wells, 2000). Ms. Faber would then ask for more questions, more details, or invite other children to participate. Then she would guide the conversation towards what she had planned for the moment.

Context. It is March 12, 2018. After asking to tidy up the room, Ms. Faber waits for the children in the circle time area, sitting on a small couch. Behind the teacher there is a white board where she displays pictures fixed by magnets. When children are quietly sitting around the teacher she starts the conversation below.

Line	Actor	Utterance	English Translation	Strategy
1	teacher	Mir schwatzen dofir elo... iwwer eppes anderes, awer eppes e	We are going to talk now... about something different, but something a bit similar	Recalling previous topic. Asking to

		bisschen wéi d'Joffa Lorie scho mat dir an Fréideg gemaacht, wesst dir wat dir Fréideg gemaach hat bei iech..	with what Teacher Lorie did with you Friday. Do you remember what you did on Friday?	check their comprehension .
2	some kids	Piratten!	Pirates!	
3	teacher (pointing at the ceiling)	Jo, dir hutt Piratten gemaach, dir hutt gemolt wat dir do uewen hängt.	Yes, you made Pirates, you drew what is hanging over there	confirming, recalling, and giving a hunch.
4	two or more children together	Pirattenschëff!	Pirateship!	
5	teacher	E Schëf. Genau. Mir schwatzen elo bisschen iwwer d'Schëffer:: Wat weesst dir iwwer Schëffer?	A ship! Exactly. We are going to talk now a bit about ships.	Confirming. Informing.
6	some kids	Ahh!	Ahh!	
7	teacher			Gives time for answer
8	one kid	Mir hunn (incomprehensible low voice)	We did (incomprehensible, low voice)	Listens
9	teacher			Listens
10	teacher	Nee. Iwwer Schëffer an allgemenge, net Pirattenschëff, einfach Schëffer, wat weest der iwwer Schëffer?	No, about ships in general, not pirate ships. Just ships. What do you know about ships?	Correction. Informing Open question.
11	one boy	Et ass och so ein grosse Schëff a dobanner an dem Schëff do kann mir schloffen...	There is a big ship and inside the ship, we can sleep.	
12	teacher	Jo?	Yes?	Acknowledges Asks for completion.
13	same boy	[ ] annere Saachen	... other things	
14	teacher (nodding)	Was du schon an so engem grouse Schëff?	Have you already been in such a big ship?	Acknowledges Open question.
15	the same boy	Er...nee... awer ech ginn... awer ech ginn am Nei Joer ginn ech (incomprehensible)	Er, no... but I go, but I go in the New Year's I go.. (Incomprehensible)	

16	teacher (nodding)	Hmm hmm...	Hmm hmm...
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*EXCERPT 16 - Ms. Faber's asking children to explain what they know about ships*

EXCERPT 16 shows Ms. Faber talking about ships. Ms. Faber started by recalling what they had done previously (Line 1). Many children remembered that they had discussed pirates (Line 2). As Ms. Faber did not want to talk about pirates but about ships, she pointed and gave a hunch (Line 3). Some children understood her cue and answered “Pirate ship” (Line 4). Next, Ms. Faber gave the positive feedback “genau” (correct) and said that they were going to talk about ships. She then asked an open-ended question (Line 5) and waited 8 seconds for the first child to start talking about what they knew about ships (Line 8). She listened to the child for 9 seconds until she corrected them by saying that they were not going to talk about pirate ships but ships in general (Line 10). Then one boy talked about a big ship in which people could sleep (Line 11) and Ms. Faber listened to him for 11 seconds, encouraging him to continue (Line 12). She then asked another question, this time a closed question, asking if he had been in a ship like that (Line 14). The boy continued, Ms. Faber acknowledged and then called on another child who had been raising their hand. EXCERPT 16 shows that Ms. Faber also guided the conversation. She did not want children to talk about pirate ships (Line 10), she knew what she wanted the children to talk about because she intended to present the vocabulary of other ships (cargo/freight, fishing boat, etc.).

Overall, a noticeable trend in Ms. Faber’s language-supporting strategies is that she did not focus on form, but on content. Fleta Guillén (2018) observed that pre-primary teachers attended to what children were not saying and focused more on comprehending the children, rather than correcting them.

### 7.4.3. Ms. Keller

Different from Ms. Faber, Ms. Keller engaged in conversations with the children more often. She walked around the classroom while children were playing and sometimes initiated conversation with the children. Her main and most frequent strategies were related to engaging children in conversation, either by initiating a dialogue or encouraging verbal expression by pushing a child to speak and insisting on information. To show these traits, I will discuss two excerpts. EXCERPT 17 shows a moment in which Ms. Keller attempted to engage in conversation with Luiza and Ema.

Context: It is the morning of March 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2018. Luiza is playing kitchen and shopping with Ema. They are speaking Portuguese. Ms. Keller is near them and listens.				
Line	Actor	Original transcription	English Translation	Strategy
1	teacher (to Ema)	Wat kachs du dann?	What are you cooking then?	Initiating conversation
2	Ema (shaking her shoulders)			
3	teacher	Oh du muss wesse wat du kachs fir dech ze kaffen.	Oh you must know what to cook so that you can go shopping.	
4	Ema	wat se wellen	What they want.	
5	teacher	Gelift?	What?	Asking for clarification
6	Ema	Se wellen	They want	
7	teacher	Wat kachs du ganz gern?	What do you like a lot to cook?	
8	Ema	<i>incomprehensible</i>		
9	teacher (nodding)	Pizza?	Pizza?	suggesting
10	Ema (smiling)	Ja	Yes	
11	teacher	Wat wells du kachen, Luiza?	What do you want to cook, Luiza?	Addressing child Asking question
12	Ema	Kachen, Luiza?	Cook, Luiza?	
13	Luiza			
14	teacher	Luiza?		Insisting
15	Luiza	Aahiê!	Ouch!	

	(not responding)		
16	teacher	Ahn?	
17	Luiza (pushing Brenda)	Vai comer!	Go there and eat!
18	teacher	Jo	Yes
19	Luiza (giving an order to Ema)	Vá la comer!	Go there and eat!
20	teacher	Ok	
21	Ema (asking Luiza)	Maria, o que eu vou fazer?	Maria, what am I going to do?
22	Luiza		
23	teacher (stands up and leaves the desk)	<i>The teacher</i>	

EXCERPT 17 - Ms. Keller interacts with Luiza and friends

EXCERPT 17 shows Ms. Keller approaching Luiza and Ema, kneeling and asking what they are cooking (Line 2). Ema answered by shrugging her shoulders, meaning that she did not know (Line 2). The teacher then said that they needed to know what they were cooking in order to know what they should buy (Line 3). Ema replied in a way that was not clear (Line 4) and Ms. Keller asked for clarification (Line 5). Ema repeated the same answer and the teacher asked Ema what she liked to cook, another open question (Line 6). This time, Ema answered, even though the response was not clear in the recording. Ms. Keller then checked if she had understood by suggesting an answer (Line 9). The teacher then turned to Luiza who had been playing in the play kitchen. Ms. Keller asked Luiza what she wanted to cook (Line 11). Luiza did not answer and Ms. Keller insisted (Line 14). Ms. Keller was interrupted by another child and remained kneeling next to Luiza and Ema while turning her attention to a boy. Luiza, Ema, and Brenda continued playing, using Portuguese. This event illustrates how the teacher attempted to join the play and talk to Luiza, Brenda and Ema. It also shows Luiza and Ema

using Portuguese near the teacher. This shows how speaking Portuguese was a legitimate practice, otherwise they may have hidden it from the teacher.

Another representative strategy is Ms. Keller's creation of spaces for the children to express themselves and her insistence that the children speak. EXCERPT 18 shows the intensity of Ms. Keller's focus on Luiza in her attempt to have Luiza speak.

Context: It is March 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2018 at about 10.00 in the morning during circle time. As soon as the sequence of routine song ends, Ms. Keller addresses herself to Luiza.					
Recording time	Actor	Original transcription	English Translation	Strategy	Description
08:27 (1)	teacher	Luiza, wëss de wat haut ass?	Luza, do you know what (day) is today?	Asking question	
08:28 (2)	Luiza				The teacher waits four seconds
08:32 (3)	teacher	De fënneften Dag	The fifth day...	Gesturing, giving prompts, waiting	She opens her right hand and shows the five fingers. She waits other 4 seconds for Luiza to answer.
08:36 (4)	a child	Ech wëss !	I know		Other children are raising their hands. The teacher is still holding the five fingers open.
08:37 (5)	teacher	Nee. Mer ginn hir méi Zäit, elo hunn ech Luiza gefrot. Luiza, ech wëss dat du wësst ....	No. We are giving her more time, now I have asked Luiza. Luiza, I know that you know.	Giving time and space, assuring the child, giving confidence	The teacher is still holding the five fingers open. She waits other 4 seconds.
08:39 (6)	Luiza				
08:41 (7)	teacher	So, Luiza, esou den 5., de Méindeg?	So, Luiza, like this, the 5 <sup>th</sup> , Monday...?	Models, gestures, gives a hint	She closes her hand, showing only the thumb, representing the first day of the week.
08:45 (8)	Luiza	Dënschdeg, Mëttnoch,	Tuesday, Wednesday,	Modeling	The teacher opens each finger to each day of the

		Donneschdeg, Freideg	Thursday, Friday		week that Luiza is saying
08:40 (9)	teacher	A wéi ass déi haut?	And which is today?	Asking closed question	The teacher holds the hand open after the 5 <sup>th</sup> day was said. She leans forward towards Luiza.
08:51 (10)	Luiza	Freideg	Friday		The teacher holds the hand open after the 5 <sup>th</sup> day was said.
08:52 (11)	teacher	Ja!	Yes!	Confirming Positive feedback	She opens her two hands, gesticulating as “voi lá/done/you see?”
08:52 (12)	teacher	A wat hu mir scho gemool do?	And what have we drawn there?	Closed question	The exact words she used were not clear, but the teacher was referring to the calendar of the month, which has drawings on specific days. The teacher is still leaning forward.
08:56 (13)	Luiza	Bam	Tree		The teacher is leaning forward. A tree was drawn on the paper.
08:58 (14)	teacher	A firwat ass de Bam do? Kuck emol?	And why is the tree there? Look!	Asking closed question. Instructing	She goes back to her upright position. And leans forward just a little bit.
09:00	Luiza				Luiza looks again to the board and keeps looking at it, which is behind her. So she is looking away from the circle and the teacher.

EXCERPT 18 - Ms. Keller insisting on having an answer from Luiza

EXCERPT 18 shows Ms. Keller asking Luiza the day of the week (Line 1). Luiza did not answer. The teacher waited four seconds and then helped her by giving a hint, saying it was the fifth day of the week, opening her right hand, and showing five fingers. She waited another four seconds for Luiza to answer (Line 3). A child raised their hand, saying that they knew and wanted to answer, but Ms. Keller said they should give Luiza more time. She then turned to Luiza and said, “I know that you know” (Line 5), assuring Luiza and giving her confidence, but Luiza did not respond. Ms. Keller then helped her by saying the days of the week in order,

in a melodic way that invited Luiza to finish with the sequential days (Line 7), which she did (Line 8). The teacher then asked once again what day it was, to which Luiza answered “Friday” (Line 10). Ms. Keller gave positive feedback, opened her two hands, and gesticulated in a way that I interpreted as “do you see how you know it?” (Line 11). The teacher did not close her interaction there, shifting attention to the calendar stuck on the blackboard. She asked Luiza what was drawn there for that day (Line 12). Luiza said that there was a tree (Line 13) and Ms. Keller asked her why the tree was there (Line 14). Luiza did not respond with the answer the teacher was looking for, which was that they were going walking in the woods. EXCERPT 18 illustrates how Ms. Keller insisted on the children speaking.

#### **7.4.4. Ms. Thill**

Ms. Thill employed several strategies that encouraged interaction and modelled language use. As explained earlier, Ms. Thill’s classes were teacher-led and focused on teaching Luxembourgish as an additional language. I observed a focus on structure, grammar, and chunks of language, at the sentence level.

Part of her routine was asking how the children were, and some children answered her authentically, for example by saying they were going to the dentist. Ms. Thill, however, did not encourage the continuation of this conversation, as she had an established routine and set of activities to cover in 20 minutes. She would acknowledge the answer and continue with what she had planned.

FIGURE 77 illustrates EXCERPT 19. A grammar-focused language drill that practised syntax, i.e. subject, verb and complement, including the full stop. The full stop is an aspect of the written language which children at this age have not yet mastered.



Figure 77 - Ms. Thill sentence drill with subject, verb, complement and full stop

Context: It is April 24th, 2018 during a visit to Luiza's classroom. On this day, Luiza and 3 other girls, Brenda, Abba and Monica, were taken to the Luxembourgish class. After the song with rituals, Ms. Thill asked them to sit down on a semi-circle and say sentences illustrated by cards and other prompts.

Recording time	Actor	Original transcription	English Translation	Strategy	Description
08 :41 (1)	teacher	(to Brenda) Ah du bass ganz opgetratt. Roueg e bëssen, ok ? De Saxxy spréngt iwwert d'Waasser punkt. Genau. Ok. Also, et spréngt net dran, et spréngt driwwer. An? u dir ?	Oh you are very excited. Calm down a bit, ok? Saxxy jumps over the water, full stop. Exactly. Ok. So, it does not jump in, it jumps over. And? Your turn.	Asking for attention Modelling Explaining	She holds a cylindrical object, as a small cane and touches each part of the sentence, and moves the cane as a wave when she says "iwwer".
08 :58 (2)	Luiza	De Saxxy spréngt iwwer dem Bam.	Saxxy jumps over the tree.		touches each part of the sentence, and moves the cane as a wave when she says "iwwer"
09 :07 (3)	teacher	Ganz gutt. An da kënnt den?	Very good. And then comes the?	Praising Asking closed question	
09 :09 (4)	Luiza	Punkt	Full stop.		

09 :10 (5)	teacher	Punkt. Genau!	Full stop. Exactly.	Repeating. Confirming	
09 :11 (6)	Luiza	Firwat muss mir Punkt soen?	Why do we have to say full stop?		
09 :12 (7)	teacher	Wann dann de Saz faerdeg ass. Dat ass a ganzen Saz. Uhm? Abba, probéiers de selwecht. D’Waasser (incomprehensib le) gehéiert. Probéiers de selwescht mam Bam.	When the sentence is over. This is a whole sentence. Uhm? Abba, try the same... water does not need. (incomprehens ible). Try the same with tree.	Explaining Tag question Instructing	She places her two hands as including the sentence between her hands, to show that the sentence is a whole, that has a beginning and an ending.
09 :24 (8)	Abba	mmm... de Saxxy ...	Hmmm... Saxxy...		
09 :26 (9)	teacher	Ja?	Yes?	Asserting, asking for more	Looking at Abba and waiting. She uses her cane to point at each word. whispering
09 :27 (10)	Luiza	spréngt	jumps		
09 :27 (11)	Abba	spréngt	jumps		
09 :28 (12)	teacher	spréngt	jumps	Repeating Over pronouncing sound	Articulating the sound /t/ clearly
09 : 29 (13)	Abba	Iwwer de Bam.	Over the tree		
09 :30 (14)	teacher	Ganz gutt. Ok. An da Punkt. Genau. U dir? Monica?	Very good. Ok. And then full stop. Exactly. Your turn, Monica.	Praising Confirming Adding Instructing	

EXCERPT 19 - Ms. Thill asks for the full stop.

EXCERPT 19 starts with Ms. Thill calling Brenda to attention and repeating the sentence she had said (Line 1). She used the same sentence to explain another grammar point with the prepositions “dran” (in) and “driwwer” (over). She then invited Luiza to be next. Luiza said the sentence correctly (Line 2) and Ms. Thill praised her, but signalled that something was

missing by asking “and then comes the?” (Line 3). Luiza knew what the teacher wanted and replied with “full stop”. Ms. Thill repeated “full stop” and gave positive feedback (Line 5). Then Luiza asked, “why do we have to say to say full stop” (Line 6), and the teacher answered that it represented the end of a sentence. She did not explain further than that and invited Abba to be next (Line 7). Abba started with the subject “De Saxxy” (Line 8) and stopped. The teacher asserted that this was correct and waited for more with a “yes?” (Line 9). Luiza then offered the answer saying “jumps” (Line 10) and Abba repeated after Luiza (Line 11). Ms Thill then repeated the verb “jump” by saying the final /t/ sound in a marked way so that children learned the sound that marks the verb agreement (Line 12). Abba finished the sentence and the teacher once again reminded them that after the sentence comes the full stop (Line 14). She then invited Monica to be next.

I observed different attitudes in Luiza, comparing EXCERPT 10, with Ms. Keller, and EXCERPT 11, with Ms. Thill. In the latter, which took place one month after the former, Luiza answers, asks a question, and helps Abba, displaying that she felt comfortable in participating.

Ms. Thill did scaffold language to her pupils and offered several sources for making sense of the language through visual resources, even though there was little to no space for children’s agency. The language presented during her lessons was controlled by the teacher and aided by visual prompts and teacher’s gestures and expressions.

Another event that shows how language was used at the sentence level is when Ms. Thill used a book to provide prompts to formulate grammatically correct sentences and to teach vocabulary. EXCERPT 20 is not a transcription, as it happened before I received the authorisation for filming, but it is an example of how I noted events down while observing the class.

25<sup>th</sup> January, 2018 – my journal: “The teacher takes a book with many illustrations, starting with the illustration of a house, cut, so that we can see what is happening inside all the floors. It is the same image I saw the previous week with the other group, but this time it is in the book. They describe what they see, the teacher turns the page to the Bauerhoff (farm) setting, third page: shopping. The teacher asks “Wéi heischt ...?” (How do you call...?) “De Pappa ass beim Zahndokter” (Daddy is at the dentist.) “Wou ass d’Boma?” (Where is grandma?). Luisa says “Do” (there), pointing. “Wat maache si?” (What are they doing?). I observe that Luiza’s friends respond quicker. Either Luiza does not want to participate, or she does not have the words. Many times, she answers by making gestures. For example, “Wat maache si?” (what are they doing?) and Luisa answers by moving her arms, as a person would do when jogging. The teacher says “laafen”(running). “Kuckt eng Kéier... wou ass d’Madame Matamuta?” (Look here, where is Madame Matamuta?) Luiza answers mostly with body language and pointing. But sometimes she says short sentences “Et schneit” (it is snowing). Most of the time her colleagues answer first. The teacher asks questions, elicits answers, she uses many “whats”, “where” “where to” and helps the kids answer full sentences. “Et fiert mam.... Schlitt!” (He is riding on a sleigh). She turns the pages and says “Ech gesinn ...” (I see a...) and names the things that they are seeing. When she says “Kavechelchen” she makes the children clap 4 times, one for each syllable.

Teacher: “Wat maache si hei? / (What are they doing here?)

One girl: “Schneebullen!”/ (Snowballs)

Teacher: “Wat maache si mat de Schneebullen?“ / (What are they doing with the snowballs?)

The same girl: „Si schéissen“ / (they are throwing)

Teacher: „Si schéissen Schneebullen“/ (They are throwing snowballs).”

Ms. Thill focused less on form and more on meaning during the “Feelings Class”, which was not exclusive for Luxembourgish learners. On such occasions, she read storybooks and discussed their contents, focusing on the identification of different emotions.

#### **7.4.5. Maison Relais**

I observed few interactions between the educators and the children. When they did occur, they were more practical and providential, when children asked the educator for help: to tell the educator that the marker was dry, the pencil was broken; to ask where to find a certain object; to ask for permission to pick up more paper; to denounce another child or group of children that was doing something wrong. I also observed many orders from adults to children, asking them not to run or scream in the room that was for drawing and painting, to hurry up for LASEP classes, to be orderly in the cafeteria’s line. I did not observe, however, a dialogue between either Bianca or Luiza with a educator. Some children were closer to the educators and liked to hug and start conversations with them, but as Luiza and Bianca avoided interactions with adults, I did not observe one moment in which they engaged in conversations with the educators. Not observing interactions means also that I did not have the opportunity to analyse the educators’ strategies. Having said this, language permeated all activities. When the girls were having yoga class, for example, they were learning yoga through language and learning the names of animals in Luxembourgish that represented the yoga’s positions.

#### **7.4.6. Comparing settings**

TABLES 29 and 30 show the occurrence of observed language-conducive strategies employed by the adults across settings. They drew on tables that list observed interactive moments (appendix).

TABLE 29 - Language promoting strategies across settings for Bianca

language promoting strategies		Home	Ms. Faber's Classroom	Ms. Thill's classes	MRE
Interaction stimulating	Initiating conversation	x	x		x
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Pushing the child to speak	x	x	x	
	Insisting on an information	x			
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	x	x	x	
	Praising	x	x	x	
Language - promotion	Corrective feedback	x		x	
	Repeating after them	x	x	x	
	Gesturing for aiding comprehension		x	x	
	Expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating	x		x	
	Speaking clearly	x	x	x	
	Using Illustration to deliver meaning		x	x	

TABLE 30 - Language promoting strategies across settings for Luiza

language promoting strategies		Home	Ms. Keller's Classroom	Ms. Thill's classes	MRE
Interaction stimulating	Initiating conversation	x	x		x
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Pushing the child to speak	x	x	x	
	Insisting on an information	x	x		
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	x	x	x	
	Praising	x	x	x	
Language - promotion	Corrective feedback	x		x	
	Repeating after them	x	x	x	
	Gesturing for aiding comprehension		x	x	
	Expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating	x		x	
	Speaking clearly	x		x	
	Using Illustration to deliver meaning			x	

The first striking feature of TABLES 29 and 30 is the absence of occurrences in the MRE column. This is because I do not have the data to analyse their quality as I observed so few interactions, all of which were brief and happened for practical reasons. This does not mean that Bianca and Luiza did not learn languages in the MRE, because the activities proposed by

the MRE did afford language interaction among children: they had the opportunity to play in the drama room, play games and run in the yard. Inside the cafeteria, educators asked questions, as for example, if the children wanted certain food. Offering food affords labelling words for children, such as the names of food items in the cafeteria.

Ms. Thill, on the other hand, took advantage of several opportunities to push Bianca and Luiza to speak the language, providing the correct use of the language. However, as discussed earlier, her intent was to teach new words and have children understand the Luxembourgish syntax in simple sentences – not to engage children to produce longer stretches of language, such as telling a personal story or developing a topic. Even though the lessons revolved around short sentences with specific vocabulary, both Bianca and Luiza had the opportunity to use the language and participated more actively with the teacher than they did in their classrooms. In the “feelings class”, on the other hand, attention was given to stories and the identification of emotions, not focusing on language form. Both Luxembourgish and feelings lessons were teacher-centred.

In the classrooms, both Ms. Faber and Ms. Keller made use of the same range and type of strategies when speaking to the children. They did however differ in that Ms. Faber employed more language promotion strategies, such as speaking clearly and using illustrations to elicit new vocabulary, while Ms. Keller focused more on the interactional level, often insisting that the child speak. I did not observe language corrections in either classroom. This is the opposite of what Ms. Thill did in her language lessons, which focused on structure and correctness rather than meaning.

Mrs. and Mr. Rizzo made use of several strategies. Both parents made use of questions when speaking to the girls and focused on form, correcting the girls most of the time, which displayed a formal use of the language. Despite the formal language teaching strategies, at home, children

had the exclusive attention of their parents, whereas at school or in the MRE, the educators gave their attention to all the children and their own responsibilities, which is natural.

### **7.5. Summary**

In this chapter, I showed the ways in which the settings occupied by Bianca and Luiza could afford language and literacy development. I started by describing the physical elements in the settings and discussed how their home was not a language-rich environment, in contrast to their classrooms, which had been prepared so that children could play using previously selected activities. The girls' MRE considered the physical setting to be a teacher and, just like at the school, the rooms had been previously prepared for the children's interaction. Nevertheless, the spaces in their classrooms differed from those in the MRE in that the classrooms were theme-decorated, changing from time to time, whereas the decorations at the MRE were always the same. Overall, the linguistic landscapes in the classrooms were richer compared to the home and MRE settings.

I also described how both classrooms differed from each other. Ms. Faber's classroom displayed more formal learning content, as she had hung exercises from clothesline and tagged drawers and children's names on desks. This was not displayed in Ms. Keller's room, where literacy opportunities were less physically present. The setting in Ms. Thill's classroom helped communicate its purpose, a controlled space inside a regular classroom where children could not interact freely.

I then described the activities happening in these spaces that could foster language learning. There, I showed that, with the exception of the MRE, all the settings afforded several planned language activities. At home, the opportunities were more informal, whereas at school, the teachers proposed more activities aiming at language development, such as asking children to

describe an image while writing the text for them. I discussed how in all settings, the adults read books for Bianca and Luiza, even though these moments were not interactive, and that Ms. Thill employed more interactive moments in her 'feelings class' than she did in her pull-out Luxembourgish classes, which emphasised language structure. I commented on how the songs learned in one setting appeared in other settings and how they were reproduced at home to the extent that the parents were already familiar with them.

I also discussed how all the adults in the settings were multilingual and how their behaviour switched from one named language to another. This behaviour was also observed in Bianca and Luiza. Except for Luxembourgish in the pull-out classes, in which the children did not have the opportunity to interact freely, Bianca and Luiza used Portuguese and Luxembourgish in all settings. At home, the parents encouraged their use of Luxembourgish and I observed the girls speaking Portuguese in both Ms. Faber's and Ms. Keller's classroom, as well as in the MRE.

To conclude, I analysed interactions between the adults in the different settings and Bianca and/or Luiza. Except for the MRE, where few interactions were observed, interactions in all the settings were formal or brief, as interactions did not develop from the "here and now". Even when reading books to children, adults either told the story in a monologue, i.e. without giving the children the opportunity to interrupt, ask questions or make connections, as observed at school; or the reading style was focused on interaction at the word level, such as asking children to complete a sentence or asking for the meaning of words in the book.

These findings, including the first case study, will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 8 – Structure, play, literacy and relationships across settings**

### **8.1. Introduction**

In the previous two chapters, I gave a descriptive account of language affordances in different settings. Describing the four distinct settings allowed me to focus on the immediate environments to detect the language learning opportunities afforded by parents, teachers, and educators. These chapters revealed the multiple support structures that parents, teachers and educators had arranged for Thiago, Bianca and Luiza, whether consciously or not, to help them become socialised in Luxembourgish and to expose them to several other languages. In this chapter, I shall outline common themes across the settings. As outlined in Chapter 3, the perception of continuity across different settings provides a feeling of safety and well-being for children (Holtappels et al., 2011; Fabian and Dunlop, 2002). I will start by discussing the features that Thiago, Bianca and Luiza tended to encounter across settings: structure, formal interactions, and the dominance of one named language in each. Then, I will move on to discuss how the three children encountered play, literacy, and companionship in all settings, which helped them develop skills in Luxembourgish. The similarities across some of the settings may have facilitated the children's horizontal transitions.

### **8.2. Structure: adult-centredness, formal interactions and practised language policies**

Structure, which pervades all settings, provides safety, as children know what to expect (Tabors, 2008). The following section shows that the adults structured the children's environments physically, through activities and by regulating their language use.

All environments were framed and, at times, highly structured. In Bianca and Luiza's case, a structure was visible in their very organised home, where playing was reserved for delimited spaces (the bedroom and the plastic table in the living room). The twins also encountered structure at school. Even though their class teachers allowed space for free play, they had routines and sequences, and children knew what to expect from the day. During the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons in particular, the twins were exposed to routines and highly formal activities for practising language. At their MRE, the structure was apparent through children queueing before having lunch, as well as through the choice of activities in the separate rooms.

In Thiago's case, the structure arose from the adult-centredness that characterised almost all his settings. At home, his mother behaved like a teacher, guiding his attention and eliciting answers. At school, Ms. Majerus asked children to participate in several activities throughout the day. The Luxembourgish pull-out lessons were also teacher-centred. Ms. Wagner's proposed structured language activities guided the order of events in the games, organised turns, and corrected mistakes. The fact that his home and school were both adult-centred may have helped Thiago to connect the settings and feel at ease. During the activities proposed by his MRE over their lunch break, i.e., free play in the playground, he appeared reserved, possibly because of the absence of adult guidance.

### **8.2.1. The formal nature of interactions and the focus on form**

The formal nature of the interactions, specifically at home and in the Luxembourgish classes, deserves further attention. A degree of formality was observed in the interactions between the parents and Luiza and Bianca. The parents were focused on learning and tended to guide conversations by employing guiding questions. For example, they asked the girls to count to ten in several named languages while they were on a swing in a playground, and asked for

sentence completion when reading a storybook. The mother and the father frequently used questions and insisted on answers. The formal nature of the interactions in the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons was very high. Ms. Thill not only guided all interactions but also presented language in a highly structured way (Sections 7.3.4. and 7.4.4.). She focused on vocabulary teaching and had the children practise grammar exercises. She even demanded that they finish utterances by saying “full stop”.

This formal way of using language, however, was not what the children experienced with the educators in the MRE or with their class teachers. Bianca was rarely observed engaging in interactions with Ms. Faber. Ms. Faber did not interact much with the class in general, but she gave the children space to share experiences during circle time. During these moments, she focused on content rather than form. Luiza, by contrast, had more opportunities for interactions with Ms. Keller, who initiated conversations with the children in an informal manner. During circle time, she offered all the children opportunities to voice thoughts and share experiences. When revising the days of the week and going through the day’s routine, Ms. Keller guided the interaction and expected children to say certain words. The interactions in the classrooms contrasted starkly with the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons, which were highly formal.

In line with the adult-centredness of the classrooms described in the previous section, Thiago was exposed to formal ways of interactions at home with his mother, who was friendly, understanding, and encouraging, but who also acted as a teacher. For instance, she employed formal conversation strategies to stimulate interaction, asking many questions, inverting questions to confuse him and checking his attention and comprehension. Ms. Gastão frequently asked Thiago to complete a sentence, even while engaged in seemingly common actions, such as unplugging the TV cable. In the pull-out classes, Ms. Majerus did not engage in informal conversations with children. Her interactions were purposeful: she guided interactions,

modelled language use, and focused on the correct use of Luxembourgish. As illustrated in Section 6.4.3, her attention was on form, not on content. This is especially noticeable in EXCERPT 10, when Lucas wanted to share his experience of falling down and having his father apply an adhesive plaster on his knee. Ms. Wagner wanted Lucas to say the word “Plooschter” correctly. Like Ms Thill, Ms. Wagner focused on vocabulary teaching and sentence structure (Sections 6.3.3. and 6.4.). While Ms. Thill included singing, dancing and rhymes, such activities were not observed in Ms. Wagner’s Luxembourgish lessons. Similar to the twins’ classrooms, the formality of interactions differed in Thiago’s MRE, his main classroom and, to some extent, in Ms Wagner’s feelings class. Here she read and talked about stories with all children in the class, not only children who had begun to learn Luxembourgish.

### **8.2.2. Multilingual actors and monolingual ethos**

Another form of structure was the practised language policy in each setting. The adults around the children used more than one language in their daily lives or were competent in more than one language. Parents in both families spoke Portuguese, English, Spanish, Italian and were learning French; however, their home language was Portuguese. The teachers and the educators in both schools and MREs were multilingual (Section 5.5.) and the educators in Thiago’s MRE were observed speaking Luxembourgish, French and Portuguese. As shown in Chapters 6 and 7, Thiago, Bianca and Luiza heard adults and peers use more than one named language in each of the various settings. In their classrooms, especially, they were exposed to several languages. Despite the multilingualism that was apparent in all settings, each had its dominant language: Portuguese at home and Luxembourgish at school and in the MRE.

Section 6.3.1 showed that, although Thiago’s family language was mainly Portuguese, other languages were heard: Ms. Gastão read some sentences in Italian from their Italian passports, mentioned a sentence in Latin to illustrate how her grandfather used the language in some

situations, and asked Thiago to read and translate the Mother's Day cards in Luxembourgish. Thiago watched TV without particular regard for the languages being spoken. Like Thiago, Bianca and Luiza interacted mainly in Portuguese at home with their parents, but they also encountered and used several languages elsewhere. The girls mostly used Luxembourgish amongst themselves when playing, especially in the last five months of the school year. They also sang a song in French and brought home books written in German. Further, Ms. Rizzo once asked the girls to count to 10 in Portuguese, Luxembourgish, German, French, English, Italian and Spanish.

The dominant language in the classroom was Luxembourgish because teachers had to follow the national curriculum, which requests the development of skills in Luxembourgish. Nevertheless, other languages were heard, testifying to the multilingual intake of the children and staff. In Ms. Majerus' classroom, several languages were heard: Luxembourgish, German, Polish, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Czech, Slovak, English, and Swedish, as the TABLE 10 in section 6.3.2. shows. Nevertheless, Ms. Majerus clearly stated during an interview that there was an unspoken demand that children speak Luxembourgish: "there's kind of a rule at school that they should speak Luxembourgish in the classroom." (Interview 02/07/2018). This rule, however, was disrespected several times (TABLE 10 in section 6.3.2), even by Ms. Majerus herself.

The situation was similar for the twins. In Ms. Faber's classroom, Bianca was exposed to German, French, Polish, and English, besides the dominant Luxembourgish. She also used Portuguese with her friends. However, Ms. Faber explicitly said in the interview from 28/06/2018 that she tried to speak in Luxembourgish only.

<p>[00:05:05] Teacher: The common language, and yeah, I try to speak only Luxembourgish but it's difficult of course, I try... In the beginning it's difficult because the children feel much</p>
---

more comfortable if I speak their language. But I can't speak all the languages so it's er.. yeah. You always have to find the balance er yeah.

[00:05:28] Me: and the French? The introduction of French ... do.. er... I also saw that you work with books in French, and the children read books in French..

[00:05:37] Teacher: Yeah

[00:05:37] Me: So you also introduce...

[00:05:37] Teacher: We do a few but not so much because we.. I think that it's more important that they hear Luxembourgish than French (giggles).

*EXCERPT 21 - Interview with Ms. Faber on 28/06/2018*

Luiza was exposed to more languages than her sister because Ms. Keller often invited the children's home languages into her classroom, for example through parents' letters on a child's birthday celebration, which included all the children's home languages: English, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Japanese, and Portuguese, besides the three official languages of the country.

Even though the focus of the pull-out classes was clearly Luxembourgish, the use of other languages here was normal, even expected. Ms. Thill's Luxembourgish lessons and her feelings lessons were also dominant in Luxembourgish, though she sometimes used French with a French-speaking child. During one of her feelings lessons, she asked me to engage in an activity with Bianca, in Portuguese. On the same day, during her Luxembourgish lesson, she invited Bianca to translate the word "gift" into Portuguese, and offered her own translation of the word "house". In summary, the three children learned that language use followed a clear structure, imposed by the person in charge. Portuguese and Luxembourgish dominated depending on the setting, but several other languages were allowed.

The previous sections have shown that the children may have felt a connection to their various settings because some of the settings had similar structures, interactions and languages, and at times, a similar formal nature and focus. The next sections focus on two typical activities, play and literacy. While there are similarities across the settings, play was particularly important to

the twins as it helped them to socialise in their new world and form closer relationships. By contrast, literacy facilitated the transition for Thiago.

### **8.3. Play**

Free play affords language interaction and language learning. Play was present in all settings, for both case studies, at almost all the levels I observed. In Thiago's case study, starting at the physical and material level, there are spaces that afford playful moments. Thiago had games and toys in his bedroom. In his classroom, there was a specific corner where he had the opportunity to engage in dramatic play. I interpreted that specific corner as a safe haven, where children not only played roles but also engaged in conversation, usually lying or sitting on the floor. The Luxembourgish pull-out lessons room, by contrast, did not contain playful elements, nor did it allow free play. While I did not observe the "ateliers" (workshops) proposed by the educators in Thiago's MRE, I know that Thiago either had lunch in the lunchroom or played on the school's playground. At the level of activities, Thiago's parents offered moments and spaces for him to play, for example: dancing with him, taking him to the neighbourhood playground, or even using the school's playground after class. At school, Thiago played alone or with peers in the classroom from eight to nine, as well as in the playground at the end of the school day. At times, he used books to interact with peers. When he had school in the afternoon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, Ms. Majerus allowed children to play freely in the classroom for almost one hour, even though part of this time was also used to complete craft activities. While Ms. Wagner's classroom did not invite children to play, her lessons were almost always playful. She used card games and board games to teach language in a formal but playful manner. For example, she turned describing flashcards into a card game: children could keep a flashcard when they described its illustration correctly. At the MRE, as exposed earlier, I only observed free play on the playground. It was during a free play moment at school, on

2nd July 2018, that I captured Thiago, Lucas, Milena and Andrea talking, giggling and using Luxembourgish, French and Portuguese in the playing corner of their classroom. During the MRE free play time on 16th May 2018, I observed an educator engaging in conversation with Thiago on the playground.

In Bianca and Luiza's case study, play is even more meaningful. Play permeated all settings at all observational levels. Beginning at the material/physical level, their home afforded special areas for play, such as the child-sized plastic table next to the family's dinner table where they could "play house" and eat separately from the adults. Their pink bedroom had furniture specifically designed for children. In Ms. Faber's and Ms. Keller's classrooms, there were toys and areas that afforded playing, such as a wooden play kitchen and cupboard, and a child-sized blackboard. The prompts in their classrooms, as well as in the two other classrooms, were available to all Cycle 1 children to play and interact with. In Ms. Thill's classroom, there were also toys and prompts, though these were not for free play. In the twins' MRE, there were two special workshop rooms for playing: the drama atelier, where children could play roles, and the "Spiller" (Play) atelier, which was for board games. Children could also choose to play in the school's playground, which was equally available for the MRE's activities. Play appears frequently when looking at activities across settings. At home, Bianca and Luiza often played by pretending to read books to each other, and by roleplaying TV show presenters, singers, performers, and waiters taking down orders in a restaurant. TABLE 19 in section 7.3.1. shows several playful moments which included language. Their parents also played games with them, such as tic-tac-toe and phonemic awareness games, and they took them to the neighbourhood's playground. In Ms. Faber's and Ms. Keller's classrooms, children engaged in free play from 8 to 10 in the morning, outside in the playground for an extra 30 to 45 minutes, and again in the afternoon on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. During moments of free play in the

classroom, both Bianca and Luiza were observed playing teacher roles and adult roles, such as shopping and cooking. In doing so, they frequently used other languages, as shown in TABLES 20 and 21. I did not observe Ms. Faber playing with the children. Ms. Keller was once observed inviting children to play a game in which one lays in the middle of a circle covered with a blanket. Ms. Thill's lessons did not afford free play, but her routine involved dancing. At the twins' MRE, children played in their workshops and outside on the playground. Occasionally, educators played with the children outside.

Similar to the data collected in Thiago's case study, it was during these playful moments that spontaneous interactions and translanguaging occurred. However, unlike Thiago, Bianca and Luiza also took the opportunity to practise the target language through play. In December 2017, Ms. Rizzo sent me home videos that she had recorded on a family outing. In one of them, Bianca and Luiza pretended they spoke Luxembourgish and mixed some real sentences in Luxembourgish with gibberish, thereby experimenting with the phonemes, rhythm, and intonation of the Luxembourgish language. Before the 2017-2018 winter holidays, they had not communicated in Luxembourgish in their classes. However, during these holidays, they started playing with the language and recreated the school and/or MRE within the family context. They played their own roles as students, walking side by side, holding hands, and using some words in Luxembourgish, within their ZPD. Other home videos showed the girls playing teacher by holding a storybook the way their teachers did and reading for an invisible audience or to one another. They also mixed some Luxembourgish words with gibberish to imitate their teachers' speaking. In fact, Ms. Rizzo remarked that the girls often played the role of teacher by imitating their teachers' voices and mannerisms, which the mother found impressive and amusing. Some months later, Luxembourgish started dominating the girls' interactions, and they began to speak Luxembourgish among themselves during play at home.

They metaphorically displaced themselves from the family nucleus, leaving the present reality of the here-and-now, and travelled together to their shared imaginary world. While Luxembourgish entered play at home, Portuguese was present in free play outside the home. The girls recreated their family life when they played in the classroom and the MRE. More than once, I observed and recorded Bianca and Luiza, as well as their four Portuguese-speaking friends, playing the role of adults going to supermarkets and cooking. Such moments took place when there were no formal activities and no teacher was present. When the twins did not have space to wander away, such as in the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons, circle-time moments, yoga and LASEP classes, or during conversations with their parents, they kept to the dominant language of the setting.

#### **8.4. Literacy**

In Chapters 6 and 7, I presented the numerous ways in which literacy is embedded in the children's different settings, through material elements and activities. In this section, I shall focus on the Gastãos' varied literacy practices at home, which were close to that of the school, and show how this may have helped Thiago pass easily across both settings and adapt quickly. This will also help to explain why he felt misplaced in the MRE, as he did not have the support of books to keep him company and struggled to interact with other children.

Thiago found companionship in material elements, such as books and toys, and he often took a book or a toy with him from home to school. He also found companionship in the metaphysical realm of fictional characters. Thiago's parents offered him books, and he spent long periods of time looking silently at the pictures or even drawing over the illustrations. At the time of my data collection, Thiago was interested in the world of dwarves and elves and would draw elves' ears on characters on his books at home or on his drawings at school. Thiago

was also interested in another type of fictional text: cartoons on TV. He was given the autonomy to choose from a wide range of options by way of the remote control. This fictional universe in his imagination accompanied him to and from his home. He was frequently observed sharing books with his classmates, leafing through books in lonely moments, and drawing, immersed in his fictional universe. The high frequency of interaction with written texts at home, often mediated by Ms. Gastão, appeared to have prepared Thiago well for the more formal school activities and, in turn, less well for play-based non-formal learning.

### **8.5. Relationships**

Relationships are fundamental to children's well-being (Ben-Arie, Casas, Frønes & Korbin, 2014). As twins, Bianca and Luiza had each other's support when navigating through different settings. The physical presence of the sibling made them transitional objects to each other, whose function is creating a "neutral area of experience" (Winnicott, 1953: 96) or a buffer zone, from the familiar to the new. This companionship in transition provided a certain degree of continuity across the different settings. The daily horizontal transitions were softened by the other twin's presence. Bianca and Luiza crossed the boundary from the familiar and intimate home context to the public and unfamiliar context of the new school, together. At home, they played, sang the school's songs and practised Luxembourgish. It was also together that they played on the school's playground, in each other's company as soon as they arrived, and later when sharing friends. Together, again, they participated in the MRE's activities.

Thiago, by contrast, did not have a sibling to accompany him to school, but he had a close friend, Mattieu, with whom he shared books and toys, as well as attended the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons and MRE. At home, Ms. Gastão would become his main company. She

frequently asked him questions about the school and Luxembourgish, and placed Thiago in a position where he was knowledgeable and could teach her.

## **8.6. Summary and conclusion**

This chapter looked across settings to highlight some of the features that children encountered and which may have facilitated their transition. I found that all environments were structured by the adults (described as adult-centredness), who tended to offer activities and set rules for language use. Despite accepting several languages, adults tended to focus on one and, at times, organised highly formal interactions (based on asking questions) that focused on the correct use of that particular language. Another similarity across the settings was the dominance of play and literacy, which eased the transition for children. Play (and to some extent the informal nature of interactions) was most important for Bianca and Luiza, who played frequently in all settings and had each other's company when crossing settings boundaries. By contrast, Thiago connected settings through literacy and the formal nature of interactions. His mother maintained a teacher-like relationship to him at home, which gave him the opportunity to show and practise what he had learned at school, especially Luxembourgish. Thiago's familiarity and interest in storybooks and fictional characters also allowed him to cross settings and languages. This interest granted him a feeling of continuity between home and school, but also a feeling of displacement in the Maison Relais, where this fictional universe was not present.

I conclude that no clear-cut trend was found when comparing all settings across the case studies. The learning settings did not diverge or converge entirely; on the contrary, they showed a multitude of activities, with adults and children performing different roles. For instance, according to the setting, adults were more or less physically close to the children, allowing them different degrees of autonomy. There were few convergence patterns across all settings

in each case study and, therefore, the most accurate way of describing the settings' continuities and discontinuities is to say that similarities and differences interlaced across the settings.

Finally, I conclude that it is essential to combine different perspectives (and, thus, data sets) in order to gain a good understanding of each support structure. An analysis cannot be reduced to one level of support structure. For example, Ms. Keller's physical classroom did not communicate the abundance of language activity and interaction that could be observed there. The walls in her classroom were bare, there were no tags labelling objects, there were no names labelling desks. The kitchen where Thiago had Luxembourgish lessons gave a first impression of coldness and even hinted at the possible carelessness of the school towards these lessons. However, the pale walls were unnoticed once the participants attended to the colourful flashcards and the illustrations of the board game. The space was characterised by Ms. Wagner's physical closeness to the children around a table, and the relaxed moments of playing.

## **Chapter 9 - Discussion**

### **9.1. Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to shed light on the language-related affordances encountered by these three children in some spaces of their new multilingual society. Thus, I looked at the language-supporting structures present in the different settings where they spent their weekdays: home, school, and MRE. In Chapters 6 and 7, I described such supporting structures as existing at three different levels: material elements, activities, and language strategies used by adults when talking to children. In Chapter 8, I discussed features that these children encountered across settings, more specifically the adult-centredness observed in formal interactions and in the practised language policy in each setting. I also discussed how play, literacy, and companionship framed the essential language learning events in all settings, which helped the children to develop skills in Luxembourgish. The similarities across some of the settings may have facilitated the children's horizontal transitions. The present chapter will now bring together these findings from the data analysis and contrast them with existing literature. I will begin by discussing the complexity of the differences and similarities across the different levels of observation, as it is an overarching theme. I will then move on to discuss the use of languages in the settings, where both multilingualism and the development of one main language are valued. Next, I will look at the activities that favoured language use, more specifically play and literacy. Finally, I will discuss findings at the level of interactions, by approaching the children's relationships with peers and family members and the formal features of adults' interactions with children.

## **9.2. Looking across settings – the complex and dynamic nature of settings**

The three previous analytical chapters revealed the multiple support structures that parents, teachers and educators had arranged for Thiago, Bianca and Luiza, whether consciously or not, to help them socialise in Luxembourgish and to expose them to several other languages. All adults (parents, teachers and caregivers at SEA) are educators. They all provided several types of supporting structures at the different levels of observations, which contributed to the development of multilingual repertoires.

The different levels of support structures did not diverge or converge entirely among the different settings; on the contrary, each of the nine settings was unique. Continuities and discontinuities could not be observed one-dimensionally. It is not possible to condense and epitomize each setting. For one reason, the analysis is not only one-dimensional. It occurred at three different levels of observations in each setting. Some settings are similar to others when looking at one level, but they contrast when looking at another level. Overall, the settings are different because they have different objectives and because they are shaped by different individuals. Despite the few convergences, the similarities and differences across the learning spaces add up, forming the whole landscape available for Thiago, Bianca and Luiza. The complex and dynamic nature of the settings is re-established when the three observed levels of support structures are combined – this is to say that looking at the support structure at one level does not reveal it in its entirety. For example, Ms. Keller's classroom did not communicate the abundance of language activity and interaction that was observed. The walls in her classroom were bare in terms of written language, and there were no tags labelling objects stored in drawers or cupboards, nor were there name tags on the children's desks. The kitchen where Thiago had Luxembourgish lessons gave a first impression of coldness and even hinted at the possible ambivalence of the school towards these lessons. However, the pale walls were

covered in colourful flashcards and boardgame illustrations, while the setting was characterised by Ms. Wagner's closeness (physical distance) to the children and the relaxed moments of playing. This calls attention to the complex and dynamic nature of social settings.

Volk (1997) analysed the continuities and discontinuities between an American bilingual preschool and two Puerto Rican families, at the levels of interactions, values and behaviours, and came to a similar conclusion: both continuities and discontinuities were observed. Teale's (1986) study on the home literacy environment of 24 children from low-income families concluded that homes present complex configurations that cannot be reduced, as each varies in terms of literacy material, opportunities to interact with more knowledgeable people, and quantity of reading and writing events observed. Whereas Teale's (1986) study showed that each family is unique, my study shows that this is also the case for teachers. More specifically for the teachers, data has shown that they differed in their teaching styles. The same is evident when comparing the Luxembourgish teachers. While both Ms. Wagner and Ms. Thill focused on grammar and vocabulary, they took different approaches.

I will now shift my focus to the activities that created opportunities for children to practise languages. The next section discusses the findings on the continuities and discontinuities across settings.

### **9.3. Language use - multilingual actors with monolingual practices**

Section 8.2.2 discussed the finding that adults in the different settings were multilingual, while the practised language policy of each setting was essentially monolingual. I did not encounter other studies looking at Brazilian families' language policy as migrants in host countries, with which my findings might have contrasted or accorded; however, I can relate my findings to other ethnographic studies looking at teachers and educators' language policy practice in the

Luxembourgish formal and non-formal educational sectors. In the non-formal institutions, Neumann (2015), analysed the practices of language promotion in both Luxembourgish crèches and MRE, arguing that despite whereas educators understand that Luxembourgish should be the institutional language, translanguaging was frequently observed among adults, adults and children and children with their peers. Similarly, Seele's (2015) ethnographic studies in three state-funded day-care centres in Luxembourg, illustrates their monolingual agendas. Except for one institution explicitly bilingual, French and Luxembourgish, the other two institutions were said to have Luxembourgish as their language. The author mentions how in one of these two institutions, a MRE for children aged 0 to 12 years old, the use of Luxembourgish as the main institution language was not even stated in a document, but it was taken for granted by its professionals. The everyday language practice observed was, however, divergent. The researcher could observe a multilingual language practice, among educators, children, educators and parents, etc. Similarly, in the current study, educators in both MRE's answered the questionnaires declaring that they spoke Luxembourgish with children despite their own multilingual background. Some said that they adapted to the children's needs if a child could not understand Luxembourgish. Kirsch & Aleksić (2021) also demonstrated educators making use of several languages in the participant crèches. In schools, studies have been showing changes in teachers' stance towards multilingualism. Gómez Fernández's (2011) study depicted rigid monolingual practices in the participant primary school. More recent studies (Kirsch, 2018; Kirsch, 2021) demonstrated teachers who displayed a more multilingual orientation.

## **9.4. Language use in key activities: play and literacy**

### **9.4.1. Play**

As discussed in Chapter 8, Thiago, Bianca and Luiza encountered play in all the different settings. The relationship between play and language development has been well established in the field of children's first language (Vygotsky, 1978; McCune, 1995; Hall, Rumney, Holler, and Kidd, 2013) and second language acquisition (Markova, 2016; Mourão, 2018; Schwartz, Hijazy, and Deeb, 2021). Though I have not analysed the content of children's utterances as Mourão (2018) and Schwartz et al. (2021), my study confirms the relevance of child-initiated play as a space for children to use the target language. Bianca and Luiza's case study, more specifically, has shown that the siblings practised Luxembourgish when playing school or restaurant roles, and Portuguese when playing home roles. Both were mostly quiet during adult-centred moments. A similar finding is discussed in Drury's (2007) study, in the case of Samia: a typically quiet girl at school who played school scripts with her brother at home. Similarly, Bianca and Luiza found their own way of rehearsing school scripts at home, by reproducing songs, teachers' talk and mannerisms, and Luxembourgish. The current study extends the aforementioned research, stressing the role of the adults in providing free-playing time, and spaces and material for playing. It also shows the adults' roles in regulating the children's language use – more specifically, in allowing flexible language use.

### **9.4.2. Literacy**

Chapters 6 and 7 showed that Thiago, Bianca and Luiza encountered several opportunities to engage with literacy through material affordances and adult-proposed activities at home and at school. The fact that literacy supporting activities and prompts were found in the classrooms is to be expected, as preschools must prepare children for the academic education to come in the

following school years. The poorness of literacy elements in Bianca and Luiza's MRE, however, contrasts with what the law expects from non-formal educational institutions, which is that they should have a role in promoting academic success for their students (Legislux, 2016), as discussed in Section 4.4. Literacy events were observed in crèches (Kirsch, 2020), which are non-formal education institutions caring for children aged 0-4, but there are currently no newer studies on MRE, i.e., after the 2016 law, that have shown children's engagement with written language. As such, I was unable to contrast or confirm my findings with other similar MRE studies.

In my study, children encountered literacy events at home. This is especially highlighted in Thiago's case study. Chapter 6 showed how Thiago's home and his preschool classroom were equally rich in language and literacy material elements. This finding is to be expected when looking at literature on home-school connections in white western middle-class educated families (Taylors, 1983 in McCarthy, 2000). Studies looking at the continuities and discontinuities of non-western migrant families have found discontinuities between home and school literacy practices (Gregory 1994, 1996). Other studies have approached migrant families with low-SES (Gonzalez & Uhing, 2008), also showing mismatches. Thiago's case study, however, incited the cultural capital theory (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu's theory of cultural and social reproduction can help explain social stratification and persistent social inequality. Social agents would be in possession of social, cultural and economic capital. Migrant families may lack social capital, i.e. a valuable network of other social agents, but I hypothesize that they might as well bring cultural capital with them, both intangible (such as a confident attitude and mannerism, for instance) but also material (such as books) and institutional (such as diplomas and academic titles). A child that grows up in a family with high cultural capital, may be more prone to "educational affinity" (Graaf et al., 2000). Leopold and Shavit (2011) assert that

reading books, for example, as one form of cultural capital promote a child's education, better preparing the child to succeed in school. Teachers would then favour such children. The results of these author's study, however, showed that teachers evaluated native students higher than immigrant students, even though the results on tests assigned by the researchers to measure the cultural capital level of the participant student and their mothers showed similar results. Becker's (2010) results also showed that cultural capital did not benefit immigrant families. In their study with Turkish migrant families in Germany, the results showed that children only benefited from their family's cultural programmes when the parents mostly use the host country language with their child. In the case of the Gastãos, however, their constant contact with written language, their family cultural activities and their proximity with formal educational practices (Graaf et al., 2000) suggest a high level of cultural capital, which, different from the aforementioned studies, benefited Thiago's quick adaptation in the new school.

## **9.5. Language in interactions**

### **9.5.1. The role of peers and family members**

As discussed in chapter 3, the conditions for first or additional languages to develop are similar: children need ample contact with the target language through interactions that guide the child's attention to language itself, thus facilitating and modelling the language while giving them opportunities to use the language (Kirsch, 2021). The fact that teachers at school and educators in the MRE allowed children to engage in free play shows that they favoured peer interactions. My study did not analyse peer interactions, but captured several moments during which Thiago, Bianca and Luiza shared books with peers in the classroom and talked about the book. Long, Bell and Brown (2004) discussed similar events when observing and analysing three five-year-old Mexican-American children in a South Caroline kindergarten, where children read a picture

book side by side, holding the book so that all three could see the pictures. My study also shows Bianca and Luiza playing adult roles, as teaching, shopping and cooking using both Luxembourgish and Portuguese. Markova (2016) observed how children made use of the target language expressions, English, during free play, in fact, more frequently than during teacher-proposed activities. Robinson et al. (2015, in Mourão, 2018) also observed children also playing the roles of teacher and students.

My analysis in the families' homes showed the role of family members in creating opportunities for their children to be in contact with Luxembourgish and other languages. I have already discussed how Bianca and Luiza, as siblings, rehearsed their school life during play, in section 9.3. Here, I would like to discuss the role of parents in helping children learn languages that they themselves have not yet mastered. However, there are few studies portraying the supporting structures that newly arrived migrant parents arrange for their children to learn the host country language(s). Gogonas and Kirsch (2016) looked at how Greek families in Luxembourg supported their children's multilingualism. The parents in the study hired private tutors, sent their children to summer schools in England or France, helped with homework, and studied valued languages in Luxembourg themselves. The present study shows the very beginning of these two families' lives in Luxembourg, at which time all four parents knew only a few words in Luxembourgish, German or French. It shows parents placing the power of knowledge in their children, asking them to translate and pronounce words, and to explain what they had brought home from school. Such practice is defined in the literature as 'language brokering' (Hall and Sham, 2007; Orellana, 2009, as cited in Bauer, 2016 p.23), i.e. when children in migrant families function as translators or interpreters of the host country language for their parents, even though the events observed in my study happened in informal moments of interactions between parents and children, compatible with the age of Thiago,

Bianca and Luiza, i.e. asking them to count, sing, translate a mother's day card, etc. Most studies looking at children as language brokers investigated older children mediating language for their parents in more complex situations, such as visits to the doctor, reading bank statements and analysing the psychosocial effects on the youth (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007). Troseth, Mancilla-Martinez and Flores (2018) argue that language brokering shifts the typical role of adults as the experts and children as the apprentices, but that while asking their children to translate, parents can, nevertheless, scaffold children's learning in both language, by guiding the child's attention to the task, breaking up the text or speech into smaller parts, helping the child find the correct word in the family language. During such moments, both parents and children could benefit from the exchanges

### **9.5.2. The formal nature of language interactions**

Formality was observed in the interactions between adults and children, as discussed in section 8.2, both with teachers and parents. The use of questions and corrective feedback was dominant in both homes and classrooms. Kirsch (2021) showed how one preschool teacher and two *précoce* educators in Luxembourg used these two language-supporting strategies: questions, as a means of promoting interaction, and corrective feedback with the purpose of modelling language. Yu, Bonawitz & Shafto (2017) discussed how questions are frequent in the classroom, and that they are linked to academic improvements. They specified three types of questions: information-seeking, as in "what did you say?"; rhetorical questions, as in "you know what?" or tag questions; and pedagogical questions, as in "what is this called?". They also investigated whether pedagogical questions were asked in the family context. Their results showed that parents, especially those in middle-class families, often asked pedagogical questions, which is consistent with Hoff (2003) and Snow et al. (1976). Hoff (2003) argued that pedagogical questions are common in the classroom but not in all homes, as Heath (1983)

showed, and are more common in higher SES families. When investigating interactions between parents and their four-year old children in testing rooms, Taggart, Ellwood, Vasc, Chin, and Lillard (2019) looked at two activities, cleaning and eating. Each of these was observed using real prompts and toy prompts. They found that more questions were asked during pretend play. Further, the researchers wanted to understand how the parents perceived their roles in both situations, real and pretend: as partners in fun, teachers or monitors. Parents who identified as teachers asked more questions than those who identified as monitors – the latter supervised the children’s activities instead. In my study, I have not asked the parents how they understood their own role during the interactional events observed, but as I attempted to demonstrate in Chapters 6 and 7, both Ms. Gastão and Ms. Rizzo made several questions to stimulate conversation, in a formal “school-like” way of talking, either questioning to incite conversation, or questions to check the child’s comprehension, many times followed by an evaluation or repetition of the answer.

As for the use of corrective feedback in the current study, it was mostly observed in settings where teaching was formal, i.e. in the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons. However, it was also observed during interactions between Ms. Majerus and the children, as well between Bianca and Luiza and their parents. Kirsch’s (2021) study showed that the preschool teacher provided more corrective feedback than the educators in the *précoce*. Dale, Tosto, Hayiou-Thomas, & Plomin (2015) found that informal language stimulation has positive effects on children’s language development, whereas corrective feedback has a negative effect. The same was found by Tulviste & Tamm (2019). However, there are different forms of corrective strategies, and not all are explicit corrections (Wasik & Jacobi-Vessels, 2017). The present study observed few informal conversation moments between parents and children at home, probably because of the interference of my presence.

## 9.6. Summary

In this chapter, I contrasted some of the main findings with some aspects of the existing literature. The interwoven similarities and differences across the different settings has not been discussed much in the literature. My study contributes by showing the complexity of the different levels across settings in a way that does not reduce them to binary contrasts or similarities. The present study contributes to many other studies that have investigated the multi/mono language practice in Luxembourgish ECEC, showing that parents, teachers and educators focus on one language, despite valuing multilingualism. Several studies have shown how play and literacy in early education favours language development, and findings in the current study add to the previous studies. It diverges, however, when compared to literature on educational affinity or the cultural capital of migrant families. This suggests that the family reading behaviour and closeness to school practices may help children cross both settings more easily, independent of family language. The study concludes by looking at the role of relationships in language development. Many studies show how peers can help newly arrived children learn the target language, but not many studies focus on the role of migrant parents in rehearsing the host country language(s) or the school activities with children at home. The last section compared literature looking at parents' and teachers' use of questions and corrective feedback, both of which are language-supporting strategies that were dominant in my observations and common across settings.

## Chapter 10 – Conclusions

### 10.1. Introduction

This thesis looked at language learning affordances across different settings. As such settings have been created, suggested, arranged and supervised by adults, I attempted to shed light on these adults' suggestions for elements that were conducive to language learning, split into three different levels: material, activities, and strategies employed during conversation, such as encouraging children to speak or modelling language use. I then addressed my research questions to these three levels of support. Furthermore, as language emergence does not only happen inside physical compartmentalised settings but also across them, I analysed the continuities and discontinuities among them, as well as how children could make sense of what each communicated to and expected from the children.

In Chapter 4, I discussed that these learning spaces are located within a country whose educational system has been reported to be challenging for migrant children. At the end of primary education, children must be competent in French, German, and mathematics if they wish to follow a more prestigious track in secondary school (MENJE, 2015; MENJE, 2021b). Luxembourgish remains the vernacular language, though the schools have a steep proportion of students with migrant backgrounds (MENJE, 2019). Lusophone students make up one of the most expressive student populations and are disproportionately represented in the different secondary education streams: fewer in classic secondary and many in modular tracks. Furthermore, newly arrived migrant children are more prone to underachieving in school.

The data collection coincided with the onset of the emergence of multilingualism in these three children, which also coincided with the beginning of formal education. During my period of data collection, the three children begun to develop skills in multiple languages. All of them

moved to Cycle 2, which shows that they possibly attained the expected levels for Cycle 1, in a range of competencies pre-established by the Ministry of Education, including Luxembourgish. Thiago, Bianca, and Luiza's teachers evaluated them as competent enough in Luxembourgish to move up to the next and most formal cycle. This may indicate that these children were exposed to Luxembourgish in comprehensive ways and that they had opportunities to use the language and develop it. The affordances, activities and strategies described here may have led to language learning. This may also indicate that migrant children who join the Luxembourgish educational system in preschool are given enough opportunities to develop several languages.

In this chapter, I discuss the contributions, implications and limitations of the current study. I also discuss possible directions for future research. I conclude with a follow-up on Thiago, Bianca and Luiza three years after the end of data collection and with a brief description of my own growth over the course of the PhD journey.

## **10.2. Contributions of the study**

As language skills is a key factor for academic achievement (Hoff, 2013), studies examining language learning, language acquisition, language development and/or language emergence are essential for researchers in educational sciences. As emphasised in Chapter 2, learning (languages) is a cultural process that takes place through participation in communities' practices across time and generations (Rogoff, 2003). Thus, it is only through the contribution of similar studies, shedding light on the daily and common practices of such communities, that our comprehension of learning can advance. My first contribution is my careful description of mundane activities, across settings, that can favour language learning, adding to a body of sociocultural studies looking at how children learn languages.

Another contribution comes from the examination of three different learning spaces. Despite its small scale, this investigation attempted to portray all the educational settings in which children participated daily. There was thus a wider focus than in most studies, which tend to solely analyse the classroom (Fleta Guillén's, 2018; Tabors, 2008; Markova; 2016; Schwartz, Hijazy, and Deeb; 2021), or home and school (Drury, 2007; Gregory; 1997). In this way, I contribute with a wider perspective that differs from the traditional, which has mainly looked at the continuities and discontinuities between home and school. It is important for studies to observe language learning opportunities beyond home and school because these opportunities exist in all places. Furthermore, a broader field of observation can be more insightful. For instance, if I had not observed Thiago during lunchtime in the activities proposed by his MRE, I would not have observed that he did not feel comfortable there. It was due to this observation, confirmed by his parents during an interview, that I could infer that Thiago felt better in more structured environments and during more structured moments. Similarly, by observing Bianca and Luiza in a yoga class proposed by their MRE, I gained new insights. The fact that I observed Luiza reproducing the yoga class both at home and in her classroom made me understand that the content learned in one setting is often "rehearsed" later in other settings. The same is true for languages, roles, songs learned at school, etc. In this sense, my observations across different learning spaces provide a rich, detailed and comprehensive picture of children's various contexts.

Another contribution to the body of research is in relation to existing published studies. Kirsch et al. (2020) and Kirsch (2021) examined the activities and the strategies of teachers and educators in both formal and non-formal settings in Luxembourg. My study extends this observation by adding the physical spaces and language affordances at home, at school and in the MRE, as well as the parents' activities and strategies at home.

There is also a contribution in relation to the literature review. In Chapter 3, I reviewed studies looking at the role of different adults in supporting children to develop their repertoires. I found few studies conducted in multilingual contexts. (Neumann, 2015; Seele, 2015; I Gelir, 2018, Kirsch et al., 2020) Most of the studies were conducted in anglophone countries, i.e. studies on minority children where minority children are often described as bilingual or multilingual students, whose home language(s) differ from the language of the school. This study presents a different direction: minority children from a monolingual-oriented home country joining a new society and school where multilingual competencies are essential for school success. Moreover, the study introduces a different researcher's perspective, as most of the cited studies investigated bi/multilingualism from the point of view of the host country's researchers; here, the researcher is a newly arrived migrant, too.

### **10.3. Practical contributions**

From an applied orientation, the findings can be relevant for teachers, educators, parents, and researchers. For Luxembourgish preschool teachers and educators in MREs, I offer a window through which to look at the lives of some migrant students and the sort of support that their parents provide at home, as a possible way of gaining insight. The findings could also serve as a mirror and offer ideas and examples. Teachers may be inspired and use the different levels of support and the multitude of actions happening in the classroom. The literature review, more specifically sections 3.2.2 and 3.3.1, emphasised the benefits of dialogic reading, for instance. Teachers might not be aware of such a strategic way of reading for promoting interactions and language learning, and my thesis may provide the readers with ideas and opportunities to reflect on their own practice. Moreover, teachers and educators alike could evaluate ways to improve collaboration between the different educational settings, such as contextualisation in

Luxembourgish lessons according to the thematic units proposed by the main teachers, or more free play time in preschool classrooms. They might also decide to focus more on language in the MREs, either through informal interactions with educators or by increasing opportunities for interaction with written language, for instance through prompts.

Investigating multilingual education is of utmost importance to teachers in other parts of the world. Due to the increasing rate of human mobility and interconnectivity, studies that shed light on what goes on in highly diverse and multilingual classrooms, like those in Luxembourg, are important for other countries which are now, and more and more, experiencing diversity and multilingualism in their schools. Therefore, Luxembourgish classrooms can serve as future projections for schools in other contexts that are just now experiencing the augmentation of number of students with migrant background. I started this research because I was genuinely curious about understanding the multilingual classroom, because I had a personal impression that foreign language teaching in Brazilian schools was so challenging. Other teachers in Brazil, or elsewhere, may share the same interest. Certainly, the two contexts, Brazil and Luxembourg, for example, are not comparable. Nor are the situations of language development. For example, teaching English for children in Brazil is different from welcoming a new child in class, a child who is learning their first words in the host country language. Children need human/social resources, i.e., encountering frequent and authentic opportunities to socialize with more knowledgeable others, especially peers, using the target language, which is not often available in foreign language teaching classes, where teachers are the sole resources. Nevertheless, testifying that children develop language awareness so early in their lives, and that being surrounded by several named languages does not hinder language development, can be a practical contribution.

For Luxembourgish policymakers, this study contributes with an understanding of some of the activities taking place inside preschool classrooms and in MREs after the passage of the new law that explicitly demands fostering multilingualism in primary schools, crèches and in MREs (Legislux, 2021). The study describes what these teachers were proposing in terms of French and home language promotion in their classrooms. As for the non-formal educational sector, to my knowledge, this is the first research published since the new law (Legislux 2016) which stressed its professionalisation, shifting the role of the professionals from caregivers to educators. These professionals have been asked, among other things, to promote the children's academic success and contribute to language learning (Legislux, 2016, art. 1ere). My small-scale study, which observed the practices of only two non-formal educational institutions, in 2018, shows few interactions between educators and children, with educators performing an organisational and monitoring role.

For Brazilian parents in Luxembourg, I offer an opportunity for a new stance regarding multilingualism. As stated in chapter 3, language development at home is essential for children's academic success (Hoff, 2013), and before children begin school, they should already have strong language and early literacy skills (Garcia and Kleifgen, 2018). This means that parents have an essential role in promoting a language-rich environment at home. As immigrants in a country where Luxembourgish, French, German and English are necessary, but not necessarily Portuguese, as discussed in section 4.2 and with Reiff and Neumar's (2019) statistics, parents may think that developing Portuguese at home will hinder their children's schooling success, when, in fact, studies have shown otherwise (Cummins, 1991). Parents should be made aware of the importance of material affordances, as well as strategies in dialogic reading and conversation, as the literature review emphasises the benefits of these.

There is also a methodological implication for researchers. The fact that the study distinguishes between different foci of observation within settings indicates that settings should be examined at different levels, before combining data to understand their overall practice. This is because some settings which seem bare in material affordances can still show a great number of activities and/or dialogues filled with scaffolding strategies. One source of observation does not show the whole picture level does not predict the other. Thus, when aiming for a complete comprehension of the practices in a certain context, researchers should investigate the different scales, some of which are not present in my study, such as ideologies, beliefs material affordances, activities and interactions.

#### **10.4. Implications**

My study depicts a few educators in the MREs as designers of spaces and monitors of children's activities. This may raise the question of whether or not this indeed is their role in non-formal educational institutions for primary school children or if there could be more interactions, with educators as co-players or partners in fun (Yu, Bonawitz & Shafto, 2017). Or else, in order to bring the non-formal and formal education settings together in as seamless a manner as possible, and because non-formal educational institutions are also asked to promote children's academic success (Legislux, 2016), more language-rich activities could be offered, such as circle games with rhymes, drama workshops, storytelling, films, and most importantly, dialogues. This reflection could also be valid for MRE directors and educators.

Moreover, this small-scale study showed three teachers who differed in their practices, even within the same cycle of the same school. Given that teachers differ highly in their practices, there is a "luck factor" when children are enrolled at school. If there is neither accountability, nor rules, it is possible that some preschool teachers do not include literacy or free play in their

daily activities, although it is known that these activities promote learning. In other words, we would need more structure, control, responsibility.

The fact that dialogic reading was not observed in any classroom indicates that professional development courses could offer courses on strategies for dialogically reading, including how to make the book's content more palatable to children in the early stages of the target language development, as well as how to do this with the whole class.

### **10.5. Limitations**

This is a small-scale qualitative study, and therefore not generalisable, i.e. its results cannot be transferred to the populations comprised here, nor is that the aim of my study. As discussed in section 5.3.1.4., in qualitative studies, the more in-depth descriptions can offer readers insight as well as help them to identify similar patterns in other studies or in their own observations. The cases presented here are valuable in that they provide insight into the different supporting structures offered to some newly arrived children in Luxembourg. However, the cases are not representative of the whole – neither “Brazilian families”, as Brazil is an extensive and diverse country, nor “Brazilian immigrants”, as these also come from different walks of life.

As a single researcher undertaking a qualitative interpretive study, all aspects of the study, i.e. research design, data collection, analysis, and interpretation can suffer from the interference of the researcher's bias or limitations. This was explored in section 5.3.2.2. For example, my competence in Luxembourgish at the time of research was limited, and I talked to teachers in English. Further, I did not encounter opportunities to engage in conversation with the educators in the MRE, as I did not feel they were open to my approaching them. To overcome this, I approached them through questionnaires, discussed in section 5.6.4.

## 10.6. Directions for future research

The current study has afforded some insights that could be further investigated. One of them refers to target-language pull-out lessons for newly arrived children in the early stages of target language development. Most activities observed in such classes seemed to disagree with the literature (García & Kleifgen, 2018; Mashburn et al., 2009; Cummins, 2015; Cummins et al., 2015, Wasik, et al., 2016, Tabors, 2008) on the best practices for preschool-aged children. For example, the lessons were decontextualised, focused on the word and sentence level. However, at least from the point of view of an adult language learner, the lessons did scaffold language. During the Luxembourgish pull-out lessons, children could visualise the uninterrupted stream of sounds coming from the oral language, zoom in, and identify the chunks. Furthermore, these three children seemed to enjoy the lessons and had more contact with the teachers. There is a mismatch here that could be further investigated. For instance, is the disconnection between the practices across both settings contrasting or complementary? Do these classes conduce to or hinder learning? What if the small group of target language learners, those pulled out from the main classroom, could benefit from lessons based on the evidence from literature on children's language development?

Another topic that could be further analysed is immigrant families' reading behaviour (Graaf et al., 2000). It has been discussed that migrant families do not benefit from cultural capital brought from their home countries (Leopold and Shavit, 2011; Becker, 2010); however, it is also known that a strong family language helps children transfer content to subsequent languages (Cummins, 1981). Thus, there may be the need to investigate the cultural capital of immigrants, which is often overlooked.

I chose not to approach family language policy in my study. However, at the end of my PhD journey, I encountered Lomeu Gomes' (2020) study on family multilingualism with Brazilian parents in Norway, albeit with mixed couples, where one parent was Brazilian and the other Norwegian. In his study, he discusses the absence of "southern voices" (p. 2) on studies on family language policy. I am convinced that further studies on FLP would benefit from including the language ideologies and beliefs of families from southern colonised countries after their migration to more multilingual-oriented countries in Europe.

The current study showed a positive start for these newly arrived migrants and lusophone children. However, statistics show that this population is more prone to school inadequacy (Edustat, 2021). It would thus be interesting to accompany newly arrived children in longer longitudinal studies in order to identify when potential problems start.

## **10.7. Concluding remarks**

### **10.7.1. Bianca and Luiza three years after**

This short passage presents a perspective on Bianca and Luiza three years after the data collection and is based on conversations with Ms. Rizzo. She reported feeling a big change in the transition from the Cycle 1.2 to Cycle 2.1, i.e., when the girls left preschool in the year I was visiting them to the next immediate school year, when they started a more formal education and were introduced to German. Ms. Rizzo remarked how Bianca and Luiza's teachers' practices were different from one to the other, in terms of demands, grading systems and teaching styles throughout the next three years in the same school. Ms. Rizzo's main complaint, however, was that teachers were focused on highlighting the children's mistakes in homework and tests, and that this demotivated the girls. Bianca and Luiza were happy in the MRE but felt

disconnected from school. This made the Rizzos decide to move them to a new public school following the British curriculum, starting in the 2021/2022 school year. They believe the new school will make the twins feel more motivated, even when facing the challenge of adapting to another vernacular language: English. In the beginning of July 2021, Ms. Rizzo posted a video of Bianca on a social media network. In this video, Bianca was teaching the viewers how to administer a Covid-19 self-test. In this video, Bianca explained the steps for testing using German. Her communication in German sounded, to me, coherent and advanced for a child. However, according to Ms. Rizzo, it was not good enough for her to be successful academically in the present school, as Bianca had low grades in German.

### **10.7.2 Thiago three years after**

I approached Ms. Gastão to write this short passage and asked her how Thiago was. On the 7<sup>th</sup> June 2021, Ms. Gastão sent me an audio message explaining that Thiago liked going to school, that he had stopped complaining about it, except when they moved to a new village and Thiago needed to start over at a new school. In the beginning he complained about missing his friends, but after a while he made new friends and was once again happy to go to school. She emphasised Thiago's trust in the new teacher at the new school and in the educators in the new MRE as a factor that helped him readapt. She concluded by saying that Thiago continues to be well-adapted to the Luxembourgish schooling system. She did not comment on Thiago's competences or school's assessments.

### **10.7.3 The researcher six years after migration and beginning of the study**

Several scholars (García, 2009; Conteh and Meier, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2011; Kirsch, 2000; Kirsch et al., 2000; García & Lin, 2017) have been suggesting a paradigm shift/an

ideology transformation from the monolingual norm to multilingual practices. This shifting process has been true for me, a teacher and researcher, as the journey has changed me in many ways. I attempted to accentuate the movement from monolingualism to multilingualism in my theoretical chapters because it is how I saw and felt it throughout the whole process. I started my journey with different perspectives due to my background: I had come from a country with a strong monolingual ideology, from a Master's education focused on a more cognitive field of linguistic; and I was a novice, not only in terms of using sociocultural theory to explain language learning, but also in terms of being a newly arrived migrant in the society. However, I soon adapted to Luxembourgish society by grasping my first essential French expressions to talk to cashiers in stores, by using English at work and at the university while still using Portuguese at home, and by starting to learn Luxembourgish to immerse myself in the classrooms. The more I improved my language skills and the more I caught up with the field's literature, the more my own conception of language and competences changed. It became clear to me that the multilingualism I had previously understood from monoglossic perspectives was dynamic and circulated unevenly in society.

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## Appendix

### Call for Participants



De acordo com o relatório da Comissão Europeia (2013), os estudantes migrantes recém-chegados encontram-se numa situação delicada e têm maior probabilidade em apresentarem resultados escolares inferiores. Além disso, ser um imigrante que frequenta escolas luxemburguesas combina um duplo desafio: ser uma criança recém-chegada e ter de aprender várias línguas para conseguir acompanhar um sistema de ensino multilíngue.

Para compreender o sistema escolar e as formas como as crianças estão aprendendo línguas, preciso acompanhá-las e observá-las nas escolas e nas *Maison Relais pour Enfants* durante o período de um ano escolar. Além disso, vou precisar entrevistar os pais e as crianças e observá-los algumas vezes em casa. Vou usar gravação de vídeo para as observações, mas esses vídeos não serão exibidos em público. Minha supervisora, Ass-Prof. Dra. Claudine Kirsch e eu somos as únicas que teremos acesso aos dados.

A pesquisa está em conformidade com os padrões de ética da Universidade do Luxemburgo. Os participantes têm o direito de retirar-se da pesquisa se acharem que devem a qualquer momento. Os dados são anonimizados e salvos no servidor criptografado da Universidade do Luxemburgo.

Mais detalhes serão explicados às famílias dispostas a participar.

Gostaria, portanto, de chamar famílias que se enquadram no seguinte perfil:

- 1) Os pais ou os guardiões legais são brasileiros e a língua de família é o Português.
- 2) Nem os pais nem a criança nasceram no Luxemburgo.
- 3) A criança está matriculada numa escola primária luxemburguesa.
- 4) A criança frequenta a "Maison Relais".

Por favor, entre em contato comigo por e-mail para [flavia.bley.001@student.uni.lu](mailto:flavia.bley.001@student.uni.lu) ou pelo telefone 621 404 530.



Flavia R. Bley

## Consent form for families



## CONSENTIMENTO E AUTORIZAÇÃO

Eu, \_\_\_\_\_ (pai/mãe ou 1º. tutor) ou nós  
\_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ (pai/mãe ou 2º. tutor) declaro/declaramos que  
estou/estamos de acordo que eu/nós, os pai/a mãe/o pai, e meu/minha/nosso/nossa filho(a)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (nome) participe do projeto de pesquisa *Brazilian  
Newly Arrived Migrant Children Becoming Multilingual in Luxembourgish Public Schools* (Crianças Brasileiras Recém  
Chegadas se Tornando Multilíngues nas Escolas Públicas Luxemburguesas) sob as condições acima mencionadas e de  
sermos filmados, fotografados e entrevistados no âmbito do projeto de pesquisa. Eu/nós fomos informados de que  
dados sobre nossa origem étnica serão coletados. Eu/nós fomos informados de que eu/nos posso/podemos revogar  
o meu/nosso consentimento para participar do estudo a qualquer momento sem dar razões e sem consequências  
negativas para minha/nossa pessoa. Além disso, posso/podemos a qualquer momento se opor ao processamento  
dos meus/nossos dados, bem como solicitar uma exclusão dos dados. Entendo/entendemos que tenho/temos o  
direito de acesso e rectificação dos dados pessoais, de forma gratuita, e que posso/podemos exercer esses direitos a  
intervalos razoáveis, contatando a orientadora da pesquisadora, Ass-Prof. Claudine Kirsch no e-mail  
claudine.kirsch@uni.lu. Compreendo/compreendemos perfeitamente que os dados pessoais são armazenados para  
fins de processamento de dados por um período de 7 anos. Concordo/amos que os meus/nossos dados pessoais  
recolhidos no âmbito do projeto acima serão utilizados exclusivamente para fins científicos e que estes serão  
tratados de forma estritamente confidencial de acordo com as leis e regulamentos do Luxemburgo e da Europa em  
matéria de proteção de dados. Entendo/entendemos que os dados coletados podem ser usados para publicações  
(por exemplo, artigos científicos) sem me/nos identificar pessoalmente.

Data e Local: 06/10/2014, \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Assinatura(s)

Atenção: dois formulários de consentimento devem ser assinados. Os participantes ficarão com uma cópia.

### Sample Interview with parents

**Researcher:** E daí quando vocês têm um livro em inglês, você lê inglês? Nunca aconteceu?

**Father:** Ler em inglês, eu já lia, já lia em inglês para ele, aí traduzo, inglês e português.

**Mother:** Eu ia traduzindo em português.

**Researcher:** Então toda noite vocês leem os livros.

**Father:** E aí ele é curioso, ele quer, provavelmente por influencia da escola também, mas ele começou a querer escrever além de desenhar, porque ele sempre senta para desenhar e ele quis começar a escrever história, tipo “a menina foi na floresta...”. Aí ele pergunta: “como é que escreve isso agora?”. “FLO, F-L-O”. E aí ele vai escrevendo, e aí ele escreve errado e a gente corrige.

**Researcher:** E ele está lendo? Eu lembro que tem o vídeo dele lendo as figurinhas da copa.

**Mother:** Sim, super, lê muito. Hoje mesmo a gente estava no parque e aí tinha umas esculturas, e aí eu acho que tem isso, meio que meu e do R., a gente é daqueles que gosta de entrar no museu e ler, hoje em dia a gente não consegue mais com eles, esquece. Mas aí ele estava escalando lá a escultura e eu: “filho, olha aqui, foi o fulano de tal que fez”. E aí ele veio e veio ler a plaquinha que tinha o nome do escultor, do artista. Aí já foi para a próxima escultura e já queria saber quem é que tinha feito e qual que era o nome. A gente sempre procurou, a gente lê e eu acho que a gente sempre leu as coisas para ele, apesar de ter talvez uma imagem, a gente sempre vai lá e lê também.

**Father:** Não é só ler, a gente tem que explicar tudo para ele, às vezes até meio técnico demais.

## Educator's questionnaires

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Please, answer these questions in any language you prefer. The interview is anonymized/ S'il vous plaît, répondez à ces questions dans n'importe quelle langue que vous préférez. L'interview est anonymisée/ Bitte beantworten Sie diese Fragen in jeder Sprache, die Sie bevorzugen. Das Interview ist anonymisiert

1. What language(s) do you use or have used during your life?/ Quelle(s) langue(s) utilisez-vous ou avez-vous utilisé durant votre vie?/ Welche Sprachen benutzen Sie oder haben Sie schon benutzt während Ihre Leben?

luxemburgisch, Französisch, Deutsch, Englisch

2. What language(s) do you use in the Maison Relais? If more than one, in which situations do you use each and why?/ Quelle(s) langue(s) utilisez-vous à la Maison Relais? Si plus d'un, dans quelles situations les utilisez-vous et pourquoi?/ Welche Sprache benutzen Sie in Maison Relais? Wann mehr als eine, um welche Situation benutzen Sie jeder und warum?

h. Im Alltag, Französisch + Englisch + Deutsch  
 Wenn Kinder keine andere Sprache sprechen.

3. What language(s) do the children use in the Maison Relais? When?/ Quelle(s) langue(s) les enfants utilisent-ils à la Maison Relais? Quand?/ Welche Sprachen benutzen die Kinder in Maison Relais? Wann?

lux. Englisch, Französisch, Deutsch

4. In your opinion, what is the role of the Maison Relais in the education of the children?/ Selon vous, quel est le rôle de la Maison Relais dans l'éducation des enfants?/ Was ist Ihrer Meinung nach die Rolle des Maison Relais in der Erziehung der Kinder?

Dass Sie wissen wie man sich  
 im Sozialen Leben zu verhalten hat.

5. In your opinion, what is the role of Maison Relais in fostering plurilingual children? / Selon vous, quel est le rôle de la Maison Relais dans la promotion du plurilinguisme des enfants? / Welche Rolle spielt Maison Relais bei der Förderung von mehrsprachigen Kindern?

Ihre Sprachen werden in  
der Maison Relais gefördert.

6. What is your opinion about children using different languages in the Maison Relais? How do you deal with it? / Quelle est votre opinion sur les enfants utilisant différentes langues à la Maison Relais? Comment gérez-vous avec ça? Was ist Ihre Meinung von Kindern, die im Maison Relais verschiedene Sprachen verwenden? Wie gehen Sie damit um?

Ich finde es nicht schlimm, probiere  
aber dass hauptsächlich luxemburgisch  
geredet wird.

7. When children are speaking their home languages among them, what do you do? / Quand les enfants parlent leur langue maternelle parmi eux, que faites-vous? / Wenn Kinder ihre Muttersprache sprechen, was tun Sie?

Ich frage nett dass sie auf  
luxemburgisch reden sollen,  
außer sie sprechen kein lux.

8. To what extent does your Maison Relais collaborate with the school? / Dans quelle mesure votre Maison Relais collabore-t-elle avec l'école? / Inwieweit arbeitet Maison Relais mit der Schule zusammen?

Die Kommunikation zwischen Lehrer  
und Maison Relais ist gut, wir  
weisen uns gegenseitig auf Sachen hin.

Tables summarizing interactional moments and strategies observed

language promoting strategies Thiago's parents	Date	Short description	
Interaction stimulating	Praising		
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Giving space for expression, Listening	16/05/2018	Mothers kneels to show attention to Thiago's exercise brought from school
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	16/05/2018	« E Mond é o que ? » (And what is Mond (mouth?))
		16/05/2018	Dialogue about Schwester (many occurrences)
		17/05/2018	Dialogue about Kichelchen (many occurrences)
		12/06/2018	Dialogue about the school day (many occurrences)
		12/06/2018	“Correu bastante?” (Did you run a lot?)
		12/06/2018	Asking about Thiago's backpack, if there was any content inside.
		12/06/2018	Asking questions about Thiago's drawing.
		12/06/2018	Asking questions about the Mother's Day's cards
		12/06/2018	After answering Thiago's questions about her grandparents, the mother herself asks questions to check if Thiago knew who was who in the family tree.
	12/06/2018	Mother asks about the food at the Maison relais.	
	Insisting on an information	16/05/2018	The mother insists on knowing if Thiago understands the difference between Schwester and Brudder (sister and brother)
		17/05/2018	The mother insists on knowing how the worlds Kichelchen and Bichelchen were related.
12/06/2018		The mother insists on having Thiago explain what happened in the class that day.	
Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		
	Repeating after them	16/05/2018	Hond e Mond
		12/06/2018	When walking home with Thiago, mother asks many questions and repeats some of Thiago's answers to check comprehension.
		12/06/2018	When Thiago is checking the mail box she repeats after him.
		12/06/2018	When Thiago explains his drawing, she repeats and asks more.
		12/06/2018	Repeats after Thiago when he explains what a certain word is (Mother's Day's cards)
	expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating	12/06/2018	Mother uses unknown words, and Thiago asks. “O que é exageirar?/What is “overreact?”
		12/06/2018	Mother uses unknown words, and Thiago asks. “O que é vedar? What is “sealed/stanched?”
		12/06/2018	Mother is telling the story of her grandfather and tells me that he spoke Latin. Thiago than asks “O que é latim, mãe/What is Latin, mom?” to what the mother answers “É a língua do cachorro como no livro Marcelo, Marmelo, Martelo” (It is the dog's language (because to bark in Portuguese is “latir”). Then she explains the real meaning.
Speaking clearly			

Ms. Majerus language promoting strategies	Date	Short description
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Providing Input	Initiating conversation	19/03/2018	“So, kuckt ee Mol, wat hu mer alles gesot, wat fanne mer alles op der Post. Wie schafft do..” (So, look here, what have we all said, what do we find in the Post Office. Who works there..”
		12/06/2018	“So, kuckt ee Mol, geschter hu mer den éische Dag..”
	Gesturing/ Modelling/ Pointing	19/03/2018	During Hoky Poky song (F)
		19/03/2018	“Wäit ewechfueren”/ Camionnette/ karéiert
		19/03/2018	Points at the exercise paper and asks children to say what each illustration was.
		19/03/2018	Gesturing the size of different shipping boxes.
		19/03/2018	Clapping syllables, showing numbers with fingers.
		25/04/2018	“Mir molen d’Flecken” (she then draws the cow’s patches)
		12/06/2018	E ganz lange Hals (pointing)
		12/06/2018	Ganz huewen
		12/06/2018	Uses gestures to describe dinosaur possibilities
		12/06/2018	While telling a story, uses gestures sometimes, as touching the belly to say Panz, Bauch.
	Using illustrations to deliver meaning	19/03/2018	Many images related to Post. She points for the children to recall the vocabulary. “Wat hu mer hei uewen”
		12/06/2018	Talking about dinosaurs and posting flash cards of each species.
		12/06/2018	Using the illustrations of a book as prompts to recall what children have already learned about dinosaurs.
		12/06/2018	During a 3 <sup>rd</sup> circle time moment in the same morning, Ms. Majerus uses again the flashcards of dinosaurs to stick on the board while reading a storybook for the children.
		02/07/2018	Teacher uses storybook and its illustrations to not only tell the story, but also to recall what they had been discussing: teeth hygiene.
	Eliciting	19/03/2018	Elicits post vocabulary
		12/06/2018	Elicits the topic dinosaurs
		02/07/2018	Elicits the topic teeth hygiene.
Using other language(s)	19/03/2018	Hokus Pokus in French	
	16/05/2018	The teacher realizes Lucas is crying. She talks to him in French “ça va passer! Tu es tombé?”	
	12/06/2018	“Lucas, écoute jusqu’à la fin” (during teacher-led instruction)	
		02/07/2018	Ms. Majerus speaks French with Lucas.
Interaction stimulating	Praising	12/06/2018	“Bravo” after a child answered about dinosaurs.
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Giving space for expression, Listening	17/05/2018	Ms. Majerus allows Lilou to show and tell the story she has written (drawn)
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	19/03/2018	Many questions about the Post to check if children learned the vocabulary and its functions. Who works there? What do we need stamps for?
		12/06/2018	Firwat hu se, wéi mer gesot hunn, scho lange Hals » ? (Why do they have such a long neck, as we have sai)
		12/06/2018	- Wéi geet de Dipodocus do? - Op 4 Patten - Op 4 Patten. Kuckt eemol hei, ah hien do, gëtt hien auch op 4 Patten? - Zweek - Zweek, voilà.
		12/06/2018	Wéi eng Farwel hunn de Dinosaurien, zum Biespill?”

		12/06/2018	« Wat frëisse se, mengt dir ? »
	Insisting on an information		
Language-promotion	Corrective feedback	19/03/2018	Camionette, Pak, Mutz, Bläistëft
		02/07/2018	- Ech iessen ëmmer Mëllech - du drenks ëmmer Mëllech.
	Repeating after them	19/03/2018	Many occurrences, after repeating and rephrasing the children's answers.
		12/06/2018	Many occurrences. Asking questions about dinosaurs, children answered and then she repeated and rephrased.
		02/07/2018	Many occurrences when reading a storybook and discussing teeth hygiene.
	expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating	19/03/2018	Many occurrences, after repeating and rephrasing the children's answers.
		25/04/2018	Vocabulary about animals and more specifically birds.
		12/06/2018	Many occurrences. Asking questions about dinosaurs, children answered and then she repeated and rephrased.
		02/07/2018	Many occurrences when reading a storybook and discussing teeth hygiene.
	Speaking clearly	19/03/2018	Many occurrences, after repeating and rephrasing the children's answers.
		12/06/2018	Many occurrences. Asking questions about dinosaurs, children answered and then she repeated and rephrased, clearly.
		12/06/2018	Saying the name of the dinosaurs very pausedly.
		12/06/2018	“Si friessen, Gott sei Dank, nëmmen ? Plan-zen ! »

Ms. Wagner language promoting strategies		Date	Short description
Providing Input	Initiating conversation		
	Gesturing/ Modelling/ Pointing	16/05/2018	Ms. Wagner gestures as if she is not listening.
		16/05/2018	“Ech Mengen dat bei der Joffa hutt dir och d’Classeuren (showing the flashcard to all 4 children) fir Blieder dran ze maachen. Kuckt schn do uewen am Schaff (pointing at the shelves behind her) Dat si Classeuren.
		17/05/2018	“Wat huet de Globbi um Kap ? U seng Kap?” (pointing at her head)
		02/07/2018	Teaching the rules of the board game.
	Using illustrations to deliver meaning	25/04/2018	The exercise consisted of making full sentences by describing the actions on flashcards, which she held in a way so that all children could see.
		25/04/2018	D’Kanner danzen, d’Kanner sungen (showing the difference on each illustration on two different flashcards.
		16/05/2018	The exercise consisted of picking a flashcard that showed a body part and make complete sentences as “These are my eyes/ That’s my elbow.”
		16/05/2018	Flashcards KIKUS with objects, as for example, sunflower and folder.
		17/05/2018	Using flashcards to describe the action in an illustration (Globi)
		17/05/2018	Another exercise to describe what the character o a illustration is doing (the boy sits on a bench/ the girl goes to school, etc.) (Kikus)

		02/07/2018	When tidying up a board game in its box, after playing it, Ms Wagner points at the illustration on the game box and asks howis the animal called. Lucas answers “Maulef” (mole).		
	Elliciting				
	Using other languages	17/05/2018	Nee, et ass bal wéi en Hut. T’ass kee Mutz, t’ass keen Hutt. Et gëtt ganz vill a Frankreich. C’est le même mot en français. C’est un béret, béret. Hien huet e Beret um Kapp.		
		02/07/2018	Lucas, répéte, s’il tu plaît.		
		02/07/2018	Tu dois essayer de rentrer dans le trou. Et pas prendre le mauvaise direction !		
		02/07/2018	Lucas, tu te concentre !		
Interaction stimulating	Praising	25/04/2018	Thiago: De Jonk waschen d’Zänn Ms. Wagner: De Jonk wäscht seng Zänn, ganz gutt, allerguer.		
		25/04/2018	Dat war ganz gutt!		
		25/04/2018	Clapping after Thiago said the colours very quickly.		
		25/04/2018	Claps and says “Ahh genial!” for Mattieu.		
		16/05/2018	Oh gutt!!		
		16/05/2018	Genau!		
		02/07/2018	Gutt! Richtig! (several times)		
		02/07/2018	Jo! Gutt! Super! (during game Gruselino)		
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Pushing the child to speak	16/05/2018		After the child turned the card and said the object that was illustrated on it, Ms. Wagner initiated a conversation, e.g. “Do you have a bike at home?”	
		17/05/2018		Ms. Wagner employed many questions to have children explain the illustration on a car in detpths. (Globi)	
		17/05/2018		- wat ässt en? - e Schmier - Wat hues du gär op der Schmier?	
	Giving space for expression, Listening	16/05/2018		Ms. Wagner accepts that Lucas explains a short story in French but she interacts in Luxembourgish “Hues du datt gesinn?” (Did you see that?)	
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	25/04/2018		Ms. Wagner would say the exercise by employing a wrong word in a question intonation for the children to correct her.	
				Ms. Wagner: Ass d’Luucht hei bannen un oder aus? Lucas: aus Ms. Wagner : Ass d’Luucht aus? Lucas: Nee (smiling) Ms. Wagner: d’Luucht ass un	
		25/04/2018		Ms. Wagner: ass d’Dier op oder zou? Children: zou Ms. Wagner: d’Dier ass zou.	
		16/05/2018		Ms. Wagner would point at at different part of the face asking if that part were her eyes, so that Thiago could correct.	
		16/05/2018		After the child turned the card and said the object that was illustrated on it, Ms. Wagner initiated a conversation, e.g. “Do you have a bike at home?”	
		16/05/2018		- Ech hunn e Velö vun Pedall. - Mat Pedallen?! Wow! Ass et séier domat ze fueren ?	
		17/05/2018		Asking questions to have children describe the illustration, where the character was, what he was wearing, etc.	
		Insisting on an information			
				25/04/2018	« Nee, nee, nee. Lëtzebuergesch ! »
			25/04/2018	Lucas: D’ Medchen brosst.. Ms. Wagner: Nee, brosst ass op Franzéisch, wéi seet een op Lëtzebuergesch?	
			25/04/2018	Thiago: (D’Meedchen) spilt mat Paus	

Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		Ms. Wagner: D'Meedchen spilt an der Paus. Hatt spilt op? Wou ass et?	
		25/04/2018	Lucas: D'Meedchen op der Ramp.. op op de "Rutscham". Ms. Wagner: Rutschban. D'Meedchen ass op der Rutschban.	
		25/04/2018	Thiago: De Jonk waschen d'Zänn Ms. Wagner: De Jonk wäscht seng Zänn, ganz gutt, allerguer.	
		25/04/2018	Asked Lucas to correct what Thiago said.	
		16/05/2018	- Ech hunn e Velö vun Pedall. - Mat Pedallen?! Wow! Ass et séier domat ze fueren ?	
		17/05/2018	- e Villchen - jo, oder e Pa-pa-gei (saying the word pausedly).	
		17/05/2018	- Hien ass opgesprengen. -Hien ass opgesprongen. Deen huet ganz stark Been.	
		17/05/2018	- Hien danzen. - Nee, hien danzt net. - Hein fléien (/flaien/ - Hie flitt wéi en Helikopter. Hie flitt wéi en Helikopter.	
		17/05/2018	- Jonk /jank/ iessen. - Den Jonk... - Den Jonk - ässt..wat ässt en?	
		17/05/2018	- Den Jonk brossen.. - Brossen as Franzéisch, wéi heischt op Lëtzebuergesch?	
		17/05/2018	- Den Jonk waschen - wascht	
		02/07/2018	Many occurrences, every time a child said the name of the animal without placing the article before.	
		Repeating after them	25/04/2018	Frequently said the correct answer of the description of an action in the flashcard after children. Very representative.
			16/05/2018	Repeating after Thiago also modelling with the correct pronoun "Dat sinn seng Knéien" (Those are his knees".
		expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating	25/04/2018	Rutschban
	16/05/2018		Ms. Wagner rephrases what Lucas said in French by translating into Luxembourgish.	
	16/05/2018		Ms. Wagner gives more information about the sunflower by explain what seeds are and that people eat sunflower seeds.	
	16/05/2018		She takes advantages that children are talking about bikes and scooters and talks about the traffic light.	
	17/05/2018		- e Villchen - jo, oder e Pa-pa-gei (saying the word pausedly).	
	17/05/2018		Helping children describe the image with guided questions.	
	17/05/2018		Propelleren, fliliken	
	02/07/2018		Wéi héischen d'Déieren?	
	Speaking clearly	25/04/2018	Ms. Wagner pronounced the correct answers very clearly pausing between words.	
		17/05/2018	- e Villchen - jo, oder e Pa-pa-gei (saying the word pausedly).	
		17/05/2018	D'Medchen lauschttert Musik/ D'Medchen lauschetr Musik. (rhythmic)	
		17/05/2018	Den Jok wascht seng Zän (rhythmic)	
		02/07/2018	Ee Päerd. Een Hues. Eng Kou.	

Rizzos' strategies	Date	Short description
	30.05.2018	Mother: "Vocês fizeram yoga? Fizeram yoga"

Interaction stimulating	Initiating Conversation	30.05.2018	Mother: vocês almoçaram o que hoje? / Mom: Me contem uma coisa, o que que vocês almoçaram hoje? Vocês não me falaram ali quando eu perfuntei. Que que vocês almoçaram?
		07.06.2018	Mother: vocês aprenderam alguma música nova hoje? Bianca: sim Mother: então cante
		07.06.2018	Mother: Bianca? Quer dizer que os grandes leram para você? Bianca, os grandes..? Bianca: tem que escrever isso! Mother: Bianca, os grandes leram onde, Bianca? Bianca: na biblioteca! Mother: que legal, hein? E eles leram direitinho? Bianca. Humm-hmm (as yes)
	Encouraging verbal expression	29/5/2018	Bianca asks if she can pick up the easier-to-explain phone and her father says, "You explain it to me. You can!"
		30/5/2018	Father asks « Como é que fala para irmã? » (What should you say to your sister ?)
	Insisting on an information	30/5/2018	Mother does not let the girls leave the car before telling her what they ate for lunch
		6/7/2018	Mother asking if it had rained that day many times. Long insistence of the mother to make the girls sing the Mother's Day songs and translate them
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	6/7/2018	Father in the car asks many questions to check if he understood what the girls were saying.
		6/7/2018	Father walking the girls into the school building and asking Luiza about her leg ( 7 questions)
		14/05/2018	When reading the books, mother employs 7 tag questions.
	Praising	29.05.2018	Mother says "Bravo"
		07.06.2018	Mother says "Que lindo!" after the girls sing!
		07.06.2018	Mother says "que lindo"/ "Que fofo"/ "Coisa mais linda" for the gift Bianca gave her for Mother's day
		07.06.2018	Mother: uauu que lindo!!! Father: caramba, que legal! Luiza: é um quadrinho! Mother: nossa, muito lindo! Amei!
		07.06.2018	Me: tá ..via! Viu? Está perfeito! Mother: aêe (and claps) Everybody claps Mother: já está alfabetizada!
Corrective feedback	29/5/2018	Luiza says « quer que eu falo? » (Do you want me to say it? – she does not use the subjunctive), and the father corrects «quer que eu fale!» (employing the subjunctive). Father says “fale direito! » (Speak correctly !)	
	30/5/2018	Luiza says “Gainha! Gainha!” (Chichen, chichen -as imitating a smaller child speaking), and the mother replies with the correct full word “galinha” (Chicken)	
		Bianca says “ eu peguei “ofaço” e comi muito rápido” (I took leuce and ate it very quickly)”. Mother says the correct words “Alface” (Lettuce).	
	7/6/2018	Mother corrects the verb agreement “Os grandes leram” (the big kids were reading) several times. Luiza says “machine” wrongly. She says “Manica” instead of “máquina”. The father giggles and jokes he understood “Monica” (a woman’s name). The mother then says the correct word “Máquina”.	

Language-promotion			The girls speak sometimes as babies, as for example, replacing /R/ by /L/. On this occasion the mother made fun of them asking if they were speaking like Cebolinha (a well-known Brazilian comics character).
	Repeating after them	29/5/2019	Lulu says «Vai ter uma surpresa». (There will be a surprise.) and the father replies “vai ter surpresa?” (Will there be a surprise?)
		30/5/2019	Luiza says «no» and the mother says «no?”. Then Luiza says “linguiça” (sausage) and the mother asks “linguiça hoje?” (sausage today?)
		30/5/2019	Bianca says «ice cream» and the mother replies «ice cream?”.
	Gesturing for aiding comprehension		
	Expanding their vocabulary	14/5/2018	Mother asks questions about vocabulary she thinks the girls do not know when reading books to them.
		30/5/2019	Bianca is talking about the chicken and the mother continues by saying about the cocker.
		6/7/2018	Mother teaches the name of the game “tic-tac-toe”, which in Portuguese is “jogo da velha” (game of the old lady). The father plays with the name saying it is not to throw the old lady. (Throw and play have the same word in Portuguese).
	Speaking clearly	14/5/2018	Mother articulates some words very clearly, as separating the syllables of the words when reading stories for the girls
Using Illustration to deliver meaning			

Ms. Faber’s language promoting strategies		Date	Short description
Interaction stimulating	Initiating Conversation	04/05/2018	Teacher comes to Bianca’s desk, says hi and ask them what they are doing, she praises and says the cake looks delicious.
	Encouraging verbal expression	12/03/2018	An dat geet mäi Pappa (incomprehensible) Ass dat richtig?
	Insisting on an Information		
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	20/11/2017	The teacher started eliciting the story of Hänsel and Gréidel. “Wien ass dat do?” “Wéi heescht ...?” She was making the kids remember who was Hänsel, who was Gréidel and also the word Hex (witch). Who was the girl and who was the boy. She asked where was the witch’s house, what was there in her house...
		12/03/2018	Circle Time - he teacher gives many opportunities for the children to share their opinions and tell stories. Bianca does not speak to the teacher - Wat weesst dir iwwer Schëffer?
	30/05/2018	Wien ass haut net do?/ wat fir en Dag ass haut, wien wësst et?/ Mëttwoch? (and she nods) a wat maache mer Mëttwoch ëmmer? A wat mache mir virun Turnen? A wat mache mir virun Turnen? Iwwer wat mir schwatzen haut an der Schoul? An iwwer wat nach? Wien wësst wei Mammen geschriwe gött? Iwwer wat mir schwatzen haut an der Schoul? A child: Iwwer d’Hertzer!	

			Prof: Jo. An iwwer wat nach? More than three children saying together: Mammendag!
		27/06/2018	Wat gehéiert zum Summer?
	Praising		Schayene:: er:: a mir waren... den eischten Schéff kontte mir iessen
		12/03/2018	Teacher Hmm.. flott!
		27/6/2018	Praising – gutt, richtig, genau
Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		
	Repeating after them		Children: Turnen Prof: Mir ginn turnen A wat mache mir virun Turnen? Children: iessen Prof: iessen... (??) méi friessen, ahn?
		30/05/2018	
		27/05/2018	Many examples. Ja, relaxen, awer wat ka mir maachen?
	Gesturing for aiding comprehension	27/06/2018	While reading/telling the Birthday book, she gestures.
	expanding their vocabulary		
	Speaking clearly		
Using Illustrations to deliver meaning	12.03.2018		The teacher finds another picture of a ship while she speaks, and she hangs it on the board.

Ms. Keller's language promoting strategies		Date	Short description
Interaction stimulating	Initiating conversation	17/12/2017	Ms. Keller goes to Luisa who is coloring a butterfly drawing and asks her "Wat ass et?" (what is it?), and Luisa answers "Päiperlek" (butterfly).
		16/03/2018	Ms. Keller kneels to talk to the girls about what they are doing (playing restaurant)
		06/06/2018	The teacher makes conversation with Luiza And Eva, while gluing some parts of the boxes that are detaching.
		06/06/2018	Ms. Keller is sitting next to the boys building a wall with cardboard boxes. She talks to them
		07/06/2018	Luiza is free to talk to the teacher while Ms. Keller wraps the gifts and Luiza passes her the scissors.
	Encouraging verbal expression/ Pushing the child to speak	07/12/2017	Mr. Keller went to her knees, looked straight to Luiza's eyes and said "Moien!"
			Wat wells du kachen, Luiza? Luiza?
		16/03/2018	Luiza, wëss de wat haut ass? (...) De fënneften Dag (...) Nee. Mer hi ginn méi Zäit ech elo Luiza gefrot. Luiza, ech weess dat du wesst ... gefrot. So, Luiza, esou den 5., de Méindeg? She waits 4 seconds for Luiza to answer. A wat hu mir scho gemool do? The teacher is leaning forward. (...) firwat ass de Bam do? Kuck elo?
		26/04/2018	During circle time, the teacher whispers something to Luiza (for her to speak) but Luiza shakes her head smiling
		26/04/2018	Wat méecht hien elo, Luiza? Wat mécht de Pappa elo mat hinen? (after storytelling)
	06/06/2018	During birthday ritual, including inviting Luiza to speak in Portuguese	

	Insisting on an Information	16/03/2018	Ms. Keller insists for Luiza to speak during circle time	
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	16/03/2018	Ms. Keller makes closed questions about the book. Si könnte de grouse Léiw hëllefen, oder ? Wat huet hie gemaach ? Wat hues de Maus gemaach, Luiza? De wëss, wat huet hie gemaach?	
		26/04/2018	closed questions about the book Reginald Tyrannosaurus	
		06/06/2018	There are many examples of asking open questions in the transcription of the afternoon circle time moment	
	Praising	25/01/2018	When it is over I hear the teacher saying "Ganz gutt! Super!".	
		25/01/2018	The teacher answers but also praises the question and returns the question to the other children to answer.	
		26/04/2018	"Gutt, Eva!" (during circle time) "bravo"	
		26/04/2018	"Jeudi" "Bravo, jeudi"	
	Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		
		Repeating after them	26/04/2018	Jo... Mä hatt kann net Blo soen! Teacher: kann net Blo soen?
26/04/2018			"Jeudi" "Bravo, jeudi"	
06/06/2018			Kuss. Kuss.	
06/06/2018			Am Bauch ? Am Bauch ? An wem säi Bauch ?	
Gesturing for aiding comprehension		06/06/2018	While reading/telling the book, she gestures 1 to 10 with her fingers as in the story there are 10 "Nees"	
		06/06/2018	While reading/telling the book, she makes angry faces, surprise face, etc.	
		06/06/2018	She gestures/mirrors the lyrics of the Mother's Day song. Many occurrences. She uses her hands to mimic "babbeleg" and then she puts her hands over her hears to explain "daf".	
		06/06/2018	When she says "vir" and d'Krees, she gestures pointing at the place they are sitting as drawing a circle in the air.	
		07/06/2018	While telling the story Das Monster alles Monster	
expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating		06/06/2018	Ganz vill schnabbelen, ganz vill schwatzen! Babbelen kann een dat doten nannen!	
		06/06/2018	Kammy: ech hat eng Kéier, mä Gebuersdag an main doheem, ech hat ech hat Magie. Teacher: Sauberei hats du?	
		06/06/2018	Wat ass eng Bees? ... Kuss! Eng Bess ass eng Kuss. Eng Bess as eng Lëtzebuergesh Wuert fir eng Kuss.	
Speaking clearly				
Using Illustration to deliver meaning				

Ms. Thill's language promoting strategies	Date	Short description
Initiating conversation		
	16/01/2018	After they say the poem, the teacher distributes cards with illustrations of items that were in the poem, as Tomaten, Schnéi, etc. Each child takes a

Interaction stimulating	Encouraging verbal expression/ Pushing the child to speak		card and must say the sentence of the poem. For example, the card of a grey sky. The child says "Gëschter war den Himmel gro. An haut ass et schéi blo!".
		16/01/2018	The teacher retells this story by asking questions and having the children answer. She also asks many questions about what is happening on each part of the illustration that she points.
		16/01/2018	She asks Bianca and Bianca does not answer, she insists a bit and soon asks for another child to help Bianca.
		1/16/2018	The teacher says that Bianca can speak Luxembourgish
		29/05/2018	She asks the children what they are afraid of; heischt, teacher asks and waits for the answer, everyone talks about the height and, she tries to extract more, "you said something last class, when it is dark and you listen..." she tries to draw more from them.
	Insisting on an Information		
	Asking questions to engage the children or confirm	26/04/2018	many closed-end questions in a 20-minute excerpt
		16/01/2018	The teacher retells a story by asking questions and having the children answer.
		16/01/2018	Wat gesäis du noch?" and gives new vocabulary "Mamma kuckt kee Buch... wat ass dat?"
		25/01/2018	The book is a prompt for description, answering controlled questions - "Wéi heischt ...?" "De Pappa ass beim Zahndokter" "Wou ass d'Boma?" Luiza says "Do". "Wat maache sie?"
		29/05/2018	Ask the children about the parts of the body she is pointing at. "Ech hunn hei eng Shouler and zwou? Children: schouleren".
		29/05/2018	Points to her chest, wat hu mer hei? She taps her chest. .. "op Franzéisch?"Poitrine! A wéi nach op Lëtzerbuergesch? Dat ass Brotsch. Children repeat Broscht. And hei ass den Bauch. Children repeat Bauch. Bianca, wëss du wass dat do ass? /pointing to her bellybutton. Another boy answers "nuewel" The teacher points to the bone of the hips, she shakes her hips: "was as dat do?" En Hift. Zwou Hiften.
	Praising	16/01/2018	The teacher praises a boy who expressed himself in French. She does not rephrase it in Luxembourgish.
		16/01/2018	Luiza says the sentence in a low voice. The teacher compliments.
		16/01/2018	Ech sinn ganz frou mat iech! Gutt geschafft!"
		25/01/2018	They sing again, the teacher says expressions like "Ganz richtig".
		27/04/2018	the whole 20 min extract shows many examples of praises as feedback
30/05/2018		Prof: Ganz gutt! Super! Ganz richtig!	
30/05/2018		Bianca: De Saxxy... moolt... en Haus. Prof : ganz gudd	
30/05/2018		Mattieu: De Saxxy... moolt... e Fisch. Punkt. Prof : Ganz gudd.	
	30/05/2018	Zack: D'Eil an de Saxxy moolt.	

Language-promotion	Corrective feedback		Prof: (with a face expression like ugly/scarry/surprise) Aaa? et ass net méi "moolt", dat sinn de zwee.. (showing number 2 with her fingers) Wéi soen mer dann?
		30/05/2018	A wéi nennt en a kleint Schwäin? En? Marcel: Schwäinschen Prof: Schwénschen
		26/04/2018	Ech ginn haut un Zahndokter ! Du gees haut bei dem Zahndokter ? Humm. Dat ass kee Problem!
		4/26/2018	Ech wëlle guer naischt schwatzen! An du wells naischt schwatzen?
		4/26/2018	D'Zéiwen ass dat Dat sinn Zéiwen, ganz genau ! Gutt ! Gutt !
		4/26/2018	riets Rietsen. De rietsen Ielebou.
		4/26/2018	No Wanter kënn? Sohn ! Do kënn d'Sohn, ja... et kënn de Fréijoer. Fréijoer, gal ?
		4/26/2018	Ouschteren gëtt (??) doheem. Ouscheter ass bei dech komm.
		4/26/2018	De Saxxy flitt iwver den Haus. Ganz gutt. De Saxxy flitt iwver d'Haus. Uh-hum? Gutt. U dir?
		4/26/2018	Flitt... iwver de Waasser Iwwert d'Waasser. Genau. Oder iwver de Floss. Un dir?
		4/26/2018	Wéi de Gabriel schloet De Gabriel schléit heiansdo, du hues Recht.
		4/26/2018	Kuck ech was Recht Réck. Hmm. Du hues Recht ! Ja De Réck ! Super ! Leit d'Karten hanner dech !
		5/30/2018	observe in folder activities
		5/30/2018	Prof: Ja, awer (and sits straight again) mir soen (pointing to her mouth) eng Katz miaut.( emphasizing the /t/) eng Katz miaut. Ok?
		Repeating after them	16/01/2018
	23/03/1908		Marcel: molen! Prof: (looking at Zack) Molen!
	26/04/2018		Many examples of her repeating after children
	29/05/2019		she says "en français?" And he replies "Un epoule". She repeats "u epoule"
	30/05/2018		Bianca: De Saxxy... moolt... en Haus. Prof : ganz gudd. De Saxxy moolt en Haus
	Gesturing/ Modelling/ Pointing	16/01/2018	The teacher mimics what the lyrics say.
		26/04/2018	The teacher either points at or moves the finger and makes gestures to teach body parts
		26/04/2018	Facial expression meaning "wrong" (2 times)
		29/05/2018	music teacher imitates/acts like the feelings
		29/05/2018	teacher gestures to talk about feelings and fear
		30/05/2018	wat heisscht eigentlech Knuddle Knuddel Maischen (and she opens her arms as if saying "I don't know")
		30/05/2018	Knuddel heisscht (and she holds herself) léift drécken. Knuddel Knuddel Maischen heisscht léift drécken

		30/05/2018	A wéi nennt en a kleint Schwäin? (she gestures the diminutive, from big to small) En? Marcel: Schwäinschen Prof: Schwénschen (making the gesture of something small on the palm of her hand)
		30/05/2018	How she explained the rules of the game with the rhyme, she explained and demonstrated
expanding their vocabulary – paraphrasing, translating		30/05/2018	Prof : nee. E klengt Haus nennt wéi? En? Marcel: Haus Prof: Haischen Marcel: Haischen? Prof: Maischen Haischen.. ok? Do reimt et!
		30/05/2018	Wat heisscht dat? Wësst dir?
		30/05/2018	A wéi nennt en a kleint Schwäin ?
		30/05/2018	Knuddel heisscht (and she holds herself) léift drécken. Knuddel Knuddel Maischen heisscht léift drécken
		25/01/2018	teaching clothing vocabulary
		25/01/2018	Describing actions happening in the book
		25/01/2018	“Wat maache si?” and Luisa answers by moving their arms bended in an L for forth and back, as a person would do when jogging. The teacher says “laafen”.
		26/04/2018	Teaching body parts
		26/04/2018	Iwwert d’Waasser. Genau. Oder iwwer de Floss. Un dir?
		26/04/2018	Iwwert d’Haus. Oder iwwer dem Daach.
		29/05/2018	Teacher asks several questions about fear, she teaches vocabulary
		29/05/2018	Body parts with the song Hokus Pokus
		29/05/2018	Teaching body parts
	Speaking clearly		26/04/2018
		30/05/2018	Prof: Ech mengen ‘t ass och Orange Jus! (Looking at Bianca and nodding). Et ass a ganz laang Wuert. Komm et klapp et eng Kéier (and distances her two hands as preparing to clap and starts..) O – ran- ge- Jus (and clapping each syllable.
		30/05/2018	De Saxxy drénkt (emphasizing the /t/) Mëllech.
Using illustration to deliver meaning		Every class	The lyrics to the songs are illustrated around the room. The teacher points at them. The lyrics are all illustrated on cards on these plastic pouches.
		16/01/2018	The teacher than pushes a wheeled cupboard all decorated with different fishes, each with a different expression. One students takes the fish that represents “traureg”.
		16/01/2018	She recalls the story with the children and retells the story with the aid of the pictures in the book.
			The teacher shows the image of a house and points at the illustration so that children could describe it.
		26/04/2018	Song lyrics are illustrated or performed (Hoki Poki), body parts illustrated on memory game cards or teacher pointing, moving the body part
		29/05/2018	Music De Wecker rabbelt - children sing while the teacher points at the illustrations