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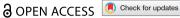
Claudine Kirsch

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Including adults and peers through translanguaging in literacy activities

Claudine Kirsch



Department of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences, University of Luxembourg, Esch-sur-Alzette, Luxemboura

ABSTRACT

Translanguaging in reading activities in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) can result in child engagement, language learning and the development of multilingual identities. Few studies have explored the engagement of very young children and languaging when they participate in activities with both educators and parents. The present study therefore investigates the ways in which educators in two daycare centres and parents jointly supported children when the parents read in the home language as well as the children's engagement and interactions. The observational and interview data were collected in Luxembourg where a multilingual education policy is in place in ECEC. The findings show that the parents used the home language on its own or together with the instructional language which, in turn, resulted in different emotional and instructional support and impacted children's engagement and interactions differently. While the opportunities to hear and speak a home language other than the institutional one resulted in most children performing their multilingual identities, children only engaged with content, interacted with the parent, educator and peers, and included them when the adults translanguaged. The findings suggest that children and parents can benefit from collaborative reading events when the adults draw on children's multilingual repertoires.

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Early childhood education; multilingual education; reading; translanguaging; identity performance; inclusion

Introduction

There are more bilinguals or multilinguals than monolinguals in the world but, nevertheless, monolingual norms tend to prevail at school and in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC). As a result, children's diverse backgrounds are frequently ignored or devalued, even though this discriminatory measure perpetuates inequalities. Children of migrant background tend to be portrayed as outsiders who feel little connected to their school community because they lack the language and cultural skills to develop strong relationships with teachers and peers (DeNicolo et al. 2017; Sadownik 2018). Teachers can support their learning and integration when they encourage the use of home languages which positively influences children's language learning, self-esteem and identity (Mary and Young 2017) as well as their sense of school belonging (de Jong, Zach, and Tsai 2020).

The present article explores young children's engagement in reading activities in their home languages as well as their interactions with adults and peers on special occasions when their parents

came to the daycare centres to read. In some of these 'joint reading events', institutional and home languages were strictly separated, in others, the adults and children translanguaged. Translanguaging is commonly understood as a person's deployment and flexible orchestration of their entire semiotic repertoire to communicate, make meaning and learn (García and Otheguy 2020). Recent studies in ECEC contexts have demonstrated that translanguaging helps children communicate and socialise (Alamillo, Yun, and Bennett 2017; Pawliszko 2022; Sembiante et al. 2023) and mark their multilingual identity (Moses and Torrejon Capurro 2024; Seltzer, Ascenzi-Moreno, and Aponte 2020). Based on the findings of our qualitative study, I argue that the opportunities to hear and speak a home language other than the institutional one helped some children to connect emotionally to content and language. However, children only brought their whole selves in and created strong connections with their interactants when the adults translanguaged during the joint reading events.

This study takes place in superdiverse Luxembourg which hosts many small, locally, nationally and transnationally interconnected communities of migrants who differ widely in origin, SES and legal status. Its foreign population represented 47% of the total population in 2021 and 33% of the residents did not speak the official languages Luxembourgish, German and French (Fehlen et al. 2021). At home, a third of children from birth to four were reported speaking one language, a third two, and a third three or more (SNJ 2023). Since the 2017 education policy that called for multilingual education, educators in the non-formal education sector, where the present study took place, are required to familiarise children aged one to three with Luxembourgish and French, value their home languages, and collaborate with parents. While our previous studies have confirmed that educators use multiple languages in literacy activities and invite parents to the centre to read stories in their home language (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024; Kirsch and Bergeron-Morin 2023), the present paper examines the relationship between language use and children's engagement and interactions in joint literacy events. The findings are relevant for policymakers and professionals as they indicate favourable conditions under which children connect with content, interact with adults and peers and include others through verbal and non-verbal means of communication.

Literature review

This review presents relevant findings on reading activities in ECEC and homes combined with studies on translanguaging. I thereby focus on the role of the adults and the children and outcomes.

Language and literacy outcomes and processes of shared reading

Shared reading is a practice where a reader and one or more listeners read together and discuss a text. It regroups various methods of read-alouds and book-related activities which intend to promote children's active participation (Pillinger and Vardy 2022). Extensive research shows that frequent shared reading in ECEC and at home helps children develop language and early literacy skills (Sénéchal and LeFevre 2002) in a first and second language (Farver et al. 2013). Dialogic reading, one particular type of shared reading, has been particularly well researched in relation to its wide range of outcomes. It refers to interactive reading where adults stimulate talk about illustrated materials and give feedback to children (Whitehurst et al. 1988). Studies with ECEC practitioners and parents as well as meta-analyses confirm that dialogic reading increases vocabulary and early literacy skills (Dowdall et al. 2020; Pillinger and Vardy 2022). Other studies identified improved socio-emotional outcomes, including reading interest, enjoyment and motivation (Aleksić and Kirsch 2024; De Botton, Girbés, and Ruiz 2014).

Adults and children who read in two languages may translanguage. Several researchers investigated the functions, processes and outcomes of translanguaging in dual language readings in ECEC and homes. Observations at home showed that parents translanguaged to point out new words, negotiate meaning, boost children's comprehension and maximise their participation (Brown

2016; Moody, Matthews, and Eslami 2022; Rydland and Grøver 2023; Song 2016). Studies that examined translanguaging in typical ECEC literacy activities reported similar reasons for translanguaging. Researchers who investigated translanguaging in shared reading, storytelling, showand-tell or dramatic play, reported in addition that practitioners asked questions, clarified, explained, recast, corrected, reformulated in a different language, translated and repeated expressions in one or more languages (Gort and Pontier 2013; Gort and Sembiante 2015; Kirsch and Bergeron-Morin 2023; Sembiante et al. 2023). Children played an active role in these activities and were shown to negotiate meaning, explain, translate and ask and answer questions, while using mime and gestures and expressing themselves in two or more languages (Alamillo, Yun, and Bennett 2017; Csillik and Golubeva 2020; Moses and Torrejon Capurro 2024; Seltzer, Ascenzi-Moreno, and Aponte 2020). Translanguaging was found to increase children's engagement and language and early literacy skills (Kirsch 2024; Mary and Young 2017; Seltzer, Ascenzi-Moreno, and Aponte 2020) and facilitate communication and socialisation (Alamillo, Yun, and Bennett 2017; Pawliszko 2022; Sembiante et al. 2023).

Translanguaging can be transformative if embedded in social constructivist pedagogies that address social and educational inequalities. Teachers who implement translanguaging pedagogies are aware of the negative impact of monolingual ideologies on bilingual students' academic achievements and disposed to designing curricula and collaborative activities such as shared reading, that leverage students' entire semiotic repertoire for learning (García, Johnson, and Seltzer 2017).

Identity performance and inclusion in and through translingual literacy activities

According to García and Otheguy (2020), one function of translanguaging pedagogies is students' socio-emotional development and the development of their bilingual identities. Identity construction is supported in linguistically and culturally rich environments that offer students opportunities to use their home languages in meaningful interactions with others. Literacy activities in two or more languages offer this very space. Their effects have been explored in several studies as shown next.

In the United States, Osorio (2020) examined the use of bilingual Spanish and English books in a dual language classroom where a teacher modelled translanguaging and reported that the young children felt valued and brought their whole selves into the classroom. Other studies with young children in the United States (Csillik and Golubeva 2020; Seltzer, Ascenzi-Moreno, and Aponte 2020), Columbia (Moses and Torrejon Capurro 2024), Poland (Pawliszko 2022) and Luxembourg (Kirsch 2024) similarly found that translanguaging enabled children to perform multilingual identities when they told stories or played. The identity performances aided socialisation, inclusion and becoming valuable members of the classroom community (Gort and Sembiante 2015; Kirsch 2017). Similarly, DeNicolo (2019) found that the opportunities to engage with instructional content and interact in two languages enabled Guatemalan first graders to make meaning, solve problems and develop their multilingual identities, which, in turn, supported their inclusion and cultivated a sense of school belonging. Aleksić and García (2024) also related translanguaging to sense of belonging. They examined a bilingual storytelling event in a preschool in Luxembourg and showed how translanguaging helped a five-year-old emergent multilingual deepen his relationships with the teacher and feel a sense of belonging to his school and society. The boy co-constructed the learning environment with his teacher who, through her translanguaging, helped him express himself and stimulated his participation. Studies on school belonging indicate that students, once they are comfortable with adults, peers and their environment, feel empowered to participate and then interact, which brings them acceptance and results in their inclusion (de Jong, Zach, and Tsai 2020). Developing language skills is an important part of this process.

There is evidence that young children use their multilingual repertoire strategically to support and include peers. Olmedo (2003) found that young children acted as mediators by translating and paraphrasing, using paralinguistic clues and gestures, modelling behaviour and interpreting

contextual and situational clues. Other studies confirmed that young bilinguals or multilinguals supported peers through input, clarifications, reformulations, expansions and translations (Alamillo, Yun, and Bennett 2017; Kirsch 2017). While children can include others through their strategic positioning and language use (Mortini 2021; Moses and Torrejon Capurro 2024; Olmedo 2003), there is also evidence of the opposite where children used language to exclude peers through verbal rejections, dismissive facial expressions, or ignoring peers' interests and behaviour (e.g. Mansikka et al. 2024). These examples point, once again, to the important roles of teachers who must monitor the language use in the classroom and create an inclusive learning environment. When teachers respect and built on children's diverse resources, children are likely to feel at ease when performing their language and cultural identities, connect to and interact with peers and adults, engage with content, and feel valued members of their community (Allen et al. 2021; DeNicolo 2019; Gort and Sembiante 2015; Sadownik 2018).

In sum, this literature review shows the active roles that teachers, parents and children can take when engaging in translingual literacy activities (e.g. interpreting, explaining, repeating, reformulating, paraphrasing, translating) as well as some positive outcomes of translanguaging (e.g. language and early literacy skills, engagement, development of multilingual identities, inclusion). Furthermore, it emphasises the importance of creating inclusive learning environments that take account of children's sociolinguistic diversity and encourage participation. What this review cannot show and what will, therefore, be presented in this paper, are opportunities for and results of translanguaging in activities where very young children can use home languages with both educators and parents. Owing to the multilingual education policy in ECEC in Luxembourg that encourages collaboration with parents, we could observe joint literacy events in the centres where parents read in their home languages to two-to-three-olds (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024; Kirsch and Bergeron-Morin 2023). To investigate (trans) languaging and children's engagement, I formulated the following research questions:

- 1. In what ways do the educators and parents support children during the readings?
- 2. In what ways do children engage and interact with peers and adults?

Methodology

The data for this project were collected in the mixed-method project 'Collaboration with parents and multiliteracies in early childhood education' (COMPARE). The project was approved by the Ethics Review Panel of the University of Luxembourg (ERP 19-050).

Settings and participants

The Luxembourgish-dominant day care centre *Earth* and the French-based centre *Air* have been selected for the present paper on account of the different approaches observed in reading sessions (Kirsch and Hornberger 2024) further explained below. The two managers and one educator of each centre had taken part in a professional training course on collaboration and literacy activities in May 2020, prior to the data collection that started in September 2020. They self-selected and their centres were, thereafter, recruited to take part in the COMPARE project based on their dominant language, geographical location and prior experiences of collaboration with parents (i.e. *Earth*) and literacies activities (i.e. *Air*). In each centre, we observed children aged two-to-four and their educators. All educators in *Earth* were multilingual. They addressed children mainly in Luxembourgish but frequently switched to German, French and Portuguese to address specific language needs. By contrast, *Air* employed French-speaking educators who communicated with the children in French although some spoke English and Italian which happened to be two of children's home languages (Kirsch 2024).

Each centre selected three families whose parents were interviewed twice and whose children were observed over 10 months. One mother dropped out owing to health reason. The selection



Table 1. Overview of the participants.

Centre	Earth	Air
Location	Rural, East	Urban, South
Dominant language	Luxembourgish	French
Qualifications	Educator, pedagogue	Teacher, pedagogue, social worker
Language backgrounds of the	Luxembourgish, French, Portuguese, German,	French, Italian, English, Spanish, Russian,
group of children	Swiss German, Icelandic	Arabic, Romanian, Greek

criteria for the families included diversity in language, social, cultural and educational backgrounds. The parents of the five focus children, Emile, Lia, Etienne, Antonia and Cécilia, had either acquired a secondary school diploma or completed post-secondary education. Table 1 provides an overview of the participants. For ethical reasons, we changed some social and cultural background information of three children to avoid them being recognised.

Previous findings on shared reading showed that the educators in *Earth*, who shared community values and worked largely within social constructivist approaches, initiated more talk in more languages and gave more language and content-based feedback than the educators in *Air* who read more frequently. Translanguaging enabled educators in *Earth* to facilitate comprehension, promote communication and encourage children to connect stories to their own experiences. The educators in *Air* privileged input over children's conversations during shared readings in French and rarely translanguaged (Kirsch 2024). Both centres invited parents to go on walks, cook together or read stories in children's home languages (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024). In light of the centres' differing pedagogies, we observed differences in the joint reading events. In *Earth*, the educators and parents worked in a team (Kirsch and Bergeron-Morin 2023), whereas the educators in *Air* let the parents lead the activity. In the present paper, I focus on the adults' support in joint reading events and children's engagement and interactions.

Methods for data collection

A team of three researchers observed the educators, parents and children in the joint reading events between September 2020 and July 2021. Owing to the Covid-19 restrictions, the activities took place outdoors in *Earth* and indoors in *Air*, which meant that in the latter case, the mothers and educators wore masks, making it difficult to read facial expressions. All events were videorecorded, and field notes were taken. We adhered to the highest ethical standards and worked with the utmost care. For example, when we noticed that children felt uncomfortable and cried, we stopped recording.

In this article, I examine 10 reading events that lasted approximately 2 h and included the use of home languages other than the institutional one. We observed 11 parents: Lia's mother came twice, Sancha's mother read four stories, and the mother and father of Niklas read the same book in Luxembourgish and Icelandic, respectively. Table 2 provides an overview of the events.

Table 2. Overview of the collected data.

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Centre, child, number of events	Language(s) used by the parent	Duration in minutes		
Earth, Lia (2)	Swiss German, Luxembourgish	8 and 9		
Earth, Niklas (1)	Icelandic, Luxembourgish	24		
Earth, Etienne (1)	French, Luxembourgish	9		
Air, Cécilia (1)	Italian	19		
Air, Antonia (1)	Russian	8		
Air, Sancha (1)	Spanish, French	11		
Air, Mara (1)	Romanian, French	10		
Air, Camilla (1)	Catalan, French	6		
Air, Dimitrios (1)	Greek, French	10		

To triangulate the data, I add relevant details of interviews with the educators and the focus parents. We conducted four semi-structured interviews with the educators to gain insights into their literacy activities and perspectives of collaboration. The focus parents were interviewed twice about their family language policies, home language environment as well as children's language use and experiences of the joint literacy events. The interviews were carried out in the centres in Luxembourgish, French and English and lasted on average 1 h and 51 min with the educators and 48 min with the parents.

Data analysis

While most videos were transcribed and relevant non-verbal details were added, a few were described in detail with verbal exchanges being added. The first levels of analysis focused on language use (e.g. coding languages) and adult support. Professionals can offer instructional support (i.e. cognitively and linguistically stimulating interactions) and emotional support (e.g. care, respect, encouragement) to create an atmosphere that encourages sustained talk (Allen et al. 2021; Willard et al. 2021). When coding for instructional support, I considered the difficulty and length of the text and examined the ways in which parents framed the story (i.e. explaining what and how they were reading) and read (e.g. rhythm). Furthermore, I analysed the reading strategies. While I worked inductively, I was influenced by the PEER sequence and CROWD questions (Whitehurst et al. 1988) as well as empirical studies on adult-child and peer interactions in translingual reading situations (Gort and Pontier 2013; Moody, Matthews, and Eslami 2022; Moses and Torrejon Capurro 2024; Rydland and Grøver 2023; Sembiante et al. 2023). I coded the following strategies deployed by the educator, parent and/ or child: prompts (e.g. pointing, asking questions), evaluations (i.e. confirming answers, giving corrective feedback), expansions, explanations, repetitions, translanguaging (i.e. switching languages, translating), statements (i.e. expressing opinions, answering questions) and connections (i.e. making connections).

Next, I analysed emotional support from the educator, the parent or a child, coding for gestures or utterances that indicated warmth (e.g. smiles, gaze, posture towards child), encouragement (e.g. praise) and the willingness to build on children's needs (e.g. translations, connections). Finally, following Shafer and Wanless (2023), I coded emotional, behavioural and cognitive engagement. I identified positive and negative emotions (e.g. enjoyment, frustration) when children smiled, cried, looked down or moved away. Signs of behavioural engagement included turning towards or away from the interactants, looking at the book, enacting and pointing. I coded for cognitive engagement when children asked or answered questions, repeated, translated or expressed themselves non-verbally in a meaningful way.

Finally, I compared the instructional and emotional support and children's engagement in relation to the languages used and the interactions with adults and peers. This resulted in the categorisation of three types of reading events which differed in relation to language use, engagement and interactions. I triangulated with data from the interviews.

Findings

The educators of both centres invited the parents to read in the home language to value children's diverse backgrounds, show respect and connect with the parents (interview with the educators, January and July 2021). Opening this space offered all children the opportunity to perform bilingually and some to mobilise socio-emotional skills that deepen connections with adults and peers. While all parents used their home languages in the reading events, some switched to the institutional language to help children make meaning. In what follows, I present three scenarios differing in adult support, child engagement and relationship-building. I argue that the last scenario, where adults and children translanguaged, was most beneficial in that children engaged deeply with content, interacted with adults and peers, and included others.



Showcasing home languages in monolingual activities

This category regroups readings of two multilingual mothers in Air. Cécilia's mother told the story of Little Red Riding Hood in Italian and Antonia's read the Russian folk tale Teremok (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024). While all children had previously listened to the fairy tale in the centre, none, except Antonia knew the Russian one. Both mothers brought figurines and props and framed the activity. Cécilia's mother asked children in Italian to name the wolf and make the animal's sound and inquired who knew the story. The few Italian-speaking children, including Cecila, answered. Cécilia's mother then narrated the story over the next 15 minutes in Italian only. She paused twice to invite some children to put stones in a small wolf-shaped handbag. Antonia's mother explained that she would read the book in Russian first and then narrate in French (which she could not do) and proceeded for the next five minutes. With no instructional support from the mothers other than the visualisations, the children were unable to understand and soon begun to move or play. The educators did not offer support apart from disciplining some children.

Cécilia and Antonia appeared to be and act in a bubble with their parent in a monolingual activity that showcased their home languages and family reading practices. Cécilia answered her mother's first question in Italian with confidence, volunteered to answer the others, and jumped up to put the stones in the handbag before the mother could ask anybody else to do so. When the mother asked an Italian-speaking child to put stones in the bag a second time, Cécilia began to cry. Her mother asked her to sit next to her and from then on, Cécilia disengaged and leafed through a book while her mother continued telling the story. Antonia similarly appeared to perform for her mother. Like Cécilia, she never looked at the educator or the peers, rather, she kept her eyes on the mother. She handed her the relevant figurines and, almost inaudibly, completed some utterances in Russian. Her mother stroked her hair and praised her. When the educator asked later in which language the mother had read, Antonia's lips formed the word Russian, but there were no sounds. Both girls behaved differently compared to other literacy activities we observed: they used their home language, participated less, reacted more emotionally, and interacted with no member of the centre. While I wondered whether the experience may have 'othered' the children owing to the exclusive focus on the home language which usually played no role in the centre (Kirsch and Hornberger 2024), both mothers recounted positive memories. Cécilia was 'very proud' and, according to her mother, had cried because she did not wish to share her mother with her peers (interview, Novembre 2020). Antonia was 'a bit shy but really liked it' (interview, Novembre 2020).

Using home languages in an additive way in bilingual activities

Compared to the first scenario, children tended to engage more in the bilingual readings presented next, although their participation varied depending on whether the parent strictly separated languages, like Niklas' parents, or added input in the institutional language. Niklas' father in Earth read a long story about the Yule Lads in Icelandic which his wife then paraphrased in Luxembourgish. By contrast, the mothers of Mara and Camilla sometimes offered a brief summary in French while the mothers of Dimitrios and Sanchez translated some key words. For example, the mother of Sanchez juxtaposed words in two languages when labelling a dragonfly and a baby (e.g. 'une libellule, una libélula', 'un scarabé, un escarabajo') or added Spanish expressions when children commented in French (e.g. 'Sí, un papá y un bebé', 'yes, a daddy and a baby'). Given that the children followed the gist of the text, the parents in Air and Niklas' mother in Earth, asked one or two questions, acknowledged the answers, added details or corrected language when they interacted with their own children.

As in the first scenario, the practitioners offered little support. The educator in *Earth* noticed that the children lost interest and asked them to pay attention, but out of respect she did not interrupt the father (interview, July 2021). She supported the mother and interacted with the children once she could follow the story. The educators in *Air* engaged little with the children and left the floor to the parents whom they considered to be the experts (interview, July 2021).

The five children stayed close to their parent and, except for Sancha during the last reading, interacted exclusively with the family member. The parents and their children expressed strong emotions. Mara's mother proudly said in French 'I will tell you the story in my, our language', smiling at her daughter. She read the last pages of the book while holding hands with her daughter, then kissed her. Dimitrios, who spoke little Greek at home (interview, July 2021), astounded his mother by speaking Greek. By contrast, Camilla was uncharacteristically shy, according to her mother. She answered her questions by pointing, rather than speaking Catalan, and moved her lips rather than audibly singing a traditional song with her her mother. She hugged her mother when she finished reading. Niklas, who tended to be outgoing, was glued to his father. He sat in his lap or stood close to him, always maintaining physical contact. He spoke with confidence in his home language, similarly to Mara, Niklas, Dimitrios and Sancha. They performed their multilingual identity by repeating words, labelling, commenting, asking a question and adding information. Sancha was particularly engaged in the last reading on insects, a content which the group had covered in the centre a few weeks earlier. Her engagement changed with each of the four short books her mother read. She moved from speaking French in the first reading, to labelling in French and Spanish in the second and third, to talking to her mother in Spanish in the final one, thereby excluding her peers. When she noticed that the peers repeated words and imitated her actions and onomatopoeia, she appeared to feel empowered. She raised her voice, shushed her peers and disciplined them. Using the home language appeared to give her some authority which she used to control her peers, rather than relate to them on an equal footing.

In contrast to the first scenario, the home language was a visible part of the entire semiotic repertoire of the focus child and the bilingual activities made the event meaningful. The mothers' emotional and instructional support, therefore, resulted in the participation of many children who interacted with the visitor by singing, repeating, counting, pointing, asking questions and commenting. For example, when Sancha's mother read the final book, they identified insects, enacting flying and commented that bees make honey and sting.

Deep engagement and interactions in translanguaging spaces

The bilingual readings of Etienne's and Lia's mothers in *Earth* offered translanguaging spaces which not only resulted in the engagement of the educator and the children, but as shown next, also resulted in Etienne and Lia taking on mediating roles and supporting the interactants' understanding.

In December 2020, Etienne's mother visited the centre to tell a Christmas story. She stroked the hair of her two-year-old son and asked him to help her read the book about Christmas preparations. She read in French 'Is Father Christmas ready?' to which Etienne answered 'No' in Luxembourgish. He touched the pictures while she pointed to the clothes the character still needed to put on. Etienne named the hat and gloves in French and the mother repeated the words. Excerpt 1 illustrates the next turns of the interactions.

Excerpt 1. Getting ready for Christmas.

Line	Person	{Non-verbal} and verbal speech translated in English [in square brackets] from French and Luxembourgish
1	Μ ,	{pointing to picture} // faut son [He needs his]
2	E (Pantouffle [Houseshoe]
	Lia ∫	Box [Trousers]
3	M	Pantouffle (laughing), son pantalon. C'est une box, jo. Sa [Houseshoe (laughing), his trousers. It is trousers, yes.
		His]

Continued.

Line	Person	{Non-verbal} and verbal speech translated in English [in square brackets] from French and Luxembourgish
4	E	Jackett [Coat]
5	M	Son manteau [His coat]
6	Μ .	Pour aider le Père Noël à s'habiller, il dit hohoho. [To help Father Christmas dress, he says hohoho.]
7	E (Hohoho
	Ed ∫	
8	M	Sot emol all eng Kéier hohoho. [Everybody says once hohoho.]
9	E	{looking at all}
10	All	[Hohoho]
11	M	Bravo! [Well done!]
12	Ed	Et huet geklappt. [It has worked out.]
13	Μ .	Ça y est. [That's it.]
14	M)	Le Père Noël est prêt [Father Christmas is ready]
	ΕĴ	{pointing to picture}

The mother encouraged Etienne to label (lines 1, 3), praised him (line 11), corrected French words (lines 1, 3), confirmed the accuracy of a Luxembourgish word (line 3) and encouraged participation in Luxembourgish (line 8). A bit later in the story (not in the transcript), she pointed to the picture of the house, asking in French 'Is the house ready?' before she added in Luxembourgish 'Is everything ready at your's as well?'. She paraphrased or translated when she noticed the children could not understand. The educator translated 'Close your eyes, he's coming' almost simultaneously with the mother, repeated some expressions (lines 7, 10) and nodded and smiled at the children. She offered instructional and emotional support like the mother. For example, when the mother asked in Luxembourgish if a child could say 'Turlutuu' to get the tree decorated, the educator suggested, 'Let's do it together, together, it is easier'. This dual support helped all children engage.

Etienne not only participated by pointing to pictures (line 14), but his gazes (line 9) frequently shifted between the book, the mother, the educator and his peers. He also interacted with the educator and peers by communicating in French (line 2) and Luxembourgish (line 4). He was used to speaking French at home and in the Luxembourgish-dominant centre and, on this occasion, positioned himself as a bilingual by translanguaging. He performed his identity with pride. When he repeated some French words that his mother had corrected based on his mispronunciations, he looked at his peers and smiled. His verbal and non-verbal reactions appeared to motivate his peers to participate. They labelled words (line 3), repeated expressions and added details about their presents.

Three-year-old Lia was even more active than Etienne and provided instructional and emotional support in two languages to help her peers access text similarly to her mother. The latter read in Swiss German while using gestures and mime and moved flexibly between the home language and Luxembourgish whenever children needed linguistic support. She encouraged children to participate, repeated words, asked questions, confirmed answers, corrected, expanded and translated. The educator similarly added details in Luxembourgish and asked questions to stimulate interactions. Both in October and December, Lia helped her peers understand a short story in her home language about a cat and a goat, and a longer one about beavers through pointing, enacting parts of the text the mother read, repeating keywords, adding details in Luxembourgish, translating and confirming the answers of peers. Her friends engaged by repeating Lia's utterances, pointing, labelling, commenting, asking questions and imitating her. Some of these interactions are exemplified in the following description which showcases the ways in which Lia's expressions and enactments complemented her mother's reading.

Description of Lia's mother's reading

The mother reads the first sentence in Swiss German and while reading, points to the cat, tree, and apple and rapidly lowers her arm to illustrate that the apple fell. Shen then puts her hand on her head, tapping it and saying with expression 'Bang'. Lia smiles brightly and taps her head as well which Ygor imitates. 'Who is that?', ask two children. The mother shows she understands and mentions the name of the cat. She then points to the apple and says in Luxembourgish that she will read about it next. She continues in her dialect and informs that

there was a worm in the apple. Lia repeats worm in Swiss German while the educator visualizes the animal by wiggling her finger. 'Who is that?', asks a child and the mother answers in Luxemburgish. Lia repeats in Luxembourgish while the mother continues to read, thereby circling her belly with her hand to show hunger. She paraphrases in Luxembourgish before she turns the page showing a goat with the apple in its mouth. 'Oh', shouts Lia with expression. The mother repeats 'oh' and reads on. Lia voices 'oa oa' as if to say, there is a problem, and shrugs her shoulders as if to say, there is nothing we can do. While the mother paraphrases in Luxembourgish that the goat ate the worm, a child utters 'oa oa'. The mother then explains that the goat is still hungry and asks if it would eat the cat, looking at all children. The educator addresses a child whose family had goats and engages the group in a discussion about these animals' nutrition.

In sum, in these joint translingual reading events, Etienne and Lia brought their whole selves in, communicated confidently and behaved a head taller than in literacy activities without the parents. Translanguaging was transformative for the children and the parents who explained that they did not move flexibly between languages when reading at home (interviews, December 2020) which was confirmed by their self-recorded videos (Aleksić and Kirsch 2024).

Discussion

The present article explored the support of parents and educators in joint reading events and the ways children engaged and interacted. I will discuss the findings following a summary.

Summary of findings

The reading events differed in their language use, adult support and child engagement, which influence each other. When the parents used only the home language, they succeeded in emotionally supporting their own child but failed to offer enough instructional support to the other children who, as a result, did not understand the story and disengaged. The focus children showed strong emotions and interacted only with the parent. When the parents used the institutional language to add translations or paraphrase information during bilingual activities, the group was able to follow the gist of the story, and most children participated non-verbally and verbally. They continued, however, to interact exclusively with the parent, perhaps because the educators let the parents take over. The focus children performed their language identities and most communicated with confidence in their home language. They pointed, repeated, labelled, commented, asked and answered questions, and added information. The situation differed in the translingual readings where the parents and the educator used the home language and Luxembourgish flexibly to provide instructional and emotional support. The whole group participated as in the second scenario, but, this time, they were also supported by the focus children who co-constructed this meaningful collective event. Etienne and Lia used their entire semiotic repertoire to connect to and include all interactants, help them understand the story and encourage participation.

Discussion of findings

The findings will be discussed in relation to reading strategies, the transformative effect of translanguaging on Etienne, Lia and their parents, and the relationship between translanguaging and sense of belonging. The findings showed that parents and educators deployed a range of reading strategies. While the parents of Cécilia and Niklas did not include the children while reading, the mothers of Mara and Camilla asked their daughters to engage by counting and singing, and the mothers of Antonia and Etienne implemented dialogic reading (Whitehurst et al. 1988) by asking completion questions, evaluating and repeating. The mothers of Lia, Dimitrios and Sancha (particularly in the last reading) interacted with their own child and their peers. They asked questions, added details, translated, paraphrased and evaluated answers by confirming or correcting them while moving between languages. These monolingual or bilingual strategies are reminiscent of those of other parents who read with their young emergent bilinguals in two languages: parents

asked closed questions (Quiroz and Dixon 2011; Rydland and Grøver 2023), provided input through repetitions and explanations, ensured comprehension through translations and paraphrase, and used modulating strategies such as evaluations and expansions (Moody, Matthews, and Eslami 2022; Quiroz and Dixon 2011; Song 2016). The findings relating to the strategy use of the educators in *Earth* similarly corroborate previous findings. The professionals repeated, visualised, asked questions, added details, explained, confirmed and translated in similar ways to those in bilingual or multilingual contexts elsewhere (Gort and Pontier 2013; Gort and Sembiante 2015; Mary and Young 2017; Sembiante et al. 2023). By contrast, none of the above-mentioned studies looked at joint literacy activities and the children were slightly older.

The present study has also demonstrated that translanguaging was transformative for some children and their parents. When reading in the centre, the mothers of Lia and Etienne performed in two languages, which they did not at home, and owing to the educators, also came to use dialogic strategies unlike at home (Aleksić and Kirsch 2024). The joint literacy events, therefore, offered learning opportunities akin to family literacy programmes where parents are introduced to shared reading and its benefits. One outcome of such a programme was reported by Brown (2016). She found that the youngest child of a bilingual Mexican family developed her cultural identity through learning to read in Spanish and discussing cultural elements in the bilingual texts in English with the siblings. As for the children in the present study, translanguaging was particularly influential in the observations of Etienne and Lia and of Sancha during her mother's reading of the fourth book. Contrary to their peers, these children flexibly orchestrated their entire semiotic repertoire which enabled them to engage with content and interact with adults and peers. Their engagement is reminiscent of that of young emergent bilinguals elsewhere who translanguaged to interact, negotiate meaning, explain, translate or correct (Csillik and Golubeva 2020; DeNicolo 2019; Gort and Pontier 2013; Seltzer, Ascenzi-Moreno, and Aponte 2020). The mediating role of Etienne and Lia, which children played on these occasions only, is particularly noteworthy. Like slightly older children in other studies, they interpreted contextual clues, repeated key information, enacted parts of the story, expressed themselves in two languages and translated to support their peers' understanding and encourage their participation (Alamillo, Yun, and Bennett 2017; Olmedo 2003). Through performing their linguistic identities, all children but particularly Etienne, Lia and Sancha showed language-based agency (Mortini 2021) and positioned themselves as bilinguals. While the former two used languages to include peers, Sancha did so to exert her authority. This is a reminder that translanguaging can foster inclusive environments but needs to be embedded in a responsive pedagogy that focuses on equity (DeNicolo 2019; García, Johnson, and Seltzer 2017). When the practitioners do not pay attention to language hierarchies and children's needs, they may either create situations where children have unequal opportunities for participation, feel 'othered' and be excluded or exclude themselves (Sadownik 2018) or where minoritised languages remain invisible (Cataldo-Schwarzl 2024). The first scenario may have created differences by exposing children's home language as different and as not belonging to the centre. In fact, only one of the children's home languages - the minoritised one - was celebrated and no attention was paid to the fact that Antonia and Cécilia were emergent multilinguals, who drew on their entire semiotic repertoire at home unlike in the centre. According to Pascall and De Houwer (2021), the creation of differences can negatively influence children's bilingual development and their relationships with their families.

Finally, while this study did not intend to explore children's sense of school belonging, aspects of the findings relating to engagement, relationships and children's agency, connect to previous studies that confirm a relationship between translanguaging and a sense of belonging. Sense of school belonging has been associated with relationships, place, agency and inclusion and defined as 'the extent to which students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported by others' (Goodenow and Grady 1993, 61). It influences children's well-being and health (Sadownik 2018) as well as their learning and school success (e.g. Aleksić and García 2024; Allen et al. 2021). The children in the translingual readings appeared to feel at ease when performing their multilingual identity. The

emotional support of the educator and mothers such as their smiles, praise and caresses, indicated recognition which can fuel children's self-esteem and confidence (Pascall and De Houwer 2021), which, in turn, predicts sense of belonging (Allen et al. 2018; de Jong, Zach, and Tsai 2020). Etienne and Lia were motivated to participate and, like the first graders in the study of DeNicolo (2019), used two languages to engage and make meaning. Their translanguaging enabled them to connect to peers and adults, actively participate and include others, and possibly to feel connected to their community. The situation differed in Air where the educators, similarly to Earth, meant well by inviting the parents to value children's home languages. They believed that the parents were experts and providers of language and cultural input (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024), and out of respect, sat back and left the floor to the visitors. The absence of emotional and instructional support in the monolingual and some of the bilingual readings, the objectification of the home language, the fact that many did not understand the stories, and children's lack of opportunities to interact make it doubtful that the activities were helpful in cultivating children's sense of belonging. This was more likely in Earth where the educators frequently reverted to children's home languages to address children's needs and where collaboration with parents happened throughout the year to promote children's development, well-being and sense of belonging (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024; Kirsch 2024). This is another reminder that translanguaging can only be transformative if embedded in a pedagogy that promotes co-construction, relationships with children and parents, and inclusion.

Conclusion

This article analysed adult support and child engagement in joint reading activities in Luxembourg. The findings indicated that the parents' and educators' translanguaging offered instructional and emotional support which engaged children and helped them connect to content, adults and peers. By contrast, when parents read in their home language without instructional support or by offering some support through adding translations, the focus children interacted with their parents only and the peers participated in the bilingual activities only. All focus children performed their multilingual identities, though children showed stronger emotions in the monolingual and bilingual activities than in the translingual ones where they orchestrated their semiotic resources with pride.

While the article illustrated promising scenarios promoting the use of home languages, engagement and interactions, it is not without methodological limitations. Firstly, we could only observe few reading events, mainly because of the Covid-19 pandemic, and, secondly, the parents observed came mainly from advantaged backgrounds. As this is a naturalistic study, we could not influence the choice of visiting parents. In general, educators find it more difficult to involve parents from disadvantaged and diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Aghallaj et al. 2020). Furthermore, the adults in Air wore masks which made it difficult to identify their facial expressions and, therefore, the number of smiles counted may be inaccurate. Finally, joint events, encouraged by the multilingual education policy in Luxembourg, may be done rarely in ECEC elsewhere, which has an impact on the generalisability of the findings.

Nevertheless, the study has several implications for practitioners and policymakers, particularly as it is known that multilingual education programmes are on the rise and that educators are often portrayed as being insecure about the manners of working with multilingual children and families (Bergeron-Morin, Peleman, and Hulpia 2023). Firstly, while confirming some benefits of parent involvement, the present article shows that it is not enough to invite parents to read to value home languages. Rather, we need a pedagogy that emphasises co-construction and interactions, advocates for heteroglossic language practices, and leverages children's diverse resources for participation. I emphasise the need of planning joint events with parents and discussing the use of the languages, the reading approach, the length and topic of the books and cultural elements. This preparation ensures that the educators can support parents and make them feel like valuable members who belong to the community rather than special guests. Furthermore, the preparation and joint

support ensure the equal treatment of languages, the participation of all children and the existence of cultural connections. In the present study, the parents appeared to focus on language as evidenced by their frequent corrections. Except the mothers of Antonia and Camilla, no parents and no educators drew attention to cultural elements to reinforce children's bicultural identities. According to Csillik and Golubeva (2020), however, translanguaging can help young children learn about their own identity and that of others and develop intercultural understanding. Collaborative planning is likely to fuel the relationships with the parents and promote intercultural understanding (Aleksić, Bebić-Crestany, and Kirsch 2024). Planning requires time, languages skills, flexibility and creativity as well as intercultural competence. These competences can be developed in initial education and professional development training to ensure practitioners are well prepared to address the growing linguistic, cultural and socio-economic diversity in their institutions and support multilingual children (Peleman, Hulpia, and Bergeron-Morin 2023). Given the relevance of sense of school belonging for children's health, well-being and academic success, as emphasised in ECEC curricula in Australia, New Zealand and the Nordic countries, and the association of translanguaging with a sense of belonging, I suggest that authors further investigate this relationship. Findings are likely to help policymakers, researchers and educators further develop the muchneeded inclusive learning environments.

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ORCID

Claudine Kirsch http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5981-2773

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