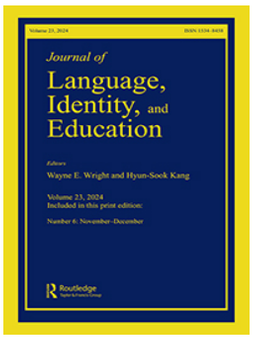

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A Multilingual Preschooler's School Belonging: The Role of Translanguaging Pedagogy

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ABSTRACT

To engage in learning, students must feel a sense of belonging. And yet, children often go to schools where language practices are different from those of their homes and where they often feel alienated. In this article, we look closely at the effects of translanguaging pedagogical practices on one multilingual young child's sense of belonging in a Luxembourgish preschool, and ultimately in society. The focused video analysis identifies seven significant moments of translanguaging pedagogical interactions between the teacher and the child as she (a) develops the child's voice as creator/teller of stories, (b) raises the class's consciousness of multilingualism, (c) emphasizes multilingualism as resource, (d) engages with children's wondering, (e) elaborates children's wonderings, (f) creates a sense of being a collaborative ensemble, and finally (g) develops a sense that Luxembourgish belongs to all. Within each moment, we zoom in on the manifestations of the child's developing sense of belonging by identifying his multimodal interactions with the teacher and with his classmates in relationship to components of belonging: engagement, attachment, connectedness, and community. The analysis shows that the teachers' use of translanguaging pedagogical practices is related to the child's increased relationship to people (the teacher and peers), as well as to the place (the pre-school). Beyond the focused child, the analysis shows that translanguaging pedagogical practices also made possible all the children's sense of belonging as multilingual Luxembourgers.

KEYWORDS

Belonging; translanguaging pedagogy; preschool; Luxembourg

Introduction

To engage in learning, students must feel a sense of belonging. And yet, children often go to schools where language practices are different from those of their homes and where they often feel alienated. By focusing on the video analysis of one lesson that follows principles of translanguaging theory and practice, we look closely at the effects of translanguaging pedagogical practices on one multilingual young child's sense of belonging in a Luxembourgish preschool, and ultimately to Luxembourgish society. We start with reviewing the literature on belonging in relationship to the concept of translanguaging, which is the cornerstone of professional development activities that the first author conducted with Luxembourgish preschool teachers. We zoom in on the case of one teacher and child to understand the translanguaging moves that the teacher makes, in relationship to the child's developing sense of belonging. As we identify the different stages of belonging to the preschool that the child goes through, we also describe the effects of the teacher's translanguaging practices on all the children's sense of belonging to the complex multilingual Luxembourgish society.

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Literature review

Belonging

Recent world events have radically influenced people's social relationships, cultural identity, and place, and have brought "the importance of belonging to the forefront of public attention" (Allen et al., 2021, p. 88). A sense of belonging is an essential part of what makes us human (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). As a fundamental human need, it is as important as food, shelter, and safety (Maslow, 1943) and it predicts numerous cognitive, social, physical, economic, behavioral, and health outcomes (Allen et al., 2021). A sense of belonging is "the subjective feeling of deep connection with social groups, physical places, and individual and collective experiences" (Allen et al., 2021, p. 87). It "involves the feeling, belief, and expectation that one fits in the group and has a place there, a feeling of acceptance by the group" (McMillan & Chavis, 1986, p. 10), that is, family, school, community, cultural groups (Allen et al., 2021). Belonging involves feeling "at home" and feeling "safe" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 197) and sharing language, culture, values, and ethnicity (Anthias, 2013).

Belonging is temporal, contextual, and variable, and it refers to our daily experiences, such as our ability to share values, language, culture, and ethnicity. For example, when we hear someone speaking in ways that we identify with, we may feel a sense of community and intimacy (Antonsich, 2010), "a 'warm sensation' to be among people who not only merely understand what you say, but also what you mean" (Ignatieff, 1994, p. 7).

The other side-of-the-coin of belonging is othering, a "set of dynamics, processes, and structures that engender marginality and persistent inequality across any of the full range of human differences based on group identities" (Powell & Toppin, 2021, p. 11). It is a process of group-based exclusion (e.g., based on language, religion, ethnicity, class, race, disability, sex). To be othered is not to belong; it is being outside the *we*, to be less than, to be a problem.

School belonging and language

School belonging has been most consistently defined as "the extent to which students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported by others," especially teachers (Goodenow & Grady, 1993, p. 61). When students feel that they belong in school, this will increase their learning and school success (Combs, 1982), motivation and self-esteem (e.g., Fong Lam et al., 2015; Gillen O'Neel & Fuligni, 2013), as well as their psychological and mental well-being (e.g., Vaz et al., 2015). A sense of school belonging (SBB) is a precondition for students' participation in learning activities but also for coping with stress (e.g., Demanet & Van Houtte, 2012). When students do not feel they belong to their schools, they are at high risk of not going to school, repeating the grade, being disruptive, experiencing stress, and getting into fights and bullying (e.g., The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2023; Wilson, 2004). The OECD (2023) has reported that from 2018 to 2022 students' overall sense of school belonging declined. Thus, the OECD (2023) has underlined the importance of peer-to-peer tutoring, family support, feeling safe, and receiving teacher support, to increase students' SBB. Teacher support was identified as the most important factor of all, as shown in the meta-analysis of 51 studies with about 67,000 students, overshadowing peer and family support (Allen et al., 2018). In their recent review on the concept of sense of belonging, Allen et al. (2021, pp. 92–93) proposed an integrative framework for understanding, assessing, and cultivating belonging as a dynamic feeling and experience, which is influenced by four interrelated components: (a) competencies for belonging (e.g., skills and abilities that help one to identify with their culture and develop an identity); (b) opportunities to belong (e.g., availability of groups, spaces, time, and activities that enable sense of belonging, especially for migrant people); (c) motivations to belong (e.g., inner drive to connect with one's own culture); and (d) perceptions of belonging (e.g., positive or negative experiences).

The school belonging of migrant students requires our attention since the deficit view of migrant students as outsiders seems to be prevalent in mainstream education, especially when they struggle to understand the school language and subjects, and thus underachieve (DeNicolo et al., 2017). Migrant

students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds are often devalued, which negatively influences their self-esteem and identities, which leads to an increased sense of school non-belonging (DeNicolo et al., 2017). Some studies show that migrant students who have been in the host country for less than 3 years have a decreased sense of belonging during their integration into school and learning of the dominant language. These migrant students report being discriminated and bullied (e.g., Correa-Velez et al., 2010). Language is the medium of teacher-student interactions and critically influences students' sense of belonging.

Research with migrant children has identified strong connections between teachers' use of children's languages and children's sense of school belonging (e.g., de Jong et al., 2020; Feinauer Whiting et al., 2021; Van Der Wildt et al., 2017).

Immigrant students' SBB is constructed through cultural and linguistic practices in interactions with adults and peers (e.g., de Jong et al., 2020; DeNicolo, 2019; DeNicolo et al., 2017; Sancho & Cline, 2012). In their study with 68 middle school students in bilingual programs, de Jong et al. (2020, p. 92) showed that their sense of belonging develops through cultural practices (positive peer and teacher relations), structural practices (familiarity of place), and linguistic practices that include their ways of doing language (translanguaging).

Studies with preschool-aged children have identified different components of belonging, the most important ones being *relationship to people*, that is peers and educators, and attachment to the preschool as *place* (Wastell & Degotardi, 2017). For example, studies show that peer relationships are essential for children's sense of school belonging since they are related to children's inclusion in school and interdependence, which supports their identity development (e.g., Allen et al., 2018; Allen et al., 2021; DeNicolo et al., 2017). What is more, de Jong et al. (2020) found that when children feel content and familiar with the place as well as with peers and teachers, they feel motivated to participate in school activities and interact more, which brings them the acceptance and approval of peers and teachers. There are other factors that promote or inhibit the children's sense of belonging—the *time* that young children spend in preschools, how the preschool develops or inhibits *shared interests* among peers and between students and educators, and how the preschool views the significance and use of *transitional objects* or "lovvies" used for comfort (Wastell & Degotardi, 2017). All of these are important elements because they can reinforce the two main components of school belonging for very young children—relationships to people (peers and educators), and attachment to place (preschool).

Language plays a significant role in influencing students' sense of school belonging because it is the medium of interaction and establishment of relationships with other people and with place. In a study of Latinx elementary school students in the United States, for example, Morrison et al. (2003) concluded that younger students whose home language is other than English experience a diminished feeling of school belonging because their language practices are neither valued nor used in the classroom. The connection between the valorization of students' home language practices in the classroom and the development of their sense of school belonging is also noticed by Van Der Wildt et al. (2017). Linguistically diverse educational settings seem to interfere with the feeling of belonging of multilingual students unless the teachers have a positive stance towards multilingualism and engage in practices that support children's multilingualism. As the empirical literature suggests, school belonging may be achieved through the implementation of pedagogical practices that welcome children's language and cultural practices in the classroom.

Translanguaging

Translanguaging was originally denoted "a pedagogical practice which deliberately switches the language mode of input and output in bilingual classrooms" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 643). As a pedagogical practice, translanguaging was believed to have four main advantages for a bilingual student: a more profound understanding of the subject matter; the enhancement of students' abilities in the language that is weaker; the facilitation of home-school cooperation; and the integration of fluent language speakers with language learners (Baker, 2001). But how does translanguaging work

with young preschoolers for whom the subject matter is mainly the socialization into school, community, and the world?

With time, a theory of translanguaging was elaborated and defined as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 283). Translanguaging is especially relevant in the education of very young children who are developing language, that is, the ability to communicate with others. Translanguaging theory has also been expanded to include, in the study of language, the role of meaning-making resources long considered outside of language as simply para-linguistic or pragmatic, such as how bilinguals deploy gestures, sights, sounds, and objects in their environment to make meaning (Li, 2018). When studying the language of very young children, this conception of language as being *entirely semiotic in nature*, and including aspects long considered outside of verbal language, is most important.

Translanguaging pedagogical practices

Schools have traditionally privileged written language over oral language (e.g., Hornberger, 2003), and verbal language over other modes of languaging such as gestures, visuals, sounds, etc. Translanguaging disrupts these divisions, paying attention to how meaning is embodied not only through verbal language, but through other means of signification. Schools most often understand the linguistic system not as a semiotic system that points toward meaning, but as an autonomous structural system. Translanguaging enables us to understand the making of meaning by bilingual learners with a *unitary semiotic system* that is made up of linguistic/semiotic signs that the school perceives as belonging to different language systems, but that they orchestrate together to make meaning (Otheguy et al., 2015). The degree to which educators give students the freedom to leverage all their meaning-making resources is of tremendous importance for students' sense of belonging.

Translanguaging pedagogy activates students' unitary semiotic repertoire by helping them to select among the features and modes of their semiotic repertoire to construct knowledge, make meaning, and communicate (Vogel & García, 2017). Translanguaging pedagogy involves three components: stance, design, and shifts (García et al., 2017). Translanguaging *stance* refers to the teacher's belief that the bilingual student's full semiotic repertoire is a valuable resource to be used by a student for meaning making, learning, and development of language practices (García et al., 2017). Translanguaging *design* concerns developing lessons, curricula, and assessment that activate students' full linguistic repertoire by engaging both students' home and school language practices. Finally, translanguaging *shifts* are the unplanned, moment-by-moment alternations that teachers make to the lesson design as a response to children's fluid translanguaging.

By strategically combining all three elements of a translanguaging pedagogy, teachers not only support the learning of multilingual students, but also the development of their identities (García et al., 2017). The latter is especially important as it shows that a translanguaging pedagogy helps to cultivate in the multilingual student a feeling of belonging to the classroom (school belonging)—an important aspect of students' socio-emotional well-being.

Translanguaging and belonging

Even though translanguaging seems to be a promising pedagogy to develop students' sense of school belonging, little research has been done in this regard. DeNicolo (2019) studied how the teacher's translanguaging in a first-grade classroom in the United States contributed to the sense of belonging of immigrant/indigenous Guatemalan students who come from homes in which Q'anjob'al and Spanish are used. The role of translanguaging in enhancing multilingual Latinx students' sense of school belonging in the United States as it transforms students' subjectivities of deficiency has been documented by studies included in M. T. Sánchez and García (2022). At the middle school level, Allman and Guethler (2021) have shown how students increased their sense of school belonging as they were given space for collaborative

scientific discourse. At the university level, Makalela (2015) has documented how translanguaging practices stimulate Black South African students' feeling of belonging and being at home. And Reznicek-Parrado (2020) studied how tutors' translanguaging when tutoring Latinx students in a Spanish as Heritage Language class helps to create a home-like environment that promotes academic empathy and builds a feeling of community belonging. Although studies on translanguaging practices have shown its relationship to the transformation of subjectivities, research linking translanguaging and a sense of belonging per se is scarce, particularly in early childhood education. This is why the focus of the present study is significant—how translanguaging pedagogical practices operate to build one young multilingual preschooler's sense of belonging, as well as that of his classmates, in the complex multilingual society of Luxembourg.

Methodology

Luxembourg and our study

Luxembourg has three official languages—Luxembourgish (the national language), French, and German. This small country has a highly socially, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous student population: almost 65% of 4-year-old children do not speak Luxembourgish as a home language, and 28% of these speak Portuguese (Ministry of National Education, Children, and Youth [MENJE], 2022). Before the age of 3, children usually attend crèche (optional). Parents can choose the language of the crèche (mostly in French or Luxembourgish). Then, at the age of 3, children go to early education (précoce), which is also optional. From ages 4–5, it is compulsory for children to attend preschool (Spilschoul), which takes place in Luxembourgish. In primary school, they learn to read and write in German, and then continue learning in French from the third grade on.

In Luxembourg, many children of migrant background and low SES who do not speak the school languages underachieve (Hornung et al., 2023; Ministry of National Education, Children, and Youth [MENJE], 2023). Partly to address this need, the Ministry of Family Affairs introduced a measure named "intercultural living-together" in 2023. Intercultural living-together refers to a "participatory, dynamic, and continuous process […] based on mutual respect, tolerance, solidarity, social cohesion, and the fight against racism and all forms of discrimination" (Ministry of Family Affairs, Solidarity, Living Together and Reception of Refugees [FM], 2023). "Intercultural living-together" is thus promoted by the government not only to achieve social cohesion for which inclusion, participation, and belonging are necessary (Lister, 2007), but also to improve educational opportunities. For students' SBB, which influences their school success and well-being, teachers' support remains a crucial factor (Allen et al., 2018; Allen et al., 2021).

More specifically, a new 2017 education policy for preschool called for *multilingual education*. Until 2017, the focus had been on developing young children's Luxembourgish and using it exclusively in early childhood education for oral interactions, while reading and writing activities in primary school take place in German. As a result of a shift in policy, from 2017, pre-school teachers are obliged not only to develop children's Luxembourgish and introduce them to written German, but also to acquaint them with French. In addition, teachers are expected to enhance the value of the students' many home language practices for learning and social integration (Ministry of National Education, Children, and Youth [MENJE], 2017).

As a result of this new policy, the first author, a researcher at the University of Luxembourg, designed a professional development study to familiarize preschool teachers with theory and research on translanguaging in education, since it was felt that a translanguaging approach offered the best possibility of achieving the complex goals of the new multilingual policy. To design the professional development project, the first author worked with the second author who had previous experience in Luxembourgish preschools and translanguaging. Both authors collaborated with Kirsch who had done extensive research on the use of translanguaging pedagogy in early education in Luxembourg (Kirsch, 2018, 2020a, 2020b). The child's data in this article is based on our joint analysis of a lesson enacting translanguaging pedagogy which was selected by one teacher in one school for videotaping, after participating in the professional development project.

This is but a part of a larger study to contextualize the sociolinguistic complexities of a very young child's life in Luxembourg and preschool. The larger study included interviews with the child's mother, the child's preschool and early education (prècoce) teacher, a questionnaire to assess the child's socioemotional development, as well as measures of early literacy and numeracy. In this article, we provide some of this information to position the child and his teacher, as well as to interpret some of the actions in the video, which is our main form of analysis.

The multimodal ways in which young children communicate are best captured through film since it allows not only for a verbal analysis but also for gestures, gaze, acting, positioning, intonation, etc. As Jewitt (2013) has said, multimodality "attends systematically to the social interpretation of a range of forms of making meaning" (p. 1) because "non-linguistic elements are never semiotically innocent" (Flewitt et al., 2009, p. 41). Multimodality pushes against what Block (2014) calls the "lingual bias," changing what is considered as data, and able to capture meaning-making with very young children who are pre-literate.

To select the relevant video-clips for analysis, we were guided by *moment analysis* (Li, 2011). Li proposes moment analysis as a way of correcting an over-emphasis in applied linguistics research on seeking out patterns. Instead, moment analysis emphasizes the "spontaneous, impromptu, and momentary actions and performances of the individual" (Li, 2011, p. 1225). Li writes that a moment can be "a point in or a period of time which has outstanding significance" (p. 1224). We selected video-clips that offered moments of outstanding significance to understand the relationship between translanguaging pedagogical practices and the sense of belonging, enabling us to see "how teachers and students orchestrate a range of resources" in specific contexts and moments (Jewitt, 2013, p. 6).

To analyze the video data, we followed the principles proposed by Knoblauch and Schnetter (2012) for videography. The major focus of interest in our analysis was the social actions and interactions in the lesson. Video interaction analysis is fundamentally a hermeneutic activity; that is, the artful practice to reconstruct sense-making (Soeffner, 1996). Through this interpretive activity, we identified the steps the teacher was taking moment-by-moment with the intention of potentially increasing the child's sense of belonging in this classroom. After this *sequential* analysis of the teacher's practices, we engaged with the *simultaneous* aspects of communicative interactions by focusing on the multimodal ways in which the child was responding to the teachers' actions, which allowed us to identify the child's actions in the interaction. By focusing on the child's interactions, and drawing on the additional contextual knowledge that we had about the child, we were able to recognize the child's growing sense of belonging in this classroom.

The preschooler and his educational context

As in all preschools in Luxembourg, the young children who attend this preschool are multilingual, and not just monolingual speakers of Luxembourgish, the national language, and the main medium of instruction in preschool. Many speak the other two official languages, French and German, as well as many immigrant languages, with Portuguese being the most numerous. This preschool includes children who come from middle- and upper-social-class families.

Our focal child for the analysis is Milan, a 5-year-old boy whose mother speaks Czech, and his father speaks Estonian. The first author and her assistant researcher provided professional development on translanguaging to the teachers in Milan's preschool (Spilschoul) for one year and had an opportunity to learn much about him and his teacher. Six interviews were conducted: one with the mother, who also filled out a questionnaire on the home literacy environment; three with Milan's preschool (Spilschoul); and two with Milan's former early education (prècoce) teacher. We also administered the test of early numeracy and literacy (Performance Indicators in Primary Schools [PIPS]; Tymms, 1999) in Luxembourgish three times over one year. This test also included a scale on Milan's behaviour and socio-emotional development filled in by the teacher. Because we wanted to capture the impact of the professional development work, Milan's preschool teacher filled in a questionnaire on her attitudes towards children's home language and translanguaging twice, before and after the professional development. In this paper, we focus on the close observation of one lesson. We describe the steps taken by the teacher in her translanguaging design, and the

changes in levels of belonging in Milan. For the analysis, we rely on our close observations of the lesson, although we supplement our knowledge of Milan through the interviews, questionnaires, and scores on instruments that we have gathered.

Milan's parents came to Luxembourg for work after completing higher education studies in their respective countries. Before coming to Luxembourg for work in a European institution, the mother completed post-secondary school academic education in Paris, thus she also speaks French. Both Czech and Estonian are spoken at home, although Milan's mother reveals that "he feels very, very Czech." Milan attended a French crèche, so he prefers to speak French in preschool. When he joined this preschool a little less than a year ago, Milan had little knowledge of Luxembourgish even though his early education (précoce) the previous year was said to have been entirely in Luxembourgish. When he was tested at the beginning of preschool with the PIPS test of early literacy and numeracy, his scores in Luxembourgish were very low. Both Milan's mother and his précoce teacher confirmed in interviews that Luxembourgish was difficult for him, and because of language, he was excluded from the précoce classroom by the other children. For example, the mother said in the interview: "He just did not know what language to speak. He was completely lost […] he simply did not know how to act."

Milan's preschool teacher

Milan's preschool teacher is Cynthia, born in Luxembourg. Cynthia, like most Luxembourgers, speaks Luxembourgish, German, and French, and she also speaks English. At the time of the professional development course, Cynthia had been working in the preschool for only one year. She was very enthusiastic about the use of children's home language practices and translanguaging. Cynthia's stance towards translanguaging, as well as her understanding of translanguaging pedagogy, was deepened during the professional development sessions in which she participated. She believed, for example, that a precondition to teaching in a multilingual précoce is that one should be interested in learning from a multilingual child. She says:

> So, that is of course a precondition, you are interested, we are working here in an environment that is connected to your world, that is interesting, where there is an emotional need for you to express yourself and I am convinced that it will be okay, that Luxembourgish will come. (Interview, December 2019)

As we will see, Cynthia's translanguaging is limited to the three official languages in Luxembourg—Luxembourgish, French and German—languages that she speaks. Although Milan speaks Czech and Estonian, the teacher's translanguaging in instruction does not leverage language practices that are not part of her own repertoire. However, by opening up an instructional space that is not simply in Luxembourgish, she opens up a translanguaging space for Milan and the other children where they can use their entire repertoire to make sense of the lesson, even if sometimes not externally. That is, translanguaging disrupts the hegemony of the three official languages of Luxembourg as the only way of learning and belonging in Luxembourgish society.

Findings

In our analysis, we first focus on the specific actions that Cynthia, moved by a translanguaging stance, initiated during a pre-literacy lesson. As we describe Cynthia's translanguaging actions, we look attentively at Milan's own behavior and actions which point to his developing sense of belonging in this preschool classroom. We also identify how the teacher's translanguaging moves also develop a sense of belonging among all students, not only in the classroom but also in a multilingual Luxembourgish society.

We divide the transcript of the video into seven moments that reveal the different moments of Cynthia's translanguaging pedagogical actions. Each of Cynthia's actions is then corresponded by an interaction with Milan, as we identify the accompanying actions by Milan and his classmates. As we will see, the seven moments reveal the moves and intentions of the teacher, fueled by her translanguaging stance, as she: develops Milan's voice as creator/teller of stories (Moment 1), raises the class's

consciousness of multilingualism (Moment 2), emphasizes multilingualism as a resource (Moment 3), engages with children's wonderings (Moment 4), elaborates children's wonderings (Moment 5), creates a sense of being a collaborative ensemble (Moment 6), and finally develops a sense that Luxembourgish can be done by all and belongs to all (Moment 7).

Within each moment, we especially zoom in on the manifestations of Milan's developing sense of belonging by naming his multimodal interactions with the teacher and then with his classmates. As we identify Milan's multimodal interactions, we analyze them in relationship to the components of belonging identified in studies: engagement, attachment, connectedness, and community (e.g., Barber & Schluterman, 2008; Brown & Evans, 2002; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; among others). We also consider the components of belonging that Allen et al. (2018) identified in their meta-analysis (a) school-based relationships and experiences, (b) student-teacher relationships, and (c) and students' general feelings about school as a whole (p. 2). More specifically, we focus on components of belonging for very young children identified by Wastell and Degotardi (2017):

1. Relationship to people (peers and educators)
2. Relationship to place (preschool)

Moment 1. Leveraging Milan's multilingual voice in story creation. Smiles for the Teacher

In the First Moment that follows, the teacher is leveraging Milan's translanguaging to develop his own voice during a literacy activity. We see the teacher engaging Milan in the process of story creation by leveraging his full linguistic repertoire. She does so by acknowledging and validating his use of French within the story he is developing in Luxembourgish. Milan's figure of the story he has told the teacher appears as Figure 1. The teacher also leverages Milan's translanguaging in her own reading of Milan's story.

Figure 1. Milan's drawing.

As we see in Moment 1, the teacher starts by inserting into her Luxembourgish discourse an article in French, "une" then nouns, "robot," and "feu"; and finally ends with a whole commentary where French is prevalent. It is important to note that throughout the teacher's actions, she is using not only Luxembourgish or French; she is using her hands, her gestures, and her eyes, pointing to pictures, and making noises of fire and speed. The effects are not only to increase the engagement of Milan by acknowledging his own linguistic repertoire and his sense of belonging fully in the classroom. The effects are also to ensure that the rest of the children acknowledge Milan's multilingualism, as well as their own. That is, the teacher's translanguaging practices not only benefit Milan, who is developing Luxembourgish, but also benefit the rest of the children in the classroom who are to develop French as Luxembourgers.

It is important to note Milan's own reaction to the teachers' actions. In this very short interaction, Milan still does not participate verbally in Luxembourgish. But he uses his multimodal repertoire to show his pleasure, assent, and engagement. We see him *smiling* broadly five times and nodding enthusiastically once. By acknowledging and exposing Milan's full linguistic repertoire in the classroom, the teacher welcomes the child to the classroom community and guarantees his place in it, thus cultivating the child's sense of belonging to the classroom using his own idiolect. The observations of Milan's behavior and reaction to the translanguaging activities reveal that the boy feels content throughout the stages of this activity. He is seen, heard, and cared for by both the teacher and his peers, all enabled by the teacher's translanguaging stance and ability to engage Milan and the class through translanguaging practices. Allen et al. (2021) show that creating opportunities to belong, in which the teacher gives space, allocates time, and offers an activity that promotes inclusion and engagement, enables a sense of belonging, especially for migrant children.

Little by little, the teacher creates an atmosphere celebrating the uniqueness of Milan's story because of its bilingualism. The fact that children actively engage in the discussion of Milan's bilingual story shows that they accept him in their community, and that they accept the classroom's multilingual context. The children all applaud Milan, encouraged by the teacher. Allen et al.'s (2018) meta-analysis on SB confirms that teacher support is the most important factor for cultivating children's sense of belonging.

Milan becomes the creator of the story not in isolation, not through his drawing, but through the retelling of the story by the teacher. The teacher tries to leverage Milan's meaning-making repertoire which includes French, using translanguaging as a scaffold to ensure Milan's understanding, but also

Moment 1. Milan's story creation.

1	T	Ech schreiwen Iech fir d'éischt d'Bild vum Milan senger Geschicht. (T wéist e Bild, M laacht)	First, I am going to show you the picture that belongs to Milan's story. (T shows a picture, M smiles for the teacher)
2	C1	Joffer, hues du dëst opgeschriwwen wärend mir gebaut hunn. (T wénkt)	Teacher, you wrote this down while we were constructing. (T nods)
3	C2	Dat ass den Bowser.	That is the Bowser [name of fictional character].
4	C3	Ech weess wat dat ass.	I know what that is.
5	T	Wann ech, verwinnt et net. Wann ech elo d'Geschicht erzielen, hätt ech gären datt all d'Kanner gutt nolauschteren, well ech erzielen d'Geschicht genau esou wéi den Milan mir se erzielt huet. Duerno wäert ech Iech epuer Froen stellen. Okay? (M wénkt) Dat ass **une** Rakéit. (M laacht)	When I, do not spoil it. When I tell the story now, I want all the children to listen closely because I am telling the story just the way Milan told the story to me. After that, I will ask you some questions. Okay? (M nods) This is **a** rocket. (M smiles)
6	C4	Dat ass eng Rakéit. (T wéist fir nemmen nozelauschteren)	This is a rocket. (T makes a sign to listen only)
7	T	Déi Rakéit, déi fléien, mee do ass net do dran Benzin. Dat ass den **robot** Benzin. (M laacht) Dat maachen esou an der Rakéit. Do ass **feu.**	This rocket, it's flying, but there is in it no gas. This is the gas **robot**. (M smiles) That is going like this in the rocket. There is **fire**.
8	C5	Wat ass dat?	What is that?
9	C6	Feier.	Fire.
10	T	**Il n'y a pas de, s'il n'y a pas de feu, marche pas, pas voler**. Rakéit fléien **sur la lune**. (M laacht) Dat ass dem Milan seng Geschicht. (C applaudéiert)	**There is no, if there is no fire, it does not work. It doesn't fly**. (M smiles) Rocket flying **to the moon**. (M smiles) This is Milan's story. Let's applaud. (C applaud)

Luxembourgish is in normal font; French is in bold. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3… = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

to implicitly and slowly transform all the children's view of multilingualism, and that of Milan and of their own translanguaging. We see Milan act out his sense of belonging in the only way he can at this particular moment: He smiles for the teacher and starts to feel a relationship to the teacher. The teacher's use of translanguaging practices establishes a relationship with Milan. Clearly, this moment has moved Milan's sense of belonging by establishing a relationship between himself and the teacher based on common understanding. But at this first stage, the smiles are still for the teacher, and in response to her discourse. In Moment 2, the teacher goes a step further, as Milan's smiles now start to be directed to his classmates.

Moment 2: Gaining multilingual consciousness. Smiles for peers

During the ensuing discussion of Milan's story, the teacher encourages children to gain multilingual consciousness that Milan is bilingual, and that his story is written in Luxembourgish and French, as are so many of the bilingual exchanges in Luxembourg's society.

What is most interesting about this scenario is that the teacher keeps asking the question that is of crucial importance to her: "Wat ass dir opgefall?" [What did you notice?] (line 3). She expects the children to notice the presence of multilingualism in the story. She stops the children to ask them to notice what she wants them to notice (line 20, and specifically to Jovan, line 22). She asks them to listen, and points out, "It is written" (line 7). Yet, it takes 12 turns and replies by 10 different students,

Moment 2. Consciousness of bilingualism through Milan's story.

1	T	Gutt. Erika, ass dir appes opgefall? (M laacht)	Good. Erika, did you notice something? (M smiles at Erika)
2	C1	Jo.	Yes.
3	T	Wat ass dir opgefall?	What did you notice?
4	C1	Datt et vun der Äerd flitt.	That it flies from the earth.
5	T	Wien flitt vun der Äerd?	Who flies around the earth?
6	C1	D'Rakéit.	The rocket.
7	T	Lauschter nach eng Kéier. Et ass geschriwwen, d'Rakéit fléien **sur la lune.**	Listen once more. It is written. The rocket flies **to the moon**.
8	C2	D'Rakéit flitt an d'Luucht, an d'Luucht.	The rocket is flying to the heights, to the heights.
9	T	Kevin.	Kevin.
10	C3	An den Universum.	To the universe.
11	T	Nena.	Nena.
12	C4	An den **robot**. (M laacht)	And the **robot**. (M smiles at Nena)
13	T	Jo, do ass em **robot**. (M laacht)	Yes, in there is a **robot**. (M smiles at teacher)
14	C5	D'Rakéit flitt an den Himmel.	The rocket is flying to the sky.
15	T	Wou flitt se?	Where is it flying?
16	C6	Himmel.	Sky.
17	C5	An den Himmel.	To the sky.
18	T	An den Himmel, jo. Flitt **sur la lune**. Tom.	To the sky, yes. Flying **to the moon**. Tom.
19	C7	Firwat ass en **robot** do dran?	Why is there a **robot** in it?
20	T	Nee, mir sinn nach, ass dir appes opgefall wou du dem Milan seng Geschicht héieren hues? Gerry.	No, we are still at, did you notice something while you listened to Milan's story? Gerry.
21	C8	Also, et flitt op den Mound.	Also, it is flying to the moon.
22	T	Op den Mound, **sur la lune**. Mee ass kengem appes opgefall wou ech déi Geschicht gelies hunn? (M laacht) Jovan ass dir dann appes opgefall? Wat ass dir dann opgefall?	To the moon, **to the moon**. But did nobody notice something while I was reading the story? (M smiles at his classmates) Jovan, did you notice something? What did you notice?
23	C9	Firwat ass do Feier komm?	Why was there a fire?
24	T	Jo, do ass appes vun Feier, mee den Milan huet amfong net Feier gesoot. Wat hues du?	Yes, there is something with fire, but Milan did in fact not say fire. What did you?
25	C10	Et war op Franséisch an Lëtzebuergesch.	It was French and Luxembourgish.
26	T	Genau. Wéivill Sproochen sinn an senger Geschicht dran?	Exactly. How many languages are in the story?
27	C11	Zwou.	Two.
28	T	Zwou.	Two.

Luxembourgish is in normal font; French is in bold. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3… = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

for someone to notice the bilingualism of the story. The children respond to the content of the story, not the specific languages that appear in Milan's story. They have questions, why questions (line 19 and line 23), and they also have answers. They notice that "it flies from the earth." The teacher repeats "sur la lune," but this teacher's interactions only bring the children closer "to the heights," "to the universe," and "to the sky." The children are neither interested in the bilingualism of the story, nor do they capture the meaning of "sur la lune." In the end, it is not clear whether the children have understood what "sur la lune" means. It takes the teacher pointing out to the children that Milan "did not say fire" (feier) for Child 10 to finally give the answer the teacher wanted—that there were two languages in the story.

It is interesting that it is "feu" instead of "feier," and not "lune," that enables the children to finally recognize a language other than Luxembourgish. It may be that a cognate closer to their "feier" and that had been previously recognized as "feier" in Moment 1 by Child 6, is easier to understand as French than the word "la lune." But there is more. The children are clearly not interested in the moon; they recognize that the rocket is going to fly high in the sky. But they are interested in the robot and the fire, this interest on not the language per se, but the content, is what sparks Milan's first connection to his classmates. As the teacher probes to get the answer she wants, asks them to listen, and then actually says: "It is written" (line 7), the children's questions are not about the moon. One asks "Why is there a robot in it?" (line 19). And another one asks, "Why was there a fire?" (line 23). This difference between children's conception of language and that of adults is important. To children, language is simply the resources they have in order to make meaning. To adults, and especially to teachers, it is often a system of structures, differentiated by named languages. Here one can appreciate this difference in understandings. The task for teachers is to move young children to understandings of multilingualism as resources, without falling prey to creating strict and inflexible structural differences among them. After all, Luxembourgish children are going to have to grow up multilingual within Luxembourg, that is, their performances will not follow monolingual norms, but they must do language with their own multilingual Luxembourgish standards.

While the children gain consciousness of multilingualism as an important resource for learning and in life, the teacher's translanguaging practices also facilitate Milan's sense of belonging in the Luxembourgish multilingual community. In this Moment 2, we see Milan smiling again four times, but this time most of his smiles are directed to his classmates, as he establishes a first relationship with his peers. Milan still does not communicate verbally in this exchange, neither in Luxembourgish nor French. The children are still not directing their questions to Milan, but to the teacher. Milan sits quietly, but approvingly. His teacher's valuing of the story/drawing that he has produced is now the focus of attention, of noticing by the entire class. This builds an important sense of relationship with the teacher, almost a camaraderie, that is then slowly directed toward his classmates, who are curious about his drawing. It is this growing trusting relationship with the teacher that starts his emotional connection to his classmates and that then moves his sense of belonging in this Luxembourgish preschool.

Moment 3: Emphasizing Milan's linguistic repertoire as resource. Voicing for Teacher

In the ensuing discussion about Milan's story, it becomes evident how Milan starts to make sense of classroom instruction in Luxembourgish, as he develops a voice in Luxembourgish. In Moments 3, 4 and 5 that follow, we listen to Milan as he acknowledges that he uses French instead of Luxembourgish because he does not yet know the words in Luxembourgish. But this acknowledgement does not connote shame, rather he recognizes his repertoire as a resource that enables him to have a voice in the story creation, and in the classroom. Eventually, in Scenario 5, we will hear Milan venturing to speak Luxembourgish while asserting what he knows.

In Moment 3, the teacher takes another step in creating the class's consciousness of multilingualism. She directly asks Milan why she used two languages in her story. This is the first time that the teacher has directed a question to Milan. To do so, she directs the question to him in French (line 3),

Moment 3. Acknowledging Milan's linguistic repertoire as a resource.

1	T	Milan, dierf ech dech eppes froen?	Milan, can I ask you something?
2	M	Jo.	Yes.
3	T	Firwat hues du dann zwou Sproochen an deng Geschicht gemaach? **Pourquoi tu as mis deux langues dans ton histoire ?**	Why did you use two languages in your story? **Why did you use two languages in your story?**
4	M	Ech weess et net.	Don't know.
5	T	Du weess et net?	Don't know?
6	M	Nee.	No.
7	C1	Vlïcht wousst hien et net op Lëtzebuergesch?	Maybe he did not know it in Luxembourgish?
8	T	Ah, du mengs datt d'Wieder op Franséisch, dé op Franséisch sinn, sinn déi di hien net op Lëtzebuergesch weess. **Missy elle pense que tu as mis les mots en français que tu ne connait pas encore en luxembourgeois. Elle a raison ou il y a une autre ?**	Ah you think that the words that are in French, the ones in French are words that he does not know in Luxembourgish. **Missy thinks that you put French words that you did not know in Luxembourgish. Is she right or is there another?**
9	M	**Oui, elle a raison.**	**Yes, she is right.**
10	T	**Elle a raison.**	**She is right.**

Luxembourgish is in normal font; French is in bold. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3 … = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

after having posed the question first in Luxembourgish for the class to understand and to reinforce Luxembourgish. In this case, the teacher wants to make sure that Milan understands. The teacher is using translanguaging to scaffold Milan's understandings. She is modeling for the students how her own bilingualism acts as a resource, enabling her to engage Milan directly and deeply. Milan replies with a single syllable in Luxembourgish—Jo (line 2), but then surprises the teacher by his non-acknowledgment of the ways in which he uses his bilingualism: "Ech weess et net" [I don't know] (line 4). When Milan affirms again that he doesn't know why, another child chimes in by saying maybe he didn't know it in Luxembourgish (line 7). The teacher uses once more the strategy she used previously, repeating what the child said to the entire class, and then posing the question directly to Milan, this time in French. Milan agrees with the child's explanation of his lack of knowledge of some words in Luxembourgish by affirming in French: "Oui, elle a raison" (line 9). The teacher has asked Milan for another explanation, but hearing no other, and instead of contradicting him, she accepts his answer: "Elle a raison" (line 10).

The teacher's moves are slow and affirming. She wants to lead the consciousness of the classroom towards multilingualism as a resource, but she doesn't force the young children to do so. Her engagement of the students follows what García et al. (2017) called translanguaging shifts, and she is attentive to how the translanguaging corriente is moving in the classroom. In this sense, the teacher has become a co-learner (Li, 2014), taking the lead from the children, as she navigates the translanguaging current in her classroom.

During this moment, we hear Milan's voice for the first time. The teacher has acknowledged his bilingualism and has leveraged her own translanguaging to make sure Milan and the class understood. Milan's replies to the teacher are now in Luxembourgish. He uses Luxembourgish to say that he does not know. And he uses it again to negatively assert the teacher's question that he does not know. But compare the apologetic tone of "Ech weess et net" to his strong affirmation of "Elle a raison," referring to what Missy thinks. Milan's voicing is still addressed to the teacher. He speaks about his classmates in the third person: "Elle" [She]. His relationship, now voiced, is still mainly with the teacher. The first interaction of Milan and his classmates is through the teacher, for he still has not developed a sense of belonging to the classroom community. He is still isolated and has a relationship mainly with the teacher. His assertive voicing of "Ella a raison" also reveals that he has been given permission by the teacher to use the part of his repertoire that is not shared with his classmates. It is through the teacher, and through verbalization in French that he starts to build a relationship with his peers, asserting that another one in the classroom is right. If French language practices belong in school, then perhaps Milan also belongs in school. Milan has taken the first step in using his full language repertoire to relate to his peers, although still through his teacher and not

through the language of instruction, Luxembourgish. This is important because the teacher is supporting Milan's sense of belonging, which requires socio-emotional and cultural skills necessary for positive cultural identity development, as well as motivation to belong. The teacher's translanguaging enables a deeper relationship with the teacher, but also with his peers. These are all interrelated components of a sense of belonging (Allen et al., 2021).

Moment 4: Shifting back to Children's wonderings: Bodily language to recognize peers

In Moment 4, the teacher takes another step in her translanguaging practice. She now shifts back to the children's interest, asking about the rocket and the fire. But she does more, for she does not just ask Milan. Instead, she engages Milan with the children's previous questions (in Moment 2). In this way, translanguaging does not just become a scaffolding tool for Milan towards his understanding of Luxembourgish, but a tool to engage him as a critical thinker, and to engage all of the children in the class in building upon each other's questions and understandings.

In Moment 4, the children are now asking questions of Milan. Milan's smile in Moments 1 and 2 is now substituted by bodily language that is intent and affirmative. He constantly nods in affirmation of his peers' questions. He is seriously engaged with the content of how the rocket was made to fly by the

Moment 4. Engaging in Children's wonderings.

1	C1	Wéi koum de Roboter zur Rakéit?	How did the robot come to the rocket?
2	T	Hues du d'Fro verstanen?	Did you understand the questions?
3	M	(M wénkt bestätegt). Nee.	(M nods in affirmation) No.
4	T	Hues du et verstanen oder wëlls du datt ech et op Franséisch erzielen?	Did you understand it or do you want me to tell it in French?
5	M	Jo.	Yes.
6	T	**D'accord. Elle demande comment le robot peut se rapprocher de la fusée? Comment le robot peut-il atteindre la fusée ?**	**Okay. She is asking how the robot can come close to the rocket? How can the robot come to the rocket?**
7	M	**Parce que voici ce qui sort ici après il entre ici.**	**Because there is here what comes out here after it enters here.**
8	T	**Alors**. De Benzin ass hei? (M wénkt bestätegt) An et geet hei duerch? (M wénkt bestätegt) De Benzin ass hei an et geet hei duerch. Wat kéint dat do elo sinn?	**So**. Gas is here? (M nods in affirmation) And it goes through here? (M nods in affirmation) The gas is in here and it goes through here. What could this be?
9	C2	Jo, wéi ass et eropgaang?	Yes, how did it go up?
10	T	Jo, wéi e Schlauch, wou de Benzin do duerchgeet, okay.	Yes, like a tube, where gas goes through, okay.
11	C3	E Rouer-	A pipe.
12	T	Oder e Rouer, jo datt kéint och sinn. Do ass nach eng Fro an da kënne mir är Geschicht spillen.	Or a pipe, yes, could also be. There is another question and then we can play out your story.
13	M	Nena.	Nena.
14	T	Nena.	Nena.
15	C4	Wisou ass datt esou einfach esou e Feier komm?	Why did a fire like this come so easily?
16	T	Hues du verstanen?	Did you understand?
17	M	Nee.	No.
18	T	Soll ech op Franséisch froen?	Should I ask in French?
19	M	Jo.	Yes.
20	T	**Elle demande pourquoi le feu, comment il est, comment il s'est mis le feu? Pourquoi y a-t-il un feu là-bas ?**	**She asks why the fire, how did, how was the fire produced? Why is there a fire there?**
21	M	**Je ne sais pas.**	**Don't know.**
22	T	**Pourquoi la fusée a-t-elle besoin de feu ?**	**Why does the rocket need fire?**
23	M	**Parce que, parce que quand, parce que, comme il y a une grande roquette, il y en a, il y a le feu.**	**Because, because when, because, as there is a big rocket, so there is, there is fire.**
24	T	**Donc elle a besoin de beaucoup de feu**. (M wénkt bestätegt) Also, den Milan seet datt et eng frouss Rakéit ass an datt eng Rakéit brauch feier. **Qu'est-ce qui ce passe s'il y a pas de feu ?**	**Therefore, it needs a lot of fire**. (M nods in affirmation) So, Milan says that it is a big rocket and that a rocket needs fire. **What happens if there is no fire?**
25	M	Dat geet net.	That doesn't work.
26	T	Da geet et net, dann kann se net fléien.	Then it does not work, it cannot fly.

Luxembourgish is in normal font; French is in bold. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3 … = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

fire. He is intent and is a good listener. Despite Milan's efforts, the teacher has to ask him three times whether he understands the children's questions (lines 2, 4, and 16), questions that reflect the children's wondering, their own thoughts, and interests. The teacher also asks whether Milan wants her to translate the children's questions into French (lines 4 and 18). In other words, the teacher does not just impose her understandings and wishes on Milan but asks him to share his own desires for his learning.

Milan wants to ensure that he understands his classmates' questions and that he engages thoughtfully with them. He asks the teacher to become the meaning-maker between him and his classmates, as she translates her questions into French. He replies thoughtfully, using French but also pointing with gestures, "There is here," "comes out here," and "it enters here" (line 7). By using translanguaging, the teacher not only fulfills a meaning-making function for Milan, but also for the rest of the class. After her "alors," she explains to the class in Luxembourgish, extending not only the language that Milan used, but also the new understandings that she now has because Milan was allowed to use all his linguistic/semiotic resources, including French, but also gestures and drawings. The teacher repeats her new understandings to Milan, who nods in agreement. This is an important moment of participation and increased belonging. In this Moment, the teacher is again supporting Milan by motivating him to express himself, thus cultivating his sense of belonging and making sure that he perceives this experience as positive (Allen et al., 2021).

The teacher's use of translanguaging to make meaning also extends to the other students. When Nena asks simply: "Wisou ass datt esou einfach esou e Feier komm?" [Why did a fire like this come so easily?] (line 15), the teacher not only makes the question intelligible for Milan by using French, but makes it intelligible for the class by expanding upon it: "How was the fire produced? Why is there a fire?" (line 20), "Why does the rocket need fire?" (line 22), "What happens if there is no fire?" The teacher is leading Milan to think critically about the fire, and Milan finally responds that it has to do with the fire needed to fuel the rocket. Milan becomes so engrossed in the conversation, and in thinking about the fire, that he responds to the teacher's question posed in French, "What happens if there is no fire?" (line 24) by replying in Luxembourgish: "Dat geet net." Language is at the service here not of linguistic structures, but of communication, dialogue, and critical thinking. In so doing, in leveraging translanguaging in these teaching moments, the teacher is not only expanding the children's multilingual repertoire, but also their sense of wonder, creativity, and critical and scientific thinking, as she builds Milan's relationship not just to her, but especially to his classmates. This new sense of relating to his classmates is not only seen through his engagement with them through his nods and gestures, but also in the initiative he takes on calling on Nena. Through the teacher's translanguaging actions, Milan is developing a sense of belonging in this classroom.

Moment 5: Elaborating the wondering. Voicing for peers

The teacher continues to engage the children with Milan's story creation. In Moment 5, a child, Lina, wants to know about an element in the drawing that has not come up before. The teacher asks Milan about its meaning, using Luxembourgish. By this time, Milan knows that he is free to use his entire linguistic repertoire.

In Moment 5, we see how the teacher's translanguaging practices bring forth the children's understandings, imagination, and sense of wonder. In line 2, Milan elaborates his story using his imagination, by first insisting in French that it is just as it is, and then turning to Luxembourgish for the first time to affirmatively say that it is a pistol. Milan is becoming aware that his use of his full repertoire to communicate messages to his peers must include the new features of language that he is acquiring in this classroom—what is seen as Luxembourgish, by incorporating them into his full repertoire. In other words, he realizes he does not have to let go of his French, his Czech, or his Estonian because translanguaging is about constructing a unitary repertoire of linguistic/semiotic resources that are his own. In line 2 we see Milan's ease in not only using French, but also engaging with his classmates through Luxembourgish. Milan is acquiring a sense that translanguaging is an important

Moment 5. Elaborating wonderings.

1	T	Dat? D'Lina wëll wëssen wat dat ass.	That? Lina wants to know what this is.
2	M	**Ça, ça c'est juste comme ça**. Dat ass eng Pistoul.	**This is, this is just like that**. That is a pistol.
3	T	Ass do eng Pistoul dran? Okay. Mir hunn net vun der Geschicht héieren, awer et. **Alors, là c'est un pistolet, mais c'est pas pour ton histoire, parce qu'on ne l'a pas noté? Ou il faut qu'on le change ?** (M wénkt Nee) Okay.	Is there a pistol in it? Okay. We did not hear from it in the story, but it. **So, here there is a pistol, but it's not important for the story, because we have not written it into it? Or we need to add it?** (M nods negatively) Okay.
4	C1	Awer ass dat e Schutzfeier?	But is that a guardian fire?
5	C2	Joffer, et ass um Buedem, ass et net?	Teacher, it is on the floor, isn't it?
6	T	**Lina, Lina demande. Terry, Terry, Lina** freet den **Milan si peut-être le pistolet, il fait attention, s'il fait attention à la fusée ?** Passt héi d'Rakéit op?	**Lina, Lina asks. …. Terry, Terry** [calling attention to another student who is interrupting], **Lina asks Milan if maybe the pistol guards, it guards the rocket**. Does it guard the rocket?
7	M	Jo!	Yes!
8	T	Okay. Milan, dierfen mir deng Geschicht spillen?	Okay. Milan, can we play your story?

Luxembourgish is in normal font; French is in bold. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3… = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

resource for belonging in this classroom. The teacher again uses Luxembourgish and then turns specifically to ask Milan in French whether the pistol element needs to be added to the story, and accepts Milan's negative reply.

Translanguaging acts not only to scaffold meaning-making in the classroom, but also to elaborate stories and a sense of belonging. The children react to the new element in the story, the pistol, with excitement, as they engage with Milan's voicing directly to them, not just to the teacher. They begin to interpret the pistols as guardians because the pistols with fire are on the floor, and they ask if they are guardians. Milan is now thoroughly enjoying the elaboration of his story, replying to the teacher with an enthusiastic Luxembourgish, "Jo!"

It is interesting in the teacher's discourse in line 6 that she does not simply address Lina's questions about the pistol guards to Milan directly. By expressing that "Lina freet den Milan" [addressing Milan not as "you," but as "Milan"], the teacher has now become effaced as Milan takes center plane alongside the children as an equal, and as a competent creator of stories. Milan has now shown his ability to problem solve and make meaning together with other children in the classroom.

The teacher's translanguaging activities weave Milan's linguistic repertoire into the linguistic canvas of the classroom, ensuring his place as belonging to the classroom community (Allen et al., 2018; Allen et al., 2021; DeNicolo, 2019). Feeling cared for, supported, and emotionally connected are characteristics that are frequently used to describe belonging to a school community (Allen et al., 2018). And in so doing, Milan also begins to engage with Luxembourgish as part of his repertoire. The relationship between classroom belonging and translanguaging practices is now becoming evident. By using translanguaging practices, Cynthia is creating the opportunity for Milan to belong, and is continuing to support his self-expression, motivate him to participate, and ensure that his perception of belonging in the classroom remains positive (Allen et al., 2021).

Moment 6: Becoming a collaborative ensemble through role-playing. Collaboratively voicing as equals

The class is now ready for the next step—a belonging which is deep and that is manifested through their becoming a collective, an ensemble of bodies and languaging that together puts on a powerful translanguaging role-play performance.

By the time the class is ready for role-playing the story, Milan has become the director of the scene. He does so in Luxembourgish, without fear of any kind (line 2). He does not just smile or use gestures. He selects Lina to play fire because she is wearing red, and when questioned by another child who is

Moment 6. Role-playing as a collaborative ensemble.

1	T	Wéi kënnt Dir weisen datt Dir Feier sidd?	How could you show that you are fire?
2	M	Janek, Lina ass scho Feier, hei ass erëm, rout hei.	Janek, Lina is already fire, here it is again, red here.
3	T	Jo, dat ass richteg, d'Lina huet schon déi richteg Faarf un.	Yes, that's right, Lina is already wearing the right colour.
4	C1	Ech och.	Me too.
5	T	Jo.	Yes.

Luxembourgish is in normal font; *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3 … = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

also wearing red, he acknowledges her but sticks to his selection of Lina. The teacher's translanguaging pedagogical practices not only have cultivated in Milan a sense of belonging in this classroom, but also have disrupted the linguistic hierarchies that are most often present in classrooms whether monolingual or bilingual where translanguaging is neither acknowledged nor practiced. Milan has become a leader in the classroom, confident in making decisions and creating stories. The teacher's translanguaging practices have given him not only a voice but also a sense of self as able to construct his own learning environment (e.g., Allen et al., 2021). It is also important to note that by this time, Milan is speaking Luxembourgish confidently with his classmates because he has something to say and wants to say it to communicate efficiently with them, and because he is confident that he belongs in this place, in this classroom (e.g., Allen et al., 2018; Allen et al., 2021).

After acting out the scene of Milan's story, the teacher gathers the children again to reflect on the activity. The teacher has felt all along that by designing a lesson that builds on translanguaging practices, all children will develop a sense of self as belonging to the classroom community. Multilingualism is welcomed into the classroom. It is interesting that by leveraging the multilingual children's full repertoire during lessons in Luxembourgish, not only does multilingualism gain, but so does Luxembourgish. Moment 7 makes this evident.

Moment 7: Luxembourgish identity for all. Belonging as multilingual Luxembourgers

Moment 7 displays a moment when the teacher asks a child to name those children who speak Luxembourgish in the class. Throughout the lesson, the teacher has been modeling through her actions that Luxembourgish is done by all of them to different degrees. A language is never had, it is performed (García, 2009). Even students like Milan whose practices in Luxembourgish still fall along the beginning points of development, can *do* Luxembourgish. Children who develop a sense of belonging to the classroom, clearly also develop a sense of doing Luxembourgish, along with other language practices, as part of their self-identity and positive subjectivity (Allen et al., 2021).

As we see in Moment 7, the teacher believes that doing Luxembourgish in lessons is something that everyone can do in different situations and with different interests, and that therefore, everyone is entitled to be a Luxembourgish speaker.

During the exchange in Moment 7, the teacher engages the children in critically thinking about being a Luxembourgish speaker. Although initially one child identifies Jun and Milan as not speaking Luxembourgish, children become conscious and make each other aware, of all of their different performances in Luxembourgish. The teacher leads the children, including Jun and Milan, in understanding that even though they might speak other languages like Polish, that does not mean that they cannot be speakers of Luxembourgish. For example, in line 8, the teacher points out to Jun that he just understood the other child when he posed a question to him in Luxembourgish. And different children confirm that he speaks Luxembourgish well (line 18) and that he also speaks Polish (line 20). Slowly, Jun becomes conscious that Luxembourgish is also part of his communicative repertoire.

It is also instructive to realize that, unlike Jun, Milan vehemently declares himself a speaker of Luxembourgish. It is clear that this new identification with Luxembourgish, after so much hesitancy about Luxembourgish in moments 1 through 4, is a result of the teacher's translanguaging practices in this lesson. The teacher uses differences in children's language practices not to separate them, but to

Moment 7. Doing Luxembourgish by all.

1	T	Wien kann alles Lëtzebuergesch? Dann wéisst mir, jo Fanger an d'Luucht, wien kann alles Lëtzebuergesch?	Who speaks Luxembourgish? Let's show me, yes finger in the air, who speaks Luxembourgish?
2	C1	Kevin.	Kevin.
3	T	Jo, mee mir maachen mol alleguer de Fanger an d'Luucht wien alles Lëtzebuergesch kann schwätzen.	Yes, but everyone that speaks Luxembourgish, put your finger in the air.
4	C2	Alleguer.	All the children.
5	C3	Ausser de Jun an den Milan.	Except for Jun and Milan.
6	T	Géi a frot de Jun ob hie Lëtzebuergesch schwätzt.	Go and ask Jun if he speaks Luxembourgish.
7	C1	Jun, schwätz du Lëtzebuergesch?	Jun, do you speak Luxembourgish?
8	T	Nee? Mee du hues d'Nena grat verstanen. Fro mol den Milan.	No? But you just understood Nena. Ask Milan.
9	C1	Milan, schwätz du Lëtzebuergesch?	Milan, do you speak Luxembourgish?
10	M	Jo.	Yes.
11	T	Ah, okay. Jun an du? Wat mengen déi aner, kann den Jun Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen? Wat méngt Dir?	Ah okay. Jun and you? What do the others think, can Jun speak Luxembourgish? What do you think?
12	C(all)	Jo/Nee/Jo.	Yes/No/Yes.
13	T	Firwat?	Why?
14	C4	Well hien oft … .	Because he often … .
15	T	Jossa, firwat mengs du dat den Jun Lëtzebuergesch schwätzt?	Jossa, why do you think that Jun speak Luxembourgish?
16	C5	Well hien oft Lëtzebuergesch schwätzt.	Because he often speaks Luxembourgish.
17	T	Jo. Janek, wat mengs du?	Yes. Janek, what do you think?
18	C6	Well hien kann, kann schon gutt Lëtzebuergesch schwätzen,	Because he can, can already speak Luxembourgish well.
19	T	Okay.	Okay.
20	C7	An hien kann och Polnesch.	And he also speaks Polish.
21	T	Lina.	Lina.
22	C8	Well, well, well an sengem Doheem hien schwätzt net vill Lëtzebuergesch mat senger Mamma.	Because, because he does not speak a lot of Luxembourgish at home with his mama.
23	T	Jo. Jun, wéieng Sprooch schwätz du doheem mat der Mamma? (C dénkt) Jun muss sech konzentréieren. Jun, wéieng Sprooch schwätz du doheem?	Yes. Jun, what language do you speak at home with your mama? (C thinks) Jun has to concentrate. Jun, what language do you speak at home?
24	C9	*Polnesch.*	*Polish.*
25	T	*Polnesch, genau.*	*Polish, exactly.*

Luxembourgish is in normal font; German is in italics. *T* = teacher Cynthia; C1,2,3… = children in the class; *M* = Milan.

create a sense of belonging to a Luxembourgish community where each child has a unique linguistic repertoire that is recognized and valued by others.

Discussion: Translanguaging and belonging interactions

This lesson scenario, in which we center Milan, a multilingual boy, shows clearly how the teacher's translanguaging practices in a literacy lesson accomplished the following: helped Milan develop a voice as a creator/teller of stories (Moment 1), raised the class's consciousness of multilingualism (Moment 2), acknowledged the class's multilingualism as a resource (Moment 3), engaged with children's wonderings (Moment 4), elaborated children's wonderings (Moment 5), created a sense of being a collaborative ensemble (Moment 6), and developed a sense that Luxembourgish was done by all (Moment 7). These moments of translanguaging action by the teacher correspond by the stages which Milan goes through as he deepens his relationship with his teacher, with his peers, and with the preschool classroom, categories of belonging for very young children identified by Wastell and Degotardi (2017). Each of these relational moves shows Milan's increased belonging as he is engaged in an activity that centers him and his translanguaging life:

Moment 1: Smiles for the teacher
Moment 2: Smiles for peers
Moment 3: Voicing for the teacher
Moment 4: Recognizing peers through bodily language
Moment 5: Voicing for peers

Moment 6: Collaboratively voicing as equals
Moment 7: Belonging as multilingual Luxembourgers

Milan slowly develops a sense of belonging first by building a relationship with the teacher through smiles, and tentative voicing. He then slowly builds a relationship with his classmates through smiles, gestures and finally voicing. Eventually, the translanguaging actions of the teacher move Milan's sense of belonging from the individual level of the teacher to that of the entire classroom. That is, Milan's sense of belonging emerges in relationship to the transformed sense of the preschool classroom as a space where he is respected for his translanguaging actions that enable him to show his creativity and criticality. In so doing, the entire classroom engages in developing a sense of belonging to a multilingual Luxembourgish society.

Clearly, the teacher's translanguaging practices were not simple scaffolds for Milan's development of Luxembourgish. The teacher's pedagogical practices transformed not only Milan's subjectivity of himself as a non-Luxembourgish speaker, but also transformed the other children's subjectivity of themselves as a multilingual collaborative ensemble that learned, played, and lived together in a multilingual Luxembourgish way. In so doing, Milan's sense of belonging was deepened, as he developed strong relationships not only with the teacher but also with his classmates, and as he took over the classroom space to perform and direct his own role-playing activity that centered the children's translanguaging practices.

The advantage of the teacher's translanguaging practices—her acknowledgement and use of elements of Milan's repertoire that had previously been banned from the Luxembourgish preschool, her questioning to move the other children to acknowledge multilingualism as a resource, as an instrument of wonder and of understandings—not only transformed subjectivities of Luxemburgish young children but also their ways of making sense of the world. The teacher told Milan's story in the way he told it to her because the story "was his." Throughout the seven moments of the lesson, Milan is not only seen but also cared for through translanguaging practices. As the teacher recognizes Milan through her translanguaging pedagogical practices, his classmates also start seeing him as a possessor of knowledge and creative ability, and not simply as a non-Luxembourgish speaker. Milan is able to slowly interact with his classmates, and at the same time starts to use Luxembourgish as part of his own communicative repertoire, understanding that it is part of his repertoire, alongside features that are identified as French, Czech, and Estonian. It is significant, for example, that Milan's measures in the Luxembourgish language improved twofold during the year in which he was engaged in this preschool where Cynthia's translanguaging practices facilitated his sense of belonging through translanguaging.

This positive change in Milan's subjectivity was also noted by his mother, as well as his teacher. In our interview, the mother remarked on how he now has friends in school and has a wonderful relationship with the preschool teacher. She also expressed how Milan had changed behavior and attitudes as he developed a sense of belonging through this teacher's translanguaging practices:

> … one could even see a behavioral change, attitudes, in the end, it was a child that we feared was changing in a direction that we did not know at all. He started to, his behavior, he is really different and there we thought that maybe this is the moment where he will change and become a difficult child or even more.

The mother also noted that the change was due not only to the teacher's translanguaging at times but also to her noticing that Milan was not the only student who engaged in translanguaging practices. That is, the teacher created a sense that translanguaging was the norm for all her students as multilingual Luxembourgers. Furthermore, Milan's mother reported how excited and proud Milan felt when the teacher showed the Czech flag. Clearly, Milan's sense of belonging grew out of this teacher's translanguaging stance, which acknowledged the complex linguistic identity of all Luxembourgers.

In our interview with the teacher, she specifically mentioned how her translanguaging practices promoted Milan's sense of belonging in the classroom. She commented on her practices of not only naming the children's different language practices but also incorporating them in songs and other

activities. By leveraging her own translanguaging in the classroom, this teacher does not just ignore the social realities of the languages of societies and of the children in school. She also does not ignore her task of developing Luxembourgish, the national language, which is often not used at home. What she does is differentiate between the language used by diverse Luxembourgish children to communicate in a multilingual society, that is, their translanguaging, and the languages as constructed and taught in Luxembourgish schools. Her translanguaging promotes a sense of belonging to a Luxembourgish society that continues to prize the use of Luxembourgish, French, and German, but where people's multilingual practices often go beyond the linguistic boundaries of named languages.

This teacher showed her translanguaging stance by retelling Milan's story and engaging him and other children through constant shifting to connect to the class translanguaging corriente (García et al., 2017). Thus, translanguaging pedagogy positively influenced Milan's and other children's sense of belonging. Leveraging translanguaging to tell Milan's own story, with his own semiotic repertoire of resources is what created a sense of belonging for Milan. But for Milan to develop this belonging sense, his peers had to stop "othering" him (Powell & Menendian, 2016). The ways in which the teacher built the storytelling and role-playing with translanguaging at the center was part of the teacher's translanguaging design to develop this class's sense of belonging to the multilingual society that is Luxembourg. The translanguaging design wasn't just useful for Milan as an individual; it was useful for the others to collectively perform their diverse language and cultural practices as multilingual Luxembourgers.

The seven moments of the activity with Milan, show that teachers can use translanguaging practices to engage children to express themselves and support their cultural identity, by motivating them to participate and making sure that their perception of belonging is positive (Allen et al., 2021). These interrelated components of creating opportunities to belong, in which children's competencies to belong are supported, and children are motivated to do so (Allen et al., 2021) are essential for developing relationships with teachers, peers, and (pre)school as well (e.g., Allen et al., 2018; Wastell & Degotardi, 2017; among others). Since there is no consensus on how school belonging should be conceptualized and measured (Allen et al., 2021), particularly for migrant children (de Jong et al., 2020), this study offers an example of how teachers can use translanguaging practices and to support preschool children's sense of school belonging. It also shows the use of moment analysis of the videorecorded classroom activity that revealed how the focal child was given permission to, little by little, communicate using his entire linguistic/semiotic/multimodal repertoire.

Conclusion

The aim of this study and analysis was to explore the ways that teachers' translanguaging pedagogical practices related to children's sense of belonging in school. We also wanted to understand the effects of translanguaging practices on children, how this developed moment by moment, and the different ways in which translanguaging enabled understandings of belonging in ways that are multidirectional, and not just from teacher to students.

Cynthia, the teacher, took risks to contribute to Milan's consistent sense of belonging. We note that Cynthia had the advantage of being multilingual herself. But her translanguaging stance went beyond the named languages she spoke, incorporating other cultural and linguistic practices such as those identified with Czech or Polish culture. Each of the moments that we identified, showed how the teacher's translanguaging pedagogical practices moved the ideology of the Luxembourger preschoolers about language and multilingualism. Translanguaging pedagogical practices can create a sense of belonging, not only among children who had previously been considered the "others," but also among all Luxembourgish children.

Our focused video analysis showed that teachers' use of translanguaging pedagogy positively influenced children's sense of belonging. Milan was seen, heard, and cared for by the teacher. In so doing, he was also seen, heard, and cared for by his classmates.

It is important to remember that belonging is a "circle of human concern" (Powell & Menendian, 2016). Very young children who are linguistically, ethnically/racially different must be heard, seen, and cared for

(Powell & Toppin, 2021) in preschool classrooms. Teachers, as the most important adults in children's preschool environment (Allen et al., 2018), need to create opportunities for belonging (Allen et al., 2021). Very young children often come to school with very different language practices than those used in school. Translanguaging was shown to be one way to enhance the belonging of all children, especially those who have migrant backgrounds.

Translanguaging can offer a path of healing for a world that is failing. It can also provide space for tolerance and differences. When students feel that they belong within the school community, it helps them make meaning of their school experience, learn, and value their knowledge and abilities (DeNicolo et al., 2017). In a multilingual world, teachers need to develop a positive stance towards translanguaging and engage in practices that support children's construction of a world in which they are included, despite the many differences that characterize us all (Van Der Wildt et al., 2017).

This study holds important lessons for early childhood education and all contexts in which language-minoritized children are educated. It is especially important, for the multilingual context that defines Luxembourgish society. Multilingualism in Luxembourg and its schools has been constructed as the three languages of a trilingual Luxembourg. This ideology needs to shift to focus on the translanguaging practices of *multilingual Luxembourgers*. Luxembourgers, more than residents of most other European nation-states, use extended and complex unitary repertoires in public. Only shifting to acknowledging Luxembourgers' translanguaging can save Luxembourg from perpetuating the language hierarchies that have been created through an official trilingual arrangement. To do so will require changes in Luxembourgish teachers' pedagogical practices in ways reflected by Cynthia in her interaction with Milan.

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