

The language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Institute of Education

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December 2023

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Abstract

This longitudinal study addresses the absence of research into the language-learning experiences of UK-born children whose home languages are other than English, all of whom might be identified as heritage language speakers. It contributes new knowledge regarding this under-researched group of multilingual learners, their families and their teachers. It explores from their own perspective children's experiences of bilingual development from early childhood. Teachers' and parents' perspectives are considered alongside those of the children. Moreover, the impact on children's heritage language status is explored in relation to their engagement with early years education. In this way, a fuller, deeper understanding of the two most important sociolinguistic contexts experienced by the children; home and school.

Five Polish and six Nepali heritage children participated in data collection, which began just as they started school and continued through their first year of compulsory education. Within a Narrative Inquiry framework, the study's mixed methods design incorporated qualitative approaches, which informed the majority of data collection, and the use of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN), which contributed quantitative elements. Data analysis, using a Funds of Knowledge/Funds of Identity lens, enabled links to be made between the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry and the children's lived experiences of growing up in two languages.

The findings of this study reveal that heritage bilinguals' experiences of exposure to the heritage language (L1) varied in terms of both quantity and quality. Whilst parental choices around language use in the home were found to be a key indicator of children's early development of skills in L1, the sociolinguistic domination of English over L1 was more strongly asserted as the children started full time at school.

Through a re-framing of their knowledge, skills and experiences using the concepts of Funds of Knowledge and Funds of Identity as presented in this research, deficit views of child heritage language speakers in education are countered by the study's findings. Following on from this, the study calls for a focus on EAL in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) and for further research in this area. These activities would enable the needs of minoritised pupil populations to be both better understood and served by practitioners in schools. Ultimately,

such changes would contribute towards reducing the inequalities that are seen to exist for particular groups of children as they engage in education in schools in England.

Keywords

Heritage language speakers; narratives; Narrative Inquiry; second language acquisition; English as an Additional Language (EAL); Funds of Knowledge (FoK); Funds of Identity (Fol); cultural disconnect

Declaration

I confirm that this thesis is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Sarah Catherine Coles

Acknowledgements

This research venture would not have been achievable without the encouragement of colleagues and friends, the practical support of my partner who covered my childcare when the need arose, the calming influence of my subject liaison librarian whose knowledge of the vagaries of EndNote is without equal, and of course the input of my ever-patient supervisors, Professor Naomi Flynn and Professor Ludovica Serratrice.

For the bilingual skills of research assistants Sudhir Lama, Smita Neupane, Nisha Lama, Magdalena Raeburn and Katarzyna Tokarska I express my gratitude. You shone light on to the lives of the research participants and their communities, and enabled their voices to be heard; without your support, this research would not have been possible.

Neither would I have been able to proceed without the funding provided by the Wilkie Calvert Award, which has given me access to an incredible journey combining my work with academic research at Doctoral level.

Lastly, I am indebted to the eleven children at the heart of this research, to their parents and to their teachers.

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Glossary of terms and acronyms

Acronym/term	Definition/meaning
ATH	Activation Threshold Hypothesis. According to the ATH, frequency of use of a linguistic item is linked with its availability to the language user.
BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills. The everyday language needed to engage socially with others.
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic; latterly, the term 'minoritised' is preferred.
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency. Proficiency in the academic language needed to engage with the curriculum.
CHAT	Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts. CHAT comprises a protocol that can be used when transcribing recordings of speech.
CHILDES	Child Language Data Exchange System. A corpus of examples of child language. Includes various languages.
CLAN	Computerized Language Analysis. A software program used to analyse transcripts.
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families. UK government department 2007-2010. Responsible for the education system in England during this period.
DfE	Department for Education. Formed by the UK coalition government in 2010. Responsible for the education system in England from 2010.
DfES	Department for Education and Skills. UK government department 2001 – 2007. Responsible for the education system in England during this period.
EAL	English as an Additional Language
ELG(s)	Early Learning Goal(s). There are seventeen Early Learning Goals defined in the statutory early years Foundation Stage framework.
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
(LA) EAL Service	(Local Authority) English as an Additional Language Service. A schools-funded local authority service that offers support to schools for matters to do with practice and provision for learners of English as an Additional Language.
EMT	English (as a) Mother Tongue
EYFS(P)	Early Years Foundation Stage (Profile). End of foundation stage assessment of each child as measured against the seventeen ELGs.
FLP	Family Language Policy
Fol	Funds of Identity. Concept derived from the FoK approach. FoK become Fol when used by an individual to identify, express and understand themselves.
FoK	Funds of Knowledge. Accumulations of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning within society.

GLD	Good Level of Development. The Foundation Stage target outcome for children, assessed in relation to the seventeen early learning goals defined in the EYFS statutory framework.
Heritage Language	Minority language spoken in the homes of ethnolinguistic minority families.
ITE	Initial Teacher Education.
L1	First language. In this thesis, used interchangeably with 'home language' and 'heritage language'.
L2	Second language; in this thesis, English
MLU	Mean Length of Utterance. The mean number of words or morphemes in a subject's spontaneous utterances, calculated from a discrete section of their speech.
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum. The national subject association for English as an additional language.
OEDC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OPOL	One Parent One Language. One approach parents might choose to follow to raise their children bilingually.
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
QCA	Qualifications and Curriculum Authority
TA	Teaching Assistant
Year R	Also known as 'Reception Year', this is the last part of the foundation stage and comprises the first year of compulsory schooling in the UK. It is followed by Key Stage 1, which begins with Year 1.

Conceptual framework of terms

Below is a list of conceptual terms used in this research, together with their definitions.

Term used in this research	Definition
Agency	Having the power in one's own right to make decisions and to act in social situations.
Identity	Socially-constructed, interactional sense of self. May include aspects of language, culture, attitudes, beliefs and values.
Majority community	The ethno-linguistic majority population; in this research, monolinguals who speak only English.
Minoritised	The way communities other than the majority are rendered less powerful in particular social spaces by hegemonic power structures that privilege the majority community, whether covertly or overtly.
Multi-lingualism	Having access to more than one language. As a term, it is generally favoured over 'bilingualism', which implies a person might have access to just two languages and no more.
UK-born	In this research, used to distinguish between individuals who migrate to the UK from overseas and those who are born in the UK to families with a history of migration.
Vulnerability	Having the potential to be exploited in some way.

The above terms are considered in more detail at the start of the literature review, chapter two (p.31).

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Research background and context

This research explores the language-learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners. It is a longitudinal study centring on a small sample of Polish and Nepali heritage children. It tracks the development and use, in different contexts, of the children's languages over the period of one year beginning just prior to the start of compulsory education and through to the end of their first year in school (Reception Year, or Year R). It explores, through the children's unfolding narratives, their lived experiences of growing up in two languages. It addresses a gap in the literature, specifically a paucity of research into the language-related experiences of young bilingual learners who were born in the UK.

The percentage of children for whom English is an Additional Language (EAL) attending schools in England has continued to rise year on year with the 2023 Government figure for primary phase, based on the school spring census return, standing at 22% of the total school population (DfE, 2023/National Statistics). This comes alongside a general increase since 2019 in the total number of children attending school in England despite the context of Brexit. The rise in numbers has been accounted for by an increase in the birth rate of children to non-UK born women rather than an increase in immigration (DfE/National Statistics, 2019), hence it reflects a growth in the number of UK-born children for whom English is an additional language.

It has long been accepted that learners of EAL are not a homogenous group; the variation covers a broad spectrum of differing background experiences and contexts (Pim, 2010). For example, some will have been educated in country of origin whereas others will have had no prior experience of education; some will have literacy skills in their first languages, some will not or will be in the very early stages of acquiring these; and some will have special educational needs in addition to learning English as an additional language whereas others will not.

Much has been written about children for whom English is an additional language who come to the UK as international new arrivals having experienced a monolingual start with regards their early language-learning experiences; the wealth of literature available on that subject

has been key in informing practitioners' understanding of the support needs of learners of EAL, shaping policy and practice in schools for the last forty or so years (DfES, 2003, 2005, 2007; Hewitt & Brownhill, 2007; QCA, 2000). However, the profile of UK-born bilingual learners differs in that their early experiences of language are typically bi- or multi-lingual, not monolingual, hence latterly the EAL population in schools in England includes growing numbers of bilingual children whose sociolinguistic profile is distinct from that of many international new arrivals. It is the language-learning experiences of children like these about which little is known, resulting in practitioners' understanding of them being under-developed and in consequence policy and practice in schools perhaps not reflecting their needs as well as they might (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Sharples, 2021).

1.1.1 The history of support for bilingual children's English language learning in primary schools in England

Between the 1960s and the turn of the last century, growing numbers of international new arrivals, many with little or no prior experience of English, joined schools in the UK. Initially, many of these learners originated from Commonwealth countries or from former colonial territories (Safford & Drury, 2013; Vertovec, 2007), settling to form large, minority communities in different localities in the UK. Their arrival prompted assimilationist responses at first (Costley, 2014; Safford & Drury, 2013; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011), built on the expectation that the new immigrant communities would swap their 'low status' home languages and cultures for 'high status' English and for British cultural values and practices. In reality, these communities put up greater resistance to this than was initially anticipated.

In 1985, following a period of social unrest that included the 'race riots' of the early 1980s, the Swann Report *Education for All* (1985) highlighted inequalities in terms of the educational experiences and outcomes of Britain's ethnic minority communities, amongst which were included communities with home languages other than English (Costley, 2014). Prior to 1985, the prevailing model for educating the UK's new-to-English learners of EAL was based on withdrawal for segregated English teaching in language centres (Costley, 2014; Safford & Drury, 2013; Wardman, 2013). The Swann Report, echoing key recommendations from the earlier Bullock Report (1975), proposed a new approach to education in multicultural Britain, one in which children's linguistic and cultural diversity was to be

welcomed as an enriching contribution to society, as put forward in Part V (from p.767). The pre-1985 model was thus rejected, in policy at least, in favour of inclusive approaches in which children's first languages were to be valued. It was hoped that in this way, those social and racial barriers that had resulted in social unrest would be broken down (Swann, 1985).

Education reform in the late 1980s took the shape of the National Curriculum (National Curriculum Council., 1989), first introduced into primary schools in England in 1989. Then, in the 1990s, using what was referred to as Section 11 funding and later the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG), many Local Authorities set up services specifically aimed at supporting children from ethnic minority backgrounds, including those for whom English was an Additional Language, to access mainstream education in schools in England and to close the attainment gaps that had been highlighted. Government guidance issued at this time placed the responsibility to cater for the language learning needs of all pupils, including learners of EAL, in the hands of class and subject teachers. Thus, provision moved into ordinary classroom settings which were framed as providing an environment conducive to language development for all (Costley, 2014; Leung, 2016).

Around the turn of the 21st century, a new wave of thinking permeated the discourse about learners of EAL in education, focusing on the differential power relations lurking beneath curriculum planning and delivery. Amongst others, Leung and Valdés (2019) gave voice to what they perceived as monoglossic and monological thinking. This, they warned, could result in the proliferation of native-speaker norms, erasing notions of bi- and multilingualism from mainstream UK schools.

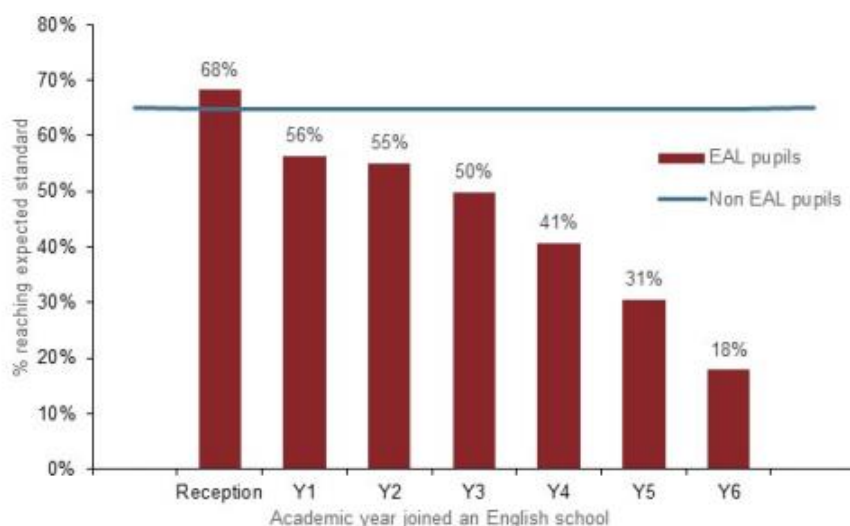
As an integral aspect of pedagogy, EAL assessment underwent changes too, with approaches to assessment for learners of EAL in schools in England being further shaped by policy-makers. In 2000, and joining several other assessment tools available at the time, none of which was statutory, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) published *A Language in Common*, a National Curriculum Level-linked tool designed to establish a baseline and to track early progress (up to National Curriculum Level One) in children's acquisition of English. *A Language in Common* attracted criticism because of the way it implied that after National Curriculum Level One, learners of EAL could simply be assessed using the same materials and scales developed for use with monolingual, English-speaking

peers. This precept runs counter to later research into EAL progression, which has shown that English language development is distinctly different for EAL learners than for monolingual, non-EAL learners (Scott & Erduran, 2004) with specific linguistic features still evident in the written output of EAL learners after as long as ten years (Cameron, 2003).

A Language in Common (QCA, 2000) was followed by the publication of a profusion of non-statutory guidance for schools on how to meet the needs of children for whom English is an Additional Language within mainstream provision: *Access and Engagement in English: teaching pupils for whom English is an additional language* (DfES, 2002); *Aiming High* (DfES, 2003); *Excellence and Enjoyment: Learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years* (DfES, 2007); *New Arrivals Excellence Programme* (DCSF, 2008); *Ensuring the attainment of more advanced learners of English as an Additional Language* (DCSF, 2009).

However, despite the efforts of successive governments to achieve parity in terms of educational outcomes through publications such as those listed above, the national data continued to show a stubbornly persistent attainment gap for some learners of EAL compared with the English-only majority population (Strand et al., 2015). Moreover there is limited evidence of this guidance actually influencing practice (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Strand et al. (2015) in an analysis of the National Pupil Database highlighted that this attainment gap was wider for children who had spent less time in the education system of England than for those with upwards of seven years' experience in school. This echoed the findings of Cameron's earlier research which had found that even after a decade in English-medium schooling in the UK, there were still features of children's reading and writing in English that differentiated them from their monolingual, English-only peers (Cameron, 2003; Cameron & Besser, 2004; Hutchinson et al., 2003).

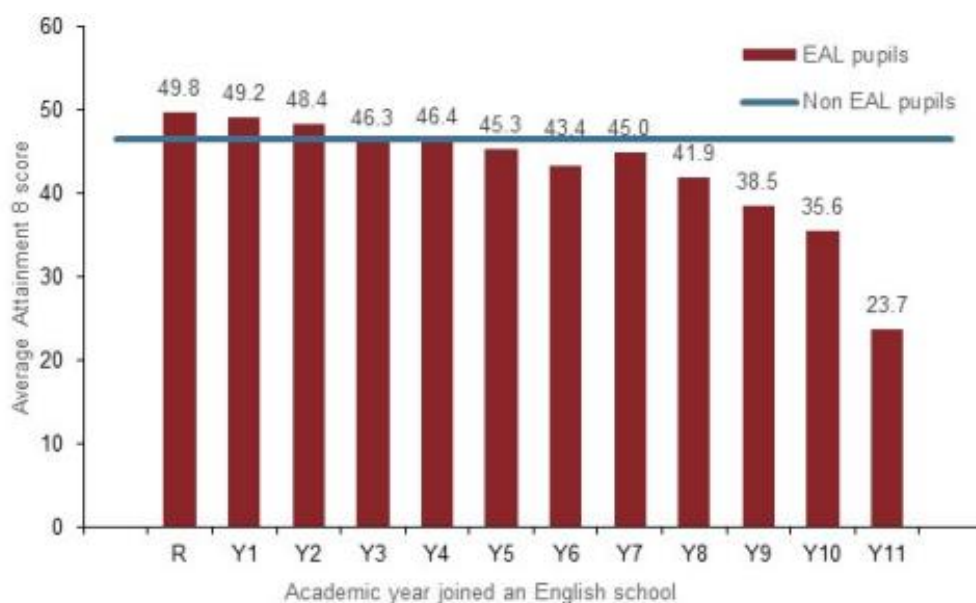
The link between time spent in English-medium schooling in England and attainment is further corroborated by data on pupil attainment. At Key Stage 2, Department for Education (DfE) data (2019) show that the longer a child has spent in school in the UK, the more likely it is that they will reach the expected standard in Reading, Writing and Maths at the end of Key Stage 2 (Figure 1).



Base: pupils at the end of key stage 2 in state-funded schools, 2017/18

Figure 1: Percentage of pupils reaching the expected standard in reading, writing and maths by time of joining an English school

Attainment 8 data¹ for pupils at the end of Key Stage 4 (Figure 2) tell a similar story. By this measure, outcomes at the end of Key Stage 4 for pupils who have been in education in the UK since the primary phase are broadly comparable to those for monolingual pupils.



Base: pupils at the end of key stage 4 in state-funded schools, 2017/18

Figure 2: Average attainment 8 score by time of joining an English school

Indeed, pupils identified as EAL who arrived into Key Stage 1 often exceed their monolingual peers by the time they reach the end of Key Stage 4. However, pupils arriving from overseas

¹ A pupil's Attainment 8 score is calculated by adding the scores of their eight best GCSE subjects, with English and Maths being double-weighted and the remaining subjects including three further English Baccalaureate subjects plus three others.

into Key Stages 3 and 4 fare significantly less well. Strand and Lindorff (2020) examined the link between EAL status, proficiency in English and educational attainment, their findings corroborating these data. From their analysis, Strand and Lindorff concluded that over two thirds of pupils who were new to English when they started their education in Year R were still not considered to be fully proficient users of that language for academic purposes by the end of Year 6 (Strand & Lindorff, 2020).

Concurrent with the abundance of government guidance issued between 2003 and 2009, shifts emerged in the origins of international new arrivals with more people migrating to the UK from more countries than before and for a wider spread of reasons, all contributing to the 'super-diversity' of the current UK population for which, Vertovec (2007, 2017) argues, we have been ill-prepared. It is this super-diverse context in which the UK-born learners of EAL at the heart of this research find themselves.

In addition, there were significant changes to the EMAG which, in 2011, was absorbed into the general school revenue funding stream. The ring-fence was also removed at this time, meaning that the money could be spent however individual schools saw fit and not necessarily on their Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) and/or EAL cohorts (Costley, 2014; Hutchinson, 2018). In a minority of Local Authorities, schools' forums continued to vote annually to have their funding top-sliced and for an amount of money to be used to retain a central EAL Service. Elsewhere in England, however, such services were either reduced or disappeared altogether when Local Authorities ceased their funding. According to Hutchinson (2018), this has resulted in the number of Local Authorities with no central EAL service increasing from 39 to 72 since 2011-12, as well as in the loss of EAL specialists. Therefore, access to support for learners with EAL has latterly been something of a regional lottery that serves to exacerbate inequities.

1.1.2 The researcher's context and identification of the problem

The changing UK demographic has been reflected in Cantonshire's² experience and amongst the new communities settling in the county since the turn of the century. The largest of

² Cantonshire is a pseudonym for the shire county in which this study was carried out. It is used here to preserve the anonymity of the research participants who contributed to this study.

these in terms of number have, in recent years, been Nepali and Polish (Cantonshire EAL Service data, Appendix i: Cantonshire EAL Service data 2013-2020, p.291).

The following two sections offer a brief overview of some of the defining features of society in Nepal and Poland in general and of their education systems in particular. This provides some historical context for the families who participated in the present research, giving a route to understanding what brought them to the UK, and their views and experiences as members of minoritised communities living in the UK.

1.1.2.1 Nepal and the UK's Nepali communities

Whilst small in terms of the geographical area of the country, Nepal comprises a population that is highly diverse in terms of language, ethnicity/caste, religion, socioeconomic status and regional density. Although there is evidence of rapid, intergeneration change since the 1980s, there remains considerable variation in terms of access to education and literacy rates between rural and urban populations and between women and men (Mishra, 2013). Further, within the Nepali education system English has long occupied a position of importance, described as being “the preferred medium of instruction in most disciplines” in higher education settings (Giri, 2015, p. 98).

Despite recent pro-Nepali debate, and despite it not having official status, English retains its prestige within the education system in Nepal, particularly in the private sector (Poudel & Choi, 2021). Indeed, it has been suggested that parents’ deficit view of Nepali-medium instruction in the public sector has bolstered their perception that an English medium education is inherently superior, leading to a trend towards enrolling their children in private schools where possible (Poudel & Choi, 2021; Sah & Li, 2018).

Since 2004, Gurkha veterans have exercised their rights to UK residency, which has brought about large-scale migration to the UK (Sah et al., 2019). Studying the Nepali diaspora, researchers have found that the new, immigrant Nepali communities have brought with them aspects of the Nepali caste system, replicating the hierarchical social stratification that exists in Nepal yet which in the UK has proved a barrier to cohesion (Pariyar, 2020; Subedi, 2019). Whilst Nepalis may perceive that living in the UK brings improved prospects for them and their families, it also presents a challenge to the new generation of UK-born children of

Nepali parents, who will have to negotiate their Nepali identities within a dominant British social setting (Subedi, 2019).

1.1.2.2 Poland and the UK's Polish communities

Following the collapse of the communist regime, from 1989 Poland underwent rapid and dramatic political transformation as it shifted to a capitalist model with a market economy. This change was not universally popular nor without pain (Kola & Kola, 2015); unemployment, which stood at under 1% in 1990, had increased to 15% by 1995, giving rise to feelings of uncertainty and insecurity within the population (Bialecki et al., 2017).

Education soon found itself in the spotlight for lagging behind in the nation's economic and political renaissance (Bialecki et al., 2017). Poor adult literacy rates in relation to other developed countries were revealed by the 1994 International Adult Literacy Survey, this being the first time Poland was included in the results. This finding precipitated much debate about the quality of the education system in Poland, leading to comprehensive educational reform in 1999 (Bialecki et al., 2017). Whilst on the one hand lauded for bringing about improvements to its scores according to the Program of International Student Assessment (PISA) (Bialecki et al., 2017; Handke, 2015), on the other it has been argued that education's post-reform, neo-liberal branding has misled, masking an ideological desert (Kola & Kola, 2015).

Amongst the general population of Poland a view persisted that schools offered poor quality education and that the reforms had been unsuccessful (Bialecki et al., 2017). Further, unsettled by all the changes they had experienced, there was widespread belief that the standard of living in Poland had at best failed to improve, with the emergence of regional economic disparities leading to material deprivation and poverty (McGhee et al., 2012).

In the context of the sociopolitical upheaval in Poland, its accession to the EU in 2004 presented Polish citizens with an opportunity to try their hand elsewhere and, seeking better quality of life, the mass migration to the UK of Polish nationals ensued (McGhee et al., 2012).

1.1.2.3 Born in the UK; the second generation

Often brought by their parents and initially entering the UK as international new arrivals with limited or no prior experience of English or of the UK education system, the original Nepali and Polish-speaking pupil cohorts settled and, fifteen or so years later, went on to have children of their own. These children, who might be thought of as ‘second generation immigrants’, embodied a shift in the profile of younger learners for whom English is an Additional Language entering the Foundation Stage in Cantonshire’s schools. More of these children had been born in the UK than before and were starting school as bilingual learners having had exposure to both first language and English from a much earlier stage in life than typically experienced by many of the county’s previous international new arrivals, their parents included. Another important difference for these UK-born children was that opportunities for exposure to, and consequently development of, first language were typically fewer than for children born overseas into monolingual settings (Altman et al., 2018; Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Haman et al., 2017; Peña et al., 2011).

As the researcher of this study, I have worked with learners of English as an Additional Language since joining Cantonshire’s EAL Service in the late 1990s, initially as a Specialist Teacher Advisor, then as a Consultant with a specific EAL remit and latterly in the role of Team Leader. Length of service has meant I have observed the demographic shifts described above as they occurred in real time. Anecdotal evidence and informal observations gathered over the same period suggested to me that there may exist linguistic differences between children learning EAL who originated from overseas and those born in the UK. Further, it appeared that these differences may have been impacting both on the children’s interactions with family members at home and on their engagement with their learning at school. Parents of many young, UK-born bilingual learners observed anecdotally a change in their children’s choice of language. Once their children had started school, they reported what appeared to be a growing preference on the part of their children for English over the home language, noting that when addressed in the home language, their children would increasingly choose to respond in English.

At the same time, practitioners in Foundation Stage classrooms began to raise the concern that UK-born children for whom English is an Additional Language had less well-developed

skills in English than they might expect, given both the children's prior experience of being in environments where English was spoken and their apparent preference for using English over the home language. When exploring such concerns about the children's English language skills, EAL practitioners working for Cantonshire's EAL Service noted that these same UK-born learners of EAL had less well-developed first language skills than children who had come from overseas as international new arrivals having had a monolingual early language-learning profile.

These changes in linguistic profile led to my interest in how such UK-born children's first and English language skills develop in tandem and whether or not they follow the trend documented in the literature, specifically that younger EAL learners (those entering education in England in Foundation Stage or Key Stage One) are on an English language-learning trajectory that predicts they will take longer to close the linguistic gap that exists between them and their monolingual, English-only peers than older new arrivals coming into Key Stage Two (Rosamond et al., 2003). Further, I was keen to establish what factors were at play in shaping children's language-learning pathways.

Whatever emerges in relation to these under-researched areas, a related question is also at the fore: are there any gaps in terms of practitioners' understanding of such bilingual learners and in consequence how they cater for their needs in Foundation Stage and Key Stage One classrooms? Leung and Valdés (2019) consider this likely, suggesting that the impact of the assumptions and native-speaker norms held by language educators and on which their work is predicated is not fully understood. Drawing attention to recent developments in the discourse about second language acquisition, they hold that the shifting multilingual contexts in which bi- and multilingual individuals function have introduced new perspectives into the debate; perspectives which have yet to be wholly explored.

The research documented in this thesis grew out of these issues and focuses on the contextualised language-related experiences of UK-born learners of English as an Additional Language. Provision in Foundation Stage for such children continues to be shaped by a combination of increasingly dated conceptions of bilingualism, by the "native-speaker norms" that shape educators' practice (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011) and by government

policy, itself subject to change as political power shifts from one cabinet to the next (Leung & Valdés, 2019; MacSwan, 2017). Change is therefore overdue.

The potential reach of this research is wide. Having survived various funding cuts, Cantonshire's EAL Service is recognised nationally as a leading authority on children for whom English is an Additional Language and contributes to thinking in the EAL field via various fora including regional conferences, National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) Regional Interest Groups, small-scale research projects and blogs. The Service also provides Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for practitioners on specific aspects of EAL good practice, provision in the Early Years and Foundation Stage being an area of interest for settings and schools nationally. Moreover, there is a clear gap in terms of practitioners' understanding of the processes involved in second language acquisition, one that is not currently being filled through initial teacher education programmes nor CPD for more experienced teachers (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Leung & Valdés, 2019). Hence a second aim is for this research – in keeping with its funding from a University of Reading Wilkie Calvert scholarship - to form the basis on which new CPD can be developed. CPD that is research-informed and makes links in meaningful, relevant ways between the lived experiences of bilingual populations and day-to-day practice in schools and settings.

1.2 Research aims and research questions

A key driver for this research is the need to understand more about the shifting linguistic profile of UK-born young learners of English as an Additional Language (EAL) in Cantonshire's schools. This has grown from the trend towards increasing numbers of referrals for profiling and support received by Cantonshire EAL Service from schools for UK-born bilingual children in the Foundation Stage and Key Stage One.

The primary aims setting the context for this research, which focuses on children from two different heritage language backgrounds, Nepali and Polish, are identified thus:

Research Aims

1. To document the exposure to heritage language (L1) and English (L2) experienced by UK born learners of EAL in early childhood, from just before the start of compulsory schooling through Year R;
2. To explore the experiences of growing up in two languages through the eyes of such children as they progress through their first year of compulsory schooling (Year R);
3. To identify the factors that may affect children's use of L1 and L2 at home and at school;
4. To observe if there is a shift over time in terms of children's choices when it comes to their use of L1 and L2 at home and at school;
5. To analyse, through Narrative Inquiry, the changing linguistic contexts of UK-born bilingual children.

These aims are addressed in the research through four Research Questions (RQs):

- RQ1 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience in their social contexts prior to the onset of compulsory schooling
- a) in terms of their exposure to their heritage language?
- and
- b) in terms of their exposure to English?
- RQ2 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?
- RQ3 What influences can be identified that may significantly affect the use of the children's heritage languages and English at home and at school?
- RQ4 Does the first year of formal schooling measurably affect the development of the Nepali and Polish heritage children's heritage languages and English?

Thus, the over-arching purpose of this research is to document and analyse the linguistic ebb and flow experienced by UK-born learners from heritage language communities as they engage with education. The first two RQs explore the children's experiences of exposure to their two (or more) languages in different social contexts at a critical point in time: as they start school at around the age of five years. The third RQ aims to identify some of the

factors at play that may influence in different ways the children's experiences of growing up in two languages. The fourth explores patterns and trends in the continuing development of the children's two languages from the start of formal schooling.

1.3 Thesis outline and organisation

This thesis comprises nine chapters.

Chapter One Introduction

The historical context within which this research is sited is explored, the key issues which the research aims to address are identified and the RQs are set out.

Chapter Two Literature Review

The literature pertinent to this research is covered in this chapter. It begins with first language acquisition and continues with bilingualism, including sections on specifically bilingual phenomena. After considering other contextual factors that may affect language development, the chapter turns to factors that shape the interactions of minoritised communities with the majority society. Last comes a section on the concepts of 'funds of knowledge' and 'funds of identity' as these relate to children in education.

Chapter Three Methodology and methods

This chapter begins with an exploration of the research paradigm, ontological and epistemological considerations and theoretical framework. Narrative Inquiry and the methods within this approach which were used in the data collection phase are covered next, along with ethical considerations pertinent to the research.

Sections on qualitative and quantitative data capture and analysis follow. Then comes a section drawing out key learning from the experiences of the pilot phase, and how this shaped the substantive data collection phase. The chapter ends by setting out the substantive data collection sequence, organised chronologically by school term.

Chapter Four Findings 1: The children's experiences prior to starting school

The children's language-related experiences prior to the onset of full-time education are presented, drawing on data gathered from parents.

Chapter Five Findings 2: Narrative portraits of the children

The children at the heart of this research are first located within the three commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry: *temporality*, *sociality* and *place*. After presenting a narrative portrait of each child, the chapter ends with reflections on the experience of using visual methods with children of this age.

Chapter Six Findings 3: The children's language-related experiences once at school

The children's language-related experiences through Year R are presented in terms of the actors and influences that were found to have played a role in shaping them. These are linked to the versus codes that emerged out of data analysis.

Chapter Seven Findings 4: Exploring changes in the children's language development during the first year of schooling

Findings from the use of the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012) are presented in this chapter, beginning with those related to the children's use of L1 and followed by those relating to their use of English.

Chapter Eight Discussion

Discussion of the findings is framed within Narrative Inquiry and draws on the constructs of Funds of Knowledge and Funds of Identity.

Chapter Nine Conclusion

The new contribution made by the research to the literature is clarified and there is some reflection on the methods used.

After chapter nine, there follows a number of appendices (from p.290) and the reference list (from p.370).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter explores the literature covering areas fundamental to this research, beginning with a conceptual framework of the terms used therein. After focusing on models of language development, contextual factors which may influence children's bilingual development are explored, including the differential value of languages minoritised in comparison with English, the language of the majority society. Having considered factors such as assessment and differential cultural practices around communication, which may skew practitioners' understanding of young bilingual learners, the literature on 'funds of knowledge' (FoK) and 'funds of identity' (Fol) is reviewed. These latter concepts support a more positive framing of bilingual children in education, moving away from deficit views that have prevailed hitherto.

2.1 Conceptual framework of terms

In this section, definitions are set forth of some of the terminology as used within the bounds of this thesis. Firstly, **agency** is used in the sense of a person having the power in their own right to make decisions and to act in social situations, to exercise autonomy (Einarsdóttir, 2007; Sairanen et al., 2022; van Doeselaar et al., 2020). In the present study, it relates to both the child participants and their parents, being a facet of power differentials as discussed in chapters two and three. **Identity** is conceptualised as the socially-constructed sense of self, and seen as interactional in that an individual may construct different identities according to the social setting in which they are operating at a given point in time (Nilsson et al., 2023; Poole & Huang, 2018). **Identity** may include aspects of language, culture, attitudes, beliefs and values (Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; van Doeselaar et al., 2020). Each of the research participants, the researcher included, is seen as enacting different identities in response to the different social settings they occupy. The **majority community** is used to refer to the ethno-linguistic majority population; in this research, monolinguals who speak only English (Gharibi & Boers, 2017). **Minoritised** describes the ways in which communities other than the majority are rendered less powerful in particular social spaces by hegemonic power structures that privilege the majority community, whether covertly or overtly. It should be noted that the experience of minoritisation is closely linked to context; people may not experience minoritisation in all the social settings they occupy (Ortega, 2020). **Multi-lingualism** describes the experience of having access to

more than one language. As a term, it has come to be favoured over **bilingualism**, the latter implying that a person has access to just two languages and no more. An important defining characteristic of the participating children, **UK-born** in this research distinguishes between individuals who migrate to the UK from overseas and those who are born in the UK to families with a history of migration. To be born in the UK into a family in which a heritage language is spoken offers a child experiences of different language environments from an early age. Lastly, **vulnerability**, in this thesis used to describe both adult and child participants, implies that there is the potential for an individual to be exploited in some way, whether overtly or covertly (Dempsey et al., 2016; Einarsdóttir, 2007).

2.2 The bilingual interface

In the fields of socio- and psycho-linguistics, it has long been held that language is more than just a tool for communication; it is also a unifying feature of cultural identity by which individuals gain and express a sense of belonging to a particular social group (Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean et al., 2013). Neither does language exist in isolation from other facets of human existence; it is inextricably bound up with attitudes and values, sometimes referred to as 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Moore, 2012). Whilst bilingualism and biculturalism are not necessarily coexistent, many bilingual individuals experience influences originating from different sources that impact on a personal level (psychological and cultural, affecting behaviours and interactions with others) and on their cognition, language knowledge and language processing (Grosjean et al., 2013).

Bi- and multilingual and bi- and multicultural populations comprise the human interface between two or more languages and cultures. This study explores the early experiences of children growing up at such an interface, placing them at the heart of the research.

2.3 The monolingual oral trajectory

The way in which most monolingual children become orally proficient in their first languages is through a process largely devoid of any direct instruction at all and it is commonly held that by the age of five, children's oral language competencies are nearly fully formed (Bialystok et al., 2009; Cummins, 2000; Gravelle, 1996; Hall et al., 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; MacWhinney, 2015). Thus by the age at which they start school in the UK, and

without recourse to formal instruction, most typically-developing monolingual children are able to use grammatically correct and complete utterances to ask questions, engage with others in different contexts and respond to what is said to them, following directives issued by their parents, agreeing and disagreeing with siblings and the like (Bialystok et al., 2009). For young children whose first language experiences derive not from English but from another language, the developmental trajectory is very similar (Bedore & Peña, 2008; Bialystok et al., 2009; Lightbown & Spada, 2013), with the evidence base upon which this assertion rests drawing on observations of children growing up in diverse but essentially monolingual settings.

2.4 Children's journeys to bilingualism

Monolingualism is not the norm for all children; across the globe, exposure to more than one language and bilingual development from an early age may be more prevalent than a monolingual model (Grosjean et al., 2013; Hessel & Murphy, 2019; Hoff, 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Pérez-Tattem et al., 2013; Wei & Moyer, 2008), though it is equally possible for a child to have exposure to two (or more) languages and to learn to speak just one themselves (Curdtt-Christiansen, 2009; De Houwer, 2009). This section covers the main pathways of bilingual development in children that are covered in the literature.

Bialystok (2001) holds that bilingualism is not a categorical variable, meaning one cannot differentiate between a monolingual and a bilingual individual in a binary fashion. Instead, she acknowledges the complexities inherent in the concept of bilingualism and the intricacies of children's skills in the languages to which they have access (p.3). She conceptualises bilingualism as a sliding scale; at one extreme are individuals for whom an awareness of the existence of other languages is negligible whilst at the other are people with comparable fluency in two (or more) languages. Whatever the degree of proficiency in their languages, De Houwer (2009) suggests 'typical' bilingual development implies that a child speaks at least one of their languages at an age-appropriate level. However, neither the age of the child by which this milestone should be reached nor the means of quantifying it is specified.

Issues of equivalency when studying bilingual children must be taken into account as they can never be the same as any monolingual 'control' group when it comes to making

meaningful comparisons or drawing conclusions about the impact of bilingualism on a child's linguistic and cognitive development (Bedore & Peña, 2008; Bialystok, 2001; Kester & Peña, 2002; Otwinowska, 2017; Paradis & Jia, 2017). Whilst there may be superficial similarities in terms of their family's socio-economic status or other aspects of identity, bilingual children may spend more time in formal schooling than monolingual children, attending after-school tutoring or heritage language classes; they may travel more than their monolingual peers, visiting friends and family overseas; and they may, when at home, be cared for by family members who speak other languages or dialects (Bialystok, 2001). Hence any investigation into the impact of bilingualism on linguistic and cognitive development is replete with challenges, many of which are pertinent to this study.

In the literature, different models for bilingual development are described. These portray an incremental move away from thinking about bilingualism in terms of an individual's languages developing separately and remaining distinct from each other as in Krashen's influential work of the 1970s and 80s (in Gravelle, 1996, pp. 18-21). At around this time, bilingualism was rarely seen as a positive asset and was instead more often viewed as a hindrance to educational progress and attainment, even, according to Schlesinger (1991), something that "shut doors" and "[doomed] people to second-class citizenship" (in Cummins, 2000, p. 4).

As thinking about bilingualism progressed, models such as Cummins' 'dual iceberg' emerged (Figure 3), in which it was suggested that there existed a common underlying proficiency shared across languages with the surface features of each being their distinct grammars and lexicons. This precipitated a shift towards viewing bilingualism as a cognitively advantageous phenomenon, a view that remains much contested (Bialystok & Craik, 2010; Luk & Bialystok, 2013; Yu & Schwieter, 2018). Furthermore, it has been suggested that publication has been skewed towards studies that identify a bilingual effect, with other research where no bilingual advantage was found not finding its way to press (de Bruin et al., 2015).

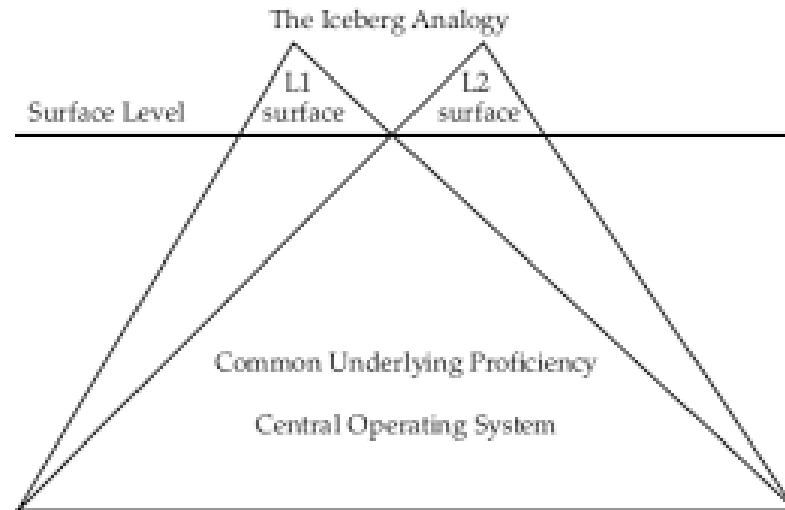


Figure 3: Cummins 'dual iceberg' representation of bilingual proficiency (Cummins, 1984)

Cummins' extensive work on bilingualism and language proficiency later yielded his influential Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) vs. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) model, which increasingly dominated thinking about children for whom English is an additional language from the 1980s onwards. In essence, BICS focuses on conversational fluency in English whilst CALP describes proficiency in the academic register of English, the language of the curriculum. According to Cummins' model, fluency in conversational English (BICS) is typically acquired relatively quickly whereas it takes a minimum of five years – and frequently much longer than that - to achieve levels of fluency comparable to those of a native speaker in the use of academic English (Cameron & Besser, 2004; Cummins, 2000; Hutchinson, 2018; Paradis & Jia, 2017; Strand & Lindorff, 2020, 2021).

The following sections provide an overview of the various models of bilingualism discussed in the literature. These are fairly prescriptive in terms of how they describe and delineate those models, and as such may not necessarily reflect the nuanced ways in which children become bilingual (Byers-Heinlein, 2013). However, ideas drawn from them may underpin practitioners' knowledge and understanding of bilingualism as a phenomenon. Whilst it is not the only variable involved, practitioners' confidence and skill in integrating this knowledge and understanding, however patchy, into their everyday classroom practice, will inevitably impact on the teaching and learning contexts provided for children such as the ones who are at the heart of this research (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Otwinowska, 2017).

2.4.1 Simultaneous bilingualism

Sometimes referred to as 'Bilingual First Language Acquisition' (De Houwer, 2009), in this model, the child is exposed to two languages from birth. This can happen where there are two main care-givers who each speak a different language and they decide between them to consistently speak to the child only in their language. This is sometimes referred to as the 'one parent, one language (OPOL)' approach to bringing up a child bilingually (Baker, 2014; Bialystok, 2001; Ellis & Barbatua, 2013). Whilst it seems on the surface a fairly straightforward approach, in reality there are many situations that call for flexibility when it comes to choosing which language to use when and with whom. For example, family members will need to choose which language(s) to use when a close relative or a friend of the family visits, or when the English-speaking friend of one of the children comes to play. Hence discussion elsewhere in the literature of the 'one parent, one language' approach notes that in real life situations it is rare to find a family adhering strictly to the model (Byers-Heinlein, 2013; De Houwer, 2009; Ellis & Barbatua, 2013; Gardner-Chloros, 2009).

Another way in which simultaneous bilingualism can occur is in a bilingual family comprising a monolingual parent and a bilingual one. Such parents can between them take the decision for the monolingual parent's language to be used when both parents are present and for the bilingual parent's other language to be used when they are not. As De Houwer (2009) says, such choices are not emotionally neutral within a family; the monolingual parent may feel excluded by the use of a language they do not share, even when they are not present, which can give rise to tensions about bringing up a child bilingually. Hence it can be seen that decisions about language use within a family are both nuanced and subject to continual negotiation.

A third way simultaneous bilingualism can happen is illustrated by the experience of many UK-born bilingual children who have exposure to one language in the home with their immediate family members and English outside of it. De Houwer (2009), has termed this 'early second language acquisition' rather than seeing it as a manifestation of simultaneous bilingualism per se. She notes some differences, mostly in terms of age, in how children who experience this model develop their two languages compared with children who experience simultaneous bilingualism from birth or children who experience sequential bilingualism starting when they begin formal schooling, or later. Also focusing on young children, Altman

et al. (2018) note variation in measures of vocabulary size in the second language (English) amongst bilingual pre-schoolers, with children who were first exposed to English earlier performing better than those whose first exposure came later. They also note that this gap diminishes over time with incremental exposure to English once the children are at school.

It has been found that children who grow up in a linguistic scenario that might be categorised as 'simultaneous bilingualism' do not necessarily become actively bilingual in both languages themselves. Döpke (in Yamamoto, 2001) identified that younger children are more likely to become passive bilinguals than their older siblings, partly because of the reduced amount of exposure to the minority language they experience. Frequency of input has been identified as a significant factor in bilingual children's language development; the more input the child receives in one language, the better developed their own skills in that language will be (Altman et al., 2018; Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; Ellis et al., 2002; Peña et al., 2011).

Thus there can exist variation in language use in interlingual families (Serratrice, 2022), much as there can be in the linguistic outcomes for children. Some studies show that for children who experience two languages from birth, i.e. children who are subject to simultaneous bilingualism, the rate of development in each language is measurably slower than the rate of single language development in monolingual children. Hence an outcome of simultaneous bilingualism appears to be a lag in terms of children's vocabulary and grammatical development when measured in each language separately in comparison with monolingual children of the same age (Altman et al., 2018; Bedore & Peña, 2008; Bialystok et al., 2009; Brenner, 2006; Byers-Heinlein, 2013; Haman et al., 2017; Hoff, 2013; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Serratrice et al., 2012).

Moreover, if lexical items known by a bilingual child are listed, it has been found that only about one third represent words that are translations of each other; i.e. two thirds of the words a bilingual child knows in one of their languages are known only in that language and are not shared with the child's other language (Altman et al., 2018; Castilla et al., 2009; Kester & Peña, 2002; Peña et al., 2011). Lexical knowledge is also affected by context; some words, e.g. those associated with cultural practices or religious events, may only be encountered in one language, with no translation into the other (Meisel, 2020). When their vocabularies in both languages are combined, however, the overall picture of bilingual

children's lexical development has been found to be on a par with their monolingual peers (Altman et al., 2018; Hoff, 2013; Serratrice, 2018). That said, it is often the case that on starting school young learners of English as an Additional Language present teachers with a challenge in that they do not conform to the expectations teachers may have of them in terms of their language development; expectations largely predicated on what teachers consider typical for a monolingual, English-only child (Hoff, 2013).

Some bilingual children with exposure to two languages from birth may develop the skills to understand both but may speak only one themselves. Further, some families report that when they speak to their child in their language, the child responds in another language, often the majority one in which they are immersed when at school (Wei et al., 2020). Francis (1998), Yamamoto (2001), Albirini and Chakrani (2017) and De Houwer (2009) all talk about the observed preference amongst young bilingual learners for the majority language, citing the child's awareness of their immediate social context and the assumptions they might make about the preferred language of the interlocutor present – which may, in their play, be a toy - as reasons why a child might choose to respond using the majority language rather than another. The phenomenon whereby children respond using the majority language to input given in L1 is sometimes referred to as 'passive bilingualism' (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; Francis, 1998; Grosjean et al., 2013; Yamamoto, 2001), although as noted there is "nothing passive about understanding two languages and speaking one" (De Houwer, 2009, p. 2).

2.4.2 Sequential bilingualism

In sequential bilingualism, the second language is introduced after the first is already well-established, often given to be at around the age of three (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Paradis et al., 2011), although there is debate as to where the cut-off that distinguishes simultaneous from sequential bilingualism should be drawn (Grosjean et al., 2013). The introduction of the second language can happen when the child's family emigrates to a new language community or when the child's first years are spent exclusively in one language community and they then start school where another language, for instance English, is spoken. In this example, the first language is learned in mainly informal contexts whilst the second is acquired in a blend of contexts including more formal, academic ones experienced at school (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; De Houwer, 2009).

Sequential bilingualism can happen later on in an individual's life too; for instance if they move to the new language community at puberty (or later) having previously experienced a much longer period of monolingual development (Grosjean et al., 2013). Onset of bilingualism from puberty onwards is often termed 'late sequential bilingualism' and is positively associated with long-term maintenance of the first language (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Iverson & Miller, 2017).

Since the 1970s when numbers of migrants coming to the UK from overseas began to increase sharply (Vertovec, 2007), the prevailing perception has been that the linguistic profile of bilingual learners in UK schools predominantly reflects the sequential bilingualism model (DCSF, 2008; Rosamond et al., 2003). This view was, in previous administrations, reinforced through policy shaped and driven by high profile Government initiatives such as the New Arrivals Excellence Programme (DCSF, 2008), which formed part of the National Strategies suite of guidance for schools.

Broadly speaking, the literature presents two sub-models of sequential bilingual development: 'additive' and 'subtractive' bilingualism. These terms relate to the perceived prestige of a bilingual individual's languages relative to one another. In the context of this study, these models are relevant because of the participants' perceptions of the prestige of the children's heritage languages in comparison with English, the societally dominant language.

2.4.2.1 Additive bilingualism

This term describes a bilingual situation in which a child first develops a majority language in a monolingual context and later adds an additional language to their linguistic repertoire. The new language may be another majority language or it may be a minority language but either way the first language, a prestigious majority one, is not threatened by the new language in that it will not be replaced by it (Alipour et al., 2023; Cummins, 2017; Dorambari, 2021). In the literature, additive bilingualism is generally favoured as the model by which individuals gain cognitive advantage from their bilingualism (Cummins, 2000, 2017; Lightbown & Spada, 2013).

2.4.2.2 *Subtractive bilingualism*

This model describes a situation in which the child first learns a minority language in a monolingual context and then, often because it is the language of schooling, is required to learn a second, additional language (Cummins, 2017). The second language is where the cultural capital resides: it is the language of education, of the workplace and of the wider social sphere (Ellis et al., 2002; Flores, 2015). Because of its sociocultural dominance over the minority language, there is perceived to be a gain to be derived from allowing it to become the child's preferred one, replacing their first, minority language in settings such as school (Li et al., 2022; Pliiddemann, 2013; Salmon, 2011).

MacSwan (2017, p. 172) states that "language is often used to consolidate political power and marginalise minorities who speak a language or language variety that differs from the one those in power use". In UK school contexts, practices at institutional level, which often exclude minority languages, may be complicit in conveying messages about the value of languages relative to one another (Cummins, 2000; Cushing, 2020; Leung & Valdés, 2019). Cummins (2000, p. 4) discusses the possible impacts of this at length, drawing attention to the ways in which "coercive relations of power" are enacted in the classroom. He suggests that for language minority children educated in English, there can result a double disadvantage: both increasing alienation from their parents and not being able to benefit from the linguistic and cognitive advantages enjoyed by children who experience additive bilingualism.

Hence according to both subtractive and additive models, the status of a person's languages relative to each other is an important factor to take into account because it will influence the views of the people who speak those two languages and the importance they – and others in the wider society – attach to each (Cummins, 2000; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Otwinowska et al., 2020; Schmid, 2002).

Latterly, arguments have been advanced that the subtractive and additive models of bilingualism are out-dated in the context of the superdiverse linguistic landscape of the twenty-first century. Criticised for the way they perpetuate monolingualism as 'the norm', dynamic bilingualism is offered as an alternative view better suited to the current linguistic climate (Rajendram, 2019). According to this model, individuals have just one linguistic

system within which exist fully integrated language practices and features (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García & Wei, 2014). Hence dynamic bilingualism, it is suggested, is the embodiment of the way in which bilingual people may draw on all the semiotic resources available to them in order to facilitate communication. In the literature, the various language practices of multilinguals receive much attention. Amongst these, ‘code-switching’ (covered in section 2.5.1) has latterly come to be understood as ubiquitous in multilingual populations (Kodolányi, 2013; Poplack, 2020), exemplifying one manifestation of dynamic bilingualism.

2.4.3 Heritage bilingualism

With its origins in the US where the term was first used in relation to the large population of L1 Spanish speakers, the concept of ‘heritage bilingualism’ has gained traction in recent years. It goes some way towards countering deficit views of child speakers of a minority language whose bilingualism exhibits asymmetry. Further, it incorporates in more favourable ways the notion that a heritage language may differ substantively from its source baseline language as acquired in a monolingual context and modelled by parents to their child (Aalberse et al., 2019; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Serratrice, 2020).

The concept of heritage bilingualism aims to describe bilingual development within migrant communities (Flores, 2015; Kasstan et al., 2018; Ortega, 2020). Immigrants typically find themselves in situations in which a language other than their first is dominant (Bayram, 2020; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Ellis et al., 2018). Their first language may still be passed on to their children as a heritage language, but now in circumstances that differ from those present in a monolingual model (Aalberse et al., 2019; Serratrice, 2020). ‘Heritage bilinguals’ may experience either sequential or simultaneous bilingual development but the shared characteristic that distinguishes them as a group is that they were raised in homes in which a language other than the one dominant in the majority community was spoken (Cabo, 2012; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Montrul, 2010; Ortega, 2020; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020).

Whilst they may develop and over time retain some abilities in their minority language, heritage language speakers typically develop greater proficiency in the language of the

majority community (Cabo, 2012; Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Montrul, 2010; Sheng et al., 2013). In addition, bilingual children's sociolinguistic experiences are substantively different from those of monolinguals because they have experiences of speaking different languages with different people in different contexts where monolinguals do not. Due to this experience, bilingual children's awareness of others' languages is such that from a relatively young age, they are often able to spontaneously code-switch when necessary (Dautel & Kinzler, 2018; Ortega, 2020).

Studies have shown that the heritage language as used by a heritage language speaker may differ in various ways from the monolingual variant that served as the model for its acquisition (Aalberse et al., 2019; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Otheguy, 2016; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). Hence 'heritage bilingualism' might be said to correlate with linguistic change (Kasstan et al., 2018; Ortega, 2020); with respect to heritage language speakers' experience of their L1 compared with age-matched monolinguals, both quantitative and qualitative differences can be identified (Cabo, 2012; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Rothman, 2009). Montrul (2010) lists a host of linguistic aspects including vocabulary, morphosyntax (case, noun-verb agreement, tense etc.), word order and conjunctions which in a heritage language context may deviate from the monolingual variant, exhibiting non-native and non-standard characteristics. She identifies phonology as the one area that seems particularly immune to such variation, noting, however, that this is not a hard-and-fast rule and that a minority of heritage language speakers may also display non-native phonology.

Having been born in the UK into linguistic minority families, the children at the heart of the present study might be identified as heritage language speakers. As such, they may evidence asymmetry in the development of their two languages, developing and retaining over time some abilities in their heritage language, but with language skills typically weighted towards the dominant language (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020; Sheng et al., 2013). Further, their heritage language may be vulnerable to change and/or loss over time, either partial or total.

2.5 Children's journeys interrupted: contra flows, diversions and cul-de-sacs

There are various factors which may influence the developmental trajectories of a child's two (or more) languages, leading to differential outcomes (Serratrice, 2018). This section

considers those factors which are particularly pertinent to heritage bilinguals, this being the model of bilingualism that most closely matches the experience of the children who took part in this study.

Broadly speaking, of the various root causes of differences between a heritage language and its monolingual baseline discussed in the literature (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Flores, 2015; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Montrul, 2010; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020), four are covered in the following sections. They are ‘code-switching’, ‘code-mixing’, ‘divergent attainment’, and attrition.

2.5.1 Multilinguals’ language practices

Various terms may be used to differentiate linguistic phenomena that may be evident in the language outputs of multilingual individuals (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Treffers-Daller, 2009). ‘Interference’ has in recent years fallen from favour due to its pejorative undertone, and these days ‘code-switching’ and ‘cross-linguistic influence’, which includes ‘code-mixing’ and ‘transfer’, are preferred, with no consensus across disciplines as to their exact definitions. However, all are used to describe manifestations of multilingualism, resulting in the co-occurrence of elements of meaning drawn from language A in sections of speech delivered in language B.

2.5.1.1 *Code-switching and code-mixing*

In the literature on bilingualism, code-switching is sometimes defined as the juxtaposition of two codes – or languages - that can be interpreted at local level by participants (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Martínez, 2018). Some consider it a deliberate linguistic act, involving a complete shift of all function words, morphology and syntax from one language to another (Treffers-Daller, 2009). Others adopt a more flexible definition, suggesting that code-switching is characterised by the practice of using words and phrases from both languages in the same conversation, even within one sentence (Kodolányi, 2013; Leung & Valdés, 2019; MacSwan, 2017; Muysken, 2000; Poza, 2017). Giving an example of spontaneous code-switching in children, Ellis documents her two-and-a-half year old Spanish-English daughter’s utterance “Mum, I want to go to the beach para jugar con niños” (“Mum, I want to go to the

beach to play with children’’), where the sentence begins in English and then switches to Spanish (Ellis & Barbatua, 2013, p. 23).

It has been noted that people may sometimes code-switch for socio-pragmatic reasons, because of the ‘we/they’ codes implicit in the languages being mixed (Grosjean, 1982; Nuñez, 2021). When talking about personal involvement in a situation, or when emphasising belonging to a minority group, for instance, an individual might slip into L1 whereas to talk about topics from which they feel a sense of detachment, they may choose the majority language instead. In other contexts, it can be the only way in which communication is possible; for example where an academic subject has been studied in L2 and the individual does not have the subject-specific vocabulary in L1, they may as a matter of expediency use a mixture of both languages to talk about that subject.

In the context of this study, code-switching is taken to mean free morphemes being swapped, i.e. whole words, most often nouns and verbs. Code-mixing is differentiated from code-switching thus defined in that the former is identified as bound morpheme code-switching, i.e. it is associated with grammar functions such as the use of the dative or accusative case (Aalberse et al., 2019). Thus code-mixing is seen by some as a related but distinctly different phenomenon from code-switching, exemplified by language practices in which grammatical features from one language are blended with lexical features of another (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Kuhberg, 1992; Muysken, 2000). In code-mixing, utterances convey meaning in a global sense and are characterised by adherence to grammatical rules drawn from the various languages being used (Stavans & Muchnik, 2007).

It has been argued that in the twentieth century, monoglossic and monological thinking dominated the discourse on bi- and multilingualism (Cummins, 2009; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Martínez, 2018; Otwinowska, 2017; Wei & Lin, 2019), resulting in the prevailing view that code-switching and code-mixing were best avoided and that “true or competent bilinguals do not alternate between their two languages” (Leung & Valdés, 2019, p. 357). Indeed, it was held by some that language-mixing was the haphazard embodiment of “language confusion” (MacSwan, 2017, p. 169). Further, the bilingual individual may perceive that negative attitudes towards code-switching are held by others and this can result in its avoidance in particular contexts where it is perceived to be stigmatising (Leung & Valdés, 2019; MacSwan, 2017; Rajendram, 2019). Others believe it is not “pure”, that it waters

down their languages, and they may avoid doing it for those reasons whilst some make deliberate, purposeful use of it, for example when they want to exclude an eaves-dropper from their conversation.

More recent research has identified that code-switching and code-mixing are neither mongrels in terms of lexis and grammar nor the products of confusion, low levels of acquisition or linguistic laziness, deficit views of code-switching (Lipski, 2014; MacSwan, 2017; Poplack, 2020). In bilingual adult populations, they are instead seen as coherent phenomena with linguistic integrity, adhering to a set of implicit linguistic rules (Genesee, 2020; Grosjean et al., 2013; Gutiérrez-Clellen et al., 2009; MacSwan, 2017; Muysken, 2000). Further, they are taken to indicate a fluidity between languages and active linguistic choices on the part of the speaker, being made 'live', in the moment (Aalberse et al., 2019; Kroll et al., 2012; Lipski, 2014; MacSwan, 2017), even as markers of bilingual competence, exhibiting syntactic and/or grammatical coherence (Poplack, 2020).

Code-switching and code-mixing are these days considered common linguistic behaviours in bilingual and multilingual populations across the globe (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Grosjean et al., 2013; Kaushanskaya & Crespo, 2019; Kodolányi, 2013; MacSwan, 2017; Poza, 2017; Yow & Li, 2018). In verbal exchanges, individuals may use words, phrases, idioms and structures drawn from all the languages in their linguistic repertoire to communicate in a such a way that their self-expression is enhanced by this practice i.e. they are not resorting to the use of a word in their first language because they cannot remember it in English but because it flows more naturally in the conversation if the first language word is chosen. There may be nuances of meaning, or a reference to a shared experience or sense of identity that mean it is preferential to use the word, phrase or structure in L1 rather than English (Grosjean et al., 2013; Kroll et al., 2012; Poplack, 2020), or it may simply be that there is not a direct translation of the word they want as it is specific to one particular culture, expressing a concept that does not exist in the other (Meisel, 2020).

2.5.1.2 Code-switching and code-mixing in bilingual children

Research into code-switching in bilingual children has identified that it differs from code-switching in bilingual adults in various ways (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Kodolányi, 2013; Meisel, 2020). Raichlin et al. (2019) suggest that one difference may relate to the child's

differential proficiency in their two languages or to difficulties with word-finding ('lexical access'). They identify this as a psycholinguistic motivation for code-switching. Another difference identified relates to directionality, often asymmetrical, with some studies showing more code-switching from the child's weaker language into their dominant one with further differences in the frequency of code-switching according to the context in which it occurs (Kuhberg, 1992; Meisel, 2020; Poplack, 2020; Raichlin et al., 2019).

Bilingual children's code-switching and code-mixing practices may also at times be a reflection of their linguistic preferences occurring simultaneously with what may be a challenge to authority structures within the family. This can occur as language use within bilingual families shifts over several generations, moving away from use of the minority language and towards increased use of the majority one (Alba et al., 2002; Gomashie, 2023; Ortega, 2020). In such cases, parents may continue to use the minority language with their children, who may choose to respond in English, resulting in trans-participant code-switching (Baker, 2014; Zou, 2022). This practice was documented by Li Wei whose longitudinal study into language use in the Chinese community in Tyneside documented a move over three generations from Chinese monolingualism to English-dominant bilingualism (Wei et al., 2020).

In children, it has been found that there are more code-switching-related inconsistencies with regards their adherence to linguistic rules than in adults, although this gradually reduces as they age. Gardner-Chloros (2009) suggests this is due to a combination of developmental and non-developmental factors. The former comprises children's maturing metalinguistic awareness and their increasingly sophisticated linguistic competence whilst the latter is more purposeful, relating to pragmatic competence. However, in both adults and children it is noted that code-switching occurs most commonly with nouns and noun phrases, and with greatest frequency in 'balanced' bilinguals including children who were either simultaneous bilinguals or who learned the L2 from an early age i.e. from two to six years old (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Genesee, 2020; Meisel, 2020).

Bilingual children may exhibit code-mixing in their speech too, blending grammatical structures from both languages to create a linguistic hybrid. It has been suggested that this phenomenon occurs with increasing frequency where the process of first language attrition is underway, over time leading to the minority heritage language becoming more similar at

grammatical level to the majority language in various ways and, ipso facto, less similar to its monolingual variant (Kuhberg, 1992).

‘Cross-linguistic influence’ may therefore result in observable changes in the heritage language at grammatical or syntactic level as features from the dominant language are ‘borrowed’ and deployed in situations where the heritage language is the target, and vice versa. Alongside reduced L1 input, the dynamic interplay between the different linguistic systems of bilingual individuals may thus lead to bi-directional cross-linguistic influence, the combined impact of which is likely to be greater the younger a person was when they entered the L2 environment (Gargiulo & van de Weijer, 2020). Hence UK-born bi/multilingual children’s use of both the heritage language and English may be found to vary from the ‘standard’ variant in different ways and to differing degrees.

2.5.1.3 The impact on bilingual children’s language development of exposure to code-switching and code-mixing in language inputs

The amount of mixing of the two languages that occurs in language models appears to be a factor influencing bilingual children’s language development (Anstatt and Rubcov in Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; Byers-Heinlein, 2013). It is probable, given its widespread use amongst bilingual populations, that young bilingual learners will have exposure to code-switching in language modelled by family members. This may in turn prompt them to code-switch themselves in their own speech (Genesee, 2020). Although limited in terms of the number of empirical studies into the impact on bilingual children’s language development of code-switching and code-mixing by their parents, research suggests that bilingual adults frequently engage in these practices in interactions with their children (Byers-Heinlein, 2013), which is in line with trends identified in the broader sweep of studies into bilingual code-switching and code-mixing.

Some research has identified that code-switching and code-mixing in parental input appear to have a negative influence on L1 development in children growing up as members of language minority communities. Byers-Heinlein’s study (2013) explored code-switching and code-mixing in bi- and tri-lingual families in Canada where English was one of the languages spoken in the home by at least one of the parents. Her study used self-reporting by the adult respondents to determine the frequency and amount of code-switching and code-

mixing in interactions with their children, aged either one-and-a-half or two years. Although in terms of reliability this seems a less than robust methodological approach, she found that the higher the rates of code-switching and code-mixing by parents, the lower the children's comprehension vocabulary sizes in English in the one-and-a-half-year-olds and the smaller the production vocabularies in English in the two-year-olds.

Anstatt and Rubcov's longitudinal study, documented in Brehmer and Kurbangulova (2017), compared the L1 development of two children growing up in two different families, both sharing the same minority home language; Russian. In the two families, Russian and German, the language of the majority, were both used for everyday communication but in one family, code-switching and code-mixing were reportedly avoided whereas in the other, they were part and parcel of everyday language use in the home. When the children started school, differences in their use of Russian were noted. Whereas the incidence of language-mixing reduced in the speech in German of both children, the child who had experienced language-mixed input in the home environment stopped expressing themselves in Russian almost completely. Anstatt and Rubcov hypothesised that this may have been due to the way in which language-mixing had reduced the amount of input in the heritage language, making it harder for the child to determine the underlying linguistic rules and thereby hampering acquisition of a monolingual mode in Russian. Although this study was very small scale and as such its findings inconclusive, Anstatt and Rubcov suggested that receptive or passive bilingualism in children can be the net result of language mixing in parental input.

Other studies have found the causal relationship to be dependent less on the amount of code-switching in parental models and more on the individual child's verbal working memory. Kaushanskaya and Crespo (2019) posit that code-switched input is more variable than input given in a single language, hence it may be more challenging from the point of view of processing. They suggest that children with greater verbal working memory capacity may have enhanced ability when it comes to dealing with code-switched input in comparison with others, whilst acknowledging that the differences appear to be small and that verbal working memory is unlikely to be the only factor at play. They note also the challenges posed by research that relies on parental reporting. In conclusion, they propose that for children capable of processing code-switched input, there appear to be no adverse consequences associated with it; on the contrary, it may be associated with more positive outcomes for such children. However, they also highlight that for children who find

processing code-switched input more challenging, it may be a less than optimal model of language use.

In the context of the present study, it can thus be understood that parental choices around language use in the home are crucial (Genesee, 2020), with parents playing a key role in shaping the participating children's experiences of their heritage language and English from an early age (Daskalaki et al., 2020).

2.5.1.4 Language as social practice

In the field of linguistics, attention has latterly moved away from thinking of languages as discrete, autonomous codes that can be code-switched and code-mixed as described above, and towards a post-structuralist view of language as social practice (Zavala, 2018).

Accordingly, bi- and multilingual individuals are seen to possess not two or more separate languages but instead a single, heteroglossic linguistic system comprising an aggregation of all the lexical and grammatical resources they have at their disposal (Canagarajah, 2018; Sultana et al., 2015). Drawing on social experiences people have with others, this single system continues to develop throughout the lifespan (García & Otheguy, 2020).

García and Otheguy (2020) suggest that to conceptualise the language practices of bi- and multilingual populations in this way constitutes a more accurate reflection of what people actually do with language in unpoliced, real life contexts, i.e. outside of classrooms and other social institutions. They view the monoglossic structuralist model as a mechanism by which linguistically minoritised populations have been disenfranchised and speakers of the societally dominant language, privileged. They propose that linguistically minoritised individuals can, by leveraging their linguistic repertoires, be empowered in their meaning-making endeavours.

Busch (2017) describes how a person might draw on their 'linguistic repertoire' to enable them to respond in fluid, flexible ways to the constantly changing socio-linguistic spaces through which they move daily. In doing this, multilinguals deploy not only their linguistic resources but also their understanding of their immediate social context (Martínez, 2018). Kaiser (2022) suggests that even very young children are capable of responding in these ways, and of expanding their linguistic repertoires as they grow their communicative locus through their lived experiences of social encounters with new people in new places. In the

present study, however, very little evidence was found to suggest that the children were yet able to draw on their full linguistic repertoires so flexibly. Instead, the children tended to compartmentalise their two languages, keeping them separate. Hence the language practices they demonstrated might best be described as code-switching. However, it may be that later, through incremental experience of living in more than one language, the children will become more proficient at deploying their full linguistic repertoires.

2.5.2 Incomplete first language development and ‘divergent attainment’

Various studies into bilingual children’s L1 development have found that bilingual children who have access to a less prestigious minority language from birth tend not to develop the same degree of proficiency in that language as do comparable children who grow up in monolingual circumstances (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Flores, 2015; Haman et al., 2017; Mikhaylova, 2012, 2018; Montrul, 2010; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020; Rothman, 2009; Silva-Corvalán, 2018). For example, Haman et al., in their research into L1 and L2 exposure on the L1 performance of Polish/English bilingual children, observed discrepancies between bilingual children’s skills in Polish (the heritage language) compared with those of Polish speaking children of comparable age but growing up in a monolingual context; identifying deficits in productive vocabulary and grammar. They suggest that the L1 skills of Polish/English bilingual children growing up in the UK are unlikely to reach a level comparable to monolingual Polish children growing up in Poland. This, they say, is largely due to reduced exposure to the heritage language from adult L1 models who may themselves be experiencing L1 attrition. The overall outcome, they propose, is likely to be ‘incomplete L1 acquisition’ (Haman et al., 2017), a term that has attracted much criticism (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Otheguy, 2016; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020).

Other studies have found that outcomes may vary significantly depending on the pathway to bilingualism experienced by the child. It has been suggested that children who might be described as ‘simultaneous bilinguals’ evidence incomplete L1 acquisition to a greater degree than children who were sequential bilinguals; the latter group having had a longer period of monolingual exposure to their L1 before intense exposure to the majority L2, which tends to coincide with the onset of education (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Isurin & Riehl, 2017; Montrul, 2009, 2010). That said, whatever the individual’s bilingual experience, there

is variation amongst heritage language speakers in terms of the level of proficiency they may evidence in the minority language with outcomes dependent on a range of sociolinguistic factors. Some may develop only receptive skills in L1 (Sherkina-Lieber, 2020) whilst others may develop relatively advanced oral and literacy skills (Bialystok et al., 2009; Hall et al., 2013; Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Montrul, 2010; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020).

Elsewhere in the literature, the notion that ‘incomplete first language development’ exists at all is hotly debated. Otheguy and Zentella (2012), whose research focused on New York’s large, Spanish-speaking community, argue that all intergenerational first language transmission, including that which takes place in monolingual settings, evidences change. According to this view, what others may see as ‘errors’ in L1 in fact represent “normal intergenerational language change accelerated by conditions of language contact” (Otheguy, 2016, p. 301). This point is elaborated upon in the research with various studies suggesting that in immigrant populations new L1 norms will naturally develop, resulting in divergence between L1 use in an L2 immersion context compared with L1 use in the monolingual, home country context (Cabo, 2012; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Flores, 2015; Iverson & Miller, 2017; Köpke, 2007; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018). It follows that a child whose parents’ L1 has undergone such contextualised change will be exposed to models of the heritage language that differ from the standard, monolingual variant. In consequence, the child will themselves develop a differential form of that language.

Further, Otheguy sees ‘incomplete acquisition’ as a problematic construct based on a narrow view of language acquisition in which children should aim to perfectly reproduce the target models presented to them by their parents. This, he says, is not what happens in natural, real-life settings, either monolingual or bilingual. He notes that in second generation bilingual populations, children build grammars that vary in some ways from the model, drawing a parallel with the same grammar-building process children undergo in monolingual contexts, with similar outcomes. In response to language inputs, all children both innovate and are creative with the language they use, he says, else languages would never change (Otheguy, 2016; Putnam & Sánchez, 2013). Hence for Otheguy ‘incomplete acquisition’ would have to apply to *all* acquisition were it to have any relevance or purpose, given that all language acquisition – whether it takes place in monolingual or bilingual contexts – is inevitably ‘incomplete’ with respect to how it deviates from the model (Otheguy, 2016). This point is taken up by Kupisch and Rothman (2018) and Polinsky and Scontras (2020) who

consider ‘incomplete development’ to be a flawed concept and the term itself “inadvertently insensitive” (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018, p. 578). Polinsky and Scontras (2020) prefer instead ‘divergent attainment’ as a term to describe how an individual’s skills in a heritage language may vary from the monolingual model from which it is derived. Divergent attainment has relevance in the context of the present research, more positively framing the ways in which the children’s skills in their heritage languages may be understood.

2.5.2.1 Divergent attainment

‘Divergent attainment’ is currently favoured over ‘incomplete development’ as a way of describing the linguistic outcomes evidenced by heritage language speakers (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). These individuals encounter models of language that differ qualitatively and/or quantitatively from those to which a monolingual language learner may be exposed. Heritage language speakers are often the children of first or second generation immigrants whose own first language skills may have been subject to attrition and/or change due to contact with the majority societal language. Although scant in terms of the breadth of research underpinning the notion, it has been suggested that the linguistic areas of a heritage language that are most susceptible to change due to contact may be the same ones which child language learners in monolingual contexts find difficult (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). It is also possible that the parents may speak a regional dialect which differs in some ways from the standard form of the language as used in monolingual educational contexts. These factors can jointly and severally result in the language models with which the child has contact differing from the ‘standard’ monolingual variety of that language (Daskalaki et al., 2020). In consequence, the heritage language speaker may develop a language system that varies in different ways from that monolingual variety (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020).

In relation to their ‘dynamic systems theory’, De Bot et al. (2005) discuss factors which may influence linguistic ebb and flow in bilingual populations. Perhaps the most important factor that promotes the continuing development of a language is how often and how much it is used and in what contexts, they suggest. Other factors such as the age of the individual, their attitude, motivation, cognitive ability and earlier learning experiences are also seen as significant. These factors have been scrutinised by researchers (De Bot et al., 2005; Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Kasstan et al., 2018; Opitz, 2011; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020; Schmid, 2011)

who recognise their influence on the individual language learner but, with the possible exception of age, have not yet found a way of quantifying them.

2.5.3 First language attrition

In the literature, language learning is often described as a dynamic process. A person's knowledge of a language is not seen as a fixed, immutable thing but rather something that continues to develop and change over time (Flores, 2010; Gürel, 2004). If a language is not used, there may ensue fossilisation and ultimately a non-pathological loss of skills; a word or grammatical structure that once came easily because it was used regularly will be archived in the mental lexicon and may ultimately fall beyond reach, forgotten (De Bot et al., 2005; Gallo et al., 2021; Gürel, 2004; Opitz, 2011).

First language decline, also termed 'attrition', occurs in complex social contexts wherein various factors can predispose it to this fate as well as influence the speed and/or extent of its attrition. The term 'attrition' is typically used to describe the loss to an individual of linguistic features of a language of which they once had command (Gallo et al., 2021). This process of language loss is often attributed to lack of use as a minority language is replaced by a majority one.

Seliger and Vago (1991) talk about how the languages spoken by a bilingual individual are subject to patterns of dominance and strength related to the various situations in which each is used. They suggest that a first language can be eroded by the development of an additional language where the latter is perceived to have greater prestige or status as per 2.4.2.2 Subtractive bilingualism (section 2.4.2.2), often the linguistic experience of heritage language speakers (Zhao & Flewitt, 2020). Sociolinguistic variables can contribute to first language attrition too, especially in the case of immigrant communities experiencing separation from their first language communities (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; Ice, 2019; Seliger & Vago, 1991).

Focusing on declining first language proficiency, a phenomenon that may affect linguistic minority migrant communities, L1 attrition is a relatively young area of research (Flores, 2010; Köpke, 2007; Schmid, 2002). Further, research into language attrition in children is not extensive and the few empirical studies that focus on first language attrition in bilingual

children are typically very small scale. The present study adds to the research in this area, exploring the changes that may occur in the heritage language as children start full time education delivered in the majority L2.

In the literature it is posited that linguistic minority children are one of only two populations in which the possibility of attrition has been proven beyond doubt, the second being child adoptees (Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Montrul, 2020; Opitz, 2011). Indeed, there is some evidence that, when placed in an L2 environment, child bilinguals may abandon their L1, turning instead to exclusive use of L2 (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Opitz, 2011). Language attrition research documents cases of children who were considered 'balanced bilinguals' at age two losing their rate of progress in one of their languages due to a reduction in exposure to it, and becoming English dominant by the age of four (De Bot et al., 2005; Montrul, 2018). Elsewhere, it is suggested that L1 attrition can be profound for child attriters, sometimes resulting in its complete loss (Flores, 2010; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Köpke, 2007; Opitz, 2011).

Age thus appears to be a significant factor when it comes to the degree of L1 attrition experienced. Empirical studies suggest there is a correlation between age of onset of bilingualism and L1 attrition effects for children who move into an L2 environment before the onset of puberty, with L1 attrition being generally more severe – sometimes total – the younger the child is at onset of bilingualism (Köpke, 2007; Montrul, 2020; Opitz, 2011).

Those who question whether or not L1 attrition exists at all in late bilinguals (identified as those individuals for whom the onset of becoming bilingual was adolescence or later), argue that effects such as difficulties with word-finding – often identified as an attrition effect - are temporary and can be reversed by re-exposure to the L1 (Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Montrul, 2020; Opitz, 2011; Schmid, 2002). Furthermore, adults may see their L1 as an important facet of their identity, one which they are loathe to concede. Hence adults may be more strongly motivated to maintain their minority L1 than children of school age, who may prefer to align themselves with their peer group rather than with their families (Köpke, 2007; Ortega, 2020). This is relevant in relation to the parents who participated in the current study, whose language choices affect their modelling of contextualised language use to their children.

The 'activation threshold hypothesis' (ATH) offers another view of the dynamics involved in language change in bilingual individuals, going some way towards explaining its variability across bilingual populations. The ATH links frequency of use of a linguistic item with its availability to the language user. In essence, if a linguistic item – a word or a grammatical structure - is not used, then its activation threshold is raised and it becomes progressively more difficult for the language user to retrieve it (Gargiulo & van de Weijer, 2020; Gürel, 2004). According to the ATH, attrition may result from long-term absence of stimulation (Paradis, 2000).

2.5.4 Further contextual factors relevant to heritage language speakers

Code-switching and code-mixing, incomplete first language development and first language attrition are not the only variables put forward as affecting the L1 development of heritage bilinguals. Amongst others, Gharibi and Boers (2017) identify several additional contextual factors that may also play a part. Their small scale, empirical study focused on thirty Persian-English bilingual children living in New Zealand, fifteen of whom they classed as simultaneous bilinguals, either born there or who came before the age of three as members of immigrant families, and fifteen whom they identified as sequential bilinguals. Thirty Persian speaking monolingual children living in Iran provided a comparison in terms of indicating what the children's L1 vocabulary knowledge might have been had they been growing up as monolinguals, speaking only Persian. Although not generalisable due to the low number of participants, and perhaps limited in terms of its wider relevance by the study's very specific language focus, their findings include an indication that that having siblings appeared to negatively impact the children's L1 development. This they suggest is due at least in part to the reported tendency for children to choose to converse amongst themselves in the dominant L2, thereby reducing opportunities for L1 use.

This finding is borne out by other studies documented in the literature. Ellis et al. (2002) and Montrul (2010) both identify the typical pattern to be for older siblings to have stronger L1 skills than their younger counterparts, with Montrul further suggesting that children who have siblings experience more rapid attrition rates than children without. Reasons given for this include the increased amount of L1 input provided by the primary care-giver to their first-born child compared with any subsequent children, coupled with a tendency for children to choose to converse with each other in the majority language, a practice that

reduces opportunities for contextualised L1 exposure and use for the younger siblings. It has also been identified that parents more frequently switch to the majority language in social situations where the older siblings are present, further limiting the amount of exposure to the heritage language of younger children (Serratrice, 2020).

Furthermore, findings from a number of studies point to the crucial role played by the family in intergenerational L1 transmission and maintenance in an L2 context. These identify that parental L1 input in an L2 immersion context differs from parental L1 input in a monolingual context due to the cross-linguistic interference parents experience from their L2 immersion (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; Haman et al., 2017; Isurin & Riehl, 2017; Köpke, 2007; Serratrice, 2018), giving more weight to arguments against ‘incomplete acquisition’. Alongside this, Gharibi and Boers (2017) found that parental attitudes towards the L1, in combination with their language practices in the home, were strong predictors of the child’s ultimate L1 proficiency. In their study, parental attitudes were explored alongside the children’s receptive and expressive language skills in both L1 and L2, their findings showing how these points played out in the language contact situations experienced by the participating children.

In contrast, Schwartz highlights that parental language practices alone have limited effect on the child’s L1 development over time. She notes that attitudes towards developing L1 literacy skills in school/community language classes are also significant in offsetting societal factors such as the higher prestige of the majority language, which can otherwise “...defeat the child’s home language, even in families and communities that are strongly motivated to preserve it” (Schwartz, 2008, p. 401). In short, language change is not a simple phenomenon that can be mapped in one way; instead, it is a complex process comprising a blend of different influences and manifesting itself in ever-changing surface features (Hicks & Domínguez, 2020; Schmid, 2011).

2.5.5 Differential linguistic value and diglossia

Language has been described as being more than a means of communication; it is sometimes seen as a mechanism by which power is exercised in social spaces (Bourdieu, 1993; Clycq, 2017; Cushing, 2020; Kiramba, 2018), amongst which education is numbered. To be successful in an educational context in the UK, in Bourdieuan terms to exercise and enjoy the benefits of that power, has a great deal to do with one’s level of academic

language proficiency in English (Cummins, 2000; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Fillmore, 2000; Kiramba, 2018). This explains in part why many teachers, and indeed parents, choose to focus on English, often to the detriment of children's other languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Nuñez, 2021; Zhao & Flewitt, 2020).

Diglossia, the embodiment of differential linguistic capital, can be seen as a facet of the complex relationship that exists between minority ethnolinguistic groups and the dominant majority (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Saxena, 2014). As such, its presence may play an important role in perpetuating the differential value of English c.f. minority languages, which can in turn lead to language shift and decline (Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Hence its relevance in this study which focuses on children from linguistic minority groups as they enter the social world of education, a key social space which some describe as being the preserve of the culture and language of the privileged dominant class (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Grenfell, 2014; Hardy, 2011).

At macro level, diglossia may be seen as an ideological construct within which processes such as education, employment and urbanisation interact to create and perpetuate social hierarchies (Grenfell, 2014; Hardy, 2011). Within these hierarchical structures, particular cultures and languages are seen to be more prestigious than others. For Bourdieu, such hierarchical arrangements are maintained by 'symbolic domination' (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Schubert, 2014) within which those at the bottom of the socio-linguistic hierarchy "...can only achieve and aspire upward social mobility through identity with the dominant [culture/language]" (Saxena, 2014, p. 98). In Bourdieu's view, this is possible because of active complicity on the part of those subjected to 'symbolic domination'; they are not passive parties in the exchange - although they may not necessarily be aware of the part they are playing. A direct result of this symbolic domination can be the degradation and ultimately the loss of low prestige, minority languages (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

In the field of sociolinguistics, the term 'diglossia' may be used in different ways, not all of which include a bilingual component (Jaspers, 2016; Saxena, 2014). The term can refer to a single language in which two varieties, or registers, coexist and are used, a 'high' variety and a 'low' one. The 'high' variant is the language of literature and of academia and the 'low' variant is more colloquial, the language spoken in everyday situations (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991; Ferguson, 2020).

In the field of bilingualism, the term ‘diglossia’ is sometimes used to refer to situations in which people may switch from one language to another according to the social situation in which they find themselves and/or the communicative needs of the moment. In such a situational landscape, an individual’s languages are deployed to serve different, often compartmentalised functions. These functions are characterised by separate, though frequently complementary, values and domains of activity (Fishman, 2020), for example family life, education and employment. This is sometimes referred to in the literature as ‘bilingualism with diglossia’ characterised by functional separation of languages (Baker, 2018; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). Thus defined, young bilingual learners may gain multiple experiences of diglossia as they transition between the identities they enact in different social settings; in interactions with family members, in play with peers who share the same first language, in play with peers who do not (characterised by the use of a ‘low’ variant of English) and in more formal teaching situations (characterised by the use of a ‘high’ variant of English). Hence bilingual children may experience a spectrum of linguistic variation characterised by diverse sociolinguistic experiences, each with its own set of demands (Fishman, 2020; Francis, 1998; Hardy, 2011; Leung & Valdés, 2019).

Where a child’s first language is not incorporated into teaching and learning, for example in contexts where the teacher does not share or find meaningful ways to include both languages spoken by their bilingual pupils, the diglossia that child experiences can expedite L1 decline (Lee & Oxelson, 2006). This might be characterised by increasing divergence between the children’s two languages with the ‘low’ language of the home increasingly beached in domestic and social contexts and experiences (Sherkina-Lieber, 2020) whilst the more formal language of school develops as the prestigious ‘high’ variety (Flores, 2015; Montrul, 2010).

In the current study, this is of particular relevance due to the age and developmental stage of the children involved: at around five years old, their first languages are not yet fully developed and they have limited experience of first language literacy. On a pragmatic level, this restricts how much use they are able to make of their L1 to support their learning, compromising their independence as bilingual learners. If rapid first language decline is to be avoided, it would therefore be incumbent on practitioners – in partnership with parents – to proactively take steps to avoid this being the ultimate linguistic outcome for the children (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017). However, where practitioners do not recognise

multilingual approaches as beneficial, or do not feel confident to incorporate these into their day-to-day practice in the classroom, this seems an unlikely proposition (Otwindowska, 2017).

2.5.5.1 Summary of the literature on heritage bilingualism

To conclude the preceding few sections, it can be seen that heritage language speakers form a distinct group of bilinguals. They can be identified as individuals with access to a minority language in the home and to the language of the majority society in other social contexts, including education (Cabo, 2012; Daskalaki et al., 2020; Montrul, 2018). Further, they will have different amounts of exposure to each of their languages in different settings and circumstances and in consequence will typically evidence an imbalance, with one of their languages being more fully developed than the other in various ways and/or in different contexts (Bialystok, 2001; De Houwer, 2009; Farnia & Geva, 2011; Montrul, 2018; Paradis & Jia, 2017; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020; Silva-Corvalán, 2018).

Heritage bilinguals' L1 development typically evidences particular features that differentiate it from the 'standard' variant. This can be precipitated by exposure to models that vary from the baseline, mainly parental L1 models that have themselves undergone change (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Ortega, 2020; Otheguy, 2016; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012). Thus, for linguistic minority children such as those at the heart of this research, it would appear that there is a strong likelihood of L1 change over time. Some attribute this to attrition in relation to the children's home languages (Flores, 2010; Haman et al., 2017; Schwartz, 2008; Yamamoto, 2001); others to the increasing effects of transfer from the dominant L2 onto L1 (Kuhberg, 1992; Montrul, 2020).

Various contextual factors may further serve to undermine children's L1 development and maintenance. One such is the perceived value of L1 relative to L2, which can affect motivation to keep the L1 going for both the child and their parent(s) (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Ortega, 2020). Another is the position of the child in the family, with the first child tending to develop stronger L1 skills than subsequent children (Ellis & Barbatua, 2013; Ellis et al., 2002; Montrul, 2010; Serratrice, 2020).

Latterly there has been a shift towards thinking about heritage language speakers' skills in terms of 'differential acquisition' rather than 'incomplete development' (Cabo, 2012; Flores, 2015; Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). By way of an acknowledgment of the way in which terminology can subtly colour people's perceptions, this term simultaneously avoids the privileging of monolingualism as the ideal (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018).

To have achieved a level of skill in a language as a child, then, is not necessarily a permanent feature; there are various influences at play that can serve to erode or even eradicate the heritage language. This seems particularly pertinent in the case of heritage bilinguals for whom "bilingualism in childhood does not guarantee bilingualism in adulthood" (Hoff, 2013, p. 279). Indeed, in the light of the various factors that may influence heritage language development and maintenance, it seems increasingly to be a case of survival against the odds that any child heritage language speaker is able to preserve even a residual level of skill.

2.6 Language policies

Attention now turns to factors that shape the contexts in which heritage bilinguals operate, beginning with a section on language policies. Language policies derive from notions of differential linguistic capital and govern language use across social contexts, including home and school. They exist within a complex array of factors - political, social, economic, demographic, educational, cultural and religious – which together comprise the complete ecology of human existence (Spolsky, 2003). Some language policies may be explicit and overt, even to the point of being enshrined in a nation's constitution; others may be more covert, unspoken and unwritten (Hornberger, 2015; Ice, 2019; Spolsky, 2003; Trim, 2003; Wiley & García, 2016). Either way, a language policy is the embodiment of three broad, interrelated areas: language beliefs (what people think about language), language practices (what people do with language), and language management (what people try to do with language) (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; King et al., 2008; Spolsky, 2003).

Language practices in multilingual populations are inevitably influenced by language policies which vary from social domain to social domain. Whatever the immediate sociolinguistic context, a language policy typically reflects both the perceived status of languages in relation

to one another and how those languages are used within and across social domains, including within family groups (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; Spolsky, 2003).

Trim (2003) suggests that it is the day-to-day practices of language communities that exert the most powerful influence over language. Adding to this, Spolsky (2012) suggests that for linguistic minority communities, the choices people make around language use are critical; they can serve to maintain the minority language; they can influence its change over time; or they can herald its decline.

2.6.1 Family Language Policy (FLP)

Turning to consider the forces that underpin language change in multilingual families over time, the role of FLP has been identified as important (King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2013). In a language minority household, Spolsky (2003) proposes that stage of immigration has a significant influence on how a FLP takes shape and evolves over time. He outlines a model wherein the first generation of immigrants comes into contact with and begins to acquire the new language in contexts outside of the home. Next, the second generation – the immigrants' children – exert new influences on the FLP, often through their engagement with education. In school, they begin to acquire proficiency in the new, majority language whilst at home they maintain contact with L1; hence this second generation typically develops bilingually. The third generation, Spolsky suggests, is the one in which the shift to the new language becomes complete - unless there is on-going contact with first generation monolinguals. Other researchers with an interest in this field suggest that the shift can happen more rapidly, even within one generation (Fillmore, 2000; Tuominen, 1999).

Curd-Christiansen (2009) in an ethnographic inquiry that examined how FLPs developed in ten Chinese immigrant families living in Quebec, identified a number of key variables that may shape a family's language policy. She found that socio-political and economic factors both played a role in determining people's perception of the relative value of the three different languages to which the ten Chinese families in her study had access. Other important factors identified were the educational background of the parents, their experiences of immigration and their 'cultural disposition', i.e. how motivated they were to maintain aspects of their cultural heritage. These findings are corroborated by those of other empirical studies, for example that of Park and Sarkar (2007), who explored the

maintenance of Korean in immigrant communities in Canada; and Fillmore's study which focused on Chinese families living in the US (Fillmore, 2000), although it should be noted that all three studies were very small scale, highly localised and, in terms of participant selection, possibly representative of a narrow sample of people from those communities.

Recently, researchers with an interest in FLP have added to the list of factors that may shape it which originate from parents' views and experiences the influence exerted by the children. Smith-Christmas (2022) proposes that parents and children occupy interdependent territory when it comes to FLP, each having agency when it comes to shaping it. She acknowledges that over time, the children often develop greater linguistic competence in the majority language than in the heritage one. A consequence of this is that children may come to act as language-brokers for their parents in situations that call for the majority language, subverting the expected generational roles (Li, 2013; Reyes & Esteban-Guitart, 2013). The children's differential language development can also exert influence on their families' FLP, even determining whether or not a particular language will be maintained at all (King et al., 2008; King & Fogle, 2013).

Tuominen (1999) identified that it was often the children in immigrant families who determined what the home language would be. In her exploration of language transmission and maintenance in families headed by bi- or multi-lingual parents, she interviewed eighteen sets of parents all of whom expressed a desire for their children to learn to speak their native language. She found that in families where there had initially been in place 'family language rules' stipulated by the parents and designed to govern language behaviours, over time the children had challenged them. This challenge might manifest itself in a refusal to attend heritage language classes, through choosing to respond in English when addressed in the home language (Sherkina-Lieber, 2020; Zou, 2022), or through objecting to the use of the home language in public (Li, 2013). Their children's language behaviours often resulted in parents compromising on the family's language rules or even giving in completely, Tuominen found. In her study it was only in families where the parents were relatively highly-educated and had access to resources within their communities that could facilitate language transmission that the family's language rules resisted change and the home language was successfully transmitted to the children. It should be noted that Tuominen's interpretation of the children's opposition to use of L1 depends on a view of them as

intentionally subversive, a positioning of them that researchers such as Smith-Christmas (2022) might see fit to challenge.

Other studies have similarly identified that whatever their original intentions with regards their FLP, in some households parents have found it difficult to maintain consistency over time. Instead of continuing with the home language, parents have switched to the majority language, often following their children's lead in this respect (Gomashie, 2023; King et al., 2008; Zou, 2022). Changes induced in these ways may collectively precipitate a shift away from the minority home language and towards dominant societal language for many families, particularly those that are more linguistically isolated (Ellis et al., 2018; Zou, 2022).

2.6.2 Language policies in education

Spolsky (2003) identifies school as one of the most important 'domains' for language policy. Where the task of a child's socialisation has its origins within the family, he notes that the baton passes to school once the child begins their education. A key aim of education is to engender language competencies - including literacy - in the pupil population. With this purpose in mind, the education system determines the language that will be used as the medium of instruction, thus beginning the long-term, socio-political pursuit of managing the language practices of others, practitioners and pupils alike (May, 2011), with scant regard for the FLP that may have come before.

In education, language policies may be seen as ideological constructs through which the power differentials that exist within the wider society are reproduced (Farr & Song, 2011; Flynn, 2019; Fuller, 2009; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Often, such policies privilege a 'standard' variety of the majority language over its dialects and vernacular forms, and over other languages. Hence language policies constitute a mechanism by which prestige is conferred, affording high status to e.g. English whilst concurrently relegating minority languages to lower rungs of the sociolinguistic ladder (Fuller, 2009; May, 2011; Wiley & García, 2016). Ultimately, in the privileging of English, minority languages may come to be seen as unhelpful "obstacles to social mobility and progress" (May, 2011, p. 160) even by their speakers themselves, and as such they are discarded.

At the chalk face, individual practitioners' attitudes towards and beliefs about bilingualism inform how they interpret and enact language-related policies in their everyday practice, resulting in variation across the piece (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Some may choose to include the languages spoken by their pupils in the daily diet of teaching and learning activities; others may seek to bar them, focusing solely on English. This can position the classroom as a "...linguistic marketplace where proficiency in a dominant, capital-rich language like English gives access to social and cultural capital in the form of friendships and academic success" (Flynn, 2019, p. 67).

Discrepancies have been identified between teachers' positively-expressed views on the theoretical value of bilingualism in education, and their confidence to deliver linguistically responsive strategies in the multilingual classroom (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Further, teachers may hold the view that the maintenance and development of their pupils' home languages is solely a matter for families, and that they do not themselves have any role to play (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), this despite the wealth of research that points to the linguistic and academic advantages of bilingualism.

Thus, on multiple fronts, external pressures are exerted on minority communities to cede their languages in favour of access to the cultural and linguistic capital conferred by the majority language. A powerful player in this respect is education, which, in England, tends to overtly privilege English over minority languages (González, 2005). In combination, these pressures may prove difficult to resist, serving to further erode families' efforts to keep their languages alive (Wiley & García, 2016).

2.7 Young bilingual learners in education

The children who participated in this longitudinal study all experienced the Foundation Stage Curriculum (DfE, 2021) as delivered in mainstream pre-school settings and through Reception Year in school. This statutory curriculum forms the structure within which practitioners work, planning and delivering teaching and learning experiences and assessing their learners' progress and attainment in various ways.

From when they first engage with education, children experience a significant change in both their cultural milieus and their linguistic soundscapes. In the case of UK-born EAL

learners, it is the point at which many will begin to have increasing amounts of exposure to the culture and language of the wider society. De Houwer (2009) suggests that it will quite quickly become important that children are able to function well in the language of their educational setting in order to be accepted and liked by their peers; pre-schoolers, it has been found, dislike other pre-schoolers who are not able to respond appropriately to others, preferring those who are 'good communicators' (Black & Hazen, 1990). Given the well-documented prevalence of an initial 'silent phase' amongst young bilingual learners (Hall & Griffiths, 2001), these factors can put minoritised children at an immediate disadvantage from the point of view of socialisation within their peer group.

When compared with their monolingual, English-only peers, children from a heritage language background may face additional barriers when it comes to accessing English-medium education. Hutchinson et al. (2003), in a study that looked at the development of comprehension-related skills in young children for whom English is an additional language, highlight a shortfall in terms of the language needed to benefit from full access to the curriculum. This shortfall constitutes a significant barrier to learning for linguistic minority children as they start school. Whilst it may not be the only factor at play, such children, they suggest, may start school having had very little prior exposure to English, placing them at a disadvantage when compared to the four to five year oral language experience their monolingual, English-only peers bring with them into the classroom.

2.7.1 Children's narrative beginnings

As children start school, the ability to listen and understand and to speak, 'oracy', is an early hurdle to be overcome. However, oracy is not the only aspect of language use that is important in an educational context; literacy very quickly becomes the golden ticket to academic success (Carroll et al., 2019), and great deal of time is devoted to its development in Year R, building on children's oracy in English.

In contrast to researchers who hold that written language is not relevant to a child who has not yet learned to read, (De Houwer, 2009), Hall et al. (2013) propose that for many children, acquiring literacy skills is a process that begins long before they start school. Much as the development of oracy begins at around the age of one, building on a year of experiencing a great deal of spoken language input, children from an early age observe print

peppering their environments in and outside of the home, and see others around them engaged in various reading and writing activities. These contextualised experiences enable children to begin to form ideas about what literacy is, how it is done and the purposes it may serve (Carroll et al., 2019; Krijnen et al., 2020).

Drawing on their early experiences of literacy, children begin to form theories about written language even before the age of two (Ferreiro et al., 2002). Thus what the untrained adult eye sees as a scribble or rows of dots and sticks may actually be a representation of the beginning of a very young child's 'thinking' about written language. For other children, the language of the home may not have a written form at all, Mirpuri-Punjabi and Sylheti, for example (Rosowsky, 2000). Hence children entering the Year R classroom may have many, varied experiences of first language literacy (Pahl & Burnett, 2013). Some of these experiences may differ from mainstream expectations of what constitutes literacy, which in some cases can result in the mistaken assumption that there is an absence of literacy in the homes of some bilingual children (Brooker, 2002).

Adding to the work on early oracy, there has been some research into children's early experiences of first language literacy, specifically around their developing expertise with narrative (in the non-literary sense of the word). Aksu-Koç and Aktan-Erciyes (2018) discuss children's early oracy development in terms of how through oracy they develop skills in their use of narrative. Narrative, they say, is "a major mode of discourse in everyday life. Through narratives we make sense of our experiences while sharing them with others" (p.329). This point is developed by De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2015), who talk about the dynamic role of narrative in the developing understanding of self over time. They see narrative as a mode of thinking and communication, the embodiment of an intimate link between experience and stories. Gagarina et al. (2012) add a socio-linguistic angle to this view of narratives, noting that children's narratives can also provide an index of their cognitive, semantic and social abilities. Narrative analysis is, they suggest, an ecologically valid way to investigate communicative competence and if done well, is less biased against bilingual children than norm-referenced assessment tools.

From an early age, children acquire narrative skills from exposure to and, later, interaction with, more competent models, usually their primary care-givers. This occurs through everyday dialogue, experiences of oral story-telling sometimes accompanied by a book-

sharing activity, and through children telling, re-telling and acting out stories themselves (Otwinowska et al., 2020). Children will have differing experiences of these pre-requisites due to social and cultural practices around communication and due to the resources available in the child's environment, factors which are controlled by the child's primary care-giver and which shape the context in which the child's skills develop (Brooker, 2005; Heath, 1982; Löfdahl & Hägglund, 2012; Rosemberg et al., 2013; Sheng et al., 2022).

Building on this point, Heath (1982) and Minami (2015) point out that whilst the use of narrative as a vehicle for communication is common across cultures, different cultures construct narratives in different ways. Aksu-Koç and Aktan-Erciyes also discuss cultural differences and how these may impact on children's developing understanding of narrative:

Parent-child interaction is molded by cultural norms and values, hence cultural differences in social interaction styles also influence narrative building. In general, East Asian mothers have been found to favor a low-elaborative interaction style, limiting the extent to which children are allowed to introduce their own topics compared to Euro-American mothers.

(Aksu-Koc & Aktan Erciyes, 2018, pp. 133-134)

Thus it can be understood that there are content and structural differences in the narrative discourses modelled to their children by parents from different cultures (Heath, 1982; Rosemberg et al., 2013; Sheng et al., 2022). Furthermore, there have been few studies that have closely examined narratives in the context of second language (L2) acquisition. Minami (2015) suggests that when identifying what are perceived to be 'gaps' or deficits in children's L2 narratives, stylistic and structural components (culturally-specific aspects of children's narratives) are often overlooked with the focus in many classrooms being on grammar and vocabulary.

Whilst the qualities and styles of the primary care-giver vary from family to family, how these differences affect the bilingual child's developing narrative skills is an area that has yet to be fully explored. However, the production of narrative both in different cultures and in an additional language does receive some attention in the literature. Minami (2015) examines the relationship between growing proficiency in the second language and narrative skill, important in the context of this research since the child participants, who are growing up in two cultures, will be giving voice to their developing narratives using both first

language and English. Minami focuses on the primacy of culture, viewed as a cognitive construct, and the process of enculturation that occurs within families. He talks about the ways in which culture influences not only the language we use but also how we perceive the world. Hence for Minami cognition, socialisation and narrative are closely interwoven, with culture providing the medium within which they coalesce. In the context of this study such thinking is relevant because of the two very different home cultures of the children, and the differential experiences of narrative they may have had at home, prior to starting school.

2.7.2 Practice for EAL learners in English schools

Once in school, new influences hold sway, most notably normalised assumptions about curriculum, assessment, teaching and learning that shape the ways in which practitioners think about their practice in the classroom. Amongst these, Cummins suggests, are three often unvoiced but implicit beliefs:

- ‘Literacy’ refers only to reading and writing in the dominant language...literacy abilities in languages other than English and in modalities other than the written modality are ignored;
- The cultural knowledge and first language linguistic abilities that bilingual students bring to school have little instructional relevance;
- Culturally and linguistically parents, whose English may be quite limited, do not have the language skills to contribute to their children’s literacy development.

(Cummins, 2009, p. 262).

Cummins portrays here a deficit view of minoritised communities in which home and school are polarised (Black et al., 2021; Landay & Heath, 2021; Nuñez, 2021). In line with this, Sood and Mistry (2011) discuss how such beliefs can lead teachers to problematise bilingual children and their families in ways which can compound their sense of alienation.

Picking up this theme, beliefs, attitudes and values matter in the context of this research because they are vehicles through which are communicated strong, often subliminal messages about people’s perceptions of the value of one language relative to another and, by extrapolation, the value of one culture relative to another (Cummins, 2000, 2009; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Street, 2011). Courting controversy, Cummins holds that societal power relations underpin the fundamental principles of educational provision, influencing practitioners’ beliefs when it comes to the goals of education and the expectations they

have for their pupils. He sees English-only immersion programmes as a direct manifestation of such coercive relations of power, suggesting that such approaches are “designed to exclude bilingual children from educational opportunities” (Cummins, 2000, p. 2). This assertion is further reinforced by the absence of funding from the public purse to support community language teaching (Leung, 2016), which reinforces subliminal messages about the differential value of minority languages and cultures within their wider social contexts (Leung & Valdés, 2019).

Sood and Mistry (2011) identify teachers’ lack of confidence when it comes to knowing how to appropriately meet the differing and fine-grained, linguistic needs of children for whom English is an Additional Language. Flynn and Curdt-Christiansen (2018) discuss this point, drawing attention to gaps in both initial and in-service teacher training when it comes to readying the workforce to teach bi- and multilingual pupils. They note similarities in the findings from various studies (Cajkler & Hall (2009), Leung & Creese (2010), Foley, Sangster & Anderson (2013), Safford & Drury (2013)) which identified that many newly-qualified and practising teachers did not have an adequate knowledge of EAL good practice, a concerning finding given the rising numbers in UK schools of pupils for whom English is an additional language (DfE, 2019).

Added to this lack of knowledge are teachers’ own misconceptions about bilingualism and second language learning. Research into this area highlights that teachers may hold beliefs that include the use of L1 in the classroom being detrimental to the development of English; that continued use of a home language impedes second language learning; and/or they may underestimate the amount of time it may take learners to become fully proficient in their use of the academic language of the curriculum (Pettit, 2011).

In England, teachers’ EAL-related knowledge gaps have been exacerbated by the dearth in government policy since 2010 of directives relating to EAL practice and provision. This contrasts with the plethora of documentation issued during the preceding administration, 1999-2009 (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018), when threaded through the various pieces of guidance from the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) was frequent reference to inclusivity and the need for practitioners to celebrate pupils’ home languages and cultures when catering for the needs of learners of EAL in the classroom. In terms of practitioners’ EAL knowledge and understanding, however, even prior to 2010 the picture was mixed,

there being no corresponding focus within teacher training (Safford & Drury, 2013). References to Cummins' work on BICS and CALP may have provided practitioners with a rudimentary, broad-brush overview of EAL development but with regards language assessment practices at the time, the requirement was for teachers to apply to their learners of EAL the same National Curriculum assessments and benchmarks used with monolingual pupils (Safford & Drury, 2013).

The picture since 2010 has been no more rosy for EAL learners. As Flynn and Curdt-Christiansen (2018) suggest, the lack of specific guidance from the DfE on EAL assessment from 2010 onwards has further diminished teachers' understanding of EAL development, promoting instead a monolingual model for both formative and summative assessment and, by extrapolation, for teaching. Hence although by 2009 Cummins was already alluding to the way in which the UK education system superficially promoted multiculturalism and bi- and multilingualism whilst covertly favoured an monolingual, Anglo-centric model (Cummins, 2009), post-2010 this became more overt, reflecting the negative political discourse around migration that emerged since 2010 and was ultimately made manifest in the outcome of the Brexit referendum in 2016. A final blow was dealt when in 2021 the Ofsted post that oversaw EAL was deleted.

Assessment practices do little to alleviate this situation. However flawed the precept (Cabo, 2012; Otwinowska, 2017), the conventional assumption implicit in the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) is that native speaker competence is the target for learners of EAL. Although as Cameron (2003) points out native speaker competence is not a single, unitary state but instead covers a wide spectrum of ability, it is nonetheless the yardstick against which learners of EAL are measured (González, 2005; Hutchinson, 2018; Li, 2013; Nilsson et al., 2023; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Stoehr et al., 2017; Strand & Lindorff, 2020). At macro level, comparisons with their English-only peer group are made in various data sets published by the DfE. Analyses of Foundation Stage data yield the biggest gap, highlighting significant underperformance of children for whom English is an additional language relative to their monolingual, English-only peers. An analysis of the national 2013 Foundation Stage data carried out by Strand et al. (2015), for example, revealed that at the end of the Foundation Stage, 44% of pupils recorded as having EAL achieved a good level of development (GLD) compared to 54% of pupils recorded as having English as a First Language English (EFL) (see Appendix ii: 2013 Foundation Stage outcomes, EAL vs FLE (England), p.292). Five years later,

the 2018 Foundation Stage data continue to highlight a gap in outcomes between EAL and EFL across all the assessed areas that directly relate to language and in maths. In 2018, this resulted in an overall gap for Good Level of Development (GLD) of eight percentage points between these two groups of learners (see Appendix iii: 2018 Foundation Stage outcomes, EAL vs FLE (England), p.293). The figures show that the gap is narrower for Listening & Attention (7 percentage points) than for Understanding (10 percentage points) or for Speaking (11 percentage points).

One possible effect of this is to cause teachers' deficit views of their English language learners to become further entrenched, which may in turn limit their expectations and impact on their practice in the classroom in ways that serve to further disadvantage those learners (Brooker, 2005; Cushing, 2020; Moll, 2005; Pettit, 2011; Stacy et al., 2020; Vera et al., 2022). Further, as Otwinowska (2017) suggests, in most contexts across the globe, language teaching remains heavily rooted in monolingual instructional principles with scant or non-existent reference to pupils' other languages. This, she proposes, shapes teachers' expectations of their learners, serving to reinforce outdated, imperialistic notions that privilege the target language, often to the exclusion of all others.

The state-ratified monolingual hegemony may add to the disadvantaged position occupied by learners of EAL where it infiltrates classroom practice, leading to the exclusion of children's other languages. Cameron highlights the dangers of this, suggesting

...the same teaching strategies should not be assumed, without evidence, to work equally well with EAL and [monolingual, English-only] pupils, even when they display the same problems in language or literacy, because they are likely to be at quite different places in their English language development. Indeed, the paths of language development are likely to be quite different for EAL and EMT [English as a mother tongue], and differences are likely to increase as we move through the school years...Successful intervention starts from where pupils are; if they are at different places, then they will need different strategies to reach the same target.

(Cameron, 2003, p. 3).

Children from minoritised backgrounds may thus experience inequality both when it comes to access to a) the sociolinguistic resources that underpin educational success, and b) provision that meets their language development needs in appropriate ways (Brooker, 2005; Landay & Heath, 2021).

To conclude, in practical terms the predominant cultural epistemology shared by many UK teachers, themselves products of the education system in which they now work, results in them exercising a monopoly over cultural capital (González, 2005; Lea & Street, 2006; Street, 2005, 2011), a monopoly often held without the realisation that it is a social and political construct (Smart, 2010). One knock-on effect of this is the misrecognition by institutions of the cultures of minoritised groups as being of lesser value (Andrews, 2010; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). In the face of this misrecognition, individuals from those minoritised groups may yield to pressures to give up their cultures, and often their languages too, replacing them with the one perceived to have more value; in this case English (Brooker, 2005; Löfdahl & Hägglund, 2012; Mehmedbegovic, 2008).

2.8 The interactions of minoritised communities with the majority society

Crucial to research framed by Narrative Inquiry is the need for the researcher to engage with and understand the lived experiences of the participants. In order to do this, consideration is given first to the broader process of acculturation which faces immigrant populations, before focusing on how this might impact on education. Attention then turns to two relatively recent concepts which offer respite from deficit views of minoritised groups in education, specifically Funds of Knowledge (FoK) and Funds of Identity (Fol).

2.8.1 Enculturation and acculturation

Enculturation describes a socialisation process by which behaviours, values and customs are passed from generation to generation (Karim & Hue, 2022; Minami, 2015; Yoon et al., 2013). Smokowski and Bacallao (2011) talk about it in terms of indoctrination into a set of norms, adding that through this process, we acquire our sense of cultural identity, which in turn confers membership to a wider group with which we perceive we have a shared cultural heritage.

Linked to this, one aspect of migration that merits exploration in relation to the present research is that of adaptation to the new social situation in which migrants find themselves post-migration (Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013). The umbrella term 'acculturation' has been used to describe this process of adaptation. It has been defined in relation to

phenomena that arise when two separate cultures come into continuous contact, effecting changes in the original patterns of either or both (Cormoş, 2022; Miranda et al., 2000; Roblain et al., 2017; Spenader, 2011). Drawing on this, Smokowski and Bacallao (2011) suggest that there are four possible ways in which acculturative adaptation may be made manifest (Figure 4).

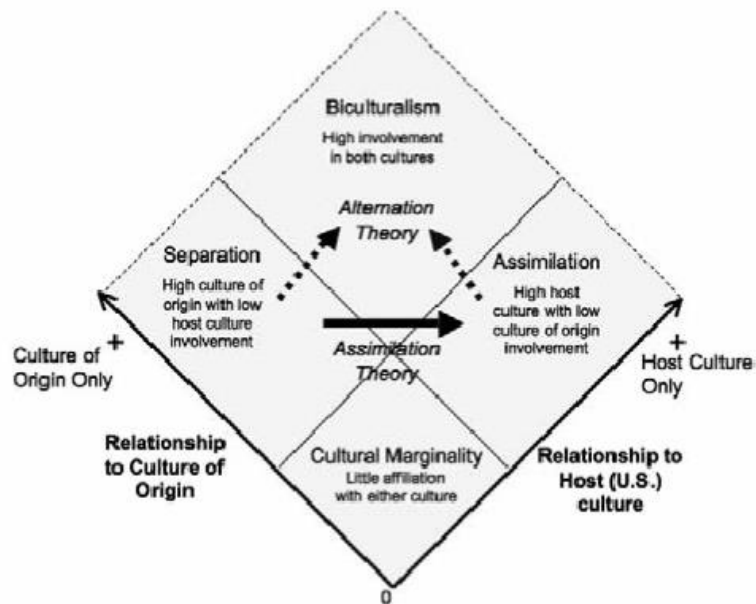


Figure 4: Acculturation criteria and theoretical frameworks, Smokowski and Bacallao (2011, p.14)

According to this model, in ‘separation’, individuals retain close affiliation with their original culture and make few moves towards adopting any of the cultural practices associated with the new host culture. This would be the position occupying one extreme of an acculturationist continuum. At the other extreme is ‘assimilation’, in which people abandon much of their culture of origin, trading it in for the cultural practices of the new, dominant society (Calderon Berumen, 2019). Between these two extremes lie ‘biculturalism’ and ‘marginalisation’. The former is a bidirectional manifestation of acculturationist change and adaptation, as opposed to the unidirectional change involved in assimilation. In biculturalism, the individual retains their original cultural identity whilst simultaneously establishing a positive relationship with the new host culture. In this way, that individual can navigate social settings linked to either culture hence this model is one of accommodation; in the latter, ‘marginalisation’, the individual rejects both cultures (Cormoş, 2022; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011).

Learning the language of the new host culture is one commonly observed aspect of acculturation (Cormoş, 2022; Miranda et al., 2000; Spenader, 2011). It is often driven by a

need to gain access to education and to the labour market, two areas in which positive adaptation to the majority society may become important. In this study, developing their English was an adaptation observable amongst both the parent respondents and their children, and encouraged by the children's teachers.

2.8.2 Educational inequalities

Reports from organisations such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) identify discrepancies between the educational outcomes of children from immigrant groups compared with those of indigenous children (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019; Joves et al., 2015). This picture is replicated in the 2022 Foundation Stage outcomes for children in Cantonshire (Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity, p.294), which reveal a gap between the majority 'White British' population and children identified as 'White Other' (the group to which the Polish heritage children are ascribed) and an even wider one for those identified as 'Asian Other' (the group to which the Nepali heritage children are ascribed).

The drive to understand why such differential outcomes occur between majority and minoritised pupil populations has resulted in a multitude of studies. Once such, a piece of empirical research conducted with 10,415 primary-aged children (six to twelve years of age) in five hundred and ninety primary schools in Catalonia found that alongside language and length of stay, 'school adaptation' was a key contributory variable in determining the differential outcomes of immigrant children (Siqués et al., 2012). This relates to the prerequisite experiences, knowledge and habits a child needs in order to successfully engage with both their learning and with other people at school, peers and adults alike (Joves et al., 2015). School adaptation as defined by Joves et al. (2015) may go some way towards explaining individual children's educational engagement and outcomes, some of which may be relevant for some of the children who participated in the present study; yet research has highlighted other factors that may be significant in determining at systemic level why the educational attainment of children from particular minoritised groups is poorer than that of children from the majority community.

Issues to do with sharing access to cultural capital come to the fore here, as without it learners of EAL may be marginalised in terms of their ability to participate equally in the social arenas occupied by the majority population (González, 2005; Poveda, 2001; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Zipin, 2009). Instead, there will be other, different things they are doing outside of school, some of which may be providing opportunities for continued development of their first languages and for inculcation into their home cultures and communities – social terrain inaccessible to the majority population and often overlooked by practitioners (Brooker, 2002, 2005; González, 2005; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021).

Yahya (2014) has a research interest in this area, describing a dissonance that can arise in situations where children's home cultures differ from the culture of school. Where the differences are great, she suggests, children can experience difficulties in acquiring the knowledge and skills required in school, since they are not able to make links between the knowledge and skills they bring from home and new learning experiences that take place at school (Joves et al., 2015; Safford & Drury, 2013). Elsewhere in the literature, attention is drawn to teachers' lack of knowledge of the home languages and cultures of their pupils, which can result in them not integrating into teaching and learning contexts culturally-relevant links. This absence can run counter to facilitating children's greater engagement with their learning (Brooker, 2005; Cummins, 2000; Moll et al., 2005).

Although Yahya's study did not focus explicitly on language, language differences can compound the difficulties bilingual children may experience with transition into educational settings, especially in settings that do not accommodate in constructive ways the heritage languages spoken by the communities they serve. Safford and Drury (2013, p. 78) also talk about the ways in which children, entering for the first time the unfamiliar environment of the mainstream Foundation Stage classroom, are "dispossessed of much of their home learning as well as use of their first language". They comment that those language and cultural practices that are relevant and meaningful in the familiar context of a child's home can become instantly irrelevant or inappropriate in mainstream educational settings where the language and culture are different. Thus teachers, especially those working in the Early Years and Key Stage One, may be well advised to link teaching and learning sequences to real life contexts that are meaningful to, and therefore more accessible by, the child (Black et al., 2021), sometimes referred to as "enabling environments" (DfE, 2020, p. 6). A failure to do this can result in layering in additional difficulties around children's access to their

learning, as a context that is culturally unfamiliar will be inaccessible to the child and so, therefore, will the learning outcomes sought by the teacher (Joves et al., 2015; Yahya, 2014, 2016).

Brooker (2002) explores this point in her longitudinal ethnographic study of goings-on in a Reception class comprising children from Bangladeshi and English heritages. She notes the subliminal influence on practitioners' beliefs and classroom practices of their own cultural bias. This bias, she argues, can skew practitioners' interpretations of their ethnic minority cohorts, leading to deficit views of these children of whom teachers' expectations can in consequence be low. One outcome of this can be that teachers may unintentionally disadvantage particular groups of children through unequal curriculum provision. In the present study, this may be relevant in terms of helping to explain the differential outcomes for children in the 'White Other' and 'Asian Other' ethnic groups in comparison with the 'White British' majority population at the end of Foundation Stage in 2022 (Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity, p.294), in that the Polish heritage children may experience less of a cultural disconnect between home and school than the Nepali heritage children, hence the attainment gap is smaller for the former and greater for the latter group.

2.8.3 Learning about languages and cultures through play

Although the literature on cultural considerations in relation to young bilingual learners in education is limited (Cho & Wang, 2020; Grosjean et al., 2013), in terms of the ways in which children build with it to construct their sense of self, it is an area that merits focus. Here, a link can be forged with cultural epistemology by which is meant the complex system of values that underpin an individual's beliefs about knowledge and the social world. These values, which are the product of birth and upbringing, shape the individual's interpretation of their lived experiences (Mehmedbegovic, 2008). Others add to this, describing how, in the field of sociolinguistics, ethnicity, language, culture and identity have been shown to be interrelated, co-constructed categories (Cho & Wang, 2020; Poplack, 2020; Saxena, 2014).

Considering the culturally-related aspects of growing up in more than one language thus necessitates attending to the development of one's identity as a member of a minoritised community (You, 2005). Here, the value parents place on their home language and, by extrapolation, their home culture, is consequential because it impacts on their children's

developing sense of identity and belonging within the community (Reyes & Esteban-Guitart, 2013). To appreciate this is important because it can “...shed light on the ways [children] use the different languages they speak and draw upon diverse cultural resources to create meaningful interactions with family, teachers, and peers and to build a sense of belonging within various communities” (Cho & Wang, 2020, p. 115).

Latterly, the discourse on culture as an intrinsic aspect of identity has moved away from seeing it as an immutable singularity towards the view that it is the product of a household’s practices, i.e. it varies across communities, encompassing a variety of familial beliefs and values which collectively shape young children’s lived experiences (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). Some researchers talk about this in terms of ‘funds of knowledge’, covered in more detail in section 2.8.4 Funds of knowledge and funds of identity(p.81). Within this context we construct our identities, which are fluid and dynamic; they change – or rather we change them - according to the social context in which we find ourselves (Cho & Wang, 2020). Young children’s identities are at first heavily influenced by their families, who provide the majority of social contexts and interactions experienced by the child. When the child begins to experience social settings and interactions outside of their family, e.g. when they start attending school, different influences on their identity construction come into play, and they reposition themselves accordingly (Cho & Wang, 2020; You, 2005).

Immigrant parents may come from places in the world where early childhood education differs substantially from the play-based pedagogy that informs their children’s early years experiences in the UK (Brooker, 2010; Rogers, 2010). Their lack of knowledge and experience of that play-based pedagogy may cause them to experience disempowerment and marginalisation in relation to their assumed role in supporting their children’s developing narrative abilities in English, an additional language for many of them (Moll, 2005).

In relation to their minoritised cohorts, it is important that teachers consider the experiences of education that immigrant parents had in country of origin as these experiences will inform their views of the form and function of education, how they perceive the role of a teacher and how they understand and enact their own role in their children’s education (Barglowski, 2018; Brooker, 2002; Li, 2013; Trzebiatowski, 2020). These same experiences will also shape parents’ understanding and interpretation of the play-based

curriculum in the Foundation Stage in the UK and, later, of the learning-through-dialogue pedagogical approaches commonly used in the delivery of the Key Stage One curriculum - by no means a universal feature of education systems across the globe (Moll, 2005).

In many cultures it is held that play is “...inherently language-rich and critically important to promote, among other skills, language and literacy development” (Allee-Herndon et al., 2022, p. 121). In line with this, in Foundation Stage settings in the UK it is primarily through play that children’s narrative abilities – both comprehension and production - develop, building on their interactions with others (Allee-Herndon et al., 2022; Bengochea et al., 2018; Tam, 2023). Spontaneous story-telling and story-acting occur when children interact with their peers, whilst their narrative abilities are further nurtured by interactions with adult care-givers, who both provide narrative models and who may scaffold and extend children’s developing narrative skills through their use of questions (Allee-Herndon et al., 2022; Otwinowska et al., 2020).

However, in a global context, the cultural epistemology that predominates in schools in England, shaping policy, pedagogy and practice, is just one of many (Brooker, 2010). An emphasis on the value of play-based learning may dominate early years educational discourse in the West (Rogers, 2010), yet across the globe, views of play vary considerably. Yahya (2016) describes a very different pedagogical approach that underpins provision in India. Here, rote learning predominates, the reasons for which are largely structural as described by Gupta (2011 in Yahya, 2016, p. 341), i.e. “overcrowded classrooms, lack of play materials and poor facilities”.

Some other Asian cultures favour academic achievement from an early age. In China, for instance, activities offered in pre-schools are highly structured and delivered through didactic teaching practices due to the pervading cultural belief that academic training via direct teaching should begin during the early years (Pui-Wah, 2010; Tam, 2023). In Chinese schools, it is widely held that learning through play is something that should only be included in the educational diets of Chinese children as a means of reinforcing academic instruction. Parental attitudes, being a product of the same system, serve to reinforce a focus on the academic with Chinese parents often not believing play-based learning to be an adequate preparation for primary school, particularly because it does not yield the sort of concrete evidence of academic progress and attainment they may seek (Fung and Cheng, 2012, in Yahya, 2016).

Another way in which a cultural divide between home and school can manifest itself is in teachers' status as perceived by parents, particularly parents from minoritised backgrounds. Morrow and Malin (2004 in Yahya, 2016, p. 342) cautioned that "teachers' status as professionals who possess a specific knowledge base, expertise, status and power can cause an imbalance in such partnerships, even making them authoritarian." This may be reinforced by the way in which teachers in other education systems – perhaps the systems the parents themselves experienced - rely on the use of corporal punishment to deter undesirable behaviours and promote desirable ones. They continue, "knowledge, ideas and perspectives may travel in only one-direction from school to home, with schools never seeking or valuing parent input." This would further reinforce the way in which academic success is conflated with submissive behaviours, since an integral experience of many overseas education systems is the use of physical chastisement (Yahya, 2016).

Barglowski (2018) argues that there has been little research into the heterogeneity within local migrant populations, hence issues they may experience as they intersect with education in their new country are not well documented or understood. Drawing on a study of Polish immigrant families living in Germany, Barglowski notes that whilst parental aspirations for their children were generally high, immigrant parents were impacted by various confounding factors when it came to realising these aspirations; not least the barrier presented by the unfamiliar education system. In addition, Yahya (2016, pp. 334-335) found that her adult respondents viewed play-based learning as novel "because they had not themselves experienced it". Her respondents did not reject play-based learning, but it was found that lack of knowledge rather than resistance to this approach prevented the mothers in Yahya's small-scale study from adopting a play-based approach to learning at home.

Rios-Aguilar et al. (2011) add to this train of thought, suggesting that feelings of powerlessness and distrust may be engendered in parents as they struggle to navigate an unfamiliar education system. A possible explanation for this, they say, is the social reproductive nature of educational institutions, which may perpetuate immigrant parents' experiences of marginalisation and social exclusion. Moreover, their disempowerment may be further accentuated by practitioners' "deficit culture perspectives" (Calderon Berumen, 2019, p. 82). Such deficit views can lead practitioners to assume that parents from

marginalised groups do not possess the skills necessary to support their children's education, at least in ways that the dominant culture is able to acknowledge.

To sum up, the prior experiences that shape the ways in which minoritised communities interface with the education system in England may include experiences of didactic learning approaches, plenty of homework from a young age, relatively limited parental involvement and different forms of discipline, some very harsh in the eyes of teachers more habituated to the education system in England. Coupled with these differences may be a lack of experience of some practices that are ubiquitous in UK settings, learning through play for example.

Thus the importance of establishing understanding through on-going dialogue between practitioner and parents can be seen (Moll, 2005). Policies that shape provision in the Early Years make this point, promoting it as underpinning successful partnerships between home and school, which are generally seen as fundamental to ensuring the best outcomes for children, shaping the approach threaded through the non-statutory guidance 'Development Matters' (DfE, 2020). This comes, though, with no accompanying definition of "successful partnership" nor mention of the various possible barriers that need to be overcome along the way, which may include parental anxiety with regards their own proficiency in English (Trzebiatowski, 2020).

Such concerns add weight to arguments that propose the existence of a home-school continuity-discontinuity framework ('t Gilde & Volman, 2021; Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019; Li, 2013; Poveda, 2001), which constitutes one way of understanding the root cause of differential outcomes for children from minority communities. Poveda submits that the gap that may exist between such children's home experiences and school practices can result in a more tricky transition into school for them than for children of the majority community, which means that they face more of a challenge in adapting to the school environment which in turn may lead to slower rates of progress and ultimately to poorer outcomes.

Joves et al. (2015) argue that if this is indeed the case, then a solution that might serve to close the attainment gaps that exist would be to adapt provision in schools so that it more closely matches with the experiences and practices brought into classrooms by children. An approach that some suggest might go some way towards achieving this involves

consideration of how to incorporate children's 'funds of knowledge' and their 'funds of identity' into provision (Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019; Nogueira, 2014; Subero et al., 2017).

2.8.4 Funds of knowledge and funds of identity

The concept of 'funds of knowledge' (FoK) has its origins in the work of Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992), anthropologists who researched households in the US-Mexican borders. Drawing on their work, Moll was later credited with bringing FoK into an educational context as a foil to the deficit discourse that disempowered minoritised communities (Oughton, 2010; Stacy et al., 2020).

FoK constitutes a move forwards from the Bourdieuan view of human experience which some have argued is an overly deterministic view of social reproduction with scant prospect of transformation or change (Bathmaker, 2015; Jenkins, 1992; Zipin et al., 2012). FoK presents a theorisation of the everyday practices within families, one which enables us to come to a deeper understanding of the complex, multi-faceted nature of people's lives (González et al., 2005b; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). In FoK, lived experience is seen as "...a manifestation of particular historically accumulated funds of knowledge that households possess. Instead of individual representations of an essentialised group, household practices are viewed as dynamic, emergent, and interactional" (González, 2005, p. 41). Within this, the concept of 'culture' transitions from being a bounded, normative description of a particular group of people to being one in which hybridity opens up the possibility of a more individualised sense of identity (González, 2005; González et al., 2005b; Zipin et al., 2012).

The FoK held by children may differ from those of their parents since the knowledge and skills they corral to form their FoK may be derived from various sources (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Subero et al., 2017). Children may gain knowledge and skills through the lived experiences they have with their families (Hedges & Cooper, 2016; Hedges et al., 2011); other knowledge and skills, however, may be accrued from their interactions with others e.g. through play-based experiences with their friends, and from their engagement with media such as television and film (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Hedges et al., 2011; Subero et al., 2017; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021). Thus understood, we can see that children are active participants in the creation of their own social worlds and FoK, which may have some overlap with the collective FoK of their families yet will also be distinct from them, unique to

the child ('t Gilde & Volman, 2021; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014b; Moll, 2005; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Rodríguez-Arocho, 2020).

Hence FoK enables a move away from a problematising view of minority households and towards one in which they are seen to possess valuable knowledge and skills as part of their household economy, attributes which they use both to sustain themselves and to enable their participation in social networks (Esteban-Guitart, 2023; Moll et al., 2013). Moreover, in an educational context, it has been proposed that FoK can be acknowledged and valued through their use in the classroom (Black et al., 2021; Esteban-Guitart et al., 2019; Zipin, 2009; Zipin et al., 2012), giving credence to the forms of capital possessed by those minoritised communities that may previously been considered to lack any such resource (Moll et al., 2013).

Rios-Aguilar et al. (2011) suggest that children's FoK can be converted into forms of capital which can be leveraged in education to redress inequalities that may lead to differential outcomes for children from minoritised communities. They view FoK as a more equitable way of thinking about the forms of capital possessed by immigrant communities, one which can help to level the playing field. However, whilst educational attainment continues to be assessed through the use of assessment practices that focus on, and are administered through, the language and culture of the majority community, the issue of differential access to power by minoritised groups is likely to persist (González, 2005)

FoK approaches have been criticised on several counts. Firstly, in their practical application, which is often initiated through practitioner-led home visits to discover the family's FoK, emphasis is placed on adults selecting and reporting aspects of their household practices (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). Not only is this a time-consuming activity, especially if practitioners are to carry out such visits with every family (Esteban-Guitart, 2023), but it may also serve to undermine the FoK held by the child, which may differ from the FoK of their parents, further marginalising and disempowering the child (Esteban-Guitart, 2023; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021). Secondly, in the selection of which of their learners' familial resources will be used in the classroom, there is the concurrent deselection of others, hence the privileging by practitioners of certain of their pupils' resources as FoK over others. In this way, there is a danger of "...replacing one set of cultural arbitraries (the curriculum) with another (our own well-intentioned but value-laden

judgements)” (Oughton, 2010, p. 13). Lastly, Zipin (2009) critiques the tendency for practitioners to focus only on the positive aspects of children’s FoK, in a ‘light FoK’ take on the approach. He suggests that the more challenging and uncomfortable aspects of life that may be experienced by minoritised communities, e.g. poverty, bullying, racism, should also be taken into account as they permeate children’s lives and therefore their FoK (Black et al., 2021; Poole & Huang, 2018; Zipin et al., 2012). To sanitise a FoK approach by debarring from it children’s ‘dark’ knowledge creates, in Zipin’s view, a half-baked end product (Zipin, 2009). He acknowledges, however, that the “emotional labours of ‘knowing’ [one’s] students in sad and sometimes frightening contextual ways” (Zipin et al., 2012, p. 185) may be a challenge practitioners prefer to avoid; further that educational settings may take some convincing to reimagine their curriculum by allowing aspects of children’s ‘dark’ knowledge, alongside their ‘light’, to become part of it.

A child’s FoK do not alone confer the means to self-definition; the addition of subjective lived experience completes the package, giving the child the resources they need to continuously add to their ‘funds of identity’ (‘t Gilde & Volman, 2021; Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; Cortez et al., 2021; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014b; Rodríguez-Arocho, 2020). Hence funds of identity (Fol) are the products that emerge when individuals actively deploy their funds of knowledge to define themselves (Hviid & Villadsen, 2014; Poole & Huang, 2018; Rodríguez-Arocho, 2020). As such, they are transactional, occurring “...in the context of particular social, historical, political, and cultural situations” (Esteban-Guitart, 2021, p. 172). Moreover, Fol are temporal, in that as we add to our FoK through new lived experiences and interactions with others we may have, we evolve our identity accordingly (Poole & Huang, 2018).

Fol have been closely aligned with narratives of identity, the latter being seen as cultural products which can be made accessible to researchers through narratives and artifacts produced by learners as with the use of visual methods in this study, and/or by observation and use of objects that hold significance to those learners (Esteban-Guitart, 2012; Esteban-Guitart, 2021). Thus an individual’s Fol may include people, objects and activities, things that are part of that individual’s experience and which feed into that individual’s identity narrative (Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; Joves et al., 2015; Subero et al., 2017). Furthermore, Fol theory complements the original FoK unit of analysis, the household, by layering in the learner’s expressions of their own identities (Cortez et al., 2021).

Moreover, the version of our identity we choose to portray can vary from social situation to social situation (Nilsson et al., 2023; Poole & Huang, 2018), making a link with the second Narrative Inquiry commonplace, sociality; which inevitably draws in the third, place (Cappaert & Wickens, 2023), since our interactions with others all “take place some place” (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 481).

The idea of the socially-contextualised, interactional nature of identity draws on Vygotsky’s work, in which lived experience was viewed as highly individual and unable to be generalised to others (Christodoulakis et al., 2021). Poole and Huang (2018) suggest that in order to achieve an holistic view of identity, and in line with Zipin’s argument (Zipin, 2009), both positive and negative experiences that may contribute to a person’s sense of identity should be included. This occurs through a process of internalisation of experience, which leads to us being able to integrate that experience into our FoI (Christodoulakis et al., 2021; Clarà, 2016a, 2016b).

2.9 To conclude

Children from minoritised groups come to school imbued with an ethnolinguistic and migration-related identity that is the product of theirs and their family’s lived experiences. These children’s funds of knowledge and funds of identity are not always understood and/or valued by teachers. Even in settings where they are understood and/or valued, they are not necessarily taken into consideration when shaping classroom experiences for these children. This means that the children may experience a cultural disconnect, navigating school experiences that are far removed from both their home experiences and the schooling experiences of their parents/families. This is problematic because it can lead to progress and attainment discrepancies for minoritised pupil populations, feeding deficit views of them (Brooker, 2005; Cummins, 2009; Landay & Heath, 2021; Street, 2005).

In considering how these points may relate to the experiences of UK-born heritage language speakers, this thesis explores the degree of disconnect experienced by two different minoritised groups as they engage with education. The extant literature on heritage bilingualism focuses mostly on the experiences of Hispanic children in the US; this study broadens that scope through its focus on the experiences of Polish and Nepali heritage

children living in England. Research into children in the latter group in particular is conspicuous by its absence from the literature, an absence that has ripples in terms of the methodological approaches and research instruments used hitherto, which may be more immediately relevant to northern European/American populations than to Asian ones (Street, 2005). To redress this inequity, a FoK/Fol lens is used in this study to consider the home-based experiences the children in each of the two heritage language groups may bring with them into their Foundation Stage classrooms, with the aim being to highlight the shortcomings of an ethnocentric approach that may inadvertently privilege particular groups over others (Street, 2011).

Thus, the FoK/Fol framework used in this research brings the voices of ethno-linguistically marginalised populations to the fore. It opens up a space wherein consideration can be given to the 'dark' funds of knowledge (Zipin, 2009) of minoritised groups in relation to their engagement with education in England. In doing this, it extends our understanding of the range of possible causal factors that lead to the attainment discrepancies that exist amongst different pupil groups at the end of Foundation Stage.

Moreover, it considers how different contextual factors may affect children's language development trajectories. A key aim is to identify those factors over which practitioners and parents may exercise some control, and which, if addressed, might result in more favourable outcomes over time, not least in terms of children's heritage language development.

Chapter Three: Methodology and methods

This chapter covers the research methodology that frames this research and the methods used during data collection. It begins with an exploration of the research paradigm and the ontological and epistemological context of the study before setting out the theoretical framework. Next, the methods used for qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis are detailed, before a section discussing the pilot study. Finally, the changes that were made to the substantive study in the light of learning from the pilot are covered, ending with a chronological account of the substantive data collection phase.

This study explores the language learning experiences of young, UK-born children whose first language is either Nepali or Polish. Contextual breadth is provided by adult respondents significant in the lives of the children, i.e. family members and school-based practitioners, whose perspectives in relation to the research aims and questions are also explored. Data were collected from the children, their parents and their teachers through the children's first year of schooling, using both qualitative and quantitative methods. Data analyses similarly mirrored a mixed methods approach, informing the research findings in relation to the RQs.

3.1 The Research Paradigm Explored

The present study is located ontologically within the realm of constructivist-interpretivism in which human realities are seen as multiple and understood as social constructs (Stelmach, 2016). Accordingly, the epistemology bounding this research holds that knowledge is produced through the construction of meaning; we interpret and make sense of the world according to our unique and highly subjective social, historical, and cultural perspectives. This means that realities are local, specific, and constructed by individuals, rooted in experience and dependent on the viewpoint of the individual (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). In keeping with the constructivist-interpretivist ontological stance, the focus on narratives and Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) provides an actualisation mechanism through which children's perceptions and experiences of growing up in two languages are explored and expressed.

The phenomenon under study is bounded by research questions predicated on the assumption that this research is exploratory in nature. These are as follows:

- RQ1 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience in their social contexts prior to the onset of compulsory schooling
- a) in terms of their exposure to their heritage language?
- and
- b) in terms of their exposure to English?
- RQ2 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?
- RQ3 What influences can be identified that may significantly affect the use of the children's heritage languages and English at home and at school?
- RQ4 Does the first year of formal schooling measurably affect the development of the Nepali and Polish heritage children's heritage languages and English?

This is an exploratory, mixed methods study with quantitative elements but an overall qualitative weighting (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2018), as shown in Figure 5 (below).

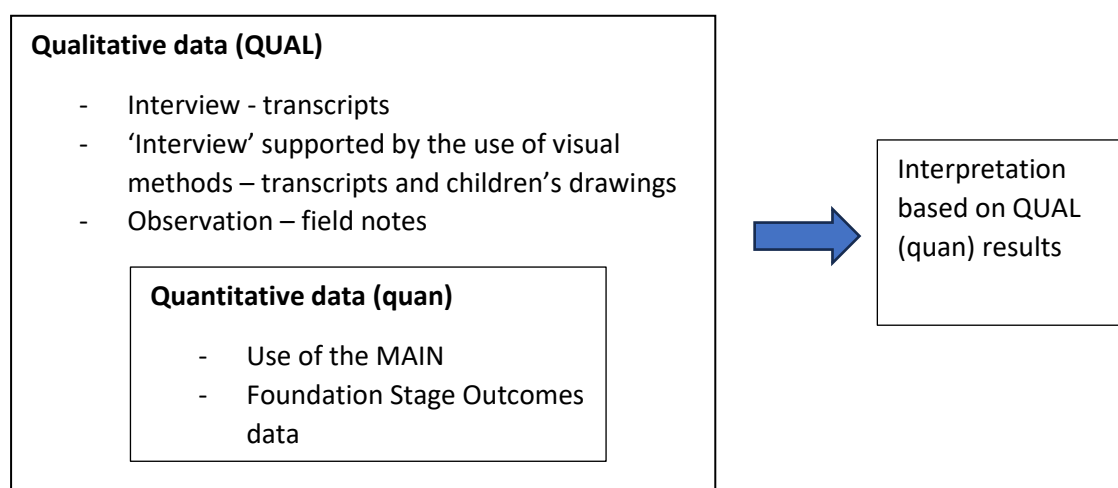


Figure 5: QUAL (quan) embedded research design (after Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018)

Most of the data used to respond to the RQs were gathered and analysed using qualitative methods and approaches, specifically interview and observation within an over-arching Narrative Inquiry theoretical framework. Also included in the design were elements of quantitative data capture and analysis, primarily the use of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) (Gagarina et al., 2012). The MAIN is a tool which affords opportunities to quantify and compare aspects of multilingual children's languages and it

was used at the beginning and end of this longitudinal study to try and establish if there were any measurable changes in the children's heritage language and English over time. The other quantitative data included were the Foundation Stage outcomes for 2022, comparing the measure 'Good Level of Development' (GLD) for the majority cohort (White British – WBRI) with 'Asian Other' (AOTH) and 'White Other' (WOTH), the two ethnic groups to which the focus children belonged.

3.1.1 Mixed Methods

Up until the late twentieth century, much of the research with culturally diverse populations tended to follow either a qualitative paradigm or a quantitative one (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Robinson et al. (2016) suggest that this binary approach to research resulted in literature that was limited either by generalisability or by cultural relativity respectively. Acknowledging the need for research that achieves a more comprehensive understanding of diverse human experiences, they propose that mixed methodology is a route that affords access to this understanding because it allows for both cross-cultural (etic) and cultural (emic) explorations of phenomena.

Mixed methods has come to be seen as 'the third paradigm' in educational research, enabling the researcher to draw on the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in their search for answers to their research questions (Denscombe, 2008; Elliott, 2005; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Johnson et al., 2007; McLean, 2006). Within a mixed methods paradigm, the researcher is not constrained by dogged allegiance to either qualitative or quantitative approaches. Instead, "...researchers should use the philosophical and/or methodological approach that works best for the particular research problem that is being investigated" (Kaushik & Walsh, 2019, p. 2).

Within mixed methods, combining qualitative and quantitative methods and approaches can serve purposes additional to triangulation or corroboration. These include:

- supporting the evolution of the research, as findings from one method are used to shape another;
- initiation in which paradoxes and contradictions may be discovered, leading to a reframing of the research questions;

- expansion i.e. increasing the depth and range of the inquiry through the use of different methods and approaches to explore its various components.

(Hesse-Biber, 2010; Johnson et al., 2007; Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006)

Proponents of mixed methods design and carry out research that varies in its qualitative/quantitative sequencing and weighting. The research for this study might be identified as exploratory, conceptualised as a journey in which the researcher may not, at the outset, be in possession of a detailed map nor know the precise destination (Hesse-Biber, 2010). This is in line with the researcher's ontological stance, according to which the qualitative data were co-created through social interactions with the research participants, rather than serving pre-conceived ideas or outcomes (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Tsai, 2006).

Creswell et al. (2006) critique the view that mixed methods relegates qualitative approaches to a purely auxiliary role. They argue that a qualitative weighting within a mixed methods approach can "enhance and extend the logic of qualitative explanations about the social world...[making] context explicit in explanations" (p.2). They see qualitatively-weighted mixed methods research as a means of ensuring that the social contexts within which qualitative research sits are included in the interpretation of data, contextualising, expanding and elaborating on quantitative findings. In this way, mixed methods may confer deeper understanding of the causal relationships that may exist between variables.

In mixed methods research, paying due regard to the complex issues of how the different approaches and methods used are integrated and legitimised is fundamental in assessing the authenticity of any findings. Hence consideration of the integrative features of design quality and interpretive rigour at all stages is seen as important. Furthermore, Onwuegbuzie and Johnson (2006) propose that legitimisation should be continuous in mixed methods research, itself typically iterative and inherently interactive. They think of legitimisation as a process that is "analytical, social, aesthetic, emic, etic, political and ethical", suggesting that only when all components of a piece of mixed methods research have been systematically and fully expounded can the full benefits of 'the third paradigm' be gained (p.60).

Initial qualitative data collection came right at the beginning of the fieldwork phase (Creswell et al., 2006). These data provided a basis for, and were followed by, the collection of further qualitative data, to which both qualitative and quantitative analyses were applied

(Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006). The data analyses were then integrated to create largely qualitative, rich, thick descriptions of the focus children's language-learning experiences. Within this, the quantitative elements contribute descriptive statistical comparisons of particular features of the children's two languages as they developed over time.

3.2 Ontological and epistemological aspects of the research

As with all research methodologies, an examination of the perspectives of researchers working within a Narrative Inquiry framework is integral to their investigations. The researcher should examine their own ontological and epistemological stance from the outset and throughout their endeavour as it will have an impact on every aspect of the research at every stage (Mason, 2018). Researchers engaging in Narrative Inquiry typically locate their perspectives as diametrically opposed to the objectivity that characterises a positivist research perspective, turning instead towards a focus on interpretation and the transactional, situated nature of human experience, leading to ways of making meaning as in the present study (Bruner, 1991a; Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2006; Crotty, 1998; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Pinnegar & Daynes, 2006).

In this study, the narratives are those of the children as they unfold and develop over time, and the primary interest is in the meanings that emerge from those narratives; hence the data are viewed through a constructionist-interpretivist lens (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002; Lee, 2012). Ontologically, the children's social realities are seen as specific to the individual and as such are multiple, "created through the social interactions of individuals with the world around them" (Hesse-Biber, 2010, p. 105). The children's narratives are thus constructed within social contexts (Tsai, 2006), hence lived experience is the ontological foundation on which this research endeavour rests. Within it, reality is seen as a function of time, place and person, a phenomenon that is transactional, relational (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009).

Epistemologically, the research aims to explore and understand multiple subjectivities, amongst which the researcher's own plays a part. Hesse-Biber (2010) asserts that it is not possible to remove the values, feelings and attitudes of the researcher from the research endeavour. Instead, she says these factors should be taken into account when interpreting the data as they comprise elements integral to the knowledge-construction process. As such, these attributes permeate all aspects of a piece of research, playing a part in

determining the questions the researcher chooses to ask; the design of the research; the types of data collected; the methods by which those data are gathered; and how the researcher analyses those data and interprets their findings (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009).

This research follows a key period in the lives of eleven UK-born children who are growing up in more than one language. It covers the period from just before they start compulsory, full-time education at around the age of five through their first year in school. Whilst in itself the research is localised, particular to the children at its heart, it may also be generalisable to other children and contexts through “...the reflective self-inquiry of [its] audience” (Lindsay & Schwind, 2016, p. 15).

3.3 The Theoretical Framework

Narrative Inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006) is the overarching theoretical framework driving data collection and analysis in this research. Narrative approaches are used because of the aims of the research as set out in the RQs; in essence to explore and document the children’s language-learning journeys as situated and experienced within their sociolinguistic landscapes over time. There is an emphasis on enabling the children to reflect upon and articulate their lived experience of growing up in two languages, with further contributions to this narrative made by parents and teachers, people who play a part in the children’s unfolding narratives. Within this, the use of the MAIN to elicit fictional narratives in each of the children’s languages using picture sequences as prompts is well-matched; a melding of fictional narrative with the narratives of the children’s own lives.

Whilst in this research the sample is very small, the degree of generalisability of the findings is increased because of the threads of *temporality*, *sociality* and *place* (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006) which are held in common in various respects by the child respondents and which were used to select them for involvement in the research. The temporal shared link is the time period of the field work, which is from just before the start of full-time education in the UK through to the end of Year R. The social shared link is that the respondents each have experience of growing up in more than one language and culture. The shared link with place relates to the respondents’ shared experiences of home and school in the UK.

3.3.1 Narrative Inquiry

Bathmaker (2010, p. 3) talks about narrative research as a vehicle that enables us to “...[get] closer to the experience of those whose lives and histories go unseen, unheard, undocumented – ordinary, marginalised and silenced lives”. She sees narrative research as a phenomenon that not only brings to the surface new insights into human experience but also provides opportunities to the research participant to negotiate their own identity and, through reflection, to make meaning of their experiences.

Narrative Inquiry, a relative newcomer to qualitative research, has its roots in the Deweyan notion that human experience is transactional in nature, characterised by the constant interaction of our thoughts with the personal, social, and material environments in which we exist (Clandinin & Murphy, 2009; Clandinin et al., 2007; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2006). In the literature on Narrative Inquiry, Dewey, writing in the 1930s, is often referenced for his view of human experience as continuous and inherently interactive. He suggested that if we are able to reflect on our experiences, then they can be instructive in that we can, through conscious reflection, derive meaningful and purposive learning from them (in Lindsay & Schwind, 2016).

In Narrative Inquiry, researchers situate themselves in relational ways with their research participants, often coming alongside them in the midst of their ongoing lives (Clandinin et al., 2015). Whilst the researcher may begin with people’s everyday lived experience, there is a concurrent focus on “...the social, cultural, and institutional narratives within which individual’s experiences were constituted, shaped, expressed, and enacted” (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2006, p. 42). In other words, the transactional, contexted nature of human experience is core. Thus, through Narrative Inquiry, the ways in which assumptions, values and beliefs inform our view of the world and the way we experience life are brought to the fore, enabling the researcher to challenge the taken-for-granted through the iterative process of reflecting on and reconstructing experience. In this way, Narrative Inquiry aims to be educative and, ultimately, transformative (Lindsay & Schwind, 2016).

Narrative Inquirers engage with their research participants and their narratives over a series of encounters spanning a pre-determined period of time, collecting the participants’ stories as raw data in the form of field notes, audio recordings and the like. In each encounter, the

researcher listens attentively to the participant as they relate their story, using techniques such as paraphrasing back to check their understanding and asking questions to clarify. In this way, they strive to learn what the participant has to contribute to the 'inquiry puzzle' with each new fragment of their story (Elliott, 2005).

Narrative research needs to do more than merely present a life story that entertains or satisfies curiosity. Ultimately, the researcher is working to make a new contribution to the literature comprising new knowledge and/or new insights, thus meeting the personal, practical and social justifications outlined by Connelly and Clandinin (2006). As part of this, the backdrop to the story is important; the researcher should aim to explore and understand the individual's story in the context of the wider socio-political and historical contexts and processes in which it is lived, understood and told because "...personal narratives are constructed and situated in social and institutional realms" (Souto-Manning, 2014). Thus in Narrative Inquiry there will be an integral focus on social relations and power (Bathmaker & Harnett, 2010), in line with the view put forward by Chase (2013) who sees it as an approach that can help bring to the surface practices that may be taken for granted and structural and cultural features of our everyday social worlds.

The version of Narrative Inquiry adopted in this research owes much to the work of Clandinin and Connelly (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006) and builds on Bruner's earlier ideas of narrative as a primary way of knowing, acknowledging that narratives are subjective constructions, the products of individual's perspectives (in Huber et al., 2013). Clandinin and Connelly describe Narrative Inquiry as a way of understanding the human world, with human experience expressed through narrative fragments "enacted in storied moments of time and space, and reflected upon and understood in terms of narrative unities and discontinuities" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 17).

Whilst researchers engaging with Narrative Inquiry are a disparate group deploying diverse methods in the course of their work (Savin-Baden & Niekerk, 2007), one thing they share in common is an interest in "the study of experience as story" (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 477), its product being the result of collaboration between the researcher and the participants in the study. People's narratives are seen not only as co-constructions but also as fluid in that they may, in the telling of them, be reaffirmed and/or modified. As such,

narrative research is a contingent process, the outcomes of which cannot be anticipated or guaranteed (Smythe & Murray, 2000).

Connelly and Clandinin (2006, p. 480) identify three dimensions of Narrative Inquiry which they refer to as 'commonplaces'. These are *temporality*, *sociality* and *place*, which together provide the conceptual framework for a piece of Narrative Inquiry research. These commonplaces are interrelated, being three different facets of human experience when viewed through a Narrative Inquiry lens as illustrated in Figure 6 (below). For a piece of research to sit comfortably under the heading 'Narrative Inquiry' rather than some other form of qualitative research, all three must be explored simultaneously, as they are in this research (Harnett in Bathmaker & Harnett, 2010; Clandinin et al., 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

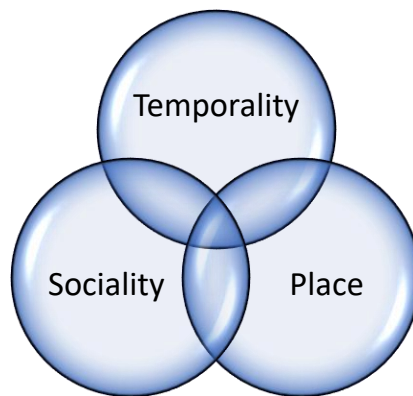


Figure 6: The three commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry

The temporal dimension of Narrative Inquiry provides an opportune link with Funds of Identity (Fol) (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014b), covered in section 2.8.4 (p.81). Fol share the notion of *temporality* in relation to how individuals generate and enact their identity narratives. Esteban-Guitart and Moll suggest that in the making of meaning, a central process within identity construction, we must take account of both micro and macro influences. They give the examples of lived experience for the former and social-political circumstance for the latter, this providing the context in which our lived experiences occur. Thus the temporal context involves the *sociogenesis* of the funds of identity i.e. the wider historical context in which the specific moment in time of the experience is embedded, whilst their *ontogenesis* helps us understand that our funds of identity are ever in creation as we travel through life gaining new experiences via our interactions with others (Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; Nogueira, 2014). Thus, these two aspects pick up the commonplaces of

sociality and *place*. Accordingly “any lived experience, along with sense and meaning, is constructed across multiple ‘time scales’ throughout the trajectories of our lives” (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014b, p. 74).

In Narrative Inquiry, the way in which field text gradually becomes research text occurs through a process of examination using three levels of justification: the personal, the practical, and the social (Clandinin et al., 2015). Working with the same three terms, Lindsay and Schwind (2016) conceptualise these justifications as concentric circles rather than ‘levels’, finding the term ‘levels’ too suggestive of a hierarchical organisation at odds with the philosophical underpinnings of Narrative Inquiry. They situate the personal justification at the centre, next the practical and finally the social justification, which comprises the whole (Figure 7).

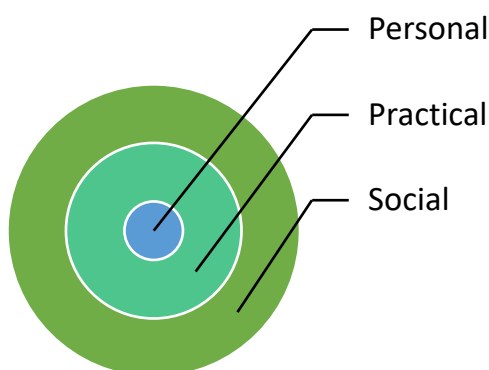


Figure 7: The three levels of justification in Narrative Inquiry

The personal justification is the researcher’s own justification of the need for the inquiry. The practical justification allows the researcher to identify ways in which the narrative inquiry might effect a change considered to be worthwhile. The social justification gives the researcher an opportunity to identify how the Narrative Inquiry contributes new knowledge and understanding to the literature, whether it be methodological, disciplinary, or interdisciplinary. These three justifications are addressed throughout the inquiry, from the outset to the end, whilst at the same time the researcher is continuously examining their inquiry puzzle through the three commonplaces of *temporality*, *sociality*, and *place* (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). The final research text represents “...a narrative way of thinking of data analysis and interpretation” (Clandinin et al. in Farrell et al., 2015, p. 245) and illustrates the knowledge gained through the investigative process of Narrative Inquiry, making it available to a wider audience.

This thesis picks up these themes, focusing on the roles played by the various research participants in co-creating a narrative of children's lives in linguistically diverse settings. For the child participants, the period of time that demarcates the study is significant in that it comprised the onset of their engagement with education. During the data collection period, the children engaged in co-creating representations of themselves and their lived experiences through their talk, supported by the use of visual methods. The aim was two-fold: to explore with them the children's narratives, and to develop an interpretive account of those narratives situated within their broader social contexts (Stovin, 2016). The role of the researcher in this was as both on-looker and co-creator; observing, listening, gathering data and making comparisons throughout the inquiry as the narratives of the children at the heart of the research developed over time.

In the context of this research, each respondent is encountered as an individual who is embarked on a highly personal, ever-evolving journey through time. Their past, present and future are interwoven, forming a temporal continuum in which they have social experiences with others in the various places they go, all of which are internally processed as they make meaning of their unfolding lives (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006; Hesse-Biber, 2010; Stovin, 2016).

It is the meaning-making process this research explores as it is filtered and expressed through the participant's narratives and in turn filtered and expressed through those of the research team (Holley & Colyar, 2009). Further, the children's personal narratives being located within particular social and institutional contexts, there is a concurrent focus at macro level on broader issues of power and inequality (May, 2011; Souto-Manning, 2014). For Narrative Inquiry should do more than simply document the stories told by individuals about their lives; it should aim to extrapolate the underlying assumptions in which those stories are contexted (Bell, 2002). Hence in this study a light is shone on the nuanced, language-learning experiences of the focus children in order to bring to the fore the over-arching influences that shape their narratives. The aim of this endeavour is to offer practitioners a deeper understanding of young bilingual children in education and ultimately to improve aspects of practice and provision for them. In this way, the practical justification proposed by Clandinin et al. (2015) as an essential element of Narrative Inquiry, is addressed.

Narrative Inquiry affords scope for an eclectic mix of qualitative methods to be used to gather data; these are explored next. As data are harvested, the participants' stories unfold as their narratives, gathered as a series of snapshots, are revisited, linked via a temporal thread (Lindsay & Schwind, 2016). Due to the nature of narrative, this thread extends back in time to events that pre-date the temporally fixed starting point of the research, and projects forwards into the future, post-research. In this mixed methods study, quantitative data also played a part. The majority of these were collected using the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012), which is covered in section 3.3.5.

3.3.2 Interview

Semi-structured interviews with the children's parents/carers and their teachers were used in this research to gather the contextual, background information that formed a foundation layer to the children's narratives. The children's input was gained at different points through the longitudinal study using child-friendly adaptations of narrative interview supported by observation (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2016; Thunberg, 2022) and unstructured prompting (Hanna et al., 2023). A modified approach was necessary because interviewing children is substantially different from interviewing adults. In the literature, researchers with experience in this area suggest indirect methods may support a child to talk about their experiences, thoughts and views, the researcher's role being to facilitate, to listen and thus to learn (Einarsdóttir, 2007; Nishiyama, 2018). In these ways, the researcher seeks to elicit and understand the respondents' views and experiences of multilingualism through their personal stories.

Kvale (2006) writes extensively on the use of interview in qualitative research as a means of arriving at that understanding. He recognises interview as a foil to more positivist approaches such as questionnaires and experiments, providing a means to gain an understanding of the world from the respondent's point of view. He cautions, however, that to think of interview as dialogue can be misleading due to the power dynamics present in an interview situation, advising that although frequently overlooked, "close analyses of the specific power dynamics within different forms of interviews are warranted" (Kvale, 2006, p. 496). Holstein and Gubrium (in Silverman, 2016, p. 68) pick up this point, holding that "regardless of how interviewers try to restrain their presence in the interview exchange, and

no matter how forthright respondents are in offering their views, the resulting narratives are interactional accomplishments, not communicatively neutral artefacts”.

Charmaz (2016b) also talks about researcher reflexivity. She discusses the importance of retaining an awareness of how the researcher’s own positions, privileges and priorities influence both the research process and their developing relationships with the research participants. She advises that the researcher remain mindful throughout of the need to be respectful of the interviewee’s social and cultural traditions, key in this research which focuses on the narratives of people from minoritised communities.

In Narrative Inquiry an interview comprises an interaction between interviewer and interviewee with the interviewer supporting the interviewee to give voice to their views and experiences in a co-created product, collected as qualitative interview data (Knight & Saunders, 1999; Mason, 2018; Mueller, 2019). The narrative generated does not sit in isolation from its co-creators’ stories, nor is the role played in shaping the narrative by others (family members, friends, teachers and researcher) to be excluded. Instead, these are to be explored and expounded through the interview as intrinsic contributions to the developing narrative. Importantly, the interview provides an opportunity for reflexive thinking, the role of the interviewer being as co-constructor of new meaning (Charmaz, 2014; Knight & Saunders, 1999).

There are other issues to be considered when planning to use interview as a data collection tool. Dempsey et al. (2016) write in some detail about how the ethical aspects of qualitative research should act as a guide to the researcher from the planning stage right through to the dissemination of key findings. They talk about the challenge of needing to conduct an interview that yields rich, meaningful data whilst at the same time affording the respondent the safe space they need in order to be able to talk about personal experiences with a relative stranger. Although they were writing about interviewing dementia care-givers, much of the focus on the vulnerability of their respondents and the need to deal with any issues arising in a sensitive manner is relevant because the respondents in this research may also be considered vulnerable in various ways. Nishiyama (2018) discusses various ethical issues that may arise when using interview with children. He reiterates that the role of the interviewer is that of active listener supporting the child respondent to talk through the use of open questions that induce reflective meaning-making. He cautions that if a child

respondent begins to feel pressured or rushed, they may withdraw their participation altogether.

Elliott (2005) reminds us that narratives related by a respondent in a research interview situation have not been rehearsed prior; rather, the interview itself is the site wherein knowledge is produced 'live'. This raises issues to do with reliability and validity as narratives expressed in qualitative interview situations comprise subjective retellings of events which may, for various reasons, include factual inaccuracies. This can be especially true when interviewing children, whose vivid imaginations can result in them conflating experience with fantasy (Silin, 2005). It takes great care on the part of the researcher to distinguish between the two without either dismissing or downgrading what the child has shared in the interview situation (Einarsdóttir, 2007).

These factors mean that interviews should not be taken as trustworthy, factual accounts of past events but, as Portelli says, insights into the significance, or meanings, attached to those events by the respondent at that particular point in time. An oral historian, Portelli sees the role of the interviewer being to "open up narrative spaces" (Portelli, 2018, p. 243). These spaces are shaped by various influences amongst which the presence of the interviewer, the questions asked, the respondent's subjectivity and their self-image creation are numbered. These influences may converge and overlap to some degree but, he says, they will not coincide completely. Hence Portelli counsels that we approach the interview situation flexibly, "ready not only to accept the narrator's agenda but also to modify our own" (Portelli, 2018, p. 243).

3.3.3 Visual methods in interviews with children

Visual methods were used in this research to support the children talking about their lived experiences of growing up in two languages. The use of visual methods is a way of reducing the power imbalance that may exist between researcher and respondent (Christensen, 2004; Einarsdóttir, 2007), thereby promoting children's active participation in research in more equal ways. Accordingly, the use of visual methods can empower children to be agents in the co-construction of knowledge, enabling them to express and share their experiences in ways which are meaningful to them and which are not reliant on verbal competencies (Seidman, 2013).

Underpinning this sort of approach is a view predicated on the epistemological principle that knowledge produced by children about children's experiences offers a 'better' understanding of these experiences than that generated by adults (Einarsdóttir, 2007). In contrast, giving children more agency in research about them has given rise to criticism that it risks "over-privileging children's knowledges" and even that it can lead to the "valorising of the all-knowing and all-seeing child who has unique insight into his/her own life" (Seidman, 2013, p. 106).

Despite the criticisms that have been levelled at child-led research, Lomax (2012) maintains that it can introduce a different perspective to research into children's worlds. She advises caution when using visual methods in child-focused research as in themselves these cannot provide a fail-safe shortcut to children's experiences. Neither should we lose sight of the fact that children participate in and engage with visual methods in different ways and not necessarily equally. Lomax concludes by saying that creative research with children generates multiple voices and experiences which are negotiated in and through the research process and to which researchers must be attentive.

The idea of including the creation of images as an integral part of an interview situation emerged from the technique's use as a therapeutic tool in the realm of psychology. It has since come to be seen as a method that can enable children to express themselves more freely and more fully (Guillemin 2004 in Glegg, 2018), while the process of drawing can itself be viewed as a way of constructing knowledge (Einarsdóttir, 2007). In the present research, the use of visual methods occurred in two 'social mapping' activities with the children in which they were invited to depict the people they thought most important in their lives in two social settings, home and school. The children's drawings, which are presented in Section 5.4 The children's narrative portraits; a micro view, might be thought of as 'identity artefacts' as described in the literature on Funds of Identity (Esteban-Guitart, 2016; Esteban-Guitart, 2021), whilst the act of co-creating them enabled the researcher to explore with them aspects of their identities at particular points in time.

Working with children who may not have been asked to engage with this sort of approach before, it may be helpful to use prompt questions, and techniques such as 'wondering', as part of a 'listen-more-talk-less' approach to gently support the child to create and talk about their images (Griffiths, 2018). Information gathered beforehand, e.g. from parents or from

observation, may enable this to be done in ways that are more immediately relevant to each child, enabling the researcher to show interest and to respond to what the child might say in contextually relevant ways. In the present study, this approach facilitated a better understanding of the child's familial relationships, allowed the researcher to each time open dialogue with the child with a reference to an activity in which the child had engaged immediately prior, and enabled the researcher to explore with the child their particular interests and experiences outside of school.

3.3.4 Observation

In this research, observation enables the researcher to gain first-hand experience of one of the social realms the children regularly inhabit, their school settings. De Houwer (2009) promotes the use of observation as a qualitative method when carrying out research into bilingual children's language development, eschewing quantitative methods that favour highly controlled experimentation. She advises the researcher to consider those sociolinguistic settings of which the children being studied have experience and will find authentic, and to ensure observations are carried out in each of the major ones of these in order that nothing important is missed.

There are issues to do with validity and reliability when using observation as a research method to gather qualitative data (Cohen et al., 2018). However, its use within Narrative Inquiry links to an ontological perspective that sees human interactions, actions and behaviours as both important and contexted. Its relation to the researcher's epistemological stance is that observation can provide a broader context within which the social worlds occupied by the research participants are sited (Mason, 2018).

As with interview, there are ethical issues to take into account when using observation as a research method. As Nishiyama (2018) points out, the presence of the adult researcher in children's spaces can be seen by them as an invasion, producing a power imbalance. Lomax builds on this point, suggesting that what may appear to be creative, participatory research with children may in fact be better described as "highly managed encounters between adult researchers and children which in turn are very much reliant on institutionalised educational practices and children's 'schoolled docility'" (Lomax, 2012, p. 106).

In the context of this research, observations of the focus children were carried out in their school settings, enabling the researcher to satisfy an ethical need to attempt to better understand the three commonplaces of *temporality*, *sociality* and *place* that define the study. This understanding enabled the researcher to address RQs 2, 3 and 4.

3.3.5 The Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN)

The research instrument used in this study to gather quantitative data on the children's use of their two languages was the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012). The MAIN was developed as a tool to assess narrative skills in children who acquire one or more languages from birth or from an early age. As such, it has resonance with the aims of this study and provides a solution to issues that can arise around language assessment practices with bilingual children.

In the literature, it is suggested that children's narrative skills are part and parcel of their emergent literacy (Otwinowska et al., 2020) and as such underpin their future academic success at school (Gagarina et al., 2012; Gagarina et al., 2015). Firstly, narrative forms a bridge between oral language and literacy; a child's ability to tell a story requires them to plan and produce contextualised, cohesive discourse. Secondly, Oakhill and Cain (2007 in Gagarina et al., 2012) found that reading comprehension has its roots in the comprehension of narrative discourse, the latter developing simultaneously with other early language skills prior to formal reading instruction. Thirdly, discourse is the primary linguistic medium through which knowledge is disseminated and acquired.

In this research, it is the narrative skills of the focus children in both their languages that are of interest. These are situated in the predominantly monolingual context of school where bilingual children may be seen as disadvantaged when it comes to academic progress and attainment due to their relatively less well-developed skills in English in comparison with their monolingual peers. Analyses of attainment data at national level highlight discrepancies between bilingual and monolingual children in terms of outcomes (Strand & Hessel, 2018; Strand et al., 2015) yet at the same time it is acknowledged that the language-learning trajectories of bilingual children are often poorly understood by practitioners, which can in turn impact on provision (Brooker, 2002).

The MAIN offers an alternative to the use of norm-referenced, standardised tests which can have an inbuilt bias against bilingual children (Bohnacker & Lindgren, 2020; Gagarina et al., 2012; Kester & Peña, 2002). It was designed for use with bilingual children, identified as those who acquire one or more languages from birth or in early childhood, and is billed as a tool that can be used with children from 3 to 10 years of age. The MAIN enables practitioners to assess the narrative skills of these children in the context of story-telling (i.e. fictional narrative) and provides for the evaluation of both comprehension and production of narratives across all the child's languages. It also allows for the examination and assessment of a broad range of linguistic abilities and features including uniquely bilingual phenomena such as code-switching and "code interference", defined by Grosjean (2012) as a dynamic phenomenon whereby elements of L1 slip into L2 output.

The design of the MAIN allows for the assessment of several languages in the same child as well as for different elicitation modes: telling a story (story generation), retelling a story after having first listened to it and telling a story after listening to a different but structurally parallel model story. Three measures of macrostructure are assessed: story structure components (settings, goals, attempts, outcomes, internal state terms), structural complexity (episodic sequences comprising goal, attempt, outcome), and internal state terms (words that show the narrator's understanding of a character's mental state, intention or motivation).

The MAIN comprises four parallel picture sequences controlled for cultural appropriateness and robustness. These have been designed to be used with child respondents. See Figure 8: Picture sequence for MAIN Baby Bird story (below) for an example of one such picture sequence.

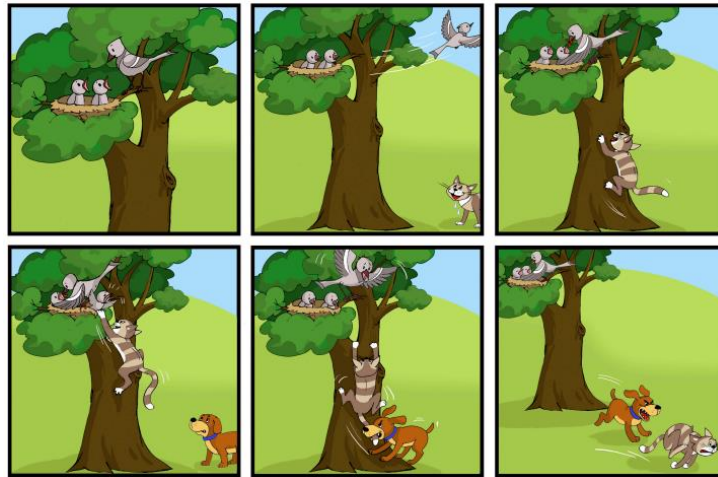


Figure 8: Picture sequence for MAIN Baby Bird story

Each MAIN story comprises three episodes each of which include the following components: a single goal (G), an attempt (A) and an outcome (O). There are also strategically placed internal state terms (ISTs) as initiating events or reactions. Each episode depicts two internal state terms, yielding a total of fifteen structural elements. Thus in addition to details the child may add about setting (time and place), their narratives can be scored for the production of these fifteen components in their own narratives as well as for structural complexity, which is defined as

- (a) sequences (where no goal statement has been generated);
- (b) incomplete episodes (which include a goal statement but lack a complete GAO structure due to omission of an attempt or outcome);
- and
- (c) complete episodes (including all three GAO components).

(Westby 2005 in Gagarina et al., 2016, p. 16)

The MAIN includes comprehension questions for each story which focus on macrostructure components and internal state terms (Figure 9) and these are to be used as part of the assessment procedure, alongside story production.

Story structure element	Description	Example
Setting	Reference to time and place (considered to be outside the episode itself).	<i>One day in the forest, there was a mother bird with three little babies.</i>
IST as initiating event (IST as IE)	An event or an internal state that sets the events of the story in motion.	<i>The baby birds were crying and the mother bird saw that the babies were hungry.</i>
Goal (G)	A statement of an idea of the protagonist to deal with the initiating event (an indication of goal-directed planning).	<i>"Oh my babies are so hungry", said the mother bird and decided to get some worms.</i>
Attempt (A)	An indication of action to obtain the goal.	<i>The mother bird flew away to look for food.</i>
Outcome (O)	The event(s) following the attempt and causally linked to it (either one or several outcomes, either successful or not).	<i>The mother bird came back with a big worm and the baby birds got some food.</i>
IST as reaction	A statement defining how the protagonist(s) feel or think about the outcome. It can also include an action resulting from an emotional response.	<i>And the baby birds were so happy.</i>

Figure 9: Macrostructural framework of the MAIN protocols

Comprehension and production are complementary aspects of a child's linguistic abilities and both should be taken into account because bilingual children who may have limited proficiency in one of their languages may score poorly on production measures but, through their responses to focused comprehension questions, may be able to demonstrate a greater understanding of narrative schemata and core macrostructure elements (Ottwinowska et al., 2020). Indeed, studies have found that "the understanding of macrostructural elements (e.g. goals, intentions, emotions and reactions of story characters) appears to be ahead of production" (Bohnacker & Lindgren, 2020, p. 5), hence to assess both comprehension and production of narratives gives a fuller picture of the child's linguistic, cognitive and social abilities.

The MAIN materials include a scoring rubric used to score a child's telling or retelling of a story. This focuses on both macrostructure and microstructure elements (e.g. diversity within lexical items used; number and length of utterances), examined within the unified structure that comprises the child's story. When used with typically-developing young children (aged between four and eight years), it has been found that they generally attain high overall scores for their comprehension of narrative macrostructure quite early, i.e. at an age when their overall scores for narrative production are still low: the inferred goals of the protagonists are rarely expressed but appear to be comprehended well. They also rarely express internal states as an initiating event or reaction yet these aspects also appear to be relatively well understood. Thus through the use of the MAIN, young children can

demonstrate better comprehension of the goals and internal states of story characters than their own narrative outputs would suggest (Bohnacker & Lindgren, 2020).

The scripted model stories, of which there are four, can be used to provide contextual support to the child when the child later tells their own, similar story. The script provided in the MAIN materials ensures that each time the model story is told, there is consistency in terms of its cognitive and linguistic complexity and its macro- and micro-structure. That information is communicated at macrostructure and microstructure levels is a characteristic feature of narratives. Macrostructure analysis focuses on higher-order hierarchical organisation including episodic structure and story grammar components (Heilmann et al., 2010, in Gagarina et al., 2012), components that can be said to be language-independent. This mirrors Cummins' common underlying proficiency model which suggests that as children develop their first languages, they simultaneously acquire language-independent information that can be applied to their acquisition of an additional language. Microstructure focuses on the linguistic structures used to build a coherent discourse and includes number and length of communication units, referential noun phrases, connectives etc. These linguistic structures are language-dependent.

When delivering the MAIN, a specific protocol is to be followed, as outlined in the MAIN materials (Gagarina et al., 2012). There are different elicitation modes a researcher can use within this and in this study, each time the MAIN was used with a child, a model story was told to them first, followed by an opportunity for the child to tell their own story.

3.4 Addressing perspectives in research

Attention turns now to some less tangible but equally important aspects of research. Across different qualitative research traditions, it is acknowledged that the researcher's understandings are based on the values, culture, training and experiences they bring to the research situation (Josselson, 2006; Lindsay & Schwind, 2016); values, culture, training and experiences which may differ significantly from those of the research participants (Bell, 2002). In Narrative Inquiry, the events that hold significance may be identified and told by the respondent but the meanings ascribed to them are co-created by the respondent and the researcher and may evolve and change, both within the time frame of the Narrative Inquiry itself and beyond. Added to this is the fact that meaning is always mediated through

language (Silverman, 2017); in this research through several languages and through individuals with a role in interpreting from one language into another. Hence there are multiple ways in which bias may infiltrate this research (Liamputtong, 2010). In order to more fully understand these biases and their impact on children's narratives, consideration is given to their origins and influences as part of the broader context in which these narratives are being explored and developed.

Clandinin and Murphy (2009, p. 601) understand human experience as "...ongoing (continuous), fluid, shifting and changing as both researchers' and participants' lives are lived out in situations shaped by social, cultural, institutional, and linguistic narratives". They acknowledge that research texts, the end-products of Narrative Inquiry-based research, are the embodiment of the experiences of both the research participants and the researcher and that they will always be partial and incomplete. Arguing against Coulter and Smith's (2009) assertion that the researcher is able to 'get into the head of a participant', they caution that the researcher should take care not to assume omniscience.

This point is acknowledged by researchers working within other qualitative traditions.

Charmaz (2014, p. 27) considers maintaining throughout a piece of research an awareness of possible researcher bias to be a hallmark of well-executed research because "neither observer nor observed come to a scene untouched by the world". Hence researcher reflexivity within qualitative research is important with all research participants' epistemological and ontological stances having a part to play (Hesse-Biber, 2010). In this research, reflexivity enabled the possible impact of biases arising from the researcher's multiple identities to be mitigated. Those identities included Head of Cantonshire EAL Service; lead researcher and academic; adult; English; female; member of the majority society. They varied in their impact according to the immediate context, introducing a power dynamic into each data collection activity conducted in the field. Throughout the research endeavour, the impact of all of them was considered, with adaptations and tweaks made to mitigate their effects. For example, providing materials in translation into the target languages, and using members of the communities under study to support dialogue with research participants.

Huber et al. (2011) talk about the unfolding and constantly evolving interplay between children's, teachers' and institutions' lives in which there may exist various tensions. They talk about this in terms of a "curriculum of lives" (Huber et al., 2011, p. 5), a concept of

curriculum that is not restricted to that delivered in the classroom which comprises knowledge, skills and attitudes linked to subject matter outcomes but is “an expression of teachers’, children’s and families’ lives as they [meet] in classrooms, sometimes schools, around subject matter and shaped by the cultural, social, institutional and linguistic narratives that structure milieu” (Huber et al., 2011, p. 6).

3.4.1 Ethical considerations

The ethical burden of carrying out research that involves exploring, writing about and representing the lives of others is widely recognised (Josselson, 2006; Sikes, 2013). This is particularly pertinent in the case of research that focuses on people from marginalised groups, especially children (Liamputtong, 2010; Patton & Winter, 2023).

Seen as a co-construction in which the researcher temporarily becomes part of the lives of the research participants, research that explores aspects of people’s social experiences is replete with quandaries and tensions which the researcher should attend (Bell, 2002; Clandinin et al., 2010; Nishiyama, 2018). The researcher must engage both with their own voice and with those of the research participants in order to ensure there is “...consideration for the other in our social interactions throughout the inquiry” (Phillips & Zavros, 2012, p. 53).

That the rights of participants should be respected is an ethical principle that underlies this research. The primary way in which this is achieved is by integrating participatory methodology into the research design, giving the participants choices, critical voices and agency. These measures help to reduce the power imbalance that inevitably exists between particularly the child participants and the researcher, thereby increasing the cultural and contextual relevance of the research findings (Abebe, 2009; Einarsdóttir, 2007).

These principles are further underpinned by an awareness that inequalities arising from differences are complex and multi-faceted. Therefore researcher reflexivity includes due consideration of their own values and beliefs in relation to their thoughts about and actions towards others, including the words they choose to use when writing about them (Abebe, 2009; Dervin, 2012). In these ways, the researcher aims to effect a shift away from ‘research

on' to 'research with', the latter being characterised by the emancipation of the research participants (Bell, 2008; Liangputtong, 2010; Midgley et al., 2012; Robinson et al., 2016).

In the context of this research, the ethical concerns that arise from the status of key research participants, children and adults from linguistic and cultural minority groups, are broadly addressed through adherence to the University of Reading's ethical guidelines for research and through fidelity to the over-arching aim of Narrative Inquiry, specifically to present verisimilitudinous accounts of the children's lived experiences (Sikes in Goodson et al., 2012). Accordingly, there are nuanced layers subsumed within these broad guiding principles which need to be identified and explored. These are discussed in the following sections.

3.4.1.1 Power

In research that focuses on minoritised communities, one issue that may arise is that of a power imbalance. This may apply to both child and adult respondents. As the child may find themselves in a power-skewed situation when being interviewed by an adult researcher, so may an adult from minoritised community in an interview situation where the researcher is representative of the majority community, as was the case in this research. Further, in this research there was the potential for these difficulties to be compounded by the presence of bilingual research assistants who, whilst they were members of the same minoritised groups as the research participants, like the researcher also represented the edifice that is the Local Authority's Children's Services Department (Kvale, 2006; Liangputtong, 2010).

Research that involves children necessitates that the researcher take account of the ways in which the inherent imbalance of power that exists between researcher and child may impact (Abebe, 2009; Einarsdóttir, 2007). Consideration of this has resulted in criticism of the further imbalance which may reside in the process, i.e. it is embedded in the very act of doing the research itself (Abebe, 2009; Christensen, 2004; Liangputtong, 2010).

Albon and Barley discuss this point in relation to writing fieldnotes. In this data collection activity, selection is involved as the researcher chooses whom and what to write about, a process that inevitably involves contemporaneous acts of deselection and omission. The act of choosing, they comment, can be viewed as indicative of the power differential between (adult) researcher and (child) participant, with all of the choices being made by the adult and

none by the child. In recognition of the power differential in their own research, which focused on children from minoritised backgrounds whose homes were multilingual, Albon and Barley were mindful of the need to avoid their work becoming little more than a “colonising project” and to acknowledge that such children’s voices “are situated in particular contexts” (Albon & Barley, 2018, p. 9), a focus they suggest is sometimes lacking in contemporary research.

Nishiyama (2018) suggests that the more a researcher interacts with children in the course of their data collection activities, the more they will encounter ethical issues with which they are duty-bound to deal. To mitigate some of the effects of this, Nishiyama advocates that methods may need to be adapted when the respondent is a child. In the context of this study, efforts towards this end included the use of visual methods in the interview situations in which the researcher and a child were engaged. Visual methods were intended to make the interview situation more accessible for the child respondents, reducing the possible stress of being in an unfamiliar situation with adults they did not know very well. It was hoped that in having as a focus the creation of an artefact, the child would be supported to talk more freely about their language-related experiences (Guillemin, 2004, in Glegg, 2018; Seidman, 2013). However, this approach was not cost-neutral; in order to give the child access to choices about which language they wanted to use to express themselves whilst engaging in the activity, to give them ‘voice’ (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), bilingual research assistants were included in the interview situation. This added another adult into the room, accentuating the possible issues caused by the existence of a power imbalance.

Further criticism of research involving children focuses on the ways in which representations of children’s lived experiences have been either marginalised or are notable by their absence (Christensen, 2004; Lomax, 2012). Christensen suggests that a power imbalance can be the product of cultural notions of power and control played out in numerous situations involving adults interacting and engaging with children, often reinforcing for the child that talk between adults takes precedence over talk with children. This sort of experience may result in children feeling intimidated and overpowered in a research situation, leading to a lack of engagement.

As a counter to this, post-modern views of children and childhood acknowledge that children have first-hand experience and knowledge of their own social worlds, knowledge

that may be best accessed through direct engagement with them (Einarsdóttir, 2007). Underpinning these views is the principle that children are social actors worthy of investigation in their own right (Beazley et al., 2009; Sairanen et al., 2022). This position aligns with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which recognises children's rights to participate in decisions that affect them and to express their views. Hence latterly it has become increasingly important to consider how to enable children to engage in more equal, agentic ways with qualitative research that focuses on them and their social worlds.

In this study, power was also an aspect of the relationship between researcher and bilingual research assistant. The bilingual research assistants were all employees of Cantonshire EAL Service, the researcher being on the senior leadership team. Hence at professional level the power differential may have impacted on the way the research assistants interacted with the researcher, for example deferring to the researcher where question or challenge may have been more desirable. In other contexts, for instance where L1 was being used, the power differential shifted to the research assistants, and for that matter the children, with the researcher rendered voiceless. In addition, power may have impacted the interviews with the children's teachers, due to their perception of the researcher as Head of Cantonshire EAL Service. This may have shaped teachers' responses, as they may have come to the interview situation with a preconceived idea of what the researcher/Head of Service would be pleased to hear in relation to their practice for their multilingual learners.

In this research, consideration of these principles revealed tensions. For example, there was a tension between the primary driver of seeking answers to research questions that were set by the researcher, i.e. they were part and parcel of the adult's agenda, and ensuring that whilst doing so the respondents' rights to have their voices heard and their experiences captured in ways that held resonance for them were acknowledged in meaningful ways. Furthermore, the right of the respondents to privacy, to not be heard, was compromised in that the children may have felt they could not withhold their assent since this would run counter to their experiences of being conditioned to comply with whatever an adult might ask of them (Christensen, 2004). Thus, despite the steps taken to mitigate the power imbalance, that it could ever be reduced to a negligible level was an impossible aim, especially in relation to data collection activities with the participating children but also in relation to activities with adult respondents.

3.4.1.2 Vulnerability

A second issue inherent in this research relates to the vulnerability of the research participants. In the literature, discussion of the term 'vulnerable' when referring to target populations for research notes how its definition is often conflated with other terms, such as 'hard-to-reach', 'sensitive' or 'hidden' (Dempsey et al., 2016; Liamputtong, 2010). The participants in this research may be thought of in these ways due to their status as members of communities that are often minoritised and marginalised.

However, the label 'vulnerable' in the context of this research is more nuanced than this suggests in that the research participants may not be vulnerable in all social settings. This point relates to the extent to which a group of people can be said to be marginalised within different social contexts. This may be an issue for UK-resident minoritised communities who in some contexts are marginalised by the fact that their home cultures and languages differ from those of the dominant, majority population. For example, they may be marginalised when engaging with the UK education system, when attending a parents' evening or other event organised by their child's school, but less so when participating in social activities within their own communities. Hence it is important both to recognise the concept of vulnerability and its possible impact on the respondents involved in this research whilst at the same time not allowing it to patronise the portrayal of those respondents (Dempsey et al., 2016; Kvale, 2006).

In terms of participant vulnerability, at every stage of the research both the children and their families might be considered 'vulnerable' in that they allowed the researcher access into aspects of their private lives, past and present. Moreover, they gave consent for data about those lives to be coded and analysed in ways they may not have understood, giving rise to theories they may not have felt resonated with their experiences yet would eventually be disseminated to an audience they were unlikely ever to meet. Thus, when we think about the ethical codes to which researchers are duty-bound to adhere, it should be acknowledged that these are a product of the value system within which they were developed. Out of this cultural disconnect may arise tensions between researcher and researched, challenging the ethical basis on which the research was conducted (Clark, 2012).

As with the issues relating to the power imbalance, steps were taken to off-set the impact of participant vulnerability, including the focus on the right to withdraw and the opportunities factored in for participants to have access to those parts of the research text that related to them or to members of their family. However, in the event only one parent expressed an interest in taking up this opportunity. Lastly, at the end of the penultimate session with the children, the researcher gently reminded them that the next visit would be the last. Then, after the final MAIN session, and to signal to them that the work was complete, the children were each given a dual language story book to keep and a thank you card. This was done to acknowledge their contributions and to help the children achieve a sense of closure.

3.4.1.3 Confidentiality

With regards data protection, all data collected were stored within a password-protected, secure system. The right to withdraw from the research was explained in advance to all participants. Should anyone have chosen to withdraw at any time, they would have incurred no penalty and all their data would have been securely destroyed. All participants were told this at the outset; thankfully, none chose to withdraw.

In order to further protect the individuals and schools involved in this research, none has been named or made otherwise identifiable in the write-up; instead, pseudonyms have been used throughout. The choice of pseudonym was matched to the children's own names in that where a child's real name was drawn from their heritage culture, a pseudonym was chosen to match, and where the child had an English name, the pseudonym chosen was English. Four of the six Nepali heritage children, Abbie, Andrew, Carolyn and Samantha, had English names and two, Niva and Sarad, had Nepali names. All five Polish heritage children had Polish names.

The use of recording, a relatively common practice in qualitative research, raised further issues. In some cultures, video and audio recording can violate acceptable norms, giving rise to further issues around confidentiality (Clark, 2012). Hence it is important to consider the extent to which recording may be an issue for research participants prior to embarking on data collection. In this study, this factor underpinned the decision not to use video recording with the participating children and to rely instead on audio recording. This decision had an impact on the data collection and analyses that were carried out in that non-

verbal cues were not captured on video for later analysis, nor could the context of the setting be captured, only those things recorded in field notes. However, avoiding the use of video meant gaining consent was less complicated. Further, it circumvented the issue of accidentally capturing footage of children not directly involved in the research, always a possibility when working in busy school settings.

Lastly, the use as research assistants of members of the community under study brings its own issues. Such a set-up can promote trust, promoting information-sharing on the part of research participants but equally it may be problematic from the point of view of confidentiality, especially if, due to their links with the community, the bilingual research assistant is known socially to research participants. Further, in the present research, this issue may have transcended the individual in the case of the participating Nepali families due to the ways in which the Nepali caste system may impact on relationships between people from different castes (Misra, 2019).

3.4.1.4 Consent

A key consideration in this research was how to engage with members of the target respondent groups in a way that took full account of the issue of consent. For one thing, the main respondents were children, and children cannot give their informed consent to be the subjects of research in the same way and with the same level of understanding that might be expected of an adult (Einarsdóttir, 2007; Flewitt, 2005). In this sense, the key respondent group identified at the outset was intrinsically vulnerable and the research planning had to take account of this at every stage including seeking their informed consent, or assent in the case of the children, interviewing participants and observing them in different contexts, leaving the field in a way that gave them a sense of closure through to writing up and disseminating the findings (Christensen, 2004; Nishiyama, 2018).

Assent to participate was sought from each child prior to commencing any data collection activities with them. At the outset, the research project and the nature and extent of their involvement was explained in both English and the child's other language using a pre-prepared script (Appendix v: Script explaining the project to a child translated into Nepali, p.295). The children's initial responses were recorded using a child-friendly form (Appendix vi: Ethics documentation (includes child's assent form) during that first encounter. In each

subsequent encounter, their assent was again sought, this time verbally, before commencing the planned activity.

The decision to approach consent in this way was taken because of the emergent nature of narrative research. This has led researchers to propose that a better approach to consent might be to consider it provisional, something that needs to be revisited with participants throughout the data collection phase (Flewitt, 2005; Smythe & Murray, 2000). Hence in this research the researcher asked the child if they were happy to participate in an activity each time they went into school to see them. Although only once did one child say “no” when asked if they were happy for the researcher to record the interaction, it may not necessarily be the case that on all the other occasions all the children were fully cognisant of what they were assenting to. Furthermore, the issue of the power differential that may exist between researcher and researched may have influenced the children’s apparent compliance, meaning that they may not have been truly free to give or to deny assent on any of the occasions when they were asked (Lomax, 2012).

Also to be considered is how children might be conditioned by their first experiences of the researcher, a stranger intruding into aspects of their lives that had previously been private and likely not the subject of conversations or questions. Christensen’s experiences of research with children suggest that it is important to first build a relationship with each child based on respect and sensitivity, to listen and observe first and to wait to be invited to join in rather than to assume the child will willingly respond to a more direct approach shaped by the researcher’s agenda, which may differ from that of the child (Abebe, 2009; Christensen, 2004).

In this study, whilst these principles may have guided the qualitative elements and activities, it was harder to reconcile them with the quantitative aspect i.e. the use of the MAIN, which of necessity should be delivered according to its rubric rather than through a process of negotiation with the child, taking into account their preferences. Hence in this research there has been compromise, including compromise at ethical level, due to the mixed methods nature of its design and the choices made with regards research instruments.

With the adult research participants, efforts were made to ensure they understood the aims of the research and their role in it. For example, information about the research was provided in translation to the children’s parents (Appendix vii: Information about the

research provided to parents in advance of the first in-person meeting, p.324). Further, as part of activities around gaining informed consent, bilingual research assistants were used to support the adults to ask questions and to have explanations of key points reinforced through the use of first language. However, despite these measures, it was possible that cultural differences that existed between those involved may have impinged in unforeseen ways. For example, in Nepali culture the caste system, although officially outlawed in 1963, may continue to affect how particular people from different castes, as identified by their surnames, perceive and relate to one another (Misra, 2019; Pariyar, 2020; Subedi, 2019).

3.5 The pilot study

Prior to the substantive data collection phase, a small-scale pilot study was carried out with three Nepali-heritage children. The pilot gave the researcher an opportunity to have first-hand experience of how various aspects of the research might work in practice. The first of these was the process whereby young children's assent might be gained. In the pilot study, the pre-drafted explanation of the child's involvement was read to them in L1 and in English and the child was asked to indicate if they were happy to proceed on that basis using the assent form 'Yes/No' questions (the child's assent form is included in the Ethics documentation, Appendix vi, p.29695). This process highlighted that the child's ability to sustain their interest in adult talk about matters to do with research was limited. The children coped better with the questions on the assent form, which were shorter, but still there were issues with their interpretation of what was being asked and how to respond, necessitating a rethink of how to simplify and clarify the points being covered.

Secondly, the use of visual methods with the children in the pilot phase involved making available to the child a wide choice of materials for them to choose from to create their social mapping image, including pebbles, buttons and shells. This proved overwhelming, hence in the substantive data collection phase, the materials were limited to those with which the child was more familiar, i.e. crayons, colouring pencils and felt tips. This seemed to help the child achieve an understanding of what was being asked of them, and they were able to continue with more confidence.

Thirdly, the pilot enabled the researcher to gain experience of delivering the MAIN activities in line with the MAIN protocol. This third point was particularly important in relation to the

contribution to be made by the bilingual research assistants who were to deliver the first MAIN session in L1.

The pilot also gave the researcher an initial feel for the sorts and amount of data that might be yielded from the use of the research instruments. This included practical experience of the process of transcription of data captured as audio recordings and some of the complexities inherent in this activity. It also afforded consideration of how to approach the qualitative and quantitative coding of the data, the former in relation to field notes and narrative interviews with the children, and the latter in relation to the use of the MAIN.

Lastly, the pilot enabled the researcher to identify aspects of the research that might be problematic, for example the emotional responses of young children to non-routine situations in which they would be called upon to work with unfamiliar adults. This relates to research ethics, highlighting the need to take care when approaching the child, being ever mindful of the potential impact of the encounter on them and always ready to respond flexibly 'in the moment' should the situation seem to be causing stress.

In spite of the learning gained from the experience of the pilot phase of this research as detailed in Section 3.5.1, in the substantive field work phase there were still unanticipated issues that arose. These are covered in chapter nine.

3.5.1 Adaptations made to the substantive study in light of the pilot study experience

This section sets out the changes made to the substantive data collection phase of this study, drawing on what was learned from the experience of the pilot.

The bilingual research assistants benefited from participation in the pilot as there was a lot to remember, particularly in relation to the delivery of the MAIN; initially they found it difficult to coordinate all that the MAIN protocol required of them. This resulted in some errors being made, for example one bilingual research assistant assumed that it would be desirable if the model story was made more appealing by introducing vocabulary not given in the script. Because they delivered the model story in Nepali, the researcher only realised this had happened when the transcript was made, by which time it was too late to do anything about it. This rendered the exercise invalid from a methodological point of view as it meant the child's responses were not comparable with other children's responses to the

same task. For the substantive study, the researcher therefore took additional steps to try and ensure it was clear to the bilingual research assistants that they must follow the script and the MAIN protocol to the letter.

A second issue identified was that the human protagonists in the MAIN pictures did not reflect the ethnicity of the Nepali heritage children and were therefore not as relatable as they might be to the Polish heritage children. This was fed back to the originators of the MAIN as a suggested improvement, the justification being that if the illustrations were available with protagonists representative of different ethnicities, this would enable researchers to make more appropriate choices re which set of illustrations to use with which children. As a result of the feedback provided, new sets of pictures were published and in the substantive study, the researcher was able to choose the appropriate set for the participating Nepali and Polish heritage children.

Lastly, scoring the children's responses to the comprehension questions was not as straightforward as anticipated as the children did not always give a response that could easily be categorised according to the MAIN Instructions.

3.6 The substantive study

Attention now turns to the substantive study. After discussing considerations in relation to participant selection, the focus shifts to data collection and processing, and initial data analysis; activities which occurred concurrently throughout the fieldwork phase. Approaches to coding follow, before a short section on the Foundation Stage data used in this research. These data give an overview of the Cantonshire 2022 Foundation Stage outcomes by ethnicity, and highlight a differential between the two groups to which the participating children were ascribed.

3.6.1 Participant selection

This study focused on a small sample of UK-born bilingual children who had access to either Nepali or Polish in addition to English. Although the original plan had been for there to be twelve children in total, six from each language group, it proved impossible to recruit that many, and in the event a total of eleven children took part, six Nepali and five Polish

heritage. For all the children, both parents spoke the same first language, Nepali or Polish, this being a language used in the home.

Six schools were initially selected to be involved in the research. These were known to the LA Service for their work with communities for whom English is an Additional Language, of which they had many years' experience. Agreement in principle to support the research was first gained from the schools' Head Teachers. Following this, the researcher worked with key contacts in the schools to identify Nepali or Polish heritage children who had been born in the UK and who were due to start in Year R in September 2021. Through this activity, school staff in four of the six schools identified a total of eleven families to be invited to participate in the research. They next referred the children to the LA Service as per standard procedure for pupil profiling. At the same time, school staff supported initial approaches to the families by sending home information about the research provided by the researcher. This included an open invitation to participate in it, in English and in translation into Nepali or Polish (Appendix vii: Information about the research provided to parents in advance of the first in-person meeting, p.324).

Next, the researcher, working with the relevant bilingual research assistant in their dual role as Cantonshire Bilingual Assistant, met the children's parents, one set at a time. The meetings were held in school and were dual-purpose. Firstly, they provided a forum for routine Pupil Profiling activities in which background information about each child was gathered (see Appendix viii: Example of a participating child's Profile, p.329, for an example of the written output from Pupil Profiling). Secondly, the meeting afforded an opportunity for the researcher to double-check that each child met the selection criteria and to establish if the parents, having previously read the information sheet, had any questions about the research. In addition, the researcher explored with parents the implications of giving their consent for their child to be involved. This included the researcher giving an explanation of the types of data that would be gathered, how those data would be stored, issues of confidentiality and anonymity, and the right to withdraw at any time. Parents were then asked to sign the consent form, and reminded that they could ask questions as they arose in L1 or English throughout the fieldwork phase, by email or by telephone. As part of routine pupil profiling, they were then asked questions about their child by the bilingual research assistant, with additional detail gathered by the researcher using additional questions (Appendix ix: Additional questions used in initial semi-structured interviews with parents (as

part of Profiling). Hence although recruitment efforts focused on families who used a particular language at home, participating families, including the children themselves, were free to self-select when deciding to participate in the research (Lindsay & Schwind, 2016).

Recruitment activities resulted in all eleven sets of parents giving their consent for their child to be involved. Following this, the researcher arranged to meet the children to gain their assent. This was done in school with the relevant bilingual research assistant on hand to support through L1 as needed. A pre-prepared, pre-translated script was used to explain to the children what the research was about and what their involvement might be (Appendix v: Script explaining the project to a child translated into Nepali, p.295). Whilst efforts were made to couch the research in child-friendly language and to enable them to ask questions in either English or their home language, most of the children showed limited interest in this aspect of the research; nonetheless all eleven gave their assent to be included. Hence eleven children were recruited, becoming research participants at least at that point in time; due to their age and the ethical considerations surrounding research with children, their assent was taken to be provisional, something that would have to be revisited each time the researcher returned for further data collection (Christensen, 2004; Einarsdóttir, 2007; Flewitt, 2005; Smythe & Murray, 2000). Figure 10 (below) shows the children and their schools; the Polish heritage children were at Openfield Primary and St Joseph's Roman Catholic Primary, whilst the Nepali heritage children were at Meadow Infants and Water's Edge Primary. Further background information about each child can be found in chapter four.

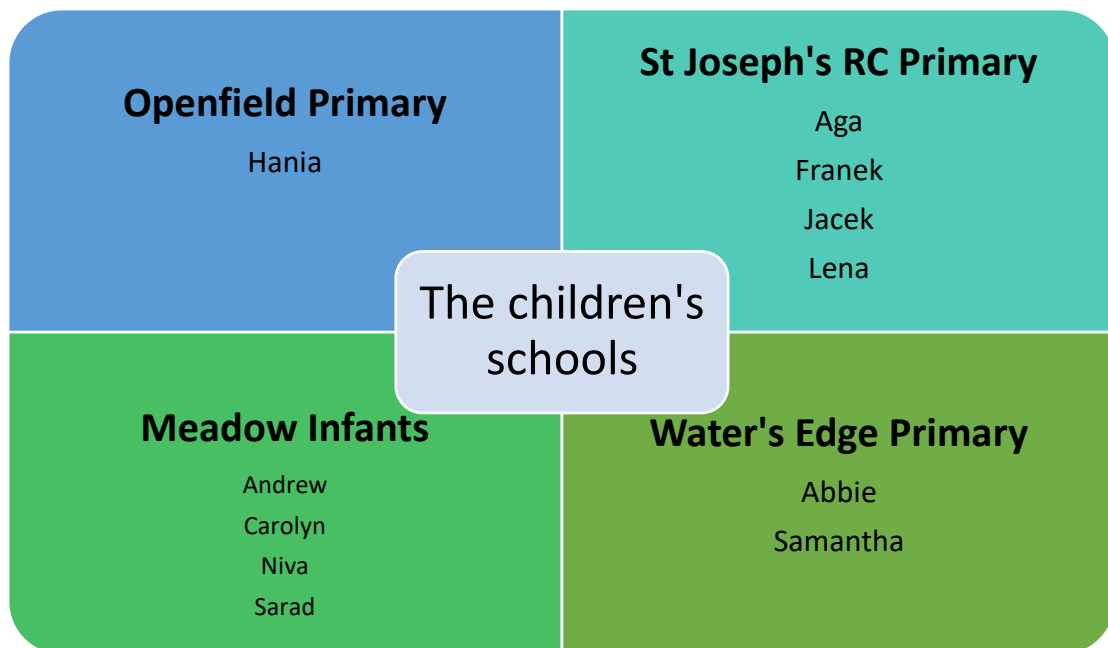


Figure 10: The eleven children who participated in this research and their four schools

3.7 Data collection and analysis

There were two components to this mixed methods research: qualitative and quantitative. The former comprised children's expressions of their language-related experiences, parents' views of language use within their families, and teachers' views of multilingualism in relation to their classroom practice. Qualitative data were gathered through a series of interviews. With parents, details from the first meeting were captured as field notes, whilst the interviews held with them later, at the end of data collection, were audio recorded. The narrative interviews with the children were audio-recorded and supported by the use of visual methods, with further data collected through participant observation, captured in the form of field notes.

The quantitative data used in this study comprised data from the use of the MAIN and Cantonshire's 2022 Foundation Stage outcomes by ethnicity (Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity, p.294). The quantitative data do not in themselves afford the insights that can be contributed by the qualitative elements of the research. Nor do they allow for the generation of hypotheses or theories in the same way that the over-arching Narrative Inquiry framework may yield a window through which to view children's language-learning experiences across different social contexts. Hence the prominence given to qualitative methods, in the context of this research the providers of

data that enabled the researcher to find out about people's lives, lived experiences and behaviours (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Below (Table 1) the sequence of data collection activities is presented, identifying data collection methods used and identifying whether the data collected were part of the qualitative or quantitative strand of this study. For a more detailed account, see Appendix xi: Substantive data collection detailed, in chronological order, pp.336-343.

Table 1: Data collection overview and timeline

Activity	QUAL or Quant	Data collected	Notes, including data collection methods used
Autumn Term 2021			
The children and their families were identified and information about the research was sent home for parents' consideration.	-	-	An example of the information sent home to parents can be found in Appendix vii, p.345.
Informed consent was gained from parents.	-	-	This was done at the start of an in-person meeting, part of standard pupil profiling activities.
Each child was profiled by the Cantonshire EAL Service, providing an opportunity for research-specific details about the family's language use to be gathered from parents.	QUAL	Background information about each child. Enabled the researcher to check each child met the selection criteria.	Semi-structured interview with parents using questions in Appendix ix, p.334 . An example of a child's profile can be found in Appendix viii, p.329.
The children's assent was sought. This was repeated each time the researcher worked with them.	-	-	The child's initial assent form is included in the Ethics documentation, Appendix vi, p.296.
The children engaged in the first social mapping activity supported by the bilingual research assistant.	QUAL	These sessions were audio recorded, transcribed, translated into English (where the child had used heritage language), and then coded.	Visual methods to support narrative interview. The session lasted about 40 minutes and enabled the child to identify their family members and to talk about the language(s) they used with those people.

The first two uses of the MAIN were carried out, the first in L1 and the second in English.	Quant	All MAIN sessions were audio recorded, transcribed and translated into English (where the child used heritage language). The children's stories were coded using CHAT and then processed using CLAN to get the MLU, incidence of code-switching and number of 'tokens'. The children's stories were scored for macrostructural components, structural complexity and ISTs using the MAIN materials. The children's responses to the comprehension questions were also scored using the MAIN rubric.	MAIN scoring, giving measures of the children's receptive and expressive skills in their languages: MLU, number of 'tokens', incidence of code-switching, macrostructural components, structural complexity, ISTs. The first use of the MAIN (T1 and T2) gave a baseline for each of the child's two languages against which the child's scores from the second use (T3 and T4) could be compared, to see if there were any identifiable changes.
Spring term 2022			
The researcher carried out participant observations of the children at school as they engaged in regular activities with their class.	QUAL	Field notes were recorded of the observations. These were then coded.	Observation. This lasted about an hour per child and was carried out during the morning. The focus was on the language(s) the child used when interacting with others, or when using talk to accompany their own solo play.
The second social mapping activities were completed with each child, working in withdrawal and supported by the bilingual research assistant.	QUAL	These sessions were audio recorded, transcribed, translated into English (where the child had used heritage language), and then coded.	Visual methods to support narrative interview. The session lasted about 40 minutes and enabled the child to identify people at school who were significant in some way, and to talk about the language(s) they used with those people.
Summer term 2022			
The children engaged with the third and fourth use of the MAIN. They	Quant	All MAIN sessions were audio recorded, transcribed and translated into English (where the	MAIN scoring, giving measures of the children's receptive and expressive skills in their languages:

were given a dual language story book to keep to signal the end of the data collection phase of the research.		child used heritage language). The children's stories were coded using CHAT and then processed using CLAN to get the MLU, incidence of code-switching and number of 'tokens'. The children's stories were scored for macrostructural components, structural complexity and ISTs using the MAIN materials. The children's responses to the comprehension questions were also scored using the MAIN rubric.	MLU, number of 'tokens', incidence of code-switching, macrostructural components, structural complexity, ISTs.
Parents and teachers were invited to participate in a final semi-structured interview with the researcher.	QUAL	The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and then coded.	Semi-structured interviews with parents and teachers, each lasting up to 45 minutes and enabling the researcher to explore whether or not parents had noticed any changes in their child's use of their two languages during Year R. See Appendix xii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with parents, p.345, and Appendix xiii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with teachers, p.346, respectively for the lists of questions used in these interviews.
Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes data.	Quant	Local Authority statistics.	Produced by ethnic group, data showing the percentage of children achieving GLD at the end of Foundation Stage (Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity, p.294).

3.7.1 Transcription

This section focuses on the process of transcribing the audio recordings which comprised the majority of the data collected in the course of this study. Audio recordings were made of interviews with the child and adult participants, and of the MAIN activities. Away from the field, the recordings were transcribed and, where they involved the use of another language, translated into English before being coded and analysed by the researcher.

Transcription of audio data might be defined as “...the process of representing oral language with orthographic conventions” (Turell & Moyer, 2008, p. 193). It is not a neutral, objective act but may instead be regarded as a first step in the interpretation and analysis of audio data. Alongside lexical, phonetic and syntactic elements, consideration may also be given to intonation, hesitations, pauses, emphasis, and the use of paralinguistic phenomena, all of which may contribute to the structure and meaning of utterances (Turell & Moyer, 2008).

A transcript is always a partial record of the interaction that took place between researcher and research participant. This is primarily because a transcript cannot capture in full all the non-verbal elements of the interaction. Where non-verbal contributions seem significant, for example where a research participant nods, laughs or points at something, they can be marked in the transcript but there will inevitably be non-verbal cues that are omitted.

Hence making a transcript of an audio recording is in itself an aspect of qualitative research that involves selection on the part of the researcher. Alongside the transcript, field notes made at the time of the interaction can capture other aspects of the interaction, including the researcher’s initial reflections and interpretations, thereby building of a fuller picture. However, the data thus produced should not be taken as an objective record of the interaction; already the filtering and selection processes that inevitably accompany qualitative data production ensure this is not the case (Mason, 2018).

Transcription is also a time-consuming process. In this research, it fell to the bilingual research assistants to transcribe recordings or sections of recordings where the children used their other language (Nepali or Polish) and next to translate them into English. This brought to the fore some of the challenges specific to cross-cultural research where the researcher is working outside of their own language and/or culture; i.e. the dependence on others’ interpretations of what has been said as well as acknowledgement that the bilingual

research assistants would have been as selective in the way they carried out the two-fold task of transcribing audio material and then translating it into English as the researcher was when choosing what to record in their field notes (Liamputtong, 2010). That said, working with bilingual research assistants who were members of the same communities under study meant that they could explain culturally-specific phenomena as they arose, affording the researcher a better understanding of e.g. naming conventions in Nepali culture, something that proved very useful in the pilot phase of this research.

Rowe (2012) advises the use of a verifier to check each transcript made as different people may hear different words in the same recording, or translate what was said in a different way, though in practice this was not possible for all the recordings and transcriptions as the bilingual research assistants simply did not have the time available to do this.

The TalkBank and Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) (MacWhinney, 2000) language research communities acknowledge that there are multiple decisions to be made when transcribing recordings of naturalistic speech, each of which affects the transcription as a record of spontaneous speech and therefore what is captured and conveyed to anyone who subsequently works with it. In this research, the transcriptions of the child's first language were necessarily carried out by a bilingual research assistant who then translated the L1 transcript (either Nepali or Polish) into English. This meant there had already been at least two interpretations of the raw data before the researcher had begun to work with it. In addition, the Nepali bilingual research assistant was tasked with transliterating the Nepali, rendering the transcription using the English alphabet. This was necessary in order to give the researcher greater independence when working with the Nepali transcripts and was important because of the need to identify any occurrences of code-switching or code mixing. This resulted in further layers of interpretation as there is not direct, one-to-one correspondence between the grammars or phonologies of English and Nepali.

The Polish transcripts were rendered using the Polish alphabet which has more similarities with English, sharing Latin as its root. However, as with the Nepali transcription process, with the Polish transcriptions too was introduced another layer of interpretation of the raw data. One way in which the effects of transcription by a third party were mediated was for the bilingual research assistants and researcher to identify any issues arising and discuss how these were dealt with as the data were processed. This dialogue between researcher

and bilingual research assistants resulted in three such issues being identified: difficulties with background noise on some audio recordings drowning out some children's voices; difficulties interpreting what the child had said where their speech was not clear or where their pronunciation was not quite right; decision-making around how to transcribe the child's speech where the child had used words not recognisable as belonging to either L1 or English i.e. what the child had said did not make sense in either language.

Once the transcripts in L1 had been made, they were translated into English by the bilingual research assistant. This is done in order for the researcher to be able to work independently with the data. However, it raises further questions about both the ethics and the validity of this research endeavour. For one thing, there is the issue of power dynamics between the researcher and bilingual research assistants and how this might impact on validity. For another, it has been argued that in cross-cultural research interpreters/translators should be treated as 'key informants' rather than 'neutral transmitters of messages' (Liamputtong, 2010) for the reasons outlined above.

In the following sections, qualitative data collection is discussed first, followed by quantitative. Due to the nature of this study, qualitative data analysis began concurrently with data collection, hence this research activity is woven through the discussion.

3.7.2 Qualitative data capture

Qualitative research generates large amounts of predominantly textual data, in this study in the form of observational field notes and transcripts of interviews. Through the detailed and systematic exploration of these data, analytical categories are derived and these are used by researchers to describe and explain social phenomena (Maher et al., 2018; Pope et al., 2000). Qualitative data thus represent records of observation or interaction gathered and analysed by the researcher to enable them to understand the area under study and to answer their research questions. As such, they are unpredictable, complex and contexted.

Easily acquired, the challenge is that of making useful data from the vast amount of information available from situations in which one might engage in the course of data collection (Richards, 2009). This process involves selection as some of the available information is captured and becomes data. The act of selection is an opportunity for researcher bias to infiltrate, hence in this study the questions 'what am I recording?', 'what

might I be omitting?’ and ‘what is going on here?’ were used throughout to mitigate this possible effect.

Partly because of the volume of data that is gathered in qualitative research, and partly because qualitative research is provisional, emergent and evolutionary (Saldaña et al., 2011), data collection and analysis co-occur both in the field and away from it, right from the outset of the inquiry (Merriam, 2014; Pope et al., 2000; Saldaña et al., 2011). Within Narrative Inquiry, the process of collecting and analysing data is iterative, with much movement back and forth as the researcher engages with the research participants, the data they are collecting and the literature (Merriam, 2014). This enables the narrative being constructed to be checked and confirmed or contested, the aim being to produce a research text that has both veracity and verisimilitude in the eyes of the participants, the researcher and the audience for the final product (Lindsay & Schwind, 2016).

Data collection took place in the four schools attended by the children over a period of approximately eleven months, ending when the participant children completed their first year of compulsory schooling. Data collection activities focused on the children’s exposure to and use of their two languages in various social contexts.

Through the fieldwork phase, each child was involved in a narrative interview situation supported by the use of visual methods on two occasions. During the act of creation of each image, each child was invited to talk about their experiences of living in two languages and cultures, contextualised in the social settings of home and school respectively. Further, the child was able to choose what language they wanted to use to talk about their experiences, since the bilingual research assistant was also present for the social mapping activities. This context also enabled the use of L1 where the researcher had first tried English but the child had seemed not to understand.

Observations were carried out by the researcher working alone on two separate occasions, immediately prior to the two social mapping narrative interviews. The sequence of activities was organised in this way in order to give the researcher a route into the interview situation, since they would have some knowledge of what each child had been doing at school just before the interview and could use this as an opener. It also enabled the researcher to verify what languages the children were using at school. Further, it was hoped that having

seen the researcher in their classroom, the children would feel more relaxed in the one-to-one situation with the researcher that followed, thereby facilitating talk.

The perspectives of key adults in the children's lives – parents and their teacher - were explored through semi-structured interviews held at the end of the fieldwork phase. The data gathered from the adult participants layered in another perspective on language choices and language use in different social contexts.

3.7.3 Coding and analysing the qualitative data

Merriam (2014) describes how in qualitative research best practice is for data analysis to begin when the first set of field notes have been taken or the first transcript produced. She talks in pragmatic terms about the ways in which the researcher engages with these initial data and how activities such as annotation, writing memos, asking questions will refine and shape the next round of data collection. Data gathered in that next round will receive similar scrutiny and will also be compared with those from the first round. Thus, by the end of the data collection phase, a preliminary set of categories or themes will have been produced, achieved initially through inductive analysis.

Saldaña et al. (2011) also talk about the use of categories when undertaking qualitative data analysis, acknowledging that the data collected might not always lend themselves to tidy categorisation. Nonetheless, categories can help identify both patterns from amongst the vast array of qualitative data yielded by a study and the interrelationships between categories. Saldaña et al. describe "influences and affects" (p.93) in the context of qualitative data analysis, suggesting that interrelationships between categories can be established through systematic exploration of the data. As new data are collected, inductive shifts to deductive analysis as the researcher tests and refines their emergent categories (Merriam, 2014; Pope et al., 2000).

Maher et al. suggest that not only will the researcher engage in "deep and insightful" interactions with their data but also that they must deploy "imaginative insight" in order to both make sense of those data and to generate new understandings (2018, p. 1). This echoes Suddaby's earlier suggestion that exemplary qualitative research is more than a process-driven enterprise, comprising a creative component with the researcher maintaining

position as an “active element of the research process” (2006, p. 638). Thus following the fieldwork phase there ensues further reflection, systematic data analysis and interpretation, processes which confer on the researcher cognitive ownership of their data to such an extent that patterns will begin to emerge and “the bigger picture” will come into focus (Saldaña et al., 2011, p. 90).

Saldaña proposes that three primary heuristics are applied in qualitative research as part of data analysis: deductive, abductive and inductive reasoning (Saldaña et al., 2011). Working with their data, e.g. when transcribing interviews or adding detail to fieldnotes, the researcher will simultaneously annotate them, highlight significant fragments and record analytic memos. They will use a variant of coding as a way of identifying what they interpret to be happening in their data after which, they will sort their codes into categories. Once this has been done, further reflection can enable the interplay between categories to be considered.

The use of analytic memos can contribute to the coding and categorising activities that comprise qualitative data analysis. Saldaña conceptualises this as an “open-ended reflection on the phenomena and processes suggested by the data and their analysis thus far” (Saldaña et al., 2011, p. 98). Analytic memos reference the codes and categories used and are tools to enable the researcher to make links back to their research questions, consider any personal or ethical dilemmas with the study, how they relate to the participants and so on. Eventually, analytic memos will be grouped together by theme before being revised and edited into sections of the final write up.

3.7.3.1 The coding process

Charmaz defines coding as “...a heuristic device for engaging with the data and beginning to take them apart analytically” (Charmaz, 2016a). This is echoed elsewhere in the literature with qualitative coding identified as a way of enabling the researcher to extrapolate from their data meaningful patterns and themes (Mason, 2018; Richards, 2009; Saldaña, 2021; Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). Matching the iterative nature of Narrative Inquiry, coding also involves frequent movement back and forth between the raw data, codes and categories as the search for the over-arching themes and theories progresses. Researchers may undertake several rounds of coding, moving from inductive coding in the early stages to

analytic coding in the later ones (Elliott, 2018; Saldaña, 2021; Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019).

The first coding cycle in this study was inductive (Merriam, 2014). It involved the identification in the qualitative data of descriptive, low-inference codes suggested by the literal words spoken (Elliott, 2018). Subsequent coding cycles were undertaken in the search for reflexive, interpretive themes (Mason, 2018) and as such were part and parcel of the researcher's quest to identify over-arching themes in the narratives of growing up in two languages as lived by this small group of UK-born bilingual children.

As the first round of coding progressed, it was noted that some of the first-round codes identified occurred multiple times across participants. These were the ones that seemed to hold greater import in the search for patterns and themes in the data. Other codes occurred fewer times and became redundant in subsequent data analysis (Elliott, 2018). The full list of all the first-round codes with their respective frequencies is shown in Table 2.

The first coding cycle resulted in a total of twenty-seven codes being identified. These are listed below (Table 2). Although some were descriptive, the codes were interpretive in the main, coding content in such a way that codes common across the children's narratives could be identified and linked.

Table 2: First round codes - full list

First round codes	Frequency	First round codes	Frequency
Attention	15	Friendships with peers	14
Attitude to school	4	Knowledge of other languages	33
Behaviour at school	20	L1 Nepali	79
Bilingualism as an aim	9	L1 Polish	92
Code-mixing	6	Lack of response	1
Code-switching	74	Language choice	90
Confidence	29	Learning behaviours	32
Contact with extended family	13	Parental code switching	3
Culture - Nepali	11	Personality	7
Culture - Polish	6	Problems with language development	27
Cultures - other	4	Progress with school work	22
English	140	Translating L1 -E - L1	2
Experience of country of origin	9	Understanding	8
Experience of story	28		

When reviewing the first round codes, it was found that some - ‘English’, Experience of Story’, ‘L1 Nepali’, ‘L1 Polish’ and ‘Language Choice’ (emboldened in Table 2) - were too broad to be helpful and that a more nuanced approach to data analysis was needed. A review of the data assigned to these ‘problem’ codes suggested that they lent themselves to subdivision, becoming parent category headings beneath which were grouped a number of related child codes. For example, under the parent category “Language Choice”, six related child codes could be grouped (Table 3):

Table 3: Parent category ‘Language Choice’ with related child codes

Parent Category: language choice		
Cumulative frequency: 90		
Child Code	frequency	Examples from the raw data
language choice - child	29	[from interview with Carolyn’s father] Researcher: And if you speak to her in Nepali, what language would she choose to respond back to you? Father: English. [from second social mapping activity with Niva] Researcher: What about at home? What do you choose then? Niva: Nepali. Researcher: You choose Nepali. Niva: But I do both like Nepali and English. Researcher: When you are at home. Niva: [Nods]
language choice - parent	21	[from interview with Abbie’s father] Father: At home basically I speak in Nepalese with family, wife, everyone...with Abbie and his brother I usually speak in English, but Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I’d rather do conversation in English.
language choice - teacher	4	[from second social mapping activity with Sarad] Researcher: If you speak to Mrs Subba in Nepali do you think she would understand? Sarad: Yeah. Researcher: She would, ok. What would she do back? Would she speak Nepali back to you, do you think, or would she choose English? What would she do? Sarad: He will just choose English pinglish. [from second social mapping activity with Lena]

		Researcher: And do you speak Polish when you're doing your learning? Lena: No Researcher: How do you know when it's time to not speak Polish? Lena: Um...cos teacher...cos teacher...um...saying in a English.
language change	14	[from interview with Franek's mother] Researcher: So Franek's been in school now for the full year R and during that time, have you noticed any changes in his use of Polish? Mother: Well, he he's mixing much more English words into Polish response, so definitely that. Yeah, that's it. So sometimes he was trying to speak in English rather than in Polish...so um looks like um well, the first word that he has in his head is English rather than Polish, which is quite opposite to my other son. [from interview with Hania's mother] Researcher: What about her use of English? Is there any increase in that...or any changes that you've noticed? Mother: Yes, I will say huge ones. I'm actually very impressed. I wouldn't think that you could teach the five year old that many things in nine months cause in Poland the kids are starting school when they 7.
language preference	4	[from interview with Hania's mother; she is talking about her children's choice of programmes on television] Mother: Uh, now they watching it in Polish, but it...it kind of depends from the cartoon and from they mood how they want to watch it. There are some cartoons they watch only in English and there there's some that they prefer in Polish. [from interview with Hania's mother] Mother: We tried once the English one and she wasn't impressed. "OK, mummy let's do it in Polish, it sounds better in Polish, OK?"
Resources in L1	18	[from interview with Sarad's mother] Researcher: OK, so in your home...do you have Nepali TV or Nepali radio or books and story books in Nepali at home?

		Mother: Actually umm we don't have any Nepali like TV we just like watch YouTube and there we like see vlogs in Nepali...YouTube vlogs and movies. [from interview with Hania's mother] Mother: We have English and Polish books but for Hania I would say she prefer the Polish ones more.

This same process of incorporating several child codes under a parent category heading was applied to the other codes initially found to be too broad. The outcome of this stage in the data analysis is shown in Table 4 (below) which comprises the full list of parent categories with their grouped child codes.

Table 4: Parent categories and their related child codes

Parent category	Child codes
English	Breadth of vocabulary Dominant language of child Parents' L2 Phonics Speaking
L1 Nepali	Community language classes Expressive skills Maintaining Nepali Parents' L1 Receptive skills
L1 Polish	Community language classes Experience of literacy in L1 Expressive skills Maintaining Polish Monolingual start in life Polish as dominant language of child

The second round of coding and categorising marked the next stage of qualitative data analysis in this research. Now categories suggested by the data had been identified and data accordingly re-coded to them, the process had become more analytic, facilitating a move away from the descriptive and towards pinpointing the over-arching processes at play that could be understood at a more theoretical level (Skjott Linneberg & Korsgaard, 2019). Further reflection, prompted by the general question that aims to provoke analytic reflection "what is going on here?" (Saldaña, 2021) enabled the emergence of a set of three pairs of versus codes (Table 9, p.215) which are discussed in relation to the data collected in this research in chapter six.

The use of versus codes may be appropriate in situations where there exist forces that are in direct competition with each other (Saldaña, 2021). In this research, these forces relate to the push and pull factors which influence the language choices made by bilingual individuals. For example, there may be factors which serve to promote the use of L1 and these act in opposition to factors which serve to reduce its use. Thus versus codes can bring to light the power differentials that are at play in social situations, here the experiences of children growing up in two languages.

The second round of coding also brought to light an issue with RQ3. It was during the iterative process of data analysis that the wording of RQ3 was identified as problematic. The original wording was as follows:

What are the perspectives of the children themselves, their families, and their teachers towards their use of first language and English at home and at school?

The problem with the question phrased in this way was its focus on 'perspectives', which was predicated on the assumption that the children in particular might be able and willing to articulate a view of their experience of growing up in two languages. However, in the field work phase it was found that whilst the children, who were between four and five years old at the time, were able to talk in matter-of-fact ways about concrete experiences they may have had in the here-and-now, they did not find it so easy to engage with the more abstract notion of holding and expressing a view on their bilingual experience per se. It became apparent that a focus on the influences acting on the children might lend a more useful angle to the data analysis. Hence RQ3 was reworded thus:

What influences can be identified that may significantly affect the use of the children's heritage languages and English at home and at school?

In terms of what was emerging from the data analysis, this new wording was a better match with the versus codes that had surfaced. It enabled the researcher to consider the significance of the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry (*temporality, sociality and place*) in influencing the linguistic choices of not only the children but also the adults who participated in this research.

3.7.3.2 Reliability of the participants' contributions

Another outcome of the first level coding process was the identification in the data of anomalies. These hinted at possible issues relating to the reliability of some of the research participants' oral contributions. For example, Carolyn talked about a friend in her class, Evie, a monolingual, English-speaking child. Carolyn stated in one part of the conversation that Evie spoke only English and did not know any Nepali. Later in the same conversation she contradicted this, stating that Evie spoke Nepali. Other children talked about people or events that were entirely made up. For instance, Hania described a new baby that her mother had just had, giving it a name, Rose, and talking about how she helped her mother to look after it. A conversation with Hania's mother subsequently revealed that baby Rose did not exist.

Further anomalies were identifiable in the interviews with parents. For example, Andrew's mother told the researcher in one interview that the family spoke Nepali at home but later countered her initial assertion with references to the frequency with which she found she needed to use English because her son did not understand her when she spoke to him in Nepali. Thus, it can be seen that issues of reliability may apply equally to both child and adult respondents.

3.7.4 Quantitative data capture and analysis

The focus now turns to quantitative data capture and analysis, the second element of this mixed methods research, and one which predominantly relates to the use of the MAIN. In this study, some preparatory steps were taken prior to MAIN data collection. The researcher had the MAIN materials translated into Nepali so that the Nepali-speaking bilingual research assistant would have access to that resource in L1, the MAIN already being available in Polish and provided to the Polish-speaking bilingual research assistants. The researcher worked with the three bilingual research assistants on the development of two new resources to use during the field work phase; the information sheet for parents (Appendix vii, p.324), and the researcher's one-page profile (Appendix x: Researcher's one-page profile, p.335). These resources were translated into both Nepali and Polish. Time was also devoted to sharing the plan with the bilingual research assistants, booking provisional

dates for the visits to schools and exploring and discussing the MAIN materials and how these would be used with the children.

The raw MAIN data comprised the children's oral responses to the MAIN activities (described in section 3.3.5), which were audio-recorded and then transcribed. Where the child had used their heritage language, the transcription was then translated into English to enable the researcher to work with it. The process of transcription is discussed in more detail in Section 3.7.1, p.126.

The first use of the MAIN in this research was scheduled to take place on the second meeting with the child, i.e. the child had already met the researcher and bilingual research assistant and so was more likely to feel at ease in their company. The model Cat story (Appendix xiv: Picture sequence for the MAIN model Cat story, p.347), supported by a series of six pictures, was first told to the child using the child's heritage language. This was followed by comprehension questions (Appendix xv: Comprehension questions for MAIN model Cat story, p.348), also posed in the child's first language. The child's responses were recorded and later scored. These activities enabled the researcher to explore the child's receptive understanding of key features of fictional narrative in L1, features that may not be replicated in the child's expressive output (Bohnacker & Lindgren, 2020).

Next, the child was invited to tell their own story based on a second picture sequence. Similar comprehension questions followed and again the child's responses to these were recorded and later scored.

The second use of the MAIN, carried out after an interval of about a week, followed the same pattern, the only difference being that the model and story-telling activities and the comprehension questions were conducted in English. This cycle was repeated once more at the end of Year R, when the child had been in full-time education for just under a year.

Audio recordings were made of the children each time they engaged with the MAIN activities, both in first language and in English. These recordings were transcribed following CHAT conventions developed by the TalkBank and Child Language Data Exchange System (CHILDES) language research communities (MacWhinney, 2000). MacWhinney (2000), initiated the CHILDES project as a way of tackling issues of reliability and comparability that

previously characterised the process of transcribing and analysing samples of speech. Through the project, tools which could be used to address some of these issues were developed. Amongst these were the 'Codes for Human Analysis of Transcripts' (CHAT) transcription and coding format as described in the CHAT manual (MacWhinney, 2000). In essence CHAT comprises a protocol that can be used when transcribing recordings of speech. Through adherence to CHAT conventions and codes, consistency across transcribers and transcriptions has been improved. In turn, this means that the analyses of such data can be carried out in more regularised, comparable ways across the community of researchers interested in child language. Examples of a child's MAIN stories formatted in CHAT can be found in Appendix xvi: Transcript from MAIN in Polish (child's story only) in CHAT format, p.350, and Appendix xvii: Transcript from MAIN in English (child's story only) in CHAT format, p.352.

Following transcription and CHAT formatting, each transcript was run through three queries in the CLAN software. The output from the first of these queries was the MLU for that transcript (which also gave the total number of 'tokens'), the second yielded the number of different tokens used by the child to tell their story and the third quantified the incidence of code-switching. The quantitative data gathered from the processing of the MAIN data as discussed above are presented in Chapter Seven: Findings from the use of the MAIN.

CHAT conventions in their entirety may be used to mark an extensive array of linguistic and paralinguistic features such as pauses, the use of fillers, retracing and trailing off. As suggested by Rowe (2012), the researcher should choose which features to code and analyse in accordance with the specific research questions they are addressing. In this research, the areas of interest included the incidence of code-switching and the number of different words ('tokens') used, hence these features were systematically coded when the transcripts were prepared for analysis using the CLAN software.

The Mean Length of Utterance (MLU) is another possible output from CLAN. This is considered to be a robust index of linguistic productivity in children (Rice et al., 2010) and can be defined as the mean number of words or morphemes in each of their spontaneous utterances. In this research, the MLU enabled comparisons to be made across languages, both for the individual child and for the two groups (Nepali and Polish heritage). When using CLAN to calculate the MLU, a standard deviation (s.d.) is also yielded. This helps

determine the extent to which the MLU is statistically reliable, hence where a child made many utterances in an exchange, the s.d. will be low indicating greater confidence in the MLU measure and, ipso facto, where a child made just a few utterances, the s.d. will be high i.e. the s.d. will indicate that the MLU measure is less reliable because it is calculated using fewer examples.

The quantitative data from the MAIN collectively allowed the researcher to do two things. The first was to quantify the children's receptive and expressive skills in both English and their other language and the second was to identify if there was any quantifiable change in either language over time. These analyses were undertaken in order to address RQ4, and are detailed in chapter seven.

3.7.4.1 Early Years Foundation Stage Profile data

Cantonshire's Early Years Foundation Stage Profile data comprised the other quantitative data element of this study. At the end of Year R, teachers complete for each of their children an Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) Profile. The EYFS profile comprises a statutory, summative assessment of children's development at the end of the Early Years Foundation Stage. It includes an assessment of the child's outcomes in relation to seventeen Early Learning Goals (ELGs). Children may be assessed as either meeting the level of development expected at the end of the EYFS (expected); or not yet reaching this level (emerging).

When the children who participated in this Research were assessed by their teachers, the seventeen Early Learning Goals, linked to seven areas of learning and development, were as follows (Table 5):

Table 5: Early Years Foundation Stage Profile: the seventeen Early Learning Goals (ELGs)

Areas of Learning and Development	Early Learning Goals (ELGs)
Communication and Language	1. Listening, Attention and Understanding 2. Speaking
Personal, Social and Emotional Development	3. Self-regulation 4. Managing self 5. Building relationships
Physical Development	6. Gross motor skills 7. Fine motor skills
Literacy	8. Comprehension 9. Word reading 10. Writing
Mathematics	11. Number 12. Numerical patterns
Understanding the world	13. Past and present 14. People, culture and communities 15. The natural world
Expressive arts and design	16. Creating with materials 17. Being imaginative and expressive

Local Authority data were used to compare outcomes for the ethnic groups to which the children who participated in this study ascribed with those of the majority population. These data (Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity, p.294) show a much smaller gap between children in the 'White Other' (WOTH) group to which the Polish heritage children belong and the 'White British' (WBRI) majority population than exists for children in 'Asian Other' (AOTH), the group to which the Nepali heritage children belong.

3.7.5 Concluding remarks

Overall, the narratives explored in this research provide a route to understanding in greater depth what a child growing up with more than one language from an early stage in life might experience in relation to their schooling. The detail added by the quantitative elements give weight to the narratives, deepening that understanding. Taken as a whole, this study provides a rationale prompting practitioners to consider how the teaching and learning contexts they provide in their Foundation Stage classrooms align with similar bi/multilingual children's experiences. This is important because of the discrepancies evident in the Foundation Stage outcomes data, with children in some ethnic groups assessed as having poorer attainment at this stage in their learning than those who comprise the majority

population. Thus, this study aims to identify ways in which practitioners might review provision in order to redress the balance.

More broadly, key messages for schools may emerge in terms of building bridges with the languages of the wider communities within which the children develop and learn to make sense of their lives (Elliott, 2005).

Chapter Four: The children's experiences prior to starting school

The following four chapters present the data collected during the fieldwork phase of this research. In chapters four and five, data are presented according to the temporal sequence of events in the lives of the focus children: i.e. chapter four begins with the data relating to the children's language-related experiences prior to starting school, continuing in chapter five with their experiences as they went through Year R. In chapter six, key factors identified in the data which have influenced the children's development of both L1 and English are considered. This is followed by a closer look at the children's skills in their two languages in chapter seven, where the quantitative findings from the use of the MAIN are presented.

In chapter four, the data gathered from the initial semi-structured interviews with the children's parents as part of pupil profiling are presented, beginning with a framing of the data collection activities. The data included information about the children's social experiences immediately prior to the start of Year R in line with RQ1:

What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience in their social contexts prior to the onset of compulsory schooling

- a) in terms of their exposure to their heritage language?
- and
- b) in terms of their exposure to English?

Due to Covid restrictions, which in spring 2021 were still impacting the researcher's access to educational settings, it was not possible to carry out data collection in the field prior to the children starting school as originally planned. Instead, information about the children was gathered from their parents early in the autumn term of 2021, shortly after the children had started in Year R. Most of these data were collected systematically as part of routine pupil profiling; an activity which involves the LA Service Bilingual Assistant gathering background information about their child from parents. This information is collated into a written report for the school which for children in Year R is fairly general in its scope. An example of one of the children's profile reports can be found in Appendix viii: Example of a participating child's Profile (p.329).

Having previously had schools send home to parents information about the research (Appendix vii: Information about the research provided to parents in advance of the first in-person meeting, p.324), the researcher used the opportunity afforded by the in-person profiling meeting to gain from parents their consent in writing to include their child in the research. During the meeting, parents were asked for additional details not routinely collected as part of pupil profiling, for example about their child's exposure to L1 and English prior to the onset of compulsory schooling, and about their child's language choices and patterns of usage in familiar social contexts. The questions used by the researcher to do this can be found in Appendix ix: Additional questions used in initial semi-structured interviews with parents (as part of Profiling) (p.334), and were developed drawing on extensive experience of pupil profiling and the researcher's knowledge of the specific gaps in this activity in relation to the detail needed to address RQ1. The parents' responses to the questions were recorded as field notes; the decision to proceed thus at this early stage of data collection was taken in order to reduce any pressure on the parents caused by the inherent power imbalance and/or by their vulnerability as research participants and members of minoritised communities (Dempsey et al., 2016; Kvale, 2006; Liamputtong, 2010).

What it was not possible to include in the early data collection activities were observations of the children at home. This had been part of the original research design but had to be abandoned due to restrictions on social contact introduced during the pandemic, when as late as April 2021 it was still prohibited to visit people in their homes (Institute for Government, 2022). Instead, the researcher had to rely on parental reporting of their own and their children's language choices and patterns of use in the children's most familiar social setting; the home. Had the observations proceeded as originally planned, siting the initial dialogue with parents and the first observations of the children at home may have positively affected the fullness and accuracy of the answers given; for both parents and children, a familiar home context may have helped them feel relaxed, having a bearing on their confidence to talk about their languages. However, allowing strangers into their home, hitherto the family's private space, may have been perceived as sufficiently invasive to preclude participation, adversely impacting recruitment. Lastly, questions about their children's language choices and usage over a period of time in the past relied on parents' recall, itself a fallible commodity, as well as being subject to selection in the act of telling; as

with all decisions made in the course of this research, the one to rely on what parents chose to share in an interview situation at school had its advantages and its drawbacks.

Another drawback of the pandemic-related changes made was that the information provided by parents was not corroborated by the discussion with pre-school staff and the observations of the children at pre-school that had been planned as part of the original research design. Covid restrictions also impacted schools' regular routines around the transition into Year R, which meant it was not possible to identify families to invite to participate in the research in the summer term prior to the children starting Year R. Instead, this had to wait until the start of the autumn term, which added additional time pressures in terms of recruitment, gaining informed consent and carrying out the data collection activities planned for the autumn term. Despite the pandemic related difficulties, once substantive data collection had commenced, the researcher was able to follow through to completion, ending the fieldwork phase with a complete data set.

4.1 The children's early years

For reasons outlined above, a chunk of the children's early years, from March 2020 to the onset of Year R, was spent at home and at pre-school with few opportunities for socialising in other settings. In terms of the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry, *temporality* and *place* in the lead up to the start of data collection are thus delineated. The commonplace of *sociality* holds the greatest variation across the children due to the make-up of their respective family groups. One had grandparents and other relatives living with them as part of the family unit (Abbie); some had siblings (Hania, Lena, Franek, Abbie, Andrew, Carolyn, Samantha); others were only children, living in smaller family groups comprising just them and their parents (Aga, Jacek, Niva and Sarad, whose younger sibling was not born until Spring 2022). Accentuated by Covid restrictions, these contextual factors narrowed the children's opportunities for language use with other people, a key factor underpinning language development more broadly (Feijoo et al., 2023).

The start of data collection was in the autumn term of 2021, when parents first met the researcher and bilingual research assistant in school. In this initial face-to-face meeting, information about the children's skills in their two languages was gathered as part of profiling. The bilingual research assistant later worked with each child at school to complete

an informal assessment of their oral language skills for profiling purposes. This enabled some triangulation of parents' evaluation of their child's skills in their two languages to take place.

Tables 6 and 7 (pp.147-8) summarise key background information about each child gathered from parents in the initial semi-structured interview held with them as an extension to regular profiling, plus the detail about their skills in their two languages gleaned by the bilingual research assistants. It can be seen from this information that before starting school, the children had all had some exposure to L1 in the home. Most had also had some exposure to English at home, from parents, from an older sibling and from media such as television, YouTube or online games. All had had exposure to English through attendance at pre-school. Some of the Polish heritage children attended the same pre-school and would play together there; as a result, these children had some access to Polish as well as to English whilst at pre-school.

For all the children, Covid had restricted their access to social situations outside of the home. Hence activities such as soft play, story time in the local library and even visiting friends' houses had been curtailed, resulting in reduced opportunities to engage with other children. This meant that for all children their exposure to their two languages had been predominantly from members of their immediate household and from pre-school. Some had additional exposure from taking part in video calls with members of their extended family who lived elsewhere and from any media to which they had access.

From information provided by parents, it was apparent that all the Polish heritage children had had more exposure to Polish at home than the Nepali children had had exposure to Nepali. In other words, Polish was the dominant language in use in the homes of the Polish heritage children but in the homes of the Nepali heritage children, a lot of English was in use and code-switching was reportedly common. The result of parents' language choices meant that by the time the children started school, for all the Nepali heritage children, English was identified by parents as being their child's preferred language, whereas for the Polish heritage children, more often Polish was identified by parents as their child's preferred language (see Tables 6 and 7, pp.147-8).

Table 6: Overview of key background information (Polish heritage children)

Child	Term of birth	Language(s) in use at home (as reported by parents)	Siblings	Experience of pre-school	Child's use of L1 (as reported by parents/informally assessed by bilingual research assistant)	Child's use of English (as reported by parents/informally assessed)
Polish heritage children						
Aga	Summer	Polish Some English	None	30 hours/week	Understands and speaks fluently	Understands and speaks fluently; some grammatical patterns not yet secure
Franek	Summer	Polish	1 older	15 hours/week	Preferred language; minor issues with some speech sounds evident	Understands and can self-express; some vocabulary gaps evident; some grammatical patterns not yet secure
Hania	Autumn	Polish Some English	1 younger	More than 15 hours/week	Understands and speaks fluently; issues with some speech sounds evident; attends Saturday school	Understands and speaks fluently; some grammatical patterns not yet secure; issues with some speech sounds evident
Jacek	Summer	Polish Some English, esp with an aunt's English-speaking partner	None	15 hours/week	Preferred language; understands and speaks fluently; minor issues with some speech sounds evident	Understands and speaks fluently; some vocabulary gaps evident; some grammatical patterns not yet secure
Lena	Spring	Polish Some English, esp with older sibling	1 older	More than 15 hours/week	Preferred language; has a slight stutter	Understands and can self-express; some vocabulary gaps evident; some grammatical patterns not yet secure; has a slight stutter

Table 7: Overview of key background information (Nepali heritage children)

Child	Term of birth	Language(s) in use at home (as reported by parents)	Siblings	Experience of pre-school	Child's use of L1 (as reported by parents/informally assessed by bilingual research assistant)	Child's use of English (as reported by parents/informally assessed)
Nepali heritage children						
Abbie	Spring	English Some Nepali	1 younger	15 hours/week	Often does not understand when addressed in Nepali; speech & language delay identified	Preferred language; receptive skills better than expressive; speech & language delay identified
Andrew	Spring	English Some Nepali	1 younger	15 hours/week	Less well-developed than English; often does not understand when addressed in Nepali	Preferred language; issues with articulation – difficult to understand what he says
Carolyn	Autumn	Nepali Some English	1 younger	15 hours/week	Understands when addressed in Nepali in familiar contexts but prefers to speak English	Preferred language
Niva	Summer	Nepali Some English	None	15 hours/week	Good understanding, responds appropriately but prefers to speak English; has a stutter	Expressive skills stronger than Nepali; has a stutter
Sarad	Spring	Nepali Some English	Younger sibling born part way through data collection	15 hours/week	Can understand and speak	Preferred language
Samantha	Autumn	English Very little Nepali	1 older	15 hours/week	Understands when addressed in Nepali in familiar contexts but prefers to respond in English	Preferred language

4.1.1 The Polish heritage children's early experiences of growing up in two languages

There follow excerpts from the field notes taken during the semi-structured interviews with parents as part of profiling. These provide information about their children's early language development and use. We begin with the interviews with the parents of the five Polish heritage children.

Hania's mother reported that when her first child (Hania) was first born, the family spoke only Polish at home and Hania's first words were in Polish. As she developed, Hania started watching cartoons in English on TV and had a couple of books in English e.g. 'The Gruffalo'. Her mother said that now she regularly reads stories to her children. There are books in both languages available to the children and Hania can choose whichever book/language she wants.

Hania attended pre-school from 2 ½ years of age. She knew only two or three words of English when she first went. As soon as it was possible, Hania's pre-school attendance increased to five hours a day, four days a week. Her mother said Hania's attendance increased because Hania liked going. She also commented that Hania was a confident child who picked up English very fast.

Hania's mother said her goal is for the children to be able to read and write in Polish, not just speak & understand, hence Hania goes to Polish classes on Saturdays.

(Meeting with Hania's mother, October 2021)

Hania, according to her mother, had access to more Polish at home than English, hence she did not know more than a few words of English when she first started at pre-school. When making comparisons between Hania and her younger sister, her mother observed that Hania did not code-switch much but her sister did, indicating that even where siblings are not more than two years apart, the development of their two languages can vary significantly. One reason given for this in the literature is that the older sibling brings more of the societal language into the home, giving younger ones increased exposure to that language from an early age (Montrul, 2010; Serratrice, 2020).

Jacek's early language learning experiences differed from Hania's in that whilst Polish was the dominant language in the home, English was added into the mix because of an aunt's English boyfriend, with whom Jacek liked to play English-language computer games.

Jacek is an only child. At home, Polish is the main language in use but because his mother's sister has an English boyfriend who visits often, Jacek is also exposed to English and has learned some English from the boyfriend and some from watching cartoons on TV. At home if only Polish speakers are present, then Polish is used; if there is a mix, then both Polish and English may be used. Overall, however, there is

“much more Polish going on for [Jacek] than English” and his mother states that Polish is Jacek's strongest language, adding that he is able to explain/translate some things between Polish and English.

Jacek went to pre-school for 1 year prior to starting at school. His mother said she made sure he knew a few words in English before he started e.g. ‘toilet’. Jacek liked pre-school when it was new but it later became uninteresting and he would cry and not want to go. He did short sessions partly because of this and partly because parents were around and able to spend more time with him.

(Meeting with Jacek's mother, September 2021)

His mother's observations suggest that whilst Jacek had experienced more Polish than English overall, he also had exposure to models of code-switching as a pragmatic situational linguistic choice. The fact that he was able at four years of age to translate between the two languages shows the level of linguistic versatility that Jacek had acquired through his home-based experiences.

In Lena we see the impact on language development of being the younger sibling, with more English in use at home than Hania experienced as the older of two children.

Lena has an older sister. The girls sometimes use English when they play together. They do this even when they play with other Polish children (children who are not part of the family unit).

Her mother says Lena's Polish is worse than her sister's and that Lena often mixes words from her two languages when she speaks. Her mother thinks maybe this is because Lena finds some English words easier to say than their Polish equivalents, giving “plum” c.f. “śliwka” as an example. She also comments that Lena often uses English grammar with Polish words.

(Meeting with Lena's mother, October 2021)

Her mother's observations about Lena's code-switching and code-mixing practices echo the comments made by Hania's mother about her younger daughter, Hania's sister. Interestingly, language-learning trajectories for Franek, another younger child, were quite different from Lena's, with Franek's family being more consistent in their choice to use Polish at home, resulting in him having a better command of Polish than Lena.

Franek has an older brother in Year 2. Franek loves his brother and copies him. They speak mostly Polish when they are together.

Franek went to pre-school – English medium – the same pre-school as Jacek. They spent a lot of their time at pre-school together, conversing in Polish.

Issues with concentration were identified by the pre-school. His mother says she thought this was due to the language difference; Franek could “do more in Polish”

and struggled in an all-English environment. She said he was aware of having two languages and recognised that other people might not be able to understand if addressed in Polish.

His mother commented that Franek can be “sensitive and emotional”, and that he can get frustrated, leading to tears.

(Meeting with Franek’s mother, September 2021)

Polish was Franek’s stronger language at the start of the fieldwork phase. In him we see one possible impact of growing up in two languages from an early age in that at times he experienced a degree of stress because of it, expressed as frustration or tears.

Like Jacek, Aga was an only child but her early linguistic experiences were distinctly different from his in that she had spent longer hours each week immersed in English at pre-school. Overall, Aga’s skills in both languages at the start of the fieldwork phase were good and like Jacek she could switch between Polish and English with apparent ease.

Aga’s mother said she and Aga’s father speak Polish at home to each other and to Aga but Aga often answers in English. Her mother is keen that her daughter develops skills in both languages: “I want her to be bilingual - you never know how life can go”.

At home, Aga likes books and her bedtime routine includes a story, sometimes read in Polish and sometimes in English – Aga gets to choose the story and the language. She loves ‘Frozen’ [Disney film] and is a little actress, enjoying performing, telling stories and singing. She has learned some Polish letters and can read a few words due to input from parents.

(Meeting with Aga’s mother, October 2021)

As a group, and drawing on the information provided by parents, all five children experienced a lot of Polish with their immediate families; this exposure boosted due to the impact of the lockdowns during the pandemic. In the home, Jacek and Lena also had exposure to English and were perhaps more familiar with code-switching as a practice common in bilingual populations. Aga and Hania spent the most amount of time immersed in English in pre-school and in Aga’s case, this may have resulted in her reported tendency to respond in English when addressed in Polish. Of all the children, it was perhaps Franek who had the most consistently monolingual home experience, with his preference for Polish evident in his use of L1 with Jacek at pre-school. Thus, the importance of their social experiences in relation to their language development was key, resulting for all five children in their skills in Polish being relatively well-developed. Time spent in pre-school was one factor contributing to the development of good oracy skills in English (Aga and Hania),

having an older sibling (Lena) or regularly interacting with English-speaking adults at home (Jacek) also being important, though the former not necessarily being a causal factor as we see in Franek's case.

4.1.2 The Nepali heritage children's early experiences of growing up in two languages

Attention now turns to the Nepali heritage children's early linguistic experiences. Matters were somewhat different from the Polish heritage children, in that the Nepali children overall experienced a different mix of the two languages with more exposure to English than to Nepali both at home and in other social contexts. Indeed, for one, Samantha, her first language was identified as being English by her father. There follow excerpts from the field notes taken during the semi-structured interviews with the Nepali heritage children's parents. These show that English was a much bigger element of the linguistic soundscape in the homes of the Nepali heritage children than it was for the Polish heritage children.

According to his mother, by the time he started school, Andrew's preferred language was English. While she and Andrew's father talked to each other in Nepali at home, giving Andrew indirect access to that language, when they talked to him, English was the language they tended to choose.

At home, Andrew likes to spend time with his father watching programmes about lizards on TV (in English). He has a baby sister, just a few months old. Andrew tends to speak English to her.

His mother says English is Andrew's strongest language – he can speak in sentences in English whereas in Nepali, he can use only single words and short phrases. His mother states that if she speaks to Andrew in Nepali, he often does not understand her so she has to repeat herself in English, which helps, she says.

Andrew attended pre-school from two years of age. There were early concerns about a speech delay because his speech was not always clear, but a hearing test showed nothing unusual.

(Meeting with Andrew's mother, October 2021)

Abbie had more exposure to Nepali than Andrew in her early years because her grandparents shared the family home and were involved in child-care. However, her father and other relatives at home spoke English and as in Andrew's case this resulted in English being Abbie's preferred language by the time she started school. In the models of speech provided by most of her family, Abbie also experienced routine code-switching as the norm.

The family unit comprises mother, father, Abbie, her younger brother, an uncle and his wife and Abbie's grandparents. The Grandparents speak Nepali; the uncle and aunt speak mostly English. Parents both mix the two languages when they talk. Abbie mixes Nepali and English when she talks; English is her stronger language, according to her father.

Abbie sometimes has stories at home; her mother borrows books from the library to read to her (in English). Abbie brings home a book from school and does her reading homework with her father (in English).

Abbie liked pre-school but concerns were raised then about a possible language delay. Her father said that nothing was done about it at that time because Abbie was still so very young.

(Meeting with Abbie's father, October 2021)

Carolyn, like both Andrew and Abbie, was the older of two children and, also like them, demonstrated a strong preference for English when it came to expressing herself verbally.

Carolyn's father says that the family speak Nepali at home. He says that although she usually understands when addressed in Nepali, Carolyn mostly chooses not to respond in that language, favouring English. Where she responds in Nepali, it is with just one or two words. Her father identifies English as Carolyn's stronger language.

Carolyn likes outdoor games, painting, dancing and Mickey Mouse, which she likes to watch on TV. She has a younger sister, aged 11 months.

(Meeting with Carolyn's father, October 2021)

The main language in use in Samantha's family was English and this was identified by her father as her first language. Of all the Nepali heritage children, Samantha was the only one with an older sibling; all the others either had younger siblings or were the only child in the family.

Samantha's father states that English is Samantha's stronger language, adding that she sometimes mixes English and Nepali in her speech. He often reads stories to Samantha, always in English. She likes stories about unicorns but he has also been reading the Harry Potter series to her.

Samantha likes drawing, small world play and LOL toys [a type of doll]. She also likes to play Roblox [computer game], either on her own or with her older brother when he allows it.

Samantha went to pre-school from age 3 and liked it. Her father describes her as a confident, assertive child.

(Meeting with Samantha's father, October 2021)

More unusual in the group of Nepali heritage children in terms of his access to L1 was Sarad. At home, his mother spoke to him in Nepali unless there were visitors, when she switched to

English. His father used both English and Nepali with Sarad. Based on information provided by parents, Sarad stood out as being the only Nepali heritage child who had some experience of being told stories in L1.

Although at the moment Sarad is an only child, his mother is 3 months pregnant; Sarad knows about the baby. Sarad speaks Nepali at home with his mother and both Nepali and English with his father. When Grandma came to stay for five months, there was more Nepali in use at home. Grandma went back to Nepal in October 2020, Sarad's mother said. They keep in touch via phone and video call but these calls don't interest Sarad much and after saying 'hello', he does not engage in them. His mother has told Sarad he should speak Nepali at home and English at school.

Sarad's mother sometimes makes up stories and tells them to Sarad (in Nepali). She said that story-telling through sharing story books as typical in the UK is not part of the Nepali tradition.

The family have many Nepali friends. When they visit, his mother says she switches to English and Sarad, noticing this, has asked her why she is speaking English when everyone there is Nepali.

(Meeting with Sarad's mother, October 2021)

Niva, like Sarad, also had more exposure to Nepali at home than the other four Nepali-heritage children who participated in this research. However, unlike Sarad, whose mother was not a fluent speaker of English, Niva's mother had come to the UK as a child herself and was fluent.

The family speak Nepali at home; Niva responds in either Nepali or English. Her mother says the mix is probably about 50/50 with English maybe slightly in the lead. Her mother says Niva is quite fluent in Nepali. She notices that her daughter switches between her two languages a bit and comments that her English is "mostly good".

Niva has been to Nepal once to see grandparents (both sets). Her mother said she coped well with being in that linguistically different environment.

Niva likes dancing, singing, drawing, YouTube and unicorns.

(Meeting with Niva's mother, October 2021)

These excerpts illustrate an overall trend for English to be given heavier weighting in most Nepali households, Sarad and Niva being the exceptional cases in this respect. All six children had experience of English from pre-school, from TV and from story books, with only Sarad's mother mentioning any experience of story in L1. Further, by the time they started school full time, all six Nepali heritage children involved in this research demonstrated a preference for English over Nepali, with only two, Sarad and Niva, able to speak Nepali well

enough to engage in dialogue in that language. Hence at the start of Year R the Nepali heritage children were in a very different place linguistically compared with the Polish heritage children, this being the result of their social experiences in their early years across the settings with which they were most familiar.

4.2 Comparisons across the two groups of children

In this section, some of the features of the children's early experiences of language use are discussed and comparisons are made between the two participant groups.

4.2.1 Code-switching

Closely linked with all three commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry, *temporality*, *sociality* and *place*, contextualised language input drives children's language development in their early years (Bialystok et al., 2009). In this study, the language inputs experienced by children in the two groups, Nepali and Polish, differed with regards the amount of code-switching in models provided by parents and other familial care-givers. The Polish parents reported limited intra-sentential code-switching when speaking to their children whereas the Nepali parents all said they code-switched in this way frequently. Hania's mother stated that at home she used mainly Polish with the children but that she tended to respond to them in whatever language they used when addressing her, whether that be Polish or English. However, having chosen a language, she was then consistent in its use, avoiding code-switching.

According to Kaushanskaya and Crespo (2019), although there is no evidence that code-switched input from parents causes any issues in children who are capable of processing it, for children who are not it may be a less than optimal linguistic model. For the Nepali heritage children, therefore, it may be that their skills in L1 were under-developed at least in part due to a lack of a consistent, cohesive model of that language from parents. In contrast, the more consistent language model provided by the Polish parents was likely to have been a factor contributing to the Polish heritage children's better developed expressive skills in L1 (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017).

4.2.2 The effect of having siblings

In this study, the presence in the home of older siblings seemed to be a less significant factor in the development of the children's languages than one might expect, contrary to studies that found younger siblings are more likely to end up as passive bilinguals (Ellis et al., 2002; Yamamoto, 2001). For Samantha, whose father identified her first language as English rather than Nepali, her older brother had brought a great deal of English into the home and her father was in no doubt that English was her preferred language. For both Franek and Lena Polish was still the preferred language, and for Lena there was evidence of both code-switching and code-mixing in her speech in Polish according to her mother. One possible explanation for these trends is the over-arching influence of parents on the home language environment through the application of the family language policy; in the Nepali households, parents generally seemed more accepting of English as a language for use in the home whereas in the Polish households, the Polish parents were more consistent in their adherence to Polish.

4.2.3 Parental views

Attitudes held by parents towards the two languages also seemed to vary with the Nepali parents encouraging the use of English because they believed this would help their children engage more fully when they started school. Their choice may relate also to the perceived prestige of the two languages; the Nepali parents talked about their own experiences of graduate and post-graduate level English-medium education in country of origin and in the UK, which may have resulted in English being perceived as having greater prestige in terms of it being the most appropriate language for education. In contrast, the Polish parents had experienced Polish medium education to a comparable level, hence for them, Polish held prestige as it was viewed as a language for education.

The main reason given by the Nepali parents for wanting their child to develop skills in the heritage language was to be able to speak to grandparents; they could see more benefits in being able to speak English. In contrast, the Polish parents maintained closer links with family and friends in Poland and were keeping open the option of one day returning to their country of origin. Further, they held the view that their children would not be disadvantaged in the long term by having well-developed skills in Polish and would acquire

English at school anyway, albeit from a different starting point compared with the Nepali heritage children. Thus, in this study the FLP in operation in the Nepali children's homes differed from that governing language use in the Polish children's homes.

With regards other sources of L1 input, many of the families said that they maintained contact with friends and family elsewhere in the UK or overseas using video calls. Whilst the children in this study might come and say "hello" during these videocalls, according to parents the calls did not hold their interest for long, so this was a limited source of linguistic input across both groups. Friends and family living close enough for regular visits seemed to have greater impact, for instance Grandparents who were part of the household (Abbie's family), or who lived nearby (Hania's family, described by Hania herself in Section 5.4.11 Hania).

4.2.4 Other sources of language input

The exposure to L1 for the Polish heritage children included access to bedtime stories told by parents in Polish and to Polish language television channels broadcasting children's programmes, linguistic experiences which the Nepali heritage children did not share. Even in the Nepali households where there was more extensive use of Nepali, parents commented that they did not have any children's books in Nepali with one, Sarad's mother, observing that sharing stories in this way was not part of the Nepali tradition so she simply did not do it. Where the Nepali heritage children watched television, it was largely cartoons in English that they accessed, with Andrew also accessing English language documentaries about lizards with his father. The Polish heritage children accessed children's television programmes too and were able to choose whether to watch in Polish or in English, so their diet was more varied in this respect. Hania's mother talked about this in the initial profiling meeting and Franek's mother in the final interview (Section 5.5.2 The Polish Heritage Children). These sources of language input become the influence 'media', discussed in more detail in chapter six.

4.2.5 Concluding thoughts

Overall, it appeared to be the case that the Nepali heritage children had more experience of English than of L1 in their pre-school years, thus by the time they started school English was

already the children's preferred language for self-expression. Parents and the Nepali-speaking bilingual research assistant concurred that when addressed in Nepali about familiar, everyday matters, the children were able to understand and they could also follow simple instructions but where they responded verbally and wanted to give more than a one-word answer, they chose to do so in English. Abbie was a little different from the other five Nepali heritage children in that she had already been identified as having a speech delay by the time she started school; her receptive skills were better in English, according to her father, but her expressive skills in both languages were under-developed.

In contrast, most of the Polish heritage children had a linguistic diet that comprised more exposure to Polish than English due to it being the main language in use in the home, this according to parental reports. For these children, there may have been exposure to English at pre-school for on average fifteen hours a week, but for the rest of the time they experienced settings where Polish was the dominant language. Aga and Lena differed in that they spent much longer at pre-school than the other three Polish-heritage children, attending for thirty hours a week. Whilst they had had more exposure to English from pre-school and, for Lena, from her older sister than the other three Polish heritage children, when addressed in Polish by the Polish-speaking bilingual research assistant, Aga and Lena both responded back in comparatively fluent Polish.

All the children in this study had some experience of English from attending pre-school, many for just the fully-funded fifteen hours a week. For the Polish heritage children, this was the source of most of their exposure to English and they had all acquired a working vocabulary from it. Jacek and Lena had also had exposure to English at home, with varying impact; Jacek's skills in Polish did not evidence code-switching whereas Lena's did, this according to their mothers and to the bilingual research assistants who worked with them throughout the data collection phase of this research. For the Nepali heritage children, pre-school exposure to English added to the exposure to English they had at home. This is one possible reason why their oral skills in English and their confidence to speak it were both in advance of the Polish heritage children when they first started school full time.

Perhaps in consequence of a combination of the various factors identified above, all the Polish heritage children had relatively well-developed skills in Polish in September 2021; they were able to sustain their contributions in conversation and express themselves freely

in age-appropriate ways. In contrast, the Nepali skills of all the Nepali heritage children were less well-developed and they all demonstrated a strong preference for English whether addressed in that language or in Nepali. Hence outcomes in terms of their development of their two languages were qualitatively different for the two groups of UK-born children, Polish and Nepali heritage. The implications of this are discussed further in chapter eight.

Chapter Five: The children's experiences from the onset of schooling

This chapter addresses RQ2:

What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?

In responding to this question, first a micro view of each of the eleven children who participated in this research is presented in the form of an individual narrative portrait (Smyth & McInerney, 2013; Weuffen & Pickford, 2021). The portraits begin with key contextual information about each child gathered from parents during profiling and presented first. This is followed by a synthesis of the qualitative data gathered during data collection, including the two interviews supported by visual methods that took place with each child, the two artefacts produced by the child during social mapping, and excerpts of the dialogue that took place contemporaneously between child and researcher.

Also included are excerpts from field notes made during the observations of the children in their Year R settings, and information supplied by their parents and teachers in the semi-structured interviews with the adult research participants. These data are combined to form each child's narrative portrait focusing on the children's exposure to their two languages and their use of them as they engage in social interactions with different people in different settings.

After the narrative portraits, a macro view of the two groups of children is presented, considering the commonalities that may exist within each language group and the differences between them that began to come to the fore through the iterative process of data analysis. In this way, narratives that are shared across participants are identified and explored.

As part of the backdrop that foregrounded the data collection, one key issue that impacted on the research and was common across the participant group was that all the children had had their pre-school experience affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. For some, it meant their attendance was reduced; for others, pre-school became a space into which they were

allowed but their parents were not. This may have had the impact of increasing a sense of separation between home and school contexts for children and parents alike. Outside of pre-school, the children's social worlds were somewhat truncated, due to restrictions that were in place at the time due to the pandemic. Thus the children had all spent more time at home with their immediate families and less time socialising with others than would typically have been the case pre-pandemic. These experiences shaped the children's early development and life experiences in the period immediately prior to the start of school, setting them apart from similar children pre-Covid. Knowing about them aided with orientation as the researcher joined the children "in the midst" of their lives in motion (Clandinin et al., 2010; Shaw, 2017).

By way of a preamble to the children's narrative portraits presented in Section 5.4 The children's narrative portraits; a micro view, and in keeping with the focus on the three commonplaces of the Narrative Inquiry research paradigm, the children are first located in terms of *temporality*, *sociality* and *place* (Bathmaker & Harnett, 2010; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006).

5.1 *Temporality*: the research 'episode' in the children's lives

With regards the first commonplace, *temporality*, this research is bounded by a clear time frame; specifically, it follows the children from the period of time immediately preceding their first year of full-time compulsory education through to the end of Year R, exploring what they experience in terms of their two languages within this period as per RQ2:

What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?

The specific time frame of this research provides the temporal delineation within which key changes occurred in the children's lives (Clandinin et al., 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). Before the start of school, although they all spent some time each week in pre-school, most of the children spent a greater proportion of their day with family members. Hence immediately prior to the start of the research there was maximum opportunity for them to have exposure to the heritage language.

The onset of full-time schooling, which in terms of the data collection activities was the starting point of this research, represented a significant linguistic shift for all the children. In school the curriculum is delivered in English, hence through Year R the children were likely to spend increasing amounts of time immersed in that language, learning to use it productively for purposes such as reading and writing; activities which were in all probability new for them.

5.2 *Sociality*: the children's social experiences with others

The second Narrative Inquiry commonplace, *sociality*, is another important thread running through these data. Language is all about human communication and the children involved in the research all had the need to use language to interact with other people. For most of them, their language choices were informed – or even dictated - by the person with whom they were engaging. For example, there were particular people with whom they habitually used the heritage language and others with whom they used English; equally, there were people with whom the child could use either language, or indeed a mixture of both.

In this research, the people important in the life of each child were identified in the social mapping activities and the child was invited to talk about the language(s) they used with them. This gave a picture of the mix of social experiences the children had, linked to person and place and expressed through language. The children engaged in various interactions in different social contexts with their parents, their peers, with staff in schools, and with the researcher and bilingual research assistant. In each social encounter, the child was faced with decisions with regards which language to choose and how to deploy that language to achieve various communicative aims; to have voice (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).

5.3 *Place*: spaces frequented by the children

Table 8 (below) shows which children attended which school, clarifying the groups of children who spent Year R in the same class i.e. who had opportunities to engage with other children who were in some ways similar to them during the school day.

Table 8: The commonplace of 'place' - contextual information about the schools attended by the children

Child	School Name	Size and location of school	Other contextual information about the school
Nepali heritage children			
Andrew Niva Carolyn Sarad	Meadow Infants	One-form entry community Infant school (Years R, 1 and 2 only) situated in an army town.	30+% of the children on roll have parents who are in the armed forces and there are many Nepali-heritage children due to the presence in the town of Gurkha regiments.
Abbie Samantha	Water's Edge Primary	Two-form entry community primary school (Years R and 1 through 6) situated in an army town	Like Meadow Infants, there are children on roll whose parents have a connection of some sort with the army but at Water's Edge Community Primary, the proportion who are of Nepali heritage is lower.
Polish heritage children			
Aga Lena Franek Jacek	St Joseph's Catholic Primary	One form entry Catholic primary school (Years R and 1 through 6) in a suburban area of a large town.	Polish-heritage children and their families have been an established part of the school community for many years.
Hania	Openfield Primary	Two form entry primary school (Years R and 1 through 6) situated in a large, commuter-belt town.	The children and staff at the school comprise a diverse mix of cultures and languages, none being dominant. Hania is the only Polish-heritage child in her Year R class.

School as a place in which the children engage in social interactions with others can be subdivided into different areas. The Year R classroom, the outside Year R free-flow area, the playground, the toilets, the dinner hall; these are some of the spaces the children occupy as they go about their day (Symeonidou & Loizou, 2023). Some of these spaces 'belong' more to the children than to the adults in the sense that the children have more input into the largely unspoken social rules which govern what happens in those spaces (Baker et al., 2023). For example, during 'free-flow', the children can choose with whom and with what to

play and are free to invent their own games, although at the same time the equipment and resources to which they have access are determined by adults, ideally in response to their knowledge of the children and their interests. The children are also freer to choose which language to use. For the four Polish heritage children who were in the same class, Aga, Franek, Jacek and Lena, this resulted in use of Polish for play during the free-flow periods; however, the four Nepali heritage children in a similar situation, Andrew, Carolyn, Niva and Sarad, still chose English when engaging in comparable, child-initiated activities.

When it came to language choices, it seemed that much fell to chance. For instance, the happenstance that there were other Polish heritage children in the same class meant that Aga, Lena, Franek and Jacek had opportunities to choose to use Polish at school whereas Hania, the only Polish heritage child in her class, did not and instead had to use English to communicate with her peers. Similarly, the Nepali-heritage children, Andrew, Niva, Carolyn and Sarad, shared social spaces at school, being in the same class together. Hence, at least in theory, the same opportunities were present for them in terms of their language choices in different social spaces as for Aga, Lena, Franek and Jacek. Because they were the only Nepali heritage children in their class, and because of their unique circumstances, Abbie and Samantha, like Hania, experienced separation from their L1 whilst at school.

5.4 The children's narrative portraits; a micro view

The children are presented one at a time in the following sections. The focus is on their lived experiences of growing up in two languages and, where they were able to articulate it, their thoughts about those experiences. Linked to the commonplace of *temporality*, and reflecting the children's own temporal perspective (Begić & Mercer, 2017), the present tense is used to write about the children. This decision was taken to reflect the way that the children, all aged 4 at the start of data collection, lived every day in the moment. The researcher considered that the use of the present tense maintained a sense of the here and now, echoing the children's experiences of living each day minute by minute.

In keeping with the chronology of the fieldwork phase of the research, the children's home-related experiences are presented first, followed by their experiences as they went through Year R. Each narrative portrait finishes with an overview of the child's experience of growing up in two languages. Included in the children's portraits are excerpts from the field notes

made during observations and from the audio recordings made during the social mapping activities.

We first meet the children in early October 2021, a little way into their first term of full-time schooling.

5.4.1 Andrew

Name	Andrew
Home language	Nepali
Term of Birth	Spring
Age at start of data collection (September 2021)	4 years 7 months
Position in family	First of two children
School attended	Meadow Infants

Andrew shows a strong preference for speaking in English over Nepali although, due to a lack of clarity in his speech, it is often difficult to understand what he has said. Consistently throughout the eleven-month data collection period, Andrew chooses not to respond to any adult-initiated questions about his two languages, whether these are put to him in English by the researcher or in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant. He does not once even name either of his two languages or spontaneously demonstrate that he is consciously aware he has access to two languages.

Whenever he is addressed in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant, Andrew asks for the input to be repeated. This response might be because he has not heard but it seems more likely to be the case that he either needs more time to process the input or that he has not understood. The latter hypothesis aligns with what his mother says about his skills in Nepali i.e. that he does not have a good understanding of that language and prefers to use English. Her response to this has been to speak English to him rather than to repeat what she has said in Nepali and allow more processing time, effectively reducing further his opportunity to have access to the heritage language. In contrast, when addressed in English by the researcher or by school-based staff, Andrew will – if his attention is not wholly focused on his own activity - respond the first time, and he always chooses to do so in English. Most of the time, however, Andrew seems to use talk not to engage in dialogue with others but to provide a contemporaneous, monologic commentary on whatever activity he is engaged in at the time. This happens during both social mapping activities.

During the first social mapping activity with Andrew, although he is reticent to talk about his family he does draw them in his picture, perhaps because of the researcher's suggestion that he start with his family (Figure 11; they are very faint having been drawn first and in pencil, with more vibrant details added later causing them to all but disappear into the background).

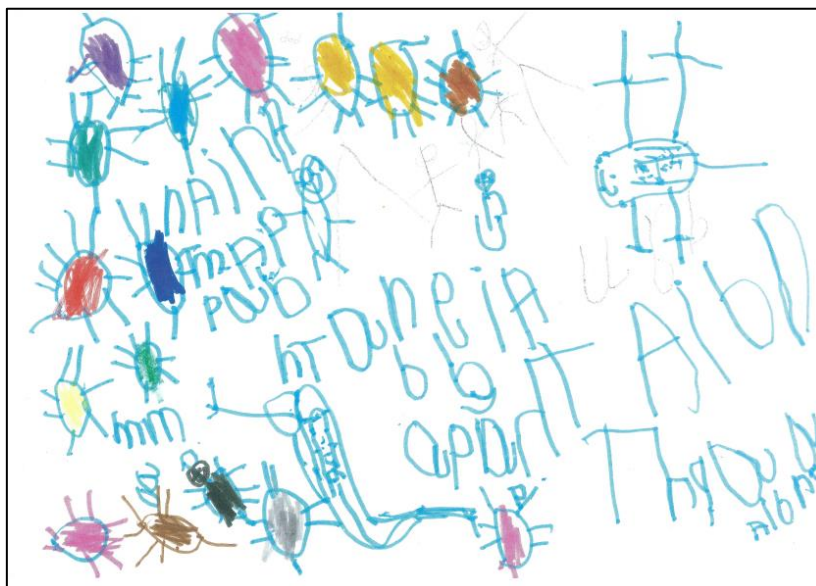


Figure 11: Andrew's picture of his family, first social mapping activity

The researcher makes several attempts to encourage Andrew to talk about the languages used at home within his family. However, instead of choosing to engage in talk about his mother and father and the languages the family use at home, Andrew prefers to talk about feeding crickets to his pet lizard Neo, which can be seen top right in his picture. He chooses brightly coloured felt tips to draw the crickets (the small, circular shapes with multiple legs), suggesting he is more interested in them in that moment than he is in his taken-for-granted family. Andrew also talks about a hammerhead shark getting stuck in the down pipe. Ever-alert to what is going on around him, this may have been prompted by the man clearing out the gutters whom he could see through the window, with the hammerhead shark added in because of his personal interest in sharks mentioned by his teacher, Mrs Subba.

Andrew's second social mapping produces his picture of school (Figure 12). Although it is presented here with this orientation, when creating the image Andrew does not adhere to any particular way-up, instead moving around all the while. The result is a vibrant creation, full of action and personal significance if a bit chaotic and difficult to interpret unless one

was there in the room when Andrew produced it and privy to his accompanying commentary.

- Researcher: What's that? [bottom right hand side of Andrew's picture, Figure 12]
Andrew: That's...that...that is the downstairs that is the up there.
Researcher: These are the stairs then, are they?
Andrew: No, that is the epsigator...expigator...expagator...stairs that is the ladder...that.



Figure 12: Andrew's picture of school, second social mapping activity

Conspicuous by their absence from Andrew's second picture are any human figures, this despite the suggestion at the start that Andrew might produce a drawing that shows the people important to him whom he encounters at school and despite reminders about other children with whom Andrew had played that same morning. Neither will Andrew engage with any talk about the languages he hears being used at school, even when the researcher asks a direct question on this topic. Instead, he talks about cars, tanks, ships, the steps that lead up to his classroom (depicted bottom right) and – repeatedly – charging up batteries (the three green shapes in the centre).

Whilst at times his responses when addressed in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant show he has some understanding of that language, he only once during his involvement in this research uses a single word of Nepali to express himself ("ho", meaning 'yes'). Thus it might be said that by the time he starts school, Andrew appears already to be English-dominant. In terms of his perspective on the experience of growing up in two languages,

Andrew shows negligible interest in Nepali, seeming to favour a monolingual pathway - although he does not articulate this.

5.4.2 Niva

Name	Niva
Home language	Nepali
Term of Birth	Summer
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 3 months
Position in family	Only child
School attended	Meadow Infants

Niva has a slight stutter when she speaks but this does not hinder her willingness to verbalise when working with the researcher and bilingual research assistant. Although Niva presents as a reserved child in the context of her busy Year R classroom, she is more forthcoming in withdrawal when she shows through her talk that she has a good command of English. This is her default language for use at school.



Figure 13: Niva's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

For her picture of her family, Niva chooses a winter scene (Figure 13) and she starts with the snowman character. Next, and taking great care over her work, she draws herself and her mother wearing their winter jumpers. Her father, drawn third, appears in army fatigues. She talks about her grandparents who live in a distant coastal city but chooses to draw them inside their house rather than separately. Whilst drawing her picture, Niva speaks at length

about her family, her grandparents, and their pet cat, all in English apart from using the Nepali words for 'grandma' and 'granddad'.

Niva says of her mother, "she don't speak English like me...she always likes speaking Nepali". Niva tells the researcher that her mother sometimes speaks Nepali to her at home. She adds that when her mother does this, she responds in Nepali too. Her father also speaks Nepali at home, Niva says. Niva's family have plans to visit the grandparents at Christmas, but Niva is initially more interested in what will be cooked for the family dinner than in the researcher's questions about the languages grandma and granddad use when they speak to her. Later during the session the researcher asks again and Niva says that her grandparents speak Nepali.

During the first social mapping activity, when addressed in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant, Niva chooses to respond mostly in English, her contributions showing that she has understood. With encouragement, she is able to teach the researcher the words for 'red' and 'pink' in Nepali but says she doesn't know any other colour words in that language, just in English.

At school, Niva prefers to spend her time with one other Nepali heritage girl, Devi, and they can often be found sitting together drawing pictures or cutting out heart shapes or writing each other's names. In her picture of school (Figure 14), Devi and Niva are shown inside the classroom building. They are sitting at a table where there is paper ready for them to do some drawing. Outside there are bubbles and hearts and Niva remembers with delight the day Mrs Subba blew bubbles for the class and the children popped them. Niva chooses to write her name on her picture (at the top, only the first letter remains due to confidentiality); her picture suggests that school is a safe space where Niva feels she belongs.



Figure 14: Niva's picture of school, second social mapping activity

At school, Niva says she speaks only English.

- Researcher: Does Mrs Subba ever speak Nepali to you at school?
 Niva: Um no.
 Researcher: She doesn't. OK. Do you ever speak Nepali when you're at school?
 Niva: Um no.
 Researcher: What do you speak at school?
 Niva: English.
 Researcher: All the time?
 Niva: [nods]

Niva says that her friend Devi, who seems particularly shy, speaks Nepali at school but when the researcher later asks Mrs Subba about this, Mrs Subba says she has never heard any of the children speaking Nepali to one another. Niva says that when Devi speaks Nepali to her, she replies in English. She responds in English when addressed in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant too.

- Researcher: Does anybody speak Nepali, in your class...when they're at school?
 Niva: [shakes her head] O...o...only Devi speaks Nepali at school.
 Researcher: Does she? If she speaks to you in Nepali, what do you do back?
 Niva: English.
 Researcher: You speak English back do you? That's interesting. If you wanted to, could you speak to her in Nepali, do you think?
 Niva: [nods]
 Researcher: So you would know how to do that, what you wanted to say?
 Niva: [nods]
 Researcher: But you choose English.
 Niva: [nods]

When asked, whilst Niva first says that at home she speaks Nepali, she quickly adds “but I do both, like Nepali and English”. This is corroborated by her mother, who explains that as a family it is important that they keep their language alive so they speak both Nepali and English, often mixing the two languages. Her mother adds that as Niva has gone through Year R, she has noticed a tendency for Niva to speak more English. She comments that having noticed this, she has started to focus on increasing Niva’s use of Nepali in the home by insisting that Niva use Nepali to respond when she is addressed in that language by family and friends. In this way, her mother hopes to combat the loss of the heritage language.

Overall, it is apparent that Niva has regular exposure to both Nepali and English and recognises and is able to talk about her two languages and the people with whom she might use them. Further, she is able to engage in dialogue in either language, although she demonstrates greater fluency when speaking English, demonstrating a strong preference for English when at school. When she gains enough confidence to try speaking at any length in Nepali (in the second L1 MAIN activity), it is apparent that her expressive skills in Nepali are less well-developed than her skills in English and she struggles to maintain her use of Nepali throughout her story-telling, code-switching frequently (see Appendix xviii: Niva’s L1 ‘Baby Goats’ story, code-switching highlighted, p.353, for a transcript of Niva’s L1 ‘Baby Goats’ story, code-switches highlighted).

In terms of her experience of growing up bilingually, Niva appears comfortable with the duality of this, having not known anything else. She conveys the sense that she feels she belongs both within her Nepali social world as it is represented by her family and within her English one, situated at school.

5.4.3 Carolyn

Name	Carolyn
Home language	Nepali
Term of Birth	Autumn
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 9 months
Position in family	First of two children
School attended	Meadow Infants

Carolyn’s family mostly use English but some Nepali is also spoken; her father says everyone switches from one language to the other all the time. Carolyn is talkative during the first

social mapping activity with the researcher as she works on her picture (Figure 15), choosing to express herself mostly in English with just the odd Nepali word included ad hoc.

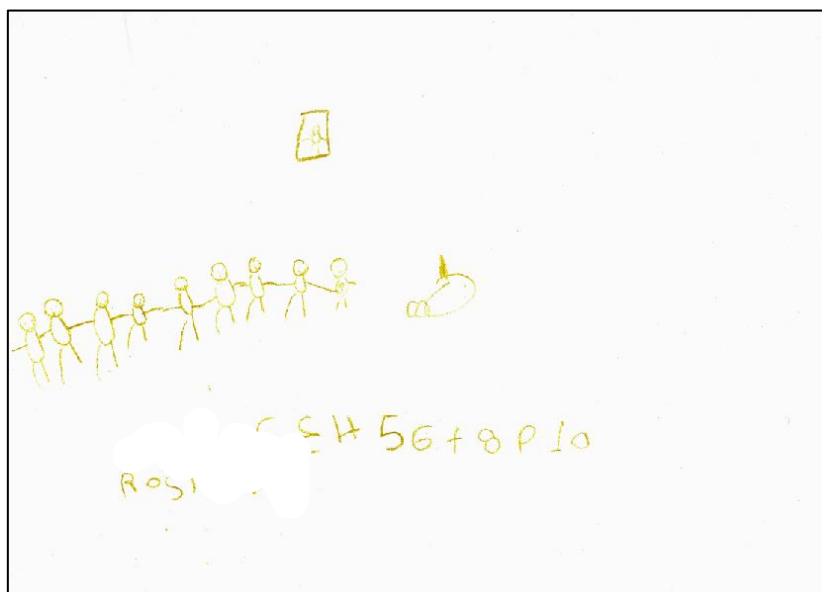


Figure 15: Carolyn's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

Carolyn's family comprises lots of people whom she draws in a line from right to left, starting with her baby sister, then her mother, then herself. Later, an aunt and her baby and her father join the line. Carolyn says her baby sister can say "babu" and "didi", 'didi' meaning 'older sister' in Nepali. She tells the researcher, "Babu is Nepali" and she knows 'didi' is Nepali too, showing an awareness of some of the discrete lexicon of her heritage language. Having first said that her mother always speaks English to her at home, she soon contradicts this by adding that sometimes her mother uses Nepali. Everyone else speaks both languages, Carolyn says.

Underneath her family members, Carolyn is keen to record the number sequence. She counts the row of people first in English and then, after some encouragement, in Nepali too, though she is halting in Nepali and some of the numbers are not correctly pronounced. During the activity, Carolyn also talks about some of the children in her class. She says that she speaks Nepali with Niva at school, quickly contradicting this by saying she always chooses English at school.

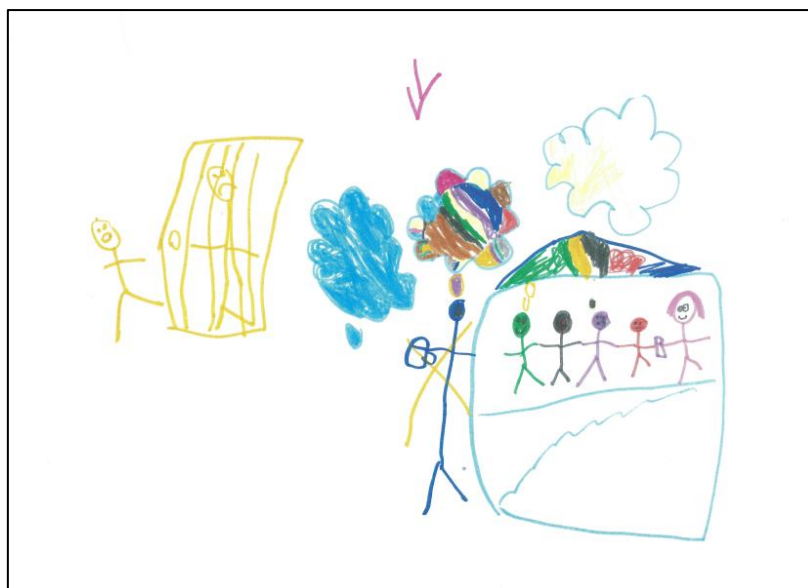


Figure 16: Carolyn's picture of school, second social mapping activity

During the second social mapping activity with Carolyn when she draws her picture of school (Figure 16), she describes a scary monster with “no tongue, no teeth and no voice” (the yellow figure in the jail on the left hand side). This monster is not allowed into her Year R classroom, Carolyn states; instead, it has to stay in jail. She populates the classroom space with herself, a number of other children and her teacher, Mrs Subba. If the monster has any symbolic significance beyond being the product of a five year old child’s imagination remains unclear, as Carolyn chooses not to say more about why it has no voice nor why it is not allowed into the classroom.

On the subject of school, Carolyn is inconsistent when she talks about other children and the languages she uses with them. For example, when she talks about her friend Evie, who speaks only English, she first says that Evie speaks English and later that she is the only other child who speaks Nepali:

Researcher:	So who are you going to do first?
Carolyn:	Mm...Evie.
Researcher:	Evie, OK.
Carolyn:	I’m gonna make Evie be pink.
Researcher:	OK, she can be pink. [Carolyn draws Evie on her piece of paper]
Researcher:	This is Evie then. She’s even got pink hair! Is she at school today?
Carolyn:	Yeah.
Researcher:	Did you play with her outside?
Carolyn:	Yeah.

Researcher:	And what language does Evie speak?
Carolyn:	She speak...he speak...he speak about [to] me only.
Researcher:	Does Evie speak English or Nepali?
Carolyn:	English.
Researcher:	Does she know any Nepali at all?
Carolyn:	No.

Later in the same conversation:

Researcher:	Are there any people in your class who can speak other languages?
Carolyn:	Um yeah.
Researcher:	Who can speak another language?
Carolyn:	Only Evie.
Researcher:	Only Evie.
Carolyn:	Yep.
Researcher:	What other language does she speak?
Carolyn:	Um Nepali.

Overall, Carolyn demonstrates awareness that she has access to two different languages. She can name them, and she can identify some words she knows from home contexts as Nepali. She also shows that she is able to understand spoken Nepali, responding appropriately when addressed in that language by the bilingual research assistant. However, like the other Nepali heritage children who participated in the research, Carolyn shows a marked preference for English as her language of choice for self-expression.

When it comes to her perspective on her bilingual experience, Carolyn's actions and comments suggest she favours the notion of consistency with the two languages staying separate. For her, Nepali is part of the soundscape only of home whilst English is part of her school experience; the two should not be allowed to mingle. The most powerful illustration of this comes from an interpretation of the caged figure she draws during her second social mapping activity (Figure 16: Carolyn's picture of school, second social mapping activity). Perhaps this figure with "no tongue, no teeth and no voice" represents Nepali, for Carolyn a language that has no place at school; possibly in her eyes Nepali has no currency in that educational context.

5.4.4 Abbie

Name	Abbie
Home language	Nepali
Term of Birth	Spring
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 4 months
Position in family	First of two children
School attended	Water's Edge Community Primary

At the start of Year R, Abbie is reticent and hesitant to speak but willing nonetheless to engage with the researcher and bilingual research assistant. Abbie tends to offer her responses non-verbally and seems to experience difficulties expressing herself verbally. When she does speak, she chooses to use English and her speech is often unclear and disordered, making it difficult to understand what she says. In the initial profiling meeting attended her father, he says there have been early concerns about a possible speech delay which were first raised by pre-school staff. Her father says that within the family a decision has been taken to stick to English to try and help alleviate Abbie's struggles with using language to express herself.

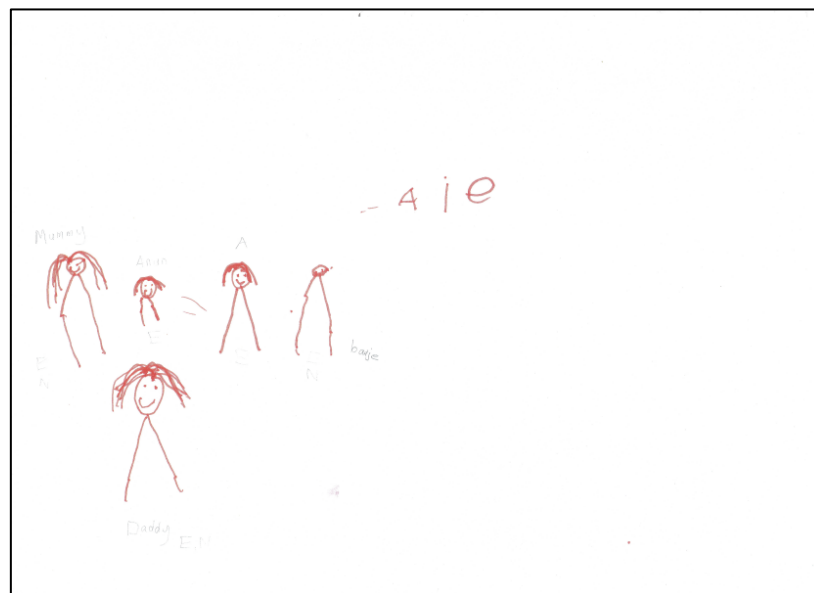


Figure 17: Abbie's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

In the first social mapping activity, Abbie draws herself, her parents and her grandparents (Figure 17). Missing from the picture are her little brother and an uncle and his wife who live at home as part of the family unit. Whilst the grandparents speak Nepali, everyone else speaks English, Abbie says. Her father says that Abbie hardly understands any Nepali so he prefers to speak English with her. He says there is an exception to this in that he habitually

uses the Nepali word 'chora' instead of 'bird'. He adds that he might also occasionally use Nepali to ask Abbie if she wants anything to eat or drink and that she might then reply using a single word of Nepali. Other than this sort of highly contextualised use of Nepali, Abbie's father says he speaks English with her.

Abbie's picture of school (Figure 18), drawn during the second social mapping activity, shows her having lunch in the hall. This would normally be a busy, noisy place at that time of day with lots of other children, eight to a table, eating and talking. However, in Abbie's picture she is sitting on her own in the middle of the page, no other children in sight. When asked about other children she knows at school, Abbie draws one, a boy she calls Albert. He sits away from her. Abbie says he is "noisy" but is not able to elaborate. The third figure (on the far right hand side) is Mrs Hayat, the Teaching Assistant from Abbie's class.



Figure 18: Abbie's picture of school, second social mapping activity

When asked about her languages, Abbie knows there are two. For her, English is defined as "talking like the school one" whilst the other she knows is called Nepali but she is reticent to engage in dialogue about its use, eschewing this in favour of other aspects of her home life as shown in this excerpt from the transcript of the second social mapping activity:

Researcher:	Does anybody speak Nepali at school?
Abbie:	Um...no.
Researcher:	What about at home? Does anybody speak Nepali there?
Abbie:	My mum...and my mummy have mum...and my mum have mummy...and my bhajee [grandfather] have on a house and my

bhajee in a home...and bhajee have some...some pet. It can moo. It have big horn. And he not going his home any more...cos he's and my mummy home is and my daddy show [share?] my mummy home and it's rain lots of...it very wet and slippery.

Unlike Carolyn, who is able to identify particular words as Nepali, Abbie seems less aware of the distinction, although she does appear to know some Nepali words e.g. 'chora' ('bird'), which she uses occasionally, for instance in one of the MAIN activities carried out in English. This may be attributable to the code-switching practices of members of her family who have provided much of Abbie's language input thus far. They mostly speak English with odd words routinely code-switched into Nepali, which may result in it not being clear to Abbie whether the word 'chora' is a Nepali word or an English one.

When outside on the big playground, Abbie will occasionally engage with another child and play on the ropes with them, using English to communicate. At other times she is to be found alone, wandering or crouching in a corner. When asked who her friends at school are, Abbie is not able to give any names and she looks hesitant, uncertain, almost upset, so this is not a topic that the researcher chooses to pursue.

To sum up, Abbie shows she knows that she has access to two different languages, identifying one as Nepali and labelling English "like the school one". Her understanding of Nepali seems limited in comparison with English, possibly due to a pattern of decreasing opportunities to engage with others in Nepali, which is in part due to decisions made at home to stick to English. In English, whilst she understands what is said to her, Abbie finds it difficult to express herself in comprehensible ways. This may contribute to her isolation within her peer group; she is often to be seen playing alone rather than joining in with games with other children. Further, Samantha comments that she thinks Abbie speaks in Nepali at school, which is very unlikely to be the case based on the information available about Abbie's skills in Nepali. Rather, Samantha may find Abbie's speech difficult to understand and assume this is because she is speaking a different language.

Abbie's experience seems to be one of a daily struggle to make and express meaning. Ever on the periphery of the social world of school, Abbie appears at this early stage in her life to be a bit lost in her two languages, lacking the vocabulary and the syntax to fully participate in most social situations, regardless of the language. For her, then, growing up in two languages seems to be hard work.

5.4.5 Samantha

Name	Samantha
Home language	Mostly English, some Nepali
Term of Birth	Autumn
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 11 months
Position in family	Second of two children
School attended	Water's Edge Community Primary

Samantha's father is proud to state that his children's first language is English. In complete contrast to her father's earlier description of his daughter as "confident and assertive", Samantha herself seems very shy initially, especially during the first meeting with the researcher and bilingual research assistant, which takes place in the library at her school. In this first meeting, she is reluctant to talk and is not willing to consent to the conversation being recorded. When she chooses to respond verbally, she uses English but it is clear from her responses that when spoken to in Nepali, she has understood what was said to her in that language too.

In the first social mapping activity, Samantha produces a picture of her family which shows her, her parents and her older brother (Figure 19). She tells the researcher that her father reads stories to her in English and that the story they are currently sharing is one of the Harry Potter series.



Figure 19: Samantha's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

At home, Samantha's family speak mostly English. Her father says that Samantha can give a simple response to a straightforward question posed in Nepali but if she needs to explain anything, then she chooses to use English. Although he says Samantha is a good reader in her own right, Samantha likes it best when her father reads stories to her. Her top choice is stories about unicorns, her father says, which he reads in English – there are no Nepali children's books at home, he tells the researcher.

In contrast to her initial shyness with the researcher, Samantha's father says she can be assertive at home, for example demanding 'black chips' and directing him to go to Morrison's to buy some for her on his day off. He relates another incident that happened at home in which her mother has taken a sip from Samantha's cup and Samantha has then refused to drink any more because she doesn't want to catch her mother's germs. He recalls his surprise at hearing Samantha saying "Meera pul" ('That's mine') in Nepali before switching to English to complain about her mother's germs.



Figure 20: Samantha's picture of school, second social mapping activity

Samantha is friends with several girls in her class, all of them English-speaking. She has one special friend, Clare, an English-speaking child. Clare is the figure with the yellow hair in Samantha's picture of school, produced during the second social mapping activity (Figure 20). Together, Samantha and Clare engage in various activities, sometimes inside at the Art table, sometimes building houses from Lego and sometimes outside, but always in English.

With other children in her class, Samantha’s assertive side becomes evident. On one occasion, she argues in English with another child, telling him she is going to tell first the teacher and then his mother that he has spoiled her picture; on another, she confronts a girl, chiding her for taking her yellow felt-tip.

When asked who at school speaks Nepali, Samantha identifies one other child in her class: Abbie. Samantha says Abbie is “loud”. It is interesting to note that Abbie does not in fact speak Nepali at school but does have an identified speech delay and is difficult to understand when she is speaking English. This lack of comprehensibility might be the reason why Samantha thinks Abbie is speaking Nepali. On a more positive note, what this does indicate is Samantha’s awareness that different people speak different languages.

Overall, Samantha might best be described as English-dominant. She knows there is another language in her background, Nepali, and she is able to express herself in that other language in some familiar, home-based contexts using simple words and short, formulaic phrases. However, if she needs to give an explanation of something, she chooses to use English. Samantha’s perspective appears to be that it is perfectly acceptable for her to be monolingual; in her eyes, she has little need of Nepali since she can use English to assert her agency in social situations with others, both at home and at school.

5.4.6 Sarad

Name	Sarad
Home language	Nepali
Term of Birth	Spring
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 9 months
Position in family	First of two children
School attended	Meadow Infants

Sarad’s family use Nepali at home most of the time; his mother tells the researcher that her English is not very good so she chooses to speak Nepali with Sarad. Hence Sarad has more opportunities to develop his skills in Nepali than some of the other Nepali-heritage children involved in this research whose families use both Nepali and English in varying proportions.

Although confident and assertive with his peers, Sarad takes his time warming up to the idea of talking to the researcher on their first meeting. Once he has decided he will engage, he is chatty and assertive in the main but quickly becomes secretive when it comes to sharing

things about his private home life. Sarad is not much interested to draw or talk about his family, choosing instead to draw some characters he says he knows from playing games online (Figure 21).

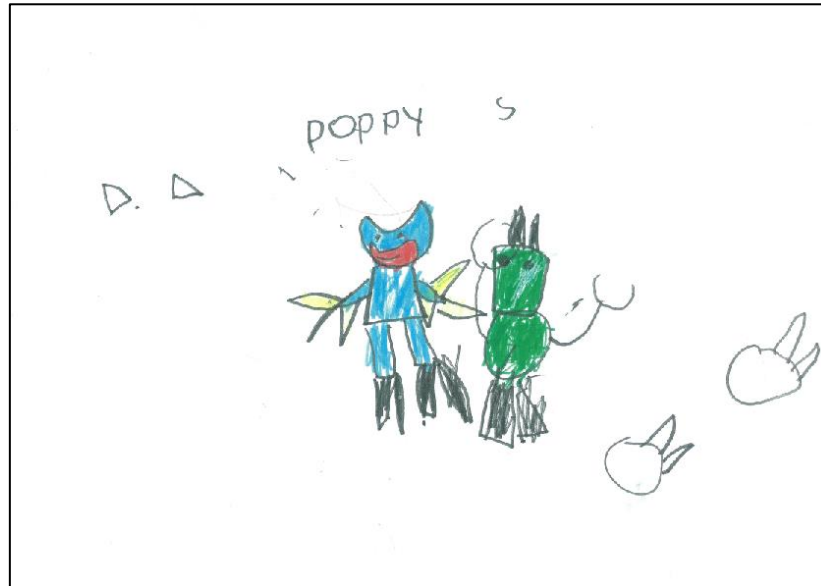


Figure 21: Sarad's picture of his family, first social mapping activity

Persisting with questions about language use in the home, the researcher eventually manages to persuade Sarad to talk briefly about his mother. Of her language choices, Sarad expresses incredulity at the way she will use Nepali when it is just the two of them at home but switch to English if there is a visitor, even if the visitor speaks Nepali themselves. Sarad wonders aloud why his mother does this.

At school, like the other Nepali heritage children involved in this research Sarad expresses himself solely in English, his imagination matched by his broad and varied vocabulary in that language. One day, he finds that someone has scribbled on his book and he invests a considerable amount of time talking about how he will be able to catch the culprit through the invention of special glasses and an invisibility cloak; Sarad is nothing if not inventive.



Figure 22: Sarad's picture of school, second social mapping activity

At the start of the second social mapping activity (Figure 22), Sarad is very quiet and will not respond to attempts to engage him in the task at first. He says he is feeling shy by way of an explanation. The researcher makes a start on the task herself, drawing a picture of her classroom from when she was at school and this seems to help Sarad forget about being shy. He draws a picture not of his current school but of a school he says he used to attend in Dover. He recalls lots of detail, for example that there was a big picture of the moon on the wall and the equipment there was outside for the children to play on. Interestingly, he again includes no people in his picture.

When asked about the languages he hears being used at school, Sarad is more forthcoming this time:

- Researcher: So in school here when you're doing your lessons and your learning and when you're playing, what languages do people speak?
- Sarad: English, they always speak English.
- Researcher: Ok but they can speak other languages can't they, some of them?
- Sarad: Yeah.
- Researcher: Who can speak another language?
- Sarad: Only me.
- Researcher: Only you?
- Sarad: Yeah.
- Researcher: I thought you said Mrs Subba can do that too.
- Sarad: Yeah, even Mrs Subba.

...

Researcher: So do you speak Nepali at all at school?
 Sarad: Yeah...no. I only speak that in home.
 Researcher: Oh, only at home. If you spoke to Mrs Subba in Nepali do you think she would understand you?
 Sarad: Um...
 Researcher: Would she know what you had said?
 Sarad: What? What do you say?
 Researcher: If you speak to Mrs Subba in Nepali do you think she would understand?
 Sarad: Yeah.
 Researcher: She would? What would she do back? Would she speak Nepali back to you, do you think, or would she choose English? What would she do?
 Sarad: He will just choose English pinglish.

Sarad decides he has had enough of this topic of conversation at this point. Having seemingly regained his confidence, he suddenly states that he likes dancing and gives an impromptu demonstration of his helicopter dance before asking if he can go back to class.

Overall, Sarad is the Nepali-heritage child with the most confidence to express himself in that language during the research activities where this is explicitly desired. However, in terms of his use of his two languages he might still be best described as English-dominant, demonstrating greater fluency and making fewer errors with grammar or syntax when speaking English. He shows awareness of his two languages and makes observations relating to others' language choices, the example involving his mother switching to English when a visitor to their home is Nepali themselves being a case in point. Further, he is scornful of the bilingual research assistant who on one occasion tells him that she doesn't know any English, which he knows full well to be untrue. However, he seems to simply accept without question that Mrs Subba chooses to speak only English at school despite knowing that she is perfectly able to speak Nepali.

With regards his bilingual experience, Sarad like Niva appears comfortable with the duality this lends to his identity. He conveys a sense of matter-of-factness about growing up in two languages, his comments about it suggesting that for him both hold significance and import. He makes situational switches between Nepali and English based on the person (*sociality*) and the *place* and - largely driven by his mother's language choices - is the most confident in Nepali of all the Nepali heritage children. Further, his "English pinglish" remark and his comment about his mother switching to English suggest disregard for the notion that there may exist any sort of hierarchical order when it comes to his two languages.

5.4.7 Aga

Name	Aga
Home language	Polish
Term of Birth	Summer
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 5 months
Position in family	Only child
School attended	St Joseph's Catholic Primary

Prior to starting in Year R, Aga attends pre-school for thirty hours a week, and this is where she has developed her English. At home, Aga's family speak mostly Polish, her mother says, observing that when addressed in Polish, Aga tends to respond in English. Aga's mother is keen for her daughter to develop bilingually: "you never know how life can go", she says, commenting on the value to a person of having more than one language.

At the start of Year R, Aga finds school quite sensorily overwhelming and in the first few weeks is often visibly upset by the noise. This abates when she begins to wear headphones at school which seem to help her feel more settled, even if at the same time they seem to increase her apartness from the hustle and bustle of her Year R environment. Her response to the first social mapping activity (Figure 23) depicts three important people whom Aga identifies as "mum, dad and me".

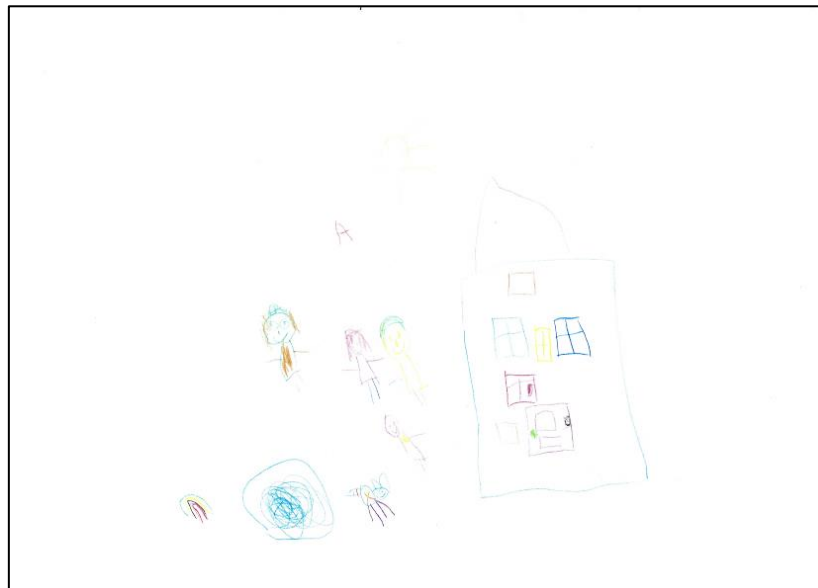


Figure 23: Aga's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

In the conversation that takes place during the first social mapping activity, Aga is chatty and switches frequently and fluently between Polish with the bilingual research assistant and

English with the researcher, always keeping the two languages discretely separate. She draws herself and her mother first, both with long hair. She tells the bilingual research assistant (in Polish) that her mother speaks to her sometimes in Polish and sometimes in English. Next Aga draws her father and she is able to say that he speaks only Polish, adding that she will teach him English. Then she draws their house with windows and a door before drawing a cat; Aga doesn't have a cat at home but she really wants one and has clearly thought about this a lot, based on the detail she includes when she articulates her wish. She says that at home she has lots of story books, all in Polish, which her mother and father both read to her. She talks about her favourite one, which is about "sheeps". She tells the researcher (in English) "...they like eating grass...and my sheep go in a forest and mum, 'don't go in a forest'...then they go big bad wolf in the forest then they eat it...I like this story, I not scared".

At one point in the conversation, Aga says she has a sister but when she gives the name, Kuba, it is a Polish boy's name; Kuba is possibly a cousin. He is added to the picture last. Aga says Kuba lives "so far away" that she has to visit him by plane.



Figure 24: Aga's picture of school, second social mapping activity

At school, where the other Polish-heritage children in her class choose to play together and to converse in Polish whilst they do so, Aga is often to be found either on her own or sat at a table doing drawings with Natasha, an English-speaking child whom she identifies as her friend. When it comes to her use of English, Aga is ambitious in her vocabulary choices, using multi-syllable words like 'comfortable', which she pronounces "cumperful".

Aga expresses her strong preference for home life through how she engages in the second social mapping activity (Figure 24) in which she chooses to draw herself and her friend Natasha in her garden at home rather than at school.

Aga talks about a wide range of experiences she has had including going by aeroplane to Poland to see relatives. With this experience, Aga is not sure if she has been to another country or not, perhaps having not yet developed a concept of the world as being made up of different countries. She is, however, able to express reasons why particular choices of modes of transport might be chosen:

Aga: ...it's a little bit far away...I can't use the car because it take a little bit long time that's why...that's why I need to use aeroplane.

Staff report that Aga prefers to engage with adults over other children and observations of the free-flow choices made by the children in her Year R class show that Aga will seek out an adult to play with or choose to play by herself in preference to joining in with other children's play. Aga captures and maintains an adult's interest using various strategies, for example making the suggestion to share a book or look at photographs with the researcher. She likes to talk, communicating her views and experiences effectively in both Polish and English.

Overall, Aga appears to be as confident to speak English to the researcher as she is to speak Polish to the bilingual research assistant. She can distinguish with which people she should choose to use Polish and whom she needs to address in English and she shows she is able to code-switch with apparent ease. Whilst she expresses herself fluently in both languages, there are more grammar and syntax errors evident when she is using English; her Polish is more accurate in this respect.

Aga's experience of growing up in two languages seems to be that she would find it quite comfortable if only her social world was populated solely by adults who knew about turn-taking in conversation. When other children are part of the mix, whatever language they may speak Aga prefers to keep her distance. This is most apparent in the social context of the classroom, where Aga wears headphones to cut out some of the noise of that linguistically competitive environment.

5.4.8 Lena

Name	Lena
Home language	Polish
Term of Birth	Spring
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 6 months
Position in family	Second of two children
School attended	St Joseph's Catholic Primary

In Lena's home, both Polish and English are used. Her mother says that Lena and her older sister sometimes use English when playing together; they sometimes choose English when playing with other Polish-heritage children too, Lena's mother says. She comments that Lena mixes the two languages when speaking, and she thinks that maybe Lena chooses which word to use according to how easy it is to pronounce. Lena's mother gives the example of the word 'plum', which is trickier to say in Polish ('śliwka', pronounced 'schlievka'), hence Lena would use 'plum' in English in a sentence that was otherwise expressed in Polish. Her mother also comments that Lena seems to code-mix, applying the rules of English grammar when speaking in Polish.

During the first social mapping activity, Lena is initially hesitant to reply when addressed in either Polish by the bilingual research assistant or English by the researcher. Once she has settled, however, she shows some command of both languages. In Polish, she wonders why there is a white crayon in the pack because it won't show up on the white paper. In English, Lena says that she is going to draw "my sister and my mummy and my grandma and my...daddy" but then starts with a picture of herself, working from top left (Figure 25).



Figure 25: Lena's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

As she draws, Lena chats in Polish to the bilingual research assistant about how she plays with dolls and likes going on the trampoline with her sister with whom she shares a bedroom. She tells the researcher that she likes to do cooking with her father at home, and they speak Polish together. She also speaks Polish with her mother, her sister and her grandparents, she says. At bedtime, Lena tells the bilingual research assistant that she says her prayers in both languages.

In the second social mapping activity, Lena produces a picture of herself with her friend Nikola, another Polish heritage child in her class (Figure 26). At school, Lena usually chooses to play with Nikola and another Polish-speaking girl, Julia. Their play is conducted in Polish. Perhaps in consequence Lena finds it easier to talk about the games she plays in Polish to the bilingual research assistant than in English to the researcher. For example, the game 'babies', played with Nikola and Julia, in which Lena assumes the role of sister. When the researcher asks Lena about this game, Lena can respond only to closed 'yes/no' type questions but when it is suggested that maybe she would like to talk about the game in Polish, Lena is able to engage in dialogue with the bilingual research assistant using full sentences to explain how the game is played.

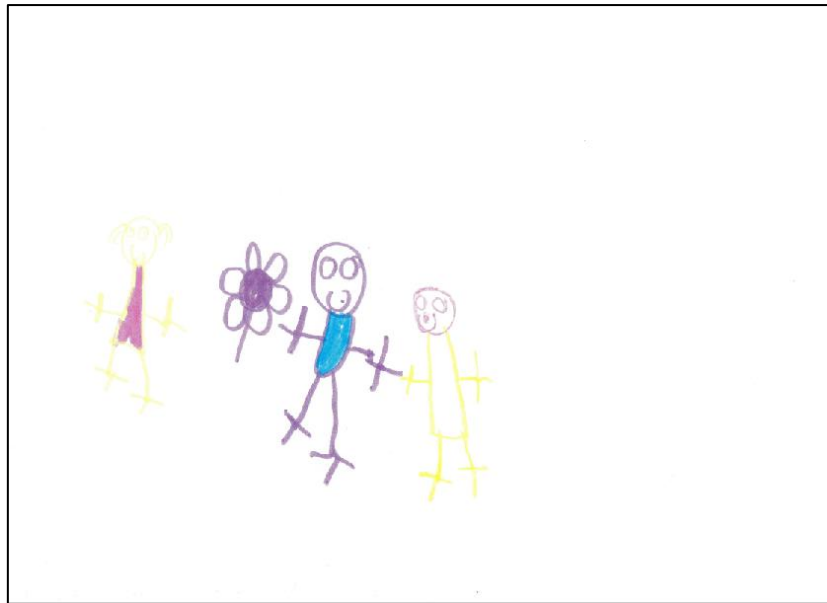


Figure 26: Lena's picture of school, second social mapping activity

In comparison with the other Polish heritage children in her class, Lena appears less confident in the context of teacher-led times of the day when the children engage in more formal, academic learning. She is compliant and will sit on the carpet with the other children but she does not seem able to maintain her focus on the teacher-led input for quite as long as some of the others, perhaps because she finds it difficult to follow the input, which is all in English. Lena tells the researcher that she uses only English for her learning and she knows to use this language “...cos teacher...um...saying in a English”.

Overall, Lena knows she has two different languages and she can identify with which people and in what contexts each would be appropriate. She produces comprehensible speech in both Polish and English but she seems to have better control and command of Polish; whilst her responses in dialogue in Polish with the bilingual research assistant are consistently appropriate, when conversing in English Lena sometimes seems to get a bit lost. When this happens, Lena reverts to using single words, usually ‘yes’, when replying to questions, whether or not ‘yes’ is an appropriate response. Hence in English Lena is not always able to hold her own and can sometimes unintentionally mislead with her contributions.

Lena’s experience of growing up in two languages appears to be that it is a tricky one to negotiate. Lena’s identity is, at this stage of her life, best expressed through Polish and she is socially competent, having agency in this language both at home and at school. However, switch to English and Lena experiences confidence depletion. Being bilingual would not be her first choice; Lena would rather be monolingual, finding Polish-only contexts more

favourable. The one identifiable benefit of having access to another language is that it gives Lena alternatives to words she finds hard to say in Polish.

5.4.9 Franek

Name	Franek
Home language	Polish
Term of Birth	Summer
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 1 month
Position in family	Second of two children
School attended	St Joseph's Catholic Primary

Franek's family speak Polish and this is the language in which he is more confident, his mother says. She observes that although she always speaks to Franek in Polish, when he responds he might mix some English words into his sentences, which are otherwise expressed in Polish. Franek's mother thinks this is to do with issues with word-finding. At home, the family watch Polish television and there are Polish children's stories available too; Franek's mother says she wants to make sure her children have access to Polish, explaining that she has been advised by school to try and focus on the home language as otherwise it will gradually be lost. Franek went to the same pre-school as Jacek, and the two boys chose to play together often and to speak Polish to each other.

During the first social mapping activity, Franek prefers to engage in Polish, responding in Polish when asked a question in English by the researcher. He includes in his picture his older brother, himself, his parents, his grandparents – who live locally - and a friend called Brian, an English child who currently attends pre-school (Figure 27).



Figure 27: Franek's picture of his family, first social mapping activity

When doing his drawing, Franek says he speaks Polish at home, referring to this as talking “the same as he talks to mum”. He adds that Granddad speaks “like they speak at school [in English] and only a little bit like mum [in Polish]”, hence for Franek his language choices vary according to the family member to whom he is talking. Franek likes stories and he has a bedtime story in Polish with his mother or father. He likes stories about pirates, and he prefers stories in Polish over English, he says.

At school, Franek’s interests lie in collaborative play involving various construction toys. Mostly, Franek chooses to play with smaller construction toys, usually with Jacek whom he has known since pre-school. In his picture of school (Figure 28), Franek includes Jacek and himself. They are inside the classroom and they have a toy each, Jacek a car and Franek a man. When engaged in play with Jacek, the two speak Polish together, chatting freely.



Figure 28: Franek's picture of school, second social mapping activity

Sometimes, Franek chooses to play outside with a group of English-speaking boys, using the big blocks to collaboratively build model vehicles that he and other children are able to sit inside. During this sort of play, he can become frustrated. On one occasion, having used English to negotiate with the other boys how to collaboratively build a person-sized car from the big blocks, one of them tries to take a block that Franek has designated for another purpose. Franek is not keen for the child to take the block and he argues his case, saying crossly (in English) “Dat why is need to be ... to attach it together”.

Franek engages actively in teacher-led learning sessions in English, putting up his hand to contribute ideas or to offer to spell a word. He might, during these sessions, swap to Polish for off-task chat with other children, showing he is aware of whom in his class speaks which language. When doing phonics work with Jacek and a cover teacher, Franek shows he knows the letter-sounds he has been taught, though he prefers to look at and listen to Jacek before writing his own letters, perhaps gaining confidence from his friend in this way.

Overall, Franek is Polish-dominant in home contexts and when it comes to most play-based activities at school. He switches to English for any teacher-led academic learning. Franek often chooses Polish first when talking to the researcher, who has to remind him she does not speak Polish herself. This he finds amusing when he realises his mistake. Whilst he knows he has access to two different languages, when referring to them Franek does not name them ‘Polish’ and ‘English’ but instead says things such as “like we are talking now” or

“...even other people...um...I talk not like Jacek and like me...different way”. This is how he refers to the two languages in both Polish and English.

Franek’s perspective on growing up bilingually is that it is harder than it looks and he would prefer it if he could stick with being monolingual. He is more comfortable with Polish, the language through which he can express himself most freely. English presents him with challenges and is the cause of much frustration for Franek. Thus he experiences more negative emotions, and difficulties with self-regulation, in social contexts where he needs to use English than in ones where he can use Polish to express his views, negotiate with others and – essentially – have things the way he likes them.

5.4.10 Jacek

Name	Jacek
Home language	Polish
Term of Birth	Summer
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 4 months
Position in family	Only child
School attended	St Joseph’s Catholic Primary

His mother identifies Polish as Jacek’s preferred language and the one that is most in use at home. She says that Jacek speaks mainly Polish with members of his immediate family. There is also an aunt who has an English boyfriend and when the boyfriend is round at Jacek’s house, Jacek speaks English with him; they sometimes play computer games together. His mother says that Jacek spent relatively little time at pre-school because firstly he quickly showed through his behaviour that he did not like going and secondly she worked part time and was available to take care of him. Hence Year R is the first time Jacek spends extended periods in a predominantly English-speaking environment.

During the first social mapping activity, Jacek prefers to speak Polish when talking about his family, also choosing to speak Polish to respond to the researcher’s questions, which are posed in English. His picture (Figure 29) shows his mother with her long hair “like fireworks”, his father, himself, Franek and Franek’s brother Kasper, who is shown wearing glasses; Franek’s family live close by and outside of school, the boys often meet up and play together.

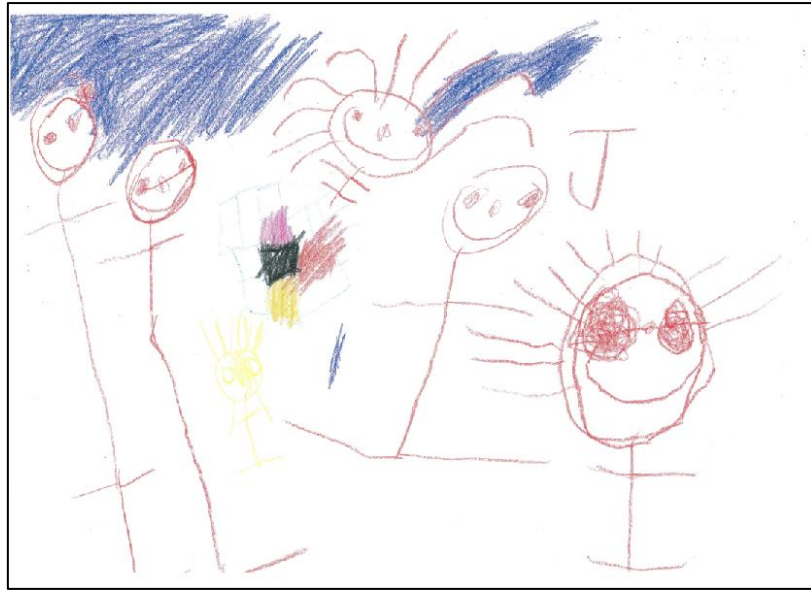


Figure 29: Jacek's picture of his family, first social mapping activity

Jacek says that at home his mother reads him a story in Polish at bedtime and he is able to relate his favourite story to the bilingual research assistant, also in Polish. With his father, he likes to play 'ninja' on the television.



Figure 30: Jacek's picture of school, second social mapping activity

Jacek's second social mapping picture (Figure 30) is testament to his love of ball games and being outside. Whilst his friend Franek is involved in construction play with other children, Jacek happily practises his ball control skills on his own. At other times, he and Franek play together, often with construction toys or Lego. When they do this, they choose to speak Polish. Jacek tells the researcher that he likes break times, when his Year R class mixes with

children from other year groups. During these times Jacek likes to play with some of the older Polish heritage boys, including Franek's older brother and his own Year 6 buddy; these are the boys who appear bottom right. Jacek says that when he is playing with these boys they all speak Polish.

In teacher-led sessions, which are conducted in English, Jacek works hard to focus and to engage. He often puts his hand up in response to a question put to the children by the teacher but if chosen, is not necessarily able to say anything. In the context of his phonics work with Franek, Jacek is the more confident of the two, able to identify and write on his white board the sounds the teacher gives to make simple CVC words. Reading one-to-one with a Teaching Assistant, Jacek is able to give the individual sounds of letters in the story 'Yak's Quest' but struggles to blend them to make words. Despite the activity being very challenging, Jacek shows persistence, even if he is not able to make sense of the story due to the vocabulary it includes, his lack of familiarity with its contextual content and the pictures, which offer little help.

Overall, whilst Jacek shows a strong preference for Polish, he gradually develops the confidence to have a go at expressing himself in English too; through the eleven-month data collection period, he resorts less and less to Polish as the amount of English he is able to use gradually increases. During the second social mapping activity, for example, he responds to the researcher mostly in English whereas during the first, just four months earlier, he preferred to respond in Polish. Jacek mostly keeps his two languages separate but very occasionally will mix them in the same utterance. For example, when talking about going bowling with his family, Jacek says his mother scores "twenty sześć" (twenty-six).

Jacek's experience, then, is that being bilingual confers worthwhile benefits, opening up his options when it comes to having enjoyable social interactions with others. However, it can also place him in situations where things just do not make sense, for example the experience he has with the 'Yak's Quest' phonics reader. But Jacek is resilient and quietly confident and despite set-backs like this, he is finding ways of successfully managing his mixed linguistic diet.

5.4.11 Hania

Name	Hania
Home language	Polish
Term of Birth	Autumn
Age at start of research (September 2021)	4 years 11 months
Position in family	First of two children
School attended	Openfield Primary

Hania's family speak mostly Polish at home but because their English is good, her mother says that she follows her daughter's lead and if Hania chooses to start a conversation in one language, then she responds back in the same language, whether it be Polish or English. Hania has access to television in both Polish and English at home and her mother says Hania chooses to watch in both languages. Hania prefers to have stories told to her in Polish by her mother or her aunt, only sometimes choosing English ones. She is learning Polish in Polish classes at the weekends. Her mother says that her goal is for her children to be able to read and write in Polish, not just speak and understand.

Hania presents as a fairly confident child and once she has got over the initial surprise of hearing Polish being spoken at school, engages willingly with the bilingual research assistant and the researcher, switching between her two languages with apparent ease. In both languages some issues with pronunciation are evident but these do not affect Hania's willingness to talk or (most of the time) her comprehensibility.

During her first social mapping experience (Figure 31), Hania identifies her mother, father and sister as the people who are important to her, adding as an afterthought herself and an aunt who lives locally. She initially says that everyone in her family can speak both Polish and English. Later, she remembers that she has a grandparent who lives nearby too, adding her to the picture last. She says she speaks English with Grandma because Grandma needs the practice.



Figure 31: Hania's picture of her family, first social mapping activity

Hania has a quirky sense of humour which she mostly expresses in Polish. In Polish she says that her pet rabbit likes to eat sandwiches and to lick her feet. She gives her sister a moustache in her picture, saying – again in Polish - that this will help her be more like her father. She also draws her Grandma with no limbs (the character at the bottom and in the middle, Figure 31). She comments, in English this time, that Grandma will have to roll to the park like a ball as she will not be able to walk, having no legs.

At school, Hania spends her day almost exclusively in English as she is the only Polish-speaking child in her class. Her best friend is Mary, an English-speaking girl. Mary is depicted with yellow hair and wearing a green dress in Hania's picture of school, produced during the second social mapping activity (Figure 32). Next to her, Hania has long hair "like Rapunzel". The other figures represent small, plastic fairy figures that Hania collects and with which she and her friends like to play.



Figure 32: Hania's picture of school, second social mapping activity

Hania's world comprises a melange of the mundane and the fantastical. During the second social mapping activity, she invents a baby at home which she says she helps her mother to look after. She goes into some detail when describing the baby; it has a name, 'Rose', it drinks milk which Hania likes to feed it from a bottle. Later, when the researcher asks Hania's mother about baby Rose, she confirms that Rose does not exist.

The one time Hania is beginning to be able to articulate her experience of living in two languages in a meta-cognitive way, she says that she manages the transition between Polish at home and English at school by coming into school in the morning and spending the first bit of the day in quiet time just preparing herself for the switch. However, it seems to be the case that growing up in two languages is not an aspect of her life to which Hania has previously given much consideration, hence she quickly loses interest in talking about her experiences of it.

Overall Hania knows she has two languages and that in her family everyone apart from Grandma can speak both Polish and English well. She is as confident to speak Polish as she is English but she can sustain her contributions for longer and include more detail when she is speaking Polish. Hania can identify particular people and contexts for each of her languages, reasoning that because Grandma is still learning English she should provide opportunities for Grandma to practice. Sometimes when speaking English Hania struggles to find a particular word e.g. 'ladder' when explaining how her father had hurt his finger. When this happens, she may code-switch, substituting the Polish word; she seems to have a broader vocabulary

in Polish than in English but in both languages can very occasionally struggle with word-finding.

Hania's experience is that there is nothing remarkable about living in two languages, it is the norm for her all day every day. Hania experiences success in multiple social settings, unfettered by linguistic specificity; she expresses her agency in both Polish and English.

5.5 Zooming out: the macro view

In this section, and following on from the individual narrative portraits presented in section 5.4, attention turns to thematic consideration of the children's contact-induced experiences of their two languages. Hence in the search for patterns in the data, a macro view of the research findings by language group in relation to RQ2 is presented.

What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?

This view draws on all the data gathered during the field work phase, specifically information gained during pupil profiling, the two social mapping activities, field notes made during observations of the children at school and semi-structured interviews with the children's parents and teachers held in summer 2022 at the end of Year R. Out of the iterative process of coding these data, those elements that seemed to hold greatest import across the participant groups were identified. Thus this section begins with consideration of the commonalities identified in the Nepali heritage children's data before moving on to do the same with the Polish heritage children.

5.5.1 The Nepali Heritage Children

The Nepali heritage children were on roll in two different schools. Andrew, Carolyn, Niva and Sarad were all in the same class at Meadow Infants, whilst Abbie and Samantha were in the same class at Water's Edge Primary. This clustering of the children into two distinct groups links with the Narrative Inquiry commonplaces of *sociality* and *place*, with the children able to interact with each other during the day (*sociality*), each group having a shared experience of *place* during their time at school.

As a group, the Nepali children were reluctant to speak Nepali at school and most of the time avoided doing so entirely. This was the case when they were engaging in free play with each other during unstructured periods of the school day, even where they knew which of their peers spoke Nepali as in the case of Niva and her best friend Devi:

Niva and Devi are drawing pictures at a table. Niva speaks to Devi in English:

Niva: Devi...look...cut.

They both use scissors to cut out heart shapes they've drawn on pink paper. Devi is silent, she just smiles.

(Observation at Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Where Sarad and Carolyn usually played with a mix of other children, Andrew often played by himself during free-flow play. When he did this, his play was accompanied by a running commentary, all in English:

Andrew: No buying Lego my mum said...is angry...he gonna put...I'm gonna shoot my mum with my gun...big Jaden baby said 'Goo goo ga ga'...and then my neighbour said 'No, baby'...I see the neighbour do like that [knocks on the table]...the neighbour said xxx...the baby's right there...the neighbour said 'No no no no'... what?

(Observation at Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Even when another child might be playing in the same area as Andrew, he often did not engage with them verbally:

Andrew goes outside to play at the sand table. The sand is waterlogged after rain at the weekend. Sarad is there too but they do not play together.

Andrew: What? What? Water...water...water! [He is very excited by this.]

Andrew plays in the sand tray with a digger and some wooden blocks. Sarad is upset because Roger has taken his digger. He complains aloud about this and Andrew silently hands him another. Andrew resumes his solitary play with a song:

Andrew: [sings] Row, row, row your boat xxx xxx xxx [first words recognisable, the rest unclear but it follows the right tune and pattern]

Sarad: No, no baby songs.

(Observation at Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Here, Sarad has recognised the song Andrew is singing, one that remains popular in pre-school settings, which may be where Andrew has learned it. Andrew may also have sung it at home to his baby sister. Sarad's reaction is a rebuff by which he asserts his position in the

social hierarchy of school, suggesting that he considers himself to be above Andrew.

Andrew, however, has more first-hand involvement with babies through his younger sister so the song remains relevant to him, whereas Sarad's sibling is yet to be born. Further, Andrew often demonstrates that his understanding of what is going on in the world around him is secure, not baby-like at all. For example when the Teaching Assistant (TA) asked him which side of the balance he was playing with was heavier, Andrew confidently evaluated the situation, swiftly replying, "Both are same".

Andrew more often engaged with the TA with whom he had regular snippets of dialogue, all in English, though nothing elaborate or sustained. He was confident to approach her and to initiate dialogue, his motive often relating to a desire for her support in a challenging situation that had arisen, for example to complain about other children's behaviour:

The TA is outside watching. Andrew approaches her.

Andrew: Roger just put a sand on me. [He shows the TA his coat sleeve.]

(Observation at Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Andrew was also confident to challenge the TA, showing his strong sense of fairness and his desire for things to happen in predictable ways. For example one day when snack time had been signalled by the TA, who had then told Andrew he had just one more minute left at the water table, he responded, "No, three minutes then two minutes then one minute," such a countdown being the more usual way of signalling a change in activity deployed by staff at the school.

Over at Water's Edge Primary, Abbie and Samantha also used only English at school.

Samantha thought that Abbie spoke Nepali at school but this seemed highly unlikely given the difficulties Abbie experienced with expressing herself verbally and the information provided by her father:

Abbie's father: With Abbie and his brother I usually speak in English, but Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I'd rather do conversation in English.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

In observations of adult-led activities, an English-only diet was offered at both Meadow Infants and Water's Edge Primary. At Meadow Infants, this was the choice made by Mrs

Subba despite being able to speak Nepali herself. The children in her class followed her lead in this respect:

Niva sits next to Devi at the back. Mrs Subba reads to her class, who are seated on the carpet. Niva is looking and listening. Sarad is looking too. Carolyn asks me can she go to the toilet. Andrew – where is he? I spot him, hiding in the den. Mrs Subba asks Carolyn to come and sit on the carpet with the other children.

Sarad: There's about a hundred penguins [in the picture Mrs Subba is showing]

Mrs Subba: Children, what do you want to be when you grow up?

Niva: I want to be an astronaut.

Sarad has his hand up, Carolyn too.

Carolyn: I want to be an astronaut.

Sarad: I want to be a gamer. I might change my mind.

Mrs Subba spots that Andrew is hiding in the den. He is told off and given a warning. He comes sheepishly to the carpet. He is then asked what he wants to be when he grows up:

Andrew: I wanna grow a...wanna grow...wanna grow big daddy. I wanna be big like big Jaden. I wanna make gun.

(Observation of story time at Meadow Infants, February 2022)

In the above excerpt, Mrs Subba does not attempt to elicit words in other languages for the things in the pictures of her story or to repeat the same question but in Nepali, which may have benefitted a child like Devi, who did not have as much English as the children involved in this research or, at the very least, modelled to all the children that the use of other languages in the classroom was acceptable.

Opportunities for more than just the odd word of Nepali to be used at school were provided by the bilingual research assistant; without her input, it seemed likely that the children's Year R experience would be almost exclusively in English, given the researcher's observations and the comments made by Mrs Subba in interview. Mrs Subba, herself of Nepali heritage, said that although she would be able to understand the children if they used Nepali at school, for instance if they asked to go to the toilet using the Nepali word 'susu' (her example), she did not proactively use Nepali in her teaching. This was borne out by the researcher's observations of day-to-day practice in Mrs Subba's classroom; Mrs Subba used no Nepali at all, speaking exclusively in English. During the in-class observations, the researcher did not hear any of the Nepali heritage children use any Nepali either.

- Researcher: The multilingual children in your current class, do you hear them using English or other languages when they are at school?
- Mrs Subba: My children, current children, they speak...mostly speak English but they use a word or two words of Nepali because they know that I speak Nepali they will be saying 'my dad has gone to kam', you know, 'my dad's gone to work' or...er...'I had roti for breakfast' so it will be mixed language...er mixed vocabularies but other than that they speak mostly English with each other...my children - mostly I have Nepali children at the moment - they converse in English.
- Researcher: OK. Do you notice if they are using Nepali...with each other or is that just with you? Does it change depending on who they're talking to?
- Mrs Subba: They don't speak ever...I've never heard them speak Nepali with each other, it's just with me. They will just talk to me when we are sitting down for registration, 'oh Mrs Subba, I had momo for dinner last night. Do you eat momo?' It's like 'yeah, I do eat momo', so it is few words here and there but they don't ever talk to each other in Nepali.

(Interview with Class Teacher Mrs Subba, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

In the above excerpt, Mrs Subba relates that the Nepali heritage children might have spontaneously code-switched occasional words into Nepali but for the most part their speech was in English. The code-switched words she mentions are nouns, 'roti', 'kam' and 'momo', 'roti' and 'momo' being the names of items of food for which there is no equivalent in English, and to identify their use as code-switching is perhaps a moot point. The third word, 'kam' meaning 'work' was a word the children knew from home, probably because this was how their parents – habitual code-switchers by their own reckoning - referred to it.

Most of the time, the Nepali heritage children also chose to use English to respond when addressed in Nepali by the bilingual research assistant. This was the case even though in general they showed through their responses to the bilingual research assistant that they understood spoken Nepali when the bilingual research assistant was talking about familiar things or where the input was supported by visual cues, as in the case of the MAIN when the bilingual research assistant used the picture sequences when telling the model stories.

Some of the children showed that they understood Nepali better than others, responding the first time when spoken to by the bilingual research assistant, mostly non-verbally (nodding or pointing, for example) or in English or – very occasionally – using a word like 'ho' ('yes') in Nepali. At other times, some of the children needed the bilingual research assistant

to repeat what she had said before they responded. When addressed in English, however, the children's understanding seemed better and their processing and response times were shorter.

Members of the Nepali community commented that it is common for Nepali parents to express pride that their child speaks good English, so the drive towards English at the expense of Nepali may be precipitated by parental and community attitudes. With the exception of Niva's mother, who came to the UK as a child and experienced her secondary education here, the Nepali parents involved in this research were educated overseas. At interview, they talked about "good schools" by which they meant schools where the medium of instruction was English. Abbie's father talked about this in relation to his own schooling in Nepal:

Abbie's father: I was in a good school so yeah all in English apart from Nepalese obviously. But I've done everything like math, science, everything in English just like here.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

Samantha's father, when asked where and when he had learned English, made similar comments about having received his education through the medium of English:

Samantha's father: When I was back in Nepal...then my schooling in India, it's an army school, it's a public army school. So that's why I studied and I passed out my high school from there and also did my post graduation and I did my Masters from London as well. I took Masters in business, business administration.

(Interview with Samantha's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

As suggested by these two Nepali fathers, it may be the case that within the Nepali community the perception is that English is the language for learning, not Nepali; hence English may be perceived to serve more purposes than Nepali, being the gateway to a good education and thence to a good job. These factors may serve to accelerate the shift away from the use of Nepali and towards English, both in school and at home.

Another factor that may be noteworthy is that Nepal is far away from the UK and it is expensive and time-consuming to go there. In consequence many of the Nepali-heritage children in this study had limited or no experience at all of being in Nepal. The expense of the trip is compounded by difficulties faced by parents in taking enough time off work to go

back to Nepal for a visit. This was mentioned by Samantha's father, who said he would need to arrange to take at least a month off work during the school summer holiday were he to take his family back to Nepal, something he said would be very hard to do:

Researcher: Have you got any plans to go back?

Samantha's father: No, we settled here but we do go back for a visit, family visit, like every 2-3 years when we get time. Yeah. It's quite hard.

Researcher: It's quite a long way as well, isn't it?

Samantha's father: It's like 15, 16 hours of flight and with kids...oh...

Researcher: And the time as well because you'd need to go for a decent amount of time, wouldn't you?

Samantha's father: Yeah. And it's quite expensive, the tickets are, and the kids, they have like 35 - 40 days, their summer vacation. You have to get all of that time as a parent. So you need to book your holidays prior...yeah you have to do so many things. And it's like, yeah...

(Interview with Samantha's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

For some families, there were no longer any family members left in Nepal; they were all in the UK, grandparents having been brought over to join family groups who had already emigrated as expressed by Abbie's father in interview:

Researcher: And do you still have anybody back in Nepal?

Abbie's father: Honestly speaking, most of our, like my cousins, relatives, they're here, we still do but like not that many. Yeah most people are here.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

This was given as his reason why in Abbie's family there were no plans to either visit or return to live in Nepal in anyone's mind. Hence reasons for maintaining links with the country of origin may be reduced for some Nepali families whilst pragmatic considerations would make it very challenging to go even for a short visit. However, when relatives in the children's families came from Nepal to visit kin in the UK, they tended to stay for months at a time. This scenario may provide an incentive for the children to continue to use Nepali at home since often these relatives were the children's grandparents who did not speak English.

In addition, there was a lack of resources in Nepali that might promote and support the development of the language, particularly the development of literacy skills. For example, there were no community language classes running locally that might support the teaching

of Nepali. When asked about this, Carolyn's father expressed a desire for his daughter to one day develop a level of literacy in Nepali but in his view, this was something for the future, when Carolyn was nine or ten years old:

Carolyn's father: Yeah, of course. Yeah. I would like her to develop. Yeah.
 She's still young so I don't force her but when she goes up
 like 9, 10, then need to start her in alphabet as well, yeah.
 Yeah, hopefully she will be like fluent in Nepali by that time.

(Interview with Carolyn's father, Meadow Infants, July 2021)

There was limited availability of children's books in Nepali, with most parents stating that they had none at home at all, and there was no story-book reading tradition within the community. Further, there were hardly any Nepali-language TV programmes aimed at a child audience. Some parents said they watched Nepali-language YouTube channels and their children might overhear this at home, but it was not something that their children directly engaged with. Thus the overall trend within the Nepali community seemed to be for the adults to continue to use Nepali with each other but for their children to favour English both in the home and at social events within the Nepali community.

5.5.2 The Polish Heritage Children

The Polish heritage children were on roll in two different schools. One, a Catholic school, had four of the children all in the same Year R class. The fifth Polish heritage child, Hania, was in a different school and was the only Polish speaking child in her Year R class.

All the Polish heritage children showed willingness to speak Polish at school and they did so fluently and with confidence, some even with enthusiasm when they realised they were with someone who shared their first language. Most of the Polish speaking children demonstrated experience of different registers in that language, using slang words and colloquial terms in their social exchanges with the Polish-speaking research assistant. At the Catholic school, staff who observed the children conversing in Polish commented that they had not previously seen the children talk so much; in English, the children had mostly been more reserved and had not talked so freely at school, they said. This was at odds with the observations carried out by the researcher, who noticed a great deal of talk in Polish between the children, especially when they were playing together in the outside area as the following excerpts from field notes show:

02 March 2022

As they played with the Lego and with other construction toys, Franek spoke Polish freely and frequently to Jacek, who responded in Polish.

18 March 2022

Lena and her friend play in the mud kitchen first – chatting in Polish.

Boys – mixing with other children (L1 English speakers). Some – Franek and 2 or 3 English boys - are building a car from big blocks. Franek speaks English whilst the boys negotiate how to build the vehicle. He argues back in English too. While this is going on, Jacek is playing with a ball on his own. Franek approaches Jacek – he's made him a seat in the car and he wants Jan to try it for size. He speaks Polish to Jan.

Lena plays dress up with her friend – in Polish.

Lena, her friend and others play on the grass mound – lots of pulling people up the slope and rolling down. Lots of Polish is spoken during their play.

(Observations at St Joseph's, March 2022)

Hence it may just be that school staff had not spent much time focusing on the Polish heritage children's interactions with each other and had therefore not noticed quite how much Polish this involved.

At St Joseph's, a school that had many years' experience of having numbers of Polish speaking children on roll, the new intake into Year R were each given a buddy from one of the year 6 classes who spoke Polish. This, and the advice given by staff to parents to continue to use Polish at home with their children, related by Franek's mother (below) suggests there existed at some level recognition at school of the importance of these children's first language.

Franek's mother: I was told by the teacher that they know for sure the that the kids will learn English easily, so they really asked me to pay more attention to Polish language than to English, so they will not lose the ability to speak Polish which happens and I was...I witnessed, well I am witnessing a Polish parents speaking to their kids in English or kids speaking to parents in English and parents are responding in Polish. I don't want to do that. I would...I would rather them know 2 languages.

(Interview with Franek's mother, July 2022)

Thus at St Joseph's, the Polish heritage children brought Polish into their Year R spaces every day, speaking freely to each other in Polish during carpet time and when they were playing

with each other during free-flow periods. Although no-one on staff spoke Polish and it was not used in any teaching and learning activities, Polish was nonetheless accepted and supported within the school environment.

In Hania's school, opportunities to use Polish during the school day were more limited. There was no opportunity to use it in play with peers, for example. Hania reported that she sometimes sang Polish songs to herself at school and that she had taught a few words of Polish to her friends, but compared with the children in the Catholic school, she had few opportunities to use Polish. That she was able to demonstrate fluency in her use of Polish with the bilingual research assistant and to hold her own in extended conversation in Polish was therefore attributable to her continuing exposure to Polish outside of school, with family and friends.

Outside of school, Polish community language classes were active and some of the children were already attending these themselves or had older siblings who were attending, the intention being that they would soon start too. Hence not only did parents talk about wanting their child to be literate in the heritage language but this was an achievable aim. Furthermore, there were children's books and TV channels available, so the families had more opportunity to access different media in Polish. For one, Hania's mother talked about her children's engagement with TV, saying that they actively chose to watch some things in Polish and some in English:

Researcher: What about when you're watching TV at home or listening to the radio or those kinds of things, do you do those things in Polish?

Hania's mother: We do have a Polish TV which we not really using very often. The guys are usually watching Netflix or Disney and on that platform they can choose the language because you can choose Polish in there as well.

Researcher: Uh-huh.

Hania's mother: But it kind of depends from their mood...I'm sorry, I'm just trying to check what they...Uh, now they watching it in Polish, but it...it kind of depends from the cartoon and from they mood how they want to watch it. There are some cartoons they watch only in English and there there's some that they prefer in Polish.

(Interview with Hania's mother, July 2022)

Franek's mother also talked about access to Polish TV at home:

Franek's mother: So we have Polish TV purely because we thought that that would be beneficial for kids, if they have something um that they can watch in Polish because obviously if not that, then they would end up having only like English around...//...And so, yeah, so that that's why...that's why we have that Polish TV.

(Interview with Franek's mother, July 2022)

Further, there was a story-reading tradition evident within the Polish community. Parents and children alike talked about sharing stories together in Polish as in this example where Franek's mother talks about story books in Polish:

Franek's mother: We have Polish books because well we have both, we have Polish and English, but sometimes it's...it's easier well, it's always easier to read in Polish.

Researcher: Yeah.

Franek's mother: It's another thing for the kids, really...So that they have to see how uh written Polish language looks like as well.

(Interview with Franek's mother, July 2022)

The experience of story at home may be particularly significant when it came to the outcomes from the use of the MAIN. The Polish heritage children all told their Polish stories in Polish on both occasions, possibly drawing on a great deal of experience of story in L1. In contrast, the Nepali heritage children, in whose culture story-reading does not feature and whose families did not have access to story books in Nepali, struggled to maintain use of L1 to tell their own MAIN stories, with most not making any attempt to use L1 at all.

The Polish parents on the whole expressed various reasons for wanting their children to grow up bilingually and develop good skills in Polish. For one, the families were not sure that they were in the UK for good; some acknowledged the option of returning to Poland one day and could see that were they to do this, their children would need to be able to speak, read and write in Polish in order to successfully transition to school in Poland.

Furthermore, Poland is relatively close to the UK and opportunities to regularly go back for visits during the school holidays were frequent. Some of the children talked about going to Poland to visit friends and relatives, so these experiences were still in their thoughts, unlike the Nepali heritage children, few of whom had been to Nepal and those who had, had done so as babies and had no recollection of the experience. Affordability of travel to Poland was also less of an issue for the Polish families than it was for the Nepali families due to it being a

much shorter flight, with some even opting to drive instead – something that would be impossible for the Nepali families.

Another factor that may be significant in terms of L1 maintenance and transmission was that the Polish parents were all educated in Poland in Polish medium institutions, some to undergraduate or post-graduate level. Thus for Polish families, the language for learning may be Polish (as it was for the parents) or it may be English (as it was for their children); hence the perceived status differential between Polish and English was far less than between Nepali and English.

Lastly, it may be significant that the Polish families were all Catholics, a religion they had in common with many people in the UK, with four of the five Polish heritage children being educated by choice in a Catholic Primary School. This shared experience may mean that the Polish families had experiences in common with the majority population from the outset. In contrast, the Nepali families were Buddhist (Niva) or Hindu (Andrew, Abbie, Carolyn, Sarad and Samantha), resulting in there existing a wider cultural gap between them and their schools, which had a predominantly Christian ethos and staff.

5.5.3 The commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry in relation to the macro view

In considering the identification of commonalities and differences aligned to the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry, some patterns emerge from the data gathered during the course of this research. Firstly, with regards the commonplace of *temporality*, common to all the children who participated in this research is that they started full-time school in Year R in the September of 2021. To shift from that macro view to the micro, through Year R all the children experienced transitions between times of the day when they were immersed in their home lives and language(s) and times when they were at school, the latter comprising further transitions between child- and adult-led times of the day. The detail of these differences emerges when consideration is given to what they experienced during those times of the day.

In terms of *sociality*, all the children had experienced the pandemic-related lockdowns. This had for all resulted in reduced experience of pre-school though in the period of time leading up to the start of school, both groups of children accessed pre-school so all had gained some

exposure to English in that social setting. Also pandemic-related, all the children had had more experience of being at home with opportunities to socialise outside of their immediate households greatly curtailed. For the Polish heritage children, spending more time at home with their families meant they had more exposure to Polish as that was the dominant language in all their households. Jacek and Lena had a bit less Polish and a bit more English at home than the others, Jacek through his aunt's English boyfriend, and Lena through playing with her older sister, which her mother said was often done in English. Interestingly, Franek, who also had an older sibling, did not switch to English for play-based interactions; the brothers used Polish for this purpose. For all the Polish heritage children, the social interactions they experienced included general conversation with family members and experiences of sharing stories, their parents regularly reading to them in Polish. It also included television, with access to both Polish and English language TV channels common across all five Polish heritage children. Gaming was another opportunity to interact; gaming with others provided Jacek and Hania with social experiences in English with others and with the games themselves.

By contrast, in the Nepali households there was more of a mix of the two languages with frequent code-switching part and parcel of the linguistic diet modelled to them by parents. Hence whilst the Nepali heritage children may have had some exposure to Nepali at home, they also had exposure to English from their interactions with family members. For Andrew, Carolyn and Samantha, there was a heavy weighting towards English whilst Abbie, Sarad and Niva experienced a more even balance. Abbie's exposure to Nepali came mostly from her grandparents who shared the family home and spoke only Nepali; however, in spite of this her understanding of L1 was very limited, possibly due to underlying difficulties with language. Niva's mother made a conscious effort to encourage regular use of Nepali at home and Nepali was also used when visiting Grandparents in the UK; Sarad's mother used Nepali with him only when there was nobody else there. Of all the Nepali children, only Sarad had any experience of story in L1, this coming from his mother who reported that she made up and told him stories. None had any experience of sharing storybooks in L1 because none had access to this sort of resource. Some had vicarious exposure to YouTube in Nepali from over-hearing their parents' use of it by chance, though it remains unclear whether or not the children paid any attention to this sort of input. None had experience of Nepali from watching TV; television was an English-only experience for the Nepali heritage children.

Some had experience of gaming which provided further input in English for Andrew and Sarad in particular.

From September 2021, the children's social experiences changed dramatically and they all experienced a significant increase in exposure to English due to their full-time attendance at school. A group of four children in each of the two language groups continued to share social experiences with similar children. At St Joseph's, this manifested itself in continuing use of Polish during the school day as the four children (Aga, Franek, Jacek and Lena), were in the same class there, along with other Polish heritage children not included in this research. This contrasted with the experience of the four Nepali heritage children at Meadow Infants (Andrew, Carolyn, Niva and Sarad), whose school days were spent entirely in English. For the more linguistically isolated children Water's Edge Primary (Abbie and Samantha), the school day was also monolingual as interactions with peers and staff alike were conducted in English. Hania, also linguistically isolated at Openfield Primary, was unique in that she initiated the introduction of a little Polish through teaching her friends how to say 'hello' in Polish and through singing to herself, though whether the latter constitutes a social experience in the context of the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry remains a moot point. Overall however, common across all eleven children was the observation made by their parents that they had noticed an increase in their children's use of English at home through Year R.

Turning to *place*, the children all experienced home and school, spending the majority of their time in these two settings. School comprised a combination of spaces; in some, the adults had control at particular times of the day (e.g. during whole class and guided inputs) whilst in others the children had the freedom to lead their own learning during free-flow periods. At St Joseph's, the children's spaces during free-flow were where they used Polish with each other whereas at Meadow Infants at comparable times of the day, the Nepali heritage children continued to use only English. At Water's Edge Primary, Abbie and Samantha experienced only English no matter if they were in an adult-managed space or in free-flow. Hania at Openfield Primary only experienced Polish in school spaces if she initiated it and when she did, it was during free-flow periods of the day and was not comparable with the children at St Joseph's in that Hania, being the only Polish speaker in her class, would either be talking or singing to herself or teaching her friends the odd word in Polish i.e. she was not engaging in naturalistic dialogue in L1 when at school.

The children experienced other *places* in their local communities too, for example the park with their parents, mentioned by Nepali and Polish parents alike. Franek and Jacek's families were friends so the boys socialised outside of school, often playing football together on the field or visiting each other's homes. Jacek talked about going bowling with his family and Aga about going to the beach with her family; she was also the Polish heritage child with the best recall of travelling to Poland by plane to see relatives. Hania often visited Grandma, who lived locally. For these children, their experiences in *places* outside of the home were predominantly opportunities for access to Polish, with English being part of the ambient soundscape around them. For the Nepali heritage children, *places* outside of the home were where they had access to English, including at community events where according to parents the Nepali heritage children used English to socialise with other children.

Another big difference between the two groups was that several of the Polish heritage children attended Polish classes where they were learning L1 literacy skills and interacting with a different group of Polish speakers led by a teacher, also Polish. This gave them access to an educational setting in which their L1 was the target language, showing them that Polish could be a language for learning and for literacy. Attending classes like this was not an activity in which any of the Nepali heritage children participated, since there were none running where they lived. This may serve to further reinforce at subliminal level that Nepali is not a language associated with learning.

5.6 Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, some of the qualitative data collected with the children were presented in the form of a series of micro-level narrative portraits. A macro-level view reveals several over-arching themes that emerge from these data. Firstly, bilingual children of this age and developmental stage may be aware of the fact that they have access to two languages and they may be beginning to identify those languages by name, by lexicon and according to with whom and in what social situations the languages may be used. However, this is not necessarily the case; a minority may eschew the heritage language in favour of the majority one, aided and abetted in this by people around them and by the language policies in operation in the various social realms they inhabit. A few did not identify their two languages by name, although in other ways they demonstrated that they are aware there were two languages in use and that one or other was preferred in particular social contexts.

Further, across both groups, Nepali and Polish, it was the case that none of the children directly articulated a personal view on the experience of growing up in more than one language; for all, this was simply their day-to-day and they had known no different.

Secondly, it appears that the children may already have had clear preferences when it came to the language choices they made. Sometimes these were situational, for instance with the Polish heritage children's use of Polish at school as a language for play and for socialising with other Polish-heritage children; or with the Nepali heritage children who avoided the use of Nepali at school for any purpose, favouring English in all social situations. These choices appear to be linked to unwritten language policies that were in operation in the different social contexts in which the children operated.

Thirdly, children's experiences of growing up in more than one language seem to vary. For some, it is a positive experience; they have agency and voice in both languages. For some it is just how things are all day every day, unremarkable and accepted without question. For others, it is less comfortable; they seem to experience a differential in terms of negotiating and expressing their identities in different social contexts. Most, however, seem to have not yet developed the metalinguistic awareness required to reflect on the experience and indeed may not fully appreciate that growing up in more than one language is not an experience shared by everyone around them (Dautel & Kinzler, 2018).

A summary of the over-arching research findings in relation to RQs 1 and 2 as per chapters four and five can be found in Appendix xix: Summary of research findings in relation to RQs 1 & 2, pp.353-4.

Chapter Six: Actors and influences

Having considered the children's lived experiences of growing up in two languages, the focus now shifts to the factors that influenced the children's choice of language in different social contexts, shaping the developmental trajectories of their L1 and English. Focusing on these factors enabled the researcher to respond to RQ3:

What influences can be identified that may significantly affect the use of the children's heritage languages and English at home and at school?

Following the second round of coding, described in detail in section 3.7.3.1 The coding process the researcher reviewed the parent categories and child codes in the context of the RQs. This brought key themes in the data to the fore; themes which hinted at a linguistic power struggle centring on the child. It became apparent that for each child there were factors that acted to promote the use of one or other of their two languages in a given social context, and – conversely - factors that acted to discourage or reduce it. Thus, the emergent themes might be conceptualised as diametrically opposed influences that give shape to the various social situations and interactions in which the participants in the study engaged. Hence the iterative process of coding enabled the identification of a new set of analytic, 'versus codes' (Table 9) that emerged out of the children's narratives and described patterns of power and social domination as they played out in the lives of the participants (Saldaña, 2021).

The versus codes that resulted from the data analyses were as follows:

Table 9: Versus codes

Codes that promote		Codes that reduce
Promoting first language (L1)	vs	Reducing first language (L1)
Promoting English (L2)	vs	Reducing English (L2)
Promoting bilingualism	vs	Reducing bilingualism

Working with the transcripts of interviews, including the social mapping 'interviews' with the children, and with field notes made during in-class observations, examples of actions, words or observations that could be interpreted as positively influencing the use of first language, English or bilingualism more generally were assigned to 'codes that promote'. Similarly, actions, words or observations interpreted as serving to reduce the use of first language, English or bilingualism more generally were assigned to 'codes that reduce'. In Appendix

xx: Examples of data linked to the versus codes (pp.355-364) examples of the qualitative data coded to the versus codes as per Table 9 are presented.

Further, in the data various ‘actors’ were identified in relation to the over-arching versus codes. These are presented in Table 10 (below).

Table 10: The actors identified during data analysis

Actor	Notes
Child	The eleven children who participated in the research.
Parents and family	Immediate family; family members included in the child’s household and family members with whom the child has direct contact.
Interpreter	Bilingual research assistant.
Community	Social contexts outside of the child’s immediate home/family in which the child has social experiences with others.
Teacher	Adults in school; includes teachers and teaching assistants.
School	Educational institution with its own ethos and aims; includes pre-school and community language classes.
Media	Expressions of aspects of linguistic/cultural identity accessed via television, YouTube, radio, books.

Whilst most of the actors identified above are people, school and media are not, and therefore merit further exposition. ‘School’ aligns best with the commonplace of *place*, being the physical setting in which the children who participated in this research spent a significant portion of their waking hours. School is also a social space, one in which children are inculcated into the culture and language of what Bourdieu thought of as the privileged dominant class (Bourdieu & Thompson, 1991). Hence in this study school, representing education, is seen as having a key role in perpetuating the dominance of English over other languages (Landay & Heath, 2021; May, 2011), and therefore having significant impact on the linguistic choices made by the human actors involved in this study.

‘Media’ in this research include various sources of linguistic input in the form of content that might be consumed e.g. computer games, television and books. In some social settings, access to media might provide a contemporaneous opportunity for human-to-human interaction as in the case of a parent sharing a book with their child or a child playing a computer game with someone else. In other contexts, media might be consumed in a more solitary fashion, e.g. a child might engage with a book or with a game on a tablet on their own; the child might as part of this experience access linguistic input given in a particular

language, typically English, but not in the form of an exchange as per the example of sharing a book with a parent.

All the actors in this research, human and otherwise, became child codes nested under the broader versus code headings, allowing comparisons to be made across the different actor groups and across languages. The distribution of the data amongst the child codes enabled the factors influencing the use of first language or English or bilingualism more generally to be quantitatively compared and the ones with greatest sway to be identified. The total frequency counts for the different actors against the versus codes by language are shown below (Table 11).

Table 11: Versus codes with actors' contributions (frequency count)

Versus Codes	Frequency count: Polish		Frequency count: Nepali	
	Promoting first language	Reducing first language	Promoting first language	Reducing first language
Child	35	3	19	13
Parent	37	0	57	10
Interpreter	9	n/a	3	n/a
Community	5	0	8	1
Teacher	0	3	4	1
School	17	3	1	6
Media	7	0	7	2
	Promoting English	Reducing English	Promoting English	Reducing English
Child	23	0	57	0
Parent	10	0	51	1
Interpreter	-	-	-	-
Community	0	0	4	0
Teacher	14	0	12	0
School	25	0	35	0
Media	7	0	7	0
	Promoting bilingualism	Reducing bilingualism	Promoting bilingualism	Reducing bilingualism
Child	6	0	0	0
Parent	17	0	12	2
Interpreter	-	-	-	-
Community	-	-	-	-
Teacher	0	0	3	0
School	-	-	-	-
Media	-	-	-	-

The frequency count (Table 11) brings to the fore some interesting trends across the two language groups. Looking at the influence of the children on maintaining L1, and

remembering that the Nepali heritage children outnumbered the Polish by six to five, we see the Polish heritage children were much more active in this respect than their Nepali counterparts, with cumulative frequency counts of thirty-five and nineteen respectively. These frequency counts equate to an average of 7.0 per child (Polish) and 3.2 (Nepali), which means that the Polish heritage children were more than twice as likely to make linguistic choices that favoured L1 than were the Nepali heritage children. This relates to examples in the data of the Polish heritage children choosing to use Polish at school in their play, or, when offered a choice of stories by their parents, selecting one that would be told in Polish. In contrast, the Nepali heritage children did not use Nepali at school at all and, due to lack of available resources, did not have access to media in Nepali either, except vicariously when they might overhear something on YouTube their parents were accessing; an example given by Samantha's father. Where there was evidence to be found of a Nepali heritage child promoting use of L1, it was in situations such as Sarad engaging in Nepali at home with his mother, or Samantha arguing "meera pul" ("that's mine") when her mother drank from her cup. In these examples, the children used L1 to express themselves, to assert their agency.

The Nepali heritage children's influence on reducing L1 was almost seven times greater than the Polish heritage children (thirteen c.f. two, yielding an average of 2.2 per Nepali heritage child compared with 0.4 per Polish heritage child). For both languages, this was largely to do with the children's choices to respond in English when addressed in L1 as reported by parents and, with the Nepali heritage cohort, during the MAIN activities conducted in L1.

Turning to the contributions made by parents under the same pair of versus codes (promoting/reducing L1), and with the caveat that in the interviews held at the end of the data collection phase all six Nepali parents engaged whereas only two Polish parents did so, the Nepali parents accounted for fifty-seven instances of promoting L1 compared with 37 for the Polish parents. If we take an average using these figures, each Nepali parent made 9.5 contributions whereas each Polish parent made 18.5; thus although there were fewer of them, the Polish parents were more active promoters of continuing L1 use than their Nepali counterparts. The instances of coding to 'promoting L1' related to parents expressing a desire for their children to be able to speak L1 so they could maintain links with family members who did not speak English, which featured across both language groups. However, only the Polish parents talked about taking their children to community language classes, another example of promoting L1.

Having outnumbered the Polish parents on 'promoting first language', the Nepali parents accounted for all ten instances of reducing L1, giving an average of 1.7 per Nepali parent. This was to do with choices they made to switch to English. In Samantha's family, English was given as her first language by her father, whilst in the cases of Andrew and Abbie, parents talked about ceasing their use of Nepali and focusing mainly on English in response to their child's apparent difficulties understanding them when they spoke Nepali.

The third influence, school, totalled seventeen instances under 'promoting L1' for the Polish heritage children, this to do with such things as practices of buddying Year R children with older pupils who shared the same L1 and the attendance at community language classes by some of the Polish heritage children. There was just one coding to 'promoting L1' for Nepali which related to Mrs Subba saying that in a previous year, the newsletter had been translated into Nepali. Under 'reducing L1', there were seven instances relating to Nepali and three to Polish. These related to the barring of Nepali from the mainstream curriculum delivery as recorded in field notes made during observations and comments from children that showed they believed if they spoke to their teacher in L1, she would respond in "English pinglish" (Sarad). Under 'Polish', the codes similarly relate to Polish being absented from adult-led times of the day.

The pair of codes 'promoting English' and 'reducing English' reveal further differences between the two language groups. The Polish heritage children's frequency count for promoting English was less than half that of the Nepali heritage children (twenty-three vs fifty-seven respectively, equating to 4.6 per Polish child to 9.5 per Nepali child). These numbers reflect two things: firstly, the children's choice of English as a language to use for play, captured during observations of the children at school. In this respect, the Nepali heritage children were consistent in their use of English whereas the Polish heritage children more rarely used English, often choosing to play with other Polish heritage children and to speak Polish whilst doing so. Secondly, and garnered from interviews with the children's parents, the Nepali parents gave anecdotal examples of home-based situations in which their child favoured English over Nepali. This was much rarer in the case of the Polish heritage children, although there were examples, for instance Lena's mother explained that her daughter seemed to prefer to use particular words in English because they were harder to pronounce in Polish. There were no instances in either group of the children acting to 'reduce English'.

Under 'promoting English', parents accounted for ten (Polish) and fifty-one (Nepali) with a zero score for both language groups under 'reducing English'. This gives an average score of 5.0 per Polish parent and 8.5 per Nepali parent. With the caveat that more of the Nepali parents engaged with the research than did Polish parents, these scores indicate that overall the Nepali parents were much more active in promoting English than the Polish parents. Nepali parents expressed views suggesting that for them English was the language for education. They also commented that their children found it easier to engage when they addressed them in English or that their default language when speaking to their children was English (Samantha's and Abbie's fathers). In contrast, Hania's mother talked about how her choice of language was situational, giving the example of opting to use English when picking Hania up from school because there were English-speaking children and their parents around at that time of day; at other times, for instance when just the family was at home, Polish was the default language in use.

The codes 'promoting bilingualism' and 'reducing bilingualism' show this was in the main something identifiable in the data in relation to parents and their expressed desire that their children grow up with skills in both languages. The Polish parents accounted for seventeen of the codes under 'promoting bilingualism' compared with twelve for the Nepali parents, giving averages of 8.5 per Polish parent c.f. 2.0 per Nepali parent. The Polish parents talked about the steps they were already taking to ensure their children continued to develop their L1 skills, such as taking them to community language classes, whereas for the Nepali parents it seemed to be something they were saving for later in their children's lives rather than an end goal they were actively working towards now. Less frequent were data coded to 'promoting bilingualism' attributed to a child actor. Of the six that were identified in the data, they were all from the Polish heritage children and related to e.g. Jacek's awareness of older bilingual children around him to whom he looked up or Hania teaching some Polish to her friends at school. Across all the data there were only two examples of data coded to 'reducing bilingualism'. These were Andrew's mother and Abbie's father who both talked about avoiding the use of Nepali with their children because they did not want them to get confused.

With the teachers' contributions to promoting bilingualism as a desirable outcome, just one comment was made in relation to the Polish heritage children, this reported by a Polish parent, Franek's mother, who said that school had told her to focus on Polish at home. The

three examples of data coded to 'promoting bilingualism' made in relation to the Nepali heritage children were all made by Mrs Subba who, in response to the question, "How has [the training and research you did before] shaped your practice when working with these children?", stated "I sort of relay [the importance of first language] to every parent I meet – speak Nepali at home because it...it's a skill and if you don't speak you lose a skill...the potential of being bilingual, it will be gone". However, having expressed her view of the value of being bilingual, in her daily teaching practice, Mrs Subba did not make much space for the other languages spoken by any of the children according to what was observed during data collection.

6.1 The influence of the different actors relative to one another

In this section, we look in more detail at the data as they align with the versus codes that emerged from the analysis detailed above. Broken down by actor, the data are presented graphically, which enables the reader to get an overview of the weighting of the contributions made by the different actors relative to one another (Wolcott, 2008). In each section, the contributions are presented in descending order, i.e. from greatest number to least. In doing this, it must be remembered that in terms of the numbers and of the approach to data collection, more data were collected from the eleven children who participated in this research than from the three respondent teachers; similarly, more raw data were collected from the six Nepali parents than from the two Polish ones in the semi-structured interviews that took place at the end of the field work phase.

6.1.1 Promoting first language maintenance/development

When analysed according to the relative frequency of the various actors' contributions, the greatest influence when it came to the maintenance of first language was found to be 'parent' followed by 'child' (Figure 33).

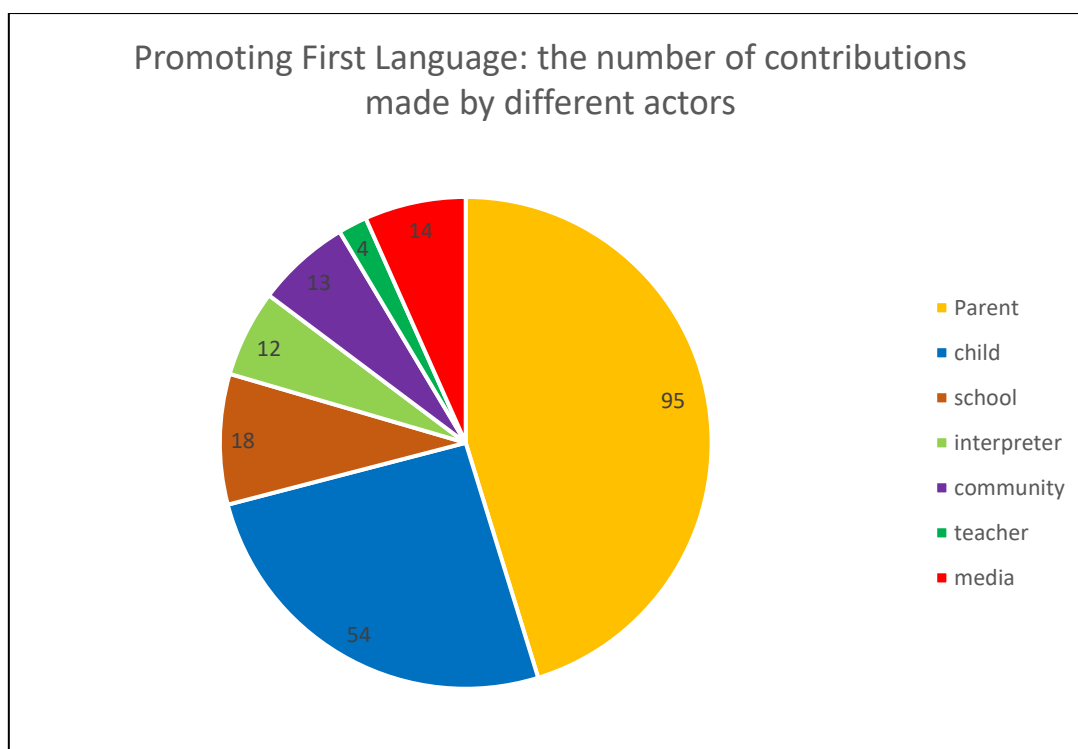


Figure 33: Factors that contribute to the development of first language

Parent

Whether Polish or Nepali, parents all stated the importance to them and to their families of their child developing skills in first language, although the rationale expressed for this differed.

In the case of the Polish parents, the chance that the family might one day return to live in Poland was put forward; this was not a consideration mentioned by any of the Nepali parents. Having given this serious consideration, for the Polish parents it was a reason for their children to attend community language classes:

Hania's mother tells me the goal is for the children to be able to read and write in Polish, not just speak & understand.

(Excerpt from field notes, first meeting with Hania's mother, Openfield Primary, October 2021)

Here Hania's mother expresses her desire for Hania to be literate in Polish, something that will be useful to her should the family decide to return to live in Poland, which her mother says is a possibility.

Although they had all given reasons why they wanted their children to be able to speak the home language, only the Polish parents talked about the steps they were taking to ensure

this happened, for example accessing community language classes for their children where literacy skills were being learned. Hania's mother articulated this in terms that hinted she thought that due to circumstance Hania's Polish might not be on a par with her English but that Hania could still develop worthwhile skills in both languages:

...she's also going to Polish School on Saturday...so they've done the all Polish alphabet and they trying to write now in Polish and next year hope they're gonna start reading in Polish. So I would like her to kind of have these two languages at kind of the same...maybe not the same level, but a bit similar maybe.

(Interview with Hania's mother, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

Franek's mother was similarly keen that her son develop skills in Polish:

I am witnessing a Polish parents speaking to their kids in English or kids speaking to parents in English and parents are responding in Polish. I...I don't want to do that. I would...I would rather them know two languages.

(Interview with Franek's mother, St Joseph's, July 2022)

Here we can understand that Franek's mother has noticed the linguistic choices being made in other Polish families and is determined that this will not be the case for her children. Hence the opportunities she has provided for her children to continue to use Polish daily, which have resulted in Franek in Year R having relatively well-developed L1 skills and being Polish dominant at the start of data collection.

For all the Polish families, Polish was the default language of the home; the families had access to Polish television and Polish children's story books and they regularly took their children back to Poland to visit friends and relatives. Thus there were multiple real-life circumstances in which the children were exposed to, and had opportunity to themselves use Polish.

In contrast, the Nepali parents concurred that there were no community language classes running locally to which they could take their children. Despite this, they expressed views on the topic of their children learning Nepali. Samantha's father said:

...in the long term I would, yeah, I would suggest she learns.

(Interview with Samantha's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

Carolyn's father wanted his daughter to develop skills in Nepali, commenting:

Yeah, of course I would like her to develop...She's still young so I don't force her but when she grows up, like 9, 10, then need to start her in alphabet as well, yeah.
Yeah, hopefully she will be like fluent in Nepali by that time.

(Interview with Carolyn's father, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Abbie's father had similar ideas about his daughter's development of Nepali, saying,

I wouldn't expect her to be like fluent in Nepalese but like at least have basic conversation when she grows up so she can speak to grandparents.

He also said of his daughter:

Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I'd rather do conversation in English.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

The above comments suggest the Nepali parents may have assumed that their children would acquire Nepali with no plan or proactive intervention on anyone's part and despite evidence aplenty that already, aged five, their children demonstrated a strong preference for English in all social settings. In Abbie's case, being able to chat to grandparents in Nepali seemed a particularly unlikely prognosis given her father's choice to stick to English when talking to her. Abbie's speech delay had precipitated a linguistic dilemma with nobody on hand to offer advice as to the best course of action. Motivated by a desire to help, and in the absence of any steer, her father had taken the decision to speak only English to his daughter, odd words code-switched notwithstanding. However this in itself was further reducing Abbie's access to Nepali and therefore precluding the likelihood of its successful acquisition.

Turning to consider their own language-learning experiences, the Polish parents said they had experienced Polish-medium education with English taught as a foreign language once or twice a week starting in primary phase. Some had undergraduate and post-graduate qualifications studied in Polish at Polish universities. In contrast, most of the Nepali parents said they had started learning English in Nursery at around the age of three. Many had gone on to receive their own education in English medium schools (considered to be 'good schools'; in Nepal the government schools are Nepali medium and considered less prestigious). Those who had undergraduate or post-graduate qualifications had studied for them in English universities. This suggests that for the Nepali parents the language of education was perceived to be English, not Nepali whereas for the Polish parents, Polish was

a valid and viable language for learning, hence they may have been more highly motivated to encourage its successful transmission to their children.

Whilst some of the Nepali parents had taken their children to Nepal at least once, the distance involved, the expense and the difficulties in getting enough time off work for such a trip meant this was a rare occurrence. In the home, the children accessed television in English and parents did not have any children's story books in Nepali. When asked about books, some alluded to needing to buy a book "to teach the alphabets"; when asked about story books, others said that reading stories was not part of their tradition so they didn't tend to engage in that sort of activity in Nepali with their children; instead, they would listen to their children read the reading scheme books sent home by school, which were in English. Thus although they said it was important that their children grew up able to speak Nepali, little evidence was identified of any measures parents were proactively putting into place to make that happen.

Child

The data coded to 'child' were weighted towards the Polish heritage children, with thirty-five examples relating to this group compared with nineteen relating to the Nepali heritage children. Hence even though there were fewer Polish heritage children involved in this research than Nepali heritage, they yielded more examples of continuing use of L1. The four Polish heritage children who were all in the same Year R class in St Joseph's Catholic school used Polish every day whilst at school. This was the language they chose when they were engaging in social exchanges with each other, mostly when they were at play but also during carpet time when they were waiting for the teacher to get started. When talking about their games, Lena was not able to explain her game of 'babies', played with two other Polish girls, in English but she could talk about it to the bilingual research assistant in Polish. Franek switched between English and Polish in his play depending on with whom he was playing. When playing with Jacek, the boys used Polish together but when playing outside with the construction blocks and a group of English-speaking boys, Franek swapped to English. Jacek liked to play ball and was keen to play with the older Polish-speaking children at the school during break and lunch times. These older Polish speaking children also modelled that it was safe and acceptable to use Polish at school, for instance greeting Jacek in Polish when they saw him walking through the hall where they were working. Hence between themselves, the group of four Polish speaking children found daily social contexts and opportunities at

school for Polish to be the language of choice. They also had access to older children who provided models of the use of Polish being acceptable for everyday social exchanges within the school environment.

In contrast, the Nepali heritage children did not speak Nepali at school except for the MAIN data collection activities that were conducted in L1. As was the case with the Polish heritage children, the Nepali heritage children had opportunity to speak Nepali during the social mapping activities because these were supported by the presence of the bilingual research assistant, who was able to address the child in Nepali. However, when this happened, the children still chose to express their responses in English. Most of the data coded to 'promoting L1' for the Nepali heritage children related to comments from parents with a few relating to comments made by the children themselves about the languages they used at home with family members.

School

Notably, when drilling down into third place 'school' as an influence, this related predominantly to the Polish heritage children in one of the two mainstream schools and revealed a picture of passive acceptance of the children using Polish when playing with each other rather than proactive encouragement (eleven instances). Proactive promotion of Polish as a language for purposes other than play was evident in the community language classes many of the children attended (three instances). For every day social exchanges, one mainstream school (St Joseph's) routinely gave the younger children an older buddy who spoke Polish as part of their induction (one instance) and advised parents to keep going with Polish at home (one instance, reported by Franek's mother).

In contrast, only one example of school proactively promoting Nepali was identified, with the Nepali heritage teacher saying that the school newsletter had once been translated into Nepali for parents. None of the Nepali parents involved in this research commented on this, however, so it did not appear to be a routine occurrence.

Media

Examples of data coded to 'Media', seven in total for both groups, revealed a different picture for the Nepali heritage children than for the Polish. In Nepali households, there were no children's story books in Nepali due to lack of availability; nor were there Nepali language television channels. Some of the Nepali parents did, however, access Nepali language

YouTube channels, sometimes on a tablet and sometimes on a Smart TV, which may have given their children vicarious access to L1 media. This was mentioned by Carolyn's, Abbie's and Samantha's fathers and by Andrew's and Sarad's mothers. Niva's mother and Carolyn's father also said they sometimes found Nepali language cartoons for their daughters to watch. Overall, however, access to media in L1 in the Nepali households seemed to be an activity in which the adults engaged, not the children.

The Polish parents both talked about the range of media in L1 they had at home which was accessed by their children: television, books, YouTube and radio, all of which seemed to be readily available. Hania's mother also talked about options to access content on other platforms in Polish:

Hania's mother: The guys are usually watching Netflix or Disney and on that platform they can choose the language because you can choose Polish in there as well.

[She checks on her children to see what they are doing]

Uh, now they watching it in Polish, but it it kind of depends from the cartoon and from they mood how they want to watch it. There are some cartoons they watch only in English and there there's some that they prefer in Polish.

(Interview with Hania's mother, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

Community

The data coded to 'Community' relating to the Nepali families were to do with the use of Nepali at family gatherings and with friends. This was mentioned by Andrew's, Carolyn's, Sarad's and Niva's mothers. Other examples related to there being local businesses run by Nepalis, shops and restaurants, as mentioned by Abbie's father. Samantha's father talked at length about the view of the older generation and the pressure he felt they put on his generation vis-à-vis responsibility for the perceived loss of L1:

Samantha's father: And I think people in our culture, they believe that you should never forget like the connection. Especially the old one ones, the...grandparents they are like 'ohh you need to make them' [speak Nepali]. Because when they talk to them, they can't reply back. they can't talk. So why they are like that? Yeah, sometimes they get angry...and they're like, 'oh, why, why you should make them learn Nepalese as well' ...They want to talk, but they can't reply back. The

problem with the majority of the kids is the Nepalese, you know, they understand but it's the, the talk.

(Interview with Samantha's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

This example suggests that the older generations were in favour of their grandchildren being able to speak Nepali, seeing it as an important way of maintaining links with Nepal and Nepali culture.

In the interviews held at the end of the field work phase, the two Polish parents both talked about there being a big Polish community locally; they had Polish friends and there were Polish shops they regularly visited. Franek's mother mentioned community language classes, whilst Hania's mother said she had family nearby, as depicted in Hania's first social mapping picture.

Interpreter

All coding to 'promoting L1' related to the opportunity for the children to use L1 provided by the presence of the bilingual research assistants. Despite there being fewer Polish heritage children involved in the research, there were more examples linked to the Polish children than to the Nepali children. This was because of take-up; the Polish children were happy to speak Polish when addressed in L1 by the bilingual research assistant, or when it was suggested by the researcher, for instance when Lena struggled to talk about her 'babies' game in English. In contrast, although the Nepali bilingual research assistant offered similar opportunities, the Nepali children were very reluctant to respond in L1. There were examples from the data collected with Niva, Samantha and Carolyn that showed they understood what had been said to them in L1 yet their responses varied; sometimes they responded non-verbally, sometimes in English and once with a single word in Nepali:

Researcher: I thought you could speak Nepali as well, can't you?

Carolyn: I don't know. I don't know to speak Nepali.

[Bilingual research assistant next asks the same question but in Nepali]

Carolyn: Ho. [= 'Yes' in Nepali]

(Second social mapping activity with Carolyn, Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Teacher

The data coded to 'Teacher' were few and overall suggested that the expectation held by practitioners in the schools was that parents should be responsible for maintaining first

language and school had little to directly contribute to that aim. Mrs Miles, Hania’s teacher, said she felt ill-equipped to support children to develop skills in their first language as she did not speak it herself. However, even where the children’s teacher did speak the same language (Nepali), Mrs Subba still did not seek to include Nepali in her day-to-day interactions with the children. Hence there was no adult modelling of Nepali as a language that had a valid place or purpose in school either in the context of academic learning or in the context of play. Thus data coded to ‘teacher’ numbered just four, suggesting that the teachers involved in this research did not proactively promote the children’s continuing use of L1. Indeed, even where they were able to provide a model of an adult using a language other than English at school (Mrs Subba), they chose not to.

6.1.2 Reducing first language maintenance/development

The main drivers contributing to the declining use of first language were found to be the child subjects themselves followed by school and then parents (Figure 34). It should be noted that whilst the children emerged as having the greatest influence on reducing L1, this was not a calculated, deliberate act on their part; rather, their data reflect the ways in which they responded linguistically to the social situations in which they were actors.

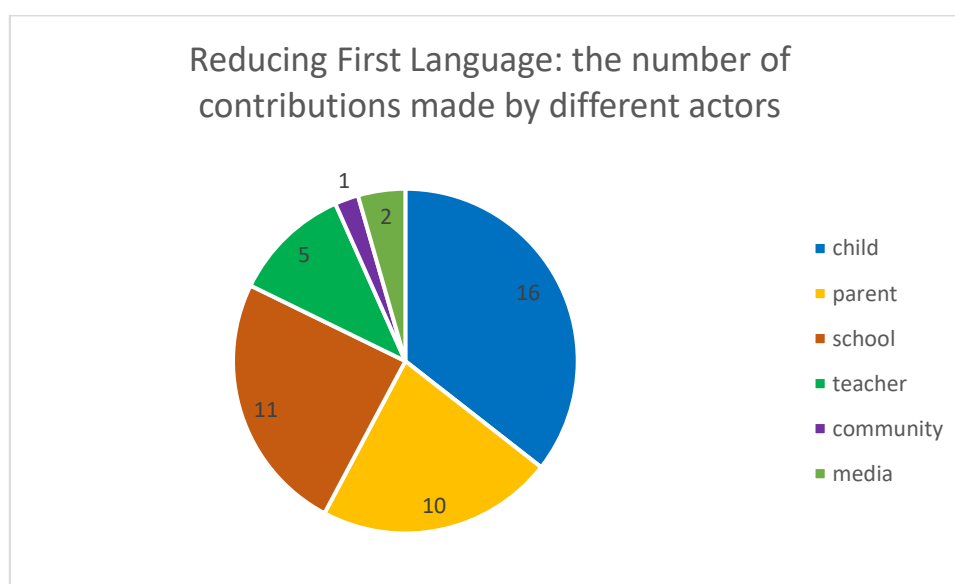


Figure 34: Factors that contribute to the decline of first language

Child

The weight of data coded to this ‘child’ show that it was predominantly the Nepali heritage children who, for various contextual reasons, were reducing their use of L1 with thirteen codes to just two for the Polish heritage children. This finding represents the language many of the children chose to use for their responses when addressed in L1, i.e. English. This

tendency persisted throughout the year's duration of the field work phase. Further, parents from both groups reported that when they and other family members spoke to the children in first language, the children increasingly chose to respond in English, thereby further reducing opportunities for continued use of first language in exchanges with family members. This was found to be as likely a prognosis for the children with less well-developed first language skills as for those with better-developed skills.

Comments on their children's language choices from parents of children from both language groups revealed some commonality in terms of parents' views and experiences of their child's contact with the heritage language. Some Nepali parents talked about their child's understanding of Nepali being such that they themselves were moving towards increased use of English, which their child understood better as shown by the following excerpts:

Andrew's mother: When I say in Nepali, [Andrew] don't understand. So I have to tell him like in English some word. Then he understands.

(Interview with Andrew's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Here, Andrew's mother gives up with Nepali, quickly switching to English which she believes her son finds easier to understand. Hence her choices are reducing opportunities for Andrew to develop his skills in Nepali and accelerating his shift towards being English-dominant. A similar scenario was put forward by Abbie's father:

Abbie's father: If I say the same thing in Nepali she be like bit confused and then I'd have to everything speak...explain everything in English then she be like 'ohh'.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

According to his mother, Sarad had a good understanding of Nepali. For him, it was the expressive skills that caused a problem:

Sarad's mother: [Sarad] try to give me answer in Nepali but sometimes he feels hard [= it is difficult to give an answer in Nepali].

(Interview with Sarad's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

For Sarad, the fact that his mother had continued to provide opportunities for L1 use at home and not switched to English as had Andrew and Abbie's fathers had resulted in him having the best developed L1 skills of all the Nepali heritage children according to the findings from the MAIN, covered in chapter seven.

Parents from both language groups talked about how they had noticed their child making increasing use of English over time. Here, Carolyn's father comments how he has noticed her default language seems to be English:

Carolyn's father: Sometimes with Carolyn we need to...it automatically comes like...like she don't want to speak Nepali so when she asks something automatically English comes out.

(Interview with Carolyn's father, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Franek's mother observed that the frequency with which her son code-switched into English had increased, although in general conversation with the bilingual research assistant he did not code-switch at all and when using the MAIN, code-switching was only evident with one word, "rescue" (see chapter seven), which may be linked to word-finding difficulties:

Franek's mother: [Franek]'s mixing much more English words into Polish response, so definitely that...So sometimes he was trying to speak in English rather than in Polish uh as well so um looks like...the first word that he has in his head is English rather than Polish, which is quite opposite to my other son [Franek's older brother].

(Interview with Franek's mother, St Joseph's, July 2022)

These comments show that parents from both language groups had noticed changes in their children's language choices and usage over time, typically a reduction in their use and/or understanding of the heritage language and an increase in their use of English.

With the Nepali heritage children, opportunities for maintaining or developing their first language skills were found to be further reduced by the fact that they did not use Nepali at school. This was what the children themselves reported when asked if they spoke Nepali with anyone at school.

Researcher: So do you ever speak Nepali at school?
Samantha: No.

(Social mapping with Samantha, Water's Edge Primary, March 2022)

For Samantha, her dogmatic response to this question suggests that it is clear to her that school and use of Nepali do not go together. Likewise, Niva gives the same negative response, having hinted previously that her friend Devi prefers Nepali and sometimes speaks that language to her at school:

Researcher: Does anybody speak Nepali... in your class...when they're at school?
Niva: *shakes her head*

Researcher: You speak English back do you? That's interesting. If you wanted to, could you speak to Devi [Nepali heritage classmate] in Nepali, do you think?

Niva: *nods*

Researcher: So you would know how to do that, how to say what you want to say?

Niva: *nods*

Researcher: But you choose English.

Niva: *nods*

(Social mapping with Niva, Meadow Infants, March 2022)

Carolyn takes a different tack when responding to questions about her use of Nepali, first denying that she can speak that language at all before showing through her response to the bilingual research assistant that she both understands and can give at least a one word answer in Nepali:

Researcher: I thought you could speak Nepali as well, can't you?

Carolyn: I don't know. I don't know to speak Nepali.

Nepali speaking research assistant next uses Nepali to ask Carolyn if she can speak Nepali

Carolyn: Ho. [= 'Yes' in Nepali]

(Social mapping with Carolyn, Meadow Infants, March 2022)

That the children were actively choosing to speak English at school and avoiding use of Nepali was corroborated by the observations of the Nepali heritage children, whom without exception used English at school, including in their interactions with each other and in their play. Further corroboration came from Mrs Subba, the Nepali heritage teacher at Meadow Infants:

Mrs Subba: They don't speak ever...I've never heard them speak Nepali with each other...they don't ever talk to each other in Nepali.

(Interview with Mrs Subba, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Moving to what happened linguistically in settings outside of the home, the Nepali parents reported that at local community events their children tended to socialise together in English, much as had been observed to be the case at school. Here, Samantha's father talks about this, taken in the data analysis as an example of the children reducing the use of L1:

Researcher: When there are community gatherings, when the children are playing together, are they using Nepali in those events?

Samantha's father: No, no.

Researcher: The children will use English with each other, will they?

Samantha's father: Yeah.

(Interview with Samantha's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

Lena's mother similarly observed that her daughters often used English when playing together, including in contexts where there were other Polish heritage children:

The girls sometimes use English when they play together - even with other children, even with other Polish children.

(Excerpt from field notes made during meeting with Lena's mother, October 2021)

Thus we see that across both groups, Polish and Nepali, the children's L1 use decreased through the data collection phase, much more so in the case of the Nepali heritage children.

Parent

There was some overlap with the data coded to 'child' and the data coded to 'parent'. This was mostly to do with comments being made by parents that related to their observations of their children's linguistic behaviours. Overall, a picture emerged of the Nepali parents endorsing their children's choice not to speak Nepali by themselves switching to English, thereby reducing L1 use. This pattern seemed to increase over time. One example of this came from Andrew's mother, who having said that Andrew would only use words and phrases in Nepali, commented thus:

Andrew's mother: I never teached the Andrew [Nepali] because he just learning English language. So I don't...want him to get confuse. So that's why I'm not teaching him.

(Interview with Andrew's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

In a similar vein, not wanting to confuse his child was a reason given by Abbie's father for avoiding the use of Nepali with his daughter:

Abbie's father: I tend to speak in Nepali but like she gets completely confused...Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I'd rather do conversation in English.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

Other comments from parents that were coded to 'parent' focused on the lack of real-life reasons for needing to use L1 i.e. visits to Nepal to see family were infrequent and lack of

availability of resources in L1 to use with their children, both reasons given by Samantha's father.

There were no examples of data coded to 'parent' from the Polish parents, corroborating the picture we see in their linguistic choices under 'promoting L1'.

School

Of the data coded to 'school', three related to the Polish heritage children and six to the Nepali. They were mostly responses given by the children in response to the researcher's question about the use of L1 at school. Hania shook her head when asked "Does anybody in your school speak Polish like you do?" whilst Lena, in response to the question "Do you ever get a story in Polish at school?", simply said "No".

A similar pattern emerged from the Nepali heritage children. Sarad's mother observed "Since he been to school...his Nepali is like bit less than before", hinting at a link between full time school attendance and her son's declining L1 use. When asked about speaking Nepali at school, Sarad himself stated "I only speak that [Nepali] in home", whilst Abbie, Samantha and Niva all replied "No" when asked if they or anybody else ever spoke Nepali at school. The remaining two examples were general comments made by teachers, for example Mrs Subba talking about not being able to use translation apps whilst at school, which had prevented her from being able to talk to a Spanish-speaking parent. Mrs Miles said there was so much to pack into the Foundation Stage curriculum that there was no space left to accommodate anything relating to her children's home languages. This comment suggests that she had interpreted the question as relating to formal language teaching rather than bringing children's L1s into existing provision.

Teacher

Under 'teacher', there were more examples deriving from the Polish heritage children's data than from the Nepali children's at three to one. Franek and Lena both commented on their teacher's language use, Lena saying she did not know which of her teachers spoke Polish and Franek making a noise that suggested the researcher's question on this point was a bit daft:

Researcher: What about your teacher? Does she understand Polish, do you think?

Franek: *negative noise, suggesting scorn*

(Second social mapping activity with Franek, St Joseph's, March 2022)

When the bilingual research assistant pursued this with him, Franek explained in Polish “you have to speak English to your teacher”.

Only one teacher made a comment that was coded to ‘reducing L1’; Mrs Miles at Openfield Primary. In response to the question about whether or not there should be a place for children’s other languages within the Foundation Stage curriculum, she said:

Mrs Miles: If they are only speaking their home language as soon as they step out of the classroom, then the only time they’re going to learn English is being submersed in it in the classroom. I think there is room for both but because I don’t speak all their different languages, then my knowledge...would be very basic as well and I’d want to be able to pronounce things correctly so that I wouldn’t be teaching them the wrong thing.

(Interview with Mrs Miles, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

Here, Mrs Miles hints at her lack of confidence to teach the children their home languages, suggesting that she has interpreted the question as meaning she would be directly teaching them those languages rather than just providing opportunities for the children to use them within the curriculum, her role being to support the children to feel confident to do it in the first place and to be accepting of it when they did.

The single code relating to the Nepali heritage children came from Sarad:

Researcher: If you spoke to Mrs Subba in Nepali, do you think she would understand?

Sarad: Yeah.

Researcher: What would she do back? Would she speak Nepali back to you, do you think, or would she choose English? What would she do?

Sarad: He will just choose English pinglish.

(Second social mapping activity with Sarad, Meadow Infants, February 2022)

Here we see that Sarad has formed his own view of his teacher’s language preferences, drawing on his experience of being in her class every day.

Community and Media

The data coded to ‘community’ (one example) and ‘media’ (two) related to the lack of

availability of resources to support the teaching and general use of Nepali. There were no examples from amongst the Polish children’s data.

6.1.3 Promoting English

When juxtaposed with the findings relating to ‘promoting L1’, a different picture emerged from the coding under ‘promoting English’ (Figure 35). The highest number of contributions to this, in terms of the data analysis, were made by the children, manifested in the day-to-day language choices they made.

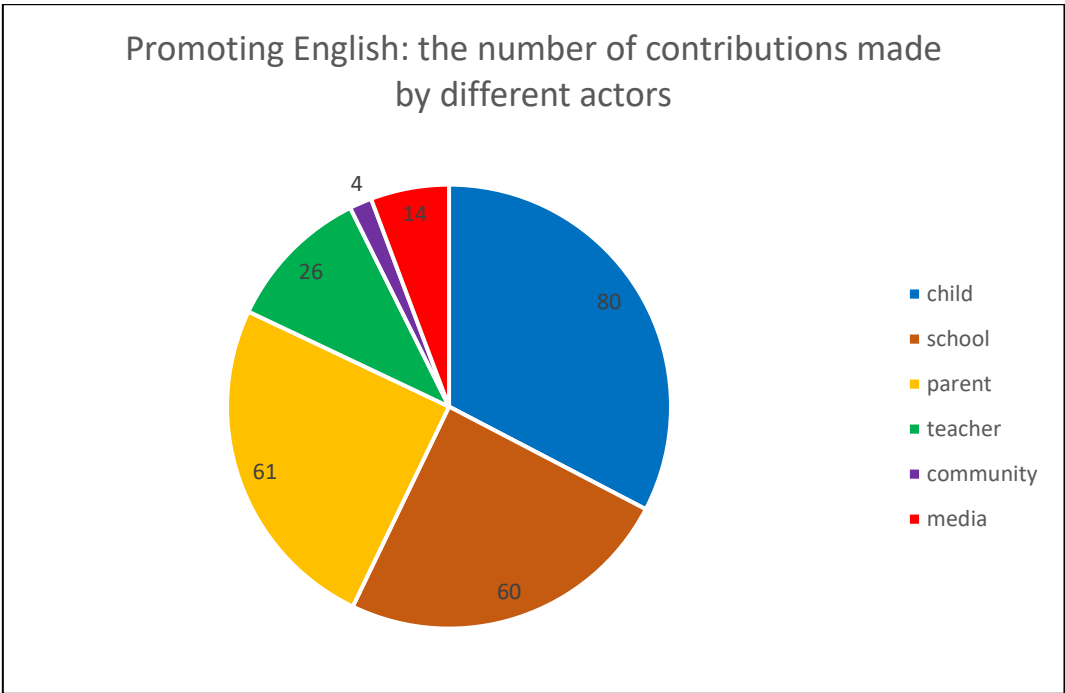


Figure 35: Factors that contribute to the development of English

Child

Data collected with the Nepali heritage children yielded the greatest number of instances, showing that they eschewed first language in favour of English in all school-based interactions, thereby accounting for fifty-six of the eighty examples of data coded to ‘child’.

The Polish heritage children demonstrated a more nuanced approach to their language choices, opting for English when engaging in adult-led learning activities and for play with English-speaking peers and the heritage language for play with other Polish heritage children and for other interactions at school with their older Polish heritage buddies.

It should be noted here that the children should not necessarily be seen as agents making free choices in terms of the language they used; rather, we are looking at their linguistic output as a product of wider sociolinguistic influences that governed those social spaces in which the children operated.

Parent

Parental promotion of English was the second most frequent occurrence in the data. This was largely due to the Nepali heritage parents (fifty-one of the sixty-one occurrences), most of whom commented that their child struggled to understand Nepali or to speak it and that in such circumstances, they would explain in English. One Nepali father, Samantha's, proudly stated that English was his children's first language.

Again, it should be noted that whilst due to their status as adults, parents might appear to have agency, in reality their position as members of ethnolinguistic minority communities means that they were subject to covert pressures in terms of their language choices and related views.

School and Teacher

'School' and 'teacher' feature third and fourth but if taken collectively, seeing them as two intertwined facets of the same edifice, they outweigh the children's contribution at eighty-six instances. As such they constitute a strong influence on the children's language choices. The Foundation Stage Framework may play a part in this, placing heavy emphasis on the importance of English as it does. Without offering a definition, it states that practitioners must ensure children reach "a good standard" in English in order to prepare them for Year One (DfE, 2021, p. 16). Furthermore, it directs practitioners to focus on children's skills in English when assessing communication, language and literacy skills; consideration to their skills in L1 is only to be given where "there is cause for concern about language delay" (DfE, 2021, p. 16).

Another factor to take into account is that the first language of three of the four teachers who participated in the research was English and their experiences of learning another language was confined to being taught a foreign language at secondary school i.e. they had not experienced living in a social context where the language of the majority was not the same as their own. Mrs Miles talked about the barrier this presented for her:

Mrs Miles: My lack of knowledge is a barrier to me supporting them in their home languages so a lot of them go to Saturday school in their home language so they're getting the support from outside of the school...um...so in school we are supporting them with their English because we don't have the knowledge really to support them with their home language. We hope that parents are doing that.

(Interview with Mrs Miles, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

This suggests that the teachers who participated in the research considered their job to be to focus solely on developing children's English. Further, and despite having received training on EAL-friendly strategies, Mrs Miles seemed to be of the opinion that she did not have a role to play in supporting the maintenance or development of her children's other languages; instead, she simply hoped that parents were doing this.

6.1.4 Reducing English

When looking for the counter to 'promoting English', just two examples were coded to 'reducing English'.

Parent

Interview data from the conversation with Niva's mother gave the only direct example coded under 'reducing English'. It related to a deliberate action taken in her household to combat her daughter's increasing use of English over time and to try and promote use of L1 instead:

Niva's mother: ...[Niva]'s starting to speak more English, so we're trying our best to...encourage her to speak Nepali in home. You know, there are times when she's just like, speaking English, English, English. And then we are like, 'No, Nepali, please'. And then she's like, 'Ohh, OK.'

(Interview with Niva's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Here, we see a proactive choice on the part of parents to reduce the use of English. Having observed Niva's growing preference for English, they are keen to ensure space is made for the heritage language too, hence their intervention and insistence that Niva speak Nepali at home.

The second of the two examples coded to 'parent' is included here although it did not directly relate to the Nepali or Polish participants involved in this study. The comment was

made by Hania's teacher, Mrs Miles, during the interview held with her at the end of data collection. Mrs Miles talked about children's other languages and the resources available to her to bring those into the classroom. Having suggested that those children who went to Saturday school (community language classes) made better progress than those who did not, she went on to comment about her Turkish parents and her perception that their lack of engagement with their children's learning had effectively put the brakes on in terms of the children's development of English:

Mrs Miles: It's taken a long time for the Turkish families to have that commitment to homework, to support their learning in English. It's taken all year for them to do that and now they are flourishing but if they had done that in September, we'd be further ahead.

(Interview with Mrs Miles, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

This comment suggests that Mrs Miles sees parents' use of L1 as something that impedes the development of English for some of her EAL cohort. Whilst the comment itself asserts a belief in the importance of the role of parents in supporting their children's education, this seems to rest on the assumption that they have both the skills in English and the knowledge of what is being taught to engage in homework tasks with their children. Further, it negates the value of the Turkish families' home language and culture, suggesting that it is only what the parents do in English that is of any import. Lastly, Mrs Miles' comment overlooks the use of Turkish (here a proxy for any home language other than English) as a tool to encourage children's access to and engagement with their learning.

That there were just two examples in the data of coding to 'reducing English' is a noteworthy finding in and of itself. It suggests that the language-learning journeys of young, UK-born children are heavily skewed in favour of the development of English, with very little standing in the way of progress. This contrasts with the children's heritage language development, which encounters frequent barriers in terms of the Narrative Inquiry commonplaces of *temporality*, *sociality* and *place*. It is only through a deliberate and proactive choice on the part of parents that opportunities for L1 to develop are provided.

6.1.5 Promoting bilingualism

When the data coded to 'promoting bilingualism' were reviewed, it was found that this predominantly related to parents and their expressed desire for their children to grow up to be bilingual.

Parent

The Polish parents made a bigger contribution to 'parent' than the Nepali (seventeen c.f. twelve). Franek's, Aga's and Hania's mothers all expressed views that to be bilingual is an advantage in life:

Franek's mother: I am witnessing a Polish parents speaking to their kids in English or kids speaking to parents in English and parents are responding in Polish. I...don't want to do that...I would rather them know 2 languages.

(Interview with Franek's mother, St Joseph's, July 2022)

Here, not only does Franek's mother talk about her wish for her children to be bilingual but she also makes an observation about what she sees happening in other families like hers; the gradual loss of L1 as English takes over.

Aga's mother expressed a similar view:

Aga's mother: I want her to be bilingual - you never know how life can go.

(Excerpt from field notes, meeting with Aga's mother, St Joseph's, October 2021)

Aga's mother here seems to be promoting bilingualism as a life-skill, perhaps because it has proved to be an asset in her own life, enabling her to both live and work in the UK and to maintain her Polish identity.

Hania's mother, who was taking Hania to Polish classes at the weekend, held a similarly positive view of bilingualism as an asset. However, she acknowledged that it would take effort on her part to encourage Hania's full development of L1, sometimes in the face of resistance from her daughter:

Hania's mother: I'm thinking if she got that opportunity, that she can use 2 languages and it's easy for her right now to learn both of them and kind of in the same you know same level...I would like to push it through, although she's not very happy sometimes about the homework from

Polish school because it's extra homework, and she's tired. But yeah, I would like her to have these two languages. As a bonus.

(Interview with Hania's mother, Openfield Primary, July 2022)

The Nepali parents also talked about their desire for their children to be able to speak Nepali when they grew up. Sarad's mother and Abbie's father both made comments that expressed this:

Sarad's mother: Most of the time I try to talk with him in Nepali because I...I want him to like know our Nepali language and both English and Nepali. Yeah...I am kind of proud that my son, he can speak both language.

(Interview with Sarad's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Of all the Nepali parents, Sarad's mother was the only one who mentioned feeling proud of her son's bilingual development. Other Nepali parents could identify situations in which being able to speak L1 would benefit their children. Here Abbie's father talks about how Abbie being able to speak Nepali would mean she would have closer links with her grandparents:

Abbie's father: I wouldn't expect her to be like fluent in Nepalese but like at least have basic conversation when she grows up so she can speak to grandparents.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

Andrew's mother expressed a similar view, contradicting her earlier comments about avoiding the use of L1 with her son because she thought he didn't understand Nepali and she did not want to confuse him:

Andrew's mother: So I just want to teach my baby [Andrew]...if they don't understand the language then how they [family members] gonna talk with each other?

(Interview with Andrew's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Niva's mother was also keen that her daughter knew both languages but recognised that there had already been changes in Niva's language use over time that might threaten this eventuality:

Niva's mother: I just hope that when she finishes school she doesn't forget. Cause right now...she's doing well, but there are times when she...tends to speak English more often nowadays compared to before.

(Interview with Niva's mother, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

Overall, despite saying they wanted their children to grow up bilingually, for various reasons the Nepali parents were not actively pursuing the goal of bilingualism in the same way as the Polish parents. This may have been partly due to the lack of resources, including lack of availability of community language classes. Further, two of the Nepali parents expressed concern that their children seemed to be confused by the experience of growing up in two languages; this was not something mentioned by the Polish parents. Across both groups, however, parents said they had noticed their children's use of L1 decreasing as their use of English increased through Year R.

Child

Six examples of data coded to 'child' were identified, five of which related to two of the Polish heritage children, Hania and Jacek. The children did not talk about bilingualism in the same way as their parents, not yet having developed the same level of conceptual understanding of the phenomenon. They did, however, show awareness of other people around them who could speak both languages well and, in Hania's case, had taken some practical steps towards teaching some Polish to their classmates. Here, Hania talks about her friend Esme who she says can speak five languages, which she gives as English, Banana (this to do with a class activity in which Hania had participated that morning), France...

- Hania: ...and a bit of Polish and...er...I don't know the other one.
- Researcher: OK. Where did she learn Polish? Do you know?
- Hania: I taught her.
- Researcher: You teach her a bit of Polish do you? OK. So what words did you teach Esme?
- Hania: Dzień dobry. [= 'Good morning']

(Second social mapping activity with Hania, Openfield Primary, March 2022)

Jacek talked about a number of other children at school whom he knew spoke both Polish and English.

- Researcher: I think I already know about Kacper [Franek's older brother]. He can speak both Polish and English can't he? And Franek does.
- Jacek: And me.
- Researcher: And you as well, yes.
- Jacek: Um...and...and Valery.
- Researcher: Yes, your buddy Valery in year 6.

(Second social mapping activity with Jacek, St Joseph's, March 2022)

Perhaps because of his closeness with Franek and his family and the way he looked up to the older boys in Year 6, Jacek both talked positively about their bilingual skills and identified himself as similar to them in this respect.

Teacher

There were three examples of data coded to 'teacher', all of them from the interview with Mrs Subba, the class teacher at Meadow Infants who was herself multilingual. She was consistent at interview in her positive framing of bilingualism, stating first:

Mrs Subba: I strongly believe that children should be introduced to different languages at Foundation Stage.

and, a little later on:

Mrs Subba: I sort of relay [the importance of first language] to every parent I meet – speak Nepali at home because it...it's a skill and if you don't speak you lose a skill...the potential of being bilingual, it will be gone.

(Interview with Mrs Subba, Meadow Infants, July 2022)

What Mrs Subba says here seems to be at odds with her day-to-day practice based on the observations that were carried out in the autumn and spring terms, when there was no evidence of any opportunities being provided to bring children's languages into the classroom, nor any modelling of bilingual behaviours on her part.

6.1.6 Reducing Bilingualism

There were just two examples of data coded to 'reducing bilingualism', both attributed to Nepali parents. One was Andrew's mother stating that she had avoided teaching any Nepali to her son because she did not want him to get confused. The second was Abbie's father, talking about similar concerns:

Abbie's father: Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I'd rather do conversation in English.

(Interview with Abbie's father, Water's Edge Primary, July 2022)

In both cases, parents' views had led to decreasing use of L1 at home. Given the lack of opportunity to speak Nepali at school too, it seems unlikely that Andrew or Abbie will be functionally bilingual in adulthood.

6.2 Chapter summary

In this chapter, consideration has been given to the data underlying the versus codes that emerged from data analysis in relation to the various actors and influences identified. This has brought to the fore some similarities across both language groups in certain respects, notably the strong influence of factors serving to promote the use of English, often at the expense of the children's heritage languages. This was found to be the case for both Nepali and Polish heritage children with parents from both groups commenting that they had noticed an increase in their children's use of English and a corresponding reduction in their use of L1 as their children went through the first year of compulsory schooling.

Key differences have also been identified. Firstly, it has been seen that the Polish families were taking proactive steps to promote the development of L1 in their children, such as taking them to community language classes and providing access to various media in L1. In contrast, there were no community language classes for the Nepali children and scant resources available to them to promote the use of L1 at home.

Further, for the Polish parents it seemed that there was inherent value in developing skills in L1 as this was a means to maintaining contact with family and friends, with a return to live in Poland still a possibility. For the Nepali parents, however, whilst they too talked about wanting their children to be able to talk to their grandparents, there was no intention of a return to live in Nepal. Thus they seemed less motivated to ensure that their children developed skills in Nepali and in fact often made linguistic choices themselves that added impetus to the burgeoning dominance of English over L1.

To link this back to the data about the children's language-learning experiences as detailed in chapters four and five, two distinctly different trajectories emerge. The Nepali children were already English dominant by the start of Year R, demonstrating a marked preference for English over L1. Further, when addressed in L1, they typically responded in English. This contrasts with the linguistic picture of the Polish heritage children, whose L1 skills were better developed than their Nepali counterparts such that they were able to engage in dialogue in that language.

In chapter seven, the children's skills in their two languages are explored in more depth, through the use of the MAIN.

Chapter Seven: Findings from the use of the MAIN

In this chapter, the quantitative data gathered during the field work phase of this research are presented. These data were gathered through the use of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) (Gagarina et al., 2012). They lend a valuable quantitative perspective to the detailed discussion of the qualitative data presented in chapters four to six.

The MAIN was the instrument used to collect samples of the participant children's use of language for analysis. Used at the beginning of the field work phase (Time 1, T1 and Time 2, T2) and again at the end (Time 3, T3 and Time 4, T4), the data it yielded enabled the researcher to make comparisons over time as per RQ4:

Does the first year of formal schooling measurably affect the development of the Nepali and Polish heritage children's heritage languages and English?

The MAIN uses picture sequences which portray a simple story told in three 'episodes', an episode comprising two pictures i.e. for each story there are six pictures in total. Each use of the MAIN in this study involved first the use of a scripted model story with one of the picture sequences followed by the child being asked to tell their own story using a different picture sequence (see 3.3.5 The Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) for full detail about this assessment instrument). In this research, the first (T1) and third (T3) use of the MAIN were carried out in first language and the second (T2) and fourth (T4) in English.

Each time the MAIN was used with a child, the adult leading the session first shared a picture sequence and told a scripted model story. This was followed by a series of comprehension questions. Next, using a different picture sequence, the child told their own story and again comprehension questions were asked (see Appendix xv: Comprehension questions for MAIN model Cat story, p.348, for an example of these). The children's stories, structural complexity and Internal State terms (ISTs) were scored and summed and their answers to the comprehension questions were scored according to the rubric for the MAIN. Scores were also calculated for the number of different words used in each story and the Mean Length of Utterance in words (MLU) using CHAT (see 3.7.4 for an explanation of how this was done and the significance of MLU as a quantitative measure of linguistic productivity).

7.1 The Polish heritage children's Polish language skills

Throughout the fieldwork phase, whenever the Polish heritage children engaged with the MAIN activities in L1, they consistently used the language cued by the bilingual research assistant. There was just one exception where one child (Franek) code-switched the word “rescue” in his otherwise all-Polish story at T3 as can be seen below:

Franek's L1 MAIN Baby Goats story

Franek:	Ona spadła do wody i wtedy...
Translation:	She fell into water and then...
Franek:	Ona potrzebuje pomocy i...i jego tata...
Translation:	She needs help and...and his dad...
Franek:	Zrobił rescue .
Translation:	He did a rescue.
Franek:	I później on pomógł a później...
Translation:	And later he helped and later...
Franek:	Ten lis chciał zjeść.
Translation:	This fox wanted to eat.
Franek:	A później on prawie jego zjadł.
Translation:	And then he nearly him ate.
Franek:	A później...on zrobił rescue .
Translation:	And later he did a rescue.
Franek:	A później on biegł bo on chciał ugryźć.
Translation:	And then he ran because he wanted to bite.

Apart from this one example from Franek, when engaging in the MAIN activities in Polish the children all used Polish both to respond to the comprehension questions and to tell their own stories. When engaging in the MAIN activities in English, they used English throughout with no code-switching at all.

In terms of the scoring of the children's stories told in Polish, there was a small increase across all five children from T1 to T3. For structural complexity, only very small differences were discernible and there was no overall pattern; for two of the children (Jacek and Lena) the structural complexity score was one higher at T3 compared with T1, for two children (Aga and Franek) there was no change and for one child (Hania), the structural complexity score decreased by one from T1 to T3 (Table 12) (see section 3.3.5 The Multilingual

Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) for a definition of ‘structural complexity’ and how it applies to the MAIN).

Table 12: Polish heritage children's MAIN story and structural complexity scores at T1 and T3 (in Polish)

Child	T1 MAIN score /17	T1 Structural complexity	T3 MAIN score /17	T3 Structural complexity	T1-T3 MAIN score change	T1-T3 Structural complexity change
Aga	5	2	6	2	+1	=
Franek	3	1	4	1	+1	=
Hania	5	2	6	1	+1	-1
Jacek	5	1	7	2	+2	+1
Lena	5	1	6	2	+1	+1

With the children’s use of internal state terms (ISTs), four children (Aga, Franek, Jacek and Lena) used the same number of ISTs at T1 and T3 and one (Hania) included more (Table 13).

The ISTs they used were as follows:

Table 13: ISTs used in their first language MAIN stories by the Polish heritage children at T1 and T3

Child	T1 ISTs used	T3 ISTs used	Change
Aga	2 wanted, sees	2 saw, wanted	=
Franek	1 wanted	1 wanted	=
Hania	2 scared, intimidated	3 seeing, shouting, spotted	+1
Jacek	2 wanted, screamed	2 wanted, shouted	=
Lena	3 calling, wanted, scared	3 saw, wanted, said	=

It may be the case that this reflects a lack of development of this type of vocabulary in Polish over time as the children experienced increasing exposure to English. In contrast, most of the Polish heritage children showed an increase in their use of ISTs in English (Table 21).

In terms of their comprehension of the stories told in Polish, one pattern discernible in the scores was the small increase over time for comprehension of both model story and their own telling for three of the five children (Franek, Hania and Jacek). With the scores for comprehension of their own story tellings, all bar one child demonstrated an increase, with the fifth child (Lena) demonstrating no change (Table 14).

Table 14: Comprehension scores for the L1 MAIN stories at T1 and T3 for the Polish heritage children

Child	T1 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T1 Tell Comprehension (/10)	T3 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T3 Tell Comprehension (/10)
Aga	8	3	4	6
Franek	8	5	10	9
Hania	6	7	8	9
Jacek	10	5	10	9
Lena	10	7	6	7

The number of different words used by the Polish heritage children in their Polish MAIN stories at T1 and T3 increased for only one child (Franek), decreasing for the other four. A similar trend was identified for the MLU; again, one child's MLU increased (Franek, the same child who used a higher number of different words) whereas the other four children's MLUs decreased from T1 to T3 (Table 15). One possible explanation of this is that there was a levelling-off of the children's first language development due to reduced opportunity to use Polish as from the start of Year R, they spent long periods of time at school in a predominantly English-speaking environment. In Franek's case, and according to his mother, his strong and enduring preference for Polish over English might explain why he alone evidenced increased vocabulary and MLU from T1 to T3.

Table 15: Number of different words, utterances and MLU scores at T1 and T3 for the Polish heritage children

Child	T1 no. diff words	T1 total no. words/utte rances	T1 MLU & s.d.	T3 no. diff words	T3 total no. words/utte rances	T3 MLU & s.d.	No. diff words & MLU change + = -
Aga	32	56/13	4.31 s.d. 2.16	31	48/13	3.69 s.d. 2.40	Words - MLU -
Franek	18	35/10	3.50 s.d. 1.69	25	44/12	3.67 s.d. 1.37	Words + MLU +
Hania	32	51/11	4.64 s.d. 2.57	28	37/8	4.63 s.d. 0.70	Words - MLU -
Jacek	37	53/10	5.30 s.d. 0.90	27	36/10	3.60 s.d. 1.63	Words - MLU -
Lena	39	52/12	4.33 s.d. 1.75	28	40/13	3.08 s.d. 1.64	Words - MLU -

7.2 The Nepali heritage children's Nepali skills

Throughout the fieldwork phase, whenever the Nepali heritage children engaged with the MAIN activities, the majority of them showed a strong preference for using English over first language. It is possible that their response was due to the implicit assumption that English was the language for learning, their experiences of 'learning' in relation to story-telling restricted to school i.e. being in English. Further, the Nepali heritage children did not have the expressive skills or the experience of story-telling in Nepali to bring to the L1 MAIN activities.

Unlike the Polish children whose L1 stories were told all in Polish, none of the Nepali children chose to use only Nepali to tell their L1 stories. One (Abbie) included some non-Nepali words in her L1 story at T3 ("fasla" and "bakma") and some structures that did not convey meaning successfully, for example she said, "Yo goat ma water goreya" (the water goes into the goat) and "Dog ma eat gas [grass?]" (on the dog eats grass). Abbie's L1 'Baby Goats' story from T3 can be found in Appendix xxii: Abbie's L1 Baby Goats story, codeswitching and other linguistic features highlighted, p.367.

At T1, when engaging in the MAIN activities in Nepali only Niva and Sarad used any Nepali at all when attempting to tell their own L1 stories. Both children code-switched frequently, Niva using only three words of Nepali to eighty-three English of her eighty-six word story and Sarad using twenty-nine Nepali to thirty-four English words in his sixty-three word story. See Appendix xviii: Niva's L1 'Baby Goats' story, code-switching highlighted, p.353, and Appendix xxi: Sarad's L1 Baby Goats story, code-switching highlighted, p.366, for the transcripts of their L1 'Baby Goat' stories, which show the code-switches they made.

At T3, more of the Nepali heritage children chose to use some Nepali to tell their L1 stories; this time four of them (Abbie, Niva, Carolyn and Sarad) included some Nepali, all of them code-switching to English with varying frequency. For the comprehension questions, no matter in what language the questions were posed, the Nepali heritage children all responded in English at T1 and T3. It is possible that cultural reasons underpin this in that in Nepali culture, adults are not in the habit of engaging in question/answer type dialogues with children where the answers involve making predictions or expressing personal opinions.

In terms of the scoring of the children's stories told in Nepali, only two children used Nepali at both T1 and T3 (Niva and Sarad). However at T1, and despite the session being contexted in terms of it focusing on L1, Niva's story included only three words of Nepali ("chora" – 'bird', which she used twice and "biral" - 'cat', used once). Hence it would be misleading to give her a score for her L1 story. Sarad demonstrated an increase in the overall score for his story and a decrease in structural complexity (Table 16).

Table 16: Nepali heritage children's MAIN story and structural complexity scores at T1 and T3

Child	T1 MAIN score	T1 Structural complexity	T3 MAIN score	T3 Structural complexity	T1-T3 MAIN score change	T1-T3 Structural complexity change
Andrew	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	n/a	n/a
Abbie	Used English	Used English	2	0	n/a	n/a
Niva	Bar 3 words of Nepali, used English	1	7	2	n/a	+
Carolyn	Used English	Used English	10	1	n/a	n/a
Sarad	1	2	5	0	+4	-2
Samantha	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	n/a	n/a

With the children's use of internal state terms (ISTs), where the children attempted to tell their L1 story using Nepali (shown in Table 17 by grey shading in the relevant cells), all but two of the ISTs were code-switched into English (Table 17). The ISTs they used were as follows:

Table 17: ISTs used in their first language MAIN stories by the Nepali heritage children at T1 and T3

Child	T1 ISTs used	T3 ISTs used	Change
Andrew	3 ISTs, all English tweet, said, angry	5 ISTs, all English want, afraid, looking, happy, angry, fine	n/a
Abbie	2 ISTs, both English said, happy	1 IST, English scared	n/a
Niva	3 ISTs, all English saw, scared, happy	2 ISTs, both English sees, safe	n/a
Carolyn	2 ISTs, both English tweeting, hungry	4 ISTs, all English	n/a

		sawed (saw), see, scared, happy	
Sarad	2 ISTs, both English tweet, angry	3 ISTs, hungry, saw – in Nepali; happy - in English	+2
Samantha	2 ISTs, both English saw, want	4 ISTs, all English saw, want, looking, surprised	n/a

In terms of their comprehension of the stories told in Nepali, there were no patterns discernible in the scores. As with the Polish children, this may be due to a levelling-off of their first language development, although with the Nepali children, there were more factors contributing to this outcome. For example, whereas the Polish families continued to use Polish at home, many of the Nepali families switched to English, further reducing opportunity for L1 development. In addition, in the Nepali families a view of the primacy of English over Nepali was prevalent, albeit implicit rather than explicitly expressed. Lastly, where the Polish heritage children were getting experience of story in L1 at home, the Nepali children were not, this according to their parents who said they did not have any children's story books at home and in any case were not in the habit of reading stories to their children.

For the model stories, three of the children showed an increase in their comprehension scores from T1 to T3 and three showed a decrease. For the comprehension of the stories they told, two who had shown a decrease from T1 to T3 for the model story showed an increase for their own story (Andrew and Niva); one who showed a decrease for the model story showed no change for her own story (Abbie). Of the three who showed an increase for comprehension of the model story, one showed an increase for her story too (Carolyn) whilst the other two (Sarad and Samantha) both showed a decrease for their own stories (Table 18).

Table 18: Comprehension scores for the L1 MAIN stories at T1 and T3 for the Nepali heritage children

Child	T1 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T1 Tell Comprehension (/10)	T3 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T3 Tell Comprehension (/10)
Andrew	7	3	6	7
Abbie	6	3	4	3
Niva	7	3	6	8
Carolyn	5	8	8	9
Sarad	6	9	9	6
Samantha	4	7	8	6

The number of different L1 words used by the Nepali heritage children in their Nepali MAIN stories at T1 and T3 increased for both the children who chose to use Nepali on both occasions, Niva and Sarad. The MLU scores for these two children both increased too. For the other four children (Andrew, Abbie, Carolyn and Samantha), no comparison can be made because none of them used Nepali at both T1 and T3 (Table 19).

Table 19: Number of different words, utterances and MLU scores at T1 and T3 for the Nepali heritage children

Child	T1 no. diff words	T1 total no. words/utterances	T1 MLU & s.d.	T3 no. diff words	T3 total no. words/utterances	T3 MLU & s.d.	No. diff words & MLU change + = -
Andrew	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	n/a
Abbie	Used English	Used English	Used English	6 Nepali 11 English 2 non-words	40/11	3.64 s.d. 0.88	n/a
Niva	2 Nepali 40 English	86/21	4.10 s.d. 2.84	19 Nepali 32 English	96/11	8.73 s.d. 5.69	Words + MLU +
Carolyn	Used English	Used English	Used English	2 Nepali 50 English	149/40	3.73 s.d. 3.58	n/a
Sarad	22 Nepali 21 English	63/21	3.05 s.d. 2.13	35 Nepali 7 English	81/23	3.52 s.d. 2.93	Words + MLU +
Samantha	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	Used English	n/a

In contrast to the Polish heritage children who evidenced only one code-switch from Polish to English when telling their stories in L1 (Franek who code-switched the word “rescue” twice at T3), all the Nepali heritage children who chose to include some Nepali when telling their L1 stories code-switched, some more frequently than others. All but two ISTs were code-switched into English by the children (Table 17), possibly indicating a lack of vocabulary in L1 for these sorts of words. The two children who attempted to tell both their L1 stories in Nepali, Niva and Sarad, both showed an increase in the number of Nepali words they used from T1 to T3 (Table 19).

In summary, whilst the Polish heritage children all demonstrated that they were able to tell a complete story in L1 including the vocabulary for ISTs, the Nepali heritage children preferred to use English when engaging in the MAIN story telling activities in L1 and there were just two examples of a child using Nepali to express an IST (Table 17); Sarad used “saw” and

“hungry” in Nepali but his other two ISTs were expressed in English. In terms of the answers they gave to the comprehension questions, both Polish and Nepali heritage children showed they understood L1. However, where the Polish heritage children all gave their answers in L1, the Nepali heritage children chose to respond in English, this despite the Nepali Research Assistant providing far more prompting in the L1 MAIN session at T1 than was permitted in the very precise instructions about how to deliver the MAIN that accompany the MAIN materials (Gagarina et al., 2012). The implications of these differences are discussed in chapter eight.

7.3 The children’s skills in English

In this section, the Polish and Nepali children’s skills in English are considered together. In presenting the data, the Polish children’s scores are given first followed by the Nepali children’s; in the commentary, similarities and differences across the two groups are identified and discussed.

At T2 and again at T4, when engaging in the MAIN activities in English ten of the eleven children exclusively used English when telling their stories. There was just one example of a code-switch from English to L1: Abbie code-switched the word ‘bird’ to ‘chora’ at T1. Her father later explained that ‘chora’ was the word the whole family used for ‘bird’ all the time, even though the main language in use in the home was English. Abbie’s English ‘Baby Goats’ story with this code-switch highlighted can be found in Appendix xxiii: Abbie’s English Baby Goats story, code-switching highlighted, p.368.

Table 20 shows the children’s scores for their stories and for structural complexity. The top five rows are the Polish heritage children’s scores and the bottom six are the scores for the Nepali heritage children. Most of the children’s story scores increased from T2 to T4; this was the case for both Polish and Nepali heritage children. In terms of the change for structural complexity, four of the six Nepali heritage children showed an increase compared with two of the five Polish heritage children. Another two Polish heritage children showed no change for structural complexity whilst one Polish heritage and two Nepali heritage children showed a decrease for structural complexity. Whilst it appears that Sarad made the greatest gains for both his story score and for structural complexity, at T2 he was distracted and did not engage with the MAIN activity as expected, preferring instead to talk about

mushrooms, making references to a Mario Kart game he liked to play at home. Hence his story and structural complexity scores at T2 were both zero.

Table 20: The children's MAIN story and structural complexity scores at T2 and T4 (all children)

Child	T2 MAIN score /17	T2 Structural complexity	T4 MAIN score /17	T4 Structural complexity	T2-T4 MAIN score change	T2-T4 Structural complexity change
Polish heritage children						
Aga	8	2	9	3	+1	+
Franek	3	1	4	1	+1	=
Hania	4	2	5	0	+1	-
Jacek	6	1	5	2	-1	+
Lena	3	2	7	2	+4	=
Nepali heritage children						
Andrew	3	1	4	2	+1	+
Abbie	6	3	5	0	-1	-
Niva	9	3	10	2	+1	-
Carolyn	4	1	7	2	+3	+
Sarad	0	0	7	3	+7	+
Samantha	4	0	6	2	+2	+

With the children's use of internal state terms (ISTs), all the Polish heritage children showed an increase from T2 to T4. The picture for the Nepali heritage children was more varied with two showing an increase (Abbie and Sarad), three showing no change (Niva, Carolyn and Samantha) and one showing a decrease (Andrew) from T2 to T4. The ISTs the children used are shown in Table 21 (below).

Table 21: ISTs used in their English MAIN stories at T2 and T4 (all children)

Child	T2 ISTs used	T4 ISTs used	Change
Polish heritage children			
Aga	2 see, happy	3 happy, saw, wanna (want to)	+1
Franek	0	3 hungry, seed (meaning saw), wanted	+3
Hania	1 wanted	2 hungry, saw	+1
Jacek	0	2 want, see	+2
Lena	2 want, shouted	3 want, said, scared	+1
Nepali heritage children			
Andrew	3 wanna, look, angry	1 look	-2

Abbie	0	1 saw	+1
Niva	2 saw, safe	2 see, wants	=
Carolyn	1 seed (meaning saw)	1 sawed (meaning saw)	=
Sarad	0	1 thinking	+1
Samantha	2 saw, scared	2 saw, wanted	=

In terms of their comprehension of the stories told in English, the overall pattern was for the children's scores to be higher for the model story than for the child's own story at both T2 and T4. Where two of the Polish heritage children showed an increase from T2 to T4 for comprehension of their own stories (Aga and Hania), two showed a decrease (Franek and Lena) and one no change (Jacek). In contrast, all six of the Nepali heritage children showed an increase for comprehension of their own stories (Table 22).

Table 22: Comprehension scores for the English MAIN stories at T2 and T4 (all children)

Child	T2 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T2 Tell Comprehension (/10)	T4 Model story Comprehension (/10)	T4 Tell Comprehension (/10)
Polish heritage children				
Aga	9	7	8	8
Franek	9	9	10	6
Hania	9	9	10	10
Jacek	10	8	10	8
Lena	10	8	10	6
Nepali heritage children				
Andrew	8	4	9	8
Abbie	8	6	7	8
Niva	10	7	10	8
Carolyn	6	7	8	10
Sarad	5	4	10	10
Samantha	10	6	10	10

Comparing the number of different tokens (words) the children used in their stories at T2 and T4, three of the Polish heritage children (Aga, Jacek and Lena) and three of the Nepali heritage children (Andrew, Niva and Samantha) showed an increase with two Polish heritage children (Franek and Hania) and two Nepali heritage children (Abbie and Carolyn) showing a decrease. The comparison could not be made for the sixth Nepali heritage child (Sarad) because he did not engage with the MAIN activity at T2, choosing instead to talk about

Mario Kart mushrooms (a reference to a computer game he liked to play) and “cheepo sheep” (indicated in Table 23 by green cell shading). Hence there was no particular pattern discernible in this respect (Table 23).

In contrast, there was a pattern in the change of MLU from T2 to T4 with the majority of the children showing a decrease and only Aga and Franek, both Polish heritage, showing an increase. There was no relationship between the change in the number of different words used and the change in the MLU; only Aga (Polish heritage) showed an increase in both (Table 23).

Table 23: Number of different words, utterances and MLU scores at T2 and T4 (all children)

Child	T2 no. diff words	T2 total no. words/utterances	T2 MLU & s.d.	T4 no. diff words	T4 total no. words/utterances	T4 MLU & s.d.	No. diff words & MLU change + = -
Polish heritage children							
Aga	40	94/18	5.22 s.d. 2.68	55	117/21	5.57 s.d. 3.79	Words + MLU +
Franek	24	29/7	4.14 s.d. 3.14	21	54/12	4.50 s.d. 2.10	Words - MLU +
Hania	28	54/11	4.91 s.d. 3.26	25	42/11	3.82 s.d. 1.85	Words - MLU -
Jacek	22	36/7	5.14 s.d. 0.99	34	62/13	4.77 s.d. 2.36	Words + MLU -
Lena	17	27/6	4.50 s.d. 1.71	38	94/26	3.62 s.d. 2.00	Words + MLU -
Nepali heritage children							
Andrew	15	22/5	4.40 s.d. 1.02	25	33/18	1.83 s.d. 1.01	Words + MLU -
Abbie	28	58/13	4.46 s.d. 2.14	19	39/10	3.90 s.d. 2.20	Words - MLU -
Niva	47	100/13	7.69 s.d. 2.95	53	147/27	5.44 s.d. 3.20	Words + MLU -
Carolyn	46	89/14	6.36 s.d. 2.44	29	77/17	4.53 s.d. 2.43	Words - MLU -
Sarad	20	36/9	4.00 s.d. 1.56	41	70/15	4.67 s.d. 1.74	Words MLU
Samantha	25	43/7	6.14 s.d. 1.25	37	79/18	4.39 s.d. 2.73	Words + MLU -

7.4 Chapter summary

The findings from the use of the MAIN in this study should be viewed with circumspection for three reasons. Firstly, the number of children in each language group was very small; just six Nepali and five Polish heritage children participated in data collection. This small sample size means that the findings may not be representative of other, similar children. Secondly, the changes in the children's MAIN scores from T1 to T3 and from T2 to T4 were in most cases very small, with limited evidence of any particular trend identifiable in these data. Hence findings from the use of the MAIN are tentative at best. Thirdly, in line with a social practice view of literacy wherein literacy practices are understood to be multiple and to vary across cultures, it may be that the conceptual framework of the MAIN itself is inherently biased, being more strongly correlated with literacy practices in northern European communities than Asian ones (Lea & Street, 2006; Street, 2011)

Moving on to the summary, it appears that for the majority of children who participated in this research their skills in first language at best plateaued through Year R according to the findings obtained from the use of the MAIN. From the outset, it appeared that the Polish heritage children showed stronger, better-developed L1 skills than the Nepali heritage children. Evidence for this includes the fact that they were able to engage in Polish in all the MAIN activities at T1 and T3 with only one example of code-switching into English (Franek and the word 'rescue' in his story-telling at T3). However, their MLU scores and their scores for the number of different words used in their own stories both showed a decreasing trend overall, whilst their IST vocabularies remained the same for all but one child (Hania), possibly indicating a general lack of vocabulary development in Polish.

In contrast, the Nepali heritage children showed a strong preference for English from the outset with only one (Sarad) making an attempt to tell his own story in Nepali at T1. By T3, more of the children chose to include some Nepali words in their own stories. However, not one was able to sustain use of Nepali for the whole of their own story, and across both T1 and T3, there was only 1 example of a Nepali heritage child expressing an IST in Nepali, Sarad at T3; a very different picture from the Polish children's L1 skills in the MAIN activities.

For all the children, when engaging in the MAIN activities in English, they were consistent in using English throughout with just one exception (Abbie, who code-switched the Nepali word 'chora' into her English story at T4). Across both groups, all the children's story scores

increased from T2 to T4 but only for the Nepali children did their scores for structural complexity show a general increasing trend. All the Polish children used more ISTs at T4 than at T2, whilst the Nepali children's outcomes by this measure were more varied. Overall, this indicates a general increasing trend in terms of the variety of vocabulary used to express the inner (mental) states of characters in a story, taken as a measure of lexical proficiency (Gagarina et al., 2012).

Where one might have expected the children's MLU scores in English to have increased from T2 to T4 due to the children's increased opportunity to be exposed to and to use English through the year, this was not found to be the case in this study. Conversely, the MLU of all but one child (Aga) decreased from T2 to T4. This may reflect a decrease in confidence when speaking English or it may reflect greater hesitancy as the children worked to choose their words from a wider pool of possible vocabulary items, a behaviour they may have acquired from their experiences of literacy lessons in a predominantly English-speaking classroom. An increase in hesitancy would result in shorter utterances, hence a lower MLU.

An observation relating to the incidence of code-switching during the MAIN activities was that when engaging with the L1 MAIN sessions, those of the Nepali heritage children who made attempts to use L1 to tell their own stories code-switched with varying frequency. Sometimes, the code-switching involved one word or a short phrase; other times whole sentences were code-switched into English. This contrasted with their responses when engaging in the MAIN sessions in English, when only one instance of code-switching was identified: Abbie code-switching the word 'chora' into her English MAIN story at T4.

In contrast, amongst the Polish heritage children, there was just one example of code-switching when engaging in the L1 MAIN sessions; Franek code-switching the word 'rescue', which he gave in English in his story otherwise told in Polish at T3.

When engaging in the MAIN sessions in English, apart from Abbie code-switching the word "chora" (bird), there were no instances of code-switching identified in any of the children's stories. These findings illustrate some of the points made in the literature review on code-switching and code-mixing, namely that nouns are the most frequently substituted words (Kodolányi, 2013).

A final point to make relates to children's responses to linguistic challenge and comes from Franek's second MAIN activity in English (at T4). Franek's Baby Bird story ended with "the dog...um...wanted to eat the cat not." Here, Franek has successfully used the simple past tense in English but has struggled to express the negative "not" in relation to the indirect object. It is possible, given the picture sequence, that what he may have wanted to say was something like "the dog didn't want the cat to eat the birds", a grammatically complex sentence in English. Yet Franek persists in his use of English rather than code-switching into his stronger language, Polish. Whether the underlying motivation for his choice is to follow the rubric to please the researcher or to keep his two languages separate as he did on other occasions is not clear.

be restricted to pre-school. Some had a little also occurring in the home, for example Jacek when there was an English speaker present.

RQ2 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?

Having started school, all the children experienced a decrease in the amount of L1 to which they were exposed and a corresponding increase in the amount of English. Most of the Polish heritage children continued to use Polish as a language for play at school, Hania and Aga being exceptions to this. In Hania's case, this was due to a lack of opportunity and in Aga's, because she tended to choose to play with children who were not Polish. Across both language groups, the children all recognised English as the language for learning and there were no examples of L1 being brought into more formal teaching and learning experiences. Most of the children also brought increasing amounts of English into their homes as they progressed through Year R.

RQ3 What influences can be identified that may significantly affect the use of the children's heritage languages and English at home and at school?

In this study, an important influence affecting the children's exposure to, and use of, L1 was the FLP. Parental decisions around language use in the home seemed to be the strongest indicator of successful transmission of L1 to their children. This tended to be shaped by parental perceptions of the relative value of the two languages, and by their motivations towards L1 transmission, factors which were found to be more strongly in favour of L1 amongst the Polish parents than the Nepali.

At school, language choices were again led by adults, this time teachers and support staff working in the classroom. The language preferences of the children's peers were a factor too, in terms of determining the language for play and, in the case of Lena, Franek and Jacek, providing opportunities for L1 use.

RQ4 Does the first year of formal schooling measurably affect the development of the Nepali and Polish heritage children's heritage languages and English?

Findings in relation to RQ4 are more tentative, largely due to the issues with the small sample size and the very small changes in results obtained from the use of the MAIN. There

was some anecdotal evidence from parents of children in both groups that suggested their children had undergone a shift towards English. Had the second year of fieldwork ensued, as was the original plan before Covid, there may have been more compelling evidence of this.

The focus now turns to the discussion, which draws on both the qualitative and quantitative data that were collected for this mixed methods study. It begins with the three intersecting commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry, *temporality*, *sociality* and *place*, which lend form to this research (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006) and which offer windows through which to view and consider the tensions that arise out of this relational inquiry (Clandinin et al., 2010). The chapter then deals with the ways in which language change was effected, addressing the various factors identified in the study that contribute to it. Finally, the discussion turns to the interlinked theories of ‘funds of knowledge’ and ‘funds of identity’. These theories provide a lens through which influences on the construction of the children’s identity narratives might be considered (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014b).

The ever-evolving journey through life of each of the eleven children who participated in this research was, at its outset, already underway. In Narrative Inquiry terms, a central purpose of that journey was the making and expressing of meaning, hence the children were each engaged in finding ways of telling and retelling, of storying their lives in order to make sense of the world and their place in it (Bruner, 1991b; Clandinin & Murphy, 2009; Clandinin et al., 2007; Huber et al., 2013). Thus the children’s personal narratives, products of the experiential interplay between time, place and person, are at once unique and ever in creation (Cappaert & Wickens, 2023; Nogueira, 2014); the narratives they create based on their lived experiences aged five will be different from the ones they will go on to create when they are ten, twenty or thirty years old. In Narrative Inquiry terms, this will be because all events take place in temporal transition (*temporality*), including interactions the children will have with people they meet along the way (*sociality*), all of which will “take place some place” (*place*) (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 481).

A simplified representation of the three intersecting commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry as defined in this research is depicted in Figure 36, the child occupying the position at the

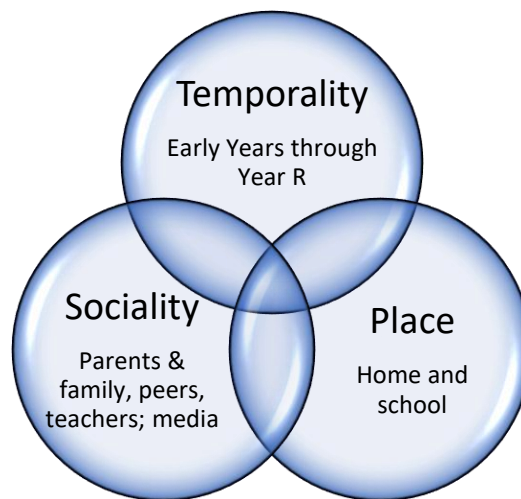


Figure 36: The three intersecting commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry as defined in this research

centre. *Temporality* is defined as the period of time for which the researcher briefly joined the children on their journey through life, beginning at the onset of full-time education, and continuing through to the end of their first year of full time schooling (Reception year). *Sociality* comprises the children's various interactions with others and with media that occurred within that timeframe, and which were experienced and expressed through their two languages. The main *places* in which those social interactions occurred are identified as home and school, settings common to all the children, and the ones in which they spent the most time during the eleven months of data collection.

The narrative thread of language change weaves this research into the fabric of lived experience. The influences upon it that were found to be significant in this study are captured in Figure 37 (below) and described in the following sub-sections. They highlight the situatedness of those influences, and the theme of change as it is lived and experienced by the child research participants, necessitating that they constantly negotiate and renegotiate their identities and their positionality in different social settings.

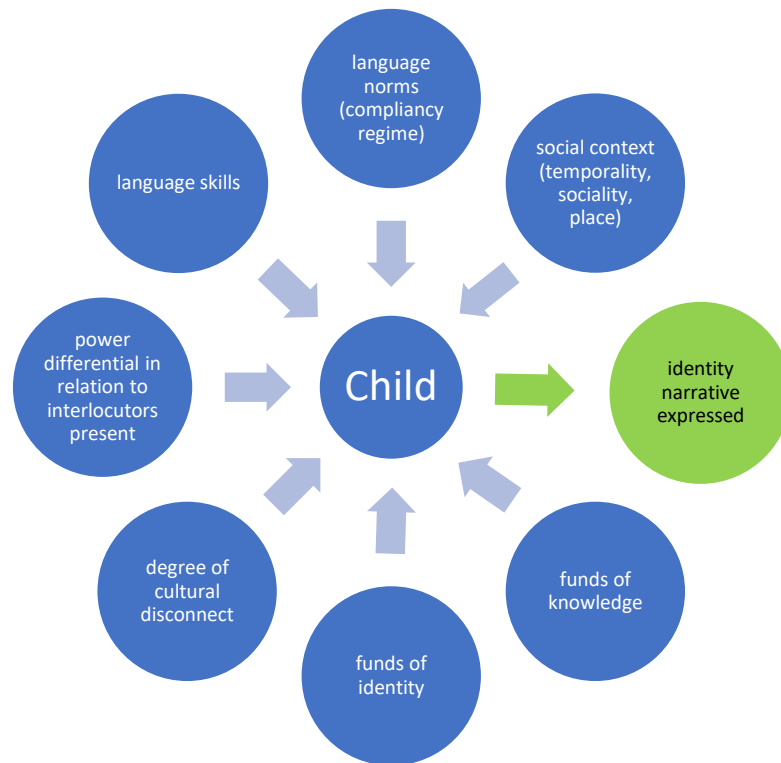


Figure 37: Factors that shape the identity narrative expressed by the child

8.2 Language change

In the course of this study, language change was found to be affected by a range of push and pull factors as per the versus codes that emerged in the course of data analysis (section 6.1, p.221). Situational language contact and the perceived value of the languages involved relative to each other are identified as important influences contributing to that change.

Resting on their early language learning experiences, the child participants were seen to be developing skills in the use of L1 in line with the model of heritage bilingualism described in the literature (Daskalaki et al., 2020; Flores, 2015; Kasstan et al., 2018; Montrul, 2018). However, their L1 developmental trajectories differed substantially according to heritage language. The following sections discuss the influences acting on the children in different social settings, clarifying the reasons for the differences observed.

8.2.1 Influences from home

In terms of the Nepali heritage children's early linguistic experiences, familial language practices had resulted in them already being English-dominant by the time they started

school. In terms of an overview, their bilingual experience appeared to correlate with two models of bilingualism: subtractive bilingualism (Li et al., 2022; Pliiddemann, 2013; Salmon, 2011) and passive bilingualism (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Francis, 1998; Grosjean et al., 2013; Yamamoto, 2001).

Subtractive bilingualism underpinned the pattern of L1 development evidenced by the Nepali children; i.e. their low-value heritage language was being replaced by socio-culturally dominant English, the language wherein cultural capital was perceived to reside (Ellis et al., 2002; Flores, 2015; Pliiddemann, 2013). The process of replacement was initiated by the Nepali parents, whose view of the low socioeconomic value of L1 in relation to English had resulted in the shift already being underway by the time their children were born (Giri, 2015; Poudel & Choi, 2021). Although themselves born and raised in Nepal, parents' experiences of being educated in English medium settings had led to the view that favourable educational outcomes, and therefore social mobility, were to be gained through having a good command of English (Gomashie, 2023; Kiramba, 2018; Phyak, 2021; Sah & Li, 2018).

From their children's birth, the Family Language Policy (FLP) in operation in the Nepali households was characterised by acceptance of increasing use of English. This had led to passive bilingualism, whereby most of their children were able to understand some simple, everyday spoken Nepali where it was rooted in concrete, familiar experiences but were unable to speak the language themselves (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Grosjean et al., 2013; Sherkina-Lieber, 2020), preferring to respond in English when addressed in L1 (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Gomashie, 2023; Grosjean et al., 2013; Sherkina-Lieber, 2020; Zou, 2022). This was evidenced by the Nepali children's responses to the MAIN sessions, and by their strong preference for speaking English in all social situations at school, including when they were addressed in L1.

Parental attitudes towards L1 maintenance continued to have an impact on the children's bilingual development (Cummins, 2000; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Otwinowska et al., 2020; Schmid, 2002); the majority of the Nepali parents were very happy that their children were learning English and – despite their assertions to the contrary – mostly ambivalent when it came to options that would facilitate L1 acquisition alongside. Further, since the families had no intention of returning to their country of origin, this potential driver for ensuring the successful transmission of Nepali to their children was absent. Thus, whilst on the one hand

these parents expressed their desire for their children to develop enough Nepali to be able to talk to their grandparents, on the other their language practices in the home ran counter to this stated linguistic ambition for their children (Gomashie, 2023; Schwartz, 2008).

Supporting the shift to English dominance, in the interviews with parents about their own language use, the Nepali parents commented that code-switching in their L1 speech was ubiquitous (Gardner-Chloros, 2009; Grosjean et al., 2013; Kaushanskaya & Crespo, 2019; Kodolányi, 2013; MacSwan, 2017; Poza, 2017; Yow & Li, 2018). This meant that there was not a model of consistent L1 use available to the Nepali heritage children, a factor which may have hindered development of a monolingual mode in the heritage language (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017). Further, in some Nepali households, parents reported that they switched completely to English when talking to their children, a practice that further restricted their children's access to L1, accelerating language shift (Sherkina-Lieber, 2020).

A preference for the majority language over the heritage one amongst children subject to simultaneous bilingualism is a recurring theme in the literature (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Gomashie, 2023; Grosjean et al., 2013; Sherkina-Lieber, 2020; Zou, 2022). Yet whilst it was observed in the Nepali heritage children, findings from this research related to the Polish heritage children were markedly different.

The perceived value of Polish was perhaps the most important factor underpinning both its primacy in the FLP in operation, and its successful transmission from the Polish parents to their children, resulting in a model that most closely matched that of additive bilingualism (Alipour et al., 2023; Cummins, 2000, 2017; King & Fogle, 2006). That the Polish children had successfully developed skills in Polish is corroborated by the findings from the use of the MAIN, in that the Polish children were able to express internal state terms in L1, this being a measure of lexical proficiency (Gagarina et al., 2012).

In terms of their FLP, and throughout the period of this longitudinal study, Polish was reported to be the default language in home contexts for the Polish children most of the time. Furthermore, the Polish parents reported limited code-switching when speaking L1, code-switching occurring only when they were talking about certain topics, typically those related to their children's schooling or to their work (Grosjean, 1982), or when an English visitor was present whom they did not want to exclude from the conversation. In these

situations, the Polish families would code-switch where the word they needed only existed in English (Meisel, 2020); where the ATH meant the word was more readily retrievable in English than in Polish (Gargiulo & van de Weijer, 2020; Gürel, 2004; Raichlin et al., 2019); or for sociopragmatic reasons (Grosjean, 1982; Nuñez, 2021). Overall, however, the Polish parents provided consistent models of L1 use across a range of contexts, supporting their children's development of a monolingual mode in L1 (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017).

Across both groups, the effect of having an older sibling, specifically for passive bilingualism to be a more likely outcome for younger children (Döpke in Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Yamamoto, 2001), varied. In one Polish family, it had resulted in increased use of English for play and increased code-switching by the younger child; in another, the impact had been more limited, and the child's skills in L1 were much better developed than their skills in English. In the Nepali families, where most of the children might be identified as passive bilinguals, the presence or otherwise of older siblings seemed not to affect the development of the heritage language either way; hence this study's findings in this respect are inconclusive. Rather, they suggest that the FLP, alongside parental attitudes towards the L1, are a more reliable predictor of L1 outcomes for young children than the influence an older sibling might bring to bear. Thus, this study highlights the centrality of the FLP in shaping the context within which children might acquire skills in their heritage language. Alongside this, the role played by parents and other care-givers in providing consistent, contextualised models of L1 use seems to be key, although this may not be fully understood within families. Rather, ensuring the successful transmission of the heritage language to their children may fall by the wayside, as families with young children struggle to deal with a range of competing demands on their time and attention.

8.2.2 Influences from school

At school, decisions about language use typically have their origins in the school language policy, which may be interpreted and enacted in different ways by practitioners (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018). Whatever may be stated in the official policy, however, the exclusive focus on English as the target language for learning proved pervasive in this study (Gkaintartzi & Tsokolidou, 2011; Huber, 2011). Moreover, in the absence of any adults modelling how the children's L1 might be brought into more formal teaching and learning activities, it is perhaps unsurprising that across both language groups use of L1 was not

promoted during adult-directed teaching and learning activities by either the children or their teachers. Rather, the children fell in with the compliancy regime set by adults (Lomax, 2012), which tended to exclude their home cultures and languages (Brooker, 2005; Joves et al., 2015; Moll et al., 2005).

Thus, the Nepali parents' desire for their children to speak good English correlated with, and was reinforced by, subliminal messages the children received from their teachers. In terms of the Nepali heritage children's linguistic experiences through their first year of full-time education, the shift to English that had begun in their homes was reinforced by language practices at school, where the diet was almost exclusively English. The exceptions to this comprised the very occasional use of a single word in Nepali, often prompted by the bilingual research assistant addressing the child in L1 (i.e. contingent on the child's participation in the research), or when the children were talking about something related to Nepali culture for which they had no word in English (Meisel, 2020). This latter example was reported by Mrs Subba, herself of Nepali heritage, and is noteworthy because it hints at the Nepali heritage children's awareness of the linguistic territory they shared with their teacher (Grosjean, 1982; Nuñez, 2021); because of this, they may have assumed that she would be able to understand them when they used a Nepali word, giving them reason to share certain aspects of their home culture in informal contexts at school (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; Yamamoto, 2001).

The Polish heritage children also experienced new contexts for language learning and use from the start of school. Whilst Polish remained the main language in use in the home, the Polish heritage children's exposure to English increased from this juncture. Happenstance meant there were opportunities for some of the children to continue to use Polish during the school day in their play; however for all adult-led activities, i.e. for formal teaching and learning, English was used. This introduced a diglossic situation for the group of four Polish heritage children who were in the same class, characterised by the functional separation of their two languages (Baker, 2018; Blackledge & Creese, 2010); L1 use continued in informal contexts (Sherkina-Lieber, 2020) but for academic purposes, English was the target language (Flores, 2015; Montrul, 2010).

At the same time as they started attending school, some of the Polish heritage children started acquiring L1 literacy skills too through attendance at community language classes;

for others, parents were considering such classes as an option. This was not the case for the Nepali parents; since there were no community language classes available in Nepali, none of their children were engaged in the pursuit of L1 literacy skills. Indicative of positive parental views of the inherent value of L1, ensuring their children develop literacy skills has been identified as important in influencing the successful transmission of L1 to children (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Leung & Valdés, 2019; Schwartz, 2008).

However, whilst on the one hand the Polish parents' were making every effort to maintain and further develop their children's L1 skills, on the other, the longer term barring of L1 from mainstream academic learning contexts and the diglossia that ensues from such a policy is likely to constitute a challenge to the continuing development of L1 (Wiley & García, 2016). Further, whatever the parental preference may be with respect to the FLP, their children may later come to exert a different influence (Tuominen, 1999), particularly once they have developed greater linguistic competence in English (Smith-Christmas, 2022), which seems probable in the long term.

8.2.3 Motivation

The Nepali parents had limited motivation to maintain L1 or to ensure it was successfully transmitted to their children. This was mainly due to their perception that it had little value in terms of cultural capital (Ellis et al., 2002; Giri, 2015). Moreover, they had prior experience of language loss in relation to their own parents' caste languages. Because these were perceived to be similarly lacking in cultural capital, the caste languages had not been successfully transmitted to the parents, which may have provided a precedent, habituating them to language loss. Hence the Nepali parents had few incentives for ensuring their children successfully acquired the heritage language, giving only the ability to talk to grandparents as a motivation.

In contrast, the Polish parents were strongly motivated to ensure successful transmission of the heritage language to their children; parental motivation being a factor considered important in the literature in ensuring children's successful development of skills in their heritage languages (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Fillmore, 2000; Köpke, 2007; Park & Sarkar, 2007). To them, Polish retained cultural capital, particularly because the prospect of a

return to their home country was a viable option; this gave parents a valid reason for their children to be able to function in that language.

The children were found to have different, more immediate motivations for developing skills in L1 and/or English from those of their parents. Socialisation within their peer group was one factor important to them (Black & Hazen, 1990; Köpke, 2007), largely occurring through play. For most of the Polish heritage children, play afforded them opportunities to reinforce and add to their skills in Polish as well as English (de Leon, 2019), both languages thus having inherent value. After Year R, however, when opportunities for play would be more limited, the importance of this factor in school-based contexts may change.

For the Nepali children, play occurred solely in English, and there were very few social situations at home or at school where a command of their heritage language was beneficial. Furthermore, the language choices made by their parents were a tangible reminder to them of the value placed on English by their families (Giri, 2015; Poudel & Choi, 2021; Sah & Li, 2018), whilst use of L1 to maintain links with relatives living overseas did not hold the children's interest. Hence in the absence of any immediate advantage to them in acquiring skills in the heritage language, the Nepali children were solely motivated to develop their skills in English.

Added to this, all the children were also motivated by a desire to please their teachers, success in this endeavour being strongly linked to the use of English. This correlated with, and was reinforced by, the teachers' motivation to ensure that their charges successfully acquired English. This was driven firstly by the statutory Foundation Stage curriculum, which maintains a strong focus on children's skills in English, and secondly by institutional hegemonic pressures, which result in a monolingual habitus pervading school contexts (Bjerke, 2011; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Meier, 2019), leaving little space for children's other languages (Safford & Drury, 2013). Furthermore, due to various constraints – lack of time, lack of confidence (Sood & Mistry, 2011), lack of training (Flynn & Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; Foley et al., 2013; Leung & Creese, 2010), lack of resources - teachers had ceded all responsibility for the children's heritage languages to parents, assuming they would take up this mantle if it was sufficiently important to them (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Altogether, these influences served to reinforce the subliminal message that the children's heritage languages and cultures were relatively unimportant, less

inherently valuable in academic contexts (Cushing, 2020; Fillmore, 2000; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Hence this study highlights a need for guidance and training for Foundation Stage practitioners to enable them to understand the issue, to consider their role in it, and to enable them to ensure this is not the scenario for their EAL cohorts.

8.2.4 Power

In this research, the rules governing language choices in different social settings were largely determined by adults, including the laissez-faire tolerance of Polish as a language for play in one of the schools. Whatever their views may have been, the child participants did not have the same responsibilities or ability to make rational, informed choices as did the adults (Bjerke, 2011). Further, the power differential that inevitably existed between child and adult respondents affected the ways in which the children participated in different social settings, shaping their responses (Kvale, 2006; Lomax, 2012; Punch, 2002a).

In terms of their language choices in social interactions (*sociality*), for the children there existed tensions associated with their shifting linguistic abilities, and with the linguistic norms that developed out of the compliancy regimes in operation in the different social settings (*place*) in which they operated (Punch, 2002b). For example, reasons why the Nepali children responded in English when addressed in L1 may have been determined at least in part by the children's differential linguistic competence; their command of L1 being in all instances in this research comparatively lower than their competence in English. The Polish children were in a different position with regards their choice of language, their skills meaning they were able to respond in kind when addressed in L1, and to switch to English when addressed in that language. However, for both groups, the language of the majority society continued to gain momentum, reinforced by hegemonic practices at school (Cushing, 2020; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Meier, 2019). Indeed, all the children had very quickly internalised the view that only English should be used in academic spaces (Nuñez, 2021).

A power differential also affected the adult participants. Whilst they took the lead in terms of the FLP in operation at home, parents deferred to the compliancy regime in operation at school, any efforts they made to ensure the successful transmission of the heritage language to their children made in isolation from what was going on at school (Black et al., 2021; Nuñez, 2021). Lastly, the teachers' views seemed to be that the children's heritage

languages had no relevance to the curriculum they were delivering (Cummins, 2009). Through their day-to-day practice, teachers were found to replicate and reinforce differential access to power in relation to their minoritised families through their exclusive focus on the language of the majority community (Cummins, 2000; Cushing, 2020; González et al., 2005a; González et al., 2005b; Leung & Valdés, 2019).

8.3 Funds of Knowledge, Funds of Identity and the commonplaces of Narrative Inquiry

In the course of this research, new insights were gained into the FoK of the families, FoK being a notional repository of the knowledge and skills held by households that shape the home context experienced by the child (Hedges & Cooper, 2016; Hedges et al., 2011). The heritage language was found to retain its place within the Polish families' FoK (Esteban-Guitart, 2023; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Subero et al., 2017), as evidenced by their FLPs in which it featured strongly. In contrast, in the Nepali households the heritage language played second fiddle to English, with the Nepali families' FLP favouring L2 over the heritage language. Identification of this nuance of difference is a key finding of this study.

The FoK of the children who participated in this research were found to include international components drawn from the FoK of their parents and, in the case of the Polish heritage children, from their own lived experiences of visits to Poland. To these FoK, children from both groups added UK-specific FoK, drawn from lived experiences that were distinct from those of their parents in that only they had had them, e.g. experience of pre-school and Year R in England (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Hedges et al., 2011; Subero et al., 2017; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021).

Within Narrative Inquiry, people are seen to continuously create and recreate their narratives in response to their ever-changing situational contexts. Accordingly, the children involved in this study are seen to be actively engaged in sharing and understanding who they are, who they have been and who they are becoming (Huber et al., 2013). To do this, each child generated and enacted a series of interlinked identity narratives which enabled them to function in different social contexts. The factors contributing to their identity narratives are shown in Figure 37 (p.265).

For example, when spending time with families, the children drew more heavily on culturally-specific FoK as a means of establishing their belonging, both within the family and within their wider diasporic community. For the Polish heritage children, this included a language component, language being an integral aspect of their identity (Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean et al., 2013). When at school, the children's identity narratives included being a playmate, interactive play with peers being an activity through which children add to their funds of knowledge and thereby their funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart, 2021; Hedges et al., 2011; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Subero et al., 2017; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021). They also enacted identity narratives in classroom situations in which they might be identified as learners.

The commonplaces of '*temporality*', '*sociality*' and '*place*' locate and define the social interactions each child may have. These interactions will be influenced by each present interlocuter's personal and social history, which feed into the identity narrative they enact. Hence it can be seen that the three commonplaces sit within wider contexts that delve into the familial past, have an international reach and intersect with people the children may never meet and places they may not have been to themselves, yet which form part of the complex and multi-faceted backdrop of their lives.

In this research, it was found that the Nepali and Polish families' responses to their diasporic situation differed. This was manifest in parental perceptions of the relative value of their two languages, language being a component part of their identities (Cho & Wang, 2020; Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a; Grosjean, 1982; Grosjean et al., 2013; Guerra et al., 2020). In their new country of residence, a renegotiation of their FoK had occurred, wherein the Polish families retained closer links with their culture of origin than the Nepali families, as evidenced by the FLP in operation in their respective households (Curd-Christiansen, 2009). In terms of acculturation theory, this led to different responses to the situational inequalities they experienced as members of minoritised communities living in the UK (Roblain et al., 2017).

Linking the concepts of identity construction and inequality to the present research, whilst Polish may not occupy the same rung of the linguistic ladder as English in the eyes of the majority population, in the eyes of the Polish families it retained its value as a facet of their identity (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a; Guerra et al., 2020) and as a means of maintaining

links with family and friends in the UK and Poland (Curd-Christiansen, 2016). These were reasons why the Polish parents were strongly motivated to ensure the successful transmission of L1 to their children. This suggests that the model of acculturation in operation in the Polish households was one of biculturalism (Figure 38, below), in which connections with the culture of origin are retained and new ones with the host culture are added (Cormoş, 2022; Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011).

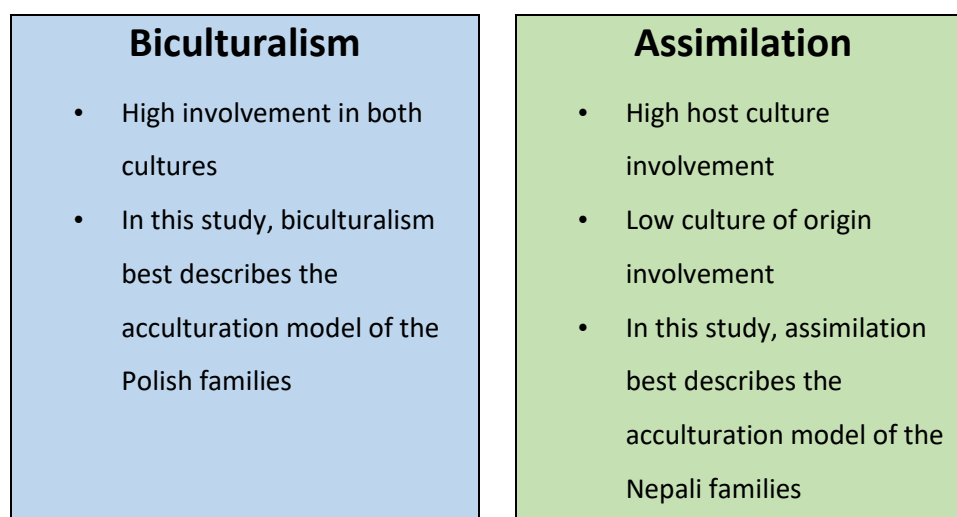


Figure 38: Acculturation models, after Smokowski and Bacallao (2011)

Furthermore, it appeared to be the case that the Polish parents considered their migration to the UK as temporary, retaining the prospect of a return to country of origin at an indeterminate point in the future. This may have had a bearing on their attitudes and their preferences with regards their acculturation practices (Roblain et al., 2017).

In contrast, the Nepali families seemed more accepting of a shift to English. An explanation for this may be found in how they perceived and enacted their acculturation into their new social setting (Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011). The Nepali parents seemed driven by a strong commitment to life in the UK, as well as holding views of the relative values of L1 and English informed by their prior experiences of living and being educated in Nepal and in the UK. For these families, as with the Polish families, the transition between their Nepali origins and their diasporic lives in the UK meant a renegotiation of their identities (Cormoş, 2022; Mahonen & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2013).

However, for the Nepali families the prospect of a return to Nepal was entirely absent; their migration was one-way, which may have impacted their acculturation preferences, adding

impetus to their drive to adapt (Roblain et al., 2017). Aspects of this suggest adherence to a model that is closer to assimilationist (Figure 38), in which the Nepali minority community takes on aspects of the dominant society, e.g. language, food and clothing, this model in keeping with the teachers' stance (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2011).

8.4 Summary

For both groups of children, the findings of this research suggest that their L1 development differs in various respects from that of similar children growing up in a monolingual context (Polinsky & Scontras, 2020). This was clear in the case of the Nepali heritage children whose bilingualism might be best described as passive (Brehmer & Kurbangulova, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Francis, 1998; Grosjean et al., 2013; Sherkina-Lieber, 2020; Yamamoto, 2001). Whilst the Polish heritage children's bilingualism might be described as additive, evidenced by their relatively strong L1 skills at the start of the study, their increased exposure to English through Year R caused their L1 development to slow, which would not be expected in a monolingual context. This came alongside accelerated development of English, which presented a threat in relation to their parents' desire to maintain and further develop L1.

In this study, the presence or otherwise of L1 attrition effects was found to be language-dependent. In order for L1 attrition to be identified as a factor, it would have to be the case that the children used to be able to perform particular functions in L1 but can no longer (Gallo et al., 2021; Köpke, 2007; Opitz, 2011). In the case of the Nepali heritage children, it seemed unlikely that they once had a much broader lexicon in Nepali which was being eroded over time. For one thing, most of the Nepali parents reported that English was the main language in use at home and, by the age of four years, the preferred language of their children (De Bot et al., 2005; Montrul, 2018). This had resulted in most cases in a shift towards English dominance within the family (Zou, 2022), which was reflected in the children's responses to the L1 MAIN sessions.

It seems more likely that, in the longer term, attrition may come to increasingly affect the Polish heritage children's L1 development, given their demonstrable skills in L1 at the start of data collection and the cumulative effect of increased exposure to English over time, driven by the language policies in operation at school. In the interviews with parents held at

the end of data collection, the Polish mothers reported they had noticed that their children were using more English in their speech in social interactions outside of school than had been the case a year earlier, at the start of Year R. Further, the findings from the L1 MAIN sessions suggested that the children's Polish had plateaued through their first year of schooling with little measurable change from T1 to T3. These two findings may signal the early stages of L1 attrition, caused by increased exposure to the more prestigious majority language (Ellis et al., 2002; Flores, 2015) alongside a corresponding decrease in contact with L1 (Gharibi & Boers, 2017; Schwartz, 2008).

At macro level, various factors indicative of the linguistic change that was occurring both across and within generations were identified. Prior to having children, the Nepali parents had already ceded L1 in favour of English, resulting in their children presenting as passive bilinguals. In the literature, it has been suggested that this is a stage-marker of generational language loss, passive bilinguals tending not to pass on the language in question to their own children (Gomashie, 2023; Sherkina-Lieber, 2020; Wei et al., 2020). Overall, due to the Nepali children's situation, it seems likely that their strong preference for English, bolstered by their FLP and by language practices at school, will over time serve to further undermine their development of Nepali (Albirini & Chakrani, 2017; De Houwer, 2009; Francis, 1998; Yamamoto, 2001). Ultimately, given what is known about the impact on young children of early onset of bilingualism, the likely prognosis for the Nepali heritage children is the complete loss of L1 (Flores, 2010; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Köpke, 2007; Opitz, 2011).

Language change also seems inevitable for the Polish families, whose children had a very different starting point in comparison with their Nepali counterparts. Smith-Christmas (2022) relates that as children develop greater competence in the societally dominant language, they exert their own influence on the Family Language Policy (FLP), often resulting in a shift towards English (Tuominen, 1999). This can be countered by parents' insistence on the use of L1 at home, and by children's better developed skills in L1, as was the case for the Polish heritage children at the start of data collection. However, the findings of this research suggest that regardless of parental views, their ambitions for their children or their motivations, language change is inevitable.

8.5 Concluding thoughts

In thinking about the narrative of change over time, and taking into account a view of language as an important aspect of one's culture and identity (Grosjean et al., 2013; Guerra et al., 2020), this study presents a positive framing of the languages of minoritised groups as a component part of their funds of identity (Esteban-Guitart & Moll, 2014a). This was writ large by the Polish heritage children involved in this research, who had so far embodied greater resistance to the loss of their heritage languages than their Nepali counterparts. However, there was already evidence of increasing separation and compartmentalisation of even the Polish heritage children's languages. The diglossia experienced by these children at school is likely to become further entrenched as opportunities for free-flow play end and the children embark on the more academic curriculum of Year One. From that point onwards, it seems probable that the socio-political endeavour of managing the language practices of others (May, 2011) will gain traction, precipitating further changes in the form of accelerating the children's acquisition of English alongside slowing, halting or even reversing their L1 development (Gallo et al., 2021; Karayayla & Schmid, 2019; Opitz, 2011; Seliger & Vago, 1991).

It is important that this study attends to reasons for the differential outcomes at the end of Foundation Stage for the two ethnic groups to which the children involved in this research belong. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the disconnect between home and school experienced by the Nepali heritage children was greater than for the Polish heritage children, giving them more cultural barriers to overcome in accessing and engaging with provision in Year R (Joves et al., 2015; Safford & Drury, 2013; Siqués et al., 2012; Yahya, 2014). One example of how this might have been manifest was found in this research to be the lack of a tradition around parents sharing story books with their children. Hence the Nepali heritage children may have been less familiar with how to engage with fictional narratives shared in this way in their Year R classroom (Landay & Heath, 2021; Street, 2005). Furthermore, due to cultural differences, the children may engage with and interpret the content of stories in different ways from the majority pupil cohort, which may layer in additional difficulties when it comes to their learning (Beech & Keys, 1997; Brooker, 2005; Heath, 1982; Joves et al., 2015; Moll et al., 2005; Yahya, 2014). Moreover, research suggests that there exist cultural differences in the ways in which parents interact with their children, differences that influence how different cultures construct narratives (Aksu-Koc & Aktan

Erciyes, 2018; Minami, 2015). That East Asian cultures tend to limit opportunities for their children to proactively introduce their own ideas (Aksu-Koc & Aktan Erciyes, 2018) may have impacted the ways in which the Nepali heritage children engaged with adults and with their learning at school, increasing the extent to which they were marginalised in the context of the Foundation Stage curriculum (González, 2005; Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011; Zipin, 2009).

In contrast, the cultural barriers were found to be fewer for the Polish heritage children because there were more similarities between what they did at home and approaches used in school. For example, the Polish parents were in the habit of sharing books with their children, most incorporating a story – often told in Polish - into the bedtime routine. Hence the children were familiar with the concept of fictional narrative and could engage and respond in ways that practitioners at school could recognise and praise (Cummins, 2009). Further, the Polish parents favoured an interactive style in which their children were encouraged to introduce their own topics and share their thoughts and ideas (Aksu-Koc & Aktan Erciyes, 2018; Minami, 2015), another culturally-determined aspect of the FoK of the household that has resonance for practitioners in schools. Also, for the four Polish heritage children at St Joseph's, a Catholic school, there was familiarity with aspects of religious practice that constituted common, shared territory.

In terms of the specific gaps in the literature outlined at the end of chapter 2, this study involved the development of a new Nepali language version of the Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) along with new picture sequences in which the human protagonists were Asian rather than European. This was done in order that the Nepali heritage children might have a similar experience of engagement with the MAIN as the Polish heritage children. However, viewed through the FoK/FoI lens, the findings highlight that even these steps may not have resulted in the level playing field one might seek to achieve when carrying out research with children from minoritised groups, since the Polish heritage children's prior experiences of engagement with fictional narrative in both L1 and English differed substantially from those of their Nepali counterparts. This is largely due to the skew towards European cultures and languages evident in existing research, which has hitherto dominated the libraries of academia. Having highlighted this gap, this study raises questions about our baseline understanding of Asian cultures and how best to research aspects of them in ways that are at once relevant and equitable.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

This final chapter begins with an overview of this study (section 9.1). It continues by setting forth the original contribution made by the study to knowledge and to theory and research methods, sections 9.2 and 9.3 respectively. It then presents the researcher's personal reflections on the study, including its limitations before identifying possible areas in which further research might be beneficial (section 9.4). It ends with some final thoughts about the road ahead and ways of drawing on what has been learned to improve the Foundation Stage experience for future cohorts of heritage language speaking children.

9.1 Overview

This longitudinal study explored the lived experiences of eleven UK-born children who had access to both a heritage language, Nepali or Polish, and English, the language of the majority community. A Narrative Inquiry framework was used to enable trans-participant experiential commonalities to be drawn out, with a primary focus on language use in different contexts and social settings. Whilst data collection employed mostly qualitative methods (interview, observation and visual methods), the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012) contributed quantitative data, allowing comparisons to be made of the children's skills in their two languages over time.

Data analysis revealed two key points. Firstly, that parental attitudes towards the heritage language and English were a strong predictor of the likelihood of successful transmission of the heritage language to their children. Due primarily to parental choices around language use, the Nepali children tended to have only receptive skills in L1 in contrast to their Polish counterparts, who tended to have relatively well-developed receptive and expressive skills. Secondly, that the first year of schooling precipitated a shift away from the heritage language and towards L2, the children spending increasing amounts of time immersed in English, perceived by all participants as the language of and for education. Largely due to chance, some of the Polish children found spaces during the school day where they felt able to continue to use their heritage language in informal contexts; however without exception teacher-led activities were conducted entirely in English. As a result, the children experienced bilingualism with diglossia (Baker, 2018; Blackledge & Creese, 2017), characterised by functional separation of their heritage language and English.

9.2 The contribution to original knowledge made by this study

This study contributes, in various ways, new understanding of the lived experiences of UK-born children from minoritised communities in relation to their encounters with education and with a curriculum delivered in English.

Firstly, drawing on the concepts of FoK and Fol (Esteban-Guitart, 2023; González, 2005; Moll, 2005; Moll et al., 2013), this study presents a picture of the multi-faceted identities of children from minoritised communities, in which both 'light' and 'dark' FoK are afforded consideration (Zipin, 2009). Experiences of minoritisation, which might be categorised as 'dark' FoK, have been oft-overlooked in the research to date. Such an omission has limited practitioners' understanding of such children (Esteban-Guitart, 2023), resulting in the proliferation of 'narrow' practice in the Early Years; practice which has differential linguistic and cultural relevance to children from minoritised communities and their families (Street, 2011; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021). Thus, this study offers a possible explanation of the differential outcomes of the broad ethnic categorisations of 'White Other' (WOTH) and 'Asian Other' (AOTH), focusing on the relative size of the cultural and linguistic disconnect UK-born children in these two groups may experience in relation to the Foundation Stage curriculum (Siqués et al., 2012; Street, 2011; Volman & 't Gilde, 2021).

The disconnect was palpable in the exclusion by practitioners of children's heritage languages from provision in the Early Years. This study has highlighted that children's heritage languages can occupy no-man's-land in terms of adults' understanding of who should assume responsibility for their maintenance. A result of this can be that practitioners, even those who share the heritage language with children in their class, do not choose to draw on this as a resource to support the delivery of the Early Years curriculum. Instead, matters are left to parents, often without any accompanying discussion or agreement, so parents are unaware of the potential value that might be added to their children's educational experience. These adult-led decisions can result in heritage language use in the context of the Foundation Stage curriculum being limited to ad hoc, child-initiated moments which are contingent on the serendipitous proximity of peers who share the heritage language with whom the child can play. Where such serendipity is absent, the diglossia experienced by isolated heritage language speakers can be pronounced. In the longer term, it seems likely that the continuing decline of the heritage language amongst the participating child speakers may persist, aided and abetted by practitioner

choices. Ultimately, its continuing exclusion from education may contribute to its complete loss, given what is known about attrition in young children (Köpke, 2007; Montrul, 2020; Opitz, 2011) and about the preferences for the majority language they often demonstrate (Köpke, 2007).

Thus, this research highlights the role that can be played by practitioners in reinforcing children's perceptions of the differential value of their heritage languages in relation to English (Ellis et al., 2002; Flores, 2015), and in precipitating the decline of the former as it is replaced by the latter (Li et al., 2022). Practitioners can be complicit in the minoritisation of their multilingual cohorts, which must surely be an uncomfortable message for many of them to hear. To counter this, the present study advocates that practitioners can and should more directly and proactively work with parents to promote children's heritage languages and find ways of enriching provision by including those languages in the curricular diet on offer. This leads back to the absence in ITE of a focus on EAL. Were EAL to be made a priority within ITE, then practitioners entering the teaching profession could be equipped with a better understanding of the heterogeneity that exists across ethnolinguistically minoritised groups. In turn, this would give them the confidence and the knowledge to respond in appropriate ways to the needs of their diverse EAL pupil cohorts, resulting in a corresponding positive impact on their practice.

Secondly, this study is, to the best of my knowledge, the first that has been conducted into Nepali heritage children's experiences of education in England. This is a surprise, given the contribution over many years of the Gurkha regiments to the British Army; indeed, some of the children who participated in this research were Service children, having an army connection. As with all linguistically and culturally minoritised groups, it is hoped that the focus on FoK and FoI will provide an engaging access point, promoting interest amongst practitioners in knowing more about the backgrounds of their multilingual cohorts, whatever their familial origins.

9.3 The contribution to theory and research methods

This research contributed in four identified ways to theory and research methods. Firstly, it added a new language version of the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012) to the collection; Nepali. The MAIN was translated into Nepali because this was one of the language groups under

study but there was not a Nepali version available. Thus getting the MAIN translated into Nepali meant there could be parity between the two languages in terms of the application of the MAIN protocols and story scripts by the bilingual research assistants, even if there remained a possible disparity in terms of the cultural relevance of the MAIN to the Nepali heritage children.

Another contribution made was the development of alternative picture sequences for the MAIN stories. At the outset, where there were human protagonists ('Cat' and 'Dog' stories), they represented white Europeans, not a good match for the Nepali children. Neither were some of the objects in the stories culturally relevant, for example the string of sausages in the 'Dog' picture sequence, sausages not being a feature of Nepali cuisine. The alternative picture sequences produced following feedback given by the researcher mean that researchers using the MAIN can now choose protagonists who look more similar to their child subjects. This will benefit future research by increasing the child's ability to identify with the MAIN story protagonists, other objects in the new picture sequences also reflecting greater cultural relevance and therefore relatability.

As a third contribution to research methods, this study has shown that even tools such as the MAIN (Gagarina et al., 2012), designed for use with multilingual children, may have an inbuilt cultural bias (Street, 2005, 2011). This may in turn lead to differential engagement and therefore differential outcomes for children from disparate ethno-cultural backgrounds, affecting the data collected. In the case of the Polish heritage children, who had home-based experiences of sharing stories in L1 with their parents, engagement with a similar activity, the MAIN, was quite familiar. However, the Nepali heritage children did not have those same home-based experiences of story in L1, hence their engagement in the L1 MAIN sessions was more limited. Having little experience on which to draw of the language required to tell a story in L1, they mostly chose to use English, this being the language in which their story-telling experiences had been gained.

Fourthly, this research has emphasised the absolute necessity for research with minoritised groups to be supported by experienced bilingual/bicultural practitioners (Liamputtong, 2010). Without the insights such people can provide, the significance of some of the events that unfold during data collection may be lost. Further, the presence of bilingual research assistants both provided a model of L1 use in a school context, which may have helped to

normalise this phenomenon, and afforded the children choice with regards which of their languages they wanted to use. Hence although the researcher of this study was dependent on the language and cultural knowledge of the bilingual research assistants, and at times had the experience of being excluded from conversation as they did not themselves speak either Polish or Nepali, it was crucial that people representative of the child respondents were involved in data collection. Because of this, the researcher ended the endeavour having learned more about these ethno-linguistically minoritised communities.

9.4 Reflections on the methods used in this research

The following sections comprise reflections on the research methods used in this study. Having considered first the use of the MAIN and Visual Methods, research instruments deployed in this study with the intention of facilitating the children's participation, the focus turns to the experience of working outside one's own language and thence to perspectives on researcher positionality.

9.4.1 The MAIN

The use of the MAIN in this research initially seemed to be a good match with the Narrative Inquiry methodology, contributing as it did a fictional narrative thread, and enabling the collection of data with very young children, across participant groups.

However, reflecting on the experience of fictional narrative of the Nepali heritage children raises a question about the differential degree to which the MAIN was meaningful and accessible. The Polish heritage children all had plenty of home-based experience of sharing story books in L1 with their parents as well as the experiences of story in English they may have had at pre-school and at school as they went through Year R. Hence the concept of telling stories from picture stimuli may have been something with which they were already conversant. In contrast, the Nepali heritage children had different home-based experiences to bring to the MAIN activities. They may, like the Polish children, have had experience of story-telling in English at pre-school and during Year R but, due to lack of resource and the fact that sharing story books is not part of Nepali family tradition, their experience of story-telling in L1 from children's fiction books was minimal. This may have been a factor underpinning their responses to the L1 MAIN sessions, in which most of them told their

stories in English, not Nepali. Thus the MAIN may have layered into this research elements of unwanted bias, privileging the Polish heritage children's socio-linguistic experiences over those of the Nepali heritage children.

9.4.2 Working outside of one's own language(s)

In this research, the participant choices made vis-à-vis the language groups precluded researcher autonomy, since the researcher did not speak either Nepali or Polish themselves. Instead, for many of the data collection activities the researcher had to rely on bilingual research assistants and to trust that what they were saying to the child was in line with expectations, which did not always turn out to be the case.

The approach to data collection demonstrated by the Nepali bilingual research assistant suggested at times that she thought she was there to extract spoken Nepali from the child participants by any means possible rather than to facilitate in the event that the children chose to use Nepali. This was in spite of the measures taken in the preparation stage to make sure everyone was clear about what they would be doing and how to proceed, i.e. in person meetings to discuss the research and the provision of a Nepali translation of the MAIN protocol. In the event, the researcher took the decision to let the L1 MAIN session proceed and to wait until the child had finished before speaking to the bilingual research assistant, taking the view that to interrupt 'live' would be more unsettling for the child, who was not using L1 to respond to the questions or to tell their own story anyway. This experience illustrated one pitfall of dependence on others when working outside of one's own languages; the lesson learned being to factor in opportunities for dress rehearsal for any activities in which others are to play a leading role. That said, the value of working with heritage language speakers with classroom expertise far outweighed any limitations and meant that this research adds a particularly robust narrative to research about young bilingual learners.

9.4.3 Visual Methods

In terms of the use of visual methods, this had benefits and drawbacks in the context of this research. One benefit was that it seemed to help some of the children to express language-related experiences that occurred in contexts familiar to them in that having worked together to identify people they considered important in their lives, the researcher was then

able to draw on the child's contributions to formulate questions designed to elicit more detail. However, this was not the case for all the children; hence a key learning point is that in carrying out research with young children, the ways in which they engage may not always neatly coincide with what was expected of them by the researcher, however hard they work to adapt approaches to facilitate the child's participation.

For all the children, the use of visual methods provided a focus that resulted in the child being less in the spotlight; instead the focus was on their developing pictures. This helped reduce stress, aiding the flow of conversation which to a great extent followed the lead set by the child (Christensen, 2004). The result was that most of the children were able to talk about their relationships with the people they were drawing, and most were able to link their people with particular concrete experiences and languages, for example a parent with story-reading in L1 or a friend at school with play-based experiences for which a particular language might be preferred.

The need to support the social mapping activities with both languages created its own issues, perhaps the most significant being that it meant each time there were two adults in the room to one child. This may have exacerbated the power imbalance (Einarsdóttir, 2007; Seidman, 2013), and could have skewed the child's responses as discussed in Section 3.4.1 Ethical considerations. However, it was important as part of the design and the underpinning ethos of this research that each child could choose which language they wanted to use to express themselves. In the case of the Polish heritage children, they mostly preferred to use Polish, hence the bilingual research assistant's presence and rapport with each child was vital. However, because of the child's language choices, it also necessitated time being spent on transcribing and translating the audio recording, which in turn wove in additional layers of interpretation (Liamputtong, 2010). Further, each of the three bilingual research assistants involved in data collection approached their role in slightly different ways, resulting in yet more variance in terms of the experience for the child, the way the data were gathered and the interpretation of those data as they were processed first into L1 and then translated into English.

9.4.4 Doing research in schools

On a purely pragmatic level, another issue was caused by the availability of space in the schools for the social mapping activities to take place. For example once with Hania the only space available at Openfield Primary was in the server room, which meant there was background noise that affected the recording, making it difficult to hear what she was saying. Similarly, once at Water's Edge Primary a percussion lesson in the hall was so loud that even with the library door closed, it was hard to hear what Abbie was saying. Lastly, in St Joseph's Catholic Primary work with Jacek once had to take place in the Head Teacher's office, alas on a day when she was not only in occupancy but also had found cause to speak to him about an incident that had occurred at playtime just beforehand. This may have affected how relaxed Jacek felt during the social mapping activity, and therefore how forthcoming he was. As a visitor in the schools, my access dependent on staff tolerance of my presence, there was little that could be done about these issues without risking their withdrawal from the research. This led to compromises being made along the way, the researcher having to accept that whilst the research was important to them, other people had their own, different priorities.

9.4.5 Researcher positionality

Researcher positionality is an aspect to which attention should be paid since it pervades all aspects of research (Mason, 2018). It is, however, particularly hard to pin down in terms of its impact; informed by one's own culture and lived experiences, it is so internalised that it may become all but invisible (Esteban-Guitart, 2023; Honegger, 2020). For example, in this study, researcher positionality may have coloured my interpretation of any - or indeed all - of the contributions made to it by the various respondents, especially those who drew on funds of knowledge and funds of identity shaped by cultural backgrounds and experiences that differed from my own (Abebe, 2009; Einarsdóttir, 2007; Liamputtong, 2010; Street, 2011). Bias originating from this aspect of researcher positionality may have been exacerbated by gender differences, which may have affected the ways in which the male children and the fathers engaged with me in the course of data collection. In the case of the child respondents, that the research team comprised adults may have expounded the power differential they experienced, whilst the experiential distance between the child and myself may have resulted in yet further imbalance and led to misinterpretations in exchanges.

It may also have been the case that the content of interview exchanges between me as researcher and the teacher respondents was skewed because of the perceptions of the latter in relation to what they perceived the researcher/Cantonshire EAL Service lead would want to hear with regards their views of bi- and multi-lingualism and their practice for their minoritised learners.

Furthermore, my position in relation to the bilingual research assistants may have impacted the way they discharged their role, mainly because of the existing professional relationship they had with me. This may have led to a misunderstanding vis-à-vis what I was looking for, resulting in the Nepali bilingual research assistant's behaviour during the MAIN activities.

9.5 Areas for further research

In consideration of the findings of this small-scale study, further research into the early experiences of education of minoritised groups is called for. This would increase the number of participants which in turn would boost the generalisability of the findings.

Amongst the two groups chosen for this research, Nepali and Polish, variability was found in terms of the children's skills in their heritage languages. This would be an interesting area to explore with more children and with other languages, choosing both heritage languages perceived to have high status, e.g. Chinese or Russian, and those perceived to have low status, e.g. Urdu or Kurdish Sorani. In this way, a fuller understanding of cultural practices around L1 story-telling could be gained, which could inform the methods used and the conclusions drawn from any such study.

Further, drawing on contributions made to this research by parents, attitudes towards the value of the heritage language as a commodity differed across participant groups, as did patterns of language use in the homes of the minoritised communities under study. This would be an area warranting further exploration in order to deepen understanding of the role played by parents and affording them opportunities to reflect on the choices they make and their possible impact.

It would also be invaluable to explore in greater depth practitioners' views of their role in supporting the maintenance of children's heritage languages, as well as their place within

the Early Years curriculum. Lastly, in response to the absence of any reference to multilingualism in educational policy, the importance of more research aimed at informing practice in schools is incontrovertible.

9.6 Final thoughts

Overall, the above notwithstanding, it is gratifying to reflect on the conclusion of this research, which highlights the impact of the majority culture on minoritised children's engagement with education, suggesting a correlation between the magnitude of the cultural disconnect experienced by the child and the attainment gap for different ethnic groups.

The low numbers of research participants means that the findings may not be generalisable. However, they indicate that it is unlikely that minoritised children's lack of English is the only factor underpinning the attainment discrepancies between ethnic groups that are observable at the end of Foundation Stage. Rather, the findings hint that these discrepancies might be the result of a cultural disconnect. Hence this research calls for further investigation into the early experiences of education of minoritised groups, with the aim of identifying areas for improvement in the practice that has long-underpinned those stubbornly-persistent attainment gaps. This should be made a focus for Initial Teacher Education programmes, so that teachers entering the profession are better prepared to teach in multilingual, multicultural contexts. To develop teachers' understanding of the variance that exists in the prior experiences of children from minoritised groups is a crucial first step towards levelling the educational playing field in ways that are genuinely meaningful and equitable.

Lastly, and contingent on its Wilkie Calvert funding, this research will make a contribution to the education of children from minoritised communities in that it will inform the guidance and training made available through Cantonshire EAL Service to practitioners working in Foundation Stage. In this way, it is hoped that it will make a real difference to the ways in which they think of their heritage language speaking children, and therefore to the children themselves.

Appendices

Appendix i: Cantonshire EAL Service data 2013-2020

Year of Census	Total number of pupils with English as First Language	Total number of Nepali speaking children	Total number of Polish speaking children	# Pupils all languages	Top language for each year (after English)	Ranking of Nepali	Ranking of Polish	Number of referrals to Cantonshire EAL Service - Nepali	Number of referrals to Cantonshire EAL Service - Polish
2013	158622	1264	892	7998	Nepali	1 st	2 nd	179	172
2014	158547	1213	1087	8589	Nepali	1 st	2 nd	128	220
2015	159030	1211	1310	9241	Polish	2 nd	1 st	73	160
2016	160272	1187	1573	9981	Polish	2 nd	1 st	66	108
2017	162477	1182	1785	10675	Polish	2 nd	1 st	46	82
2018	163738	1113	1939	11093	Polish	2 nd	1 st	76	80
2019	166434	974	1784	10268	Polish	2 nd	1 st	69	66
2020	167681	1013	1868	10746	Polish	2 nd	1 st	63	50

The headline figures (in grey boxes) originate from the School Spring Census and show the total numbers of children in Cantonshire schools who speak Nepali and Polish.

The Cantonshire EAL Service referral data (in blue boxes) reflect numbers of referrals received by the Service from Cantonshire schools for children speaking Nepali and Polish.

Appendix ii: 2013 Foundation Stage outcomes, EAL vs FLE (England)

Age	Stage	Domain	Measure	Source	EFL %	EAL %
5	EYFSP	English	At least expected level	DfE Statistical First Release 2013	73	63
		Maths	At least expected level		71	62
		Overall	Good level of development (GLD)		54	44

Figure 39: English as an additional Language (EAL) versus English as First Language (FLE) and achievement at age 5: England 2013

Appendix iii: 2018 Foundation Stage outcomes, EAL vs FLE (England)

Age	Stage	Domain	Measure	Source	EFL %	EAL %
5	EYFSP	Literacy	At least expected level	DfE Statistical First Release 2018		
		Reading			79	72
		Writing			75	69
		Communication & Language				
		Listening & attention			88	81
		Understanding			88	78
		Speaking			88	77
		Maths			71	62
		Overall	Good level of development (GLD)		72	64

Figure 40: English as an additional Language (EAL) versus English as First Language (FLE) and achievement at age 5: England 2018

Appendix iv: Cantonshire Foundation Stage outcomes (2022) by ethnicity

		Cohort	Achieve	%
		2022	2022	2022
		14462	10263	71.0%
White - British	White	12035	8594	71.4%
White - Irish	White	28	19	67.9%
Gypsy / Roma	White	53	17	32.1%
Traveller of Irish Heritage	White	22	8	36.4%
Any Other White Background	White	593	409	69.0%
White and Black Caribbean	Mixed	129	84	65.1%
White and Black African	Mixed	118	80	67.8%
White and Asian	Mixed	218	161	73.9%
Any Other Mixed Background	Mixed	275	198	72.0%
Indian	Asian	280	215	76.8%
Pakistani	Asian	51	38	74.5%
Bangladeshi	Asian	30	19	63.3%
Any Other Asian Background	Asian	267	166	62.2%
Black - Caribbean	Black	21	13	61.9%
Black - African	Black	142	102	71.8%
Any Other Black Background	Black	41	29	70.7%
Chinese	Chinese	66	54	81.8%
Any Other Ethnic Group	Any Other Ethnic Group	93	57	61.3%

Appendix v: Script explaining the project to a child translated into Nepali

मलाई तपाईं जस्तो चाँडै स्कूल सुरू गर्न लागेका बच्चाहरुले बोलेका धेरै भाषाहरुको बारेमा थाहा पाउन मनपर्छ । यहाँ हामीलाई मद्दत गर्न मिस्टर लामा / मिसेस लामा हुनुहुन्छ । वहाँहरु तपाईंले जस्तै नेपाली भाषा बोल्न सक्नुहुन्छ ।

म चाहन्छु कि तपाईंले नेपाली भाषा कोसंग र कहाँ बोल्नुहुन्छ भन्ने बारेमा मलाई भन्नु पर्ने हुन्छ । मलाई तपाईंको भाषाको बारेमा अझ बढि बुझ्नको लागि, हामी सँगै एउटा चित्र बनाउन सक्छौं । यो.... जस्तो चित्र देखिन सक्छ (उदाहरणको लागि) तर त्यहाँ तपाईंको परिवारको मान्छेहरु जस्तै बाबा, आमा, बाजे, बज्यु हुन्छन र ठाउँहरु पनि तपाईंको हुनु पर्दछ ।

म चाहन्छु कि तपाईं केहि चित्रहरु हेर्नुहोस् र कथा पनि भन्नुहोस् । मिस्टर लामा / मिसेस लामाले तपाईंलाई पहिला एउटा कथा भन्नुहुनेछ, अनि तपाईंले तपाईंको आफ्नो पालो आएपछि के गर्ने भनेर थाहा पाउनुहुनेछ । म चाहन्छु कि तपाईंले एउटा कथा नेपाली र अर्को कथा अंग्रेजीमा भन्नुहुन्छ यदि तपाईं सक्नुहुन्छ भने । म तपाईंले कथा भनेको रेकर्ड गर्न चाहन्छु ।

पछि, जब तपाईं स्कूल सुरु गर्नु हुन्छ, म तपाईंको स्कूलमा तपाईं कसरी पढ्दै हुनुहुन्छ र कसरी तपाईंका भाषाहरु प्रयोग गर्दै हुनुहुन्छ भनेर हेर्न आउँछु । हामी तपाईंको चित्रलाई फेरि हेर्न सक्छौं र केही फरक भएको छ कि भनेर हेर्न सक्छौं । पहिले स्कूलमा गरेको जस्तै फेरी हामी चित्रहरुको बारेमा पनि केहि कथा भन्न सक्छौं । म तपाईंले तपाईंले कथाहरु भनेको रेकर्ड गर्नेछु र तपाईंले मलाई भनेको कुराको बारेमा म धेरै नोटहरु लेख्छु । यदि तपाईं चाहनुहुन्छ भने तपाईं मेरो नोटहरु हेर्न सक्नुहुन्छ ।

धेरै पछि, मैले सिकेको कुराको बारेमा धेरै लेख्छु । म आशा गर्छु कि यसले शिक्षकहरुलाई तपाईं जस्तो बच्चाहरुलाई बुझ्नको लागि मद्दत पुऱ्याउँछ जसले धेरै भाषा बोल्न सक्छ । मैले तपाईंको बारेमा लेखे पनि म तपाईंको नाम मेरो लेखमा प्रयोग गर्ने छैन ता कि अरू कसैले पनि थाहा पाउने छैन कि यो तपाईंको बारेमा हो, केवल तपाईं, म, मिस्टर लामा / मिसेस लामा, तपाईंको आमा र बुबा र तपाईंका शिक्षक ।

तपाईं मलाई यसको बारे मा कुनै पनि प्रश्न सोध्न सक्नुहुन्छ । तपाईंसँग अहिले नै प्रश्न नहुन सक्छ, र त्यो ठीकै छ - यदि तपाईंले यसपछि केहि प्रश्न सोच्नुभयो भने, तपाईंले मलाई कुनै पनि समयमा सोध्न सक्नुहुन्छ ।

Appendix vi: Ethics documentation (includes child's assent form)

There follows the ethics paperwork that was approved by the University of Reading's Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the field work phase of the research.

Tick one:
Staff project: PhD ☒ EdD

Name of applicant (s): Sarah Coles

Title of project: The early language-learning experiences of UK-born bilingual children

Name of supervisors (for student projects): Dr Naomi Flynn and Professor Ludovica Serratrice

Please complete the form below including relevant sections overleaf.

	YES	NO
Have you prepared an Information Sheet for participants and/or their parents/carers that:		
a) explains the purpose(s) of the project	x	
b) explains how they have been selected as potential participants	x	
c) gives a full, fair and clear account of what will be asked of them and how the information that they provide will be used	x	
d) makes clear that participation in the project is voluntary	x	
e) explains the arrangements to allow participants to withdraw at any stage if they wish	x	
f) explains the arrangements to ensure the confidentiality of any material collected during the project, including secure arrangements for its storage, retention and disposal	x	
g) explains the arrangements for publishing the research results and, if confidentiality might be affected, for obtaining written consent for this	x	
h) explains the arrangements for providing participants with the research results if they wish to have them		
i) gives the name and designation of the member of staff with responsibility for the project together with contact details, including email. If any of the project investigators are students at the IoE, then this information must be included and their name provided	x	
k) explains, where applicable, the arrangements for expenses and other payments to be made to the participants		x n/a
j) includes a standard statement indicating the process of ethical review at the University undergone by the project, as follows: 'This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct'.	x	
k) includes a standard statement regarding insurance: 'The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request'.	x	
Please note that hard copies of documents provided to parents, i.e. the information sheets and consent forms, will be made available in both English and Polish/Nepali		
Please answer the following questions		
1) Will you provide participants involved in your research with all the information necessary to ensure that they are fully informed and not in any way deceived or misled as to the purpose(s) and nature of the research? (Please use the subheadings used in the example information sheets on blackboard to ensure this).	x	
2) Will you seek written or other formal consent from all participants, if they are able to provide it, in addition to (1)?	x	
3) Is there any risk that participants may experience physical or psychological distress in taking part in your research?		x
4) Have you taken the online training modules in data protection and information security (which can be found here: http://www.reading.ac.uk/internal/imps/Staffpages/imps-info-sec-selfenrol.aspx Please note: although this is on staff pages it is also for students.	x	
5) Have you read the Health and Safety booklet (available on Blackboard) and completed a Risk Assessment Form to be included with this ethics application?	x	
6) Does your research comply with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research?	x	
	YES	NO
7) If your research is taking place in a school, have you prepared an information sheet and consent form to gain the permission in writing of the head teacher or other relevant supervisory professional?	x	
8) Has the data collector obtained satisfactory DBS clearance?	x	
9) If your research involves working with children under the age of 16 (or those whose special educational needs mean they are unable to give informed consent), have you prepared an information sheet and consent form for parents/carers to seek permission in writing, or to give parents/carers the	x	

opportunity to decline consent?			
10) If your research involves processing sensitive personal data ¹ , or if it involves audio/video recordings, have you obtained the explicit consent of participants/parents?	x		
11) If you are using a data processor to subcontract any part of your research, have you got a written contract with that contractor which (a) specifies that the contractor is required to act only on your instructions, and (b) provides for appropriate technical and organisational security measures to protect the data?			x
12a) Does your research involve data collection outside the UK?		x	
12b) If the answer to question 12a is "yes", does your research comply with the legal and ethical requirements for doing research in that country?			x
13a) Does your research involve collecting data in a language other than English?	x		
13b) If the answer to question 13a is "yes", please confirm that information sheets, consent forms, and research instruments, where appropriate, have been directly translated from the English versions submitted with this application.	x		
14a) Does the proposed research involve children under the age of 5?	x		
14b) If the answer to question 14a is "yes": My Head of School (or authorised Head of Department) has given details of the proposed research to the University's insurance officer, and the research will not proceed until I have confirmation that insurance cover is in place.			
If you have answered YES to Question 3, please complete Section B below			

- Complete **either** Section A or Section B below with details of your research project.
 - Complete a risk assessment.
 - Sign the form in Section C.
 - Append at the end of this form all relevant documents: information sheets, consent forms, tests, questionnaires, interview schedules, evidence that you have completed information security training (e.g. screen shot/copy of certificate).
 - Email the completed form to the Institute's Ethics Committee for consideration.
- Any missing information will result in the form being returned to you.**

A: My research goes beyond the 'accepted custom and practice of teaching' but I consider that this project has no significant ethical implications. (Please tick the box.)	
Please state the total number of participants that will be involved in the project and give a breakdown of how many there are in each category e.g. teachers, parents, pupils etc.	
12 children and their parents/carers A maximum of 10 teachers (exact number will depend on whether or not the children are in the same school/class)	
Give a brief description of the aims and the methods (participants, instruments and procedures) of the project in up to 200 words noting: 1. title of project 2. purpose of project and its academic rationale 3. brief description of methods and measurements 4. participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria 5. consent and participant information arrangements, debriefing (attach forms where necessary) 6. a clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them. 7. estimated start date and duration of project	
B: I consider that this project may have ethical implications that should be brought before the Institute's Ethics Committee.	x
Please state the total number of participants that will be involved in the project and give a breakdown of how many there are in each category e.g. teachers, parents, pupils etc.	
Give a brief description of the aims and the methods (participants, instruments and procedures) of the project in up to 200 words. 1. title of project 2. purpose of project and its academic rationale 3. brief description of methods and measurements 4. participants: recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria	

¹ Sensitive personal data consists of information relating to the racial or ethnic origin of a data subject, their political opinions, religious beliefs, trade union membership, sexual life, physical or mental health or condition, or criminal offences or record.

5. consent and participant information arrangements, debriefing (attach forms where necessary)
6. a clear and concise statement of the ethical considerations raised by the project and how you intend to deal with them.
7. estimated start date and duration of project

Title:

The early language-learning experiences of UK-born bilingual children

Purpose/rationale:

To explore UK-born bilingual children's language learning experiences as they start compulsory education in UK mainstream schools.

Methods/instruments:

- Semi-structured interview with parents (supported by interpreter) to gather background information on child and family (with L1 support)
- visual methods to explore social contexts for language use with focus child (language mapping activities)
- use of MAIN instrument to gather samples (oral) of languages used by the child (focus is on simple narratives using picture prompts)
- observation of focus child in class
- Further 'interviews' with focus child using visual methods to support them to express themselves more fully
- semi-structured interviews with focus child's teacher (Year R)
- analysis of end of Foundation Stage data.

Participants:

6 x L1 Polish and 6 x Nepali speaking children, mix of genders, aged 4 - 5 years at start of project. Inclusion criteria: UK-born and Polish/Nepali spoken at home. Recruitment will be through transition-to-school meetings with parents in the summer term before the children start school, held in schools where the children will start Year R.

Consents:

- parental consent with participant information and consent form provided in Polish/Nepali and parents able to ask questions in Polish/Nepali and/or English
- Assent (of child) using child-friendly first language and English
- Consent of Head Teacher(s) of schools
- Consent of class teachers of focus children

Ethical considerations:

This project involves working with young children who are intrinsically vulnerable. In addition to this, it involves participants whose first language is not English (adults and children). These vulnerabilities mean full regard has been given to ethical considerations and measures are integral to the project to minimise potential harm throughout the fieldwork phase (one year). Measures include the use of experienced bilingual adults who are used to working with children and families so that individuals have access to information in first language and are able to use first language to ask any questions, to give their informed consent and to withdraw same should they at any point change their mind about being involved in the project.

In addition, there are considerations around the sensitivity of some of the data to be collected, which will include some data items that relate to protected characteristics as defined in the Equality Act (2010). These, along with other data relating to participants, will be securely held in password protected files and encrypted should it be necessary to transfer them from one location to another. Participants' data will be anonymised to protect their identities and data will not be kept for any longer than is necessary; at the end of the project, data will be permanently deleted.

Other children will be present during the data-gathering activities that take place at school and the researcher poses a potential risk to those other children. This is mitigated through the enhanced Disclosure and Barring Service check held by the researcher and by ways of working that mean the researcher is not on their own with a child/group of children but always in settings where they can be overlooked by other adults at the school.

Start date/duration:

Pilot Phase June/July 2019 with x 2 Polish/Nepali children and their parents:

- first semi-structured interview with parents to gather background information
- visual methods to map social/linguistic terrain with child participating – supported by interpreter
- first use of MAIN with child – Polish OR Nepali and English – to be completed on 2 separate occasions as per MAIN instructions.

September – December 2019 Pilot continues into child's first term in school:

- visual methods to review/modify with the child their map of their social/linguistic terrain
- observation of child in different contexts at school (in class and at play time) focusing on their language choices
- semi-structured interview with teacher focusing on their views of the child's two languages.

Fieldwork proper

From summer term 2021

- through transition work, possible participants identified and information about the research given to families - Informed consents obtained
June/July 2021 Initial activities as per the pilot study but working with the 10 focus children chosen for the research: - first semi-structured interview with parents to gather background information - interview with visual methods with child to map social/linguistic terrain - first use of MAIN with child – Polish OR Nepali and English – to be completed on 2 separate occasions as per MAIN instructions
Autumn term 2021 (start of Year R) - interview with visual methods – revisit and add to child’s social/language map - observation in class and at playtime - semi-structured interview with child’s teacher
Spring term 2022 - interview with visual methods – revisit and add to child’s social/language map - observation in class and at playtime - semi-structured interview with child’s teacher
Summer term 2022 - interview with visual methods – revisit and add to child’s social/language map - observation in class and at playtime - second use of MAIN with child - semi-structured interview with parents plus feedback - collect Foundation Stage Profile data - semi-structured interview with child’s teacher

RISK ASSESSMENT: Please complete the form below

Brief outline of Work/activity:	Language mapping activities Story-telling in English and Nepali OR Polish	
Where will data be collected?	In child’s pre-school setting and/or at child’s school (i.e. places where the child feels comfortable and confident)	
Significant hazards:	Stress caused by participation in unfamiliar activities with unfamiliar adults	
Who might be exposed to hazards?	Participating Child	
Existing control measures:	Researcher to - Ensure child has opportunity to get to know them - Involve child’s parents in initial activity to support & settle child - Work in settings familiar to the child in which they feel at ease - Work with the child for short bursts at a time - Cease activities if child becomes distressed	
Are risks adequately controlled:	Yes	
If NO, list additional controls and actions required:	Additional controls	Action by:

C: SIGNATURE OF APPLICANT

Note: a signature is required. Typed names are not acceptable.

I have declared all relevant information regarding my proposed project and confirm that ethical good practice will be followed within the project.

Signed:

Print Name: Sarah Coles

Date: 11th May 2020

STATEMENT OF ETHICAL APPROVAL FOR PROPOSALS SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE ETHICS COMMITTEE

This project has been considered using agreed Institute procedures and is now approved.

Signed: Print Name..... Date.....
(IoE Research Ethics Committee representative)*

* A decision to allow a project to proceed is not an expert assessment of its content or of the possible risks involved in the investigation, nor does it detract in any way from the ultimate responsibility which students/investigators must themselves have for these matters. Approval is granted on the basis of the information declared by the applicant.

Script to explain project to participating child

I am interested in finding out about the different languages spoken by children like you, who are soon going to start school. This person (Nisha/Sudhir or Kasia/Magda – one of them only) is here to help. They can speak the same languages as you.

I would like you to tell me about the people who are important to you. I am interested in the languages you use when you talk with these people and the places where you talk to them. To help me understand better, we can make a drawing together. It might look a bit like this one (see example) but it will have your people and your languages on it.

On another day, I would also like you to look at some pictures with me and tell the story they show. (Smita/Sudhir or Kasia/Magda) will tell you a story first, so you will know what to do when it's your turn. I would like you to have a go at telling one story in Nepali/Polish and another in English if you can. I would like to record you telling your story.

Later on, when you have started school, I would like to come again and see how you are getting on and how you are using your languages. We can look at your drawing again and see if anything has changed. We will do some more story telling with pictures too, the same as the first time. I will record you telling your stories and I will write lots of notes about what you tell me. You can see my notes if you like.

Much later on, I will do a lot of writing about what I have learned. I hope it will help teachers understand children like you who know different languages. Although I will write about you, I won't use your name in my writing so nobody else will know it's about you, just you, me, (Sudhir/Smita or Kasia/Magda), your mum and dad and your teacher.

You can ask me any questions you like about this. You might not have a question right now, and that's OK – if you think of one later on, you can ask me at any time.

Child's Consent Form

Note: The project will be explained verbally and the statements will be read to the child in English and in Nepali/Polish and the child can ask questions to clarify in either language. The child can then choose the face to colour to indicate their consent or otherwise.

My Consent Form

	Yes	No
Mrs Coles has told me about her project.		
Mrs Coles has answered my questions about her project.		
I know that I will be talking to Mrs Coles about my languages.		
I know Mrs Coles will record me talking in my languages		
I am happy for Mrs Coles to use my work for her project.		

My name	
Date	

Information Sheet and consent forms for Nepali-speaking parents

NB This information sheet and the consent form will be made available to parents in translation

Research Project:	The language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners
Project Team Members:	Dr. Naomi Flynn, Supervisor, University of Reading Prof. Ludovica Serratrice, Supervisor, University of Reading Sarah Coles, Lead Researcher and Hampshire EMTAS Deputy Team Leader Nisha Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant Sudhir Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant

Dear parent(s)

I am writing to invite you and your child to take part in a research study about the language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners. The research is being undertaken as a joint venture between Hampshire Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) and the University of Reading.

What is the project?

This project explores UK-born bilingual children's exposure to, and use of, their two languages over the period of one year, from just before the point where they start formal schooling. It includes

- finding out about the family's experiences and views of their languages
- exploring how the child's experiences of their languages change over time
- finding out what the views of the child's teachers are towards the child's languages

Why has my family been chosen?

Your family has been chosen because you have a child

- who was born in the UK
- who has access to two different languages, Nepali and English
- who is due to start school in September.

Do I/does my child have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this project; it is your choice whether you want to or not. Because of the age of your child, you as the child's parents have the right to refuse for your child to be included in this research.

What will happen if I/my child take part?

If you choose to take part, then we (Sarah Coles and Research Assistants Sudhir Lama and Nisha Lama) will first interview you. The interview will take about an hour, certainly no longer than an hour and a half, and we can do it at your home or at the school your child will be attending from September, whichever you prefer. We will ask you about your family background and the languages to which your child has access. We will ask your child to work with us to draw a picture to show where and with whom your child has exposure to their languages. On the second visit, we will ask your child to look at some pictures and to tell a short story about the pictures in Nepali. We will help them do this. We will arrange to come back a third time, about a week later, when we will ask your child to look at some different pictures and to tell another short story in English. You can see the pictures if you want and you should know we will record your child telling their stories.

Later, when your child is at school, we will talk to them again about their languages and we will ask their teacher how they view your child's languages. We will do this when your child is in Year R. We will also look at the picture again with your child so they can make changes to it to show how their use of their two languages changes over time. Towards the end of Year R, we will repeat the story-telling activities using different sets of pictures this time. Each time we go to see your child, we will let you know beforehand.

We will come back to talk to you again later in the research to find out if you have noticed any changes in your child's use of their languages. We will do this towards the end of Year R (in the summer of your child's first year in school). We can talk to you either at school or at home, whichever you prefer – you can decide at the time. These visits will take no longer than an hour each time.

We will also ask to have copies of assessment information held by your child's school. This will be your child's Foundation Stage Profile data. We need your consent to have access to these data.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of taking part?

If you decide to take part, your contribution will help develop teachers' understanding of the bilingual experiences of UK-born children from the Nepali community in Hampshire schools.

If you decide to take part, it will take up some of your time. We will try and keep this to a minimum.

What will happen to the data?

All data will be held securely with research records stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only the research team will have access to the records. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed securely.

Data used in the research will be anonymised so you and your child will not be identifiable in either the research write-up or in any subsequent, related publications. Neither will any identifiers linking you or your child or your child's school to the study be included in any publication relating to the research.

The results of the study may be presented at national and international conferences and in written reports and articles.

If you like, you can ask to see the final project once it has been completed by contacting me using the details above.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you change your mind at any point, you can withdraw from the project. All data gathered from you and your child will be destroyed and will not be included in the analysis or in the final write-up of the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely event of concern or complaint, you can contact the research supervisors:

Dr Naomi Flynn, University of Reading
Tel: 0118 378 2770
Email: n.flynn@reading.ac.uk

What if I have questions? Where can I get more information?

You can get more information about the project from the Lead Researcher, Sarah Coles, who will also be happy to respond to any questions about the project you may have:

Sarah Coles
Tel:
Email: s.c.coles@pgr.reading.ac.uk

All data will be held securely. Data used in the research analysis and write-up will be anonymised so neither you nor your child will be identifiable. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed.

What do I do next?

I very much hope that you will agree to participate in this study. If you do, please complete the attached consent form and return it, sealed, in the pre-paid envelope provided, to us.

Thank you for your time.

Parental Consent Form
NB This consent form will be made available to parents in translation

Please tick as appropriate the four statements below:

☐	I/we have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.
☐	I/we understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me/us and my/our child.
☐	All my/our questions have been answered.
☐	I/we consent to the involvement of myself/ourselves and my/our child in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet

Name of Parent(s)	
Name of Child	
Signature of Parent(s)	
Date	

Thank you for your support for this project.

Information Sheet and consent forms for Polish-speaking parents

NB This information sheet and the consent form will be made available to parents in translation

Research Project: The language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners

Project Team Members: Dr. Naomi Flynn, Supervisor, University of Reading
Prof. Ludovica Serratrice, Supervisor, University of Reading
Sarah Coles, Lead Researcher and Hampshire EMTAS Deputy Team Leader
Magda Raeburn, Polish-speaking Research Assistant
Kasia Tokarska, Polish-speaking Research Assistant

Dear parent(s)

I am writing to invite you and your child to take part in a research study about the language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners. The research is being undertaken as a joint venture between Hampshire Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) and the University of Reading.

What is the project?

This project explores UK-born bilingual children's exposure to, and use of, their languages over the period of one year, from around the point where they start formal schooling. It includes

- finding out about the family's experiences and views of their languages
- exploring how the child's experiences of their languages change over time
- finding out what the views of the child's teachers are towards the child's languages

Why has my family been chosen?

Your family has been chosen because you have a child

- who was born in the UK
- who has access to two different languages, Polish and English
- who is due to start school in September.

Do I/does my child have to take part?

You do not have to take part in this project; it is your choice whether you want to or not. Because of the age of your child, you as the child's parents have the right to refuse for your child to be included in this research.

What will happen if I/my child take part?

If you choose to take part, then we (Sarah Coles and Research Assistants Magda Raeburn and Kasia Tokarska) will first interview you. The interview will take about an hour, certainly no longer than an hour and a half, and we can do it at your home or at the school your child will be attending from September, whichever you prefer. We will ask you about your family background and the languages to which your child has access. We will ask your child to work together to draw a picture to show where and with whom your child has exposure to their two languages. On the second visit, we will ask your child to look at some pictures and to tell a short story about the pictures in Polish. We will help them do this. We will arrange to come back a third time, about a week later, when we will ask your child to look at some different pictures and to tell another short story in English. You can see the pictures if you want and you should know we will record your child telling their stories.

Later, when your child is at school, we will talk to them again about their languages and we will ask their teacher how they view your child's languages. We will do this when your child is in Year R. We will also look at the picture again with your child so they can make changes to it to show how their use of their two languages changes over time. Towards the end of Year R, we will repeat the story-telling activities using different sets of pictures this time. Each time we go to see your child, we will let you know beforehand.

We will come back to talk to you again later in the research to find out if you have noticed any changes in your child's use of their two languages. We will do this towards the end of Year R (in the summer of your child's first year in school). We can talk to you either at school or at home, whichever you prefer – you can decide at the time. These visits will take no longer than an hour each time.

We will also ask to have copies of assessment information held by your child's school. This will be your child's Foundation Stage Profile and their end of Key Stage One assessment data. We need your consent to have access to these data.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of taking part?

If you decide to take part, your contribution will help develop teachers' understanding of the bilingual experiences of UK-born children from the Polish community in Hampshire schools.

If you decide to take part, it will take up some of your time. We will try and keep this to a minimum.

What will happen to the data?

All data will be held securely with research records stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only the research team will have access to the records. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed securely.

Data used in the research will be anonymised so you and your child will not be identifiable in either the research write-up or in any subsequent, related publications. Neither will any identifiers linking you or your child or your child's school to the study be included in any publication relating to the research.

The results of the study may be presented at national and international conferences and in written reports and articles.

If you like, you can ask to see the final project once it has been completed by contacting me using the details above.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you change your mind at any point, you can withdraw from the project. All data gathered from you and your child will be destroyed and will not be included in the analysis or in the final write-up of the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely event of concern or complaint, you can contact the research supervisors:

Dr Naomi Flynn, University of Reading
Tel: 0118 378 2770
Email: n.flynn@reading.ac.uk

What if I have questions? Where can I get more information?

You can get more information about the project from the Lead Researcher, Sarah Coles, who will also be happy to respond to any questions about the project you may have:

Sarah Coles
Tel:
Email: s.c.coles@pgr.reading.ac.uk

All data will be held securely. Data used in the research analysis and write-up will be anonymised so neither you nor your child will be identifiable. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed.

What do I do next?

I very much hope that you will agree to participate in this study. If you do, please complete the attached consent form and return it, sealed, in the pre-paid envelope provided, to us.

Thank you for your time.

Parental Consent Form

NB This consent form will be made available to parents in translation

Please tick as appropriate the four statements below:

☐	I/we have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.
☐	I/we understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me/us and my/our child.
☐	All my/our questions have been answered.
☐	I/we consent to the involvement of myself/ourselves and my/our child in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet

Name of Parent(s)	
Name of Child	
Signature of Parent(s)	
Date	

Thank you for your support for this project.

Head Teacher Information Sheet

Research Project:	The language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners
Project Team Members:	Sarah Coles, Lead Researcher and Hampshire EMTAS Deputy Team Leader Magda Raeburn, Polish-speaking Research Assistant Kasia Tokarska, Polish-speaking Research Assistant Nisha Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant Sudhir Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant Dr Naomi Flynn, Supervisor, University of Reading Prof. Ludovica Serratrice, Supervisor, University of Reading

Dear Head Teacher

I am writing to invite your school to take part in a research study about the language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners. The research is being undertaken as a joint venture between Hampshire Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) and the University of Reading.

What is the project?

This project explores UK-born bilingual children's changing exposure to, and use of, their two languages over the period of one year, from around the point where they start formal schooling. It also explores the views of key stakeholders, i.e. families and teachers, towards the bilingual children's two languages.

Why has my school been chosen?

Your school has been chosen because according to Hampshire data, you routinely receive into your Foundation Stage (Year R) UK-born children whose home language is Nepali/Polish, the two minority language communities at the heart of the research. This means you and your staff have direct, first-hand experience of working with these focus communities.

Does my school have to take part?

Your school does not have to take part in this project; it is your choice whether you grant research access or not, and there will be no consequences in terms of your school's relationship with Hampshire EMTAS or the University of Reading should you decide against participation.

What will happen if my school takes part?

If you choose to take part, then the research team (Sarah Coles and Research Assistants Sudhir Lama/Nisha Lama OR Magda Raeburn/Kasia Tokarska) will make arrangements with you and your staff to come into school at a suitable time to do the following:

- In the autumn term after the children start in Year R, observe each of the children in class and during play and record field notes about their use of their two languages.
- Work with each child to add to a 'social/languages map' they co-created as part of the research before they started school. This map depicts the child's social terrain and identifies which language they use with whom and where. The revisit is to find out and record in a child-friendly way how each child's map changes over time.
- Interview the children's teachers to find out about their perspectives on the children's two languages.
- Collect the children's Foundation Stage Profile data when these become available.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of taking part?

If you decide to take part, your support will help develop practitioners' understanding of the Polish/Nepali communities in Hampshire schools. It will also contribute to new CPD for practitioners working with children for whom English is an Additional Language in the Foundation Stage in other Hampshire schools.

If you decide to take part, it will take up some of your staff's time and it will utilise suitable safe places in school to work with the focus children. We will ensure this is kept to a minimum.

What will happen to the data?

All data will be held securely with research records stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only the research team will have access to the records. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed securely.

Data used in the research will be anonymised/pseudonymised so you, your staff, your school and participating families will not be identifiable in either the research write-up or any subsequent, related publications. Neither will any identifiers linking you, your staff, the children or the school to the study be included in any publication relating to the research.

The results of the study may be presented at national and international conferences, and in written reports and articles.

If you would like, you can ask to see and read the final project once it has been completed, by contacting me using the details above.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you change your mind at any point, you can withdraw from the project. All data gathered at your school will be securely destroyed and will not be included in the analysis or in the final write-up of the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely event of concern or complaint, you can contact the research supervisors:

Dr Naomi Flynn, University of Reading

Tel: 0118 378 2770

Email: n.flynn@reading.ac.uk

What if I have questions? Where can I get more information?

You can get more information about the project from the Lead Researcher, Sarah Coles, who will also be happy to respond to any questions about the project you may have:

Sarah Coles

Tel:

Email: s.c.coles@pgr.reading.ac.uk

What do I do next?

I very much hope that you will agree to participate in this study. If you do, please complete the attached consent form and return it, sealed, in the pre-paid envelope provided, to us.

Thank you for your time.

Head Teacher Consent Form

Please tick as appropriate the four statements below:

	I have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.
	I understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me, staff at my school and the children involved.
	All my questions have been answered.
	I consent to the involvement of my school in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet

Name of Head Teacher	
Name of School	
Signature of Head Teacher	
Date	

Thank you for your support for this project.

Class Teacher Information Sheet

Research Project:	The language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners
Project Team Members:	Sarah Coles, Lead Researcher and Hampshire EMTAS Deputy Team Leader Magda Raeburn, Polish-speaking Research Assistant Kasia Tokarska, Polish-speaking Research Assistant Nisha Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant Sudhir Lama, Nepali-speaking Research Assistant Dr. Naomi Flynn, Supervisor, University of Reading Prof. Ludovica Serratrice, Supervisor, University of Reading

Dear Class Teacher

I am writing to invite you to take part in a research study about the language learning experiences of young, UK-born bilingual learners. The research is being undertaken as a joint venture between Hampshire Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) and the University of Reading.

What is the project?

This project explores UK-born bilingual children's changing exposure to, and use of, their two languages over the period of one year, from around the point where they start formal schooling. It also explores the views of key stakeholders, i.e. families and teachers, towards the bilingual children's two languages.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you will be the class teacher for a child/children involved in the project. The children have been selected because they were born in the UK and their home language is Nepali/Polish, the two minority language communities at the heart of the research. This means you will have direct, first-hand experience of working with the focus children and their families.

Do I have to take part?

Your school does not have to take part in this project; it is your choice whether you grant research access or not, and there will be no consequences in terms of your relationship with Hampshire EMTAS or the University of Reading should you decide against participation.

What will happen if I take part?

If you choose to take part, then the research team (Sarah Coles and Research Assistants Sudhir Lama/Nisha Lama OR Magda Raeburn/Kasia Tokarska) will make arrangements with you to come into school at a suitable time to do the following:

- In the autumn term after the children start in Year R, observe each of the children in class and during play and record field notes about their use of their two languages.
- Work with each child to add to a 'languages map' they co-created as part of the research before they started school. This map depicts the child's social terrain and identifies which language they use with whom and where. The revisit is to find out and record in a child-friendly way how each child's map changes over time.
- Interview the children's teachers to find out about their perspectives on the children's two languages.
- Collect the children's Foundation Stage Profile data when these become available.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of taking part?

If you decide to take part, your support will help develop practitioners' understanding of the Polish/Nepali communities in Hampshire schools. It will also contribute to new CPD for practitioners working with children for whom English is an Additional Language in the Foundation Stage in other Hampshire schools.

If you decide to take part, it will take up some of your time and it will utilise suitable safe places in school to work with the focus children. We will ensure this is kept to a minimum.

What will happen to the data?

All data will be held securely with research records stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only the research team will have access to the records. After the project ends, all data will be held securely for a period of five years before being destroyed securely.

Data used in the research will be anonymised/pseudonymised so you, your school and participating families will not be identifiable in either the research write-up or any subsequent, related publications. Neither will any identifiers linking you, the children or the school to the study be included in any publication relating to the research.

The results of the study may be presented at national and international conferences, and in written reports and articles.

If you would like, you can ask to see and read the final project once it has been completed, by contacting me using the details above.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you change your mind at any point, you can withdraw from the project. All data gathered from you will be securely destroyed and will not be included in the analysis or in the final write-up of the research.

Who has reviewed the study?

This project has been reviewed following the procedures of the University Research Ethics Committee and has been given a favourable ethical opinion for conduct. The University has the appropriate insurances in place. Full details are available on request.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In the unlikely event of concern or complaint, you can contact the research supervisors:

Dr Naomi Flynn, University of Reading

Tel: 0118 378 2770

Email: n.flynn@reading.ac.uk

What if I have questions? Where can I get more information?

You can get more information about the project from the Lead Researcher, Sarah Coles, who will also be happy to respond to any questions about the project you may have:

Sarah Coles

Tel:

Email: s.c.coles@pgr.reading.ac.uk

What do I do next?

I very much hope that you will agree to participate in this study. If you do, please complete the attached consent form and return it, sealed, in the pre-paid envelope provided, to us.

Thank you for your time.

Class Teacher Consent Form

Please tick as appropriate the four statements below:

	I have read the Information Sheet about the project and received a copy of it.
	I understand what the purpose of the project is and what is required of me and the children involved.
	All my questions have been answered.
	I consent to being involved in the project as outlined in the Information Sheet

Name of Class Teacher	
Name of School	
Signature of Class Teacher	
Date	

Thank you for your support for this project.

Form to be used with parents (background information)

Some of the information on this standard form duplicates the information on the form in the MAIN; parents will only be asked for the information once.

Confidential

Hampshire Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service

Developing a Rights Respecting Service that advocates for the Rights of the Child

Profile Report For children in Foundation Stage (Year R)

Please ensure this report is shared with all staff working with this pupil

Data Protection Statement

The information contained within this report is used in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018.

EMTAS will compile statistics, or assist other organisations to do so, provided that no statistical information that would identify the pupil as an individual will be published. The information will be held securely, and in accordance with the retention schedule for documents including sensitive personal information. This report collates information that has been provided by the pupil, parents/carers and school staff. It includes observations of the pupil made by EMTAS staff and recommendations for support strategies that match the needs identified at the time of writing.

Updated Sept. 2018

CONFIDENTIAL

Name Name L1 L1 Yr Grp Yr Group DoB DoB Gender M/F
UPN UPN Ethnic code Code EMTAS No EMTAS no

Context

Name of EMTAS staff [Click here to enter text](#)
 Email [Click here to enter text](#)
 Date of visit(s) [Click here to enter date](#) [Click here to enter date](#)
 Parents/Carer meeting at school ☐ phone call ☐ coffee event ☐
 unable to establish contact with parents/carers ☐
 Name of School School DfE number DfE no
 Staff consulted [Click here to name and position of staff](#)

Family Background

Child

Date of arrival in the UK/UK born [Click here to enter a date](#) Asylum seeker ☐
 Date of admission [Click here to enter a date](#) Refugee ☐

List countries pupil has lived in (<i>most recent first</i>)	From	To

Parent
s/Care
r living

with child

Name of parent/carers	Relationship to child	Country of Origin/L1	English spoken
			Click for drop down
			Click for drop down

Siblings

Brother/Sister	Age	School/Pre-school/Other

Any additional comments

CONFIDENTIAL

Name Name L1 L1 Yr Grp Yr Group DoB DoB Gender M/F
UPN UPN Ethnic code Code EMTAS No EMTAS no

Previous Education

No previous education ☐ Comment				
Country	School/Nursery/ Pre-school	Age from/to	Languages used	Preferred subjects/activities

Did the child learn English before coming to the current school?
 Yes ☐ No ☐ *(If yes, please give details below)*

Were there any concerns raised by the previous school? Yes ☐ No ☐
(If Yes, please give details and state whether these have been resolved or need further action)

Does the current school have any concerns? Yes ☐ No ☐
(If Yes, please give details)

Additional comments
Please click to add additional information, eg school starting age in country of origin

Languages used

(including English if appropriate)

Languages (Strongest first)	Understanding	Speaking	Reading/ Writing	Used with whom/in what context/ any other comments
	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	
	☐	☐	☐	
Any comments on child's first/strongest language skills				

CONFIDENTIAL

Name Name L1 L1 Yr Grp Yr Group DoB DoB Gender M/F
UPN UPN Ethnic code Code EMTAS No EMTAS no



Additional Information

		Details
Child's religion declared?	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Any religious or cultural practices the pupil will be taking part in which may affect his/her learning? (eg fasting)	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Eligible for free school meals? (ie/in receipt of certain benefits, see free school meals)	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Any health or dietary needs? Any allergies?	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Are parents aware about internet safety?	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Any concerns by parents/carers, or any issues the school should be made aware of (eg worries, fears the child may have or any recent changes in the child's behaviour)	Yes ☐ No ☐	
Is the child happy at their new school?	Yes ☐ Yes most of the time ☐ Starting to settle in ☐ Still finds it very challenging ☐	
Child's interests, hobbies, skills; anything the child enjoys at home or at school		
Any additional comments		



Additional Questions for parents (if not covered during the background information collation exercise)

- 1) Who is living in your family unit here in the UK?
- 2) What links with other members of your extended family do you maintain?
- 3) How do you keep in touch with your extended family members?
- 4) As a family, what languages are represented?
- 5) What languages are in regular use at home here in the UK?
- 6) (If parents came from overseas) When you came to the UK, did your language(s) use change? Can you tell me about the changes?
- 7) When you had your first child, did anything change in relation to the languages in use at home? Can you tell me about the changes?
- 8) (If more than one child) Since you had your children, have there been any changes in language use in your home? Can you tell me about the changes?
- 9) How do you feel about the different languages to which you have access?

Language 1 **Important – not important**
 Important that child understands
 Important that child speaks
 Important that child learns to read/write

Language 2 **Important – not important**
 Important that child understands
 Important that child speaks
 Important that child learns to read/write

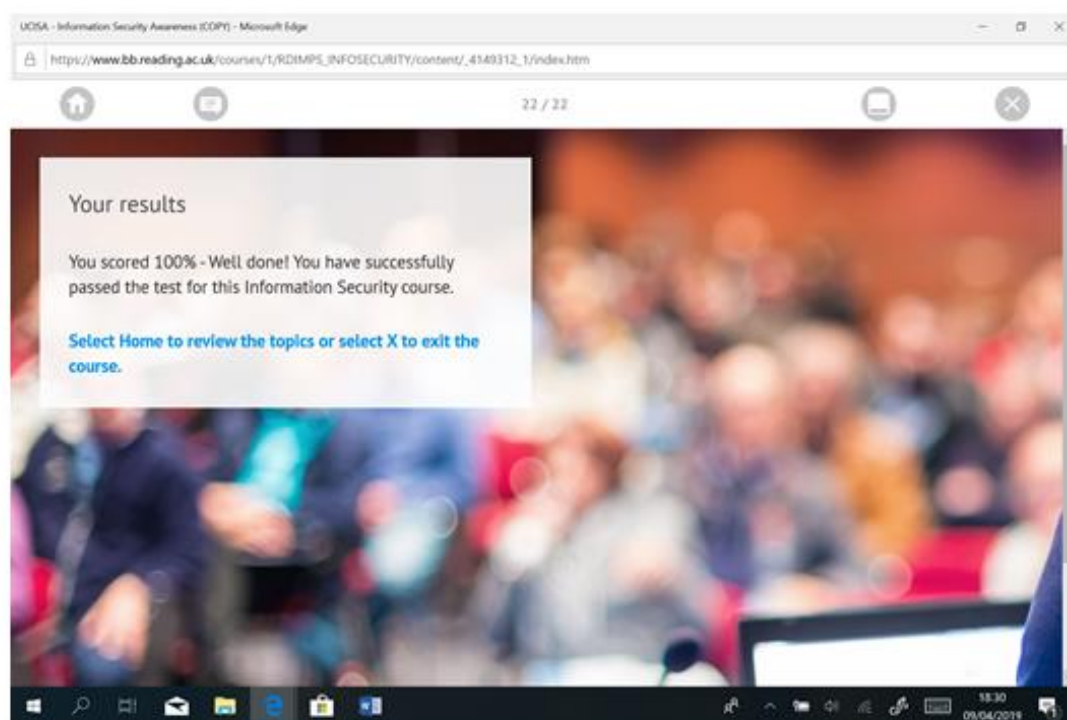
Language 3 **Important – not important**
 Important that child understands
 Important that child speaks
 Important that child learns to read/write

- 10) Outside of your family, do you feel your languages are useful/valued here in the UK? Can you tell me about that?
- 11) Once your child starts school, what are you hoping will happen with regards their languages?

Multilingual Assessment Instrument for Narratives (MAIN) materials (English version)

These materials are available in pdf format only; please see separate attachment

Screenshot of result from online course on information security completed April 2019 by Sarah Coles



Appendix vii: Information about the research provided to parents in advance of the first in-person meeting

Note that the information was provided to each set of parents in English and in translation into their home language. The material in Appendix vii is a sample and shows

- a) the information in English that was given to Nepali heritage parents
and
- b) the same information translated into Polish that was given to Polish heritage parents

Research into Nepalese family language use: can you help us?

If you:

- speak Nepali as a home language and
- have a UK-born child who is due to start school in September 2021

then we would really like to hear from you.



What is the research about?

- The research will explore how Nepali speaking children use their languages at home and at school.
- It will take place throughout their first year of schooling.
- It is hoped that the research will help teachers better understand the experiences of children who are growing up using two or more languages. With understanding, teachers will be able to support these children in the best ways possible, ensuring they are happy at school and make good progress.

Who is doing the research?

- The lead researcher is **Sarah Coles**. She is a Specialist Teacher Advisor for Cantonshire schools and a PhD student at the University of Reading.
- Two Bilingual research assistants who speak Nepali and English are helping Sarah with the project. Their names are **Sudhir** and **Nisha**.

If we agree to take part, what will we be doing?

- As parents, you will be invited to an informal interview with Sarah and either Sudhir or Nisha. You will be asked some questions about your family and your child, especially about the languages you use with different people in everyday situations. This will be done at the start of the research.
- Your child will be asked to do some simple art-based activities and to talk to the researcher, Sarah Coles, about themselves, their family and their experience of school. Except for the first time, this will all happen during the regular school day. Each time Sarah and the team come to see your child, you will be informed.
- Your child will also be asked to do some simple story-telling activities, some in Nepali and some in English. The story-telling will happen twice, once at the start of the research and again at the end.
- At the end of the research, in summer 2022, your child will be given all the artwork they produced to bring home and you will be invited to meet the research team again to talk about how it went and what was learned.

Will people know it was our child who was involved?

- No, nobody's real name will be used when Sarah writes about the research in her research paper. This means nobody will be able to tell it was you or your child. Not even your child's school will be named.

What if we have questions?

- You can ask any questions about the project at any time. You can ask Sarah or one of the Nepali-speaking Research Assistants or your child's teacher.

What if we change our minds?

- You can change your mind about being involved at any stage. If this happens, all information collected about you, your family and your child will be deleted and none of it will be included in the research paper.

If we're interested, what should we do next?

- Please let Sarah know if you're interested and she will arrange to meet you to give you more information and to answer any questions you may have.

You can email Sarah:

If you want to talk to someone in Nepali, you can contact Sudhir or Nisha:

If you'd rather phone, the research team's office number is

If Sarah, Sudhir or Nisha are not available to speak to you when you call, leave a message and they will phone you back.

Thank you for taking the time to read and think about this research project.

**Badania nad używaniem języka polskiego jako ojczystego:
szukamy chętnych do wzięcia udziału w badaniach.**

Jeśli:

- język polski jest waszym językiem ojczystym i
- macie dziecko urodzone w Wielkiej Brytanii, które ma rozpocząć naukę w szkole we wrześniu 2021, chcielibyśmy usłyszeć waszą opinię.



Czego dotyczą badania?

- Naszym celem jest zbadanie, w jaki sposób polskojęzyczne dzieci używają języków w domu i w szkole.
- Badania odbędą się w czasie pierwszego roku nauki w szkole.
- Mamy nadzieję, że badania pomogą nauczycielom lepiej zrozumieć doświadczenia dzieci, które dorastają, używając dwóch lub więcej języków. Nauczyciele będą mogli wspierać te dzieci w najlepszy możliwy sposób, upewniając się, że są szczęśliwe w szkole i robią duże postępy.

Kto prowadzi badania?

- Prowadzącą badania jest Sarah Coles, która jest specjalistycznym doradcą nauczyciela w szkołach w Cantonshire i doktorantką na Uniwersytecie w Reading.
- Dwie dwujęzyczne asystentki, Magda i Katarzyna, mówiące po polsku i angielsku, które pomagają w realizacji projektu.

Jeśli zgodzimy się wziąć udział w badaniach, na czym będzie polegała nasza współpraca?

- Jako rodzice zostaniecie zaproszeni na nieformalne spotkanie z Sarą i Magdą lub Kasią. Zostaną wam zadane pytania dotyczące waszej rodziny i waszego dziecka, zwłaszcza języków, których używacie z różnymi osobami w codziennych sytuacjach. Spotkanie to odbędzie się na początku badań.
- Wasze dziecko zostanie poproszone o wykonanie prostych prac plastycznych i rozmowę z prowadzącą badania Sarą Coles o sobie, swojej rodzinie i doświadczeniach ze szkoły. Z wyjątkiem pierwszego spotkania, wszystko to wydarzy się podczas zwykłego dnia w szkole. Za każdym razem, gdy Sarah i jej zespół przyjdą odwiedzić wasze dziecko, zostaniecie o tym poinformowani. Dziecko chętnie wam opowie o tym spotkaniu, jeśli je zapytacie.
- Wasze dziecko zostanie również poproszone o wykonanie kilku prostych zadań związanych z opowiadaniem historii, niektóre po polsku, a inne po angielsku. Tę pracę wykonamy dwukrotnie, raz na początku i ponownie na końcu badań.
- Pod koniec badań, latem 2022 r., wasze dziecko otrzyma wszystkie wykonane przez siebie prace, a wy zostaniecie zaproszeni na ponowne spotkanie z zespołem badawczym, aby porozmawiać o tym, jak przebiegały badania i jakie są wnioski.

Czy dane osobowe naszego dziecka będą ujawnione w badaniach i wnioskach?

- Nie, prawdziwe nazwiska nie zostaną użyte. Oznacza to, że wszystkie informacje będą anonimowe, łącznie z nazwą szkoły waszego dziecka.

A jeśli mamy pytania?

- Pytania dotyczące projektu możecie zadawać w dowolnym momencie. Możecie pytać Sarę, jedną z polskojęzycznych asystentek lub nauczyciela waszego dziecka.

A co jeśli zmienimy zdanie?

- Możecie zmienić zdanie na dowolnym etapie. W takim przypadku wszystkie zebrane informacje o was, waszej rodzinie i waszym dziecku zostaną usunięte i żadne z nich nie zostanie uwzględnione w artykule badawczym.

Jeśli jesteśmy zainteresowani, co powinniśmy zrobić dalej?

- Poinformujcie Sarę, a ona umówi się na spotkanie z wami, aby udzielić wszystkich informacji i odpowiedzieć na wszelkie pytania.

Możecie wysłać e-mail do Sary:

Jeśli chcecie porozmawiać z kimś po polsku, można skontaktować się z Magdą lub Kasią:

Jeśli wolicie zadzwonić, numer biura zespołu badawczego to

Jeśli Sarah, Magda lub Kasia nie będą dostępne, zostawcie wiadomość, a ktoś z zespołu oddzwoni do was.

Dziękuję za poświęcony czas i zainteresowanie.

Confidential

Cantonshire EAL Service

Developing a Rights Respecting Service that advocates for the Rights of the Child

Profile Report For children in Foundation Stage (Year R)

Please ensure this report is shared with all staff working with this child



Data Protection Statement

The information contained within this report is used in accordance with the Data Protection Act 2018.

The LA Service will compile statistics, or assist other organisations to do so, provided that no statistical information that would identify the child as an individual will be published. The information will be held securely, and in accordance with the retention schedule for documents including sensitive personal information.

This report collates information that has been provided by the child, parents/carers and school staff. It includes observations of the child made by LA Service staff and recommendations for support strategies that match the needs identified at the time of writing.

Confidential

Name Andrew L1 Nepali Yr Grp R DoB Spring 2017
UPN 0000 Ethnic code AOTH

Context

Date of visit(s) 01/09/2021

In-class support ☒ ☐

Observation in lesson ☒ ☐

1:1 assessment ☒ ☐

Parents meeting at school ☒ phone call ☒ coffee event ☐

unable to establish contact with parents ☐

Name of School Meadow Infant School

Staff consulted Class teacher

Family Background

Child

UK born Yes ☒ No ☐ Refugee Yes ☐ No ☒

Date of admission 01/09/2021

List countries child has lived in	From	To
UK	Birth	present

Parents living with child

Name of parent	Relationship to child	Country of Origin	L1	English spoken
	Father	Nepal	Nepali	Yes, fairly confidently
	Mother	Nepal	Nepali	Yes, fairly confidently

Siblings

Brother/Sister	Age	School/Pre-school/Other
Sister	4 ½ months	-

Any additional comments
Andrew lives with his parents and his sister.

Confidential

Name Andrew L1 Nepali Yr Grp R DoB Spring 2017
UPN 0000 Ethnic code AOTH

Additional Information

		Details
Child's religion declared?	Yes ☒ No ☐	Hindu
Any religious or cultural practices the child will be taking part which may affect his/her participation in school (eg fasting, collective worship, changing for PE, jewellery)	Yes ☐ No ☒	
Eligible for free school meals? (ie in receipt of certain benefits, see <i>free school meals</i>)	Yes ☐ No ☒	
Any health or dietary requirements/needs? Any allergies? If Yes, is School aware?	Yes ☐ None known ☒ Yes ☒ No ☐	Mum said Andrew does not have any health/dietary needs. He sometimes gets ill with no reason. She has informed the school about it. Andrew likes to eat pasta and noodles.
Are parents aware about internet safety?	Yes ☒ No ☐	Mum said they are aware of internet safety.
Any concerns by parents, or any issues the school should be made aware of (eg worries, fears the child may have or any recent changes in the child's behaviour)	Yes ☐ No ☒	
Is the child happy at their new school?	Yes ☒ Yes most of the time ☐ Starting to settle in ☐ Still finds it very challenging ☐	Mum said Andrew is happy to go to school.
Child's interests, hobbies, skills; anything the child enjoys at home or at school Mum said Andrew likes playing with magnet blocks. He is fond of animals, especially reptiles. He likes drawing and sometimes watches videos on his iPad.		
Observations/Feedback from BA Andrew showed little understanding of Nepali. He preferred to speak in English. He was happy to talk to me, but he often deviated from the topic of discussion. I found it hard to understand what he was saying and at times had to ask him to repeat what he meant. Mum said she can understand what Andrew says but agreed that others may find it hard to understand.		

Confidential

Name Andrew **L1** Nepali **Yr Grp** R **DoB** Spring 2017
UPN 0000 **Ethnic code** AOTH

Previous Education

Any previous education? Yes ☒ No ☐

Country	School/Pre-school/ Nursery	Age from/to	Languages used	Preferred subjects/activities
UK	Nursery	2 - 4	English	None mentioned

Did the child learn English before starting at current school?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Andrew's previous education was in English. He is UK born and has not studied elsewhere.

Were there any concerns raised by the previous setting? Yes ☐ No ☒

According to his mum, Andrew used to be very active at his previous school.

Does the current school have any concerns? Yes ☒ No ☐

According to his class teacher, Andrew can lose focus in class. She found it difficult to understand what Andrew was saying. His teacher mentioned that Andrew still finds it challenging to settle down in school and complete/stick with tasks. His attention span was very short.

Has the child been identified by educational/health professionals as having any learning difficulties?

Yes ☐ No ☒

Any additional comments

None

Languages used

Languages (Strongest first)	Understanding	Speaking	Reading/ Writing	Used with whom/in what context/ any other comments
English	☒	☒	☒	At home and school
Nepali	☒	☒	☐	At home
Any comments on child's first language skills	• During my visit Andrew showed little understanding of Nepali • Mum mentioned that he follows simple instructions in Nepali and can say simple words for everyday objects. • According to mum, English is his strongest language. • He has not been taught to read and write in Nepali.			

Confidential

Name Andrew **L1** Nepali **Yr Grp** R **DoB** Spring 2017
UPN 0000 **Ethnic code** AOTH

Recommendations

Recommendations specific to this child Yes ☒ No ☐

- **Andrew was born in the UK. He may not have the same breadth/depth of vocabulary in Nepali due to reduced exposure to this language. Please bear this in mind when considering approaches that rely on first language proficiency.**
- **Share lots of stories with repetition that will allow him to join in without him needing to understand specific word meanings.**
- **Allow Andrew to engage in collaborative activities with his peers; paired with role models who are of a higher ability in terms of English language and behaviour.**

If none of the above recommendations addresses your concerns, please contact the LA Service for further advice.

Please note: In-class support from a Bilingual Assistant is *not* generally recommended for children in Foundation Stage.

Appendix ix: Additional questions used in initial semi-structured interviews with parents (as part of Profiling)

I'd like to ask you a bit more about your family's use of Nepali/Polish at home, if that's OK.

1. Do you (parents) use just (Nepali/Polish) at home or do you use some English as well?
 - Tell me more about that.
2. Do you (parents) ever mix the two languages together in the same sentence?
 - Tell me more about that.
3. Do you have access to things like books, TV and radio in Nepali/Polish at home?
 - a. Does your child have a preference for Nepali/Polish or English for particular activities eg stories, TV or other activities eg games?
 - Tell me more about that.
4. Can you tell me about the language(s) your child uses when they are playing.
5. Do you share stories with your child?
 - a. In what language do you do this?
6. In your view, which is your child's stronger language, Nepali/Polish or English?
 - Tell me more about that.
7. Do you ever notice that your child mixes the two languages when they are talking?
 - Can you tell me any examples?
8. Is there anything further you would like to say about your child's use of their two languages?

Appendix x: Researcher's one-page profile

Note that a copy of the researcher's one page profile was given to each child in English and in translation into their home language. The researcher talked through the main points with each child, supported by the relevant bilingual research assistant, though in the event, most of the children showed very little interest in it.

This Appendix includes the English and Nepali versions.

I'm Sarah hi 	I like to listen to children... ...talking about their languages ...making up stories ...talking about things they like 	 Sometimes I visit children at school in their classroom. Sometimes I visit children at school away from their classroom. I do a lot of my work on computers now. 
 I am... ...a Teacher and a Researcher - I like learning about different languages and cultures	When I work with children, I often bring someone with me who can speak the child's language. They help me with my work. 	Any questions?  - You might have questions - You can ask <u>me</u> or you can ask someone else to ask me
People say I am... - Creative - Helpful - Supportive 	 - I will plan what day to visit very carefully - I will come during school time but not at break time or lunch time - I will avoid any times when your class is doing something special – I don't want you to miss out	
I would like to get better at... ...learning other languages ...finding good answers to questions 	When we know about children's languages, we can change how we work in schools, to make them better places for children to learn. 	

hi

नमस्कार, म सारा हूँ।



म...



- ...एउटा शिक्षक र अनुसन्धानकर्ता हुँ।
- मलाई विभिन्न भाषा र संस्कृतिहरू बारेमा जान्न मनपर्छ।

मानिसहरू भन्छन् म...

- सिर्जनशील,
- सहयोगी,
- मदतकारी छु



म अझ राम्रो बन्न चाहन्छु ...



... अरु भाषाहरू सिक्न
...प्रश्नको अझ उपयोगी उत्तरहरू खोज्न

मलाई बालबालिकाहरूको बिचारहरू सुन्न...



... उनीहरूको भाषा बारे कुरा गर्न
... कथाहरू बनाउन मनपर्छ।
... उनीहरूलाई मनपर्ने विषयहरूको बारेमा कुरा गर्न मनपर्छ।

जब म बच्चाहरूसँग काम गर्छु, म प्रायः कोहि न कोहि एक जनालाई मसँग लैजान्छु जसले त्यस बच्चाको जस्तै भाषा बोल्न सक्दछ।
उनीहरूले मेरो काममा मलाई मदत गर्ने गर्दछन्।



When?



- म होशियारीसाथ कुन दिन भ्रमण गर्ने भनि योजना बनाउने गर्छु।
- म स्कूलको समयमा आउँछु तर ब्रेक टाइम वा खाजाको समयमा होइन।
- तपाईंको कक्षा कोठामा केहि विशेष क्रियाकलाप गरिरहेको बेला म टाढा रहन्छु - म तपाईंलाई त्यसबाट वञ्चित गराउन चाहन्न।

जब हामी बच्चाहरूको भाषाको बारेमा जान्छौं, स्कूलमा कसरी काम गर्ने र स्कूल बच्चाहरूलाई सिकाउने उत्तम स्थान हो भन्ने सोचको विकास गराउन सक्नेछौं।



WHERE?



कहिलेकोही म बच्चाहरूलाई भेट्न उनीहरूको कक्षाकोठामा जान्छु।
कहिलेकोही म बच्चाहरूलाई तिनीहरूको कक्षाकोठा भन्दा बाहिर नि भेट्छु।
आजभोली म मेरो कम्प्युटरमा धेरै काम गर्छु।



Any questions?



- तपाईंसँग प्रश्नहरू हुन सक्छन्
- तपाईं मलाई सोध्न सक्नुहुन्छ वा अरू कसैलाई भनेर मलाई सोधिदिनुस भन्न सक्नुहुन्छ।

Appendix xi: Substantive data collection detailed, in chronological order

Autumn term 2021

1: Identification of target schools and families

Delays to the planned start of data collection were caused by pre-schools being closed to visitors due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This meant identification of suitable schools and children could only commence in September 2021. At this point, the children had already begun attending school.

In total four schools were identified early in the autumn term 2021. The schools were identified through existing LA Service-related links and were known to have a history of numbers of children from the target groups on roll (i.e. Nepali or Polish-speaking children). Colleagues in the schools supported the recruitment drive by identifying specific children and families to be invited to participate, by referring the children to the LA Service (routine practice within Local Authority-maintained schools when engaging with children and families for whom English is an Additional Language) and by sending home information provided by the researcher about the research in English and the target language (Appendix vii: Information about the research provided to parents in advance of the first in-person meeting, p.295).

2: Profiling the children

The parents of the target children were next invited into school for an in-person meeting with the researcher and bilingual research assistant. This meeting was principally for the purposes of collecting background information about each child for profiling purposes, with a secondary aim of providing an opportunity to discuss the research in more detail and to cover off any questions the parents may have had. The decision to use this routine profiling meeting to establish parents' informed consent was partly due to the need to minimise the demands on people's time – parents', the bilingual research assistants' and school-based colleagues who facilitated and hosted the meeting – and partly because the information routinely gathered during profiling included a lot of the same background information about the child and their family which the researcher was keen to establish vis-a-vis checking if the child met the selection criteria for inclusion in the research, namely:

- that the child would have access to either Nepali or Polish as a home language;
- that the child had been born in the UK.

In the first meeting with parents, the researcher talked through the plan for the field work, highlighting details relating to their child's involvement in it. Parents were given an opportunity to ask any questions about the research that may have occurred to them at that point in time and asked to sign the consent forms if they were happy for their child to be included, on the express understanding that they could withdraw their consent at any time without penalty. They were also given a copy of the researcher's one page profile (Appendix x: Researcher's one-page profile, p.335) so that they had seen it in advance of their child bringing their own copy home.

During the same initial meeting, the bilingual research assistant gathered background information about each child and their family. This is a routine activity carried out by LA Service staff when children for whom English is an additional language first start school and was part of the routine Year R profiling activities carried out by the LA Service on behalf of schools. This part of the process enabled the researcher to double-check that each child met the selection criteria of home language and place of birth. It also meant that parents were able to ask questions in either English or first language, whichever language was more comfortable for them.

Specific to the purposes of the research, and having given an overview of the plan of the fieldwork and how their child might be involved, additional detail was sought from parents relating to:

- languages in use within the family;
- family practices around story-telling;
- other sources of access to their two languages;
- links with the wider language community including friends and family in country of origin;
- the child's experience of pre-school.

These additional details were gathered in a semi-structured interview situation supported by the bilingual research assistant. The questions used in the semi-structured interview can be found in Appendix ix: Additional questions used in initial semi-structured interviews with parents (as part of Profiling), p.334.

The researcher followed up the initial meeting with the parents with another check via email to see if they had any further questions. This provided parents with an opportunity to withdraw completely from the research should they have had second thoughts about consenting to their child's participation.

The net result of these activities was that by the end of October 2021, eleven children in total had been identified, six Nepali heritage and five Polish heritage, and parents had given their informed consent in writing for their child to be involved in the research, which included allowing the researcher access to the background information gathered during profiling as described above. An example of profiling of one of the participating children can be found in Appendix viii: Example of a participating child's Profile, p.329.

3: First session with the children: gaining the child's assent

With the support of the schools, the researcher next arranged sessions to meet each child and to seek their assent to be included in the research. Parents were informed of the date in advance so they could prepare their child to meet the research team. The session took place in school and was supported by the same bilingual research assistant who had previously met the parents.

In their session, each child was given a copy of the dual-language One Page Profile (Appendix x: Researcher's one-page profile, p.335) in which they mostly showed limited interest. The researcher used the One Page Profile to help explain in child-friendly language what the research was about and what the child's involvement would be should they assent to participating. The bilingual research assistant introduced themselves too, drawing on their experience of working with children in Year R to judge when and how much of the child's home language to use. Some of the children were able to sustain their focus on this part of the session for longer than others but none at that point wanted to ask a question either in English or in their other language.

All of the children gave their assent to be included, and were reminded they could change their mind at any time. After checking with each child that they were happy for the session to be audio-recorded, the recording was started. Only one child (Samantha) said she did not want to be audio recorded on this first occasion but that she was happy to continue with the planned activity that had just been explained to her.

4: First session with the children: first use of visual methods

The first session continued with the first use of visual methods to support the social mapping activity. This approach was used as a means of facilitating each child to talk about themselves and the people they considered to be important in their lives. The child was invited to choose from a

selection of materials (coloured pens, pencils and crayons and paper) and use them to create a visual representation of themselves and their social network. Whilst they did this, the researcher talked to them about the languages the child used with each person included in the picture.

From the first session, it was apparent that there were some issues with articulation with two of the Nepali-heritage children, Andrew and Abbie, who both chose to speak only in English and were both very difficult to understand. Carolyn, Niva and Samantha all responded appropriately when spoken to in Nepali but chose not to speak any of this language themselves, preferring to use either non-verbal gestures (nodding or pointing) or English. Samantha said that in her family English was the main language in use at home. Niva said both languages were used. Sarad, who also chose to respond only in English, commented that his mother spoke Nepali to him if it was just the two of them at home but if a friend came to visit, even a Nepali friend, she would switch to English. Sarad wondered aloud why she did this. Neither Andrew nor Abbie chose to talk about the languages in use in their homes.

The Polish-heritage children, who also gave their assent to proceed with the activity, were all confident to speak Polish during the first session. Most showed a strong preference for this language, illustrating the value of the bilingual research assistant's involvement. Some of the Polish-heritage children gave examples of when English might be used at home, for example when an aunt's boyfriend who knew only English was present. They all said that at home the main language in use was Polish.

5: Second session with the children: first use of the MAIN (in heritage language; T1)

The second session with the children was led by the bilingual research assistant, who carried out the first use of the MAIN using the child's heritage language.

It appeared to the researcher that during the first delivery of the MAIN the Nepali-speaking bilingual research assistant may not have been adhering to the MAIN protocol despite having been given the instructions in Nepali and in English in advance and having been briefed before the session. The researcher noticed the bilingual research assistant did not appear to be following the model story script with the first child and reminded them that it was important to do so. Further, when the child was invited to tell their own story, the bilingual research assistant seemed to be pointing at particular parts of the pictures in ways that contravened the MAIN rubric and the researcher reiterated that it was important not to help the child to tell their story in this way. However, with

the second and third children, still the bilingual research assistant did not appear to adhere to the model story script and still they seemed to be attempting to elicit language from the child during their own story-telling. The researcher felt it necessary to remind the bilingual research assistant of the correct procedure several times, this without complete confidence that the researcher had correctly interpreted what she had observed nor that the bilingual research assistant had understood and adjusted their practice as a result. This incident highlighted the issues caused by the dependence on the bilingual research assistant of the researcher, who did not speak Nepali or Polish herself, thereby compelling reliance on the bilingual research assistant for the appropriate use of the other language. In the event, despite maintaining the use of Nepali throughout each session, the Nepali heritage children chose to respond either entirely or mostly in English. This was what had happened during the pilot phase too, and was later corroborated by the children's choices around which language to use in other scenarios, hence the researcher took the view that it would have been the outcome had the bilingual research assistant followed the MAIN rubric to the letter.

Of the six Nepali children, only two made any attempt to use any Nepali when telling their own story. One, Niva, used just two words of Nepali for her story whilst the other, Sarad, used a mix of Nepali and English.

All of the Nepali children were able to respond to the comprehension questions put to them in Nepali but all chose to use English to express their responses. During the comprehension question-and-answer part of the MAIN activities, a couple of the children used one or two words in Nepali – nouns for key objects they would have heard the bilingual research assistant use when telling the model story: “bird”, “cat” and “water”. Andrew said, “Yo grass” (that's grass) but the word “yo” (that/that is) was the only Nepali he said out loud. Samantha in particular seemed a bit anxious and unsettled about Nepali being used with her in school.

With the Polish-heritage children, the Polish-speaking bilingual research assistants both appeared to follow the MAIN protocol closely. This may have been due in part to them both having had involvement in delivering GCSE exams in Polish, an activity which required similar strict adherence to a rubric.

The Polish-heritage children all used Polish throughout the session with just one exception: Franek initially gave the noun “cat” in English, although when prompted “ko...” was able to show that he

knew the Polish word for cat, which is 'kotek'. The children all responded in Polish to the comprehension questions with no code-switching evident apart from this one example with Franek.

6: Third session with the children – second use of the MAIN (in English; T2)

During the third session, which was delivered in English by the researcher, all the children – Nepali and Polish heritage alike - use English to tell their stories and to respond to the comprehension questions.

After witnessing the researcher delivering the MAIN in English, the Nepali-speaking bilingual research assistant commented that she now fully understood how to do this herself. Although by now too late to take remedial action, this highlighted to the researcher the importance of taking nothing for granted; a full dress rehearsal was definitely a preparatory step to be included in future research.

Spring Term 2022

7: Observation visits

During the Spring Term, the researcher carried out observations of the focus children in their Year R settings. Because there were four children in the same class in two of the schools, the researcher carried out two observations in these two classes, each lasting a full morning. For the other children (one Polish heritage child in one class and two Nepali heritage children in the other), just one observation was carried out, lasting about an hour.

The observations of the Nepali heritage children showed that none of them used Nepali at school. Instead, they engaged in all activities in English, including adult-led learning activities, play with other children and solitary play when they might talk to themselves in English.

In contrast, the four Polish heritage children who were in the same class spoke a lot of Polish at school. This happened exclusively during child-initiated play with other Polish heritage children, whether it occurred inside the classroom or outside in the Year R area. During adult-led teaching activities, whether one-to-one or in groups, the children spoke English.

In the school with only one Polish heritage child in Year R, Hania, during observation no use of Polish was noted. However, Hania reported that she sometimes sang Polish songs she had learned from her father at school and that she had taught a few words of Polish to her friends.

8: Fourth session with the children: second use of Visual Methods

For this activity, the children were first shown the picture they had produced in the autumn term of themselves with their families as a reminder of their previous experience of visual methods. They were then asked to depict themselves at school, including in their pictures people they considered important to them in this setting. As they did this, the researcher asked the children about the languages they heard and used themselves at school.

The Nepali heritage children responded to this second visual methods activity in English, tending to talk more than they had on the first occasion.

The four Polish heritage children in the same class preferred to use Polish when talking about particular school-based experiences but chose English for others so there was more of a mix of the two languages. Hania used mostly English.

9: Fifth session with the children: third use of the MAIN (using heritage language; T3)

This time, all the bilingual research assistants followed the MAIN protocol for 'Baby Goats'. More of the Nepali heritage children chose to try and engage in Nepali this time with only Andrew and Samantha engaging exclusively in English.

The Polish heritage children all engaged in Polish, as they had done the first time they had engaged with the MAIN in heritage language in the autumn term.

At the end of the fifth session, the children were informed that the next visit, a week later, would be the last. This was to prepare them for the research activities to come to an end.

10: Sixth session with the children: fourth use of the MAIN (in English; T4)

All Nepali and Polish heritage children engaged in English in the fourth use of the MAIN, 'Baby Birds'. After completing the MAIN activities, the children were given a thank you card and a dual language story book to keep. The intention of this was to clearly signal to them that the research had finished, at the same time thanking the children for their participation.

11: Interviews with parents and staff

Parents were all invited to participate in a semi-structured interview at the end of the fieldwork phase. All the Nepali parents engaged with this, due in part to the efforts made by staff in those two schools to support the research. In contrast, and for various reasons, it was possible to arrange the final interview with just two of the five Polish parents, both of whom chose to take part online. The questions used in the semi-structured interviews with parents can be found in Appendix xii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with parents, p.345. Although these were sent in advance to give parents an indication of what would be covered and to allow them some time to think about what they wanted to say, without exception the parents said they had not found the time to do this.

Staff in the schools were also invited to participate in a semi-structured interview and two of the four teachers agreed to engage with this. In the school with four Polish heritage children in the same class, the teacher had experienced long-term absence through the year and there had been a number of supply teachers covering the class, so the interview was not possible to arrange. Abbie and Samantha's teacher was not able to fit in an interview either due to other commitments, but she was able to provide information about the Foundation Stage outcomes for the two children. Hania's teacher Mrs Miles and Mrs Subba, the teacher at Meadow Infants, both agreed to take part and both were interviewed. The questions, sent in advance so they knew what was going to be asked and could prepare, can be found in Appendix xiii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with teachers, p.346.

Appendix xii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with parents

Question 1 is about you and your languages

- 1) In your family you have at least two different languages, Polish/Nepali and English. Can you tell me first about your languages:
 - a. Which would you identify as your first?
 - b. How/when did you learn your first language?
 - c. How/when did you learn the other language? (at what point in your life did you start?)

Questions 2 and 3 are about your language use NOW

- 2) Can you tell me about when you might typically use Polish/Nepali?
 - a. Can you tell me a bit about those different situations?
 - b. In your home, do you access TV, radio, stories etc. in N/P?
- 3) And when might you typically use English?
- 4) Do you (parents) mix the two languages when you're speaking? (why not?)
 - a. Can you give me any examples of that?

Questions 5 to 9 are about [child's name]'s language use

- 5) Do you notice that [child's name] mixes the two languages?
- 6) When you talk to [child's name], which language do you normally start with?
 - a. Does it depend on what you are going to talk about?
 - i. Can you tell me about that?
 - b. In what language does [child's name] respond to you?
 - c. Does [child's name] choice of language affect your decision about which language to use when talking to them?
- 7) Is it important to you that your child continues to speak P/N?
 - a. Tell me more about that
- 8) [Child's name] has been in school for a year now. During that time, have you noticed any changes in their use of Polish/Nepali? (their preference)
- 9) What about their use of English?

Question 10 invites you to talk about anything else to do with [child's name]'s use of language

- 10) Is there anything else about your child's use of languages you would like to share with me?

Appendix xiii: Questions used in semi-structured interviews with teachers

- 1) What languages do you speak?
 - a. What would you identify as your first language?
 - b. When did you start to learn English/another language?
 - c. How did you learn English/another language?
 - d. What are your views of yourself as a language learner?
- 2) Tell me about your experience of working with multilingual children.
- 3) Have you had any training to support you to work with bilingual children?
 - a. When did you have training?
 - b. Has it shaped your practice in any way? How?
- 4) Do the bilingual children in your class tend to use their home language or English more?
 - a. Does it vary according to whom they are speaking?
- 5) In your view, can/should there be a place for children's other languages in the Foundation Stage curriculum?
 - a. What might that place be?
 - b. OR what might be gained from keeping children's other languages separate from school and focusing only on English?
- 6) What resources do you have that could facilitate the use of other languages in the school environment?
- 7) What are the challenges for you in supporting children's use of home language?
- 8) How do your bilingual children in Foundation Stage compare with your monolingual children (re FSP outcomes)?
 - a. Do you think the FSP adequately reflects the progress made by your bilingual children through Year R?
- 9) How does your school engage with parents of bilingual children?
- 10) Is there anything else you'd like to share with me about how you work with your bilingual children?

Appendix xiv: Picture sequence for the MAIN model Cat story

Appendix xv: Comprehension questions for MAIN model Cat story

Appendix xvi: Transcript from MAIN in Polish (child's story only) in CHAT format

Third use of MAIN with Franek, who has heard the bilingual research assistant tell the model Dog story in Polish. Now he is to tell his own story in L1 using the MAIN Baby Goats picture sequence (Appendix xiv: Picture sequence for the MAIN Baby Goats story, p.369).

@Begin

@Languages: pol, eng

@Participants: CHI Franek Target_Child, INV Bilingual Investigator

@ID: pol|coles|CHI|4;09.|male||White|Target_Child|||

@ID: pol|coles|INV|54;00.|female|||Investigator|||

@Date: 14-MAY-2022

*CHI: ona spadła do wody i wtedy.

%gls: she fell into water and then .

*CHI: ona potrzebuje pomocy i .

%gls: she needs help and .

*CHI: i jego tata .

%gls: and his dad .

*CHI: zrobić rescue .

%gls: he did a rescue .

*CHI: i później on pomógł .

%gls: and later he helped .

*CHI: a później .

%gls: and later .

*CHI: ten lis chciał zjeść .

%gls: this fox wanted to eat .

*CHI: a później on prawie jego zjadł .

%gls: and later he nearly him ate .

*CHI: a później .

%gls: and later .

*CHI: on zrobić rescue .

%gls: he did a rescue .

*CHI: a później on biegł bo .

%gls: and then he ran because .

*CHI: on chciał ugryźć .

%gls: he wanted to bite .

@End

Appendix xvii: Transcript from MAIN in English (child's story only) in CHAT format

Fourth use of the MAIN with Franek, who has heard the researcher tell the model Dog story in English. Now he is to tell his own story in English using the MAIN Baby Birds picture sequence

@Begin

@Languages: pol, eng

@Participants: CHI Franek Target_Child, INV Researcher Investigator

@ID: pol|coles|CHI|4;10.|male||White|Target_Child|||

@ID: eng|coles|INV|53;05.|female|||Investigator|||

@Date: 17-JUN-2021

*CHI: um (..) .

*CHI: the bird was hungry and .

*CHI: the dad one hmm .

*CHI: went (..) to grab something to eat and then .

*CHI: the dog sss .

*CHI: the cat climb up and .

*CHI: and the dog seed the cat and then .

*CHI: the bird dad .

*CHI: um bring something to eat and then .

*CHI: and then .

*CHI: the dog (..) um .

*CHI: wanted to eat the cat not .

*CHI: and then .

@End

Appendix xviii: Niva's L1 'Baby Goats' story, code-switching highlighted

- Niva: Goat...yo goat le swimming garechha.
Translation: Goat...this goat did swimming.
- Niva: Ani is goat is water in is daddy is save his baby and this here is eating a grass is here.
Translation: Then is goat is water in is daddy is save his baby and this here is eating a grass is here.
- Niva: Ani yo fox le dekhera.
Translation: Then this fox sees.
- Niva: Ani goat lai khanchha tyo fox le.
Translation: Then the fox eats the goat.
- Niva: Ani there is fox...fox...fox...le...le...
Translation: Then there is fox...fox...fox...and...and...
- Niva: Kanna goat le khanna lai.
Translation: The fox tries to eat the goat.
- Niva: Ani yaha chai goat ko khutta samatechha.
Translation: And here the goat's feet get caught.
- Niva: Ani de bird sees.
Translation: And the bird sees.
- Niva: And is bird is save this goat and this bird is eat is fox...fox is bite...bite his tail.
- Niva : Ani yo chora le fox le chase gareko
Translation : Then the bird chases the fox.
- Niva: Ani the goat safe basyo.
Translation: Then the goat stays safe.

(Niva's Baby Goats L1 MAIN story, May 2022)

Appendix xix: Summary of research findings in relation to RQs 1 & 2

	RQ1 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience in their social contexts prior to the onset of compulsory schooling a) in terms of their exposure to their heritage language? and b) in terms of their exposure to English?	RQ2 What do Nepali and Polish heritage UK-born learners of EAL experience once they have started school in terms of their exposure to both heritage language and English?
Nepali heritage children & exposure to L1	Apart from Sarad (and then in specific contexts determined by his mother), limited exposure to ‘pure’ L1 models from parents. Frequent code-mixing in language models provided by parents. Sarad and Niva only : some use of L1 with particular interlocutors and in proscribed contexts. Vicarious exposure in situations where adults use L1 to communicate with each other.	Apart from Sarad and Niva, limited exposure to ‘pure’ L1 models from parents. Sarad and Niva only: some use of L1 with particular interlocutors and in proscribed contexts. Vicarious exposure in situations where adults use L1 to communicate with each other.
Nepali heritage children & exposure to English	Use of English with parents. Use of English with siblings. Use of English at pre-school. Use of English with peers in community contexts. Media – TV and games played on tablet devices.	Use of English with parents. Use of English with siblings. Use of English with adults at school (teachers and support staff). Use of English with peers at school. Use of English with peers in community contexts. Media – TV and games played on tablet devices.
Polish heritage children & exposure to L1	Use of L1 at home by parents, limited code-switching. Use of L1 with siblings. Use of L1 with other family members outside of the home. Use of L1 with friends, including in pre-school settings. Use of L1 within the Polish community in the UK. Use of L1 during visits to Poland. Media including Polish language TV. Book-sharing & story-telling with parents.	Use of L1 with parents. Use of L1 with siblings. Use of L1 with other family members outside of the home. Use of L1 in play with Polish-heritage peers at school. Use of L1 within the Polish community in the UK. Use of L1 during visits to Poland. Media including Polish language TV. Book-sharing & story-telling with parents.

	Vicarious exposure in situations where adults use L1 to communicate with each other.	Vicarious exposure in situations where adults use L1 to communicate with each other.
Polish heritage children & exposure to English	Some use of English when playing with older siblings. Some use of English with some family members outside of the home. Use of English with English-speaking friends of the family. Use of English at pre-school. Media – TV and games played on screen/tablet devices.	Some use of English with parents. Some use of English when playing with older siblings. Some use of English with some family members outside of the home. Use of English with English-speaking friends of the family. Use of English with adults at school (teachers and support staff). Use of English with English-speaking peers at school. Media – TV and games played on screen/tablet devices. Book-sharing & story-telling with parents.

Figure 41: Summary of research findings in relation to RQs 1 & 2

Appendix xx: Examples of data linked to the versus codes

This appendix comprises examples of the coding of the qualitative data in line with the versus codes used in this research. These are set out in three separate tables as follows:

Promoting/reducing L1 maintenance/development: Table 24

Promoting/reducing English: Table 25

Promoting/reducing bilingualism: Table 26

Table 24: Versus codes promoting/reducing L1 maintenance/development

Promoting L1 maintenance/development		Cumulative frequency: 210		Reducing L1 maintenance/development		Cumulative frequency: 46	
Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data			Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data		
Child Freq 54 Polish 35 Nepali 19	From field notes: Franek’s mother says he “can do more in Polish”.			Child Freq 15 2 Polish 13 Nepali	Researcher: I thought you could speak Nepali as well, can’t you? Carolyn: I don’t know. I don’t know to speak Nepali.		
	Researcher: So do you speak Nepali at all at school? Sarad: Yeah...no. I only speak that in home.				From field notes: Aga’s mother talking about her daughter’s choice of language when addressed in Polish states that Ada often answers in English.		
	Researcher: And what did you tell me, do you remember? What languages do people speak at home? Lena: In Polish.				Franek’s mother talking about changes in his use of Polish through Year R: Well, he he's mixing much more English words into Polish response, so definitely that...So sometimes he was trying to speak in English rather than in Polish as well so um looks like... the first word that he has in his head is English rather than Polish, which is quite opposite to my other son.		
	From field notes: Jacek – remembered me. Spoke Polish with Franek throughout the morning.				Sarad’s mother: He try to give me answer in Nepali but sometimes he feels hard [= it is difficult for Sarad to say it in Nepali].		
Community Freq 13 5 Polish 8 Nepali	Abbie’s father giving examples of when Nepali might be the language of choice: There’s quite a lot of shops, restaurants. So we usually use Nepalese.			Community Freq 1 0 Polish 1 Nepali	Researcher: Are there any language classes being run in within the Nepali community where you live? Niva’s mother: Not that I'm aware of, no.		
	Franek’s mother giving examples of when Polish might be the language of choice: School is known of having quite big Polish community there as well, so my son has Polish friends and I know their parents, we have Polish shop...um, so yeah, there’s quite a lot of us here.						

	Hania's mother giving examples of when Polish might be the language of choice: ...And the Polish shop. If we go to the Polish shop in town, we use Polish there as well. Niva's mother giving examples of when Nepali might be the language of choice: So you know when we're having a family gathering around other people's houses...[L1 is] the most important thing for us...cause my husband's parents live in Nepal.		
Interpreter Freq 12 9 Polish 3 Nepali	Examples all relate to the use of L1 by the bilingual research assistants during activities with the children.	Interpreter Freq 0	No examples of a bilingual research assistant reducing the use of L1 during activities with the children.
Media Freq 14 7 Polish 7 Nepali	Hania's mother: Now [my children] they watching [TV] in Polish, but it kind of depends from the cartoon and from they mood how they want to watch it. There are some cartoons...that they prefer in Polish. Sarad's mother: Actually umm we don't have any Nepali like TV we just like watch YouTube and there we like see vlogs in Nepali. YouTube vlogs and movies. Hania's mother: We have English and Polish books but for Hania I would say she prefer the Polish ones more. I don't know if it's because our English is not perfect, so maybe it's a bit weird for her to hear the story in our English.	Media Freq 2 0 Polish 2 Nepali	Samantha's father when asked if there are books at home to support the use of L1: We haven't got any Nepalese book. From field notes: I ask if she ever has a story at home in Nepali and Samantha says "no".
Parent Freq 95 37 Polish 57 Nepali 1 general	From field notes: Hania's mother tells me the goal is for the children to be able to read and write in Polish, not just speak & understand.	Parent Freq 10 0 Polish 10 Nepali	Andrew's mother: I never teached the Andrew because he just learning English language. So I don't just...I don't want him to get confuse. So that's why I'm not teaching him.

	Researcher: So is it important to you and your wife that your children...continue to speak Nepali then? Samantha's father: Yeah, in the long term I would yeah I would suggest she learns.		Abbie's father: Abbie hardly understand any Nepalese these days so I'd rather do conversation in English.
	Abbie's father: I wouldn't expect her to be like fluent in Nepalese but like at least have basic conversation when she grows up so she can speak to grandparents.		
	Franek's mother: I'm using a Polish definitely when I'm talking to kids and the...there's no exceptions.		
School Freq 18 17 Polish 1 Nepali	Hania's mother: She goes to Polish school on Saturdays and is learning to read and write.	School Freq 11 3 Polish 7 Nepali 1 general	Researcher: So do you ever speak Nepali at school? Samantha: No.
	Mrs Subba: When we did our newsletter, last year we had it translated into Nepali so we had the same newsletter in Nepali and English.		Researcher: So do you speak Nepali at all at school? Sarad: Yeah...no. I only speak that in home.
	From field notes: Lena spoke Polish with several of the girls in her class, and also to Franek and Jacek at times, though she wasn't playing with them so this was limited. She talked about speaking Polish when playing with others at school.		Researcher: Does anybody in your school speak Polish like you do? Hania: [shakes her head = no]
Teacher Freq 4 0 Polish 4 Nepali	Mrs Subba: ...it's just with me they will just talk to me when we are sitting down for registration, 'Oh Mrs Subba, I had momo for dinner last night. Do you eat momo?' It's like 'Yeah, I do eat momo' so it is few words here and there.	Teacher Freq 5 3 Polish 1 Nepali 1 general	Mrs Miles: If they're speaking their home language as soon as they step out of the classroom, then the only time they're going to learn English is being submersed in it in the classroom.
	Researcher: So how did the training and the research you did before shape your practice when working with these children?		Researcher: If you speak to Mrs Subba in Nepali do you think she would understand? Sarad: Yeah.

	Mrs Subba: I didn't know the importance of first language before I did my own research and I realised that if your first language is strong, if you got such strong basis, foundation, then it's easy to learn other languages so...I think that has shaped my thinking into relaying the messages to the parents here, teach your children first language.		Researcher: She would. What would she do back? Would she speak Nepali back to you, do you think, or would she choose English? What would she do? Sarad: He will just choose English pinglish.
			Researcher: Does your teacher ever speak Polish to you? Aga: Um...I don't know which teachers speak Polish.

Table 25: Versus codes promoting/reducing English

Promoting English		Cumulative frequency: 245		Reducing English		Cumulative frequency: 1	
Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data			Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data		
Child Freq 80 23 Polish 57 Nepali	Aga’s mother: Aga often answers in English.			Child Freq 0			
	From field notes: [Lena] prefers eg English words for fruit over Polish eg plum rather than śliwka’, pronounced ‘schlievka’, her mother says, because it’s easier to say in English.						
	Carolyn’s father: English is her stronger language.						
	Researcher: If she speaks to you in Nepali, what do you do back? Niva English.						
	Researcher: So in school here when you’re doing your lessons and your learning and when you’re playing what languages do people speak? Sarad: English, they always speak English.						
	Abbie’s father: But she does more in English now practises her phonic sounds all in English...Watches her cartoons all in English. So she prefer English.						
Community Freq 4 0 Polish 4 Nepali	Niva’s mother: [We use English] when we're out and about and shopping and all that.			Community Freq 0			
Media Freq 14 7 Polish 7 Nepali	Andrew’s mother talking about use of English: He teach me that words because yeah, we don't use the phonic sound back home [in Nepal]. So he teach me. I learn from the YouTube as well because I have to teach him.			Media Freq 0			
	Samantha’s father: Lots of English reading books we have.						

	Hania's mother: I tried to put [the TV] in English just because before she went to nursery she didn't have a lot of experience with English.		
Parent Freq 61 10 Polish 51 Nepali	Andrew's mother: Yeah, most of the time because uh Andrew doesn't understand...sometimes he doesn't understand. Then I have to tell him in English. So I will tell him that first I tell him that this one and this one like this, like this in Nepalese if he doesn't understand, I have to explain him in English.	Parent Freq 2 0 Polish 1 Nepali 1 general	Niva's mother: ...[Niva]'s starting to speak more English, so we're trying our best to...encourage her to speak Nepali in home. You know, there are times when she's just like, speaking English, English, English. And then we are like, 'No, Nepali, please'. And then she's like, 'Ohh, OK.'
	Abbie's father: I was in a good school so yeah all in English apart from Nepalese obviously. But I've done everything like math, science, everything in English just like here.		Mrs Miles talking about how the parents of bilingual children are involved in supporting their children's school work: It's taken a long time for the Turkish families to have that commitment to homework, to support their learning in English. It's taken all year for them to do that and now [the children] are flourishing but if they had done that in September, we'd be further ahead.
	Hania's mother: If we are at school or around her friends and there is a school pick up, I'm...trying to use English.		
	Researcher: When you talk to Samantha, what language do you normally start with? Samantha's father: I start with English first.		
School Freq 60 25 Polish 35 Nepali	Researcher: So when you're doing your learning at school what language do you speak then? Jacek English...in English.	School Freq 0	
	From field notes: [Sarad] went to pre-school. 15 hours a week. It was English medium.		
	Mrs Miles: I think because the shared language is English, if they wanted to play with other children who		

	have a different language then they will speak English.		
	Researcher: And when you're doing your learning, what language do people speak then? Samantha: Phonics? Um...English. Researcher: Always English? Samantha: Uh huh [yes].		
Teacher Freq 26 14 Polish 12 Nepali	Researcher: What about your teacher? Lena: Speaks only in English. Researcher: What about other grown ups who come in your class to help? Lena: Um...English.	Teacher Freq 0	
	Researcher: What would Mrs Subba do? Sarad He will just choose English pinglish.		
	Researcher: And what about your teacher? Does she understand Polish, do you think? Franek: You have to speak English to your teacher.		

Table 26: Versus codes promoting/reducing bilingualism

Promoting bilingualism		Cumulative frequency: 38	Reducing bilingualism		Cumulative frequency: 1
Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data		Child Code	Examples drawn from the qualitative data	
Child Freq 6 6 Polish 0 Nepali	Researcher: I think...Kacper, he can speak both Polish and English can't he, and Franek does... Jacek: And me. Researcher: And you as well, yes. Jacek: Um...and...and Valery.		Child Freq 0		
	Researcher: OK. where did [Esme] learn Polish, do you know? Hania: I taught her. Researcher: You taught her a bit of Polish did you? OK. So what words did you teach Esme? Hania: Dzień dobry.				
Parent Freq 29 17 Polish 12 Nepali	Abbie's father: I wouldn't expect her to be like fluent in Nepalese but like at least have basic conversation when she grows up so she can speak to grandparents.		Parent Freq 1 0 Polish 2 Nepali	Andrew's mother: Oh yeah, I have a Nepalese story books...book two of them, but I never taught the Andrew because he just learning English language. So I don't...I don't want him to get confuse.	
	Niva's mother: Now...she's starting to speak more English so we're trying our best to, you know, encourage her to speak Nepali in home. You know, there are times when she's just like speaking English, English, English. And then we are like, 'No, Nepali, please'. And then she's like, 'Ohh, OK.'				
	Sarad's mother: I am kind of proud that my son, he can speak both of...both language.				
	Aga's mother: I want her to be bilingual - you never know how life can go.				

	Franek's mother: So we have, we have Polish TV purely because we thought that that would be beneficial for... kids, if they have something um that they can watch in Polish because obviously if not that, then they would end up having only like English around and I was...told by the teacher that they know for sure that the kids will learn English easily, so they really asked me to pay more attention to Polish language than to English, so they will not lose the ability to speak Polish which happens and I...witnessed well, I am witnessing a Polish parents speaking to their kids in English or kids speaking to parents in English and parents are responding in Polish. I don't want to do that. I would rather them know two languages. Hania's mother: Umm, so they've done the all Polish alphabet and they trying to write now in Polish and next year hope they're gonna start reading in Polish. So would like her to kind of have these two languages at kind of the same...that maybe not the same level, but a bit similar maybe.		
Teacher Freq 3 0 Polish 3 Nepali	Mrs Subba: I sort of relay [the importance of first language] to every parent I meet – speak Nepali at home because it...it's a skill and if you don't speak you lose a skill...the potential of being bilingual, it will be gone.	Teacher Freq 0	

Appendix xxi: Sarad's L1 Baby Goats story, code-switching highlighted

- Sarad: Tyo sano.
Translation: That small one [pointing at the baby goat].
- Sarad: Sano **goat** paanima gayo.
Translation: Small goat went into the water.
- Sarad: Ani thulo **goat** lai sano **sheep** lai paani ma yah **grass** ma lerako ani **fox** lai bhoklagyo.
Translation: Then big goat brought the small sheep into the water and to the grass then the fox feels hungry.
- Sarad: Ani sano **goat** le dekyo.
Translation: Then the small goat saw.
- Sarad: Ani khana lako.
Translation: And tries to eat.
- Sarad: Ani aru le dekhena.
Translation: Then nobody sees.
- Sarad: Ani koo...yah dekheko yah mathi.
Translation: Then koo [Saharsh may have been about to say “dog” in Nepali, “kukur”, stopping because he knows it is a fox, not a dog, in the picture]...sees this up here [points to baby goat].
- Sarad : Khana ra paani...ani **fox** le **catch** garna lako.
Translation : Food and water...then fox tries to catch.
- Sarad : Ani **goat** le dekhere...
Translation : Then the goat saw...
- Sarad : Ani chora le tokeko.
Translation : Then the bird bites.
- Sarad : Ani arko **goat** le...
Translation : Then another goat...
- Sarad : Ani teen jana le...aba chora le...
Translation : Then three of them...now the bird...
- Sarad : Ani **fox** le tokna lako feri.
Translation : Then try to bite the fox.
- Sarad : Ani sabai **happy** vayo.
Translation : Then all become happy.

(Sarad's Baby Goats L1 MAIN story, May 2022)

Appendix xxii: Abbie's L1 Baby Goats story, codeswitching and other linguistic features highlighted

- Abbie: Yo **goat** ma **water** goreya.
Translation: The water goes into the goat. – Abbie has this the wrong way round
- Abbie: Yo fasla ho.
Translation: It has got stocked – does not make sense in Nepali.
- Abbie: Yo **goat**.
Translation: This goat.
- Abbie: Yo **mummy**, yo bachcha.
Translation: This is mummy, this is baby.
- Abbie: **Dog** ma **eat gas** [grass?]
Translation: On the dog eats grass - does not make sense in Nepali.
- Abbie: Yo **goat scare**.
Translation: This goat is scared.
- Abbie: Yo **goat** fasma bakma.
Translation: This goat fasma bakma – 'fasma' and 'bakma' do not have any meaning in Nepali
- Abbie: Yo ow **see** ow see.
Translation: This ow **see** ow see.
- Abbie: Yo **bite, bite**.
Translation: This bite, bite.
- Abbie: **Tail bite** ma ho.
Translation: Tail has got bitten.
- Abbie: **Tail bite** ma.
Translation: Tail has got bitten.

(Abbie's Baby Goats L1 MAIN story, May 2022)

Appendix xxiii: Abbie's English Baby Goats story, code-switching highlighted

Abbie: Mummy and baby's in the water...and help...and eating the food.

Abbie: Help is baby...and eat cow.

Abbie: Try to go in a fast.

Abbie: And inna water.

Abbie: And help me.

Abbie: And eat he.

Abbie: Going to catch the cow and eating for his tummy.

Abbie: And trying to help that... [points at bird] **chora**.

Abbie: And help the cow.

Abbie: And eating her. [points at fox]

(Abbie's Baby Goats English MAIN story, December 2021)

Appendix xiv: Picture sequence for the MAIN Baby Goats story

Figure 42: Picture sequence for MAIN Baby Goats story

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