

*“This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in:*

Lindquist, H. & Garmann, N. G. (2019). Toddlers and their translingual practicing homes. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 15. on, 18 April 2019 available online:

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2019.1604712>.”

# TODDLERS AND THEIR TRANSLINGUAL PRACTICING HOMES

**Hein Lindquist**

Faculty of Humanities, Sports and Educational Science  
University of Southeastern Norway, Norway

[hein.lindquist@usn.no](mailto:hein.lindquist@usn.no)

Grønland 58  
3045 Drammen  
Norway  
+47 48118966

**Nina Gram Garmann**

Faculty of Education and International Studies  
Oslo Metropolitan University, Norway<sup>1</sup>

## **Abstract**

The number of multilingual families in Norway has increased during the last decades, but there are no official statistics concerning the linguistic situation in Norway today. Immigrants account for 15 % of the population. In addition, there are mixed-language families where one of the parents does not have Norwegian as his/her mother tongue. Most toddlers in Norway attend ECEC programs from the age of one, which influences the language situation in their families.

In communities' communication and linguistic practice, participants use a broad linguistic repertoire; in translanguing practice, code-shifts and linguistic hybridity are natural elements in communication. Previous research has discussed this mainly with reference to youth communities; there is little information available about the linguistic environment of the youngest children in domestic settings.

In this article, we present three toddlers from multilingual families in their domestic linguistic environments. Analysis of data obtained from parentally administered video recordings of everyday family situations provides information about language use in those environments. We discuss varieties of translanguing practice and how they are a natural part of everyday interactions between toddlers, parents, and siblings. Parental attitudes to language practice influence how the children use language, and we note three different patterns in the families' translanguing practice.

---

<sup>1</sup> Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences became a university 12<sup>th</sup> January 2018 and changed name to Oslo Metropolitan University.

**Keywords:**

Bilingual, Code shift, Early Childhood, Language Mixing, Multilingual, Translingual, Toddlers

Accepted - post print

## Introduction

In Norway, all children have the right to full time ECEC (Early Childhood Education and Care) programs from the beginning of the school year in which they have their first birthday. A substantial proportion of these children are multilingual. Approximately 15% of the population under two years of age are part of immigrant families (Dzamarija, 2016), and 46 000 of all children attending ECEC (1–5 years) are from language minority families (Statistics Norway, 2017). These statistics do not include families where only one of the parents has a minority background, or Scandinavian- and English-speaking families. Altogether, this means that ECEC teachers meet many toddlers from multilingual families, and according to Norwegian directives (Ministry of Education, 2017) their job is to monitor those children's language development and provide individual language support. To succeed in these tasks, the teachers need to know which languages the children acquire, what kinds of linguistic input the children receive, and how the languages are used in the children's families. In this paper, we investigate the diversity of language use in Norwegian multilingual families in order to explore the various translingual practices employed in those multilingual families whose children attend ECEC.

From earlier research, we know that multilingual families use their languages in different ways, and that language use in those families has traditionally been analysed in terms of code-switching, referring to when children or adults use more than one language within one utterance, between utterances, or when repeating utterances (Romaine, 1995, pp. 122–5). In those analyses, the languages involved in communication events have been thought of as separate systems, or discrete codes. Recently, however, there has been a drift towards thinking of languages as a continuum, and that speakers use linguistic resources from all the languages they know (more or less of) in translingual practices (García & Li, 2014). Li (2018, p. 26) formulates this idea like this: "In everyday social interaction, language users move dynamically between the so-called languages, language varieties, styles, registers [...] to fulfil a variety of strategic and communicative functions". Translingual practices take place in so called "translingual spaces" (Li, 2018 pp. 23–26), where "different languages are brought together", and where the meaning-making in the communication between the speakers is in focus regardless of the modalities of communication or particular languages (in the traditional sense of e.g. English or Pashto) that are used.

Previous research on translingual practices has consisted of analyses of language use among adolescents in urban multilingual settings (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014; Quist & Svendsen, 2010), and on language use in classrooms (García & Kley, 2016; García & Li, 2014). In those settings, and within families (another relevant setting), groups of people develop a "community of practice" (Wenger, 1998, pp. 6-7). Within these communities, the participants develop local language practices (Pennycook, 2010), which are dynamic and which change over time (García, 2009; García & Li, 2014).

Within different families, we find a wide range of language practices, and those language practices influence the child's language acquisition. Yamamoto (2001) found that even between relatively similar multilingual families in Japan, language use differed. Some families had actively chosen which language(s) to use, as well as how and when to use them, while other families had not given much thought to language use. The most used family strategies are the "one-person-one-language" (OPOL) strategy and "the language mixing" strategy (Romaine, 1995, pp. 183–5). In the OPOL strategy, each parent uses his/her respective mother tongue with the child, and in the language mixing strategy, one or more of the parents mixes several languages when communicating with the child

(Romaine, 1995, p. 185). Research on language use in families applying the OPOL strategy shows that children are sensitive to which language to use with whom and when, from at least two years of age (Dolitsky, 2000; Lanza, 1997, 2004). Lanza and Svendsen (2007) found that Filipino-Norwegian families mix languages, using Norwegian, English, and Tagalog within one and the same conversation. The parents in this latter study had a pragmatic view of their children's language use, emphasizing the importance of common understanding.

Language use is affected by language ideologies at the individual and familial level, as well as at the cultural and political level (Canagarajah, 2013, pp. 39–44; Spolsky, 2009). Different language ideologies operate on a cultural level in the interaction between Eastern and Western communities, with more code switching and translingual practices both in families and on the street in Eastern than in Western communities (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 34). García (2009, p. 12) labels the use of languages as separate systems as “monoglossic ideologies”, and mixed practices as “heteroglossic ideologies”.

Parents' proficiency in, and accessibility to, the majority-language might also influence language use. In a study of Pakistani-Norwegian families, Karlsen and Lykkenborg (2012) found that the use of Norwegian was more prominent in families where the mother went out to work than in families where the mother worked at home, even though there was ECEC attendance in both types of situation. This seems to have been because the mothers who went out to work, are likely to have had greater exposure to the ambient majority language (Norwegian) than those who did not. Also, social networks and personal beliefs have an impact on language use (Karlsen & Lykkenborg, 2012; Lanza & Svendsen, 2007), and working outside the home may have an influence on both social networks and personal beliefs.

However, children can also have their own agencies, which may prove to be more important than the parents' language strategies. For example, they might code-shift to obtain attention or emphasize intentions in one conversation event (Rontu, 2007). On a more general level, they might prefer to use one language rather than the other (Schwartz, 2008), or they might prefer to mix languages more than is the case among adults in the community (Quist & Svendsen, 2010). Furthermore, as the results in Karlsen and Lykkenborg (2012) suggest, ECEC attendance might influence the children's language use. Both the parents' practices and the children's agencies will influence the family language policy (Fogle & King, 2013).

For the families in the study by Karlsen and Lykkenborg (2012), the use of language was dynamic and changed over time. Similarly, Wong Fillmore (1991) found that in families where the minority language was used by the parents only, and the children were attending ECEC programs in the majority language, the result could be a language shift towards the majority language within the family. Even though the parents may have a stable language use as shown in De Houwer & Bornstein (2016) where they found that mothers in bilingual societies spoke mostly one and the same language to their children at 5, 20, and 52 months, there is reason to believe that children's language use may change. Siblings will often introduce the majority language as a family language when they start school, resulting in variable input in favour of the majority language between the first child of the family and later children (Bridges & Hoff, 2014). ECEC attendance in majority language institutions may have the same effects as later school attendance, accelerating the children's drift towards speaking the majority language.

Norway is characterized by having Norwegian-speaking ECEC institutions and a political pressure on teaching minority language speaking children Norwegian before starting school. The ECEC institutions therefore often focus on the children's competence in

Norwegian. We know very little about the language strategies that are in use in homes where other languages than Norwegian are in use to a large degree. On this background, we ask the following research question:

Which language strategies do we find in multilingual families with toddlers attending Norwegian speaking ECEC institutions?

To answer this question, we have interviewed parents about their language strategies and collected data from conversations between toddlers attending ECEC, and their parents and siblings, to explore the diversity of language practices in multilingual families in Norway.

## Method

In this multiple-case study, we use micro-ethnographic analyses. Three multilingual families with toddlers have participated. The children all live with their families in Norway, and are in their first year in a Norwegian-speaking ECEC program. The parents were interviewed in Norwegian three times: in the autumn, in the winter, and in the late spring, either individually or as couples. Between each interview, the parents video recorded their children in interaction with their family members during play sessions, meal times, and other daily activities. In the first interview, the parents were given instructions as to how to make the domestic video recordings, and in the two following interviews, they discussed edited sequences (5–8 minutes each) of their recordings in a recall interview (Dempsey, 2010), with the first author. In particular, we discussed which languages were in use in the dialogues, including the babbling (see video recording transcriptions). Yasir (one of the children) was recorded only in the autumn. The parents reported that Yasir did not want to be filmed at home any more. Even so, we were allowed to use the recordings that already existed.

	Number of recordings	Total length of recordings in minutes
Catrina	19	128
Yasir	6	17
Ranjana	15	65

Table 1: Overview of the number and length of video recordings.

All interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed by the first author according to the key in Appendix 1. The series of three interviews created a space for a hermeneutic process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015): The successive interviews validated previous interviews and provided opportunities for a deeper understanding of the parents' attitudes and language practices. By using three interviews, we could also identify and discuss challenges and changes in their domestic language practice. In the content analyses (Fauskanger & Mosvold, 2014) of the interview, we characterized the utterances in terms of mono- and heteroglossic language ideologies according to García (2009, p. 12).

The first author has transcribed the Norwegian utterances and nonsense babbling in Norwegian in the videos. We collaborated with translators in the transcriptions in Panjabi, Portuguese and Pashto. The second author has checked the transcriptions against the video recordings. In our transcriptions of the videos we followed Romaine

(1995, pp. 120–9) in defining an utterance as the smallest unit of speech before or after a pause. Appendix 1 provides the transcription key. The parents' video recordings were analysed in terms of: 1) which language is spoken by whom to whom, and 2) language switches between and within utterances.

## Analyses

In this section, we first analyse the parent's language strategies based on the interviews. Then we analyse the video recordings, including the parents' comments on the recordings.

### Interviews

All the parents we interviewed plan to stay in Norway. They are satisfied with the ECEC programs and find ECEC attendance to be beneficial for their child. The parents report that their toddlers make friends, learn to play, and acquire Norwegian there.

Catrina (1;05, girl) is the only child of a mixed Norwegian and non-Norwegian couple. The mother is Brazilian, the father is Norwegian. Both parents speak both Norwegian and Portuguese fluently, but the parents mostly use Norwegian when they are together. They want Catrina to be fluent in Portuguese as well as Norwegian. The parents have been practicing talking Norwegian together so that Catrina's mother can improve her Norwegian, but, with Catrina, they try to be consistent in their use of the OPOL strategy: the mother speaks Portuguese and the father Norwegian. "At home, I try to speak Norwegian, and the mother Portuguese. We try to [keep the languages] separate" (Father, interview 1, line 120). The mother says that she must be aware of her linguistic input to Catrina, using Portuguese in as many situations as possible. She tries to talk to her and read books to her in Portuguese. "I speak to him [the father] in Norwegian, but with her in Portuguese. That is our common language. That is less challenging, but I must be careful – must talk Portuguese with her [Catrina]" (Mother, interview 1, line 122). These statements reflect that the parents' ideology is close to what García (2009) describes as monoglossic. Even so, they also disclose that it is difficult for the minority-speaking parent to use only one language at a time in a multilingual family.

When asked about the use of Portuguese outside the home, the mother says that she has some contact with her Brazilian family and friends on Skype. The family spends some time with one Portuguese-speaking family member living in Norway, but not on a daily basis. The Portuguese-speaking grandparents live in Brazil; the Norwegian-speaking grandparents live close to Catrina's home, and Catrina sees them frequently. Since Catrina started ECEC she has become less exposed to Portuguese.

Yasir (2;08, boy) is the youngest of four siblings. Both his parents are refugees from the Pashto-speaking population in Afghanistan. The mother is participating in the last sessions of an introduction program to Norway and the father finished it last semester. Their Norwegian is yet not fluent, but good enough to be the language used in interviews and other communication events. The parents report that they both use Pashto when they speak to the children, but the four siblings all use Norwegian in communication with their parents and with each other. "They [the children] speak Norwegian, and when I talk in my language [Pashto] they understand completely. ... They understand, but they don't want to [speak Pashto]" (Mother, interview 1, line 233). The two oldest siblings are able to speak some Pashto.

The parents say that they cannot force their children to speak Pashto, but they hope that Yasir will learn to speak it when he is older. As the parents report that both the parents

and the siblings use the languages as separate systems, the family display a monoglossic ideology.

Since the father is not working at the moment, he is responsible for the daily contact with the ECEC, while the mother is taking Norwegian classes. The mother has contact with her family in Afghanistan by regular telephone calls, but the family has little or no contact with Afghans in Norway. They emphasize that it is important to learn Norwegian in order to make their way in Norwegian society. Ranjana (1;10, girl) is the only child of an immigrant couple from Punjab. The mother stays at home while the father is working a lot outside the house. Both parents speak Norwegian fluently, although with an accent. The mother reports that they use Panjabi when they talk together at home, but also that they occasionally mix Panjabi and Norwegian. "Here [in Norway] we speak Norwegian and Panjabi; a kind of mix at home. ... Sometimes I answer Ranjana in Panjabi, other times in Norwegian" (Mother, interview 1, lines 262, 526). She finds language-mixing natural, but in their region of origin she reports that it is not common to mix Panjabi with English. They plan to send Ranjana to Panjabi lessons from the age of six, but they think it is essential that they all speak Norwegian too, since they live in Norway. As the mother reports, both parents use a mixed language strategy displaying a heteroglossic language ideology.

When asked about the language use outside of family, the mother reports that the family has regular contact with their family in India by Skype, and they have contact with other adults and children of Indian origin in the neighbourhood. Older children in the Panjabi community also use Norwegian when talking with Ranjana.

### **Video recordings**

We will now investigate the language practices in each of the families by analysing some dialogues observed in the video recordings from each of the three homes. The dialogues are analysed in terms of which languages are in use by whom and the language practices (1) the OPOL strategy, (2) more mixing strategies where each of the family members use resources from more than one standard language within the same utterances.

### **Catrina (1;10): Pizza**

In this session, Katrina's family is having pizza for dinner. Katrina is sitting on her chair between her mother and father. The pizza is hot and the father is concerned that Katrina will burn herself.

- 4     Catrina: Se-e, Rina!  
(Norwegian: "Look, Rina!")
- 5     Father: Du må ikke gråte for det?  
(NOR: "You shouldn't cry for that?")
- 6     Mother: Suas bem.  
(Portuguese: "Sit nicely.")
- 7     Catrina: See Rina!  
(NOR: "Look, Rina!")
- 8     Father: Nå må du sitte pent.  
(NOR: "You have to sit nice")
- 9     Catrina: Å seje (.) seje Rina.  
(NOR: "Oh see (.) see Rina" or POR. in NOR frame: "That see (.) see Rina.")
- 10    Father: Ja.  
(NOR: "Yes.")
- 11    Catrina: Se, Rina.



- (NOR: "Look, Rina.")
- 12 Father: Catrina s ler hele tida.  
(NOR: "Catrina spills all the time." Speaks as a rhyme.)
- 13 Catrina: Se, Rina?  
(NOR: "Look, Rina?")
- 14 Mother:   so agua, Catrina.  
(POR: "It's just water, Catrina.")
- 15 Catrina: Agua?  
(POR: "Water?")
- 16 Mother: Sim    gua.  
(POR: "Yes, it is water.")
- 17 Mother: Voce quer pizza?  
(POR: "Do you want pizza?")
- 18 Father: Det er kjempevarmt fortsatt.  
(NOR: "It is still very hot")
- 19 Catrina: Mmm
- 20 Catrina: A pizza.  
(POR: "That pizza.")
- 21 Catrina: A pizza, Rina?  
(POR: "That pizza, Rina?")

By this time, Catrina has begun to talk in short sentences. In the interview, the parents report that she understands both Norwegian and Portuguese well, and that her Norwegian is more developed than her Portuguese. In Portuguese she uses mainly single words.

The parents remain consistent in their OPOL strategy, and Catrina is sensitive to the language in which she is addressed. In the first part of the conversation (lines 4–13), Catrina takes the initiative by saying her name. Her father is the first to reply – in Norwegian – and Catrina continues throughout in Norwegian whenever her father is her main conversation partner. In lines 4–13, Catrina has seven utterances, her father five, and her mother only one – in Portuguese (6). When the mother brings up a new topic in Portuguese (14), Catrina repeats parts of the mother's utterance in Portuguese (15). While the parents are using Norwegian and Portuguese (lines 17, 18), Catrina uses the language-neutral "mm" once (19). When the conversation topic becomes "pizza" (which is the Italian word used for the dish, and is used in both Norwegian and Portuguese), Catrina either speaks Portuguese or use words from both Portuguese and Norwegian within the same utterance, saying "A pizza" (POR: "That," NO/POR: "pizza"; 20, 21).

### **Yasir (2;8): Spiderman**

The boy in our second family, Yasir, is sitting on a bed playing with two Spiderman dolls. At the same time, he is finishing his sandwich and talking to his mother who is operating the video camera.

- 4 Yasir: Mamma, mamma? Er det  sj. (..)  
(Norwegian: "Mummy, mummy? It's ugh (..)". Yasir gives the last piece of the sandwich to his mother.)
- 5 Yasir: Du spise den!  
(NOR: Unidiomatic. "You eat that", addressing his mother)
- 6 Mother: (Receives the sandwich.)
- 7 Yasir: Jeg vil ikke.  
(NOR: "I will not.")

- 8 Yasir: Han sitte der.  
(NOR: "He sit [sic] there." Yasir is talking while he is playing with the Spiderman doll.)
- 9 Yasir: Bol schola boli. Schtoli.  
(In character, pretending to speak English.)
- 10 Yasir: Fi mai. Mai foi, (.)  
(Play-English)
- [...] (He continues for approximately one minute.)
- 30 Mother: *Yasir, danna beh shi dageh*  
(Pashto: "What is this, Yasir?")
- 31 Yasir: Ehm
- 32 Mother: Hmm?
- 33 Yasir: Jeg har - ehm - kaffe.  
(NOR: "I have - ehm - coffee.")
- 34 Yasir: Tha, algh [...] eh jeg har fått den.  
(Babbling: "Tha, algh," NOR: "I have got this.")
- [...] (Continuing to play.)
- 50 Mother: *Khabre kattur beh*  
(PASH: "Just speak.")
- 51 Yasir: Mevesh.  
(Play-English.)

The mother is speaking Pashto (lines 30, 50), and Yasir mostly Norwegian (4–8, 33–34), as reported in the interview. Yasir speaks Norwegian when he talks to his mother (4, 5, 7) and when he directs the play (8), but he uses "English" when he gives a voice to the doll (9–10). According to his parents, Yasir is imitating English when he is pretending to be a super hero, using lines from his favorite film, Superman. They have also observed him using real English words in this situation. Altogether, this shows that when he is in the role as himself, he uses Norwegian, but when he takes other roles in play, he likes to use English. The recording suggest that the family uses the OPOL strategy, but that Yasir prefers to use Norwegian with his parents. He is sensitive to their knowledge of Norwegian. At the same time, Yasir is sensitive to the multilingual nature of the world, and employ resources from different languages in order to express the various functions of his utterances.

### Yasir (2;8): Homework

In this recording, Yasir is sitting on the bed with his sisters and an alphabet book in Pashto. He points to the letters and pronounces the name of each letter. The sisters respond and give him guidance. In the background, we can hear a story told in Norwegian from a media-player.

- 10 Sister 1: Ikke der du skal begynne?  
(NOR: "You shall not start there?" Addressing Yasir, and then she turns to the next page in the ABC-book.)
- 11 Sister 1: Du skal- du skal begynne der! (.) *Bassem alleh:al-husayn*  
(NOR: "You shall- you shall start there! (.) (Arabic: "In the name of") Sister 1 puts her finger to the top right of the right page, and moves her finger along the line to the left.)
- 12 Sister 2: *Bassem alleh:al-husayn*.  
(AR: "In the name of Allah, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent." Sister 1 is saying something in the background, simultaneously.)

- 13 Sister 1: La hele være. (.) Si det! (.) *Al-asam!*  
(NOR: "Let it be (.) [Unidiomatic.] Say it.(.) AR: In the name of." Puts her finger on the top center of the right page and moves her finger to the left.)
- 14 Sister 1: *Al-asam.*  
(AR: "In the name of." The sister moves her finger while she is talking.)
- 15 Yasir: *Al-asam.*  
(AR: "In the name of." Yasir puts his finger at the letter and is smiling.)
- 16 Sister 1: Allah•  
(AR: "Allah." The sister moves her finger to the next letter.)
- 17 Yasir: Allah  
(AR: "Allah.")
- 18 Sister 1: Rahmani.  
(AR: "The most merciful.")
- 19 Yasir: Rahmani.  
(AR: "The most merciful.")
- 20 Sister 1: Rahim  
(AR: "The most beneficent.")
- 21 Yasir 1: Rahim  
(AR: "The most beneficent.")
- 22 Brother 1: Rahim  
(AR: "The most beneficent.")
- 23 Sister 1: Da Aleh  
(Pashto: "This is Alif [A].")
- 24 Yasir: Da Aleh  
(PASH: "This is Alif [A].")
- 25 Sister 1: Be  
(PASH: "Be. [B]")
- 26 Yasir: Be.  
(PASH: "Be. [B]")

Yasir and his two sisters use Norwegian (line 11) except when they read, then they use Pashto (13–16). When they begin to read, they start by praising Allah. Each line is first read aloud by the sister (12, 14, 16, 18, 20) and then Yasir repeats it (15, 17, 19, 21). The two other siblings join the reading sequence twice (13, 22). The parents report that they adopt this method when reading Pashto. This reading session is very similar to a learning activity in school. Even though many languages are in use in this excerpt, all the participants regard the languages as separate systems and have a monoglossic ideology. Each language has its own purpose.

The dialogue illustrates the drift towards the majority language in a family with many siblings, but also particular reading practices where parts of the text is supposed to be read in Arabic and other parts in Pashto.

### **Ranjana (1;10) Teddy bear**

We have selected two play session recordings from the family of Ranjana. In the first example, the mother is sitting on the floor with a teddy bear.

- 1 Ranjana: Titt tei.  
(NOR: "Peek-a-boo," addressing the mother, while she is running around in the flat.)
- 2 Mother: Ranjana (..) har bamse til deg jeg.

- (NOR: "Ranjana (..) I have teddy for you." The mother is sitting on the floor, Ranjana is running around.)
- 3 Mother: A bamse kidar i a?  
(NOR. word in a PAN. frame. "Ranjana. Who's teddy is that?")
- 4 Mother: Kida bamse a changa boda ja? (..)  
(NOR. word in a PAN. frame. "Whose teddy is this, that old?")
- 5 (Ranjana holds teddy, and starts to dress teddy with a doll jacket.)
- 6 Mother: Det var vrang vei. (..)  
(NOR: Unidiomatic. "This was inside out.")
- 7 (Ranjana takes teddy and starts walking away from her mother.)
- 8 Mother: Rana, han kan sove her.  
(NOR: "Rana, he can sleep here.")
- 9 Mother: Sofe te inu rakh de!  
(PAN: "Put it on the sofa!")

In this sequence, the mother uses Norwegian and Panjabi both between and within utterances, as reported in the interview, and Ranjana says very little. When Ranjana does speak, she speaks Norwegian, inviting her mother to play by saying "Titt, tei" (line 1, "peek-a-boo"). The utterance is a common play-script used with young toddlers, and Ranjana might have learned this phrase at ECEC. In the interview, the mother reports that Ranjana has learned much at ECEC, and that she has been very active in playing with the other children as well as the adults there.

The languages are mixed throughout the excerpt, and there are code switches both between and within the utterances. This shows that the participants heteroglossic ideology.

### **Ranjana (1;10): ABC-jigsaw**

Ranjana is sitting on the sofa with her ABC jigsaw illustrating the English alphabet. The mother is close to her with the video camera. The episode starts when the mother encourages Ranjana to start playing with the jigsaw puzzle.

- 1 Mother: Kan legge på deg.  
(NOR [unidiomatic]: "Can put on you.")
- 2 Mother: Chelo, ABC på fikse kar do.  
(NOR word in PAN frame: "ABC [with ENG phonology], on fix it, come on!")  
(NOR: på=on/at, fikse may be either ENG or NOR.)
- 3 Ranjana: Mama?  
(ENG?: "Mama?" ENG phonology.)
- 4 Mother: ABC fikse kar do.  
(PAN: "ABC. fix it." ABC with a Norwegian phonology. "Fikse" (ENG/NOR).
- 5 Ranjana: ABC sin.  
(PAN/NOR/ENG? "ABCs.")
- 6 Mother: Ja, fikse ABC.  
(NOR: "Yes, fix ABC." ABC with a Norwegian phonology. "Fikse" (ENG/NOR).
- 7 Ranjana: "Au!" (..)  
(NOR: "Ouch!") [Ranjana is stretching her arms in the direction of the camera.]
- 8 Ranjana: Se her!  
(NOR. "Look here!")

- 9      Ranjana: Asey!  
 (ENG/NO: Babbling, might mean “OK!” [“Okey!”])
- 10     Mother: Se!  
 (NOR: “Look!”)
- 11     Mother: Vente!  
 (NOR:” “Wait!”)

Ranjana and her mother use mainly Norwegian words here (Mother: lines 1, 6, 10, 11; Ranjana: lines 3, 5, 8, and perhaps 9), although the mother also uses some English and Panjabi words in lines 2 and 4. This might suggest that the mother and Ranjana think of Norwegian as their play language (compare the Teddy bear dialogue).

Both the mother and Ranjana initiate the switches between languages. The first switch (line 2) seems to be a repair, which may be an effort to ensure that Ranjana understands the message. When Ranjana speaks in Norwegian (5), the mother follows up her use of Norwegian (6).

The word “ABC” is pronounced sometimes in Norwegian and sometimes in English by both the mother (lines 2, 6) and Ranjana (5). Although Ranjana speaks mostly Norwegian (5, 8), she also uses words that can occur in both Norwegian and English (“ABC” and perhaps “OK”). This shows that the code-switches are not triggered by certain words, and therefore that Ranjana is acquiring a language strategy where she freely may mix resources from different standard languages.

The dialogues between Ranjana and her mother illustrates a language strategy of nearly free language mixing, but also that they both drift towards speaking Norwegian.

## **Discussion and conclusions**

In this study, we have presented the language attitudes, practices and ideologies of three multilingual families with young children who attend ECEC programs. The three cases in our dataset illustrate the families’ use of their translangual space (Li, 2018) and some of the variety of translangual practices in multilingual families in Norway, showing how the children react to input in their home languages including Norwegian in different ways and to differing degrees.

Each of the three children has a family environment which supports the concept of “bilingualism as first language,” i.e., they are at home in at least two languages from birth (De Houwer, 2009). Catrina represents the typical situation, where the two parents represent one language each, using the OPOL strategy in the traditional way (Romaine, 1995), displaying a typical monoglossic ideology (García, 2009). In Yasir’s case, his parents represent one language and his siblings another. This situation is also the result of an OPOL strategy, or at least a monoglossic ideology, where the separate languages are represented by different generations rather than by different parents. Ranjana’s family uses a mixed language strategy (Romaine, 1995), in which the parents and the child use all the languages they know within the same conversation, and frequently within the same utterance. The type of language use in the families corresponds with the interview statements: the parents of Catrina and Yasir speak about each of their languages as separate systems, whereas the mother of Ranjana seems to think of the languages as one integrated system.

The parents aim to give their children multilingual competence, but this aim raises issues related to the children’s language acquisition in two of the families. Catrina and Yasir’s parents are concerned about the acquisition of the minority language. In Catrina’s case, the parents’ solution is to be aware the mother’s use of Portuguese. Yasir’s parents, on the other hand, hope that their son might be motivated to learn Pashto when he is older. Ranjana’s parents have no concerns about the acquisition of the minority language, relying on the Panjabi-school alongside the Norwegian-speaking ECEC.

If we focus on the family as a community of practice (Wenger, 1998), our three families display certain common characteristics. Even if not all the members of a given family are able to speak all the

languages that are spoken within that family, all the members understand all the languages. Moreover, all the family members accept each other's language choices. All are allowed to use all their linguistic knowledge in the course of conversation, and code switching both between and within utterances is accepted. The mutual acceptance of language choices may reflect common linguistic understanding within the family as well as a pragmatic attitude towards language use (cf. Lanza & Svendsen (2007)). There is acceptance for use of more than one language in each of the families' translingual space (Li, 2018), even though the practice within each of the three families is unique for each family.

The family language strategies, although formulated by the parents, are not imposed rigidly by them. The parents let their toddlers make their own choices about language use (Schwartz, 2008) and in the translingual space (Li, 2018) the toddlers agency (Fogle & King, 2013) might influence which language is spoken. In the dialogues presented above, both Catrina and Yasir choose to use mostly Norwegian. In Yasir's case, the older siblings' use of language affects the toddler's choice of language, a point also noted by Bridges & Hoff (2014). In the interviews with Catrina's parents, they report that ECEC attendance influenced language use in the family, as described in Karlsen & Lykkenborg (2012). These observations highlight how a family is only one of many communities of practice (Wenger, 1998, pp. 6–7), and that language use in one community must be understood in light of language use in the others (cf. Lanza & Svendsen (2007)).

Lanza and Svendsen (2007) found that a family's social networks have an impact on the language practices within the family. This seems also to be the case in our three families. At one extreme, Yasir has no contact with Pashto-speaking friends or relatives in Norway, the parents keep contact with relatives through Skype, but he never travels to Afghanistan. At the other extreme, Ranjana's family meets with Panjabi-speaking relatives and friends in Norway, experiencing language mixing at home as well as elsewhere. Catrina's case lies somewhere between those two. She has some close relatives who speak Portuguese in Norway, and she has frequent contact with her Portuguese-speaking grandparents.

It seems to be more important for Catrina's parents that she is able to speak Portuguese than for Yasir's parents that he speaks Pashto, which also reflected their social networks. The need for Yasir to be proficient in Pashto is limited to conversations with his parents, but even here, proficiency in Norwegian may suffice since his parents understand Norwegian. For Ranjana, however, her greater proficiency in the minority language compared with Yasir and Catrina may to some extent result from her greater exposure to it outside the home than was the case with Yasir and Catrina.

In this study, we have met three children in their first year in ECEC, who are all competent in at least one language, who hear and speak more than one language daily, and who are competent participants in translingual communities. Their parents are eager to bring up their children as multilingual, practicing a variety of family languages in their homes while at the same time wanting them to acquire Norwegian in ECEC. We have also seen that this situation may result in a drift towards the majority language, particularly clear in the case of Yasir. This shows that there is a need for more research on the implications of an early start at ECEC on individual language use as well as language use within the family as a community of practice. Another question is if or how ECEC institutions can appreciate and use multilingual children's competence while monitoring their language development and providing relevant individual language support.

## List of references

- Bridges, K., & Hoff, E. (2014). Older sibling influences on the language environment and language development of toddlers in bilingual homes. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 35(2), 225-241. doi:10.1017/S0142716412000379.
- Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual Practice*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis.
- De Houwer, A. (2009). *Bilingual first language acquisition*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- De Houwer, A., & Bornstein, M. H. (2016). Bilingual mothers' language choice in child-directed speech: continuity and change. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 37(7), 680-693. doi:10.1080/01434632.2015.1127929.
- Dempsey, N. P. (2010). Stimulated recall interviews in ethnography. *Qualitative Sociology*, 33(3), 349-367. doi:10.1007/s11133-010-9157-x.
- Dzamarija, M. T., & Kalve, T. (2004). *Barn og unge med innvandrerbakgrunn*. [Children and youth with immigrant background] Retrieved from: [https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/notat\\_200431/notat\\_200431.pdf](https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/notat_200431/notat_200431.pdf).
- Dolitsky, M. (2000). Codeswitching in a child's monologues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(9), 1387-1403. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00105-8.
- Fauskanger, J., & Mosvold, R. (2014). Innholdsanalysens muligheter i utdanningsforskning.[Content analyses in educational research]. *Norsk pedagogisk tidsskrift*(02), 127-139.
- Fogle, L. W., & King, K. A. (2013). Child Agency and Language Policy in Transnational Families. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*. Retrieved from: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/39b3j3kp>.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: a global perspective*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, O., & Kleyn, T. (2016). *Translanguaging with multilingual students: learning from classroom moments*. New York: Routledge.
- García, O., & Li, W. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Karlsen, J., & Lykkenborg, M. (2012). Språkbruksmønstre i norsk-pakistanske familier. [Language pattern in Norwegian-Pakistani families] *NORAND, Norsk tidsskrift for andrespråksforskning*, 7(1), 22.
- Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2015). *Det kvalitative forskningsintervju* (3. ed.) [Qualitative research interviews]. Oslo: Gyldendal akademisk.
- Lanza, E. (1997). Language Contact in Bilingual Two-Year-Olds and Code-Switching: Language Encounters of a Different Kind? *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 1(2), 135-162.
- Lanza, E. (2004). *Language mixing in infant bilingualism: a sociolinguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lanza, E., & Svendsen, B. A. (2007). Tell me who your friends are and I might be able to tell you what language(s) you speak: social network analysis, multilingualism, and identity. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11(3), 275.
- Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics*, 31(1), 21.
- Ministry of Education (2007). Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of Kindergartens. Retrieved from: [https://www.udir.no/Upload/barnehage/Rammeplan/rammeplan\\_bokmal\\_2011nett.pdf?epslanguage=no](https://www.udir.no/Upload/barnehage/Rammeplan/rammeplan_bokmal_2011nett.pdf?epslanguage=no).
- Pennycook, A. (2010). *Language as a local practice*. London: Routledge.

- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2014). Metrolingual multitasking and spatial repertoires: 'Pizza mo two minutes coming'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 18(2), 161-184. doi:10.1111/josl.12079.
- Quist, P., & Svendsen, B. A. (2010). *Multilingual urban Scandinavia: new linguistic practices*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism* (2nd ed. ed. Vol. 13). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rontu, H. (2007). Codeswitching in triadic conversational situations in early bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 11(4), 337.
- Schwartz, M. (2008). Exploring the Relationship between Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Knowledge Among Second Generation Russian-Jewish Immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29(5), 400-418. doi:10.1080/01434630802147916.
- Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Statistics Norway. (2017). Kindergartens, 2016, final figures. Retrieved from <https://www.ssb.no/en/utdanning/statistikker/barnehager>.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice : learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 6(3), 323-346. doi:10.1016/S0885-006(05)80059-.
- Yamamoto, M. (2001). *Language Use in Interlingual Families : A Japanese-English Sociolinguistic Study*. Clevedon: Clevedon, GBR: Multilingual Matters Limited.



## Appendix 1: Transcription key:

Each utterances is a separate line. The transcript is orthography like.

Signs and markers:	
.	Neutral utterance
?	Question or a question-like utterance.
!	Statement or command.
(.)	Pause, about 1 second.
(..)	Pause about 2 seconds.
(...)	Pause, about 3 seconds.
Mother:	Indicates the speaker or the agent of an action.
(walk)	Movements or actions
<i>Italic</i>	Italic is used when the spoken language is not Norwegian. Which language that are in use are identified in the translation.
("word")	The translated utterance AR= Arabic, ENG= English, NOR= Norwegian, PAN = Panjabi, PASH = Pashto, POR= Portuguese.
[Father:]	Utterances said more or less simultaneously.-
[...]	Excluded a part of the dialogue
[Unidiomatic language]	Used when the phrases are constructed differently from how a native Norwegian would construct them.