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JULIA MITCHELL LANDAU

"OXE I HAVE FINISHED DE HOJE": THE ROLE OF CHILDREN'S FIRST LANGUAGE IN PLURILITERACY DEVELOPMENT

Salvador
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Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós Graduação em Língua e Cultura, da Universidade Federal da Bahia, como requisito para obtenção do grau de Mestre em Letras.

Orientador: Dr. Domingos Sávio Pimentel Siqueira

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Salvador, 13 de junho de 2022.

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Over the course of this Master's, my life changed drastically more than once. I lost my father completely unexpectedly. I moved with my husband and son to New York, where we had never lived as a family, to be near my mother as she navigated her new reality. We helped my mother move to a new state, an entirely new context. We moved back to Brazil. We lived through lockdowns, quarantines, and continue living through a pandemic. We decided to have a second child; we became a family of four. I returned to work after my second maternity leave and immersion in the post-partum world. Now, with an almost-six year old cheering me on and an eight month old bouncing, crashing and cruising as he waits for me at home, I finally defend my Master's thesis. Before anything, I thank my family.

I thank the leadership team with whom I share the pleasure of coordinating our bilingual program. They have always encouraged me to be the woman, mother and professional that I choose to be, whatever that has meant. I thank the camaraderie of all the educators at our school who have made such a difference for our students and for this research.

In acknowledging everyone who has been with me along this path, I recall the generosity and guidance of academics who helped me believe it was possible to be a working mother of two and to continue to make meaningful contributions through my studies. I thank the UFBA community, in particular my 2018 PPGLinC cohort, *Vozes do Sul*.

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ABSTRACT

As the field of Bilingual Education continues to grow in Brazil, matters of theory and practice become front and center. One of the perennial issues when discussing additional language learning or learning *in* the additional language is that of the home or first language and its place in the classroom. While some approaches treat the first language as a hindrance, viewing its presence in the additional language as evidence of error, other views suggest the welcoming of L1 as a resource, key to understanding progress. This study, set in the context of virtual first grade classrooms within a bilingual program during the Covid-19 pandemic, examined first language use as it relates to learning to read and write in the second language. Using invented spelling activities and classroom recordings, the use of Portuguese by students and teachers around the emergence of reading and writing was investigated. Specific attention was paid to questions regarding if and how children and teachers leveraged the first language in building metalinguistic connections and reflections favoring the development of pluriliteracy. In analyzing written samples from invented spelling activities, certain traits of emergent bilinguals’ writing in the second language were observed. In dialogue transcribed from class recordings, important leveraging of first language was observed, through which students reflected on language, made cross linguistic connections and appeared to construct a positive relationship to errors in their language journey. Teachers, by welcoming and directing the use of L1 on the part of students, were found to foster a welcoming environment for children’s reflections and contributions. Taken as a whole, these aspects contributed to literacy development. In considering an L1-aware classroom pedagogy as was observed in the study, an element of a Brazilian approach to pluriliteracy and bilingual education was identified and is now proposed.

Keywords: Pluriliteracy. Translanguaging. Bilingual Education. First Language.

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RESUMO

Com o crescimento da área de educação bilíngue no Brasil, questões de teoria e prática ganharam importante proeminência. Uma das pautas recorrentes ao discutir a aprendizagem de uma língua adicional ou *na* língua adicional é a da primeira língua e seu lugar na sala de aula. Enquanto algumas abordagens tratam a primeira língua como obstáculo, compreendendo sua presença na língua adicional como erro, outras perspectivas sugerem o acolhimento de L1 como recurso, essencial para enxergar os avanços dos estudantes. Esta pesquisa, situada no contexto de salas de aula virtuais do primeiro ano de um programa bilíngue durante a pandemia Covid-19, investigou o uso da língua de nascimento em relação à alfabetização na segunda língua. Utilizando atividades de escrita espontânea e gravações de aula, foi analisado o uso de Português, por estudantes e professores, para e em relação à emergência da leitura e escrita. Atenção específica foi direcionada para questões do *se* e *como* as crianças e professores aproveitaram a primeira língua ao construir conexões e reflexões metalinguísticas que favorecessem o desenvolvimento do biletramento. Ao analisar registros de atividades de escrita espontânea, foram observadas certas características da escrita de estudantes no início do desenvolvimento do bilinguismo. Nos diálogos transcritos de gravações de aula, foi observado importante aproveitamento da primeira língua, pela qual os estudantes refletiram sobre a linguagem, realizaram conexões entre as línguas e demonstraram construir uma relação positiva com o erro durante sua jornada linguística. Foi observado que os professores, ao acolher e orientar o uso de L1 por parte das crianças, promoveram um ambiente propício para as reflexões e contribuições dos estudantes. Considerando esses aspectos de forma articulada, constatou-se o favorecimento do desenvolvimento do biletramento. Partindo de uma prática pedagógica consciente da primeira língua, tal qual foi observada neste estudo, foi identificado, e ora é proposto, um elemento relevante para uma abordagem brasileira ao biletramento e educação bilíngue.

Palavras-chave: Biletramento. Translanguaging. Educação Bilíngue. Primeira Língua.

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1 INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

"É cada letra nada ver!"

In the desk drawer in the third grade classroom where I taught, I kept a small notebook where I routinely jotted down the most incredible pieces of language I had heard or read that day. Anything that caught my attention made it into the notebook: musings on life, stories about the weekend, even their pre-lunch food cravings. However, with time, it was overwhelmingly populated with examples focused on language. I recorded students' mixing of Portuguese and English, their attempts to incorporate new vocabulary, their heated arguments about words' meanings, and the ways they showed compassion, bravado, good humor, and their personalities in general through the language they had at hand.

I remember clearly a day that students were concentrating on writing letters to their first – grade buddies – students with whom they would regularly read or work. The chorus of "I have finished" began as they rushed to compare their paragraphs when suddenly, an incredulous student determined not to be outdone turned to their classmate and answered, "*Oxe!* I have finished *de hoje*!" Ever since, this phrase has been one of my most cherished. It was such a natural response, delivered with heartfelt indignation. Now, as a researcher presenting this study, I see how significant it was lingua-culturally. The formation mobilized so many resources: the child arranged both languages, formed a syntactically coherent sentence, and represented regional identity with the cultural markers *oxe* and *de hoje*. It was the type of sentence that would, years later, continue to captivate and guide my research: an exchange using the first language about literacy in the additional language. There in my third grade classroom, my Master's studies were already taking form.

This study[1] examines the role of the students' home language in early pluriliteracy (THE GRAZ GROUP, 2014; COYLE, 2015) development, taking place in first grade virtual classrooms during the second semester of the school year, within a content and language integrated learning (CLIL) setting. Examining emergent literacy from a transdisciplinary standpoint, I weave

[1] This study was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Bahia and approved under Assessment number 4.699.031, according to Resolution 466/2012 CNS/CEP.

together diverse areas of study, focusing on where they connect and apply to each other, with the intent of moving toward an authentically Brazilian approach in the bilingual classroom.

To arrive at this focus took me many years. After my first year in the bilingual setting, I was inspired to seek deeper understanding of my practice with a specialization in the English Language. From there, I became involved with the Federal University of Bahia, taking Master's courses for credit slowly. I searched for a research theme that felt genuine. I returned again and again to the notebook in my desk drawer in my first classroom. In it, I found not only a study of personal interest but the potential to contribute to my field with a topic I saw as much needed, and with this, officially began my Master's program. The topic of biliteracy and home language use, close to my heart and essential in my professional practice, now takes form in this dissertation, though I hope it is only one of the first steps in research to come.

1.1 Educational landscape

This study transpired against the backdrop of a marked rise of foreign language bilingual education (FLBE) (SIQUEIRA; PARANÁ; LANDAU, 2018) or prestige bilingual education in Brazil. In recent years, adoption of these programs has grown rapidly (MARCELINO, 2009; MEGALE; LIBERALI, 2016), spurring the proliferation of diverse models of bilingual education and the need for research (MEGALE; LIBERALI, 2016).

Within this growing tendency toward and demand for programs strengthening English language proficiency exists the persistence of phenomena such as native speakerism - the focusing of language modeling and authority on people from English-dominant countries - as well as "foreign authentication", or the pinning of a program's value to external elements from these same countries. (LANDAU; SIQUEIRA; PARANÁ, 2021). These frameworks task students with the constant search for "native-like fluency" (COOK, 2007) and often put the native teacher at the center of desirable education (PHILLIPSON, 1992).

The influence of the native speaker framework notwithstanding, a growing body of research aids us in questioning its implications and validity. Critically-minded research in translanguaging pedagogy, pluriliteracy and CLIL itself leads us to question more traditional immersion paths and "English-only" practices. I see these distinct tendencies all present and constitutive of the context in which this study arose and occurred. In fact, I believe they lead us

directly to the need for a Brazilian-based theorization of bilingual education and specifically emergent biliteracy. By rethinking practices centering the native speaker and so-called native-like language skills, research in this vein enables place-based knowledge production from the global south (KLEIMAN, 2013).

1.2 Justification

Together with my initial personal interest in the subject matter, the growing interest in bilingual models of education, as well as a gap in research on the development of early bilingual writing make this study timely. To this, I add the more generalized and persistent over-valuing of the native speaker model, a phenomenon addressed by this dissertation. In this way, I consider the study relevant not only to educators and administrators working with young learners, but to the wider bilingual education and second language teaching community.

Examining more closely the published literature on early bilingual writing, it is apparent that it is sparse even when considering language pairs other than Portuguese-English. Writings from the field of Education rarely cover bilingual issues, and when they do, the scholarship tends to focus on bilingualism, bilingual contexts, and issues of access, though rarely examines emergent pluriliteracy (The studies that stood as important exceptions to this proved essential in informing my research.). At the same time, language-focused studies from Applied Linguistics, specifically Foreign Language Teaching rarely center around children and even less frequently address bilingual contexts. Some of the fundamental literacy theories addressing emerging readers and writers come from a monolingual context (see chapter three for detailed discussion).

In fact, Gort (2006) found that in many cases where children's second language (L2) writing was examined, it was approached from a monolingual view. When seeking scholarship rooted in Portuguese and English, resources are even less readily available. I note as well that research describing learners in the early years of elementary school and the ways in which they hone their language resources is certainly gaining interest but in its nascent stages. However, the scarcity of published research on the topic of bilingual writing belies its importance. The process by which students develop their pluriliteracy, specifically their writing, must inform appropriate teaching and assessment strategies (SILVA, 1998 *apud* GORT, 2006) for classrooms that are

sensitive and responsive to students' realities and prior knowledge. This need itself represents the potential of this study.

I believe my research is the convergence between my own interest and real identified needs both in the classroom and in the academy. Though it is an initial, small contribution to the growing attention to biliteracy in Brazil, it is my hope that it fosters welcoming and supportive classrooms that value the lingua-cultural resources of its students and teachers.

1.3 Overview of chapters

This dissertation is divided into five chapters, followed by a conclusion and appendices complementing the work presented herein. In chapter one, I describe the local setting in which the research took place. Carried out in a private Brazilian elementary school, within an optional bilingual program, the study brings with it important social, educational and historical context. Beyond these key elements, some of the main overarching themes of the study are explained in broad strokes, to be detailed further in chapter three. Theoretical and methodological bases of the study and its design are also presented, along with considerations specific to the Covid-19 pandemic and its effects on the structure of the research conducted.

In chapter three, I present the diverse theories informing the research. In bringing together theories from distinct fields, I focus on extracting commonalities and points of interaction among them. With these theories guiding me, I analyze the classroom data collected in chapter four. I have separated the data into written samples in the form of spontaneous writing and oral exchanges taken from recordings from the virtual classroom. Using dialogue directly from the classroom, I put children's reflections and teachers strategies at the forefront, mediating their significance with my analysis.

The concluding chapter looks toward future research stemming from the present study, bringing up important factors in this study that could be strengthened or adjusted to improve it. I also identify other classroom phenomena as research possibilities within the realm of bilingual education and young learner's development of metalinguistic resources. Finally, in the appendices I offer screenshots directly from the data set of students' writing samples, as well as the specific activities applied in the research cycle.

1.4 Jumping off

With children's writing and authentic reflections at the center, this study brings attention to the vast capabilities our students bring with them. At the same time, this potential implicates educators deeply in terms of responsibility to discern, enhance and direct students' previous knowledge, as well as metacognitive and metalinguistic abilities, including those involving the use of the home language. In the following chapters, I describe what I found to be some of the hypotheses and reflections students bring to the process of pluriliteracy development. With this, I examine the role the teacher plays, and the important place the lingua-culturally situated teacher occupies in this dynamic. As I do so, I think back to my notes, scribbled hastily between activities in the classroom and without formal theoretical founding at the time. As I delved further into the ideas explored in this study, I understood my own interest in new light. This propelled me into my subsequent years of professional learning and, eventually, research in the field. The more I learned about literacy, the more I matched my practice to the strategies I studied; the more I informed my planning with what I learned. Now, I have the privilege of looking back on that practice, and forward to new projects and research to come. With this, I open this dissertation both as an homage and a contribution to a Brazilian-rooted theory of biliteracy and approach to bilingual education.

2 THE SETTING AND STUDY

"Estou morrendo de hungry!"

The past and future of this study sit firmly within classroom practice. From my own time as a teacher, to my years as a program leader to the work yet to come both in the classroom and out of it, my fascination with and commitment to the emergence of pluriliteracy has driven this project since long before it solidified as an academic study. Here, I will begin by describing the research setting, situating it both socially and theoretically within the field of bilingual education. Moving on to the motivation, design and methodology of the study, I will detail all components of its creation and execution, highlighting the guiding research questions that focus the work. The final section regarding the study itself will approach the timeline and circumstances particular to this dissertation, having to do with both the personal and global, societal context. Arriving at the end of the chapter, I will offer a brief description of the study's results before transitioning to the second chapter, where important theories will be explored in more depth.

2.1 The setting

In this section, I will define terms and contexts pertinent to the social and physical setting of this study. I will also trace my personal involvement in the research, as a highly relevant component to its execution. Throughout the dissertation, both students' and teachers' names are changed, though students have fixed pseudonyms throughout. These protective measures will allow for full discussion of the data generated, while maintaining privacy for the participants.

This research project was carried out in a private Brazilian nursery and elementary school in Salvador, Brazil[2]. Within the elementary school, families have the option of participating in a bilingual program as an extension of the child's regular school day. I have worked in this program since 2012, first as a third grade teacher and later as the program coordinator. The school, established in 1971, is one of the few independent mid-size institutions offering educational

[2] In the Brazilian education system, *Educação Infantil* and *Ensino Fundamental I*.

services, since the consolidation of many schools under educational franchises in recent years**.** Serving primarily upper middle class families, the host school subscribes to a constructivist, socio-interactionist educational philosophy, which will be discussed in greater detail momentarily. Beginning in 2010, the host school introduced the additional language-intensive, content integrated program in English, whose philosophy and approach will also be detailed here subsequently. It was to this content and language-driven program that I arrived in 2012, and where, specifically, the present study was conducted.

2.1.1 Host School - Brief History, Size and Guiding Philosophy

Founded in 1971 as a small independent nursery school, the host institution where the study took place, according to its Political Pedagogical Project or PPP[3], ascribes to the pillars of constructivism, social-interactionism, and humanism, each briefly described below. Prior to the Covid-19 pandemic (as of this writing), between 800 and 1,000 students were generally enrolled in a given year (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020). The school functions during both the morning and afternoon shifts, with the host program functioning during the opposite one. Students from Group 1 (one to two years old) to 5th grade (10 to 11 years old) can enroll.

The philosophies of humanism, constructivism, and socio-interactionism lay at the heart of the school's work, according to the PPP. All place the student at the center of the learning process, seeing the child as an agent in their own education, beyond the purposes of mere memorization and mastering techniques. Humanism, according to the school's documentation, brings awareness of difference and cultural needs, being "pluralist and democratic" in nature. (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020). Constructivism, based on the research of Jean Piaget (1999), is a theory of knowledge that views the acquisition of knowledge as an act of construction by the student rather than the transmission of facts. It assumes previous and relevant experience on the part of the student and is embodied by pedagogical practice that values error, reflection and instigation (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020). Finally, social constructivism brings the component of students' interactions not only with their learning environment but with each other to the forefront (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020).

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[3] In Portuguese, *Projeto Político-Pedagógico.* This founding document conveys the founding principles of the school as well as methodological aspects, and is a required feature of establishing a private school.

2.1.2 Host Program – Structure, Size, and Guiding Philosophy

After almost 40 years of operation, the host school introduced what was deemed a bilingual program in 2010. The program is optional for families and as such, is offered as a separate tuition addition. Available to elementary school students (1st to 5th grades) in the opposite shift of their national curriculum study, the host program has an hourload of two hours per day, Monday to Friday. The program is offered only to students enrolled in the host school, and is only available in its full, daily configuration. Before the onset of the pandemic and remote learning, the program generally maintained enrollment of about 400 students per year, while as of this writing the program's student body was 260 students. The program is organized by grade level, and both a head teacher and teacher assistant guide classes.

The host program, according to the school's PPP, begins with contextualized learning situations relevant to the child's world and interests. Working under the premise that the additional language comprises a child's identity**,** the program envisions itself not as an international school, but as an institution employing an authorial approach to language and content, Brazilian at its inception and in its philosophy. As written in the PPP,

> With the acquisition of another language, we believe that the learner does not assume a new identity but rather expands and contributes to the one they already have. We value knowledge of other cultures and the ability to put oneself in someone else's place. In addition, we recognize the importance of affirming one's own identity, validating local values and reality within a global context. (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020, p. 273).

More on bilingual schools and programs, as well as recent regulations regarding these institutions is explored later in this chapter.

According to the school's PPP, the host program conceives of language education as the blend between "meaningful learning," "affective learning," "academic rigor," and a vision of "identity and language," explained above (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020). While presented as a path to bilingualism rather than content mastery, the program weaves content and language together as the basis of its classes and structure. With the growth and maturation of the program, it has aligned with the principles of Content Language Integrated Learning, or CLIL, explored below.

2.1.3 Content Language Integrated Learning and the Host Program

CLIL, accordinging to Coyle, Hood and Marsh (2010), is an educational approach to bilingual learning that integrates work on content and language, shifting focus to one or the other as needed. It stresses that content not only be taught *in* the additional language, but *through* it, as detailed further in the authors' definition that "CLIL is an educational approach in which various language-supportive methodologies are used which lead to a dual-focused form of instruction where attention is given both to the language and the content [...]" (p. 3).

Though often held as an effective approach to language acquisition by schools in Brazil (LANDAU; SIQUEIRA; PARANÁ, 2021), in its design it values both content and language equally. It differs from traditional immersion education in that it explicitly makes space and accounts for language instruction necessary to support content assimilation, valuing not only exposure to the additional language but the explicit instruction and support necessary to interact meaningfully with the content.

The notion of integration factors prominently into the CLIL approach, as the name itself suggests. In fact, the discussion above about language instruction and content assimilation is perhaps misleading, as integration suggests that language is content, and vice versa. Scholarship on CLIL offers complexity to the two pillars described above, from its inception as a described approach. Coyle (2006) details key pillars of learning through CLIL, organizing them into 4C's: Content, Culture, Communication and Content. Expanding thinking even more around CLIL, authors suggest different facets to be contemplated as well, such as integration (Moate, 2010; Leung and Morton, 2016), first language use (LASAGABASTER, 2013; LIN, 2015), translanguaging (NIKULA AND MOORE, 2019), and pluriliteracies (MEYER; COYLE; HALBACH; SCHUCK; TING, 2015; SAN ISIDRO, LASAGABASTER, 2019).

2.1.4 Emergent Literacy and the Host Program

The debate around learning to read, its timing and its methods is well documented in Brazil and abroad. In the United States, which offers scholarship around English language literacy, what was called the *Reading Wars* in the 1980s focused on how students decode words and the best way to support their achievement levels: through phonics or through whole language.

Internal US politics also influenced the debate, with politicians, as well as educators and families weighing in. The phonics versus whole language divide centered around explicit versus natural instruction, respectively. Explicit instruction aligned with the use of phonics instruction, while evoking scenes of phonics drills and decontextualized reading to its critics.

It also proved vulnerable to the argument that phonics "rules" in the English language were inconsistent, and had low frequency of applicability (KRASHEN, 2002). At the same time, the notion of whole language reading acquisition was just that - acquisition rather than explicit learning. The theory held that after a certain amount of exposure, students would come to recognize words on sight. In this case, the whole language movement attempted alignment with constructivist pedagogy, a student-centered philosophy based on research by Piaget (1999) and focusing on the students' building of their own knowledge. The whole language theory gained recognition and became, for a period in the 1990s, through wide acceptance and adoption, akin to "conventional wisdom." (PEARSON, 2004, p. 219). Today, what is called a "balanced approach" to literacy is frequently favored, acknowledging the role of explicit instruction, while at the same time marking the importance of contextualized reading opportunities (PEARSON, 2004).

In Brazil, certain moments mark the country's general approach to literacy in schools. Magda Soares (1985, 2004) outlines this arc in her work. According to Soares, the definition of literate, in this case the Portuguese *alfabetizado*, evolved in scope and can be traced through media and census mentions, ranging from the ability to write one's own name in the census of 1940 to a more functional definition in dialogue with societal uses of the written word at the time the text was published (SOARES, 2004). Detailing further the progression of a national notion of emergent literacy (also called reading instruction, beginning literacy and known in Portuguese as *alfabetização)* and its relationship to literacy (*letramento,* in Portuguese), Soares notes that the distinction between the two is faint and rarely examined until the 1980s, when the topic enters the national academic conversation. Defending the maintenance of a healthy differentiation between the two concepts, Soares argues that focus on literacy has overshadowed important attention needed in the area of reading instruction (2004).

With this, Soares arrives at the most influential work on emergent literacy in Brazil in recent decades: that of the constructivist approach to emergent literacy and Emília Ferreiro. In their seminal work on literacy, *Psicogénese da língua escrita*, Emilia Ferreiro and research partner Ana Teberosky present a vision of literacy that influenced a generation of educators and learners.

Their research, published in 1986, organizes young children's literacy acquisition process into phases, and emphasizes and values the prior knowledge and "hypotheses" students bring to their school-based learning practice. Rather than make methodological prescriptions, their research explores the inner workings of the discovery of the written word by young children. Drawing on previous research and concurrent theories in the world of literacy, Ferreiro and Teberosky find backing for their theory in the constructivism of Piaget, in which, as described earlier, the child is an agent in the construction of their own knowledge, in the notion of the innate capacity for language, according to which humans are endowed with a "language faculty" (CHOMSKY, 2005), and the whole language conceptualization of reading, which views reading as a "natural extension of human language development" and focuses on contextualized reading strategies rather than phonics (GOODMAN, 2014).

Soares is careful to acknowledge the contribution of this vision of emergent literacy, but categorical in voicing the concern over this theory's effect on practice:

> In the first place, focusing on the process of children's construction of the written system, the nature of the subject matter in construction was underestimated, which is fundamentally a constituted linguistic topic, whether considering the alphabetic system or the orthographic system, comprised of conventional and frequently arbitrary relationships between phonemes and graphemes.[…] In second place, front he constructivist concept of reading instruction, a false inference was derived, that in which methods of teaching reading would be incompatible with the conceptual pyschogenesis paradigm. (SOARES, 2004, p. 11).

For Soares, the abandonment of explicit instruction in favor of what can be compared to *whole language* erased from common practice important aspects, specifically metalinguistic ones, of the reading instruction process in Brazil.

Within this context, the host program of the present study follows its own, adapted approach to literacy in the additional language (Verbal Information[4]). The program draws on tenants of biliteracy, a term that arose most notably in the early 1980s and was developed as a set of continua by Nancy Hornberger (1989). According to Hornberger, biliteracy itself is defined as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (HORNBERGER, 1990, p. 203). As for the continua framework, the structure elucidates the complex rather than binary nature of traditionally simplified relationships such as first

[4] Information provided by Paula Castro, director of the Girassol Bilingual Program, via telephone conversation, September of 2022.

language (L1) vs. second language (L2), oralcy vs. literacy and reception vs. production, to cite only a few. As Hornberger writes, “[t]he notion of continuum is intended to convey that, although one can identify (and name) points on the continuum, those points are not finite, static or discrete" (1989, p. 275). The host program embarks upon simultaneous biliteracy acquisition, a term I use here to describe the entirely concurrent processes of introduction to the written word in the home language and additional language with school-aged children.

Weaving these elements of literacy acquisition together, this study will theorize this process, forging new applications of existing scholarship, situating the home language, in this case, Brazilian Portuguese, within advances in the additional language, and exploring possibilities of metalinguistic, explicit instruction within a constructivist framework. These theories will be examined in detail, along with their proposed applications and implications, in chapters three and four.

2.1.5 Covid-19 and the Reformulation of the Host School and Program

Though the present study maintained its original nature throughout, the social context of the Covid-19 pandemic changed its execution substantially. The structure of the original study depended on the physical classroom. It proposed classroom observation, complemented by spontaneous writing activities (discussed further below), as well as individual conversations with students in parallel to their productions, about their spelling choices. Much of the proposed structure of the study stemmed from the previously mentioned research of Emilia Ferreira and Ana Teberosky, primarily the spontaneous writing activities and the unstructured conversations with students as they wrote, about what they wrote. In this way, important insights into students’ rationale and perceptions would be obtained. However, with the abrupt reorganization of the host school in response to the suspension of in-person classes, I was confronted with the need to give the study a new, adapted form.

After months of keeping the project in a holding state, in the second semester of 2020, I decided to reformulate the research proposal. After an almost full semester of class online and no projected end to the pandemic, I sought possibilities in the new learning format. As mentioned, the essence of the study remains the same, and thus focuses on students’ writing, their voiced reflections about the writing process and the role of their home language in the process. However,

it became apparent that individual, discreet conversations with students about their writing choices at the moment of the written sample would be impossible over the screen.

In fact, even obtaining the writing samples via screen proved challenging. Together with first grade teachers, I encountered difficulties when requesting that students center their work in the webcam to take screenshots. Even when students were better accustomed to the activities' procedures and more frequently presented their work in the correct space relative to the webcam, we dealt with issues of image quality. Lower quality webcams or even shaky hands all contributed to work that was often squarely placed within the scope of the camera and screenshot, but often came back illegible. Time limits teachers dealt with hindered the ability to dedicate multiple attempts at the capture for each student. In light of these factors, we consistently requested higher-quality photos directly from families, though this brought little follow-through.

Best practices were developed throughout the course of the study, resulting in increasingly higher-quality data as the study progressed. Strategies to help the students center their work in the camera, the use of black marker in writing to create legible samples, and the use of individual screenshots per student rather than of the group all contributed to higher-quality data. These were changes developed over time in accordance with the remote learning setting.

Finally, I describe here the structure the host program took on once learning transitioned to the online modality. The program, which previously had consisted of 2-hour class sessions in person from Monday to Friday, in 2020 moved to three online sessions per week of 40 minutes each. One session occurred with half the group, and was geared toward assessment and other more individualized attention needed. The other two sessions remained with the full group. One day per week, teachers posted a pre-recorded video which was left on the online learning environment. Asynchronous activities were posted daily, along with video or game suggestions related to the content and abilities for the week. The activity sessions for this study were conducted within the small groups, as I will detail below in the section regarding the study structure. Later, in 2021, the program would move to a more intensive hourload, reflective of the previous in-person schedule of two hours of class time per day.

Before detailing the structure of the study and its components, it is important to visit the bilingual education landscape in Brazil in order to contextualize the host program and the present research. In the next section, I offer a brief panorama.

2.2 Bilingual Education in Brazil

While this study delves deep into the area of private bilingual education, no discussion of such is complete without tracing the arc of learning in more than one language in the country, as it is far from a new phenomenon. In fact, bilingual education has a longstanding history in Brazil, one fraught in many moments with colonialism and oppression.

To begin, it is common in the private bilingual education context to encounter the impression among some stakeholders that the notion of learning in two or more languages is new to Brazil, or that the population of the country is largely and lamentably monolingual. Though recent conventional rankings do suggest the country continues to struggle with proficiency levels in globally-prestigious languages such as English, the suggestion that Brazil takes interest in additional languages and bilingual/plurilingual education only recently is egregious in its inaccuracy. As Makoni and Pennycook (2005) detail, and Santo and Santos (2018) bring to the Brazilian context, the invention and disinvention of languages serves global power structures, specifically those of colonialism in vast erasure of indigenous populations. Brazilian monolingualism stands as no exception: at the time of what Santo and Santos call the "invention of Brazil" (2018, p. 155) - arrival of Europeans to the territory we now call Brazil - it is estimated that there were over 1,200 indigenous languages spoken, with over 300 African languages active during the trafficking of enslaved peoples to Brazil (MAHER, 2013). These languages were systematically suppressed as a nation-state united under one language was forged (SANTO; SANTOS, 2018).

Just as the invention of monolingualism requires examining and critical context, so too does the history of bilingual and plurilingual education in Brazil. We can begin with indigenous Brazilian education, which traces roots back to the earliest arrivals in what would become known as Brazil in the 16th century (SILVA; AZEVEDO, 1995). Though existing under the guise of education, subsequent study and analysis considers these efforts to have been forces of cultural erasure rather than support or amplification, contributing to the loss of diversity in indigenous languages, inextricable of course from the systematic extermination and usurping inherent in the colonial relationship between native populations and European invaders (SILVA; AZEVEDO, 1995; SANTOS, L; 2017; SANTO; SANTOS, 2018). In fact, according to the Brazilian census of 2010, there were 274 indigenous languages spoken at the time (IGBE, 2010), constituting only a

fraction of those estimated to have circulated within the territory before the arrival of Europeans. Today, internationally as well as domestically, bilingual indigenous education is redefined, reimagined and protected by law (BRASIL, 2020), though challenges around the colonial legacy and hierarchization of languages still persist (SANTOS, L, 2017).

Yet another vein of bilingual education in Brazil is that of the deaf[5] in LIBRAS[6], or Brazilian sign language. Situated within a long and painful tradition of education in the oral method, or spoken language understood through lip reading, deaf education in Brazil made significant gains starting in the 1990s (FERNANDES; MOREIRA, 2014). Through strategic organization around the politics and right to difference (LOPES, 2017; HALL, 1997), the movement for deaf bilingual education sought to guarantee the right to LIBRAS as a first language (and Portuguese, consequently, as a second) and the conceptualization of deaf education as bilingual education rather than special education (FERNANDES; MOREIRA, 2014). Though today this is provided for by law, scholars within the movement for bilingual deaf education still note the disparity between what is prescribed and the special education orientation that still dominates schooling (FERNANDES; MOREIRA, 2014).

Immigrant communities comprise another important facet of the bilingual education landscape in Brazil. The country, through its diverse waves of immigration throughout history, today is home to numerous communities and their languages, often geographically concentrated in a specific region. Müller (2008) highlights that in addition to the indigenous languages present in the country at the time, 30 languages of descendents of immigrants composed the Brazilian linguistic landscape. Examples include the *Talian* language in communities of Rio Grande do Sul, Espríto Santo and Santa Catarina, as well as German in Santa Catarina. Here, too, historically language efforts have often aimed for assimilation rather than home language valuing or support. In fact, in the early 1940s, under the *Estado Novo*[7], these languages were not only discouraged but overtly criminalized. As Müller posits, "the language policies of the state were always that of **reducing** the number of languages, in a process of gloticide (the assassination of langugaes) through linguistic displacement, in other words, their substitution by the Portuguese

[5] Here the term deaf, rather than hearing-impaired, is adopted, in accordance with the term of self-determination adopted by the group in the declaration "A educação que nós, surdos, queremos" (FENEIS, 1999).

[6] LIBRAS – Língua Brasileira de Sinais.

[7] The *Estado Novo*, also known as the Vargas Era, was a dictatorial period in Brazil's history under Getúlio Vargas that lasted from 1937 to 1945. Marked by fierce nationalism across diverse aspects of society, language was also understood to serve a nationalist, unifying purpose.

language" (2008, p. 4). Today, bilingual education efforts in these communities grow, through efforts like those described by Müller (2005) that seek not only to offer contact but also to build context and meaningful usage of the heritage languages.

A diversity of bilingual communities also populate Brazil's immense border, which it shares with nine of the South American countries.[8] These borderlands are the subject of much scholarship around linguistic planning and language policies, and it follows that bilingual education forms part of this panorama. In these contexts, the bilingual education factors as an important piece of language policy, whether it be through the presence of specific provisions or due to the lack thereof (SPOLSKY, 2004). Through Mercosul (*Mercado Comum do Sul*), official borderland bilingual education initiatives were formalized for Spanish-Portuguese populations (SILVA, 2017). However, important critiques exist regarding the dearth of projects along the northern border (RODRIGUES, 2021) and with the French-Portuguese communities of French Guiana (SILVA, 2017), as well as the lack of continuity and meaningful maintenance of these projects (RODRIGUES, 2021).

Adding to the plurilingual landscape of Brazil are the country's international schools, or educational institutions regulated by their home countries and conferring international degrees, or, alternatively, offering the International Baccalaureate (IB) program, thus leading to international certifications not necessarily associated with a specific country.

More recently, we come to the category housing the host program described here – prestige bilingual education (LIBERALI; MEGALE, 2016) or foreign language bilingual education (FLBE) (SIQUEIRA; LANDAU; PARANÁ, 2018). In this modality, education in the additional language is offered not necessarily for the role it plays in the heritage, history or community of the learner, but as an option available for families seeking to build a connection to the language for their child. According to Megale (2019), bilingual schools in Brazil generally fall in three types: those with a fully integrated curriculum in both languages; schools with an additional curriculum in an additional language, generally structured as a content language integrated learning (CLIL) program; and schools with an optional curriculum in the additional language offered through projects, activities or CLIL- driven classes.

However, classification even since Megale's above mentioned categories has changed, with the introduction of the *Diretrizes Curriculares Nacionais para a Educação Plurilíngue*

[8] For an overview on scholarship about specific borderlands, see Silva, 2017.

(2020), or National Curricular Plurilingual Education Guidelines. With these, a set of criteria was proposed and awaits formal approval, and put forth a timeline for their implementation in schools wishing to adhere to it. According to the guidelines, which would require schools to begin alignment with the guidelines in 2021 and officially take effect in January of 2022, to qualify as a bilingual school, the institution must offer between 30% and 50% of its hourload in the additional language for elementary school. The guidelines further stipulate that teachers within the program must hold degrees in Education or *Letras*[9], must prove through official language testing a B2 competence or higher, and have at least 120 supplemental hours of graduate-level coursework in Bilingual Education.

Families procure bilingual schools for their children for diverse reasons, one can assume, though thorough research on stakeholder motivations in Brazil has of yet not been conducted.[10] Existing literature suggests that cognitive benefits, job market opportunities, and access to global mobility all play a role in the decision to enroll (LANDAU; SIQUEIRA; PARANÁ; 2021). Compounding the complexity of the landscape is the fact that the vast majority of such schools or programs are situated within the private sector, thus limiting the reach of FLBE. Within the public sphere, there are notable exceptions that have accelerated in number in recent years. For example, recent counts indicate that the Rio de Janeiro school public school system is home to 25 bilingual schools, offering education in English, Spanish, German and French (MEGALE, 2019).

In the private sphere, estimating the number of bilingual schools proves even more challenging, as until recently the very definition of the term remained ambiguous. In fact, within what is commonly called a bilingual school, diverse structures are found, as mentioned above. Until the recent proposal of the National Curricular Plurilingual Education Guidelines (Brasil, 2020), institutions could essentially self-determine their designation as a bilingual school, the ambiguity of which led, in part, to the drafting of the regulations (BRASIL, 2020), which have yet to be officially adopted.

It remains to be seen how the Plurilingual Education Guidelines would change what has been to now the bilingual education landscape. However, for the purpose of this study, it is important to note that the host program does not configure as a “bilingual school” under the

[9] The *letras* degree in Brazilian higher education approximates what could, in English, be called a Language degree. However, due to its specific nature, the original Portuguese was maintained here.

[10] For examples of research conducted with stakeholders, see Morato *et al.* (2020) and Fernandes (2016). However, these examples do not address family motivations, instead focusing on family and teacher perceptions of bilingualism and bilingual education.

recent stipulations, as it is an optional program within a larger school, providing supplementary rather than integrative curriculum. Despite this, its characteristics, as I explore in the following section, create a favorable scenario for studying pluriliteracy emergence as well as designing future studies.

2.3 The Study

2.3.1 Design and Underpinnings

Drawing on diverse areas, this study weaves together understandings about language, education, systems and learning to inform its design and subsequent analysis. Here, I will introduce some key underpinnings, though deeper theory-based exploration of the study is reserved for the following chapter. The primary understanding of language underlying this study is that of language as situated in society, diverse in its nature and adaptive in its evolution. This distinguishes the underpinnings of this study from lines of scholarship concerned with language as structure and its constants. Drawing on the writings of Bakhtin (1981), which firmly place language within a particular context and ideology, I conceive of language as a living construct, imbued with intentions, coded with power, and activated by users.

Present as well throughout the study is the underpinning of language as a complex system, and the notion that language itself cannot be reduced to the sum of its parts. The characteristics of language as a complex adaptive system, detailed by the Five Graces Group (2009) portray language, its change and its learning within a complex systems paradigm, highlighting the social, interconnected and responsive nature of speech. Though the theory, by the very definition of complex system, focuses on a community-level, or macro, vision of language, the position they detail has implications for applied linguistics at levels from global to individual. Similarly, the tenets of the theory, focusing primarily on oral language, are easily extended to patterns in emergent writing. When approaching literacy acquisition – especially writing – in emergent bilingual students from a simplicity perspective, deviations from conventional spelling, for example, are reduced to just that: opaque errors. Furthermore, a child's two languages could also be viewed merely as two parallel resources without overlap or intersection. When one introduces complexity, this landscape transforms radically. Parallel language tools become a unified

linguistic repertoire (GARCIA; WEI, 2014; see also CUMMINS, 1981), and mistakes take on the nuances of intelligent hypotheses, informed by the third space of the interaction of two or more languages. We find ourselves in the exact revelation the authors predict: the recognition of linguistic phenomena in constant contact (FIVE GRACES, 2009).

As a complex adaptive system, language and its acquisition do not adhere to linearity. It follows that this study, then, seeks theoretical references that elucidate the constant and multi-directional nature of learning. The relatively new field of Educational Linguistics, formalized largely by the creation of the graduate program bearing the same name with the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education in 1976, serves as a backdrop to this research, for it can be seen to harness the work of Applied Linguistics and situates it prominently within Education. As Spulsky, explaining the coinage of the term, posits, [the field] includes those parts of language directly relevant to education matters as well as those parts of education concerned with language (2008, p. 2). It also understands that language education occurs constantly, and is the work of everyone in the school community, not only literacy or second language teachers. The field's emphasis on the power structures active in language use and learning communicate directly with ideas central to the interests and questions spurring this research project, specifically regarding the erosion of the native speaker and the valuing of home language.

2.3.2 Defining Bilingualism

Fundamental to a discussion about the meaning of the term "bilingual" is first the recognition that bilingualism evades simple definition. Upon even a cursory glance, the term fractures into diverse *types* of bilingualism, characterized by multiple factors, some of which include: the moment of introduction of additional languages, the social and personal significance of the additional languages, and the intensity of exposure. Much scholarship has concerned itself with the definition of bilingualism and its diverse types, and need not be paraphrased here for our context. However, I will establish here certain influential definitions, tracing an arc from more restrictive understandings that present language as separate systems toward more recent work that comprehends bilingualism beyond traditional linguistic competency, and views languages as

unified linguistic repertoire. In this way, I also establish my understanding of bilingualism as it pertains to this study.

In a classic definition serving as a reference point in scholarship on the subject since its writing, Bloomfield (1933) characterizes bilingualism as the native-like control of two languages. The definition focuses on the figure of the native speaker as the standard, a tendency discussed further in the next chapter. It also stems entirely from the linguistic competency standpoint. Another notable definition, though by no means the only significant one that followed, is that of McNamara (1967) in which the author expands the definition considerably by suggesting the term *bilingual* refers to anyone with minimal competency in any of the four traditional abilities (reading, writing, speaking and listening). The text, though considering a much wider range of language users in its scope, still discusses the relationship between languages in terms of overlap, switching and other phenomena indicative of the understanding of two separate language systems that, at most, interact.

Notably complex and multidimensional, the considerations brought by Hamers and Blanc (2000) weave together aspects that are not purely linguistic, providing an important reference for an understanding of bilingualism as culturally, historically, as well as cognitively contextualized. Grosjean (1989) signals from early on that bilingualism is not a phenomenon to be understood as the sum of two systems, and cautions against monolingual lenses in evaluating and comprehending bilingualism. Here it is important to highlight the significant Brazilian scholarship in the Portuguese language making much of this scholarship not only linguistically accessible but locally oriented. Work by Megale (2005) and Marcelino (2009) are notable, not only for bringing excellent summaries of diverse definitions of the term *bilingual,* but also for presenting their own important understandings of these definitions in the Brazilian context.

In this section I have highlighted work that traces the development of a more complex, fluid and wide-ranging understanding of bilingualism. It is a path that I believe leads us to more socially-rooted concepts, such as that of dynamic bilingualism, offered by Garcia (2009). In a dynamic view of bilingualism, conceptions that position bilingualism as the coexistence, interaction or conciliation of two or more languages are transcended such that:

> [...] a dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of a first language (L1) and a second language (l2), and of additive or subtractive bilingualism. Instead, dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language *practices* of bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do

> not emerge in a linear way or function separately since there is only one linguistic system. (GARCÍA; LI, 2014, p. 13-14).

Though the terms and concepts of L1 and L2 appear throughout this study, the concept of dynamic bilingualism, the complex system of language and the non-linearity of the bilingual state serve as a theoretical basis for much of the discussion contained herein. Furthermore, important to note is that though the terms *bilingual* and *pluringual* themselves connote individual and discrete languages in stasis, for the purposes of this research, they will be employed as useful terms that, even within a dynamic or complex perspective, serve as shorthand for a person or context with fluid language practices.

The discussion of bilingualism and the user's relationship to language intertwines with the question of language and identity. Though the research questions themselves do not directly open up issues of identity, these considerations inform the perspective I bring to my observation, analysis, and very understanding of effective language acquisition. I cite here briefly key writings that offer visions of the hybridization of identities and cultures, the agency of the learner and teacher in an L2 setting, and the importance of difference. While each concept on its own deservingly has been the subject of research and dissertations, together they compose a backdrop to the present study. Rather than operating within monolithic concepts of language, fixed identities and unidirectional learning processes, we turn to notions of identity that understand the fluidity of language users in diverse contexts and the ways in which they act on language itself, not the reverse. Hall (2005) signals the decline of fixed identities and the rise of "hybrid cultures" (p. 24), which itself shifts power and lingua-cultural authority, two ideas central to this study.

Moving further into the area of language education, Kalva and Ferreira (2013) explore how notions of language education in English are most often tied to nations, creating erroneous homogeneous understandings of these countries and the language(s) or accent(s) spoken within, beyond of course placing a "native" speaker at the center of this language authority. Here, the connection to Hall's considerations about the rise of hybrid cultures is clear. Furthermore, Mendes (2008) poses important questions regarding agency, nature of language and the learner. Provoking the reader, Mendes ponders, "In this way, if the language I learn is given to me all ready, what else do I have to build with whom I interact?" and "[...]How is it possible to achieve this understanding [with the interlocutor] without taking into consideration that which is beyond

language as structure?" (p.11) These initial questions about identity and language give rise to the theoretical basis developed further in the next chapter.

With these theories informing and refining my perspective on the learners' position, deep research into the learners' process – literacy acquisition itself – represented another prominent building block of the study. As this research ties together learning to read and write in the first language, learning to read and write in the additional language, and the interplay between the two, literature specific to Brazil and that more focused on English-language literacy was woven together. In addition to the scholarship around emergent literacy discussed earlier in this chapter (the psychogenesis of the written word; whole language; phonics), this study draws on further work regarding spontaneous writing (commonly called invented spelling in English), as well as more technical work regarding the mechanisms of phonemic awareness. Ehri (2005), for example, studies primarily English-language reading development, basing her discussions on phase theory, which aligns largely with the alphabetic phases of Ferreira and Teberosky (1986). The author emphasizes the importance of graphophonemic awareness in the construction of what I call here the *reading repertoire*, even in more opaque languages such as English. This indicates that despite the particularities due to the transparency of Portuguese and the higher opacity of English, the strategies emergent readers in this study applied to their home language serve them as well in their additional one. Furthermore, work by Ouellette and Sénéchal (see 2017, for example), present persuasive evidence of the importance of invented spelling to the literacy acquisition process, claiming it as a key component together with the development of phonological awareness and other explicit reading strategies. Though the work mentioned thus far does not work directly with bilingual settings, it does provide the English-language basis for the structuring and justification of the present study.

Within the realm of Portuguese language literacy, Miranda (2007), Miranda and Matzenauer (2010) and Ferreira and Miranda (2020) offer considerations regarding phonemic awareness, emergence of literacy, and notably the "errors" learners make along with the opportunity this gives us as researchers to understand reading from students' perspective. Also important is this literature is the link that is carefully traced between phonological awareness and literacy acquisition, which, according to Miranda,

> Can be established since, during spelling acquisition, the child, in their attempts to perceive the properties of this new subject matter, the writing system, tries to

> match it with a subject of similar nature, oral language, or better put, the knowledge they have about the phonology of their mother tongue. (2007, p. 2).

Linking literacy acquisition to the processes of phonology and phonemic awareness factor prominently into the structure and analysis of this study, and these contributions were invaluable to the process.

Many of the frameworks presented thus far – whether in conceptualizing language itself or regarding the literacy acquisition process – have in common the trait of non-linearity. As presented above, the theories underpinning this study establish language as a living construct, molded by those who use it, impossible to reduce to the sum of its parts. It follows, then, that one cannot understand literacy development in two languages as siloed literacy processes in English and Portuguese, for example, which are then joined together. For this reason, frameworks helping to understand the relationship among the resources a multilingual brings to learning are essential. The concept of biliteracy and pluriliteracy, discussed previously, which examine the different ways the literacy acquisition process occurs when more than one language is involved, factors prominently into the study and merits mention here again as I conclude the introduction to the study's theoretical foundations. Furthermore, the concept of translanguaging forms an important theoretical foundation to this study as well. The concept refers not only to natural linguistic phenomenon of bilingual behavior, but also to a pedagogical practice (CENOZ; GORTER; 2021), and is born of views that recognize and value fluid language practices. Though in the following chapter I will further explore the evolution and implications of the term, here I will summarize the concept using Garcia and Li introductory definition of translanguaging as

> […] an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to separate languages. (p. 2).

In this section as in the earlier mentions of literacy theory, I have brought together and drawn connections between scholarship based in English language contexts and those rooted in the Brazilian reality. While it is common to encounter references to literature from the global north in the Brazilian and South American perspective on literacy acquisition, the opposite is not true, even in the context of dual language. By bringing geographically diverse perspectives, and weaving them together in equal proportion, it is my hope that this dissertation contributes to

growing recognition from the academic global north of the contributions of the South. With this, I turn now to methodological aspects of this study.

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Methodological-Theoretical Groundwork

First and foremost, I reiterate here that this study emerges from, and humbly hopes to contribute to, epistemologies of the Global South. The methodology contained herein is itself an homage to the knowledge and modes of thinking generated by the *"vozes do Sul"*, or "voices of the South" (MOITA LOPES, 2006): voices that through scholarship, leadership and, at the level of my UFBA cohort – conversations and camaraderie – welcomed me and allowed me to learn alongside them. It is my hope that through the affirmation and commitment to the methodology described below, my research may contribute to what Kleiman (2013) calls "the viability, or truly the relevance, of (academic) proposals in the ring of epistemological fights, be it the local ring or the global" (p. 44).

Designed as a qualitative study, the executed research sought to describe, through observation and writing sample data, specific classroom phenomena and focuses on descriptive analysis. With the challenges described above stemming from the unexpected shift in classroom modality, new strategies were developed to make meaningful research viable. However, the essence of the methodology remained unchanged.

The primary structure and setting of the research situates it within the broad category of a field study, as it took place on site – inside the virtual classrooms of the host program. However, the study also draws on elements of other modes of qualitative research, for example, the ethnographic study. As research that relies on the observation not only of the happenings in the field, but specifically on the interaction among people in that setting, important elements of ethnography informed methods. Ethnography, or, "literally the description of cultures or groups of people that are perceived as possessing a certain level of cultural unity" (CANÇADO, 1994, p. 55), is what helps us see the group of students in the classroom as culturally united, specifically in their societal context and their collective endeavor to learn to read in two languages, in the

case of this study. Citing Erickson (1981), Cançado highlights that within ethnography, the researcher has two primary resources at their disposal – looking and asking. Looking refers to what is commonly called classroom observation, while asking refers to all that the researcher might actively engage in to generate further data, for example interviews or in the case of this study, planned activities. The elements of ethnography important to the present research project appear in various dimensions, from the methodological-theoretical standpoint, to the research tools employed, to the conceptualization of the role of the researcher.

Beyond identifying the qualitative field of research and that of specifically ethnography, there exist other modalities that aid in the description of this study by contrasting with what was *not* attempted. Though the practices of action research, for example, contributed to imagining the structure of this project, they clearly are distinct from the final objectives of this study and go beyond its scope. Whereas in action research, cycles of activities are applied as the researcher assesses and pivots accordingly between cycles, thus guiding participants through a process, the present study differs importantly. In reviewing the literature and evolution of action research over the past decades, Franco (2006) summarizes the enduring defining traits of the methodology throughout the years as

> [...] the issue of social transformation, now imbued with ethical and political commitment, with an eye to the emancipation of its subjects and the conditions that obstruct this emancipatory process; comprised of interpretive analysis approaches; structured by critical participation, **whose research process must allow for reconstruction and restructuring meaning and pathways at all points of the process,** configuring as an essentially pedagogical procedure and as such, a political one. (p. 489, my emphasis).

According to this description, many characteristics dialogue with the design of the present study, for example, the interpretive approach to data analysis and the eye toward the socio-critical. However, the fundamental aspects of redesign and social transformation within the project itself lay beyond the scope of this Master's project. In this case, the cycles of activities were pre-established rather than iterative, having the goal of capturing a snapshot of student practices for subsequent analysis, rather than modification of the research design in real-time. The research project has clear implications politically and pedagogically, as Franco (2006) phrases it, though it remains more aligned with ethnographic classroom research as described above.

Regardless of the model, the tradition of classroom research is strong within Education and Applied Linguistics and the responsibility and context it brings are important to revisit here.

Writing about classroom research of language teacher practices, Telles (2002) draws attention to the consistent yet one-sided relationship between the academy and the Brazilian public school system. Signaling the problematic nature of what teaching professionals and administrators can experience as adversarial, Telles cautions against seeking out school environments only when they are useful to the academy: in moments of (1) undergraduate internship requirements or (2) classroom research, often critiquing rather than contributing. As an important piece to remedy this, the author alerts researchers to the care regarding the nature of the partnership built with the classroom teacher. Rather than beginning from critique, Telles reminds researchers that "in general, the idea is that teachers understand their pedagogical practices, but are not accustomed to making their knowledge explicit or talking about it" (p. 97). In this perspective, the researcher and teacher work together in a meaning-making effort regarding classroom practice (TELLES, 2002). Firm confidence in teacher practice, along with the default to affirmation rather than critique guided my research and, in the spirit of Telles' recommendations, aided in the construction of the research relationship with the participating teachers.

2.4.2 Online research considerations

In the introductory section of this chapter, I mentioned the influence of the global pandemic of Covid-19 specifically as it pertains to this study. The impact of this tragic and historic moment cannot be understated; its influence has touched every aspect of modern life and interaction throughout the globe. Particularly in Brazil, as of this writing, the reality of Covid-19 persists.

The pandemic imposed a virtual research setting on most studies carried out in the humanities during this period. The implications of working online with qualitative research participants laid out by CM Mendes, from the advantages of reaching difficult geopolitical situations to the challenges of unequal access to internet and low digital literacy (2009), have now taken on dimensions previously unimagined. What was once perhaps an infrequent methodological choice has become our default option. With this, new research creativity (PRESADO; BAIXINHO; OLIVEIRA, 2021) and possibilities have arisen alongside the challenges to ethnographic research (PRESADO *et al*. 2021) presented by the screen.

Within the realm of education, specifically, challenges posed by remote learning itself merge with methodological difficulties in research as well. The shortcomings and exclusion of

remote learning are many, and for those acquainted with the Brazilian educational context, perhaps not surprising. Unequal access to reliable internet, family involvement and access to computers or other devices immediately arise as complicating factors that threaten the viability of this modality on a wide scale (OLIVEIRA; SOUZA, 2020). Beyond this, internal school factors such as staff preparedness, teachers' excessive burden and demands, as well as school readiness presented challenges, even at the time of writing, when the entirely in-person learning format has returned. Furthermore, the factors mentioned here speak only to the *occurrence* of remote learning and do not begin to address the quality of teaching and learning, nor the assessment practices, so heavily reliant on affective relationships between teacher and students (OLIVEIRA; SOUZA, 2020). When thinking about educational research as a whole, the challenges mentioned here reverberate beyond the classroom: a school that does not function or a child who cannot participate in class cannot as readily be accessed. As I proceed in discussing the present study's *corpus* and subsequently its analysis, it is paramount to do so with the recognition that within the context of Covid-19 in Brazil, education – however altered, damaged or reinvented – became a privilege, as did the ability to conduct research.

2.4.3 *Corpu*s and Analysis

As theoretic and methodological literature on research design reminds us, having multiple angles from which data is analyzed is a pillar of qualitative research. Often referred to as triangulation, this practice helps bring depth to the understanding and discussion of the study. As Fígaro, writing about triangulation within the field of communication, argues, the strategy presents "[...] an alternative capable of building coherence and cohesion in empirical research" (2014, p. 125). The aim is to bring depth and confidence to the research, acknowledging that no one dimension can itself account for the complexity of the phenomenon studied. Citing Jensen and Jankowski (1993), Fígaro mentions four types of triangulation: that of data, researchers, methods and theory. This project diversified primarily its methods and theory, seeking, as Fígaro writes, to engender "more solid analyses of the problems in question". Cançado (1994) also describes triangulation, bringing in the diversification of research tools in writing that "[...] the use of triangulation is advocated for, that is, the use of different types of *corpus*, coming from the same target research situation, with different methods, and a *variety of research instruments*" (1994, p. 57, my emphasis). In diversifying methods, three tools for data generation were

employed: spontaneous writing activities for the collection of students writing samples, word panels for the observation of word-level reading and reflection, and retroactive classroom observation.

In order to discuss the data generated, thematic analysis was conducted. Thematic analysis, an approach to qualitative data discussion based on the creation of interpretive categories, offers the flexibility needed in a qualitative study, while structuring analysis within a framework (BRAUN; CLARKE, 2006). In the case of this project, both pre-established and emergent categories were called upon, both in analyzing student writing samples as well as transcriptions obtained from recordings of online classes. This blends together, as Braun and Clarke (2006) write, the theoretical (pre-established) and inductive (emergent) approaches, by having both set categories and leaving space for what appears through the *corpus*. In fact, Braun and Clarke (2006) bring forward a six-step guide useful in giving structure to an approach known for flexibility. However, caution is offered in reminding researchers that adaptations are of course necessary, and most importantly, "[...] analysis is not a linear process, moving from one phase to the next. Instead, it is a more *recursive* process, where movement back and forth is needed." (2006, p. 86). According to the authors, in analyzing a *corpus*, the following arc can be observed: familiarizing yourself with the data; generating initial codes; searching for themes; reviewing themes; defining and naming themes; producing the report (2006, p. 87). In Chart 1, I include a table of pre-established and emergent themes for coding both types of data, with specific sub-themes of written data listed as well.

Chart 1 – Extracted Themes of Data Set

Data Set	**Themes**	**Modality of Theme**
Transcriptions from Class Recordings	Students' Metalinguistic Reflections (Filter A)	Pre-established
Transcriptions from Class Recordings	Student Learning Strategies (Filter B)	Emergent
Transcriptions from Class Recordings	Student Self-Correction and Attitude Toward Errors (Filter D)	Emergent
Transcriptions from Class Recordings	Teacher Response to Student Reflections (Filter C)	Emergent

Writing Samples	Over-insertion of English Language Features (Filter 1)	Pre-established
	Use of the Letter K (Subfilter 1a)	Emergent
	Use of the Letter Y (Subfilter 1b)	Emergent
	Use of the Letter Q (Subfilter 1c)	Emergent
	Doubling of Letters (Subfilter 1d)	Emergent
	Over-application of Newly Acquired Digraphs (Subfilter 1f)	Emergent
Writing Samples	Inclusion of Brazilian Portuguese Grapho-Phonemic Elements (Filter 2)	Pre-established
	Nasalization (Subfilter 2a)	Emergent
	Vowel Representation (Subfilter 2b)	Emergent
	Consonant Representation (Subfilter 2c)	Emergent
	Epenthesis (Subfilter 2d)	Emergent
	Diacritical Marks (Subfilter 2e)	Emergent

Source: Created by the author

As seen in the chart above and mentioned in the previous paragraph, a blend of pre-established and emergent categories arose to best examine the data set collected, with this hybrid category system bringing certain benefits (BRAUN, CLARKE, 2006). Pre-established categories guide analysis, while the possibility of emergent categories leaves open the fundamental possibility that the researcher will discover unexpected aspects within the *corpus*. I address these categories in depth in chapter four.

2.4.4 Place of the researcher

In presenting this research, beyond describing the host program and study conducted, I must situate myself within this landscape. Though absolute scientific neutrality is practically unattainable, I cannot omit reflections regarding distance, bias, vested interest and the like. The responsibility to actively examine and acknowledge the influence these elements exert on all

phases of the research does not undermine study. Rather, it contextualizes, bringing to the discussion important considerations without nullifying the validity.

Cançado (1994), writing about ethnographic research in the classroom, affirms that neutrality of the researcher is unrealistic, but that potential conflicts resulting from non-neutrality can be compensated for by the assumption of a non-judgmental stance, along with a hands-off approach in regard to the interactions that develop within the classroom. In the case of this project, I navigated the difficulty of having little distance from the classrooms being observed, confirming the impossibility of neutrality that Cançado describes. I embarked on the presentation of study design, observation, adjustments to the execution and all other aspects as the researcher, but unquestionably, I played the simultaneous role of coordinator of the program and of the teachers involved. This proximity holds potential influence on the configuration of the study. Regarding the educators, as teachers in the program coordinated by the researcher, the possibility must be considered that the professionals invited to participate in the study did not feel comfortable declining. This factor evades neutralization, though I certainly made every effort in our initial conversations to emphasize the optional nature of the invitation. To some degree, the power relationship inherent in school hierarchy will play a role in any study, even one in which the researcher conducts the work in a third-party school, for even in these cases, an administrator will always have approved the project, likely making the introduction between researcher and classroom teacher. In this way, the optionality of participating is always altered.

Once the study began and progressed, classroom observation posed a potential challenge to teacher comfort in my analysis of the situation. As the coordinator, I evaluated that observing the class live could be received by teachers as classroom observation of a professional rather than academic nature. For this reason, I conducted only a select number of live observations, primarily at the outset of the study, to witness the application of the activities and assess the difficulties specific to the remote learning setting. After this, I gave preference to reviewing the recorded sessions afterward, in order for teachers and students to feel most at ease in their interactions throughout.

Beyond considerations about how students and teachers respond to the overlap between research and coordination, I had important reflection work to do regarding my own expectations of the study and its results. As the coordinator of the program since 2014, I asked myself the following questions: What, if any, is my vested interest in a certain type of result? How might I

believe that the research results reflect my professional performance? How do the pressures of my job influence my availability for the project? These questions do not reveal simple paths around the issues. However, their significance lies not in uncovering an answer, but in bringing consciousness of their influence on the study and its execution. These reflections served as reminders to create distance between my work in the program and my research in it. To aid in this effort, I created schedule boundaries for my research: I reserved constructing activities, reviewing class recordings and reading writing samples for times of the day distant from my normal working hours. Exchanges with teachers about the project and its progress were organized into specific meetings rather than interspersed with daily school business. Most importantly, I refrained from offering any feedback about teachers' interactions with students during the planned activities, though this exchange might normally occur within a routine observational setting. As for the expectation of certain results as validation of my own performance as coordinator, it was a daily exercise. Never adjusting or commenting on teachers' style or responses proved an important boundary. Feedback on classroom orientation was only offered when I found a clear connection between that feedback and the basic implementation of the designated activities. Beyond that, defaulting to my trust of and admiration for the teachers and their practice also guided me away from attachment to results as a reflection of myself. Removing the coordinator from the merits of the classroom, thus centering the teacher herself, aided in removing personal ego and its connection to the research.

Though bias and inherent interest are unavoidable even in the most strictly quantitative studies, the importance of acknowledging the researcher's place within the study itself remains. By exploring the issues and questions I faced in relation to my position within the host school, I hope to maintain these important elements of the research visible.

2.4.5 Research Problem

The primary impetus for this study was to answer the question as to if and how emerging readers and writers take advantage of their home language and linguistic reflection in the process of literacy acquisition in the additional language, in this case, English. Beyond discovering if this indeed occurs, the larger interest, as indicated by the guiding research question, was to observe and describe how this takes place. This question lends itself to multiple facets within the same

topic. Investigating the use of home language leveraging in pluriliteracy opens inquiries into teacher attitudes toward home language use and language creativity, as well as students' own strategies and assumptions around their target language. To structure these inquiries, the following research questions guided investigation.

2.4.6 Research Questions

To reach the objective of the study, five research questions were designed to guide both research design and subsequent data analysis. To begin, the study asks: (1) how do students in first grade use their home language in early literacy acquisition of the English language? This question considers the possibility as well that despite my impressions, students may not truly leverage their first language at the moment they decode, register or reflect on words in the English language. In the case that they did, this question seeks to parse out the nuances of this use. To delve deeper in this analysis, the next research question was: (2) What are the linguistic assumptions and strategies children use when writing in the additional language? This question sets a path to describing characteristics and recurrent themes of emergent writing of Brazilian children in the English language. Through this question, I endeavored to open a window onto the perceptions of written language that students bring to the process. What do they believe characterizes a written word in English? What crossover do they believe exists between English and Portuguese written systems? The answers to these questions can help us as teachers to direct not only our strategies but to predict common variations, guiding students toward conventional writing when appropriate.

The connection between student work and teacher practice is constant and infinitely revised and retested. The teacher's active role in receiving, encouraging or discouraging the types of reflections and practices studied here greatly impacts the classroom environment. For this reason, the second set of research questions direct attention to the learning environment, examining its potential. In order to structure my examination of this environment, I asked: (3) how do teachers act regarding the linguistic resources students bring from their home language to the process of learning to read? Understanding that teacher reception can encourage, discourage or otherwise modify student participation, I designed the study to leave space for this observation in a rather free form. The final two research questions stem from my observation of the well

documented (LANDAU *et al.*, 2021; Duboc and Siqueira, 2020) tendency of bilingual schools in Brazil to favor and market "native" teachers as assets of their program, as well as "English-only" policies. Following closely specific literature about the potential of culturally-sensitive and linguistically-aligned teachers in the language acquisition/learning process, I became interested through my own work in exploring more deeply the role of the Brazilian teacher and home language in a context in which both are largely undervalued (MEDGYES, 2001; SIQUEIRA *et al.*, 2018; KUMARAVADIVELU, 2016). For this reason, the study poses question (4): In what way does the figure of the Brazilian teacher support the use of the home language as a strategy in the development of English? Finally, the last research question focuses even further on teacher attitude and its relationship to learning, asking: (5) How does the acceptance of the home language, if present, contribute to the development of student learning? The five guiding research questions, moving from broad to more specific, center around the emergent literacy process and its relationship to the home language and environment offered by the teacher. Serving to focus research and data analysis, these questions also structured the study design itself.

2.4.7 Objectives

In accordance with the research questions, my study's objectives sought insight into the role of first language in biliteracy development. The main objective was to investigate the use of Portuguese by students and teachers in and around emergent writing in the second language setting. To this end, specific goals[11] were set, each reflected in the research questions. To begin, the study aimed to: (1) understand how students do or do not take advantage of their first language in the development of early literacy in English; (2) describe and classify examples of student reflections and strategies concerning the second language; (3) detail the teacher's practices around the use of the first language in the classroom; and (4) explore the role of the Brazilian or linguaculturally-situated teacher in an L1-aware second language education.

2.4.8 Study Design

[11] Here I have translated *objetivo geral* and *objetivos específicos* as "main objective" and "specific goals", respectively.

As a member of the host school staff, I sought a study design in dialogue with the institutional philosophy, in order to create a fluid experience for students, in keeping with the nature of their routine classroom activities. At the same time, the study was developed with investigational rigor, its design based on tenets of Ferreiro and Teberosky's work on the emergence of writing, mentioned above, as well as biliteracy acquisition, pluriliteracy frameworks, translanguaging and educational linguistics.

In studies conducted on the emergence of writing, invented spelling exercises are proposed, with the intention of ascertaining characteristics of emergent writing. In addition, Ferreiro and Teberosky (1986) make use of careful class observation to chart the interactions among teacher and students that guide the students' process and encourage students' metalinguistic reflections. Through the blending of carefully planned activities and more natural observation of student –student and teacher – student interactions, this study extracts data similar in nature. The study was built in three cycles, following identical sequences: a spontaneous writing activity with set {1} of words (see Chart 2). The following week, teachers led a word recognition activity with the same set of words. The week after, representing the third week of the cycle, classes finished by repeating the spontaneous writing activity with word set {1}. With the first cycle complete, classes initiated the second round of words the following week (week 4) with word set {2} (see Chart 2). The second round followed the same sequence as the first: a spontaneous writing activity, the word recognition panel, and the repeated spontaneous writing activity at the third week. Word set {3} (see Chart 2) followed, closing the last cycle and finalizing the phase of data collection. Sequences and dates corresponding to each cycle can be seen below. In the cases where an interval of more than one week passed between activities, a school break or holiday occurred.

Chart 2 – Biliteracy Activity Dates

	1st Round, Set {1}	2nd Round, Set {2}	3rd Round, Set {3}
1st Spontaneous Writing	Sep. 21 + 22, 2020	Oct. 26 + 27, 2020	Nov. 16 + 17, 2020
Word Recognition	Sep. 28 + 29, 2020	Nov. 3, 2020	Nov. 23 + 24, 2020

2nd Spontaneous Writing	Oct. 19 + 20, 2020	Nov. 9 + 10, 2020	Nov. 30 + Dec 1, 2020

Source: Created by the author

2.4.9 Word selection

Three sets of words comprised the full activity plan of this study. Each set reached students through a cycle of a spontaneous writing activity, followed in the next week by a word board, finalizing with the reapplication of the spontaneous writing. To create each of the three word sets, a mixture of repeated words with new items was created. In this way, progress on certain words across the entire study, spanning roughly nine weeks, as well as student strategies regarding diverse types of spelling challenges appeared during data analysis.

All words fit clearly into the lexus that a first grade student encounters throughout the school year. Age appropriateness and relevance factored highly into word selection. Each word set consisted of nine words in total, six that varied and three repeated. Within the words selected for repetition, two phonetic spelling options were chosen along with one that also brought a memorization characteristic. The remaining list was crafted observing specific criteria, including relevance to pedagogical content planned for that period as well as diversity of word length, level of phonetic transparency and written characteristics. I include the table below containing all three word sets for reference.

Chart 3 – Word Sets

	1st Cycle Words	**2nd Cycle Words**	**3rd Cycle Words**
Variable Words	Cake	Animal	Before
	Milk	Different	After
	Toy	Change	Grow
	Eggs	Nest	Size
	Calendar	Adult	Time
	Market	Turtles	Tomorrow
Repeated Words	Plant	Plant	Plant

	Bed	Bed	Bed
	Monkey	Monkey	Monkey

Source: Created by the author

The majority of words selected for each cycle were one and two syllables, in order to remain within the locus of words recognizable to students at this point in their schooling. Three-syllable words such as *tomorrow, different* and *calendar* served to stretch students' writing to more extended challenges, while still remaining within the realm of familiarity and recognition. Words with more phonetic transparency appeared more than those with more opacity, as the exercises sought to explore awareness around writing rather than stages of memorization. For this reason, words such as *grow, after* and *adult* were favored over other options within first grade vocabulary such as *enough* or *brought.*

Despite the preference for phonetic transparency, phoneme-grapheme correspondence was not the sole criteria for word selection. As English is a relatively deep language orthographically, selecting words only with high phoneme-grapheme correlation would be difficult and misrepresentative of the language students encounter. Words ending in what is commonly referred to in phonics as the "silent *e"*, such as *time* and *size* appeared, as did words with digraphs yet to be fully consolidated, such as in the word *change*. Some lexical items were included based on the expectation that they would spark commentary among the students, *turtles* and *tomorrow* being two examples.

The data set yielded many interesting and unexpected insights regarding student reactions to certain items as well as their assumptions regarding their spelling. Reflections regarding the word sets were diverse and increased in complexity as the study progressed. These reflections will factor prominently in chapter four.

2.4.10 Applied Activities and Adaptations for Remote Learning

As previously mentioned, the onset of the pandemic Covid-19 reformulated the default school model and with it, activities, interactions and strategies. In this transformation I also needed to reimagine the current study to align with new restrictions and take advantage of new possibilities. Within the host program's class structure in 2020, activities were applied during the

small group sessions, which gathered only half the class instead of the full group. For this reason, each week the activities were applied twice – with the first subgroup and subsequently with the second. In this way, more spontaneous interaction was possible, as well as better quality screenshots and deeper discussion following student comments.

In an in-person school setting, spontaneous writing activities would have been conducted in the classroom, on worksheets previously designed and printed. Discreet side conversations with students about their writing choices would have occurred concurrently with the activity itself, by approaching students individually beside their charts. In a remote learning transformation of this sequence, these discreet conversations, in a virtual classroom context, were no longer viable. Instead, I encouraged teachers beforehand to ask initial questions about students' spelling decisions and thought process, in order to prompt students to expound upon their linguistic reflections. No guidance was offered to teachers on how to conduct the ensuing conversations.

The spontaneous writing[12] activities themselves, applied a total of six times in three classes (six subgroups) throughout the study, appeared through the teacher's screen sharing to students in their virtual classroom. Created as a Google Doc file in the layout favored by the school (see appendices 1-3), the activity had illustrative cartoon images paired with blank space immediately to the right. In an in-person setting, each student would receive one copy of the activity, and would fill in, with pencil, the blank space to the right of each image. In the remote learning adaptation to this exercise, an enlarged version of the image was projected to students, who recorded their written answer on a piece of paper numbered 1 to 9 at home. Black marker was favored, exceptionally, for this activity to increase legibility over the screen, and, as mentioned previously, photographs of the work were requested from families, though these were not often sent.

The remote format presented challenges not only in reimagining the application of the activity, but in its execution by students and, thus, in subsequent data analysis. Legibility of students' writing over the screen due both to writing utensils chosen and quality of the teacher's screenshot initially appeared considerably compromised. With pencil, students' work was faint,

[12] In the context of the study conducted within the host program, I have chosen to use the translation "spontaneous writing" (from the Portuguese *escrita espontânea)* rather than the English term "invented spelling". This is meant to reflect the Brazilian context in which I conducted the study, as well as the concepts and practices already in place in the host school.

almost impossible to see over the screen. Compounding this difficulty factor was the challenge the children encountered when attempting to hold their work in the correct position for the moment of the screenshot at the end, to record their work. This was compounded by teachers' unfamiliarity with the strategy. After reviewing the initial screenshots, the preferred strategy changed to encourage the use of dark marker, and included some tutorial for students about how and where to hold their work in order for the teacher to capture it. Teachers also tested different forms of screen capture, testing the image of the full group in tiles on one screen as well as that of individual students pinned with larger video and then photographed. They also reinforced their requests to families to receive photos of the work directly from home. In my subsequent analysis of the data, I also found it possible, in some cases, to pause class recordings and decipher writing that had been lost at the moment of the screenshot, triangulating this information to create a more complete register.

What were referred to as Word Recognition activities were also applied. In this case, a word panel (see Appendices 4-6) was provided to teachers in the form of one slide containing a number with one word next to it, the intention being to help students identify a word they could read, citing the number next to it for all to locate. In an in-person setting, this activity could occur as a panel written on the white board, or even as a construction of the class together involving drawing, writing, collage and other strategies. In an in-person classroom, students could identify words they recognized, moving to the board to signal with their hand which word they were reading. In the remote setting, I sought to adapt these features of the activity. The numbers accompanying the words served as reference for students to specify where they saw each word. The words were presented in colorful slides, in large text and written in all capital letters, as the host school's literacy arc designates at this stage.

Challenges presented by the remote learning format differed from those of the spontaneous writing activities. In my evaluation of similar activities from past and in-person classroom observation, student reflection on recognition depends in large part on spontaneity. As one student comments on how they identified a word, or on perceptions that occur to them, others respond, ponder, and formulate their own thoughts on what they see. This interaction depends not only on being focused on the same activity in the same space, but on having free speaking turns. In the current remote learning setting, the default practice of turning off microphones and waiting for turns to open them proved a necessity in order for class to proceed on a daily basis. However,

it inarguably hindered spontaneity and inhibited free turns (though the host program's practice encourages students to open their microphones as desired without teacher permission). Based on observation, the hurdle of officially initiating a speaking turn by opening the microphone, whether to speak to the teacher to respond to a fellow student, decelerated and reconfigured interaction, specifically in this particular activity.

2.5 Results

2.5.1 A brief description

As expected in such a context-specific study, the results of the research, further analyzed in chapter four, are highly context-specific and varied. I hope, through the data, to create the beginnings of a *corpus* of simultaneous pluriliteracy acquisition in the Brazilian context, as well as the practices that lend us insight into it. Furthermore, I seek to formalize aspects of the process that educators likely assume instinctively but do not possess, as yet, the evidence to confirm. These aspects include, on the part of students, common misconceptions regarding the written word in English, major difficulties and preferred strategies. Regarding teacher practice, these aspects extend to teacher attitudes toward error and student strategies, as well as actions and interventions for the activation of metacognitive and metalinguistic skills.

Through the data analysis, certain patterns of behavior, observation and strategies surfaced. For the two different modes of data (student writing samples and classroom recordings) distinct results were observable. Each student completed, at most, six different spontaneous writing activities. In this data, possible assumptions about the written word in English, common errors, and common traits of emergent writing were identifiable. Class recordings, of which 54 were reviewed, provided a very different and equally rich view of the use of home language and metalinguistic resources in the classroom. Through this data, teacher practices were observed and characterized. These practices reveal possible outlooks regarding the use of home language, as well as teacher strategies concerning correction, risk taking, and metalinguistic reflections. Important student behaviors were also observable. Students' metalinguistic reflections, in the form of observations and commentary, were accessible through the recordings, as were their practices regarding self correction and error, and translanguaging practices. These diverse threads

of data weave together the use and influence of the home language, attitudes toward it and strategies that leverage it. In the following chapter, I will explore theoretical bases that rooted my analysis of each of these threads.

3 THEORETICAL ENCOUNTERS

"Escrevi igual, só faltou essas últimas letras aí"

The present study arose in part from my perception that at the crossroads of the fields of applied linguistics and elementary education, there was, as yet, little Brazilian scholarship to guide me and fellow colleagues. On a personal level, I noticed constantly that at my place of work, a Brazilian elementary school, I, as a bilingual program coordinator, was one of the few voices "translating" pedagogical issues into the second language cenario. In parallel, my Master's and Doctoral cohort of 2018.1, self-denominated *Vozes do Sul*, was replete with inspiring academics and teachers working on critical issues related to language, but none of them with children nor in bilingual settings.

The existing work in the nascent field that is prestige bilingual education/FLBE in Brazil is what guides us thus far. Authors already cited in the introduction and previous chapter have made important strides in discerning and sculpting what certainly will consolidate itself as a field of study. Fernanda Liberali and Antonieta Megale, individually and in partnership, have numerous publications that today serve as fundamental texts describing efforts and challenges (See MEGALE, 2005; MEGALE; LIBERALI, 2016; MEGALE; LIBERALI, 2020 to cite only a few). Selma Moura, first through her clearinghouse blog *Educação Bilíngue no Brasil* (2020), and later through online courses and trainings offered, consolidated and distributed information in the field, providing opportunities for study and focusing, at times, on biliteracy development in young children. Marcelo Marcelino, in scholarship on bilingualism, also helps to define and strengthen the field in the Brazilian context. Antonieta Megale's edited volume *Educação Bilíngue no Brasil* (2019) and the subsequent collection *Desafios e Práticas na Educação Bilíngue* (2020) further establish the field by bringing together authors working in the area, and consolidating theory, notably for my research, as it relates to younger children. Camila Dias, in

these same volumes, offers excellent foundational texts about literacy development and relevant practices.

Finally, we can turn to the Instituto de Singularidades in São Paulo as the primary educational institution focusing specifically on issues central to prestige bilingual education. Beyond these academics, we have countless teachers, teacher educators, school administrators and online content creators guiding practice and offering support as the field grows. These contributions are of immense importance and underpin much of the study conducted here. However, it stands as no surprise that much remains to be explored, investigated and written, especially in the area of simultaneous biliteracy acquisition. In fact, Liberali and Megale (2016), in a literature review, found only 16 master's dissertations and one PhD thesis in Applied Linguistics concerning bilingual education between 1995 and 2015. Though through tracking conferences, presentations and scholarly production, they trace what appears to be growth in the research field, we can certainly affirm that it is embryonic. My intention with this dissertation is to contribute to this growing body of work.

3.1 Supporting Theories and Frameworks

I do not situate the present study into one single field; instead, I consider it interdisciplinary in its essence. The diverse theories brought to discussion here confront and inform each other constantly, and one cannot understand the project in the absence of any one of its integrated theories. Below, I will present them as discreet topics in order to aid in their introduction, yet the important fact remains that they are fluidly present throughout in practice, all permeating the conceptualization, research design, execution and analysis of this study.

3.1.1 El Giro Decolonial

The formalization of what is called a decolonial lens can be traced to the *Grupo Modernidade/Colonidade*, formed at the end of the 1990s by a group of Latin American thinkers (BALLESTRIN, 2013), and constituting what Ballestrin (2013) calls an "epistemological movement" (p. 89). The "decolonial turn," or *el giro decolonial*, inserting itself in the arc of work form the fields of post-colonial studies, subaltern studies, and cultural studies, affirmed Latin

American voices in this conversation. A detailed account of key moments in this construction, and the key thinkers comprising this group, can be consulted in Ballestrin's (2013) review of what the author calls a "genealogy" of post-colonialism.

Yet in order to enter into discussion about the decolonial lens, we must first determine what is understood by the word *coloniality.* Describing the term, Quijano (2015) clarifies that while coloniality finds its origins in colonialism, the latter refers to an historical structure of domination of specific populations over others, while the former refers to a process that has proven much longer-lived and deeply rooted. The end of colonialism gave rise to coloniality, and has its mark roughly around the end of the cold war (CASTRO-GOMEZ; GROSFOGUEL, 2007). Quijano, defining coloniality, writes,

> Coloniality is one of the constitutive and specific elements of the capitalist world order of power. It is founded on the imposition of racial/ethnic classification of the world's population as a cornerstone of the order of power and it operates on all of the planes, environments and material and subjective dimensions of daily social existence and at the societal scale. It originates in and spreads from America. (2015, p. 342).

As Quijano details, diverse aspects of society and power relations are understood through the lens of coloniality: politics, capitalism, the global job market, gender relations, the invention of race, and more.

The work of decolonizing this second stage of colonialism, what researchers call coloniality, requires much more than the dismantling of economic relations of domination in the form of hierarchy. To begin, decolonial thought, though perhaps formalized by academics, stems directly, in the case of the Americas, from indigenous and afro-caribbean knowledge bases (MIGNOLO, 2007). In other words, decolonialism is not authored by scholars but rather part of subaltern thought itself. The reflection about decolonialism, though more recent, is preceded inarguably by the "epistemic decolonial practice*"* (MIGNOLO, 2007)*,* which arises with the onset of colonialism. It responds to what Castro-Gomez and Grosfoguel (2007) call a *heterarchy* of "the multiple racial, ethinic, sexual, epistemic ecnomic and gender relations **that the first decolonization left intact"** (p. 17, emphasis added). In other words, decolonization did not end domination, it transformed it. Important to stress is that decoloniality understands the importance of the diverse forms of domination simultaneously, standing in stark contrast to discourses that would situate our world in a "post-colonial" phase. In these new systems of domination, ways of

knowing and ways of expressing (language) act as powerful forces in determining social reality (CASTRO-GOMES; GROSFOGUEL, 2007), bearing direct relevance to the present study not only in context but in stated goals of this research.

Decoloniality directs our attention to structures of power in diverse aspects of life, one of which being language, its conventions and its use. At a fundamental level, the issue of language and epistemology intertwine, as Baptista and Lopez-Gopar (2019) challenge us to ask ourselves *from where* we speak or listen, in other words: to identify the place that gives rise to our language. Extracting the colonial threads that run through linguistic education, Baptista and Lopez-Gomar (2019) remind us of the coloniality of language as part of the coloniality of power. The merging of the concepts of language, nation-state and people by domination efforts (BAPTISTA; LOPEZ-GOPAR, 2019), with the intention to create a "one nation, one language" parallel, necessarily restricts language practices. In this way, hierarchical language structures are instated, nullifying a people's prerogative to choose their own linguistic practice, instead establishing an imposed language.

As a component of the "modern government apparatus" (BAPTISTA; LOPEZ-GOPAR, 2019), the education system and the linguistic education that therein occurs falls squarely into these reaches of coloniality. In fact, many of the historic examples of bilingual education in Brazil described in chapter two involve elements of power discussed here, to this day. In turning to a research proposal born and developed within an English-language bilingual program, the coloniality of language must inform the perspective at all times. For language to become part of a decolonial response, we first understand its problematic integration in the construction of systems of power and the restriction of epistemes. From there, we recognize the acts of linguistic resistance inherent to human history, and the possibilities within linguistic education today.

A decolonial response to the "*sistema-mundo*" in which we operate involves the amplification and reintroduction of a diversity of knowledge and ways of knowing that have not been lost but actively pushed to the margin of contemporaneity. This "opening*",* as Mignolo (2007) calls it, makes space, recognizing that

> [...] the genealogy of decolonial thought is *pluri*versal (not *uni*versal). As such, each knot in the web of this genealogy is a point of departure and opening that reintroduces languages, memories, economies, social organizations, subjectivities, splendors and miseries from imperial legacies. The current moment asks for - demands - decolonial thought that connects genealogies

> scattered across the planet and offers 'other' economic modalities, social and subjective policies. (MIGNOLO, 2007, p. 45).

Opening, ceding space, hearing subaltern voices and seeking the "pluriverse" that Mignolo describes meets Walsh's (2010) notion of critical interculturality: a constant construction responding to racialized power structures that Quijano (2015) details; a concept that is, Walsh (2010) argues, at its essence decolonial. Interculturality, in this perspective, is not tolerance of other ways of being and thinking, nor is it a token celebration of such. It is "a tool, as a process and project that is constructed starting from the people – and as a demand of subalternity – in contrast to the functional, that acts from the top. It underpins and requires the transformation of structures, institutions, and social relations, and the construction of different conditions of being, thinking, knowing, learning, feeling and living" (WALSH, 2010, p.171). Many of the theoretical encounters described further on in this chapter were chosen precisely for the channels they open and perspectives within which they choose to understand learners and users of language, echoing these new ways of knowing, learning and being that Walsh describes. Striving to be part of and informed by the forging of this decolonial and intercultural space, we turn to Critical Applied Linguistics and English as a Lingua Franca now. These two areas of theory and practice hold great promise in this regard, illuminating practical possibilities within the decolonial episteme.

3.1.2 Critical Pedagogy and Critical Applied Linguistics

To discuss Critical Applied Linguistics, I first honor Paulo Freire and discuss the field of Critical Pedagogy. Traced to the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freirean Critical Pedagogy focuses on education as an act of freedom, liberation and the opening of critical consciousness, or *concientização* in Portuguese (FREIRE, 1974). It seeks to transcend structures of domination, manipulation and oppression both in the classroom and through the classroom. On the level of the teacher-student relationship, so pertinent to this study, a critical approach to education redefines these roles. Instead of valuing teachers as gatekeepers of knowledge, imbuing students with information, the lived experiences and critical capacity of students are validated (FREIRE, 1974).

The field of Critical Applied Linguistics (CAL), in turn, challenges us to implicate the study of language in this landscape of social, cultural and geo-political issues that affect our

learners. Understanding language as intricately interrelated with these topics, the field opens immediate possibilities by situating language as both interwoven in problems and integral in their solutions. Arguing for new directions in the established field of Applied LInguistics, Moita Lopes (2006) employs the metaphor of sailing the same boat in new directions, directions the author considers *mestiço* or transgressive (PENNYCOOK, 2006). Of course, in setting off in search of transgressive horizons, inter or transdisciplinary practices are fundamental (MOITA LOPES, 2006). The weaving together of diverse fields is itself an acknowledgement of the fact that Applied Linguistics alone cannot and does not address the complex contexts in which it exists. Transdisciplinary measures unlock transgressive possibilities in Critical Applied Linguistics, not only allowing but obliging researchers to "politicize the act of researching and thinking of alternatives for social life" (MOITA LOPES, 2006, p. 22).

The critical or, as Lopes calls it, undisciplined, vertent of Applied LInguistics critiques its parent field for its insistence on discussing an ideal subject that exists in a vacuum, free of socio-political and historical factors surrounding it. Pennycook (2006) elaborates on a view of CAL that contemplates four dimensions of the word *critical*: critical distance from the subject, critical as socially relevant, critical in the neomarxist research tradition, and criticality as a post-modern tradition. At the same time, the author goes further, emphasizing that embodying CAL cannot be reduced to attempts to bring criticality to the already-existing field of Applied Linguistics. The author's critiques of the field are numerous, though their specifics need not occupy our pages here. However, it is valuable to explore, as we close this brief summary of Critical Applied LInguistics, what a *transgressive* field might mean. Pennycook (2006) outlines in which planes this transgression exists, and within them, one recognizes their ties to decoloniality and their place within a response to the coloniality of power, language and epistemology (QUIJANO, 2015), for example. Pennycook traces the following two expressions of a transgressive paradigm: (1) the transgression of thought boundaries imposed by dominant epistemologies and (2) the *intentional* (rather than chaotic) character of the transgression of rules and boundaries.

Importantly, the author notes, "the theory of transgression does not only challenge the limits and mechanisms sustaining the categories ways of thinking, but also produces other ways of thinking" (PENNYCOOK ,2006, p. 75). I take this not only as an affirmation but as a mandate: when engaging in critical work, our charge is not to deconstruct or dispose of. For every

transgression of a boundary or rule of thought, let us construct a new proposal. With this critical eye to contribution, we move to English as a Lingua Franca.

3.1.3 English as a Lingua Franca

As mentioned in the discussion of Critical Applied Linguistics, embedded within the power structure of certain language problematics lies the potential for the inversion of the colonial structure itself. The use of English as a lingua franca, and its field of study, commonly known as ELF, represents another such phenomenon. The term refers to the use of English among speakers (or users[13]) of diverse language backgrounds. As we will explore here, what can easily be understood at first glance as the spread of a colonial language or the erasure of local communication practices in fact lends itself to critical applications relevant to the decentralization of language power.

Earlier texts describing ELF trace the characteristics of a language in construction at its moment of use. Though once conceptualized as the interaction between speakers for whom English was not a first language (HOUSE, 1999; JENKINS, 2006, for example), Seidlhofer (2011) considers the phenomenon to be *"any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option"* (p. 7, original italics). As the global spread of English marches on, another distinctive factor is that speakers for whom English is their first language, commonly referred to as native speakers, are quickly outnumbered by those who use it as an additional language. This means, Seidlhofer points out, that the nature of ELF itself is to be shaped by non-native and native users of the language at least equally (2011).

To the complexity of the native and non-native dichotomy, we can add even more nuances for consideration. Canagarajah (2006) adds the historical perspective that ELF is not a

[13]There are important distinctions, semantically and conceptually, between L2 learner, speaker and user. Cook (2004) summarizes well in writing "The term 'L2 user' is conceptually different from 'L2 learner' even when it refers to the same person. L2 *users* are exploiting whatever linguistic resources they have for a real-life purpose. [...] L2 *learners* are acquiring a system for later use; they interact in information-gap games, they make up sentences, they plan activities in groups. [...] Sometimes 'learner' and 'user' overlap: a student learning English in a classroom can also use it over coffee five minutes later. But it is demeaning to call a person who has been using a second language for, say, half their life, a learner." (COOK, 2007, p. 242)

phenomenon of globalization and the hyperconnectivity of a world driven by the internet, but a reality of colonization. This fact itself gives rise to the structure of concentric circles of World Englishes presented by Kachru (1986). In this way, we see two macro modalities of English as a lingua franca operating: between speech communities as with the colonizer-colonized contact (Canagarajah, 2006), in other words, *inter*national communication (SEIDLHOFER, 2011), and within a speech community itself, as it occurred among colonized peoples (Canagarajah, 2006) or as it does *intra*nationally (SEIDLHOFER, 2011). Importantly, this pluri-situational use of ELF internationally does not equate to its being a "monolithic" (JENKINS, 2006) international language, quite to the contrary. The descriptive nature of ELF and its field-establishing research (often focused on accommodation, negotiation and intelligibility) takes pains not to prescribe.

An important critique of ELF is the notion that celebrating this phenomenon and the spread of a globalized English equates to an approval of an elitist language at best employed by a global intellectual class. The natural progression of this idea is, then, that the English language serves as a gatekeeper, granting access to those who invest in and perfect their language abilities, and that the field of ELF neglects to engage in, among other things, the issue of the limited pool of would-be English users who are considered by the research (O'REGAN, 2014). Other prominent points of critique refer to issues such as reification and establishing ELF as a variety of English unto itself, as well as the field's failure to engage deeply in issues of discourse, power, and truth, to name a few (O'Regan, 2014). In response to O'Regan's (2014) pointed and adamant critiques of ELF research in 2014, a lively debate followed, which provides an up-close look at the issues at play (see, in this order, O'REGAN, 2014; WIDDOWSON, 2014; BAKER *et. al*, 2014; BAKER, JENKINS, 2015). For the purposes of this project, I bring these critiques as a way to trace a rough history of the often controversial field of English as a lingua franca and follow it to where it finds itself today, as well as how I situate it within my research.

To discuss these critiques, I refer to shifting concepts and definitions within ELF, tacking importantly toward a more critical lens in confronting misconceptions about the field of study and lacunas in its own literature. Darvin (2017), for example, examines socio-economic class in relation to ELF and English use, affirming that "every communicative event is a site of struggle" (293). Siqueira (2018) drawing on work by Li, broadens this vision, suggesting that lingua franca is no longer conceived of as a variation of English but as negotiation in real time, manifesting linguistic creativity. Gimenez (2015) also highlights that ELF no longer solely seeks to describe

grammatical features of what could be considered a variety but to focus on practice through pragmatics. This shift in conceptualization of ELF is essential to its discussion and its implications in the classroom, as we make room in our practice for students' own negotiations, strengthening these abilities in preparation for realistic use of English outside of the classroom as well, and as Gimenez (2015) explores, preparing teachers. Localizing this critical lens further, Duboc and Siqueira (2020) also bring bold contributions by affirming a field of English as a lingua franca "*feito no Brasil" (*Duboc 2019 apud Duboc and Siqueira, 2020)*,* asserting the place of voices of the global South in the ELF conversation. Their argument, centering around the place these voices have in the field of ELF, brings decoloniality to the forefront, which, at its foundation, tackles structures upholding the world-system (QUIJANO, 2015). By posing pressing questions to the ELF community (for example: "How much of ELF's main literature circulating in the academic realm is representative of multiple and dissent voices running different loci of enunciation?" (DUBOC, SIQUEIRA, 2020, p. 239), the authors confront head-on issues brought by O'Regan concerning the purely self-celebratory nature of ELF literature and its supposed non-engagement with discourse, for example. They approach discourse not only "as a way of speaking about something" (O'REGAN, 2014, p. 544) but as a process unto itself. Their arguments, like some more recent ELF texts, make no reference to ELF as a variety that can be described but rather as a framework and phenomenon (Duboc and Siqueira, 2020).

The critical lens ELF brings to English-language interactions among speakers of diverse linguacultural backgrounds (COGO, DEWEY, 2012) raises fundamental considerations pertinent beyond lingua franca research, notably about the figure of the non-native speaker. These reflections are particularly relevant to the present study, as they point to notions of authority, ownership and authorship. Importantly, ELF literature also places value on attitudes toward language use, which dialogues directly with research questions driving this study. At the same time that English spreads as a language of the global elite, its dissemination places it in the hands of users of all backgrounds, leading to decentralized ownership and authority. Users of ELF, then, need not be seen as learners at different, hierarchical points along a learning process toward a common native-like goal (Seidlhofer, 2011), but rather agents in the shaping of this modality. In fact, non-native speakers present the need for native speakers of English to negotiate the meaning on different terms not their own (Canagarajah, 2006). While Seidlhofer, for example, prefers to continue using the terms native and non-native without quotations in an effort to employ them at

face value: someone who grew up speaking that language and someone who learned or acquired it as additional (2011), the author affirms the belief that these terms will fall into disuse or irrelevance, and that their connotations were already shifting at the time of writing. This change, which comes about both naturally and by active theorization, moves us away from an anachronistic model in which users of English imitate native speakers (NAULT, 2006 *apud* SIQUEIRA, 2018).

The erosion of the linguistic authority conferred to native speakers has implications much beyond a debate around lingua franca, especially for those working and thinking within the classroom environment. A concentrated shift toward a more ELF-aware classroom involves working with teachers on confronting common notions about the English language, as well as making space for the construction of "speakers' identities" (GIMENEZ, 2015, p. 81) for learners. While the analysis section of this study will address in more detail exactly how teachers build this space with their students (in the 1st grade context), for now I stress the far-reaching relevance that the disintegration of "the myth of the native speaker" holds even in the first grade classroom.

As mentioned above, protecting space for the insertion of identity into language study/use forms a significant aspect of a critically-minded view of lingua franca. Though this study does not approach identity in a comprehensive way due to its scope, it is clear that no discussion of language is complete without acknowledging the simultaneity of learning and identity construction. The construction of and reflection around local identities in the context of a global language can occur intentionally in the classroom (SANTOS, 2021) and serves as a counterpoint to critiques of ELF as a homogenized language space (SIQUEIRA, 2018). Much to the contrary of the notion of replacing one's identity with a new one, based in a dominant linguaculture of English, the possibility to reflect in the classroom is one that *expands* identities of learners. As Kalva and Ferreira (2011) so clearly parse out, "[...] when we learn to speak English we internalize a new identity. And this national identity of ours (imagined, belonging to a nation) together with the foreign language identity will form a new identity that will coexist with the others" (p. 165). It is this expansion of identity that makes room for the home language, and that leads us directly back to the present study. Language forms part of identity, and any learner or user – be they in a bilingual education, language classroom or conversational setting – brings this identity with them as they simultaneously expand it. It is not discarded, nor left behind.

In fact, Kalva and Ferreira (2011) go further on their idea of identity in the ELF landscape by connecting it to the first language as well, arguing that in response to the potentially neutralizing characteristic of globalization, the valuing of local culture, language included, arises as language users return to the importance of difference, of what sets them apart (KALVA; FERREIRA, 2011; HALL, 1999). In this way, local culture and language serve as resistance to the imposed homogeneity (HALL, 1999) of these forces of potential nullification, such as a global language, or even the imagined national identity through monolingualism (SANTOS, 2018) discussed in the previous chapter.

For the reasons presented above, in designing a study that examines the place of students' home language in a CLIL classroom, the context presented here was instrumental. I identify a multi-faceted influence of the ELF phenomenon on the design and interpretation of this research. To begin, the valuing itself of the home language and interest in its role stems from the validation of linguistic identities and diversity, inherent in the critical ELF visions explored above. An interest in the individual expressions of written language of each student also gives space to the linguistic variation that an ELF vision predicts. Perhaps most importantly, we discussed throughout this section how an *ELF feito no Brasil* (DUBOC, 2019; DUBOC, SIQUEIRA, 2020) approach dissolves the authority of the so-called native-speaker, instead valuing local production and knowledge. This aspect proved fundamental in shedding light on the present study's discussion. Though at the moment of attempting written versions of familiar words, first grade students are not engaged in the practice we would label ELF, the field offers a framework through which to understand the global language landscape in which these learners and teachers construct their linguistic identities and validate their language practices.

3.1.4 Translanguaging

Another concept central to this research is that of translanguaging. Theorization of the concept, explored in this section, moved discussions of terms such as language interference, interlanguage, code switching and language transfer toward a new framework of understanding the diverse language resources present in a bi- or multilingual person, and continues to explore its transgressive and decolonial possibilities in the classroom. Like the field of English as a lingua franca, translanguaging rejects notions of "pure" language, recognizing instead linguistic

creativity and the fluidity of language practices. After running on parallel tracks for some time, more recently ELF and translanguaging pedagogies have entered into dialogue, especially around "replacing monolingual view with multilingual views" (CENOZ, 2017).

Translanguaging is a term with a diversity of understandings and even disagreements (Li, 2018) about its implementations and implications. Garcia and Li (2014) present a wide-ranging definition encompassing distinct realms in which translanguaging occurs, describing the concept as "an approach to the use of language, bilingualism and the education of bilinguals that considers the language practices of bilinguals not as two autonomous language systems as has been traditionally the case, but as one linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to separate languages" (p. 2). In this definition we encounter key terms and ideas to any discussion about translanguaging. We return here to the notion that Grosjean (1989) stresses in emphasizing that a bilingual mind does not reduce to the sum of two monolingual ones. The view Grosjean debunks brings harmful misconceptions to the education and understanding of bilingual (or multilingual) people, most prominent of which being that the standard by which to measure their "level" of bilingualism would be that of a monolingual (GROSJEAN, 1989). This leads to deficit frameworks in which bilingual people lack, differ or are somehow in a state of imbalance across their languages. What Grosjean calls the "monolingual view of bilingualism" also leads naturally into the belief in language interference, and the expectation that different languages within a speaker do not and should not interact (GROSJEAN, 1989).

Countering this view, which Grosjean also critiques and deconstructs, Garcia and Li offer the above-cited definition. In affirming the unified "linguistic repertoire," the authors bring the next essential concept in our discussion. Discussing Gumperz's (1960; 1964) original use of this term, Busch (2012) further explores it, as have many other authors, highlighting it as an idea representing a whole, "encompassing all the accepted ways of formulating messages, thus enabling a move away from thinking languages and codes as bounded entities" (p. 19). Thinking in terms of this repertoire broadens the understanding of linguistic resources and abilities of bilinguals, as Garcia and Li explore throughout their discussion of translanguaging. Instead of envisioning two systems always held to a monolingual standard, the linguistic repertoire acknowledges the diversity of language and modalities of which a speaker avails themselves.

Returning to the term translanguaging itself, scholars exploring the concept trace the term most notably to Baker's (2001) translation of Williams' (1994 *apud* BAKER 2001) Welsh term *trawsieithu*. In this original description, the terms described a classroom phenomenon and practice whereby interactions between teacher and students occurred in Welsh and English. Since, the term has certainly taken on more significance, factoring prominently into discussions of bilingualism, bilingual education, CLIL and even English as a Foreign Language. In fact, Li (2018) frames the term as not only a theoretical concept, but as a true Applied Linguistics theory, thus establishing not only translanguaging's importance but simultaneously affirming the field of Applied Linguistics as a *generator* of theory rather than only an *applier*.

Associated terms have also contributed to the discussion and understanding of translanguaging today. Though each term has its own focus and specificities, they collectively signal the interest in validating linguistic practices transgressive to linguistic systems on some level. (For a deeper discussion of these terms, see lists with descriptions in Garcia and Li, 2014 or CANAGARAJAH, 2013). To begin, Jørgensen (2008) wrote of *polylingualism* as distinct from multilingualism, in order to emphasize the fluid nature of language practice, as opposed to a multilingual expectation of separation across language. Meanwhile, Pennycook (2010) used *metrolingual* to describe communicative urban practices, not primarily with individual languages but instead interested in the language resulting from contact. Canagarajah (2013) offers *translingual practice* to encompass the diverse fluid practices – not only linguistic but semiotic – involving language resources that are, as the author reinforces, "always in contact and mutually influence each other" (p. 6). Importantly, we also encounter here the term *codemeshing* (CANAGARAJAH, 2011) to describe the written practice of "shuttling" among languages. In this study, I will continue to use the term *translanguaging*, as it describes theory, pedagogical approach and natural bilingual practice (see LI, 2017; LEWIS, JONES, BAKER, 2012, among others).

As we turn to the above-mentioned terms and definitions to describe translanguaging and its role in the first grade classrooms in this study, discussion of what sets translanguaging apart from other nomenclature proves similarly important. Scholars exploring translanguaging and related concepts have been adamant about its importance as distinct from terms such as code-mixing or code-switching (see GARCIA; LI, 2014; LI, 2017; CANAGARAJAH, 2013, for example). In describing practices, these terms, though still widely recognized, rely on the

understanding of discrete systems rather than the unified repertoire discussed above, as Li (2017) details while writing specifically about Chinglish:

> Existing terms such as code-mixing and code-switching that assume the existence of different languages as structural and cognitive entities and focus on structural configurations of the form seem unable to fully capture the creative and critical dimensions of these expressions. A fuller description and interpretation must involve an understanding of the sociopolitical context in which these expressions occur, the history of Chinglish, the subjectivities of the people who created and use these expressions, as well as the ideologies, including linguistic ideologies, that these expressions challenge. (p. 5).

Furthermore, as I will explore in Chapter 3, translanguaging as a pedagogical approach (CENOZ, GORTER, 2021) can also be clarified by describing what it is not. In affirming that it represents distinct concepts from those of code switching or mixing I am careful to signal that importantly, translanguaging is not improvisation. A pedagogical approach drawing on a translanguaging perspective is quite the opposite: it is aware, conscious, planned and strategic. Potential benefits of translanguaging and identification of its specific role in the classroom have been carefully documented (GARCIA; LI, 2014; CREESE; BLACKLEDGE, 2010; CENOZ, GORTER, 2021 to cite only a few) and dispel the notion that translanguaging is necessarily unsystematic.

Woven into translanguaging's effectiveness as a pedagogical approach is its significance socio-culturally. To begin, numerous authors note that translanguaging does not represent a new practice nor a novelty language approach. Much to the contrary, making use of diverse linguistic resources is the portrait of our natural resting state, it occurs intuitively and constantly (GARCIA, LI, 2014; LI, 2017; CANAGARAJAH, 2013). In fact, playing on Stephen Pinker's *Language Instinct* (1994), Li (2017) affirms a translanguaging instinct in humans as well, which for the author spans linguistic as well as semiotic and modal resources. In other words, it represents a natural tendency not only for a multilingual person but for everyone in our society who communicates through multimodalities.

Moving beyond the principle of translanguaging as a natural human tendency, we come to another important significance of the concept: that of recognition of bilingual *resources* rather than bilingual *deficit* (GARCIA; LI, 2014). Recognizing translanguaging as linguistic and semiotic competence drastically alters the way in which bilinguals' abilities are viewed both societally and inside the classroom. Focusing on the educational context, Garcia and Seltzer

(2016) describe the ways in which deficit framing creates messages of non-belonging in relation to “second language”, and further cements notions that learners’ language practices are lacking, rather than diverse, fluid and adaptive. A translanguaging pedagogy, they highlight, does not demand that the teacher be bilingual or even that the school be, but that a “translanguaging space” (GARCIA; SELTZER, p. 25) be created and protected. In regard specifically to biliteracy development, I note that translanguaging, importantly, takes advantage of prior knowledge (CENOZ; GORTER, 2021), and research has affirmed that young writers leverage resources from L1 to make meaning, as well as develop their writing skills and bicultural identities (GORT, 2006). These aspects in themselves represent a challenge to linguistic hierarchies, bringing translanguaging’s social relevance into relief.

The socio-cultural importance of translanguaging practice and pedagogy as a whole manifests differently in each context. Working with immigrant and refugee populations, as do many of the scholars writing from the global north, immediately presents important differences from the CLIL contexts of the global south and the FLBE programs growing here in Brazil. However, commonalities exist and serve our discussion well. Here, we will begin by exploring translanguaging’s place in the CLIL context before turning to our Brazilian reality. To begin, Nikula and Moore (2019) trace mentions of the term *translanguaging* in CLIL literature to early publications, though these instances seem to have still been vague and without the political importance discussed here. However, the practice and pedagogy have gained attention in the field, and discussions about its place in the L2 context continue to mature. Teacher acceptance and legitimization of translanguaging represents a foundational aspect of its incorporation (Garcia and Li, 2014). This legitimization goes beyond recognition of its pedagogical benefits (Nikula and Moore, 2019), encompassing identity, inclusion and transgression.

Yet the question remains, and will continue to arise, as to *how* this embedding of translanguaging can be achieved in a pedagogically sound and culturally aware way. The answer to this question lies in the process itself, which I explore in more detail through the analysis of classroom data in Chapter 03. It evades formulas or prescriptions, and demands molding within each context. However, certain guidelines aid us in conceptualizing its role. The teacher and students, clearly, remain at the center of this process. As I have discussed above, the practice of translanguaging is natural and instinctively flowing in bilinguals’ normal practice, and thus in our students. The figure of the teacher as the mediator of the classroom experience arises, then, as a

key player in guiding this process. Hearing teachers and raising their awareness fosters familiarity, comfort and confidence with and in the concept (NIKULA; MOORE, 2019), and lays the groundwork for a translingually receptive CLIL classroom. With such important gains at stake, promoting teacher reflection regarding their use of L1 in the CLIL classroom (NIKULA; MOORE, 2019) can offer pathways to strategic translanguaging and helping students in developing their own reflections.

Furthermore, not all translanguaging unfolds as planned pedagogical practice. Many scholars have explored the simultaneous nature of the phenomenon as something both naturally occurring and an element of lesson planning. Li (2017) highlights these two possibilities in describing a *translanguaging space* and also a *translanguaging instinct,* Nikula and Moore (2019) write about *planned* and *serendipitous* translanguaging expressions in the CLIL classroom, and Cenoz and Gorter (2021) solidify the practices of *pedagogical translanguaging*. These concepts highlight the importance of translanguaging as something both intentional and natural, depending on the context. CLIL's own focus on integration of not only content and language but language resources (Nikula, Moore, 2019) and language awareness (Marsh, 2008) make the classroom well-poised to leverage natural translanguaging tendencies and translanguaging pedagogy. Concerns do exist as to the use of L1 in the CLIL classroom and whether it is governed by critical reflection or intuition on the part of the teacher (LASAGABASTER, 2013), which we will explore in more detail shortly. However, what emerges from the scholarship reviewed here is that translanguaging aligns with the CLIL classroom and offers it important practical and political perspectives.

In the Brazilian context, translanguaging assumes a particularly subversive role as we examine language practices in the light of decoloniality (QUIJANO, 2015; MIGNOLO, 2007; CASTRO-GOMEZ; GROSFOGUEL, 2007). Colonialism itself, with its explicit structures of control and exploitation, established power and hierarchy through language, thus aligning the Portuguese language in Brazil with a ruling group (SANTO; SANTOS, 2018). Deviations from this new norm were demoted to variations or dialects, and indigenous languages were grammaticized, putting them into formats recognizable to European conceptions of language (SANTO; SANTOS, 2018). In this way, insistence on the myth of monolingualism and the erasure of authentic and diverse language practices can be understood as violence against diverse identities formed, in part, by language practices. Translanguaging in the decolonial context, then,

stands as a foil to the imposition of monolingualism. Rocha and Megale envision translanguaging in its decolonial expression as a practice of resistance, and as one that creates space for transgression. In consolidating the specific characteristics of fluid language practices in the global south, the decolonial lens held up to translanguaging reveals authentic expression that can be at once critique and a vote of hope in our classrooms, for, as Rocha and Megale posit, "the translingual transformative practice demand the belief that change is possible" (p. 16).

In this section, I have reviewed key principles of the term translanguaging, as well as its critical implications and potential in the classroom. However, for a more complete framing of the present study, we must also visit another essential topic, similar in some ways but with important specificities: the use of the home language in the L2 classroom. We now turn to this topic, its relevance to translanguaging, and its role in the research discussed in this dissertation.

3.1.5 L1 in the CLIL classroom

To begin, a discussion of home language (in the study's context, L1) directly following a framing of translanguaging, which challenges the notion of "named languages," requires explanation. How can this study draw so largely on a concept that understands languages as constructs yet at the same time bring the seeming dichotomy of L1/L2 throughout its discussion, and even in its title? It is true that translanguaging, in following Garcia and Li's conceptualization, does not view languages as individual systems but rather as parts of a whole linguistic repertoire used fluidly (GARCIA, 2009; GARCIA; LI, 2014). In this way, the separate languages as such do not exist. The reconciliation of this concept with the use of the terms and framework of L1/L2, and especially that of L1 use in the classroom, is essential to the premise of this study.

For me, the answer lies in some of the most important socio-political possibilities within translanguaging, all discussed above. To explore deep rooted conventions like the strict separation of languages, the exclusion of home language, knowledge and culture from the classroom, and the belief of the superiority of the native speaker (LI, 2017), it is strategic to meet stakeholders where they are. Key people with vested interests in the learning process, such as students, families, administrators, teachers, and the general school community may need these terms to make the more abstract concepts of translanguaging and its application as a pedagogical

practice comprehensible and functional. In this way, employing the terms L1 and L2, both in this dissertation and throughout the execution of the research project, represents a conscious choice that aided in the research. Li (2017) addresses this same issue in writing that translanguaging does not deny the existence of named languages[14], and that it is possible to be aware of the "political entities of named languages" (p. 14) while still making fluid use of them, transcending their own boundaries.

With this simultaneous recognition paired with the possibility of fluid use, I now turn to the use of L1 in the CLIL classroom. The importance of the theory behind this still-emerging set of pedagogical practices to the present study cannot be understated. Here, I review some key tenets of L1 in the L2 classroom before moving on to concrete details about L1's place in CLIL and its implementation in practice. The existing literature on L1 use in the CLIL classroom remains small in quantity, so here literature from CLIL, Foreign Language and Immersion contexts contribute to the discussion.

Despite frequent and meaningful reexamination in scholarship and proven widespread use of the practice in the classroom, L1 use in the L2 setting continues as polemic (Lasagabaster, 2013) for educators and researchers. Lin (2015) offers thoughts as to why fidelity to monolingual practices proves so deep-seeded and difficult to transcend. Importantly, there do exist credited maximum-input hypotheses from early SLA theory, specifically Krashen (1982). However, an insistence on monolingual practices represents an indiscriminate application of notions of maximum input, without regard for the fact that this maximum input must be comprehensible (Lin, 2015). The monolingual orientation also comes from, of course, the pedagogical practice of teaching L2 in L2 only, reinforcing ideas of achieving bilingualism through two parallel monolingual repertoires. Stigma around L1 use also arises from association of L1 presence in the L2 setting with discredited Grammar Translation or other translation-based approaches (LIN, 2015; AUERBACH, 1993; LASAGABASTER, 2013). And finally, Lin (2015) identifies early bilingual studies from the United States that promoted the strict separation of languages, or what

[14] Rocha and Megale (preprint) provide a summary of this term, which I bring here to help contextualize: "Blommaert e Ramptom (2011, p. 4) explicam que as línguas nomeadas são construções ideológicas historicamente relacionadas à instauração, no século XIX, dos Estados nacionais. Elas constituíram "um artefato ideológico com poder muito considerável" que foram utilizadas para sustentar o modelo de estado emergente. Nessa direção, uma língua nomeada, segundo Otheguy, García e Reid (2015), é definida pela afiliação social, política e étnica de seus falantes. Os autores explicam que as duas línguas nomeadas de um sujeito bilíngue existem apenas em uma visão externa de seu multilinguismo. Do ponto de vista interno do falante, há apenas seu repertório, que pertence apenas ao falante, não a qualquer língua nomeada (OTHEGUY, GARCÍA & REID, 2015).(ROCHA; MEGALE, preprint, no pagination).

Cummins (2007) calls the *two solitudes*, as the possible root of the monolingual mindset. In a similar vein, Auerbach (1993) traces the denial of the home language to British ELT training roots, contributing to the portrait of the monolingual approach to bilingualism that pervades.

Moving beyond the stigmas and tenets that keep the L2-only framework alive in the classroom, we now turn our attention to scholarship that examines L1's role in the learner's process, and what stands to be gained or lost depending on our practice. As discussed in previous sections of this study, the notion of neutrality lies in the realm of the unachievable. Auerbach (1993) reminds us that classroom practices stand as no exception, and the author draws careful connections between "English-only" practices and policies in the adult ESL classroom and linguistic imperialism. These and any other practices we bring to the classroom, "far from being neutral and natural, have ideological origins and consequences for relations of power both inside and outside the classroom" (p. 13). With this in mind, before examining the more technical, linguistic benefits of L1 use in the classroom, we can consider the affirming potential of such inclusion. First language forms part of identity, and its nullification, criminalization or blatant ignoring (COOK, 2001) can bring negative associations with the classroom or the second language (AUERBACH, 1993). Building a classroom to the exclusion of the experience, knowledge and culture each student built in their first language (CENOZ; GORTER, 2021) can also "mirror disempowering relations" (AUERBACH, 1993, p. 5). When our students, be they children, adolescents, or adults, arrive to any classroom, they already come with a wealth of previous knowledge and lived experience. In the case of the L2 classroom, this experience in most cases occurred in their first or home language. To discard this out of hand is to cast aside a wealth of opportunity to validate student knowledge and leverage it, building the affective bond between the learner and the language.

Literature in support of not only allowance but integration of L1 is not restricted to socio-cultural arguments. To the contrary, there exist numerous linguistic aspects that point to pedagogical gains. Beyond noting that in ignoring, for example, the practice of translation in the classroom ignores the capacity of students as "language brokers" (CUMMINS, 2007, p. 225) in multilingual home contexts, Cummins presents arguments through previous research regarding how translation promotes positive attitudes toward learning. Yet translation represents only one way students and teachers leverage L1 in the classroom. In debunking three assumptions he identifies as supporting a monolingual approach to L1 in the classroom (no L1 "recourse", no

translation, and strict separation of languages), Cummins identifies some of these potential benefits. One major pedagogical boone explored by scholars (CUMMINS, 2007; Genesee, Geva, Dressler and Kamil, 2006; Kupske, 2015; Hornberger, 2003) is that of the beneficial aspects of incorporating L1, or, as Kupske terms it, "students' own language" (2015) to encourage cross-language transfer. The notion of this transfer of linguistic skills across languages, though still of course adhering to an individual language perspective rather than unified linguistic repertoire view, sheds light on the abilities and strategies students already bring to the classroom. In divergence with the stigma many feel about "resorting" to L1 (CUMMINS, 2007), aligning it with some type of failure to achieve the desired classroom dynamic in the target language, teaching for language transfer actively identifies opportunities to bring skills, whether discursive, strategic, or phonological, directly into the language learning process.

Cummins (2007) organizes transferable skills into five categories: conceptual elements, pragmatic aspects, specific linguistic elements, phonological awareness, and metalinguistic awareness. Conceptual elements of the language deal essentially with the transfer of content knowledge, and acknowledging that our students many times are not encountering a topic for the first time. Rather, they give new names to familiar concepts. Pragmatic aspects, according to Cummins, concern strategies language users employ to understand and be understood, and these include gestures, clarification, risk taking and more (CUMMINS, 2007). As the concept of language transfer implies, they are not language-specific, though, it is important to note, can be quite cultural. Linguistic elements, in their turn, include knowing cognates or recognizing root words, and of course will be stronger in language pairs that are most similar.

Metalinguistic/metacognitive and phonological awareness are the two remaining categories of language transfer that Cummins (2007) lists in his argument supporting the use of L1 in the L2 setting. In speaking of metacognitive strategies, the author refers to the ways in which students reflect on language and its acquisition. Examples include certain tools that help with the organization of thought, such as a graphic organizer (CUMMINS, 2007) or vocabulary decoding strategies, reading comprehension approaches and more. Metalinguistic, on the other hand, addresses more directly aspects of language and grammaticality, and is contained within the metacognitive (CENOZ; GORTER, 2021). Common examples include identifying sentences that are grammatically incorrect versus those that are grammatically correct but without meaning, or generalizing knowledge about word endings in order modify non-words correctly. Phonological

awareness, then, refers specifically to reflections and manipulations of grapho-phonemic aspects of language. Though there does exist evidence that bilingualism, even at varying levels, favors metalinguistic development in children (see BIALYSTOCK, PEETS; MORENO, 2012, for example), my focus here and that brought by Cummins (2007) is how the reverse can be true: that these metalinguistic abilities, already developing in the first language, contribute to development of bilingualism when activated in the L2 setting. As Cummins highlights, "If students in bilingual/immersion programs spontaneously focus on similarities and differences in their two or three languages, then they are likely to benefit from systematic encouragement by the teacher to focus on language and develop their language awareness" (2007, p. 229). In other words, highlighting these opportunities for L2 to benefit from skills developed in L1 highlights, at the same time, the opportunity for leveraging these skills in the classroom rather than denying them.

Though Cummins' considerations on the L1 still address students' languages as firmly separate entities, and at times uses the term "recourse" rather than "resource", the proposals suggested contain utmost relevance to the CLIL classroom context studied here, and to many of those present in the Brazilian FLBE context. Furthermore, the importance of validation and welcoming of L1 in the classroom transcends linguistic development, involving aspects of identity, culture, affective relationship and sense of belonging. According to Auerbach (2013), the implications can be quite wide-reaching:

> The extent to which ESL educators value participants' linguistic resources in teaching is a measure of our willingness to address basic inequities in the broader society. As we let go of the need to enforce English only in the classroom and open our ranks to community expertise, students will gain greater control of their own learning. Each of these changes represents limited steps that we can take as a profession to contribute to struggles for greater equity outside the classroom. (p. 15).

These contributions align with pedagogical translanguaging (CENOZ; GORTER, 2021) as well as contemporary thinking specifically around the CLIL classroom, thus it is worthwhile to explore further the *why* and *how* of L1 in this specific context.

There are aspects of CLIL that indicate from the outset that it is a theoretical match for the use of L1 within its classrooms. Its focus on integration, especially in the expanded interpretation of that word beyond a one-dimensional fusion of content and language (Leung and Morton, 2016), already leaves space for other elements. Furthermore, its stated focus on developing both

L1 and L2 (Lin, 2015), different from other bilingual or language learning models, acknowledges and validates learners' language, indicating the appropriateness of this type of practice. CLIL as a model encourages the development of language awareness (Marsh, 2008) and the development of active, planned language strategies (SAN ISIDRO; COYLE, 2020), making the exploration of L1 in its setting a logical extension of its foundations.

By now in our exploration of the topic, the justification for L1 and its benefits in the CLIL classroom may be clear. However, the *how* of this practice is still a matter of debate and even concern to some researchers (LASAGABASTER, 2013). Lasagabaster advocates caution in undertaking L1 research in the classroom due, among other factors, to the wide diversity of practices and views among teachers paired with relatively little consistency or consensus (2013). Grounding a similar discussion in healthy caution, Lasagabaster recalls Canagarajah (2011), emphasizing that there also exists a tendency for multilingual scholars to "romanticize" language mixing practices where perhaps more discerning attention would benefit the discussion. Lin (2015), in assessing uses of the L1 in the CLIL context as well as gaps in its breadth of research, found certain types of investigations still lacking in the literature, further revealing a need for research-based recommendations on how students and teachers best leverage L1 not only in negotiating meaning orally but in writing.

Here it serves us well to speak about what L1 use in the CLIL classroom is and is not, ideally. As has been outlined throughout this section, L1 is hardly "the enemy" of L2 development (CUMMINS, 2007), but rather, a tool for deeper accomplishment in and identification with the additional language. Though Cummins (2007) identifies L1 use as a "stepping stone" (p. 238) to proficiency, I highlight here that this view maintains a rigid division between the two languages, and evokes notions of interlanguage, or L1 use as a spectrum to be dialed down in accordance with language achievement. Though of course less use of L1 is expected as language ability increases, the view I adopt here is in keeping with frameworks of translanguaging: language repertoires will forever draw on all language resources, which are activated fluidly and in interaction with each other. Cultural, affective and identity aspects of language use should always contemplate L1, and in this way, I see its role as permanent rather than transitory. L1 can serve as scaffolding, but its place in the classroom is much larger and more significant.

Providing for the use of L1 in the classroom, in this way, is a *choice* to see the brilliance and complexity in students' linguistic lives and their language use in the classroom. What to a monolingual view may appear an error in need of correction takes on a transformative character when viewed through a translanguaging/L1-aware lens. Mistakes are no longer deviations from a norm; they are revealing insights into students' thought and learning processes and can aid teachers in encouraging and guiding their students even more, as well as in appreciating learners' efforts and risk-taking. It provides a way to raise and encourage metalinguistic awareness in students, activate their prior knowledge acquired in the L1 (CUMMINS, 2007), and possibly raise their sense of belonging.

Lin (2015) identifies three main functions of L1 use in the classroom, according to prominent literature on the subject. Ideational functions, as the author calls them, refer to making L2 content-area specific language accessible through explanations, examples and vocabulary cues given in the students' home language. The second group of prominent functions are textual. This category, rather than having to do with text itself, refers to the format of the class, and signaling shifts, transitions, key moments and activity types. Textual functions of home language use, then, keep students situated in the format of the class and its progression. Finally, Lin groups some L1 use into a third category of interpersonal functions. This includes making reference to relevant institutional norms, group dynamics or cultural values (LIN, 2015). We might colloquially call this classroom management, conflict resolution or mediation.

Recommendations for pedagogically-sound L1 use on the part of teachers include that, first and foremost, it be configured as an intentional pedagogical practice rather than an improvised occurrence. Its use should be guided carefully to create consistency, since, according to Lasagabaster upon studying two teaching contexts and their use of L1, "the use of the L1 is rather habitual and teachers' actual use hinges on their own beliefs rather than on any critical reflection and interpretation of the lessons learnt from practice" (2013, p. 6). Not surprisingly, then, this particular study encountered variation around the use of L1, with the amount of home language and strategies regarding it varying in accordance to the particular practice of each teacher. In order to counter stigmas that L1 use signals teacher laziness or lack of knowledge, or that condoning the use of L1 represents a "green light" for its unhindered use (TURNBULL, 2001 *apud* CUMMINS 2007), systematic activation of L1 and intentional, guided L1 practices must develop not only in the classroom but as schoolwide pedagogical practice.

In our specific context, recognizing value in L1 knowledge, and local culture for that matter, we necessarily dovetail with a discussion about the place of the Brazilian teacher, or lingua-culturally situated teacher, in the CLIL classroom. Though of course making space and planning for L1 in the classroom does not mandate that the teacher speak all the languages represented in that classroom (CUMMINS, 2007), there are added benefits and increased possibilities when this is the case. In the context of the CLIL classrooms studied here, students shared a home language among themselves and with their teacher. In examining the possibilities, we return to the discussion of the native speaker and consequently, the native teacher. Today, a wealth of literature challenges the notion that the ideal L2 teacher is the native, and our discussion of L1 use in the classroom invites us to consider the question of who, in fact, best qualifies to work in the L2 with our students (AUERBACH, 1993). To this point, Phillipson (1992) suggests that maintaining the ideal of the native speaker is not only a reflection of the monolingual approach to bilingualism, but that this figure (however imaginary and idealized, I add) may be a "menace" rather than a boon to the language classroom if not properly trained. Furthermore, the author posits that insistence on conventions like this one relates to linguistic imperialism, in that it favors and over-represents the tendencies of dominant groups to the detriment of those less socio-politically favored (PHILLIPSON, 1992). On a more technical level, diverse advantages of a lingua-culturally situated teacher are immediately identifiable: that of sharing the culture, prediction of difficulties and main differences across languages, and understanding the cultural needs (PHILLIPSON, 1992) that most affect learning, contextualization, correction, learner interaction and other everyday classroom dynamics.

Extending the analysis of the effect of the native speaker figure, we can also briefly consider the role it plays in how teachers view students, and how students in general view themselves. Making space for an L1 framework, as mentioned previously, is a theoretic shift as much as a technical or pedagogical one. Acknowledging the importance of home language leads us into the acknowledgement, in turn, of the nature of the language learner. To this end, Cook (2007) writes,

> Most importantly L2 users have to be credited with being what they are – L2 users. They should be judged by how successful they are as L2 users, not by their failure compared to native speakers. L2 students have the right to become L2 users, not imitation native speakers. (p.18).

In shifting the concept of the L2 learner from someone endeavoring to imitate or "acheive" supposed native-like proficiency, to instead someone who uses the second language as additional linguistic repertoire, we access the possibility of seeing resources instead of deficiency, strategy instead of deviation.

To conclude the discussion of L1 use in the CLIL classroom, I now look to final recommendations and important gaps in literature that this study takes into account. As Lasagabaster (2013) recommends, "We need to make headway towards the formulation of some guiding principles for L1 use" (p. 16), and the case for these tenets is clearly made in the literature reviewed in this section. As Lin (2015) identifies, key gaps in research thus far include the planned use of L1 in the classroom, L1 use in curriculum genre (as mentioned above, this refers to types of moments and modalities in the classroom routine), and, finally, the written use of L1. Furthermore, Lasagabaster (2013) notes that most studies have dealt with *students'* L1 use rather than that of teachers, with L1 studies of any variety proving almost non-existent in CLIL literature. Finally, specifically in regard to CLIL, Siqueira *et al.* (2018) call for a more locally-rooted practice and, though the authors do not mention L1 explicitly, there is strong argument that home language acknowledgement and all that comes with it is one such practice. With these key recommendations in mind, this study seeks to contribute to a response to these gaps. Though the present study intends to be indeed more descriptive rather than prescriptive, the data analysis in the next chapter lends itself to the exploration of the written uses of L1 (though of course at the emergent literacy level), both teacher and student use of L1, and the place of these practices in a locally-centered CLIL endeavor.

3.1.6 Biliteracy to Pluriliteracy

Biliteracy acknowledges the constant interplay among linguistic resources, and thus aids in understanding L1 use in the reading and writing context. In addition to the background offered on literacy in the first chapter of this study, here I will go further into depth on the concept of biliteracy and the move toward pluriliteracy, in the interest of moving our discussion toward a Brazilian-based emergent pluriliteracy framework. My intention is that by weaving related research into locally-based theory, the analysis of classroom data in chapter four will bring new reflections to seemingly commonplace classroom routine.

Turning to definitions of biliteracy and the notion of continuum, a term related to other frameworks previously discussed in this chapter, Hornberger's definition arises again, in which, biliteracy is a multidimensional continuum involving "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (HORNBERGER, 1990, p. 2). Honing in on the term "continuum," we see immediate parallels with concepts previously discussed in this chapter. The word itself evokes a sense of fluidity, hybridization, and movement. In Hornberger's words, "the notion of continuum is intended to convey that, although one can identify (and name) points on the continuum, those points are not finite, static, or discrete. There are infinitely many points on the continuum; any single point is inevitably and inextricably related to all other points; and all the points have more in common than not with each other "(HORNBERGER, 2003, p. 14). In this perspective, biliteracy is not a question of "yes or no;" "biliterate or not." Like monolingualism/bilingualism, L1/L2, or oral/literate, biliteracy itself is a spectrum rather than two isolated poles (Hornberger, 1989). This notion of continuum has overlap with the translanguaging perspective and especially the L1 lens discussed in depth in previous sections of this chapter, as it recognizes resources in home language and does not place the native speaker nor linguistic convention as the model.

Hornberger's model of biliteracy, which is the one given focus here, understands multilingualism as a resource rather than hindrance, and bases the continuum theory on this supposition. The model itself is composed of three sets of three intersecting continua. The intersecting continua categorized as context-related are those of monolingual-bilingual, micro-macro, and oral-literate. Under biliterate development Hornberger places the L1-L2 continuum, that of oral-written and finally reception-production. In the last matrix of continua Hornberger categorizes those of media: successive-simultaneous exposure to additional language; similar-dissimilar structures; and convergent-divergent scripts. (HORNBERGER, 1989). The structure of interwoven continua, each inseparable from the other is, in itself, an argument for a contextualized, situational view of literacy (HORNBERGER, 2003), one that resonates with and strengthens the vision of literacy presented in the present study.

Hornberger's "development" set of continua are most clearly and immediately relevant to the discussion here, and the author devotes much explanation to the notion of transfer. Though transfer does represent a different perspective than translanguaging, its recognition of resources that come from L1 applies directly to this study, and serves as yet another theory indicating the

advanced ways in which learners, even the youngest ones, make advanced connections. To this end, Horberger writes, “In sum, the individual’s biliterate development occurs along all the continua simultaneously and in relation with each other; this is why the notion of potential for transfer along and across the continua is apparently infinite” (1989, p. 22).

In a reconsideration of the biliteracy framework, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000) bring critical perspectives to the original work on the continua. The authors add important reflections about multiliteracies, which I believe can be expanded today to incorporate the idea of pluriliteracy, and they add schema regarding content to their matrices of biliteracy (HORNBERGER; SKILTON-SYLVESTER, 2000). These revisions make the framework even more agile, and more prepared to describe the complex interactions around literacy in classrooms that are increasingly multimodal. Perhaps most significantly, the “revisiting” (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2000) of the continua of biliteracy includes essential analysis of what the authors call the “power weighting” (p. 41) of each individual continua. For example, on the continuum of L1-L2, there is generally more prestige and power and thus more societal value placed on L2. On the continuum of oral-literate, heavier importance and recognition is placed on literacy skills. In regard to the media matrix, on the continuum of successive or simultaneous exposure, the authors argue that successive exposure (in the authors’ US context, it should be noted) holds more power and prestige, as simultaneous bilingual exposure largely found in children of immigrant families is systematically undervalued and undermined. The existence of power weighting does not mean, however, that there is nothing to be done. In fact, our own classrooms, schools and universities, and intentional practices, like those discussed in this chapter and the next, serve as counterweights themselves.

Despite these important revisions to Hornberger’s biliteracy framework, there are issues of compatibility to analyze among the theories presented thus far. Each offers important considerations that illuminate the discussion of the present study. In the case of biliteracy, it serves as a piece of literacy studies whose influence and significance cannot be overstated. However, when in contact with the translingual perspective, the framework still evokes more linearity. Like research exploring the use of L1 in the L2 environment, a biliteracy framework still clearly separates languages (GARCIA, 2009), even while recognizing the relationship between and significance of both. References to interlanguage are common (HORNBERGER, 1989), which also stands as a concept falling short of the extent of language resources

conceptualized here. In fact, Megale (2017) argues that in today's literacy landscape, the use of the term "biliteracy" no longer makes sense. This is due in part to the ever-burgeoning scope of the term literacy (digital literacy or financial literacy, for example) as well as to the increasingly multi-modal and inter-semiotic way students learn and communicate (MEGALE, 2017).

In moving beyond the term biliteracy, a series of nomenclature has arisen, with "pluriliteracy" standing as the term favored here. As a literacy framework, the term "moves away from the dichotomy of the traditional L1/L2 pairing, emphasizing instead that language and literacies are interrelated and flexible, and positing that all literacy practices have equal value" (GARCIA, BARLETT AND KLEIFGEN et al, 2007, p. 11). It allows for the diverse language practices and the hybridity of language (GARCIA et al, 2007) and of identity, as discussed earlier in this thesis. Furthermore, it also accounts for the socio-cultural contexts in which literacy happens and through which it is informed (GARCIA et al, 2007), allowing for the diverse modalities and semiotics present in the media landscape today, much-needed in the education and CLIL fields (MEYER, COYLE, HALBACH, SCHUCK and TING, 2015). The term opens a wide umbrella, referring to subject-specific literacies, also of key importance to CLIL settings and success (MEYER et al, 2015).

The use of plurliteracies to describe the context of the present study situates children's literacy practices within the multi-modal and hybrid reality (GARCIA et al, 2007). While the focus of this research is the linguistic resources of specifically Portuguese-English repertoires, a pluriliteracy framework acknowledges that the practices of emergent bilingual students are part of diverse and equally important (GARCIA et al, 2007) expressions of literacy. In allowing for all this and the "variability, hybridity, and sense–making processes of literacy practices today" (GARCIA et al, 2007, p. 11), a pluriliteracy framework dialogues with the translanguaging lens in a way that biliteracy does not account for. Furthermore, as Garcia and colleagues (2007) point out, the framework represents global literacy practices already in use today; in other words, it authentically describes our multilingual, multimodal realities.

3.1.7 The Emergence of Writing

Essential in forging new paths and making space for the "counter" to the power weighting discussed above are practices and lenses that protect space for student knowledge and creativity,

and that encourage teachers to see and value this. To explore one such practice, I turn to the work of Emilia Ferreiro and Ana Teberosky as presented in their research *A psicogênese da língua escrita* (1984). As mentioned in the first chapter, much of the methodological structure of the study was inspired by the methodology and findings contained therein. In this section we will also explore the theoretical contribution of this research to the present study, and the ways in which it interacts with other important thinking concerning literacy building in young children.

As Monteiro (2019) analyzes, Ferreiro and Teberosky's studies, rooting themselves in Piagetian theory of childhood development, changed the way many understood the fundamental relationship between the student and the written word. Most notably, the work affirms and emphasizes that the child, embarking upon their emergent literacy process, already possesses awareness and knowledge around their first language (MONTEIRO, 2019). Based on this, the learner actively generates hypotheses regarding word formation, spelling, and reading. Once again, we encounter reflections about "errors" in this perspective, when Monteiro (2019) summarizes, "In this perspective, error is considered something constructive, since it reveals the hypotheses that the child has about the topic" (p. 115). Ferreiro (1983) includes even early attempts at letter formation, commonly discarded as scribbles, as examples of children's writing attempts. Such a perspective repositions the child in relation to the world of writing from the very beginning.

In their aforementioned publication, Ferreiro and Teberosky (1985) present myriad observations regarding the hypotheses children seem to harbor in regard to writing, even before they produce recognizable letters. Among these, for example, are the notions that the length or size of a word be proportional to the size or age of the object or person to which it refers, and that once letter formation is acquired, the child makes their first attempts at spelling using the letters of their own name. They also observed two clear restrictions children placed on what could be considered or counted as a word: that the word have at least three letters, and that these letters contain some sort of alternance of graphemes rather than the repetition of the same one (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1985.

Beyond commonalities in children's beliefs about writing, Ferreiro and Teberosky identified and detailed phases (or levels, as they label them) consisting of distinct hypotheses regarding writing. Increasing in complexity but not necessarily relying on the previous level, these phases describe literacy emergence and development and offer windows onto the child's

vision of the written word. Level 1, as described by the authors, refers to the scribbles mentioned above, often appearing as a basic shape or repeated pattern. What is notable in this phase is that despite the similarity across all writing that the child produces at this point, the child themself generally considers them distinct, representing different words or ideas (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1985). In this phase, drawings mix with letter-like forms to configure meaning to the child. Progressing to Level 2, the child's writing demonstrates recognizable letters, most often from their own name, and uses them in permutations to represent words, without associating any true phonemic value. This level is often referred to as pre-syllabic [*pre-silábica*, in Portuguese]. Certain blockages were observed at this level, specifically when students were accustomed to having a model to copy. In these cases, children demonstrated insecurity or clear refusal to engage in writing attempts, insisting that they did not know, when in the absence of a model. (Ferreiro and Teberosky,1985). The implications of this observation to classroom practice, specifically that of encouraging risk taking, are direct.

When the child begins to attach sound value to each letter, according to Ferreiro and Teberosky, they can be considered now entering Level 3, or the syllabic phase. The researchers highlight this phase, primarily the advent of representing each syllable by one letter, as a turning point in the child's literacy development process. It marks, they argue, the "first time the child clearly works with the hypothesis that writing represents spoken sounds" (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985, p. 209). However, attaching a letter to a distinct syllable does not, at this phase, mean yet that the child is approximating the letter's true phoneme to the sound they are representing. Nor does it mean that they attach a consistent phoneme or sound value to a specific letter. Notably within this phase, the authors stress that the syllabic hypothesis stands as an "original construct" on the part of the child; it cannot be traced to any input by the adult. In fact, so natural is it to the child that it even coexists, seemingly without issue, with other full words the child may know how to write conventionally (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985), (such as their name, "Mom", "Dad", a sibling's name, and so forth).

Transitioning away from the syllabic phase, the child begins to gravitate toward what is called the syllabic-alphabetic phase, or Level 4 for the authors. The authors posit that the child, recognizing certain conflicts in their hypotheses thus far, "abandons" a syllabic interpretation of writing and begins to understand the necessity of incorporating the reality of alphabetic sound value to their written production (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1985). In this phase, the child works

hard to let go of both the hypothesis of minimum quantity (mentioned above, wherein the child believes that any word must have a minimum amount of letters to be read) and the syllabic hypothesis (from the previous level, in which the child assigns one letter per syllable). Reconciling these two frequently conflicting notions, together with the increasing perception that more letters are needed to compose each syllable, characterize this phase. When the child reaches the end of this transition, they can be considered to have arrived at Level 5, or the alphabetic writing phase. (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985). Here it is important to stress that this does not mark the end of the orthographic journey; much to the contrary, in many ways it signals the beginning. At this point, the child has come to comprehend that multiple letters with distinct sounds come together to form parts of the word, and that each one is not necessarily representative of a full syllable, and therefore begins to "sound out" words as they are written in accordance with this newfound understanding. From here, they will encounter other difficulties of spelling inherent to their language (Ferreiro and Teberosky, 1985). For example, in the Portuguese language children will still explore the use of the grapheme "ç" as opposed to "ss", or "s" as opposed to "z". They will test how to represent nasalized sounds at the end of words, will confront rules about consonant encounters within words, and the like. However, basic understanding about the nature of the composition of the written word will have been solidified.

Uniting these diverse areas of study around literacy lies an essential commonality: the understanding of the resources students bring to their literacy process. Whether drawing on their home language for their L2 or from their reading of the world (FREIRE, 1989) and writing hypotheses for their L1 literacy acquisition, children are not just receiving, they are actively constructing. In this recognition, we find another essential aspect to the frameworks proposed by authors reviewed here, one that is a cornerstone of the this study's design and analysis as well: that of the value of children's "errors." In weaving together literacy theory and seeking a framework for young learners in simultaneous literacy acquisition, the validation of deviation from linguistic convention factors prominently. To this study, what is commonly referred to as errors are indeed signs of linguistic creativity, advanced hypotheses and, pedagogically, important windows into children's thought process that help teachers and curriculum designers cater to specific needs.

Contemporary research about Portuguese language literacy development in young children validates the research pioneered by Ferreiro and Teberosky (1985) and seeks to apply it

to the science of phonology and the consequent adaptation of classroom practice. Drawing in part on a shared vision with Ferreiro and Teberosky about hypotheses in children, Miranda (2010) highlights this richness in student errors, primarily in relation to the acquisition of Portuguese language phonology. The author resignifies errors as "powerful data, capable of offering clues both in relation to hypotheses formed by the learners and to knowledge constructed around the language's phonology." (p. 366). This view represents a seeming consensus among many researchers, regardless of their view of the best *path* to literacy: that the process is potentialized when students form hypotheses and are encouraged to voice them (MONTEIRO, 2019). In fact, in order to understand a child's writing process, argues de Jesus (2019), "respect for the cognitive development of the study is necessary, so as not to deter their motivation and linguistic creativity" (p. 91).

Though this dissertation does not focus in depth on phonological aspects of English and Portuguese, the metacognitive strategies and metalinguistic awareness revealed through the research cited here help constitute a context-specific approach to simultaneous pluriliteracy development. For this reason, it is helpful to seek research parallels coming from English-language based classrooms as well. We begin with Ehri's literacy phase theory (2005): a set of literacy moments describing emergent readers in English. This phase-based research points to the importance of knowledge of the alphabetic system in learning to read, as does the Portuguese-language based research analyzed above. The phase-based theory bears immediate similarities and relevance to the literacy theory described in *Psicogenese da língua escrita* (1985), though of course presents particularities specific to the English language and literacy demands that stem from English-language phonology.

The four phases outlined by Ehri (2005) present immediate similiarities: pre-alphabetic, partial alphabetic, full alphabetic and consolidated alphabetic. Here it should be noted that phase theory, as opposed to stage theory, does not require that the child pass through each phase to reach the next (EHRI, 2005). In other words, though they do form a sequence, each one does not necessarily represent a prerequisite for the next. That being said, I now describe briefly each phase as traced by Ehri.

Pre-alphabetic characterizes a child that Ehri deems "essentially a non-reader", as they do not at this point have access to knowledge of the alphabetic system, instead using visual clues to associate words with meaning, if they do this at all. An example the author offers is using a logo

to read a brand name, rather than the printed name itself (golden arches that signify McDonald's or white script on red background to signify Coca-Cola, for example). At this phase, students were shown not to notice alterations in the actual spelling of these names when paired with the customary graphics, confirming that the written system did not yet determine the students' understanding. The next phase, partial alphabetic, refers to the moment children learn the names or sounds of letters and begin to use strategies for reading words. However, this is often limited to boundary letters, recognizing the first and last letter and thus conflating words bound by the same graphemes. Their spelling reflects this: they reproduce more salient sounds, skip middle letters, and invent spellings. The full alphabetic phase refers to the moment when children make complete connections between graphemes and phonemes, making possible the full reading of sight words through decoding. As these readers add more and more sight words to their repertoire of recognition, they enter the consolidated alphabetic phase. According to Ehri, children consolidate grapho-phonemic correspondences into larger chunks, and this allows them to store spellings of rimes, syllables, morphemes and even whole words (EHRI, 2005). With this, they amass a reading and writing repertoire, eventually moving them away from a "sound it out" approach to the more immediate recognition and recall of words.

Ehri's phases rely heavily on the concept of sight words, not often discussed within a transparent language framework such as Portuguese, though far from irrelevant. Sight words, for the author, are words recognized eventually at the moment the eye alights on the letters (2005), rather than sounded out through individual graphemes. The author stresses that sight words do not represent a reading *strategy*, rather, they describe a phenomenon of consolidation in which the word is immediately recognized after having been encountered enough. Strategies, on the other hand, such as decoding, generalizing, or predicting, are also employed along the literacy development path, eventually resulting in the acquisition of more sight words (EHRI, 2005).

Takeaways from research on phase development of spelling include the important affirmation that knowledge of the alphabetic system forms a key component of bolstering the connections students must make in order to read (EHRI, 2005). This amounts to an affirmation of the role of metalinguistic awareness, as we have seen in other research reviewed here. Additionally, and not surprisingly, arguments for explicit instruction of graphophonemic correspondence follow hand-in-hand with the importance of implicit learning

(BHATTACHARYA; EHRI, 2004 *apud* EHRI, 2005), reminders immediately relevant to the classroom context studied in this dissertation.

It is also worth noting that the phase theory discussed above does, at some point, dialogue with the orthographic acquisition of more transparent languages. Sight word reading brings relevance most strongly to more opaque languages, since using the phonetic resources available will not reliably result in the conventional reading or writing of the word, as it will in Portuguese, for example. However, Ehri (2005) does highlight that even in the most transparent orthography, words encountered enough times eventually become sight words, as readers do not decode phonetically forever. In this way, we build bridges across English-language based literacy development research and that more specific to the Brazilian context. Of course, these theories maintain their own specificities and cannot mirror each other completely, but commonalities help in building our emergent bilingual practice.

More parallels and constructive possibilities are to be found in work concerning invented spelling in English language based classrooms. Read (1971) defines invented spelling as children's "spontaneous or self-directed" attempts to represent words in writing, and in this definition we certainly recognize the spontaneous writing format leveraged so heavily by Ferreiro and Teberosky. Though perhaps the use of invented spelling is more present in Brazilian elementary education than in English-language based programs, research exploring its role and suggesting its possibilities aids us in evaluating this tool. Strong correlation between phonological awareness and invented spelling (OUELETTE; SÉNÉCHAL, 2016) help to identify a potential role for the strategy in the CLIL classroom, and to bridge work in Portuguese language literacy development.

In earlier segments of this chapter, I reviewed language orientations that value students' home language resources, as well as their lived experience, "errors" or linguistic hypotheses, and the unified linguistic repertoire that constitutes their language resources. In keeping with this outlook, classroom practices and research tools that align with this view will best serve the project. For this reason, in exploring the invented spelling tool in the process of biliteracy development, I highlight certain specific considerations. To begin, invented spelling, as a metalinguistic exercise in and of itself, is "a highly analytical and engaging process and this may in part account for its facilitative effect on subsequent literacy growth" (OUELETTE; SÉNÉCHAL, 2008, p. 86). The process invites students to assume an "analytic stance"

(OUELETTER; SÉNÉCHAL, 2016, p. 83) that helps them unlock their own insights and hypotheses regarding orthography. Furthermore, the very definition of invented spelling – self-directed, (READ, 1971) proprietary attempts to represent words in writing – makes the tool not only developmentally appropriate (OUELETTE; SÉNÉCHAL, 2016) but in fact almost perfectly matched. It asks of children precisely what they are capable of in that moment. It does not suggest the reproduction of conventional or memorized spellings, instead giving space and validation to the child's own interpretations and their application of their available linguistic resources. For this reason, it is such a match for translanguaging and L1 use frameworks when working with emerging readers.

In affirming invented spelling as a theoretically aligned tool, I also take care to make clarifications about what the strategy is not meant to be. As Ouelette and Sénéchal (2008) affirm, "It is not a process of memorization and recall of conventional spellings; rather, it is a developmental progression in which spelling attempts *increase in phonological and orthographic accuracy over time*" (p. 899, emphasis added). This accuracy keeps pace, I argue, with the development of metalinguistic awareness and other valuable strategies that lead to this noticing and eventual incorporation of convention. The implementation of invented spelling also does not signal that explicit guidance will not accompany the practice. The objective is not to let "incorrect" spellings continue, but to allow students to construct their hypotheses and make visible to teachers their thought process. At points along the literacy development path, explicit conversations and even outright corrections will occur, to then be evaluated again through invented spelling and other noticing activities. In this way, permitting invented spelling and protecting space for it does not encourage incorrect spelling or impede the acquisition of orthographic convention. When adopted in the way described above, it provides a space for children to participate in a process that has been found to support literacy development (OULETTE; SÉNÉCHAL, 2016).

3.1.8 Concluding: Toward a theory of Brazilian-based pluriliteracy

In this section I have reviewed diverse theories spanning the areas of Education, Bilingual Education, Literacy, Applied Linguistics, Educational Linguistics, Decoloniality and more. I explore the transdisciplinary nature and mandate of working with children in the Brazilian

bilingual context. In fact, at the crossroads of these rich theories lies an area of study still to be determined, defined, explored: that of simultaneous plurliteracy development, specifically a distinctly Brazilian framing of such. As discussed in detail in Chapter 1, the importance of theory production originating in the global south forms part of a response to hegemonic epistemology (KLEIMAN, 2013). While the context of the present study, along with my own background, are situated far from what constitutes knowledge "from the periphery and for the periphery" (KLEIMAN, 2013; SOUSA SANTOS, 2004) within the locus of Salvador, when considered on the global stage I believe it represents a humble, incipient contribution. For, as Kumaravadivelu reminds us, the hegemonic forces in the field of language teaching (and bilingual education, I suggest) keep themselves alive and influential through many channels (KUMARAVADIVELU, 2014), including materials, methods and academic production.

On a practical level, we have important examples of moments in which these theories based in distinct languages meet or interact, and from here I draw inspiration and guidance to take us into the analysis and discussion of classroom data in chapter four. The notion of interliteracy (GORT, 2006), or the writing parallel to "interlanguage (LARSEN-FREEMAN; LAN, 1992 *APUD* GORT, 2006), suggests that L2 emergent writers rely on L1 to form hypotheses in the new language, and demonstrate transfer in the direction of L1 to L2. Similarly, writing in 2004, Teberosky and Olivé align considerations about emergent literacy in the second language with the interdependence theory of Jim Cummins, finding importance in the author's enumeration of linguistic transfer, discussed above in this chapter as well (TEBEROSKY; OLIVÉ, 2004; CUMMINS, 2007). Their connections drawn, based on study of immigrant multilingual school contexts, bring theories into contact that help us move forward an integrated proposal based on local context as well. Furthermore, phase theory of literacy acquisition in the English language, together with invented spelling research cited, have clear overlap with constructivist literacy theories of Teberosky and Ferreiro, thus tracing important bridges across continents and epistemes. Though these connections will be made explicit in Chapter 3, it is important to note here that they offer the sound building blocks for a southern-oriented (KLEIMAN, 2013) theory of pluriliteracy development.

To conclude, the importance of the integration of these diverse perspectives selected here stands out. How to understand the role of each in contributing to an authentically Brazilian outlook on bilingualism and pluriliteracy development? The answer lies in extracting

commonalities and points of overlap across perspectives, as seen above, while understanding that each one offers us a piece, without standing in for the whole. The whole, or a notion of simultaneous pluriliteracy development and the role of L1 in such, is the construction to which this study contributes.

4 DATA AND ANALYSIS

"Tem que escrever do nosso jeito, né, teacher?"

Throughout the previous chapters, I have contextualized the setting in which this study takes place, offered summaries of key theories and approaches in relation to this study, as well as analyzed their relevance to each other in the overall construction of a Brazilian-based biliteracy theory. Furthermore, I have emphasized a recurring aspect of many theories described thus far: their valuing of home-language resources and their appreciation of non-conventional student production or "errors" in the learning process. I believe these key points shine through clearly in the literature reviewed, and lay a firm foundation for the analysis of the data collected in the present study.

In Chapter One, we looked broadly at bilingual education in Brazil. Historical aspects of language use and its power implications were also brought to the discussion, as well as important context regarding bilingual education in Brazil prior to the growth of Foreign Language Bilingual Education or "Prestige" Bilingual Education in the country. Descriptions of modalities such as CLIL and immersion education informed the portrait of FLBE in Brazil, as did a brief discussion of public school efforts and the marked inequity across the public and private sectors. Literacy was brought to the forefront as key to the description of the study, its design and its research questions. In the introductory chapter, I also presented the structure of the study along with its primary content, highlighting alterations necessary amidst the global pandemic context of Covid-19.

Chapter Two focused on the diverse areas of study that inform and inspire my research. Applied Linguistics meets perspectives from Educational Linguistics, and takes paths forged by literacy theories based both in the global north and south. A translanguaging perspective is woven throughout the discussion and study design, being essential to not only how the theories are discussed and understood but to how the results themselves are understood.

Through the data and existing research, in chapter four I will develop a qualitative analysis identifying aspects of L1 use in the CLIL classroom. Through this analysis, I arrive at this study's primary conclusions: that children and teachers use L1 in the classroom to construct knowledge, repertoire and relationships through both written and oral language. In doing so, children use their home language to inform their writing and oral language around writing and to make sense of new language acquisition. Teachers, in turn, leverage home language, even when they themselves are not using it in speaking. They do this to guide students, acknowledge their growth, understand their efforts and resignify their mistakes.

Returning to our research questions also guides the analysis in this chapter. The specific foci of the study center around the following:

(1) How do students in first grade use their home language in early literacy acquisition of the English language?

(2) What are the linguistic assumptions and strategies children use when writing in the additional language?

(3) How do teachers act regarding the linguistic resources students bring from their home language to the process of learning to read?

(4): In what ways does the figure of the Brazilian teacher support the use of the home language as a strategy in the development of English?

(5) How does the acceptance of the home language, if present, contribute to the development of student learning?

As becomes clear through the five questions presented, use and leverage of the home language, as well as the errors (or better: deviations from convention) made by students permeate the research and are, themselves, at the root of this study's objective: to ascertain if and how emerging readers and writers take advantage of their home language in the process of literacy acquisition in the additional language.

In order to address the objective and its resulting questions, I discuss the study results with the support of key lenses offered by existing literature. These lenses also informed the creation of the analysis categories, helping to organize the information collected. Two such analytical structures are those of Cummins (2007) and Lin (2015).

According to Cummins (2007, p. 233), L1 use in the classroom, which the author defends and considers from different angles, can contribute to five different aspects of L2 learning through linguistic transfer. These include:

(1) Transfer of conceptual elements (e.g. understanding the concept of photo- synthesis);
(2) Transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies (e.g. strategies of visualizing, use of graphic organizers, mnemonic devices, vocabulary ac- quisition strategies, etc.);
(3) Transfer of pragmatic aspects of language use (willingness to take risks in communication through L2, ability to use paralinguistic features such as gestures to aid communication, etc.)
(4) Transfer of specific linguistic elements (knowledge of the meaning of photo in photosynthesis);
(5) Transfer of phonological awareness – the knowledge that words are com- posed of distinct sounds.

Though it is important to note that the author does not discuss a specifically CLIL environment, focusing instead on L2 learning, the contribution of L1 suggested remains relevant to the study of literacy within the CLIL classroom due to the necessarily language-focused nature of learning to read and write.

While Cummins' list provides considerable structure through which to analyze this study's results, it focuses on transfer rather than subjective roles of L1, such as the affective aspect of learning. In considering Krashen's affective filter (1982), which considers the relevance of emotional connection to the learning environment and topic, I also bring up the role of home language in feelings of connection and belonging (AUERBACH, 2013; GARCIA; SELTZER, 2016). With these aspects in mind, I suggest adding to Cummins' list the benefits of home language transfer, the importance of student connection in the classroom and their positive relationship to the subject matter.

Lin's (2015) suggested categories of L1 use are broader in scope and I believe allow for the affective aspect discussed above. The author describes three overarching types of L1 use, taking care to point out that little has been written about L1 use in writing and that most research

has dealt with oral language. (It is, in fact, to this lacuna that the present study seeks to contribute). Drawing on the existing research, Lin offers the following three categories of L1 use in the CLIL classroom:

- "Ideational Functions" for Lin refer to instances in which the content itself is made accessible through the student's first language. When a student's L2 proficiency is not sufficient to unlock the L2-medium material, L1 can mediate or, as Lin suggests, can be used to "translate or annotate [...], explain, elaborate or exemplify." This use pertains specifically to academic language or subject-specific work in which key terms are necessary in order to achieve the baseline comprehension that allows for participation and interaction with the subject matter.
- "Textual Functions" serve as signallers of meta-class moments or distinctions; in other words, mechanisms of class structure and functioning. In explaining how learning will take place, how the routine will shift, or how one activity stands in contrast to another, for example, L1 proved a consistent strategy according to Lin's review.
- Finally, "Interpersonal Functions" are immediately relevant to the suggestion I make above regarding Cummins' list of benefits of L1 to L2 learning. Interpersonal Functions include institutional norms, thus encompassing classroom management and other classroom functioning. They also encompass, according to Lin, negotiations regarding social relationships and other relationship identity matters, thus opening the scope to conflict resolution, as well as the affective relationship of student to subject matter and medium of instruction.

In mapping Cummins' list onto the categories identified by Lin, it is immediately apparent that Lin's categories are generous and malleable, each having room for numerous angles of L1 use analysis. I situate the metalinguistic, phonological, conceptual and and linguistic elements within the first category the author organizes: ideational functions. I suggest that Cummins' "pragmatic elements" hold relevance to the second category of textual functions, as they both address social and institutional norms, in the case of pragmatics, specifically as they pertain to language. Under the umbrella of Lin's last category, interpersonal functions, I place many instances of L1 use observed in this study, to be analyzed in detail below. For now, I highlight the following: the fact that L1 use so frequently serves interpersonal functions signals how

prominently affective aspects factor into home language and the literacy process. We can observe that learning to read in two languages is both linguistic and socioemotional in nature.

As we explore the breadth of data collected through the class recordings, I will draw connections among categories suggested by Cummins and Lin and those I created and observed. Analysis also focuses on the data set in light of the research presented in Chapter Two. With the support of this literature, it was possible to reach conclusions both from the written and oral data, specifically regarding students' use of linguistic resources (GARCIA; LI, 2014; CREESE; BLACKLEDGE, 2010; SANTO; SANTOS, 2018) and hypotheses (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985]) to strategize in their spelling of English language words. Beyond writing samples exemplifying linguistic strategies, the oral exchanges around student writing reveal a diversity of ways students develop their hypotheses and reflect on language, using the leverage of their home language. Furthermore, the role of the teacher in welcoming L1 and using it to unlock student learning is analyzed. Based on this analysis, I identify characteristics of L1 use around literacy in the additional language, and use these observations to make recommendations around planned L1 use and leveraging.

4.1 Data and Analysis

I originally designed the study as in-person observation with parallel private conversations with individual students regarding their writing in real time. Within the context of Covid-19, the study was necessarily adapted to an online format. It is true that the original format does not map perfectly onto the digital version, yet quality data collection was possible.

The nature of any classroom observation involving visual and audio information will necessarily be multi-modal, and this study, both in its original in-person iteration as well as its remote learning adaptation, is no exception. Though writing samples and dialogue transcripts comprise the data set almost exclusively, many verbal interactions occurred in response to body language, gestures and facial expressions happening live in the virtual classroom. Li devotes considerable attention to the resources of gesture, expression and other modalities, challenging what the author calls the 'uninteresting and insignificant' question, at the very least reductionist, of "which language are they using"? (LI, 2017, p. 18). In a multi-modal, bilingual landscape, neither the question nor the answer are merely binary. In fact, my analysis itself relies on the

triangulation of modalities. In this chapter, speech and writing are analyzed, yet keeping in mind always that this speech was produced in response to writing, reflections on text, facial cues and hand gestures. As best as I can, I bring these elements to the description of the interactions to enrich the data.

4.2 Emergent Writing Samples: What Can We Achieve?

Yet before we get into the verbal (and semiotic [LI, 2017]) exchanges around writing samples, I start with the written word itself and what comes through in the data set as common characteristics of emerging English writing in a Brazilian bilingual context. To review, writing occurred in the form of *spontaneous writing* activities, in which the teacher leads the exercise by saying one word aloud at a time and waiting as students, in their homes, make their best handwritten attempt at spelling the word. Each word was repeated at least three times, with one to two of those repetitions being a slow, enunciated pronunciation. Words ranged from the quotidien, to those relevant to the current unit studied, to those unfamiliar. A range of phonemes were included in the list, with a mix of phonetic and non-phonetic spellings.

Diverse are the factors affecting the acquisition of writing. When Miranda (2010) writes, “If the child’s task of beginning to build knowledge about the written system of a language they subconsciously know is already complex, even more so will be the task of the analyst who must account for a gamut of factors that enter into play in this process” (p. 399), the author brings due attention to the range of elements that influence each writing sample, connection and question young learners produce as they move through their writing process. It follows, then, that as hard as the researcher’s task is when studying acquisition in the first language, it becomes even more complex upon expanding that inquiry into a simultaneous biliteracy acquisition context.

Being that the task proves so challenging, what can the qualitative analysis of data hope to achieve? Miranda (2010) identifies three areas of research within the analysis of student “error” in writing: one that observes student strategies during the process of internalizing the orthographic system, one that analyzes errors as phonetically motivated, and the last that captures children’s phonological understanding through these written errors. All three unlock important aspects of the writing process and connect educators further to meaningful practice in the classroom. The present study differs notably in that it analyzes target language writing - hence the

complexity cited above. That being said, it aligns in most part with the third category identified by Miranda, though as we will see, I do not theorize student error only through the lens of phonological understanding. Instead, my presentation and analysis of this data depict observable characteristics of emergent English-language writing, recognizing strategies and hypotheses employed by students, whether phonologically motivated or not, and interpreting these traits through the lens of the home language - Brazilian Portuguese, as well as metalinguistic awareness.

4.3 General Characteristics of Spontaneous Writing

In the previous chapters, I described the mechanics of spontaneous writing (in English often called *invented spelling)* and highlighted its relevance to a study such as mine, which seeks to find in student "error" signs of development, insights into student thinking and clues for better classroom practice. In analyzing writing samples from this study, certain idiosyncrasies or seeming anomalies appear in the data set. When we hold these peculiarities up to the theory around spontaneous writing, we see that many of these aspects are actually quite global characteristics of this type of writing sample at this age. These general characteristics warrant attention as well, in order to better understand the samples to come, and the students' process as well.

When compared to writing samples based on more traditional methods, relying on copying or memorization, spontaneous writing might appear chaotic, disorganized, and of course, riddled with errors. However, a copy/memorization-based approach to student writing, instead of authentic and process-oriented, results from "systematic training" under hyper-controlled conditions produced by specific school activities (Abaurre, 1988). It follows, then, that this level of production would not withstand a context deviating from the strictly managed one of the classroom. In contrast, Abaurre (1988) reminds us that:

> […] children can write spontaneously, though. If allowed (and stimulated) to do so, they will use writing as a privileged context to reflect about and act upon language, thus making inferable some hypotheses about the underlying linguistic representations with which they might be operating while acquiring knowledge of the written variety of their native language. (p. 418).

In this way, for Abaurre (1988), spontaneous texts (which can either be single words or more elaborate sentences) are a "problem solving space" where the very act of representing words in writing calls on students to reflect about language and propose solutions. In other words, writing is inherently metalinguistic, and in spontaneous writing production, students can be encouraged to step into this metalinguistic space.

In analyzing these snapshots of writing, we come across aspects of the aforementioned apparent "chaos" that, to a linear or traditional view of learning and language, seem out of place. However, looking more closely we comprehend these seeming anomalies or regressions. We may take, for example, the persistence of an error after the child has already accessed the correct spelling, or after the child has produced the standard spelling on their own (MIRANDA, 2007). Inconsistencies such as these are encountered numerous times in the data set analyzed below, and can be found not only across children (multiple hypotheses in one classroom of how to spell a word) but notably, within the same child's work. In practice, this appears, for example, as a single word that the child represents differently each time it is written, with individual hypotheses often in direct conflict with one another, sometimes even within the same text (ABAURRE, 1988). Miranda (2007) offers that oscillation in spelling after having already had contact (and even interacted) with the conventional spelling can signal that this contact was precocious. In this case, the momentary encounter with convention does not prove lasting enough to impact writing, an important lesson for those of us seeking literacy work in the classroom that brings meaningful and sturdy progress. Alternation (Abaurre, 1988), or switching among orthographies for the same word (whether or not they include the standard version) represents an expected, "constitutive" trait of writing acquisition – one that marks the students' continuing journey rather than a type of regression, and one that should be "adequately accounted for" (ABAURRE, 1988, p. 416).

Another constitutive element of the writing process, especially that of the spontaneous writing strategy, is that of the error itself, as I have discussed at length. Monteiro (2019) analyzes data in terms of four error categories: phonetic, phonologic, overgeneralization and orthographic, this last category being broken in two subcategories of words that obey rules and those that do not. Here, I highlight two aspects of these categories: firstly, that these were created based on first language literacy development, rather than additional language. Like much of the first language literacy theory discussed in this study, I will use the structure to draw connections to relevant additional language considerations. Secondly, these error categories intersect and overlap with

each other at certain points, though elements stand out in differentiating them in many cases. In this perspective, phonetic errors occur when children essentially write as they speak, regardless of orthographic rules or arbitrary irregularities. Phonetic errors, it follows, appear more frequently and for a longer period in a child's literacy process in accordance with more linguistic opacity in the language's written system. Suprasegmental errors such as the switching of letters or the misrepresentation of syllables (Monteiro offers the example of *bincar* instead of the conventional spelling *brincar*) comprise what are labeled phonological errors (MONTEIRO, 2019).

Yet another category of spelling errors that will be familiar to those involved in foreign language teaching is that of overgeneralization. Again, this phenomenon is discussed in terms of Portuguese first language literacy development, but remains relevant to the additional language context. Overgeneralization errors refer to writing attempts that do not consider sub regularities (MONTEIRO, 2019) or arbitrary irregularities within the language. An example from the English language would be the overgeneralization of the addition of the letter *s* at the end of verbs in the third person singular, leading to the writing of "dos" for "does" or "gos" for "goes", without the consideration of a sub regularity for verbs that end in the letter *o*. However, overgeneralization can also look much like phonetic errors, especially for certain phonemes in Portuguese. For example, a child might transcribe the month of April a "abriu" instead of "abril", which constitutes an overgeneralization (applying the rhyme -iu from the preterite third person singular) but touches on phonetic aspects as well, as the child generalizes the -iu sound without regard for the -il possibility as well.

Finally, orthographic errors are those that appear in words that do not follow overarching system rules. As I mentioned above, Monteiro makes a distinction between orthographic errors appearing in regular versus irregular contexts. Regular contexts, in the Portuguese language, would be orthographic rules that without explicit instruction would be indiscernible to the child. Examples include the use of *rr* in the middle of a word and the use of a nasalized *m* instead of *n* before the letter *p*. Until these subregularities are memorized, they may be represented by the child in attempts such as *soriso* instead of *sorriso,* or *canpo* instead of *campo* in the first language (MONTEIRO, 2019). As for irregular contexts, these refer to arbitrary writing that does not follow a specific, repeated rule, including graphemes that result in diverse phonemes (quite common in English, for example) as well as single phonemes that can be represented by multiple graphemes (occurring frequently in both English and Portuguese).

Recognizing common types of errors in the first language helps form the lens from which we draw conclusions about emergent writing in the second language. As established thus far, the analysis to follow focuses on characteristics of this type of writing and the possible role of L1 within it, considering that literacy development happens simultaneously for the students in this study. Monteiro's categories also illuminate English language emergent writing and, when adapted, help reveal the role of L1 in L2 writing samples, as well as suggest where its role may be less.

Returning to these categories, one can assume that *phonetic* and *phonologic* errors in the present study, rather than describing unconventional spelling due to a student writing "the way they hear it", actually denote a student writing the way they hear a word *in Portuguese,* based on Brazilian Portuguese grapho-phonemic correlations as well as suprasegmental features. An example, as we will see in the next section, would be the use of *ei* in *ceike* [cake]. Similarly, *overgeneralizations* likely have their own characteristics in English writing within the bilingual setting. At this early stage, students do not yet master the non-phonetic aspects of writing, and thus generalizations and their erroneous application likely stem either from knowledge of Portuguese orthography or students' impressions about the English language and what "makes" a word English. One example of this would be the inclusion (and overuse) of the letter *k* to represent the /k/ phoneme, represented by *c* or *q* in Portuguese, and generally *c, k* or *q* in English.

As a reference for use in conjunction with categories error, the concept of interliteracy, or essentially the written equivalent of interlanguage (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1992), serves this analysis. Interliteracy, which describes applying "language-specific elements of literacy of one language to the other" (GORT, 2006, p. 337), offers useful structures of analysis specific to the written word.Gort (2006) describes two primary phenomena: that of the application of linguistic elements such as syntax (*shirt blue* instead of *blue shirt*, for instance) from one language to the other, and that of applying "print conventions" of one language, which include orthography and graphophonemic correspondence, to the other. Though the linear vision of interliteracy and the temporary nature of the influence of one language on the other (GORT, 2006) is at odds with a more holistic, translanguaging perspective, the focus on the interplay among linguistic resources serves the analysis here.

However, not all unconventional bilingual productions in English are a function of first language, as some research suggests regarding bilingual emergent writing in general (BLANK,

2019; GORT, 2006). As we move into examples from the data set, a key reminder surfaces: emergent writers for whom English is the L1 also produce unconventional spelling, move through the phases of writing development and make many of the errors described above. It follows that some errors arise as common to both bilingual and monolingual students, though within the structure of the research I carried out, this comparison was not possible (see the section *Further Research* in the concluding chapter of this study for more discussion). Orthographic errors, in this perspective, may very well be common across monolingual and bilingual emergent writers[15]. As described above, orthographic errors refer to errors in the aspects of writing that do not follow a strictly phonetic rationale, be they subregularities that can be learned or irregular aspects that must be memorized. English, as a moderately opaque language, lends itself to these orthographic errors, both for mono- and bilinguals. Keeping these general characteristics of spontaneous writing and English language orthography in mind is important as we enter into more specific aspects.

4.4 Specific observations from the data set

Collecting this data online through previously recorded class sessions and screen shots brought me extremely close to students, their writing and their interactions amongst themselves and with their teacher. It also proved to be an imperfect process, for the visual factors discussed earlier: screen shots out of focus, students who still had difficulty framing their work for the webcam, and the use of personal home materials leading to disorganization on the page (words written in thick marker, as well as words written on unlined paper, often out of order). Of the six spontaneous writing activities applied per student, in the vast majority of cases it was impossible to ascertain the writing of all nine words. In some cases, it was not possible to see the activity at all. Further complicating data collection were absences on the day of the activity, though this factor was predicted in the design of the study itself.

Despite the difficulties reviewed above, I did obtain a plethora of data: over one thousand individually written words through spontaneous writing applied. The data tell different stories about different children's hypotheses. Instead of presenting data according to the word tasked to

[15] In writing about bilinguals in the Pomerano-Portuguese language pair, Blank (2019) affirms that L1 exerts no notable influence, and that bilingual writers experience the same difficulties as their monolingual counterparts. Based on my research presented here, I believe bilingual students have both unique difficulties and universal ones.

the students (all of the spellings of *market,* for example), I present according to writing characteristics, which signal their hypotheses.

I use two macro categories to guide the discussion: the leveraging by students of Brazilian Portuguese grapho-phonemic solutions (writing *change* as *tchend*, for example) and the compensatory over insertion of English language graphemes or print conventions (for instance, representing *animal* as *ennymol*). While these two categories may sound at theoretical odds with each other, the case is quite the contrary. The language influence and interliteracy line of scholarship would note that students fill lacunas in the second language with information from the first (GORT, 2006; CUMMINS, 2007). The translanguaging pedagogical perspective insists that we can go further than this – understanding the use of both languages as the activation of the full linguistic repertoire (GARCIA; LI, 2014; GARCIA; SELTZER, 2016; CENOZ; GORTER, 2021). Finally, the theory of psychogenesis of writing also reinforces that students use the semiotic resources available to them since before their writing is recognizable as writing (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1986). With these diverse yet convergent views of language as resource, it follows that students will use both their perceived notions of English language writing and the more familiar Brazilian Portuguese phonetic transcription to register words in English, be they familiar or entirely new. The data suggests to me that the first grade students used their home language as well as general perceptions of the English language as part of a system of hypotheses regarding the written word. Students' metalinguistic reflections and discussions (for example, where they actively make cross linguistic connections, or notice aspects of the written word in English) will be analyzed in a subsequent section of this chapter. For now, though, I stress here that these oral exchanges unlock understanding of the sophistication of students' thought processes regarding the writing samples discussed here.

4. 5 Brazilian Portuguese Grapho-phonemic Writing Solutions

Within the category of Brazilian Portuguese grapho-phonemic solutions to writing challenges, I offer five sub-categories. Nasalization describes instances where the student appeared to use nasalization in transcribing the word, generally in encounters between vowels and the letters M or N, a recent classroom example being the representation of *run* as *urã* or the spelling of *monkey* as *maci.* The second sub-category, vowel representation, refers to the

representation of vowel sounds in English convergent in pronunciation but divergent in orthography, which in these cases, were often represented phonetically in Portuguese, as is the case with the writing of *size* as *sais*, for example. Next I examine consonant representation, or how students portrayed these phonemes based on their first language, for example, choosing *miuq* for *milk*. Epenthesis, which refers to the insertion of an extra vowel sound where one is not prescribed by orthography (pronouncing *advogado* in Portuguese as *adivogado*) marked the writing attempts of many students when attempting to represent terminal consonant sounds, leading to samples such as *beti* for the word *bed*. Finally, the diacritical marks sub-category includes the instances in which students applied accent marks from Portuguese to writing attempts in English, as in the case of representing *jump* as *jãmp*. Within Gort's (2006) model of emergent biliteracy, each of these subcategories falls under the umbrella of "temporary application of print conventions" from L1, in other words grapho-phonemic correspondences, orthography, and specifically accent marks. Here I note that, importantly, I do not aspire to a technical analysis of phonological aspects in the current study. Rather, the intention in presenting grapho-morpho-phonemic aspects of student writing is to *portray and characterize* observable hypotheses, understanding them in conjunction with student-student and student-teacher dialogue and through the lens of translanguaging, L1 use and metalinguistic awareness. Furthermore, in appreciating the particular characteristics of emergent writing in this context, practical classroom recommendations take form.

As I present here, most students' writing can be classified, according to Ferreiro and Teberosky (1986) as Level 5, or alphabetic, in their first language. To review, this means in essence that the child has achieved fundamental understanding of what constitutes a word, including the formation of syllables, and draws on sufficient strategies to make attempts at writing that consistently draw on this knowledge. Again, this does not signal that the child has mastered orthographic representation in all contexts or at all times, but that the errors expected will no longer result from developing understanding of the nature of words, but will in general fall into the categories described by Monteiro (2019).

Transposing these levels directly onto the second language samples from this study would require corresponding L1 samples, which I suggest in the conclusion as an area for further development in a future stage of research. However, within the translanguaging perspective, as well as that of the interdependence of literacy skills (see Chapter 2), it follows that the level of

understanding and strategy developed in Portuguese is likely present in English, and vice versa. With this in mind, I begin by introducing writing samples that appeared as outliers, as they signaled that the understanding of what constitutes a word was still in development, or that the correlation between graphemes and phonemes was still weak. Some examples are found below, organized by student, in Charts 4 to 5.

Chart 4 – Early Emergent Writing Samples Student 1

Proposed Word	EGGS	CALENDAR	DIFFERENT	CHANGE
Writing Sample	AGE	CILA DILA	DSHS	CHD

Source: Created by the author

Chart 5 – Early Emergent Writing Samples Student 2

Proposed Word	CHANGE	ADULT	TURTLE	PLANT
Writing Sample	TIOUG	ADDTI	TTOTO	NGTI

Source: Created by the author

Chart 6 – Early Emergent Writing Samples Student 3

Proposed Word	ANIMAL	MARKET	CHANGE	MONKEY
Writing Sample	LAIÃO	MICI	AT CHI	ÃOCI

Source: Created by the author

The distribution of levels of writing (heavily within Level 5, with few still in Level 4 and outliers present above likely in Level 2 and 3) is attributed to the time of year in which the data collection occurred. Had the study been conducted in the beginning of the school year (for example, in February or March), a great number more students would certainly have demonstrated traits of Level 2 (pre-syllabic) or 3 (syllabic), with few landing within levels 4 (syllabic-alphabetic) or 5 (alphabetic). In this scenario, it also would have proven much more difficult to perceive the influence or role of the home language on second language writing, as an understanding of the Portuguese alphabet and writing system would still have been largely

embryonic. Instead, data collection occurred throughout the end of the second semester (October to early December), hence students' more advanced understanding of home language writing as a result of *alfabetização* in their Portuguese-language classes. With this, I now turn to the sub-categories observed.

4.5.1 Nasalization: the case of "Monkey"

The presence and strategic use of Brazilian Portuguese phonemic knowledge was apparent throughout the data set. The application of grapho-phonemic correspondences from Portuguese to English words depicted *how* students heard those words, understanding and transcribing them at times through their home language orthography.

One clear example is that of the word *monkey*, one of the three words repeated across all six spontaneous writing activities. As expected, the writing samples taken as a whole demonstrate a shift toward conventional spelling by the end of the six-activity cycle. Though the short time frame of the research cycle does not permit the full exploration of evolution of children's orthography over time, certain characteristics of the spelling of this word, primarily in the beginning phase of the research, emerged.

Most notably, a large percentage of students represented the word through the letter *a* instead of *o*, nasalized by following it with the letter *n* (see Chart 7). Nasalization can also be assumed in the samples that do not make use of the letter *n* as a nasalizing consonant, but perhaps imply the *a* nasalized by an unrepresented tilde (see Chart 7).

Chart 7 – Examples of Nasalized *-an* in *monkey*

Nasalized *-an* in *monkey*				
MANKE	MANQUE	MANCI	MANQ	MANKY

Source: Created by the author

Chart 8 – Implied tilde in *monkey*

Implied tilde in *monkey*		
MACI	MAKI	MAQUI

Source: Created by the author

The above samples spark interest on a number of levels. Nasalization of the *mon-* syllable may be due to students' attempting to transcribe using the phonemes known to them in their own language. Another factor still may be the pronunciation of their Brazilian teacher, which did convey slight nasalization and may have prompted students to transcribe the word as such.

In any spontaneous writing sample, no matter how small, multiple elements are observable at once, both at the phoneme and morpheme level. The case of *monkey* here is no different: multiple solutions, which signal student hypotheses, surface upon inspection. We see that the depiction of the /i/ sound proves challenging for students, and they craft solutions largely based on their (also emergent) understanding of their home language sounds. Here, the /ki/ at the end of *monkey* is represented by *-ke* and *-que*, directly mirroring conventional *Portuguese* orthography. It is also written as *-ki* and *-qui*, which also references Portuguese grapho-phonemic correspondence, though it disregards the fact that words ending in *-i* in Portuguese generally bear their stress on the last syllable. A similar attempt is *maci*, in which the child shows awareness of the possibility of the /k/ phonemic expression of *c*, but not the orthographic rule governing its /s/ expression. Present as well is the representation through simply the letter *-q,* suggesting epenthesis (discussed in more detail below), and finally, the solution that most nears convention: *-ky*.

Taken as a whole, the samples presented above portray a diversity of hypotheses, even within samples containing a common feature. Each child draws on their own experience, exposure and connections to make their writing attempts, and I continue to draw out commonalities in the sections below.

4.5.2 Vowel Representation

In hearing and transcribing vowel sounds, students appeared to draw heavily on a fairly developed understanding of grapho-phonemic correspondences from their home language. Characterizing these solutions encountered highlights the breadth of resources students call on, as I explore in the section to follow. In Chart 9 below, I illustrate this point with selected spellings, characteristic of a large portion of student writing samples, of the word *cake*. Consistently, students represented /e/ with *ei* instead of the letter *a* or *a* paired with the "silent *e"*.

Chart 9 – Student Writing Samples of Proposed Word: Cake

KEIKKE	QUEIQUI	CEIK	CEIC	KEIKQ

Source: Created by the author

In these cases, knowledge of the Portuguese language aids in understanding these writing choices and appreciating what I call their *relative accuracy.* This accuracy has its roots in their home language and their ability to transcribe the words with the resources available to them at a specific moment in their literacy development. At the point in time *cake* was written here, students had not yet encountered the orthographic rules commonly referred to as the "silent e" and its effect on its preceding vowel. In this case, we can appreciate the relative accuracy of students' writing attempts, as they chose a Portuguese diphthong that greatly approximates the phonetic value contained in the proposed word. As for the hypotheses regarding the consonant representations, some will be included in the section focusing on this to follow. However, I call attention preemptively to the richness and logic captured by the variations recorded in Chart 9 above.

Exploring further characteristics of children's hypotheses and observable solutions regarding vowels, I highlight in the chart below examples of *animal* and *turtles.*

Chart 10 – Student Writing Samples of Proposed Word: Animal

ANIMOU	ENIMOU	ANIMOOU	ENNYMOL	ENEMOL	ENIMMOL

Source: Created by the author

Chart 11 – Student Writing Samples of Proposed Word: Turtle / Turtles

TARTOU	TARTOL	TARTOUS	TARTALS	TRUTOWS

Source: Created by the author

Despite *animal* being a cognate across students' two languages, many writing samples illustrated that students did not expect to encounter identical spellings in the second language (or at least in this second language activity) and that the phonemes contained in the English *animal* were distant enough to produce a diversity of linguistically creative writing attempts. We see the

-al rhyme represented as both *-ou* and *-ol*, reflecting perhaps their interpreting the English "schwa" (/əl/ in *animal*) through a Brazilian Portuguese phoneme. As the case with *monkey,* teacher pronunciation may also be a factor. Similarly, the two schwa-like sounds in *turtle* prompted a plethora of spelling hypotheses, both clearly inspired by Portuguese (for example, *tartol*) and clearly efforting to include markers of the English language (as in the case of the *w* in *trutows*). Returning to *animal*, the initial *a* (/æ/ in this case) was represented both as *an* and *en,* with one notable example approximating *ani-* with *enny-*, bringing again what I identify as children's perceived markers of English language words: the use of the letter *y* and the doubling of letters. The last spelling presented above, *enimmol*, also demonstrates the use of letter doubling. More examples of English language markers will be presented in the section on the leveraging of English language graphemes.

4.5.3 Consonant Representation: The Case of "Change"

Certain consonant sounds also proved challenging for first grade students, and revealed linguistic hypotheses involving first language. One strong example was the proposed word *change* (see Chart 12 below). Though the digraph *ch* was at this point in the school year being formally introduced, it was far from being solidified (EHRI, 2005) by the majority of students. The /dʒ/ of *-ge* at the end of the word, new to them aside from incidental contact, also posed a challenge and seemingly caused students to seek resources from their developing knowledge of written Portuguese.

Chart 12 – Student Writing Samples of Proposed Word: Change

CHD	TINT	TCHEND	TENTI	CHANDE

Source: Created by the author

As with all of the examples presented thus far, there are indeed students whose writing samples show conventional spelling of the words proposed. The samples presented here are selected as illustrating what I believe are solutions forged using elements of the first language, though they by no means indicate that all students used these strategies. In the examples of *change* selected above, we see different solutions encountered, in samples with varying degrees

of approximation to conventional spelling. In considering the "problem" of *ch*, the data (and examples selected) indicate a multitude of solutions outside of the conventional spelling: primarily that of *ti-* and *te-*. Although only appearing once in the data set, the use of the Portuguese consonant cluster *tch* (as in *tchau)* also deserves attention for its high relative accuracy. The use of *ti-* and *te-* were frequent, likely due to their virtually identical phonemic value of /tʃ/ in Brazilian Portuguese. As for the *-ge* at the end of the word, this expression of the letter *g* was largely unfamiliar to them as well. In its place, many students chose *-d*, or *-de*, with some concluding that *-t* or *-ti* were the most viable option. With the /dʒ/ expression of *-ge* not fully consolidated, students made use of solutions based on hypotheses drawing on their first language.

4.5.4 Epenthesis

The sub category with by far the largest number of examples was that of epenthesis, or the addition of one or more sounds to a word. A common phenomenon in Brazilian Portuguese, epenthesis examples include the pronunciation of the verb *optar* as *opitar,* or *absurdo* as *abisurdo*. In this study, epenthesis also arose as a common trait of spontaneous writing in the second language, particularly as a strategy regarding plosives, or hard consonant sounds, at the end of words. This appeared both as the omission of a represented vowel sound in the English word by assuming epenthesis (writing *monkey* as *MONK*) or as transcribing a word with a consonant ending with written epenthesis (writing *nest* as *NESTI*), as we can see in Chart 12 below:

Chart 13 – Student Writing Samples Suggesting Epenthesis Samples

Proposed Word	Monkey	Monkey	Market	Bed	Milk	Plant
Student Sample	MUNC	MUQ	MARCATI	BEDI	MELUKE	PLENTE

Source: Created by the author

As chart indicates, students both assumed epenthesis (see examples of *monkey)* and aggregated epentheses to words where there are none. Once again, the insertion of epenthesis in

the writing may have to do in part with pronunciation of the dictated word, but may also represent the students' own way of repeating the word back to themselves and then transcribing these sounds. Though the epenthesis is a phenomenon primarily present and studied in Brazilian Portuguese (rather than the English acquired by speakers of Brazilian Portuguese), its presence in learners' pronunciation and especially children's emergent writing seems to be a defining characteristic of pluriliteracy development.

4.5.6 Diacritical Marks

Though relatively infrequent in the data, diacritical marks, or accents, appeared in some spontaneous writing attempts. In these cases, students who made use of Portuguese accent marks were overall further from conventional spelling across their attempts, perhaps signaling that the use of accent marks, when present, only appears at an early stage of English language literacy emergence. That being so, the use of these diacritical marks still follows a certain logic, and belies a thoughtful process on the part of the student: unsure of how to represent the sound they were hearing, a hypothesis took form, leading to a solution. It is notable that the use of the accent marks is not arbitrary: both the tilde and the acute accent mark are above vowels rather than consonants, and are placed correctly in terms of visual organization. The students make organized use of this resource, available to them through their home language.

Chart 14 – Student Writing Samples Using Diacritical Marks

Proposed Word	Monkey	Plant	After	After
Student Sample	MÃO	PLÃNT	AFTÃR	ÁFTER

Source: Created by the author

Despite the low frequency of these accent marks in writing samples, I include them here as significant data. Beyond illustrating clearly the fluidity among language systems at this stage in students' biliteracy development, the samples are especially intriguing as some existing research found that students in a Spanish-English bilingual situation did not, at any point, use Spanish language accent marks when attempting English writing in first grade (GORT, 2006) and seemed, to the author, "off-limits" to students. The absence of this feature of writing in a

similarly-themed study makes their appearance in this research even more interesting and deserving of attention here in the discussion of results. Gort (2006) suggested that the correspondence of these accent marks to the realm of Spanish language was apparent to the student participants from the beginning, yet this was not the case in the present study across all children. It may be that this organizational aspect of metalinguistic awareness (regarding which print conventions [GORT, 2006] belong to one language or the other) was not yet consolidated, and that even without direct intervention, would naturally have self-corrected. Regardless, the use alone denotes the child's active search among their available linguistic resources for solutions.

Examples such as these serve as a snapshot of students' understanding of the two linguistic systems in this moment of time. This qualitative analysis suggests that students continue constructing and adjusting the catalog of English language phonemes well into the end of their first year of this immersive contact with the language, with the presence of Portuguese grapho-phonemic correspondence waning over time. Simultaneously, the active insertion of letters from the English-language alphabet as well as specific markers of it also characterized second language writing.

4.6 Over-insertion of English Alphabet and Characteristics

At the same time students draw on knowledge, perceptions and assumptions of Portuguese written language to make hypotheses about English writing, they also make these hypotheses based on perceptions of the English language itself. In other words, students gather information available to them to create their underlying hypotheses about writing (and speaking, for that matter) in English. These hypotheses, which lead to observable solutions in writing attempts, are another part of how students fill lacunas in their literacy development and will be explored below, based on the data generated.

Awareness of the English language precedes formal schooling and is constructed as students come in contact with English words and other semiotic resources in their day to day lives. The incorporation of words in the second language as well as the use of translanguaging are phenomena encountered in music, marketing, television, fashion and more. Children demonstrate their understanding of semiotic resources from an early age in their identification of common logos and symbols (EHRI, 1987). Similarly, one need only to look at and listen to the stimuli

present in students' world to recognize that from early on these children develop familiarity with English words, English-language music and English-language brands. I argue that in this way, they begin constructing working understandings of English and what constitutes English writing long before they begin their official "*alfabetização*" in Brazilian elementary school.

There is no mistaking that this prior contact represents linguistic resource, just as students' home language does. Children therefore call on it when constructing their written repertoire in English, and writing samples from this study support this notion. One of the ways we can most clearly identify students' assumptions about the English language lies in their use of letters specific to the English language, as well as language-specific print conventions (GORT, 2006), explored below.

4.6.1 Use of the Letter K

Students demonstrated their awareness of English language characteristics in their over-application of certain graphemes, such as the letters *K, W,* and *Y* - notably, these are the three letters specific to the English language alphabet. Whereas the letter *W* appeared infrequently (*MEWLK* to represent *milk* and *KAWK* to represent *cake,* for example*),* the letter *K* was used repeatedly in representing /k/ conventionally written as *C.* It is interesting to note that students rarely employed the reverse strategy (*C* instead of *K*, as in the words *market* or *monkey*) though they did also select the letter *Q*. For now, in Chart 15, I turn attention to the use of *K* in two of the words proposed in the spontaneous writing activities.

Chart 15 – Student Writing Samples Using the Letter K

Proposed Word	Calendar	Calendar	Cake	Cake	Cake
Student Sample	KLENDAU	KELANDAR	KAWK	KAKE	KEIKQ

Source: Created by the author

As with the examples provided in previous sections, there were of course students across a continuum (Hornberger, 1989) of incorporation of convention: those that wrote almost entirely within convention, those that used *C* for /k/ but mixed with non-conventional vowel

representations, and those that used non-conventional solutions for both vowel, consonants, and sequence.

4.6.2 Use of the Letter Y

Another letter employed consistently by students, as if it were a marker of English words, was the letter *Y*. Its insertion serves as yet another testament to the perception of language and active hypotheses developed by children based on their experiences with the written word. Likely perceiving from their environment and initial experience in the immersive English setting that the letter *Y* belongs to the English language alphabet, students regularly inserted it seemingly in the place of the letter *I* and in generally challenging phonemes. Examples can be found below in chart:

Chart 16 – Student Writing Samples Using the Letter Y

Proposed Word	Cake	Before	Different	Milk
Student Sample	CEYC	BYFOR	DYFERES	MIYK

Source: Created by the author

4.6.3 *Use of the letter Q*

Though not unique to the English language alphabet, the letter *Q* was used to represent /k/ with remarkable (and unexpected) frequency. While a more complex study involving spontaneous writing samples from students' Portuguese classrooms is needed to confirm, I believe the *Q* appeared more in English language writing attempts than in those in the first language, much as the letter *Y* seemed to serve as a "marker" of the English language. The examples below illustrate students' understanding of the sound value of the letter, as it appears only where students wished to represent /k/.

Chart 17 – Student Writing Samples Using the Letter Q

Proposed Word	Cake	Milk	Market	Market
Student Sample	QEIQI	MIUQ	MIQET	MARQAD

Source: Created by the author

4.6.4 *Use of double letters*

The doubling of letters appeared frequently in the data set and stood out, in my understanding, as an attempt by the student to infuse their answers with what they perceive to be traits of writing in the English language. At this point, students have undoubtedly noticed that doubled letters occur in their second language, and in the absence of memorization of the conventional spelling, apply doubling as yet another marker of English writing. The samples in Chart 18 below indicate that students doubled letters in both possible and impossible configurations. Some letters often doubled in the English language, such as *P* (*PPLAT)* or *R (BEFORR)* are examples of letters that can be doubled yet are arranged in unconventional placements. Another attempt doubled the letter *U*, not generally seen in English writing. Finally, some examples display conventionally correct doubling in possible arrangements within the word, while still representing unconventional spelling (*ENIMMAL and OTUMOOR* for example). The diversity in these attempts hints at the breadth of hypotheses students leverage.

Chart 18 – Student Using Double Letters

Proposed Word	Plant	After	After	Before	Animal	Tomorrow	Tomorrow
Student Sample	PPLAT	AFTTEN	AFTTER	BEFORR	ENIMMAL	TWEMOUUT	OTUMOOR

Source: Created by the author

4.6.5 *Over-application of newly acquired digraphs*

Each child has their own personal experience and contact with individual words (Abaurre, 1988). This means that the rationale for certain representations can vary widely among children, and without individual discreet conversations (unviable within the pandemic and remote context),

specific thought processes for each writing sample can only be inferred. However, pairing writing samples with student-student dialogue, student-teacher interaction and lesson planning for that time period can help shed light. In the second semester of 2020, first grade students began the study of digraphs such as *CH, SH, TH* and *PH*. In the samples collected, examples of which can be found in Chart 19 the over-application of the letters pairs was apparent, likely due to the coincidence with their study and thus a certain eagerness to apply and test what was learned. Notably, many attempts approximated the phonemic value of the digraph, though did not follow orthographic convention for that word (see below *BEPHAR*, for example).

Chart 19 – Student Using Newly Acquired Digraphs

Proposed Word	Change	Plant	After	Before	Tomorrow
Student Sample	THANCH	PLACH	AHPHTHER	BEPHAR	THUMOROU

Source: Created by the author

4.6.6 Notable Features of Writing Samples

The writing samples collected proved further that biliteracy development is not a linear process, nor is student performance always predictable. Investigation into certain seeming anomalies contributes to the depth of understanding of the process in this context.

An immediately apparent phenomenon is that of students who have mastered conventional spelling for a relatively difficult word, yet still oscillate in their writing of smaller or more phonetically simple morphemes or words. For example, why does a student in the same writing activity write *CALENDAR* correctly yet represent the word *plant* as *PLET*? In a similar vein, another child represented the word *tomorrow* as *TOMOROW,* a quite advanced approximation of the target spelling, yet wrote the relatively simpler word *grow* as GORO, notably representing the *-ow* ending differently in the two words. Looking at the two examples of word pairs in which a multi-syllable word is written conventionally or nearly so, while a one-syllable and relatively phonetically transparent word presents more difficulty, an apparent contradiction arises. However, Abaurre (1988) brings the important concept of *historicity* to this discussion, referring to the experience a child has with any given word.

Though writing episodes form part of this history, of course, a student's contact with a particular word outside of a specific proposed activity also influences what solutions a student will propose when encountering the word in the spontaneous writing context. Abaurre (1988) adds that, "the relation a child establishes with a writing event is thus inscribed in his/her written choices, where history of contact with particular words and structures is documented" (p. 427). In the cases described above, then, important considerations of each "micro-history" (Abaurre, 1988) can be summoned. Students had encountered the words *calendar* and *tomorrow* on a daily basis, on prominent display on their screens at the beginning of each class. As part of their opening routine, students assembled the calendar (with the title "calendar" projected across the top of the screen) with their peers, along with the guidance of their teacher who arranged the elements of the day's calendar and weather on screen. Along with the title, the words *yesterday* and *tomorrow* always factored into the activity, calling on students to recall the days of the week corresponding to these words. In this way, student contact with the longer, multisyllabic words of *calendar* and *tomorrow* was much more intensive than visual contact with the words *plant* or *grow*. Though these mono-syllabic words were certainly important parts of science units seen over the course of the school year, the depth of student contact and interaction with them was less, and likely less text-focused.

Yet another seemingly counterintuitive aspect of spontaneous writing are apparent regressions in spelling across time. In one writing episode, a student may represent the word with the target spelling while in a subsequent encounter with the word, sometimes within the same text in the case of longer writing samples, the student might use a divergent spelling. In the case of this study, this occurred across spontaneous writing activities in which the same word was repeated, weeks later. In one case, a student who had represented the word *monkey* orthographically in a previous writing exercise later switched the last two graphemes, writing *MONKYE* in the last spontaneous writing activity of the research cycle.

In another case, a student had been writing multiple words in their Portuguese translation (example: representing the word *milk* as *LETI* (leite)) across multiple spontaneous writing activities. On the fifth activity applied – the second to last – the word monkey was, for the first time, attempted in English: *MONKO*. However, two weeks later in the last activity round, monkey was once again represented as *MACACO*. Still another student used conventional spelling in writing *ADULT* in the first round in which the word appeared, only to write it two

weeks later as *ADOT.* To the notion of non-linearity, in which Hornberger emphasizes that points along the biliteracy continua do not always happen in linearity (1989), I add Abaurre's (1988) consideration about the multiplicity of hypotheses. The author notes that "text-internal considerations may, of course, lead to modification of previously elaborated hypotheses. In the latter case, the child will, for the first time, think about what might be the more adequate way of writing that word or structure, and make a writing hypothesis that might or not be maintained the next time he/she writes it again, in the same text or in the context of a new one" (p. 419). Abaurre also adds that the notion of "degrees of activity" (p. 419), or the attention a student devotes to a specific word in a specific writing situation also explains a multiplicity of hypotheses. Across different situations, a child may determine that a certain word has more or less importance, thus concentrating proportionally and rendering different spellings in different moments.

A final observable trait regarding students' written samples and the use of their linguistic resources is that beyond additional language, home language and even the "reading of the world" (Freire, 1983) that students leverage when faced with a writing challenge, students involve semiotic resources as a means to convey meaning through writing. Two students from two different classes, independently of one another, displayed this in their use of numbers in written words. One represented *tomorrow* as *TWOMOROW*, and yet another chose *B4* when tasked with writing *before.* Semiotic resources were heavily used in the chat area of the online classroom. Though it does not form part of this data set, I mention the exchanges and answers in the chat briefly as they were a constant part of the wider context I observed when watching classes. There, students often wrote spontaneously in response to other students' comments, teacher questions, or even as parallel conversations among friends (sometimes to the teacher's dismay). In these texts, the use of emojis supported and enhanced meaning in the chat, and could well serve as fodder for future research. Semiotic resources also factored into student's handwritten answers and visual presentation of their pages at home, shown to the teacher on screen. For example, small drawings and color-coding answers were some of the ways students sought layers of meaning beyond spelling itself.

4.6.7 Final Remarks on Written Data

In this section, I have offered illustrative examples of some of the observable solutions (cite) students develop when faced with writing challenges. Through the data, I identified common characteristics of second language writing, as it relates both to home language and to metalinguistic strategies in English. In reviewing literature about the nature of errors in Portuguese and English writing, I situate the data within current research. As we see from the examples here, students coming from a Portuguese literacy introduction face English with phonetically-focused strategies, adding other perceived strategies based on their English language hypotheses. As time goes on, it is expected that strategic memorization will factor into learning, as English is a moderately opaque language, phonetically speaking. Words containing orthographic rules (Monteiro, 2019) (for example, the "silent e" at the end of *cake,* or the /ʊl/ at the end of *turtle* as represented by *-le)* must be memorized and internalized through numerous encounters with the word (Ehri, 2005). In this way, variations in spelling in both monolingual and bilingual settings are expected (Bank, 2019). In considering these traits, the complexity of pluriliteracy writing comes into relief: students encounter spelling challenges common to monolinguals, as well as those unique to the pluriliteracy process.

When considered as isolated writing without context from the L1, translanguaging, biliteracy or even interliteracy perspectives, these are simply attempts that demonstrate one-dimensional errors. However, when understood within the theories presented here, each writing sample reveals a series of decisions, active associations and perceptions the child brings to their writing process in the second language. Actively drawing on knowledge of the Portuguese language and the students' progress in their home language literacy, we can also understand the supportive role the first language plays as students venture into the world of pluriliteracy.

This appreciation contributes to the teaching and learning process overall, reminding us of the importance of "respect for the cognitive development of the student, so as not to discourage their motivation or linguistic creativity" (GARCIA, 2019, p. 90). This respect not only creates welcoming classroom spaces but has implications for teaching strategies, as we will touch on in the next section.

4.7 Classroom Observation Data: Verbal Exchanges

The written dimension of the data set, analyzed above, provides a window into the literacy process in practice. Through students' writing we observe solutions they find for writing problems, and certain characteristics of English writing in the context of pluriliteracy development become clear. The role their first language plays, together with their developing metalinguistic awareness, begins to take shape.

The second integral dimension of the data set are the verbal exchanges concerning the spontaneous writing and word recognition activities proposed through the study. Here, we have the opportunity to hear directly from students regarding their thought process, impressions and connections they make. In observing classes and transcribing dialogue around first language use and metalinguistic reflections, I was interested primarily in the way these language resources factored into their learning and how they perceive it. The three-pronged view of language in the L2 classroom discussed by Teberosky and Olivé as "the common, the diverse and the explicit" (2002, p. 81) helps to frame the nature of many interactions I will analyze. The "common," referring to consistencies across different languages, appears in excited contributions by students as they make important discoveries about their two languages and how they converge. The "diverse" calls to mind the richness of different inputs in a multilingual world, available constantly to students inside the classroom and out. Finally, the "explicit" proves particularly key to the present study, as it returns to key points discussed throughout this dissertation: encouraging metalinguistic awareness through explicit analysis, comparisons and the like. This was taken up in the discussion of L1 use, as well as phonemic awareness and translanguaging in the previous chapter. Teberosky and Olivé (2002) bring this issue as one more way the teacher can play the role of mediator between languages, pointing to the uniquely important place of the lingua-culturally situated teacher. In the data set, teacher contributions joined with students' spontaneous metalinguistic perceptions and student strategies to reveal how they approached their emergent writing.

With these observations, what, then, can classroom observation hope to describe about emergent writing in the biliteracy context? Writing about first language contexts, Monteiro explains with precision the possible provocations this study also sought in its structure:

> To lead students to an initial analysis of the orthographic system, incentivize the explicitation of their hypotheses in the construction of orthographic rules, make possible interaction with the subject and with their classmates, incentivize the use and evaluation of both individual and group strategies, and practice and

> stimulate the use of cognitive, metacognitive and mnemonic strategies. (2019, p. 119).

In the present study, I understand that these *possible* provocations pertain in this case to the second language, and especially to the appearance, use or acknowledgement of the first language in this process. As possible provocations, not all may be taken up by all students at all times. Especially within the group setting, in a virtual classroom, verbal contributions are not equally distributed, and naturally are offered in higher frequency by students who already tend to participate more. Within this participation, not all contributions take the form of metalinguistic reflections, appearances of first language, metacognitive strategies, and the like. For this reason, I have called what Monteiro (2019) lists above *possible provocations*, as researcher and educator can introduce activities aimed to stimulate these reflections, but ultimately do not control how students interact with and understand them.

The specific research questions of the study, focusing on how the student uses their language resources, how the teacher perceives this, and what this tells us about the role of the Brazilian teacher, guided this analysis. The categories observed emerged from discussions and oral exchanges regarding L1 or using it in the L2 writing process. The first category I will address is that of *metalinguistic reflections*, or those conversations and contributions in which students take notice of characteristics of language or explicitly compare their two languages. As has been documented by quantitative research (CUMMINS, 1978; BIALYSTOCK *et al*., 2014), bilingualism appears to increase metalinguistic awareness in children, which in turn favors literacy development. Though research is not yet conclusive regarding how much students with limited bilingual exposure (for example, the first-year students in this study) benefit metalinguistically, this study portrays their observations as a snapshot of their development. To follow, I present four main categories of analysis: *student strategies*: metacognitive practices students employed. Next, I move to *student attitudes towards errors*, in which I examine first language use, the welcoming of these resources, and students' ultimate relationship to making mistakes, correcting errors and persisting in their writing attempts as evidenced by their verbal contributions. Finally, I cover the category of *teacher response to and use of L1* in which I trace how certain examples of L1 are received by teachers, whether or not they are leveraged, and if so, how.

These categories necessarily overlap and bleed into each other. It is impossible to label most any contribution around writing as purely metalinguistic or exclusively attitude-related, for example. In most cases, when talking about writing, corrections or cross-linguistic comparison, nearly all comments will be metacognitive, as writing itself is a metalinguistic process. In some cases, we may hope to catch an "epilinguistic" (ABAURRE, 1988) moment, capturing behaviors or underlying understandings that, as they are not known to students, are not able to be made explicit. However, despite overlap and commonalities across categories, their separation does provide a "soft" structure around which to center a discussion and parse out complexities in the use of L1 in the classroom. In some cases, even passages not immediately related to writing also comprise the data set presented as they stemmed from the spontaneous writing activities and classroom dynamic surrounding them.

Many exchanges highlighted here may not deal *explicitly* with L1, with students drawing cross linguistic connections and naming them as such. However, an important aspect of the data is what the creation of space for first language use, even in classroom conversational exchanges, can unlock in the student's plurliteracy process. As we will see, it appears that with the welcoming of Portuguese in the classroom, students make use of spontaneity, humor and rapid exchanges only possible in their first language at this moment in their bilingual development. In this way, they are able and disposed to voice their findings, evaluate their hypotheses, compare their writing, and collectively reflect.

4.7.1 Metalinguistic reflections

Reflections about language represented a significant portion of work that students executed in their first language. These important exchanges encouraged students to think about their writing, the connections among their linguistic resources and repertoires, and their own discoveries. Below, I have organized certain illustrative dialogues among students and the teacher, as well as comments, into sub-categories demonstrating the diverse forms in which metalinguistic awareness was evidenced and developed through first language.

<u>Exploring visual aspects of words:</u> An important aspect of metalinguistic awareness, specifically as it pertains to writing, is that of visual traits of words. Recognition of these features, and later memorizing as sight words (EHRI, 2005) form part of eventually reading with fluency.

‘In students’ verbal contributions during recorded class sessions, they often commented on the size of words, the number of letters, and similarities across letter patterns. When Norman, 6 years old, comments to his teacher (T) on the word *bed*, we can see the beginnings of awareness around the written word:

T: The word is *bed*
Norman: Por enquanto, *bed* foi a menor de todas!
T: Yes, it’s very small!

In this case, the student continued to take note of word size and composition throughout the spontaneous writing activities:

T: [reviewing words dictated up to that point] *Cake… Milk…*
Norman: A gente está fazendo somente palavras em quatro letras?!
T: You’re right! Those words had four letters, but not all will have that. Third word: *Toy*.
Norman: Ah, é verdade.

The magnitude of observation made in the two exchanges above may seem small, yet its implications are far reaching. Metalinguistic awareness is a practice developed over time, and can be encouraged explicitly. Noticing word size or counting letters is, I argue, a building block of more advanced noticing that may happen either simultaneously or sequentially, as I detail in the sections to come.

Visual aspects of words include letter noticing as well, which allows students to notice patterns across words. One example of this from the 2nd grade literacy curriculum is the explicit teaching of “CVC” (consonant-vowel-consonant) words (ESCOLA Girassol, Bilíngue Curriculum, 2022). In this case, working at the metalinguistic level of perceiving patterns in letter sequence and subsequent pronunciation leads to greater independence when encountering new words and “sounding out.” Though this type of instruction and induction happens, in the host program, at a later phase of literacy development, students begin noticing certain patterns long before. Below, CJ comments on two words with what is commonly taught as the “long i” sound with the “silent e”:

[Teacher reveals spelling of *size* after dictating and waiting for students to write]
CJ: Ô Teacher...essa palavra *size* parece com outra palavra...*mine*
T: Oh yea? It’s similar, right?

Similarly, another student, 6-year-old Ada, noticed characteristics across two words with similar consonant and vowel patterns in the interaction below:

Ada: Teacher, *market* parece *basket* (pronounces as *basquete* from Portuguese).
T: Yes, Ada, you really got it.
Ada: Não, parece mesmo! Market com Basquete misturado…[inaudible]
T: Yes, Ada, the end looks the same, right?

Using their first language freely to organize visual observations about the target language, students continue to characterize the written word in English.

Drawing cross-linguistic connections at the word level: From early on in the recordings reviewed, children appear to seek out similarities and differences across their languages. In the data collected, children demonstrated interest, surprise and satisfaction upon discovering such connections. Aligning with Cummins and the author's Interdependence Theory (1981), Teberosky and Olivé also (2002) describe the importance of this "linguistic transfer" in second language learning, though in the translanguaging perspective, resource are not transferred but rather called upon, thus we can refer to this phenomenon as the activation of all linguistic resources (GARCIA; LI, 2014).

Furthermore, research supports that metalinguistic connective strategies are present at the writing level (GENESSE *et al.*, 2006). Examples include finding exact cognates in the spontaneous writing exercises, as well as developing strategies in "converting" words from English to Portuguese or vice versa. Later, these skills take on a larger proportion in the form of story structure, reading strategies and discourse, for example (GENESSEE *et al.*, 2006). In this case, the word *animal* confronted students with an important dichotomy in cross linguistic comparisons: that of the word that is written identically and pronounced differently. Students seemed delighted and intrigued at the discovery, as Lola, Ada and Kulu's reactions demonstrate:

[Teacher shows spelling of *animal*]
Lola: Teacher! *Animal* escreve igual ao português!
T: Yes, it's the same in Portuguese in English, we just say it in a different way.

Ada: Teacher, eu sei porque [a colega] sabia que era *animal*
T: Why?

Ada: porque *animal* se escreve igual em português e inglês, só muda como a gente fala.

[Teacher shows spelling of *animal*]
T: [seeing students' reactions] It's very similar to Portuguese, it is the same word.
Kulu: São as mesmas letras.
T: Yes, Kulu.

In other spontaneous contributions, students elaborated on their perceptions in relation to their first language, as in the case of *plant*:

[The word is *plant* and Lola shows their version: PLAT]
Lola: é só colocar um *A* aqui e fica *planta*. [self corrects] Não...e o *N* também.

In many cases, these insights served as strategies in decoding, as in the interactions below from a word recognition activity:

T: How do you know number 9 says *different,* Sophie?
Sophie: Não sei...acho que porque parece muito com *diferente* em português.
T: Very good, Sophie! Thank you very much.
Sophie: É só tirar um F e botar um E no final para ficar *diferente*.

Teacher: CJ, tell me why you think this word is *plant*.
CJ: porque se colocar mais um *A* no final fica *planta!*

These exchanges demonstrate the supportive role that first language plays in word recognition and the construction of strategies. Where some approaches might discard the first language in favor of total immersion, making space for these connections - even around parallels as straightforward as cognates - encourages students to take risks and participate in their second language.

Exploring orthography and phonics: Another key metalinguistic reflection made possible through the first language involved phonemic awareness - specifically linking the pronunciation of words to their written form. In the contributions below, students spontaneously offer insights into their thought process, working out issues of spelling in real time either with the teacher or amongst themselves. As they do, they take notice of aspects of the written word, evaluate their own writing compared to conventional spelling, and make connections.

Even the process of assessing the word as easy or difficult represents a metalinguistic process, and students showed little reservation in expressing their opinion:

T: This next word is a *long* word, a very long word. *Tomorrow* [enunciates]
Ada: Ah, teacher, essa palavra é muito difícil. É cada letra nada ver!

In this lighthearted exchange the teacher laughs at the collocation, and then Ada, seemingly pleased they had amused the teacher, repeats themselves two more times. The moment holds depth beyond what initially appears: in recalling the difficulty of the word, especially the challenge posed by the arrangement of the letters, Ada identifies specific aspects of the word and their personal challenge with them. (Perhaps they were referring to the doubling of the *R* or the use of the *W*, though as the teacher moved on to the next word immediately after this exchange, I cannot be sure).

In other exchanges, students built what will become their memorization of orthography, increasing their interaction with the word and contributing to their micro history (Abaurre, 1988). Examples of how this unfolds in practice follow:

[The word is *plant*]
Lola: Ah, plant é fácil
T: Plant
Lola: *Plant, plant…plant*. Ô, teacher tô na dúvida se coloco o *E* ou se deixo assim.
T: Listen: plant, plant. Do you think it's *E* or *A*?
[T shows spelling]
Lola: Ah! só faltou o *N*!

[The word is *change* and Ada has written *CHADY*]
Ada: Teacher! Eu só acertei C-H-A [names letters in Portuguese], mas depois eu coloquei D-Y e é N-G-E!!

[The word is *monkey*]
T: The word is Monkey, Monkey [stresses /n/]
Lola: [writes, then turns on their microphone] Teacher, eu sei que não é assim! Eu não estou lembrando da última letra que é em inglês e estou na dúvida de algumas letras:

[Teacher reveals conventional spelling]
Norman: [astonished] é porque! o *K* o *E* e o *Y* [naming in Portuguese] faz o mesmo som que o *C*, e eu substitui o *O* pelo *A*

In these exchanges, active comparison with the correct orthography organizes knowledge about the written form. In this way, I argue, knowing that they do not know - in other words, acknowledging a gap in their second language knowledge - represents important metalinguistic

activity. In the last exchange especially, Norman narrates a strikingly accurate account of their written errors, even seeking to explain one of them through cross linguistic comparison ("*o K o E e o Y faz o mesmo som que o C)*. Indeed, Norman has written *MANC*. At the same time, we also see in Lola's contribution that they perceive the difference between "letters in English" and those in common across the alphabets. In trying to complete the word *monkey*, the student knew that the last letter was from the English language alphabet, though had not decided on which one.

Student comments also gave insight into the connections they made in relating new knowledge (orthography encountered in spontaneous writing) to content studied in class, as in the following exchange:

[The word is *different*]
Norman: Teacher! O *F* depois do *D* e o *I* é *PH!*
T: Hmmm, the sound, yes?

[The word is *tomorrow*]
Norman: Teacher! Eu escrevi *two*, até porque *two* faz o mesmo som!!

In the case of the first exchange, students had studied the digraph *ph* in the days preceding the spontaneous writing activity, while in the second, the written form of numbers 1-10 was also reviewed early in the year. These connections, transpiring in the first language, reveal active progress in the second language and biliteracy development.

Discovering aspects of English Language writing: In welcoming and encouraging metalinguistic reflections, the L1-sensitive classroom makes room for discoveries that deepen knowledge about language systems. In the dialogue below, students comment about aspects unique to each language:

[The word is *after*]
Norman: Teacher, eu percebi uma coisa!
T: What?
[Student shows spelling *ÁFTER*]
Norman: o A!
T: Yes, Norman, but in English, we don't use this. English doesn't have this accent, this line.
Lola: Teacher! Em inglês não existe acento?
T: Mm-mm [shaking head "no"]
Lola: Então se a gente estivesse nos Estados Unidos, eles não iam saber o que é acento.
T: They don't use it. [smiling and shaking head]

Norman: Nem c-cedilha!?
T: They don't use it, no, no, no [shakes head and clicks tongue]
Norman: Mas tem s-h que eu sei!
T: Yes!

Norman and Lola's interaction with their teacher about diacritical marks makes visible the process by which children take notice of differences in language convention. The fact that Norman associates the absence of accent marks in English with the probable absence of *c-cedilha* suggests the connections are already forming, as they have begun to identify the diverse print conventions that are Portuguese-specific. A final example of the discovery of English language traits occurred in a quick yet significant exchange among Norman, Kulu and their teacher:

[T reveals spelling of *before*]
Norman: Gente, só faltou o *E*
Kulu: O *E* é mudo?!
T: Yeeees! When it's the last one, we don't hear and we don't say it.

Although, as previously mentioned, explicit teaching around "silent e" will follow in second grade, here a first grader deduces an important feature of their second language, through the use of their first.

4.7.2 Student Strategies

Another aspect of pluriliteracy development made visible and fortified by the welcoming of first language in the classroom were the student's strategies. This refers to tactics employed by students when facing writing challenges.

Epilinguistic strategies: Epilinguistic strategies are those not yet known to the students. (KARMILOFF-SMITH, 1986 *apud* ABAURRE, 1988). Though a subconscious process inherent to language acquisition may not configure as an active strategy in the sense that the subsequent categories do, I insert it in this context as a reminder that not all hypotheses that students develop, and not all uses of L1 in the classroom, are necessarily known to them as such. Many are the instances in which a student finds the words to verbalize their thought process, the associations they make, the comparisons they draw. However, much important work happens at the epilinguistic level, as evidenced by the exchange below:

T: Sophie, how do you know number four is *eggs*?
Sophie: Porque tem um number four e diz *eggs*.
T: [laughing] Good! Nice.

The simplicity of Sophie's answer may belie the significance of what they reveal in their interaction with the teacher - that sometimes student knowledge, especially at this age, is not traceable to a specific strategy or learning moment.

Confidence in writing "my way": A defining characteristic of spontaneous writing activities is preserving, respecting and leveraging the students' personal hypothesis, or chosen solution for a given writing challenge. This trait aligns with the host school's philosophy, which values "the importance of the error as a step in learning" and believes that "a person only learns when they mobilize external knowledge and processes it internally, making it theirs" (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020, p. 17). In fact, in using invented spelling as a strategy for the development of literacy (Martins and Silva, 2006; Ehri, 2005) - and in this case, biliteracy - encouraging students to value their own chosen spelling solution is essential. In the data set, mentions by students of their "own way" revealed their own reconceptualization of the "error":

T: The word is *cake*.
CJ: Tem que escrever do seu jeito teacher, né?
T: Yes, CJ!
CJ: Do jeito que achar, do jeito que ouvir.

In the exchange above the student refers to an "own way" of writing, seeming to acknowledge, then, that there also exists a conventional way, and that the two coexist. In other student contributions, I found further evidence of their comfort and confidence in relation to this duality:

[The word is *calendar*]
Kulu: Eu botei *calendale*, OK, Teacher?

[Teacher reveals the conventional spelling of *grow*]
Lola: [gasps] Teacher, fiz certinho! G-R-O-W!
T: Nice!
Norman: Teacher! Eu escrevi G-R-U-O-L
T: It's OK, it's the sound, it's the way we hear.
CJ: Eu fiz G-E-R-O-W, pode ser?

[The word is *tomorrow*]
Sophie: Meu *tomorrow* é assim. [Shows their spelling, *thumorou*]

The last comment is particularly interesting, as Sophie presents the spelling as their own, going as far as to use the possessive adjective "*meu*" to describe that particular configuration. In this "own way," linked to the notion of error as progress, students' linguistic creativity, individual efforts and hypotheses are validated.

Memorization and Visualization: Another metacognitive student strategy that children cited with frequency was that of memorization and visualization. Memorization, while perhaps carrying negative connotations for its relationship to purely content-focused "banking" – style education (FREIRE, 1974), plays an important role in learning to read with fluency, even in the monolingual setting (EHRI, 2005). Reading proficiency, to bring back a concept reviewed in chapter three of this dissertation, is not achieved by decoding words at every step. In other words, no one reads forever by "sounding out", and there will always be a moment where repeated encounters with the word result in immediate recognition, or, memorization (EHRI, 2005). Due to the prominent space it occupies in literacy and pluriliteracy development, memorization and the visualization described by children sparked particular interest:

[Kulu has shown the conventional spelling of a word]
T: Very good, Kulu!
Kulu: Sabe como eu sei? Porque eu gravei naquele dia [*round one of the activity cycle*] que você botou!

[Sophie has made progress in writing the word *monkey*]
Sophie: É só fazer assim! [*they close their eyes, touching their temples]*. Eu fiz assim e apareceu uma lista de coisas aqui *[strokes their face with their eyes closed*] e aí eu vi *monkey!*

T: The next word is *nest, nest*
Ada: Teacher, eu sei essa palavra. Porque me lembrei do bingo que a gente jogou e daí me lembrei!

In these exchanges students articulated with precision not only their strategies involving memorization, but the association with days or specific activities they return to in order to help themselves in the moment. This serves as yet another example of existing student strategies that can then be leveraged through careful teacher mediation.

Connections to outside experience: The notion of historicity (Abaurre, 1988) of certain words and its relation to spelling, discussed previously in this chapter, manifested in exchanges throughout the class recordings. Though historicity is not necessarily always known or identifiable to children, the passages below represent some of the moments in which children did make active connections to their personal experience with the word at hand:

> T: Now the word is *milk*
> CJ: *Milk* eu também já aprendi em *Ninjago*, que tinha escrito *milk*
> T: Nice!

> T: The word is *turtles.*
> Sophie: Ô Teacher! Pensei que fosse falar o nome de um Pokémon que começa com a mesma palavra - *Turtle[inaudible]*

In both examples, students make associations with programs that brought them connection to that word. As we can infer from the highly personal nature of the interactions, each child's relationship to a given word is unique. These personal connections can also be harnessed by teachers both to activate knowledge and to invoke positive affective connection with the word.

Strategies developed by students factored prominently into their spontaneous writing, and as I have exemplified here, were often explicit, conscious measures. Other significant student strategies appeared, such as drawing connections to phonics teaching (the explicit teaching of sounds and their relation to graphemes), as well as "sounding out" the dictated word in order to identify individual letters. In biliteracy development, these strategies represent not only valid mechanisms but advanced learning mechanisms, illustrating the importance of recognizing all of the linguistic work being done by students. Once again, this level of cognitive action was often ascertainable through students' use of the first language, and the teacher's ability to understand it.

4.7.3 Student attitudes toward writing

The relationship of a learner to a particular subject matter, learning environment or educational experience is often referred to as the "affective filter" (Krashen, 1982) and permeates work with children. As I carried out data analysis, an aspect that came into relief was that of student's attitudes toward writing and what I began to view as the construction of a positive

relationship to the written word. Characteristics of these attitudes center around confidence and comfort, specifically in regard to errors and self correction.

Acceptance of errors: Time and again, students confronted their spelling with the conventional orthography, recognizing the ever-present differences with good humor rather than embarrassment or frustration. In fact, by the middle of the full research cycle, students and teacher had created a pleasant routine together regarding the writing activities: the teacher enunciated a word three to four times, showing an illustration for reference. Students wrote, secure in their understanding at this point that they were to spell it "their way" without modifying their version once they viewed the conventional spelling. At the end of the activity, they wait for the final screenshot of their papers that the teacher always took. This routine created ease, and opened space for spontaneity in their comments, exchanges, and even jokes about the language. When the conventional spelling was revealed after all had written their version, reactions of surprise, celebration, and even feigned indignation ("*Não é possível! Não é possível!"*) filled the virtual classroom, with excited comments comparing their answers to the correct spelling pouring in through the microphones and the chat. The mood was festive, not competitive; light-hearted, not pressurized.

Nowhere was this more clear than in the moments where students self-corrected or acknowledge their own errors:

> [T reveals spelling of *plant*]
> T: Look guys, *plant*
> Ada: Ihh, bem diferente! [referring to her written attempt].
>
> [T shows spelling of *change*]
> T: Look now: change. Ch-change. This letter makes the *D* sound, doesn't it?
> Norman: [gasping] Teacher! Eu escrevi totalmente diferente! Pensei que era *T-E-N* [naming in Portuguese] com *T* no final! É praticamente esse som!
> T: Yes, the sound, yes [signaling her ear].
>
> [T shows spelling of *change*]
> Sophie: Teacher! Eu só acertei *C-H-A* [names letters in Portuguese] mas depois eu coloquei *D-Y* e é *N-G-E*!!
>
> [T reveals conventional spelling]
> Kulu: [looks over the word on the screen] É. Foi igual. Só faltou essas últimas letras aí.

Especially in the last contribution by Kulu, we see that even when faced with divergences in spelling, students came away from the activities with positive attitudes intact, either focusing on writing that aligned with the correct orthography or observing with interest and humor how their writing attempt differed.

Through their reactions to the spontaneous writing activities, students also revealed patience with their own process and their increasing ability to evaluate the extent of their own linguistic resources in that moment.

> [T reveals spelling of *after,* and Kulu has written *AFETER]*
> Kulu: Oh Teacher, eu só errei uma letra. Não tem um *E* depois do *T*? Eu coloquei um *A*...não, um *E* depois do *F*, e outro *E* depois do *T*.
>
> Lola: Ó teacher, eu mesma achei, por mim mesma, que meu "milk" está certo, mas meu "cake" não [shows her list, where *milk* is spelled correctly and *cake* appears as *CEIC*]
>
> Norman: Teacher, é o máximo que consegui fazer. É o máximo!
> Norman: Teacher, se eu acertar, é muita sorte!

These contributions were made with smiling faces and playfulness in students' voices, suggesting the positive association children had with the act of writing in this context and in regard to their errors. In some cases, students even related to each other's mistakes or identified with each other across similar hypotheses, as happened with Kulu and their classmates on the two occasions below:

> [Teacher reveals spelling]
> Kulu: Eu só esqueci de colocar um R.
> T: Very nice, good job, Kulu!
> Sophie: A mesma coisa aconteceu comigo - faltou um R.
>
> T: It's OK!
> Kulu: É porque coloquei [inaudible, explaining error]
> Norman: Isso já aconteceu comigo, o que Kulu disse.

These exchanges further deepen understanding of the breadth of metalinguistic practices, in service of pluriliteracy, that take place mediated by the first language. Relating to one another based on their hypotheses, engaging in active self correction and assessment, and demonstrating lack of inhibition regarding errors all serve to further pluriliteracy development.

Persistence and confidence: Closely related to the positive outlook on their errors are the characteristics of persistence and confidence observed, primarily toward the end of the study's cycle. By this time, students exhibited an awareness of their own process and progress, and with that a certain playful confidence, as was the case when a student, noting his spelling, commented "*ah,* monkey *é minha especialidade!"*. Below, Kulu expresses a sentiment echoed inother contributions over the course of the study:

> Lola: Eu fiz igual a [other classmate], Teacher.
> T: That's OK! Like [your classmate] as well, it's OK! [smiling]
> Kulu: A primeira vez a gente nunca consegue, mas a segunda, as quartas, as quintas vezes a gente sempre melhora.

Acknowledgment of learning in process and improvement day by day appeared in both student comments and teacher guidance. In many moments, the teachers used their talk time to remind students of their growth, drawing their attention to their literacy development and encouraging them in their spelling attempts. In the last category I take a close look at the ways teachers used L1 and metalinguistic reflection to this end.

4.7.4 Teachers' use of L1 and encouragement of student reflections

Having detailed the primary observed uses of first language by students, I now trace these interactions through to the teacher, who is often the interlocutor. To respond to the research questions regarding teachers' own use of the first language, their reception of it, and the role of a Brazilian or lingua-culturally sensitive teacher in this context, I analyzed teacher responses in key L1 use situations. I found that teachers' use of the first language spans a variety of strategic applications according to the data collected. However, the *communicative* use of first language by head teachers was not often observed in class recordings, with teachers preferring to conduct class and answer questions in English, in accordance with the host program's approach (ESCOLA Girassol, 2020). However, this is not to say that teachers do not make use of the first language. In fact, they leverage it constantly, choosing when to draw connections and welcoming student contributions that, at this age, still arrive almost entirely in the first language.

Their encouragement of metalinguistic reflection and metacognitive strategies align with the previous categories discussed in this chapter. In almost all the instances cited above, teacher responses received these contributions positively. Teachers aided students in identifying and organizing their strategies, helping to name specific tactics that students employed. For example, in certain cases, teachers observed, "Ahh, Lola is closing their eyes to remember; I see Kulu is sounding it out; Sophie is repeating slowly." I did find, however, that recommendations could be made in order to further maximize the impact of teacher intervention. In some instances, teachers' follow-up could have gone further to bolster cross linguistic connections, activate previous knowledge and encourage metacognitive strategies. Guidance and examples could form part of further analysis of the data set, leading to a more specific matrix of classroom suggestions. In the analysis, however, I focus on identifying existing practice.

Validating answers given in Portuguese: Upon entering any virtual classroom, regardless of the spontaneous writing activities that structured this study, the space reserved for the first language is immediately apparent. Students freely address each other and the teacher in Portuguese without reprimand. As students' level of English increases, expectations around their initiative and use of English will shift accordingly (verbal information)[16]. In the first grade setting, while vocabulary regarding routine and basic procedures are already expected in English (verbal information)[17], there exists much precious learning dialogue that is only possible in the first language. In the present study, rather than discard these contributions, and along with it all of the potential pedagogical gains, teachers welcomed it. They did not feign confusion upon hearing Portuguese, pretending they did not understand, but rather accepted the contributions and validated them, gently clarifying the English translation of key information. Two representative examples follow:

T: Who knows what this boy does?
Lola: Costureiro!
T: Yes, very nice! He is a *dressmaker*

[The proposed word is *plant*]
CJ: Já escrevi, teacher. Vou soletrar: *P-L-A-N-T* [names letters in Portuguese]
T: Nice! *P-L-A-N-T* in English [names letters in English]

[16] Information obtained in conversation with the founder and director of host program in March of 2022.
[17] Information obtained in conversation with the founder and director of host program in March of 2022.

These interactions are exceedingly simple and frequent. In the data collected, exchanges like this appeared innumerous times. Their importance lies in their significance, however: in taking key vocabulary and reminding students of its English version and in repeating back spelling using the English letter names, the teacher validates students in their knowledge while continuing to represent the second language reference in that situation. In this way, students express their understanding of questions broadcast in English, and even describe their own knowledge of the second language, even if this description is still verbalized in Portuguese. In addition to an affirming practice, allowing for Portuguese language answers permitted teachers a more clear view of their students' understanding.

Activating Phonological Awareness: Phonological awareness is linked, in many cases, to increased literacy ability (EHRI *et al*., 2001) and played a large role in teacher response to student contributions around spontaneous writing activities. In many cases, the teacher validated the students' writing attempt, explaining to students why, phonetically, they may have written words a specific way. Below, Lola has attempted *cake*, despite already sensing that the result wasn't fully orthographic yet:

> Lola: Ó teacher, eu mesma achei, por mim mesma, que meu "milk" está certo, mas meu "cake" não [shows their list, where *milk* is spelled correctly and *cake* appears as *CEIC]*
>
> T: But the sound of cake is this that you put, yes!
> Lola: [shrugs and smiles] ...É!

Similarly, the teacher validates Ada as they explain their difficulty in writing *change*:

> Ada: Ô, Teacher, foi quase lá! Só que eu troquei o *A* pelo *E* e eu não fiz o *G*, fiz o *D* [names letters in Portuguese].
> T: Yes, but the sound is like D, we listen D. It's OK.

In the two brief interactions above, the teacher used knowledge of the first language to evaluate writing attempts in the second. In doing so, they explain to the student why certain variations may have occurred, raising phonological awareness and allaying anxiety about "getting it right". In some cases, the teacher pointed out specific aspects of the word's orthography:

> [T shows spelling of Adult, many students feign outrage]
> T: Ah, haha! It's different, right? That's OK.

Norman: Teacher! Eu pensei – não teacher – foi quase igual ao que pensei. Foi A-*dult*, só que foi *D-O-U* e depois o *T*!
T: But now next time you'll remember it's with U (traces a U in the air with their finger)

Norman has registered *ADOUT*, and the teacher attempts to clarify the conventional spelling. Exchanges such as the one above illustrated how, in the midst of student reactions to conventional spelling and their own spontaneous reflections on their writing, teachers harnessed those contributions in service of improvements and adjustments. They achieved this not only through *welcoming* but *expanding on* students' cross linguistic phonological comparisons:

[T reveals spelling of *time*]
Kulu: Teacher, pensei que em português fosse *time* [pronounces Brazilian Portuguese word for team]
T: Yes, Kulu, but in English we write *time* [en] the same way as *time* [pt] in Portuguese. You are right! The way we write, but the meaning is different, OK?

Through this type of cross linguistic phonological comparison, validating instead of correcting students, teachers mobilized their knowledge of the first language in support of the second.

Supporting the students' "way" and affirming growth: Acceptance of the error as a learning tool depends both on the teacher and the student. The student must feel safe taking these risks, and the teacher must create an environment conducive to such. In the data collected, teachers signaled to students on a regular basis and in different ways that their solutions were valid, and that they were on an upward learning path.

As explored in a previous section, students made reference to their personal way of spelling many times in exchanges during spontaneous writing activities. Similarly, teachers used the same language to encourage students' hypotheses and the solutions stemming from them.

[The proposed word is *milk*]
Ada: Ó Teacher, é com *I* [names letter in Portuguese]?
T: Milk [slowly]. Milk
Ada: Não é com *I*…
T: Your way, the way you hear it.

T: The word is *cake*
CJ: Tem que escrever do seu jeito teacher, né?
T: Yes, CJ!
CJ: Do jeito que achar, do jeito que ouvir.

T: Right.

Divorcing oneself from the desire to produce the "right" answer (in this case, the conventional spelling) can be difficult for children (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985), and the active work by teachers to affirm the place of students' language seems to contribute to students' comfort and willingness to take risks. They also encouraged students to reflect on their own learning process by drawing attention to their progress:

> [T shows image of a bed]
> Kulu: esse é tão fácil. Como é que não dá para saber?
> T: Kulu, why do you think it is so easy?
> Kulu: porque as letras são só *B-E-D* (naming in Portuguese) [...] é muito fácil, acho que até um neném sabe escrever.
> T: But do you remember that at the beginning of the year, no one knew how to write *bed?* Hm! We are learning!
>
> [Lola notes that the last word in the spontaneous writing activity is always *monkey*]
> T: Yes, Lola! It's to see how you are writing. The first time you wrote *monkey* was completely different from how you write it now.

By highlighting improvements in students' pluriliteracy development, teachers place students as agents of their learning, capable of reflecting and assessing, thus furthering metacognitive functioning even more throughout this process.

Activating Knowledge and Noticing Skills: One of the most significant ways that Brazilian teachers contributed to students' pluriliteracy development was through activating their linguistic repertoire, both in English and in Portuguese. By mobilizing these resources, teachers helped students to understand just how much knowledge and how many strategies they had already at their disposal. In weaving together information from both languages and meeting student error with comprehension rather than categorical discounting, Brazilian teachers supported students in ways specific to a lingua-culturally situated educator. In this way, many potential difficulties associated with a teacher that does not share the L1 with students (TEBEROSKY; OLIVÉ, 2004) are not only avoided but transformed.

Different associations were called on to mobilize this linguistic repertoire. Cross linguistic reflections, which we saw from the student perspective in a previous data category, was a frequently-occurring way that teachers leveraged the first language. Returning to an exchange I

presented earlier, I now focus on the teacher's response to Lola's realization that the word *animal* is a cognate:

> [Teacher shows correct spelling of *animal*]
> Lola: Teacher! 'Animal' escreve igual ao português!
> T: Yes, it's the same in Portuguese in English, we just say it in a different way.

In openly acknowledging the first language, similarities and potential confusion are addressed directly, helping students organize their pronunciation and writing.

Activating phonemic and word-level knowledge also emerged in the data, and was often as simple as a teacher broadcasting a reminder such as: "What is this? Short *e*, remember? Bed!" Importantly, I note here that interventions such as these are not prescribed by the spontaneous writing activity structure (FERREIRO; TEBEROSKY, 1985), and were not suggested to teachers as part of their script. However, the data showed that at times teachers opted to lead into a certain word by mobilizing this knowledge. This activation was phonemic, as in the example above, or at times focused on the historicity (ABAURRE, 1988) of the word, as when the teacher introduced the word *tomorrow* for spontaneous writing, following it by prompting, "you see this everyday on our… [pausing for participation] ...calendar!"

Teachers maintained, for the most part, consistency in their accepting attitudes of and initiatives in the first language. However, there were some significant examples of what I consider missed opportunities for metalinguistic awareness development. In the exchange below, a student has heard the word *monkey* dictated multiple times, yet chose to write in portuguese, perhaps registering the word in the way in which they felt more confident:

> Sophie: Teacher, escrevi *macaco*.
> T: Sophie, it has to be in English, Sophie. I don't know what *macaco* is.

Of course, not every exchange with a student can lead smoothly into a teaching moment, especially with time constraints as a factor. That being said, in this exchange there are diverse response paths available to the teacher in order to leverage the student's contribution. To begin, the fact that the student heard *monkey* dictated and wrote *macaco* demonstrates their understanding. The fact that the student broadcasts the fact of having written the word in Portuguese may suggest a defense mechanism: perhaps they feel insecure in their knowledge and

have purposefully chosen Portuguese to avoid exposing their English attempt (the tone of the recording suggests this to me). In this case, instead of effectively ignoring the word *macaco*, the teacher could draw comparisons here, perhaps validating the student's orthographic spelling of *macaco,* and inviting them to notice that both the English and Portuguese word begin with the same letter and sound. Depending on the student's relationship with other classmates, asking to hear other students' strategies when they are unsure of a spelling might have helped to encourage Sophie to make another attempt. The same principles of welcoming error, focusing on repertoire and making connections apply in cases like these when students show hesitancy in making attempts in English.

4.7.5 Final Remarks on Verbal Exchanges

In seeking to understand the relationship among error, first language, metalinguistic awareness and pluriliteracy development, verbal exchanges about writing and the written word uncovered a wealth of insights. As the data make clear, precious reflections about language came spontaneously from students, who often offered these contributions with excitement, surprise and humor. In other moments, the teacher's role in provoking this noticing was apparent. The exchanges affirmed for me that the activities I designed and that teachers applied served the purpose of encouraging the use of cognitive and metacognitive strategies (MONTEIRO, 2019), as well as inviting students to metalinguistic reflection.

In analyzing the verbal data, complemented by the written samples, I perceive how the rethinking of the nature of error transforms the child's relationship to error itself. In this way, their progress in writing is not only accelerated, but validated and perceptible. Of course, all of this is steeped in a positive relationship to practices of reading and writing, since "there is no acquisition of the written system without reading and writing practices, since these practices make the child progress in their hypotheses about the system of representation" (DIAS, 2020, p. 98). In this perspective, pluriliteracy development *is* pluriliteracy practice. When we create the conditions for students to find confidence and validation in their writing attempts and discoveries, through welcoming their solutions, errors and hypotheses, we favor the literacy process.

4.8 Concluding Our Discussion

Returning to students' writing samples, impressions of progress are anecdotal, as the change in writing hypotheses over time was not the focus of this study and thus the span did not allow for long-term observation and comparison. However, movement along the continuum of written language (HORNBERGER, 1989) at the word level did occur and is interesting to note briefly. Changes across time were most perceptible in the case of the word *monkey*, repeated in each of the six spontaneous writing activities. In the great majority of cases, movement on the continuum progressed toward conventional spelling, frequently beginning with invented spellings and ending with orthographic registers. Lola, for example, progressed as follows: MANKI > MANCI > MANKY > MANKO > MONKEY in the five activities in which they participated. Ada's attempts were MUNCI > MONKE > MONKE > MONKEY > MONKEY > MONKEY, demonstrating clear consolidation of the orthographic spelling by the end, as they repeat the same register in the last three consecutive activities. CJ, on the other hand, seemed to settle on a close approximation, and registered the word as MANKEY > MANK > MANK > MANKEY > MANKEY > MANKEY, demonstrating consistency and suggesting that explicit, though limited, intervention would likely bring the spelling to its orthographic version. Assessments such as these stem from constructed understanding of biliterate writing patterns, as well as prediction of overarching types of errors (MONTEIRO, 2019; GORT, 2006).

By taking stock of salient characteristics of writing samples in pluriliteracy development and the uses of L1 in this context, teachers and administrators can be even more strategic and precise in their interventions and interpretations in the classroom. In analyzing these writing samples, their changes over time, and the exchanges that took place in regard to them, I identify the use of metacognitive and metalinguistic resources, specifically those leveraging the first language. In triangulating these data, a vision of pluriliteracy pedagogy in the Brazilian context emerges. This pedagogy, as I propose, accounts for student use of their first language in the ways observed in this study: as a resource, be it in making explicit cross linguistic connections or in narrating strategies and reflections about the second language. The space for and acceptance of this practice, in my analysis, nurtures a transformative relationship to taking risks, making errors, and expressing linguistic creativity. The preservation of room for first language in the classroom,

as described by Lin (2015) and Cummins (2007), when applied explicitly to pluriliteracy development, holds potential to open up a world of metacognitive and metalinguistic reflections.

To conclude, watching hours upon hours of online class as students completed their spontaneous writing activities was multi-layered for me. As a coordinator and member of the team responsible for the linguistic journey of these children, I felt satisfied with what my assessment perspective saw as progress and learning objectives being met. As a teacher I felt admiration for the educators in the study, thrown by circumstance into remote learning and devoting themselves to a new practice that made pluriliteracy development possible. And as a researcher I watched class after class with unwavering interest as I observed children making connections and building hypotheses beyond what I had expected. Their writing, reflections, and exchanges with their teachers trace possibilities for welcoming, affirming classrooms in the bilingual context.

5 CONCLUDING CHAPTER

"Meu tomorrow é assim: T-H-U-M-O-R-O-U"

Children actively reflect on language and use it to creative and brilliant effect. In this dissertation, I have woven together theoretical perspectives and firsthand classroom data that shed light on this process. In these sources, common themes arose time and again: the importance of reconceptualizing error and the benefits of making room for students' first language. In fact, these themes go hand in hand. As we gain insight into the advanced cross linguistic connections and metalinguistic reflections students make, often communicated in their first language, we can transform our interpretation of error. From there, important classroom implications take shape.

In the scenario of growing interest in and adoption of bilingual education models in Brazil (MARCELINO, 2009; MEGALE; LIBERALI, 2016; LANDAU *et al.* 2021), working toward an authentically Brazilian bilingual pedagogy has decolonial implications. I believe it is part of an answer to what Quijano calls a "historical-cultural dependency" (QUIJANO, 2015) on dominant nations and their ways of knowing. Centered in the global south, with the Brazilian student and the Brazilian teacher at its core, the study affirms southern epistemes (KLEIMAN, 2013). Furthermore, the research spotlights Brazilian teachers and students in their role as users and owners of English. They are agents in an English that now spreads across the globe as transcultural phenomenon "transcend[ing] the conception of a traditional lingua franca" (SIQUEIRA, 2018) and forms part of an ever-more multilingual and translanguaging perspective in language learning (CENOZ, 2019). I am inspired by the growing canon of Brazilian academic production in the ELF, CLIL and Bilingualism landscapes. In this study, which focused on pluriliteracy within the bilingual context, I offer a possible piece of a Brazilian approach to the bilingual classroom.

5.1 Summary of findings

Through the classroom observations and writing samples collected, I answered the research questions posed at the beginning of this dissertation around students' and teachers' leveraging of first language resources in service of pluriliteracy. I posed the question "how do students in first grade use their home language in early literacy acquisition of the English language?" and found that children employ their first language to actively reflect on their second language, as well as to communicate their thought process regarding reading and writing, which favors their pluriliteracy development. Classroom pedagogy that acknowledges this and intentionally enhances these reflections favors pluriliteracy development and creates a welcoming space for emergent bilinguals. The importance of this practice reinforces the essential role of Brazilian and linguaculturally-situated teachers in the immersion/CLIL classroom, a focus of this study as constructed through the research question regarding the role of the Brazilian teacher in supporting the use of the home language as a student strategy.

Through students' writing samples, their hypotheses and prominent characteristics of emergent writing were visible. To this end, I had proposed the question "What are the linguistic assumptions and strategies children use when writing in the additional language?", and found a diversity of characteristics. A primary trait was their activation of Portuguese language resources in order to make writing attempts. This was most clear in cases of nasalization, vowel transcription, epenthesis and, to a much lesser extent, accent marks. They also demonstrated the use of a full linguistic repertoire (GARCIA; LI, 2014) by inserting perceived traits of the English language in their attempts. What I call children's over-insertion of English language "markers", such as the letters Y and K ("letters in English", as students called them), certain digraphs (TH and PH, for example) and the doubling of letters demonstrate the active strategies students employ.

Students' writing samples also served as fodder for rich linguistic discussion around writing, in which certain fundamental roles of their first language came to the fore, strengthening the data responding to the first research question I posed. Students used their first language to communicate their metalinguistic reflections, so important to the development of biliteracy. They also called on their first language in relating metacognitive strategies and making cross linguistic

connections, evidencing the importance of the first language for transfer (CUMMINS, 1991). Regarding the third research question that structured the study, “how do teachers act regarding the linguistic resources students bring from their home language to the process of learning to read?” I observed the leveraging and welcoming of these contributions by teachers. In acknowledging first language, teachers engaged in meaningful student validation and the affirmation of student contributions. These aspects collectively contributed to the overall transformation of the concept of error in the classroom, such that teachers were able to see thought processes and progress, and students demonstrated a positive relationship to their errors and knowledge gaps, responding in part to the question of how the acceptance of the home language, if present, contributed to the development of student learning. From these observations, I conclude that not only allowing for but organizing L1 use and metalinguistic reflections holds important implications in the classroom.

5.2 Toward an L1 - aware pedagogy

Having reviewed the observed results of the study, I posit that an authentically Brazilian bilingual pedagogy takes advantage of these possibilities, especially as they relate to pluriliteracy. By rethinking the nature of error, students can transform their relationship to it, all in a setting in which writing progress accelerates and is perceived and validated. Based on the classroom observations I conducted, triangulated with student writing samples, I propose the following tenets of an L1-aware pluriliteracy pedagogy:

1. *The use of Portuguese is welcomed, leveraged and directed.* This means that Portuguese is recognized as a valuable linguistic, cultural and affective resource, and that teachers guide its use strategically for pedagogical purposes. I stress that making space for first language does not mean that all types of L1 use and translanguaging are appropriate all the time. Much to the contrary, the rigor of the immersion/CLIL classroom must be maintained, hence my emphasis on pedagogical planning that accounts for its use.

2. *Metalinguistic reflections are encouraged, clarified and channeled.* In this way, teachers are attentive to the metalinguistic contributions of their students and view them as a way to

foster pluriliteracy skills. By stimulating these reflections through questions and deepening their perceptions with guiding comments, teachers lead students toward linguistic discoveries.

3. *Writing attempts are assessed based first and foremost on the understanding demonstrated rather than proximity to conventional writing*. In other words, students' first language and its role in their writing forms part of teachers' evaluation matrix. Rather than seeing merely proximity to the conventional written form, teachers recognizing the knowledge from first language that was activated to arrive at a given writing sample.

4. *Teachers' understanding of L1, L2, and the relationship between the two is imperative.* It follows that Brazilian, and/or linguaculturally-situated teachers are most prepared to fill this role. With this recognition, I challenge the myths in language and immersion teaching discussed previously, which center native speakers as model or ideal teachers.

5. *A positive relationship to error is nurtured*. I end the five tenets with the most transformative: the fundamental shift from viewing error as something to be avoided to embracing error not only as part of an upward learning journey, but as evidence of students' knowledge and abilities. As teachers, we move from the deficit view (Garcia and Li, 2014) to a capacity-based understanding. At the same time, students feel safe taking risks in the second language and confident in their learning.

5.3 Practical Classroom Strategies

Having outlined the tenets of an transformative L1-aware pedagogy, I continue to the natural progression of these: practical classroom strategies to achieve this transformation. Though I leave the bulk of these recommendations for a future academic endeavor, I discuss a select few practices here. Understanding that children already reflect on language naturally, and that we can help intensify this with guidance and intent listening (Dias, 2020), I offer the following:

5.3.1 Creation of a translanguaging space

To perceive the benefits of activating students' full linguistic repertoire, a translanguaging space must be promoted. The tenets proposed above encourage just this, and within this space, there is much to be perceived. The affection in a student's remarking "aqui está, minha teacherzinha", the ease with which another child asks "qual era o number one mesmo, teacher?", or the progress apparent in the comment, "aqui está cold porque estou com o ar condicionado" – all examples of student speech from this study – are visible only when these practices themselves are validated.

5.3.2 Help students to recognize their L1 knowledge

Much is transferable across languages, and helping students to recognize this may encourage their confidence and participation. Writing about emergent literacy in bilingual contexts, Dias (2020) suggests highlighting for students just how much they already know about given topics approached in the additional language. After all, as the author reminds us, "it is necessary to understand the reading and writing process as unified, despite involving two languages of instruction" (DIAS, 2020, p. 102). Examples could include using genre characteristics to emphasize similarities across texts in different languages (DIAS, 2020), showing students, for example, that they already know how to identify a list, a poem, a play or prose writing. Working on other types of transfer, for example at the word level with cognates or word roots or at the discourse level with paragraph structure and text cohesion, can bring confidence and activate important strategies that students already possess.

5.3.3 Encourage orthographic writing by leading students toward discoveries

The recognition of the importance of invented spelling does not preclude the desirability of conventional, orthographic spelling. Indeed, part of our work in the classroom must be guiding students toward standard writing. Where an L1-aware pedagogy makes a difference is within the realm of *how* this occurs. Ways to lead students toward discoveries through metalinguistic and

cross linguistic reflection are many. For example, phonological awareness can be promoted by working with rhyming words, words that begin with the same syllable, and even comparing the size of words (DIAS, 2020). In working on dictations and other spelling activities, open group correction (MONTEIRO, 2019), in which students can freely comment and reflect (as often happened in the study conducted here), allows students to develop their perceptions of the written word. In these moments, using explicit explanations can complement students' perceptions, and may account for irregular spellings and words that do not follow observable orthographic rules. In this same vein, constructing rules collectively (MONTEIRO, 2019) by noticing patterns, finding "odd words out" and predicting can also aid children in observing spelling and internalizing orthographic norms. Within these strategies, infinite activities are possible, ranging from visual to kinesthetic to audial. The common thread, in the L1-aware perspective, will be the leveraging of students' knowledge and active reflection in the process.

5.4 Future Research

It has been encouraging to conduct a Master's study with an eye toward a PhD project. Many possible expansions, adaptations and extensions of this study have arisen for me, some of which I have alluded to in the preceding chapters. What is clear is that though important literacy theory specific to multilingual contexts exists, there is need for more depth and specificity around young children and early pluriliteracy acquisition, specifically in our local context. To this end, a multitude of research possibilities emerge.

Though the present study seeks only to describe traits and practices, further development of this work could lead toward identification of best practices and the creation of a place-based approach to pluriliteracy. This would include specific strategies, lesson plans and activities tailored to the Portuguese-English language pair in the L1-aware perspective.

One aspect of the study I hope to introduce in a future iteration is that of side-by-side conversations in real time with students, as described in Ferreiro and Teberosky's psychogenesis of writing research (1999 [1979]). In the original design of my study, this feature factored prominently in gaining access to students' thought processes and in hearing them reflect in real time on their writing. In the remote learning context, these subtle conversations on the individual level were not possible. In the absence of these more personal exchanges, the contributions

children offered spontaneously about their writing and other linguistic reflections had to serve this role, though they did not replace one on one interactions entirely. In a future in-person study involving spontaneous writing, bringing back these conversations would be instrumental.

More possibilities also arise within the literacy scope with the use of quantitative analysis, of larger data sets and more controlled conditions. Important comparisons across bilingual and monolingual contexts, as well as analysis across bilinguals' L1 and L2 writing are possible, and with larger data sets and quantitative analyses, I believe even more precise discussion will be possible. As Lin (2015) emphasizes, the role of L1 in L2 writing in general is as yet under researched and would benefit from the theorizing of L1 use. Thinking of this, comparative studies analyzing error across monolinguals and bilinguals on identical writing tasks could contribute. In this way, the role of L1 would be more clearly isolated, and divergent writing could be categorized as common to all learners of a given language's written system, or characterized as specific to the challenges faced by writers using the language as their L2. Investigating the relationship across student's languages through L2 influences on students' L1 emergent literacy also represents a question of interest in simultaneous pluriliteracy development. Finally, reproducing a spontaneous writing study like the one presented here, and following writing samples across a longer period of time would unlock even more insights. I am particularly interested in following biliteracy development starting at an earlier age, namely the Kindergarten/G5 level and moving with students through their first grade/*alfabetização* year.

Finally, I consider the rich options not immediately related to literacy but to that of translanguaging. Examining students' oral translanguaging practices in the CLIL classroom could offer insight to a range of other L1 functions. Though within the bilingual program there are translanguaging pedagogy practices that are advised and implemented, spontaneous translanguaging on the part of students has not been mapped. Further, I believe the link between these practices and notions of identity in young emergent bilinguals would also be of great interest.

5.5 Final Thoughts

The notion of transforming students' relationship to error need not be limited to the realm of additional language acquisition and learning, nor is it pertinent only to the world of early

childhood and elementary education. Expanding the sense of belonging in learning through an abilities-based standpoint can have far reaching effects in any subject matter, for any skill set and for all age ranges. In the specific context discussed here, the importance of belonging and emotional connection for young students learning to read and write in bilingual settings is impossible to overstate.

I believe that in the case of young children, the conditions for an emotional connection to the additional language are multi-faceted. They draw on subtleties like the way a teacher receives them at the beginning of class, how the teacher helps them when they miss their family, and how their classmates, together, create their learning environment. Rethinking the nature of student error also forms part of these conditions, and in this the home language is instrumental. When students feel that their whole selves are welcome in the classroom – that their experiences, feelings and contributions are recognized and validated – they are safe to use the language available to them, whether or not that language takes a conventional form or not. From the teacher perspective, educators gain a much more integrated view of students' understanding as well as difficulties when accessing all of the resources students offer in the classroom.

Children emanate linguistic creativity, and reflect on their languages. It is up to us as educators to learn to recognize this, validate it and guide our students ever forward in their construction of pluriliteracy through their relationship to the written word.

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APPENDIX A – NOTES

A Note on Pseudonyms, Chapter Headings and the Singular They

I would like to touch on some significant yet subtle details of this dissertation.

Through the pseudonyms chosen for the children in the study, I pay homage to children's literature and its place in the home and the classroom. Children's books and the stories they tell have been a part of my life since I was a child listening to my parents read to me. As an educator, I have always turned to stories to help students work through difficult ideas, or just as leisure, allowing children to get lost in the fictive stance. Now, as a mother, my children's libraries are composed of books that were mine when I was their age, as well as an array of recent children's literature that brings depth and magic to who they are.

The names chosen were selected from children's literature bringing representation of communities and people often erased from dominant narratives. They weave together issues important to children and the journey of growing up. In adopting their main characters' names, I honor parenthood, childhood, and the discoveries we make along the way.

Lola, from the book *Island Born* by Junot Díaz, is on a mission to discover more about her home country, which she left as a baby. The characters in her community help her piece a picture together.

The baby **Kulu,** in *Sweetest Kulu* by Celina Kulluk, is visited by a diversity of animals and virtues in the indigenous story about the celebration of a baby's birth in Inuit culture.

In *When Sophie Gets Angry, Really, Really, Angry* by Molly Bang, the young **Sophie** finds ways to deal with anger, in a storychildren can relate to as they navigate ever more complex emotions.

Norman, in Tom Percival's *Perfectly Norman*, is a child who feels embarrassed to let his full self show through. When he finds the courage to show who he truly is, he discovers others who are just like him, and rediscovers his joy.

Young **Ada**, from *Ada Twist, Scientist* by Andrea Beaty is a curious child from the start, and is a challenge to her parents who can't keep up with her. When the family learns to celebrate her investigations together, Ada's interest can truly bloom.

CJ and his grandmother go on a long city bus ride home in *The Last Stop on Market Street* by Matt de la Peña. While the young child questions their long bus ride, his grandmother helps him notice beauty where he doesn't expect it.

Importantly, I have not matched the sex of the character to the sex of the child who bears their name in this study. In this same vein, I have chosen to use the singular they/them/their in speaking about the children, in celebration and affirmation of the space these pronouns have gained in recent years.

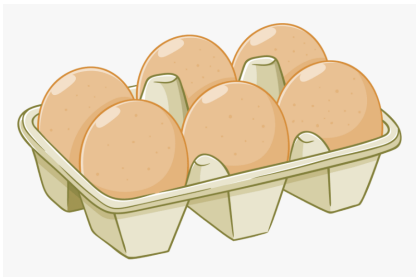
Finally, I begin each chapter with quotes from students I have observed, past and present, regarding their perception of reading and writing and in some cases illustrating the rich linguistic creativity they gift us with on a daily basis.

APPENDIX B – APPLIED ACTIVITIES

Spontaneous Writing: Activity 1

Write it your way!

Listen to the word and write what you hear.

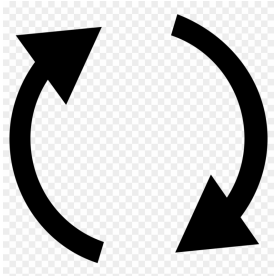
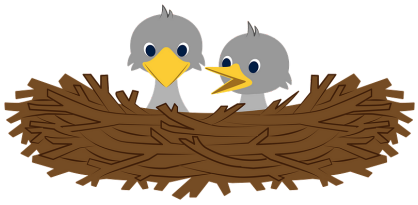
	CAKE
	MILK
	TOY
	EGGS

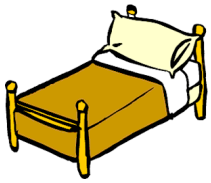
	CALENDAR
	MARKET
	**PLANT**
	**BED**
	**MONKEY**

Spontaneous Writing: Activity 2

Write it your way!

Listen to the word and write what you hear.

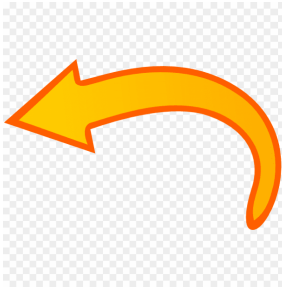
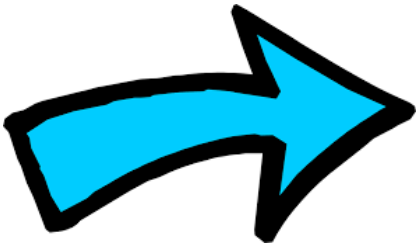
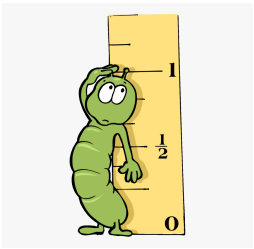
	ANIMAL
	DIFFERENT
	CHANGE
	NEST

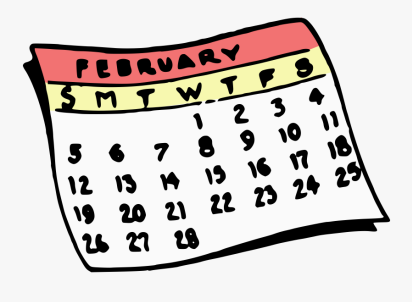
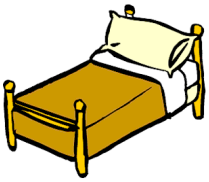
	ADULT
	TURTLES
	**PLANT**
	**BED**
	**MONKEY**

Spontaneous Writing: Activity 2

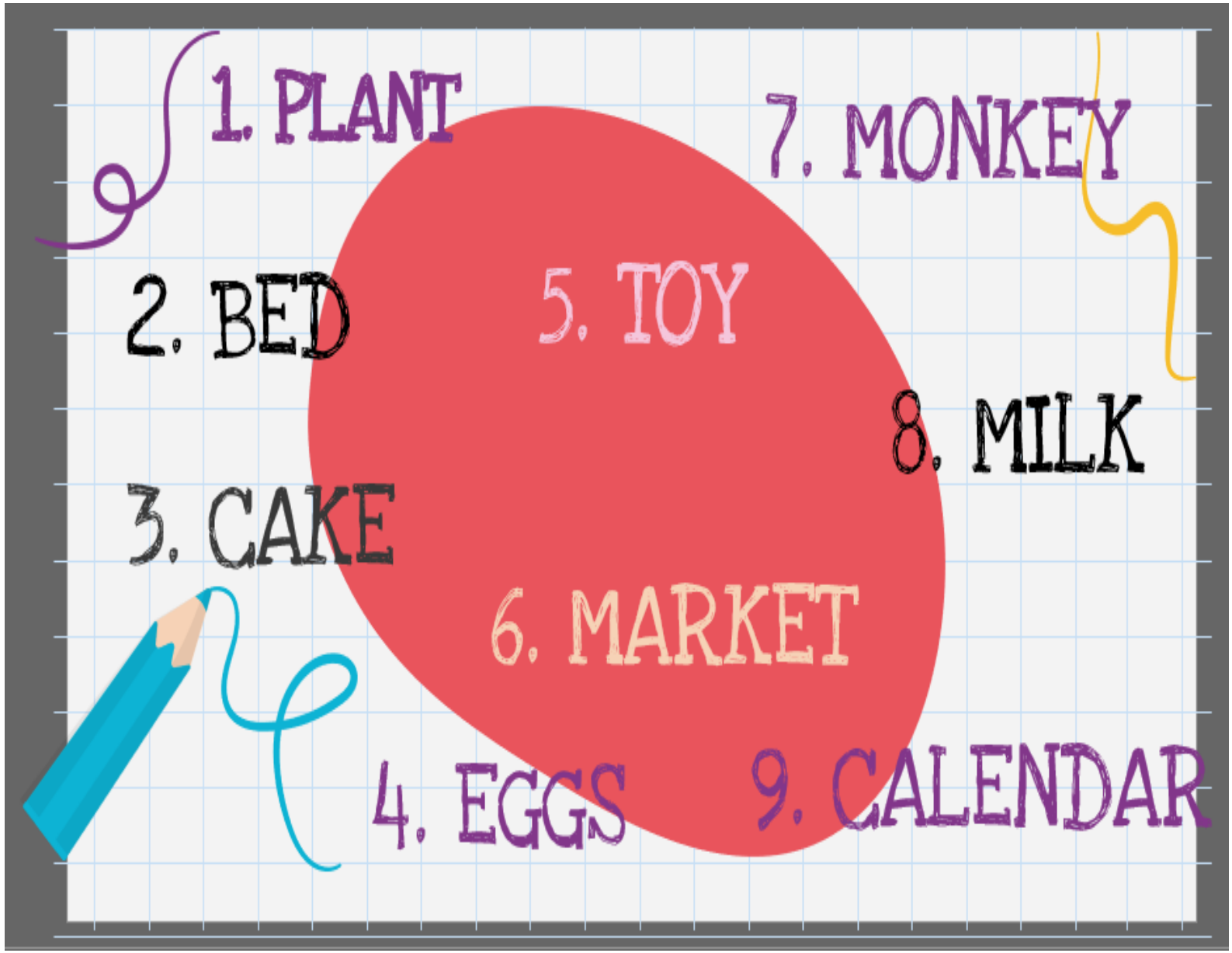
Write it your way!

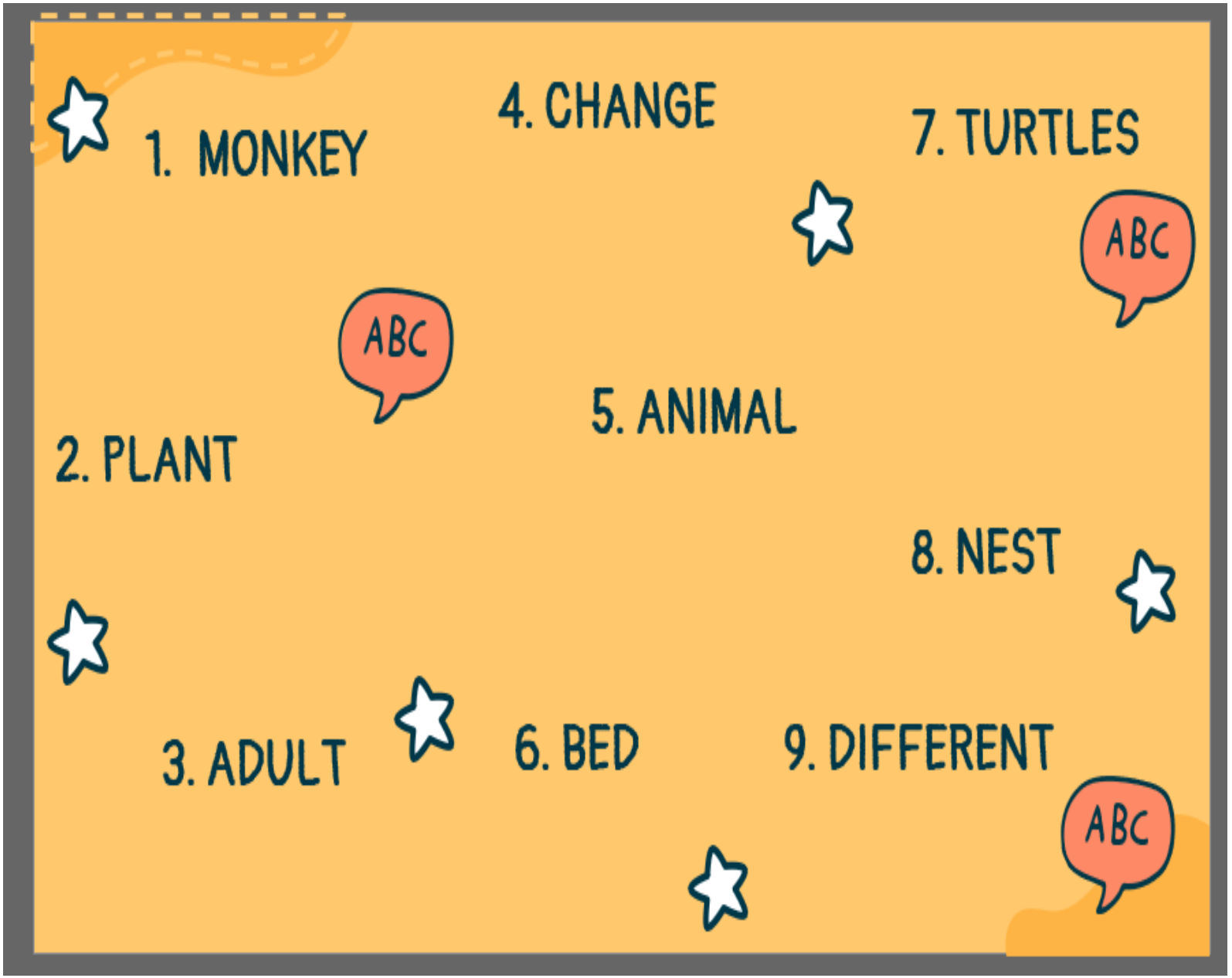
Listen to the word and write what you hear.

	BEFORE
	AFTER
	GROW
	SIZE

	TIME
	TOMORROW
	**PLANT**
	**BED**
	**MONKEY**

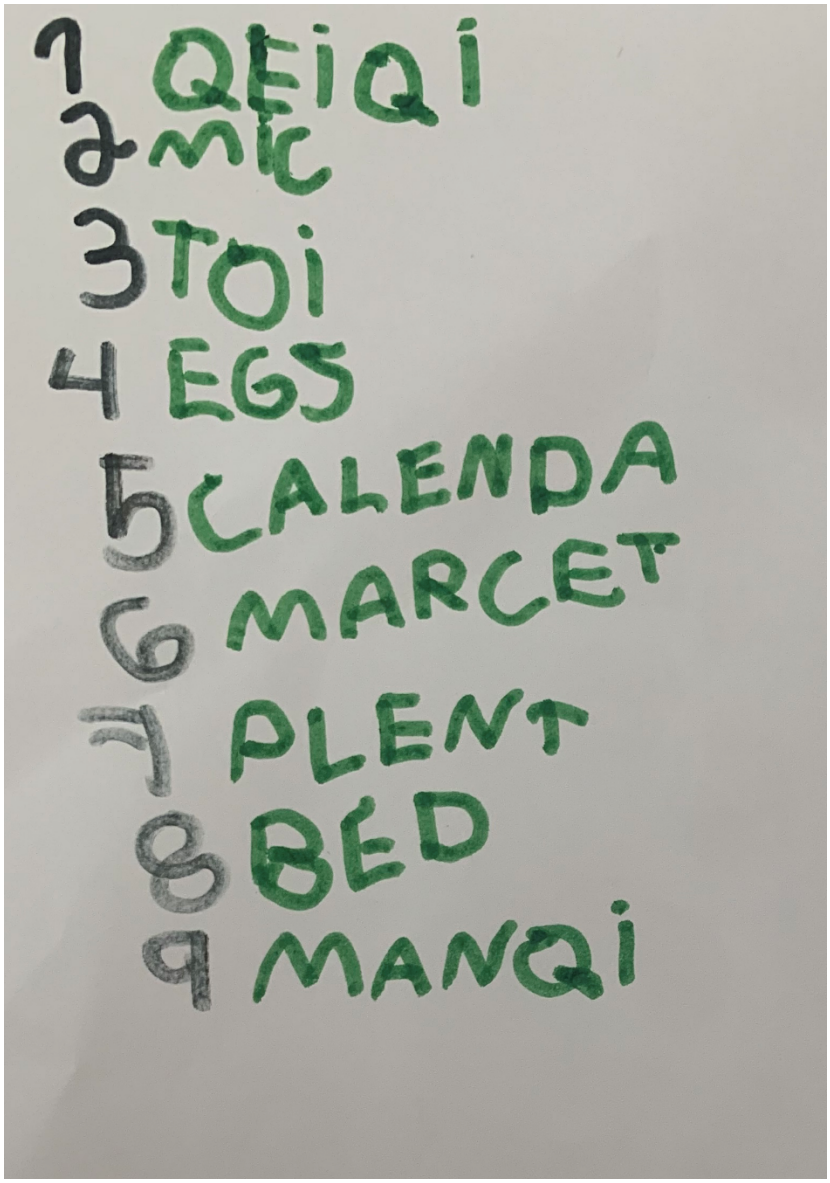
APPENDIX C – WORD RECOGNITION ACTIVITIES


1. PLANT
2. BED
3. CAKE
4. EGGS
5. TOY
6. MARKET
7. MONKEY
8. MILK
9. CALENDAR

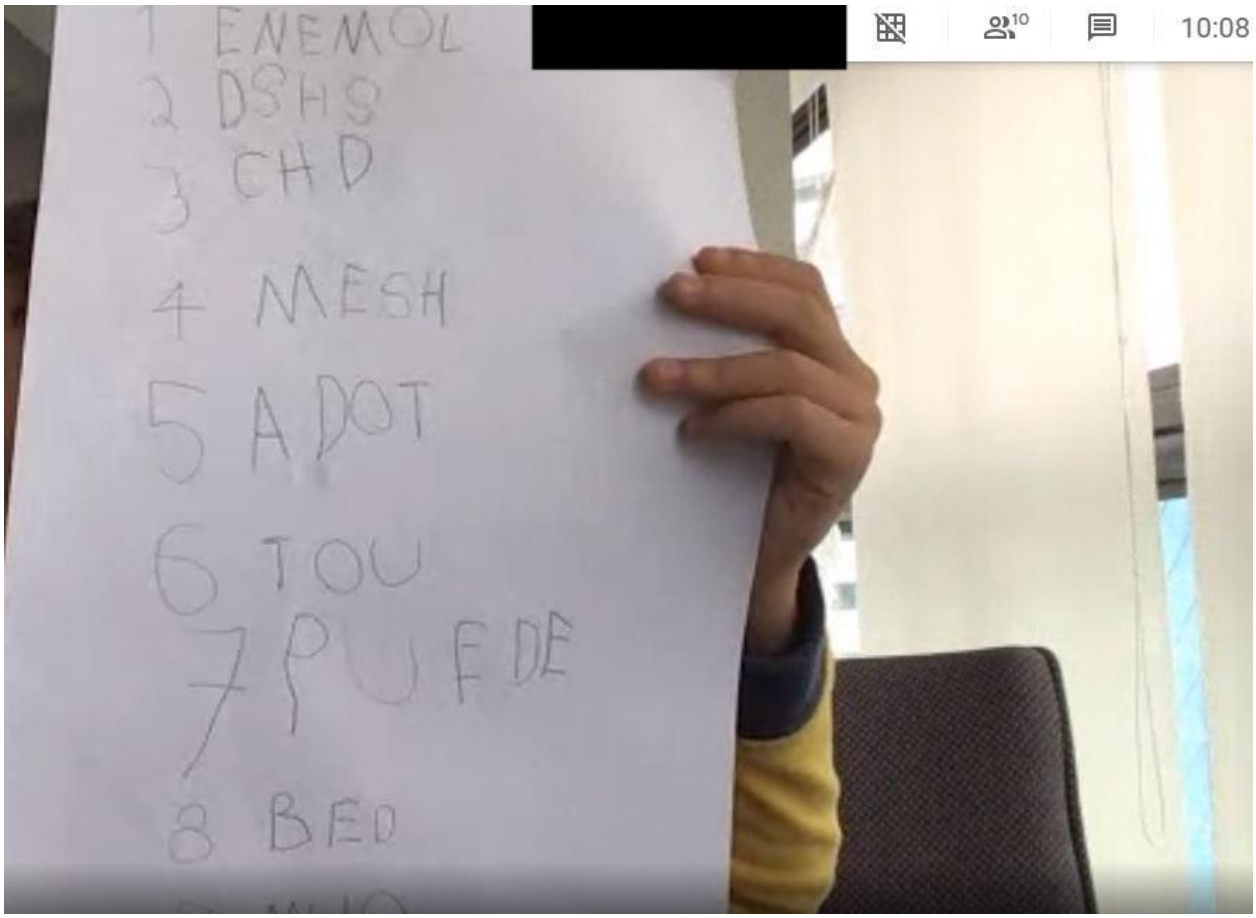

1. MONKEY
4. CHANGE
7. TURTLES
ABC
ABC
5. ANIMAL
2. PLANT
8. NEST
3. ADULT
6. BED
9. DIFFERENT
ABC


1. BEFORE
2. GROW
3. MONKEY
4. BED
5. AFTER
6. SIZE
7. TIME
8. TOMORROW
9. PLANT

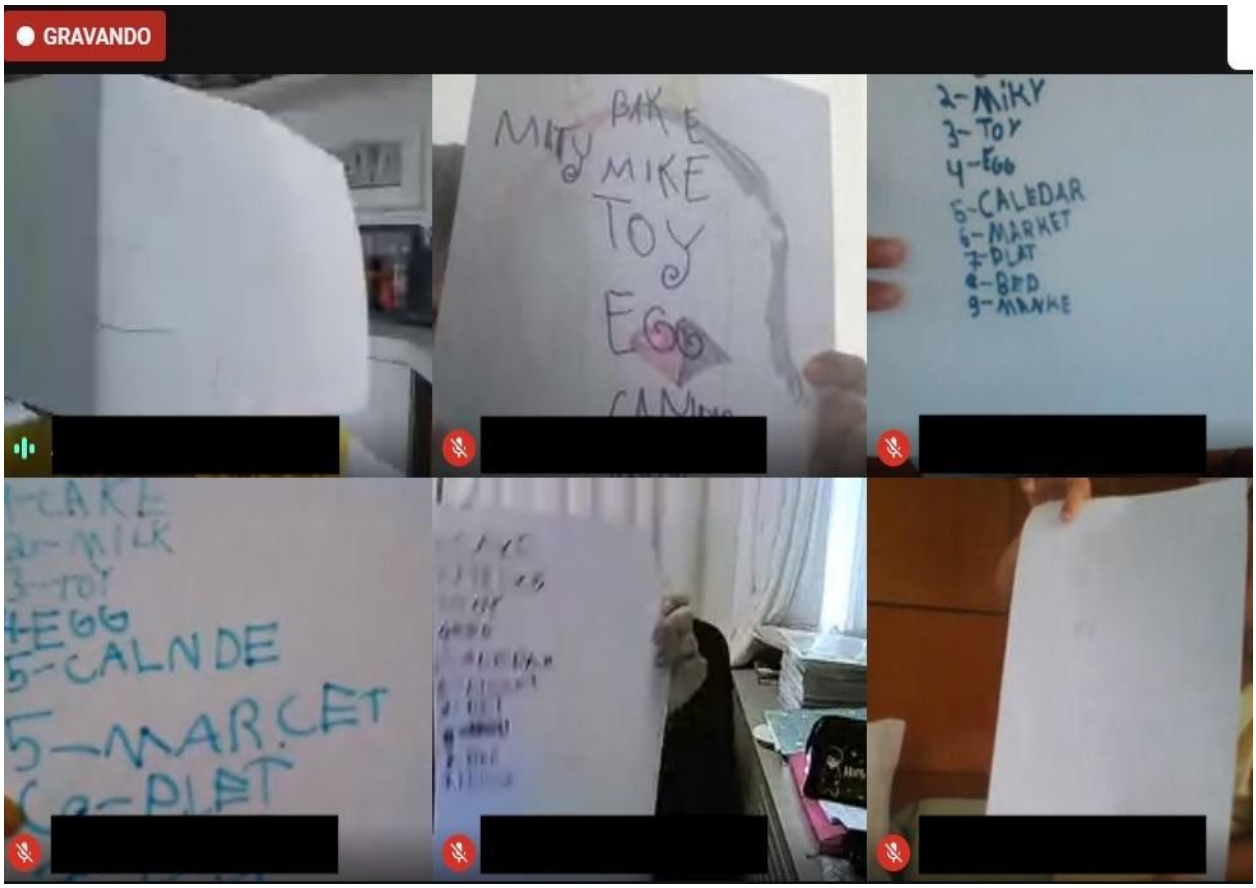
APPENDIX D – SPONTANEOUS WRITING SAMPLES CAPTURED ON SCREEN



Source: Researcher's Document



Source: Researcher's Document



Source: Researcher's Document