

Bidialectal pre-school: enacting participation frames through linguistic and other semiotic means

Marie Rickert

To cite this article: Marie Rickert (2022): Bidialectal pre-school: enacting participation frames through linguistic and other semiotic means, International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, DOI: [10.1080/13670050.2022.2114789](https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2022.2114789)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2022.2114789>



© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 06 Sep 2022.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 430



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Bidialectal pre-school: enacting participation frames through linguistic and other semiotic means

Marie Rickert  ^{a,b}

^aDepartment of Literature and Arts, Maastricht University, Maastricht, The Netherlands; ^bInstitute of Dutch Philology, University of Münster, Münster, Germany

ABSTRACT

This paper analyses how teachers and toddlers enact participation frames in bidialectal early education in Limburg, the Netherlands. Teachers' language choice is often context-bound as they use the national language, Dutch, for instruction and the regional language, Limburgish, for playful or social-emotional situations with individual children. Drawing on ethnographic data generated during 4.5 months of fieldwork in a bidialectal pre-school, I address how teachers and toddlers use the two language varieties, respectively, as well as other semiotic means to shape situational participation in multiparty interaction. My multi-modal analysis of selected video- and audio-recordings of interactions of two teachers and the target child Felix as well as varying other participants shows that teachers may use Limburgish to move into a personal conversation amongst colleagues in front of the children. In contrast, they use Dutch to stage conversations which they intend to be overheard by the children. Closely investigating children's orientation towards participatory statuses and their interactional consequences, it becomes evident that children co-create participation frames initiated by the teachers at times and subvert them at other times.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 26 July 2021

Accepted 15 August 2022

KEYWORDS

Participation; bidialectalism; early education; multiparty interaction; overhearing; language socialisation

1. Introduction

The southern province of Limburg in the Netherlands is known for a wide-spread use of dialect,¹ which is a cornerstone of the construction of local and regional identities (Thissen 2018). Local dialects got recognition as a regional language under the umbrella term *Limburgs* (Limburgish) by the Dutch government in 1997. As a regional language, Limburgish may be used in pre-schools in Limburg in addition to the national language Dutch ('Wet kinderopvang/Law on childcare, art. 1,55).

For children, Early Childcare and Education (ECE), including pre-schools, constitutes the first step beyond the more intimate home sphere into active involvement in societal institutions. In ECE, children between 2 and 4 come into contact with the language use of teachers and peers which plays an important role in their language socialisation (Schwartz 2018). Language socialisation is essentially the process of learning *to use* language in ways that are deemed socially meaningful *through the use of* language (Ochs and Schieffelin 1986).

As prior research shows, pre-schoolers in Limburg frequently do not speak Limburgish in pre-school but only Dutch, even when both parents and teachers, at least partially, use Limburgish with the child (Cornips 2020b). There seems to be a link between this phenomenon and the teachers' context-dependent code choice, where Limburgish is commonly used for emotional and one-on-one

CONTACT Marie Rickert  m.rickert@maastrichtuniversity.nl

© 2022 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), which permits unrestricted use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.

situations and Dutch for instruction and organisation, especially when the whole group is addressed (Cornips 2020b; Morillo Morales and Cornips 2022).

Such a context-bound code choice suggests different participatory affordances, especially since teachers are commonly aware if Limburgish is a home language of an individual child. Participation, understood as ‘actions demonstrating forms of involvement performed by parties within evolving structures of talk’ (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004, 222) is, however, not pre-determined. Instead, participation frameworks are a common effort and achievement by speakers, hearers, and other participants (Goffman 1979). Participation frameworks describe the organisation of constellations of participants orienting toward one another, and toward an action at hand across different participatory roles (Goffman 1979; Goodwin 2000). Consequently, these frameworks develop situationally and dynamically, not only through linguistic means but also through the use of other semiotic resources such as gaze, touch, gestures, body positioning as well as spatial and temporal means (Goodwin 2007b).

This paper addresses the question how diverse forms and constellations of interactional participation evolve between teachers and toddlers against the particular background of the bidialectal linguistic landscape of pre-schools in Limburg. Since participation frameworks are pivotal to the organisation of language socialisation, I set out to investigate the role of Dutch and Limburgish, respectively, as well as other semiotic resources in toddlers’ and teachers’ shaping of situational interactional participation.

2. Local background

2.1. Limburgish dialects and Dutch

In the following section, I will discuss the use of Limburgish and Dutch in the Dutch province of Limburg and briefly introduce linguistic differences between the two varieties in order to facilitate a holistic understanding of the data in the local context.

According to recent numbers, 48 percent of the inhabitants of the province of Limburg speak Limburgish (Schmeets and Cornips 2021). Speakers may acquire Limburgish as part of their bi- or multilingual upbringing in combination with Dutch and/or other languages (Cornips 2013; Extra 2004) or, more seldomly, in the case of migrants from outside Limburg as an L2 (Vousten 1995). New speakers of Limburgish might, however, experience linguistic othering as they are not perceived as ‘authentic’ dialect speakers by the local population (Cornips 2020a). Limburgish is foremost an oral language, but it is visible in a number of street signs (Thissen 2018) and used widely on Social Media (Jongbloed-Faber, van Loo, and Cornips 2017). Children who grow up monolingually in Dutch are generally likely to passively understand Limburgish due to its high vitality in the public domain (Morillo Morales and Cornips 2022)

On a syntactic level, phenomena which distinguishes Limburgish from Dutch (but not necessarily from varieties spoken across the national borders with Germany) include the Riparian reflexive adjunct middle, like reported by Cornips (2013, 379) in the following example:

(1)	Limburgish:	<i>Der</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>singt</i>	<i>sich</i>	<i>legt</i>
	Dutch:	De	zaal	zingt	(-)	goed
	English:	the	hall	sings	(refl)	easily
	‘this hall has good acoustics’ (lit. ... sings well).’					

On a morphological level, Cornips (2013, 380) mentions formation of the plural through an umlaut, as exemplified through the example of the English “bud/buds”:

(2)	Limburgish (from Tongeren):	“knoep/ knüp”
	Dutch:	“knop/knoppen”

Limburgish is further characterised by phonological differences to Dutch which include a voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ in onset position (e.g.: /ɣ/ember, ginger) in contrast to Standard Dutch as spoken in the North of the Netherlands where a voiceless uvular fricative /χ/ is produced (e.g.: /χ/ember, ginger). The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/is, however, also part of a regionally flavoured variety of standard Dutch spoken in Limburg and marks Limburgians when speaking Dutch (Cornips 2020a). Limburgish is an umbrella category which includes six main variants and high variation occurs between these variants, especially on a lexical level (Camps 2018).

Speakers of Limburgish and Dutch commonly perceive the two varieties as ‘expressions of two distinct linguistic identities’ (Cornips 2020a, 7). In that sense, Limburgish is considered a ‘natural’ way of expression, mainly for the everyday informal, emotional, and/or familiar domain, whereas Dutch is understood as a ‘neutral’ language that is more suitable for formal affairs like business and education (Cornips 2020a). Speakers may code-switch and translate between Limburgish and Dutch in socially meaningful ways (Morillo Morales and Cornips 2022).

2.2. Early education in the Netherlands

After having introduced the two language varieties and the local context in question, I will now turn to the domain of Early Childcare and Education. Official ECE in the Netherlands includes day-care-centres, pre-schools (so-called ‘peuterspeelzalen’ = toddler play salons), and childminders. Since 2018, all of these different forms have legally been harmonised under the umbrella category of childcare in the legislation of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. Parents, their employers, and the government share childcare costs by means of childcare benefits. The number of children in official childcare has increased from 447 720 in 2012 to 522 920 in 2019 with an average of about 58.6 h of attendance per month in 2019 (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek 2020; Rijksoverheid 2019). 89% of toddlers between 2.5 and 4 years old attended some form of childcare in the Netherlands in 2019 which implies that official childcare has a broad reach (Vroom 2019).

Whereas day-care-centres are intended for children between 0 and 4, pre-schools target children between 2/2.5 and 4. Pre-schools have a stronger educative character than day-care-centres and aim explicitly at preparation for the school. Children enter school upon reaching the child’s fourth birthday. Parents can choose one form of childcare for their children or combine different forms, so that some children go to both a pre-school and a childminder or day-care-centre. Additionally, there are certain facilities that carry out specific early and pre-school education programmes. These programmes entail early intervention such as additional time for engagement in pedagogical activities in the pre-school. They are attended by children who are considered to have a so-called ‘developmental delay’, one of which concerns language development (Rijksoverheid, n.y.).

2.3. Language policies and ideologies in early education in Limburg

The national law on childcare was put into place in 2005 with the intention to better organise finances and introduce certain quality requirements to childcare (Vermeer and Groeneveld 2017). The law defines the national language, Dutch, as the working language of childcare facilities and permits the use of the regional languages (Frisian, Low Saxon, and Limburgish) as additional working languages wherever these are ‘in lively use’ (art. 1.55 ‘Wet kinderopvang/Law on childcare,’ own translation). As discussed in section 2.1, Limburgish is clearly ‘in lively use’ in the province of Limburg. However, as common for regional minority languages, it is subject to strong language ideologies which attribute it to the family context and the cultural as well as the emotional domain (i.e. the ‘language of the heart’) rather than to the one of educational and economic achievements (Cornips 2020a).²

These ideologies are also reflected in language policies in pre-schools: teachers commonly use Limburgish to provide emotional support to individual children in one-on-one situations while they use Dutch to address the whole group, in instruction contexts as well as to structure the day at pre-school (Morillo Morales and Cornips 2022). This context-dependent language use has

implications for the organisation of attention as Dutch signals to all children to pay attention whereas Limburgish does not require the same. Cornips (2020b) and Morillo Morales and Cornips (2022) have shown that children themselves co-create the dominance of Dutch in childcare facilities. Limburgish-speaking children switch to Dutch as soon as a Dutch-speaking child starts to interact with them. On the other hand, Dutch speaking children never switch to Limburgish in order to learn it. Socialisation into such language hierarchies at that age has been identified to be amongst the reasons that many children actively only speak Dutch themselves even if their parents raise them in Limburgish at home (Cornips 2020b).

This paper takes a participation and co-operative action perspective to understand children's pre-school socialisation into the local diglossic situation better. The following section briefly introduces this perspective.

3. Conceptual background: participation and co-operative action in language socialisation

Children's socialisation takes place throughout their participation in a multitude of situations across different participatory roles (de León 2011). This is in line with Goffman's notion of footing (1979), which constitutes a diversification of the traditional model of hearer and speaker, acknowledging that participation in multiparty interaction can entail different statuses. These different statuses can, as they stand in relation to each other, lead to a variety of participation frames (Goffman 1979). Goffman's classification of different types of speakers mainly relates to intertextual complexities, calling into question who produces the talk (i.e. the 'animator') and who is being quoted (i.e. the 'author'). With regards to hearers, Goffman distinguishes between ratified and unratified hearers. The ratified category includes both 'addressed recipients', i.e. those expected to orient toward the talk and take the next turn, and 'official hearers', those who are expected to listen but who are not addressed. Bystanders whose participation is not ratified are divided into 'inadvertent hearers', who overhear the talk, and 'advertent hearers', who intentionally listen and thereby eavesdrop on the ongoing conversation.

Language socialisation studies have pointed out that children are socialised into participation across different statuses of hearers even when they are not in the position of the addressed recipient (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2002; Chaparro 2020; de León 2011). Despite a long-lasting strong focus on dyadic interaction in language socialisation studies, children commonly spend more time as participants in multiparty interaction than in dyadic interaction which requires them to navigate different participatory statuses (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2002). Children are also socialised when they are bystanders as they can pick up on social roles and different ways of talking, including the situational use of different language varieties, through observing changes in talk that produce and are produced by changes in participation framework (Blum-Kulka and Snow 2002). In addition, overhearing has been found to be a robust means for vocabulary acquisition, and even children as young as two years old are able to closely focus on third-party interaction and draw from it for their own (language) development (Akhtar 2005).

Multimodal studies have highlighted that participation relies on more than talk alone, but is rather achieved through a combination of linguistic and other semiotic means like body positioning, gaze, touch, and gestures (Goodwin 2007b). Furthermore, occasions for participation are dynamically emerging between speakers, hearers, and other participants and not limited to the pre-determined roles defined by Goffman. To grasp the situatedness of participation as a common achievement by all participants who engage together in 'constitute[ing] their life worlds' (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004, 240), Goodwin has reconceptualised participation as co-operative action, a perspective this paper embraces. Accordingly, as people interact, they 'inhabit each other's actions' (Goodwin 2013). This reconceptualization draws the attention to the collaborative nature of participation and highlights the constant reflexive orientation processes speakers and hearers engage in (Goodwin and Goodwin 2004, 235). For example, Goodwin has shown how a teenage girl and her father collaboratively organise a homework activity interactively, using bodily, material and other resources to organise their participation and the activity (Goodwin 2007b). Building on data of archaeologists making a map of dirt,

Goodwin shows how gestures function in an environmentally-coupled manner when they operate on speech and other semiotic resources, and vice versa (Goodwin 2000, 2018).

To that end, socialisation sites that were traditionally seen as classical one-way-input settings have recently been reconceptualised from a co-operative perspective. For example, researchers have described how young children agentively participate in early literacy practices like parental or caregivers' storytelling through gaze, verbal completions, and gestures (Burdelski 2019; Cekaite and Björk-Willén 2018; Ewaldsson and Abreu Fernandes 2019). As such, participation can take many forms, and language socialisation is co-created on a moment-to-moment basis across a variety of participation frameworks across time (de León and García-Sánchez 2021).

4. Methodology

4.1. Research objectives

Based on the discussed research problem and literature, this study has the following research objectives:

- Understand the potential consequences of the use of Dutch, Limburgish, and other semiotic resources for the organisation of collaborative action and participation frameworks, and investigate how children orient to different participatory statuses in bidialectal multi-party interaction in ECE.
- Understand how participation in everyday multi-party interaction in ECE contributes to children's language socialisation into the diglossic situation of Dutch Limburg.

4.2. Methods

Data for this study stems from 4.5 months of ethnographic fieldwork in a pre-school in the Limburg, the Netherlands which was spread out between October 2020 and May 2021. I generated linguistic ethnographic data (fieldnotes, audio- and video-recordings) in the pre-school on two mornings a week.³ This study is part of a bigger project on language socialisation in the Southern German-Dutch border region which has received ethical clearance by the Ethical Review Committee of Maastricht University.

The pre-school is attended by toddlers between the age of 2;5 and 4;0, most of whom go there twice a week, while some (those with an indication for early intervention) come four times a week. The usual group size is 16 children with two teachers.

While I conducted participant observation and generated data, my own role in the pre-school used to shift situationally. Whereas I was mainly an observer in formalised situations like morning circles, I also acted as an assistant to the teacher with easy tasks like handing out food etc. This facilitated my access in the pre-school. On yet other occasions, I blended in with the children during free play when they welcomed me, which they commonly did – with or without my video camera. I took an ethnographic ethics approach of 'practices of *withness*' (Dennis and Huf 2020), foregrounding my involvement with the community of the classroom. Such an approach leaves room for different positionalities at different times as a chance for building relationships with the children and teachers, and for learning through my own relational entanglements with them (for an extensive discussion of my approach see: Rickert [under submission](#)). I myself am not a speaker of Limburgish and usually actively used Dutch (my L2) in the pre-school. In doing so, I certainly contributed to the (re-)production of linguistic hierarchies and specific participatory frames which I will take into account whenever relevant in the following analysis sections.

In the analysis section, I present three extracts of multiparty interaction between the two teachers, Lieke and Helena, and a child, Felix, as well as other participants who vary across the extracts including myself. Child Felix is raised with Limburgish at home, and the teachers are aware of that. In one-on-one situations, the teachers commonly address Felix in Limburgish. Felix himself pre-dominantly uses a regionally flavoured form of Dutch with a few words of dialect sometimes. Felix generally took a dominant position amongst the children at pre-school as he was very pro-active and

Extract 1.1

As teacher Lieke walks back to her chair, she gazes at her colleague to identify the intended recipient of her subsequent speech (Goodwin 1981). Lieke says in Dutch that she always has the same experience (l. 3), i.e. as she explains subsequently, that she could never find eggs at home (l. 5). As can be seen in the picture, teacher Helena and teacher Lieke look at one another while teacher Lieke walks to her chair. Thus, they 'simultaneously display (...) and propose (...) a state of coparticipation in collaborative action' (Robinson 2006, 88). Teacher Helena expands her engagement in the ongoing action between the teachers through recycling child Felix's explanation of why eggs could not be found. Felix explains in line 1: 'They are hidden for real', and Helena subsequently draws on this explanation when she tells Lieke: '(...) therefore you also don't see them, they are hidden for real' (l.4). The repetition is used to enforce Felix's reasoning in a joking way, as is common in recycling in classroom interactions (Cekaite and Aronsson 2004). Whereas the two teachers already talk to one another as Lieke and Felix walk back toward the table, this conversation remains linked to the prior action of looking for eggs as well as Felix's (the 'author' in a Goffmanian sense, (Goffman 1979)) involvement. As teacher Helena connects to Felix' prior talk and uses his sentence for her own interactional goals, she engages in a form of 'format tying' (Goodwin 1990). Format tying is a form of imitating a prior speaker's talk in a slightly adapted way in order to fit the current project. As the conversation thereby links to Felix' involvement, children may, and also do, listen to the conversation. This participation frame changes when teacher Lieke sits down again, as can be seen in the next part of the extract:

→ *Lieke sits down, looks to Helena. Mia (2;5), after turning around to look at Lieke, reaches out to Marie (researcher) who has wet wipes in her hands.*



→

Lieke tells Helena how her father used to hide raw eggs on top of the door and asked the kids to open the door. Story entirely in dialect, only Helena orients toward it.

The children orient toward the distribution of the wet wipes and clean their hands at the same time. Child Felix initiates singing a song for cleaning the hands.

6 Lieke m'n vader die, [echt, die zat daar zó kei in ah;AH ((DIA:)) dit woarn die sjoonste momenten hé, bie ons oh:: ja
My dad, he, really, he was so into it ah;AH, these were the most beautiful moments
huh, [at ours oh:: yes

7 Mia [((turns around to look at Lieke, then immediately turns to Marie (researcher) who has wet wipes in her hands))

8 Marie ((starts to distribute wet wipes to the children))

9 Lieke ((DIA)) en dan en dan waor het zo dat het en dan zagde de groote waoren bie oma ((DIA)) and then, and then it was like and then said the big one we were at granny's place ((keeps on telling story, shortened in transcript))

Extract 1.2

When teacher Lieke sits down, she keeps talking to her colleague Helena, and also looks at her, i.e. away from the children, as can be seen on the picture of extract 1.2. Now, she starts to tell a story about personal Easter memories, directed at her colleague Helena. Teacher Lieke's switch from Dutch to Limburgish (l.6) marks the opening of a frame of personal storytelling amongst colleagues, in front of the children. Conversational storytelling can contribute to identity and group membership building (Dressel and Satti 2021). Here, it contributes to the situational construction of adult and child identities and thereby leads to a shift in participation frame. This is co-constructed through

topical choice as the theme of nostalgia that the two address by means of the story is not very accessible for the children.

While the two teachers speak in Limburgish, child Mia (2;5) initiates a second, simultaneous collaborative action. In the embodied participation framework (de León 2011), I stand in front of the children while child Mia faces me and the two teachers are located behind her. I have wet wipes in my hands as I am assisting the teachers with some tasks. Cleaning the hands with wet wipes is part of the routine before eating fruit at the pre-school.

As can be seen in the picture in Extract 1.2, child Mia quickly turns around to look at teacher Lieke only to orient toward me afterward again. While gazing at me, she also reaches her arms out to me. Mia's reaching out can be considered an 'environmentally-coupled gesture' (Goodwin 2007a) as it emerges and only becomes meaningful in interrelation with the material environment, i.e. it aims at the wet wipes in my hands. Following child Mia's embodied turn, I orient toward the collaborative action suggested by her and start to distribute the wet wipes (l.8).

While teacher Lieke tells the story in Limburgish to her colleague, me and the children direct our attention to the activity of cleaning the hands now. In the sense of 'guided participation', i.e. interactional routines which structure children's participation in multi-party interaction (Rogoff 1990), the teachers usually sing a song while cleaning the hands with the children. Felix now agentively breaks with the hierarchy in the pre-school. He supposedly remarked that the teachers themselves were not orienting toward the activity of cleaning the hands and would not initiate the song as usual, and consequently, he reinforces the activity himself through singing in Dutch (l.10).

The situation continues as portrayed in the following:

Throughout her storytelling, Lieke gets up and demonstrates the location at the door. Child Finja wants to show something on her arm to Helena, who turns toward her and touches Finja's arm

while Lieke walks to the door. Helena keeps listening to Lieke and when Marie (researcher) approaches Finja, Finja turns around and shows her arm to Marie.



10 Felix ♪ritz ratz roetze we gaan
de handjes poetsen, ritz
ratz ra, we zijn nog
helemaal niet klaar♪
((sings song for clearing
the hands, repetitively))

11 Leon & ((join in Felix' singing))
Marie

Extract 1.3

Expressing our orientation toward the collective action of cleaning the hands, the child Leon and me start to join in Felix' singing in Dutch. Simultaneously, teacher Lieke keeps on addressing her colleague Helena in Limburgish, keeping up the story-telling amongst colleagues that the two have

moved into. I, the researcher, actively take part in the co-creation of the simultaneous participation frames. I turn my focus away from the storytelling frame between the colleagues which is co-created in Limburgish and actively shape the simultaneous participatory frame of cleaning the hands. Adding to this, I reinforce the activity by joining in child Felix' singing in Dutch. In this way, I also orient toward the action taking place in Dutch rather than to the one-on-one interaction co-constructed in Limburgish between the teachers.

At some point, the child Finja tries to claim teacher Helena's attention by showing her something on her arm (see picture, extract 1.3). It is only when teacher Lieke walks to the door for demonstration purposes related to her story-telling, that teacher Helena takes a quick look at child Finja's arm. As soon as her colleague starts talking, she directs her attention to her again, and keeps the connection to child Finja merely by touch. Teacher Helena thus engages in 'bodily emotion socialisation', mediated by the touch with child Finja (Cekaite and Holm Kvist 2017), and simultaneously orients to her colleague's storytelling by gaze and body positioning. Looking away can communicate a low engagement in the collaborative action (Goodwin 1981) and Helena shows a higher level of engagement in the storytelling of her colleague.

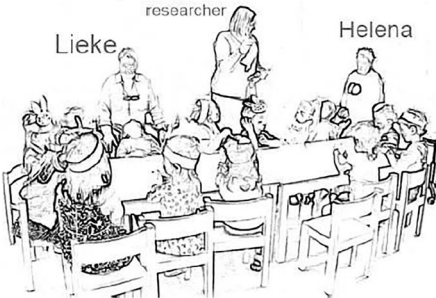
Shortly after, teacher Lieke's story comes to an end and she bodily orients toward the group of children again:

Lieke sits down again and turns body and gaze in direction of the table where the children sit.

researcher

Lieke Helena

→



12 Lieke hoa dit zal ik nooit vergāten RITS RATS oh heel goed poetsen, heel goed!
 ((finishes story in dialect:)) hoa I will never forget this, ((NEL:)) RITS RATS oh clean very well, very well

Extract 1.4

When Lieke sits down again in extract 1.4, she also gazes toward the children again (see picture). She closes her story, and thereby the one-on-one-frame, in Limburgish: 'Hoa, I will never forget this' (l.12). Then, when she redirects her attention to the collaborative action of cleaning the hands, she switches to Dutch by first joining in our singing: '♪RITS RATS♪', followed by the instruction 'oh clean very well, very well' (l.12).


The example shows how the teachers might use Limburgish, in combination with other semiotic resources such as gaze to move from a conversation in which the children are ratified into a personal dyadic conversation amongst colleagues. In contrast, they may use Dutch to signal their involvement in co-operative action with the whole group. The example also illustrates that even children who are very young and do not speak yet, like Mia (2;5) can successfully initiate new collaborative action through environmentally-coupled gestures. My position as an adult who orients toward this newly initiated action as well as the subsequent singing in Dutch, legitimises child Mia's embodied turn and responds to it.

5.2. Staging conversations

In terms of the topic and form of storytelling, the conversation between the teachers in the example of section 5.1 showed many similarities to the personal conversations which the teachers (and I as fieldworker) had during lunches after the children had left. The two teachers are also good

friends, and warmly included me in personal conversations throughout my fieldwork. Usually, the teachers used Limburgish in such situations but sometimes switched to Dutch for me. I conclude that the personal conversation the teachers Lieke and Helena move into in section 5.1 could also have taken place in a similar way, and importantly also in Limburgish, between the two of them independent from their communication with the children. However, in their work with the children, the two teachers also engage in another form of dyadic conversation. Namely, they commonly stage conversations between each other which would never happen in the same way if the children were not present. In such conversations, the message the teachers aim to bring about is actually intended for the children to be overheard (Goffman 1979) rather than solely directed to the other teacher. The teachers say to one another, in Dutch, e.g. statements like ‘I don’t know what we can still teach them. They really know *everything* about the animals on the farm’ (from fieldnotes 5/5/2021).

The following situation is an example of such a staged conversation. At first, Felix explains to the teachers why you should run away when the Easter bunny comes, and subsequently, the teachers Helena and Lieke engage in a dyadic conversation about the same topic as well as about the children’s performance on the topic of Easter in front of the children.



1 Lieke ((points to Felix and looks at Helena)) als hij komt moeten we wegrennen
when he comes we gotta run away

2 Helena wegrennen?
run away?

3 Felix JA DAN MOET JE EVEN STOPPEN want anders ziet hij ons en dat mag niet YES YOU GOTTA STOP because otherwise he sees us and that’s not allowed

4 Lieke ((looks at Helena)) wij mogen niet zijn wat hij verstoep
we may not see what he is hiding

5 Felix nee. dat is een verrassing
no. that’s a surprise

6 Lieke ((looks at Helena)) ja: ze hebben gelijk
Ye:s they are right

7 Helena ((looks at Lieke)) is een verrassing
is a surprise

8 Lieke ((looks at Helena)) ~ja
~yes

9 Helena ((looks at Lieke)) dus ja, dan weten ze weer alles van het volgende thema
so yes, then again they know all about the next topic

10 Lieke £ja sorry,£ maar ze vroegen het. £ja ik moet toch antwoord geven.£
£yes, sorry,£ but they asked it. £yes, well, I have to give them an answer. £

Extract 2

All speech takes place in Dutch in this extract. In the first part (l. 1–5), teacher Lieke aligns with Felix who explains that you would have to run away when the Easter Bunny comes so that he does not see you. Teacher Helena takes a questioning position (l.2: ‘run away?’), leading to Felix’ and Lieke’s collaboration on the reasoning (l.3, Felix: ‘(...) because otherwise he sees us and that’s not allowed.’; l.4, Lieke: ‘we may not see what he is hiding’; l.5, Felix: ‘no, that’s a surprise’). Lieke and Felix enforce the argument mutually here, resulting in a triadic constellation in which

Helena pretends to be in the learning position. Some of the other children follow the conversation and look toward the speakers, respectively, while others focus on finishing their fruit or taking looks into each other's fruit boxes.

In the second part, Lieke introduces a change in participation frame through starting to talk *about* the children to Helena rather than *with* them. This manifests in her use of third person plural when she says '(...) they are right' (l. 6). With the personal pronoun 'ze/they', Lieke refers to all children here, even though it was only Felix who explained how to behave when seeing the Easter Bunny. Now, a participation frame in which the two teachers play an active, conversing role, while the whole group of children becomes intended overhearers, unfolds. From a language socialisation perspective, overhearing is an exercise in observation, attention, and inference as well as participation for young children (de León 2011).

Helena animates Felix's prior explanation of hidden eggs being a surprise (l. 7) again. By then, most children direct their attention toward the teachers' conversation, as can be seen on the second picture. One child even turns around to look to the teachers and participate in the ongoing action in an embodied way. The two children who do not seem to follow the teachers' conversation are aged 2;5 and 2;8, respectively, and are not yet socialised into the organisation of attention to the same extent as the others. In the last two utterances of the excerpt, the teachers indirectly praise the children for their knowledge, jokingly expressed in form of a pretend-complaint by Helena: '(...) then again, they know all about the next topic' (l.9), and a pretend-justification by Lieke: 'yes well, they asked (...) I have to give them an answer' (l.10). I suggest the terms 'pretend-complaint' and 'pretend-justification' here as the acts are clearly staged and performed on issues which do not require a serious complaint or justification.

In contrast to the situation discussed in section 5.1, where the teachers moved into a personal conversation in front of the children, the conversation between the teachers in the example at hand is not intimised as they seem to intend the children to hear their praises. This is enacted, in one way, by the use of Dutch instead of Limburgish. Dutch is the variety the teachers usually use to communicate to the whole group and Limburgish the teachers' default variety for personal conversations. The teachers' bodily orientation also suggests ratified participation on the side of the children. This can be seen on the second picture of Extract 2, in which Lieke and Helena do not change their body positioning but just gaze at one another as they move from the triadic conversation with Felix into the part where only the two of them speak. Their way of talking *about* the children using third person plural, however, makes clear that the situation turned into a dyadic conversation between the teachers now. The children may and should participate as ratified *listeners* but are not expected to participate as *speakers*, also since the teachers do not gaze at the children but instead at one another. Most children take up their role as *overhearers* by silent participation as well as their bodily alignment and gaze toward the teachers.

5.3. Subverting frames

In the previous examples, I showed how participation frames initiated by the teachers were, to a large extent, co-created by the children who (re-)organised their attention in correspondence to the emerging frames. However, children are agentive beings who can also challenge frames and claim different forms of participation for themselves. In section 5.1, I showed how children actively initiated and co-constructed a simultaneous frame to an intimised one between the teachers. In what follows, I discuss how a child challenges a frame that is being established between the adults in the pre-school and claims participation in their interaction.

The audio-recorded situation takes place during pick-up time at the end of the day at pre-school. The children and teacher Helena stand in front of the window to spot arriving parents. Teacher Lieke accompanies children whose parents have arrived to the gate. In the following, Felix and teacher Helena discuss by which means of transport Felix' mum would come, when teacher Lieke enters

the classroom after having brought the child Ilya to his dad:

A: child-teacher NEL	{	1 Felix	denk jij dat dat mama met de auto ()? Dat mama met de auto komt_	
			Do you think that mum () with the car? That mum comes with the car?	
		2 Helena	Nee! Mama, misschien misschien komt Mama toch met de fiets, heeft ze de jas aan	
			No! Maybe maybe mum will come by bike, she wears the jacket	
B: teacher/colleague-frame DIA	{	3 Lieke	((enters the classroom; DIA)) den Ilya kennse den gansen dag hier laoten	
			<u>((DIA)) You can leave Ilya here the whole day</u>	
		4 Helena	ja	
			yes	
		5 Lieke	((DIA)) dat maakte [dem [niets oet	
			<u>((DIA)) that would [not [bother him</u>	
		6 Marie	[nee?	
			[no?	
		7 Helena	[[((DIA))gijt met jou mee zäät er al	
			<u>[[((DIA)) he goes with you he already said</u>	
		8 Lieke	((DIA)) dat maakt'm allemaol niks oet. höbben die allemaol gehad	
			<u>((DIA)) All of this doesn't bother him. all of them had that</u>	
C: child claims participation NEL	{	9 Felix	((turns around)) ECHT??	
			((turns around)) REALLY??	
		10 Helena	((flinches and looks at Felix)) p[s:::	
		11 Marie		
				[hehehehehe
		12 Felix	°dat kan toch niet.° juffrouw Helena >je hebt toch< een heel klein autotje	
			° but that's not possible° teacher Helena >you do have < a very small carDIM	
		13 Helena	°ja°	
			°yes°	
		14 Marie	AH dat kan niet	
			AH that's not possible	
		15 Helena	↑↑ik heb toch een hele kleine auto	
			↑↑I do have a very small car	

Extract 3 (NEL: Dutch; DIA: Limburgish dialect)

As annotated on the left side of the transcript, the situation unfolds in three major frames. In part A, child Felix discusses with teacher Helena if his mother will pick him up by car or rather by bike. The conversation between the two of them takes place in Dutch. When teacher Lieke enters the classroom (part B), she starts to engage her colleague Helena in a conversation amongst colleagues and adults in Limburgish. Here, the two teachers comment on the child Ilya's positive attitude toward staying at pre-school. Helena reports that Ilya would even have already said that he would go home with teacher Lieke, an information that child Felix alludes to subsequently. Part 3 of the situation is marked by Felix turning around to orient to the teachers and loudly, in Dutch, asking 'Really?' (I.9). After he joined the conversation, it proceeds in Dutch.

When teacher Lieke first enters the classroom, she and her colleague Helena enact an inter-adult/colleague frame in a comparable way as discussed in section 5.2. They talk in Limburgish and

additionally embark on a topic pertinent to their teacher role, i.e. an observation of the children's behaviour. I, as an adult in the pre-school, feel eligible to participate in the conversation and contribute with a confirmative question 'No?' in line 6. While my participation seems legitimated as it does not lead to any emotional interactional consequences by the teachers, Felix' sudden active participation seems out of place in the conversation. As he turns around and suddenly asks 'Really?' in Dutch (l.9), he subverts the participation frame that was previously mainly achieved by the teachers in Limburgish. The teachers' co-creation of a participation frame that is set up amongst the colleagues, then makes him an eavesdropper in part B of the transcript, the part the teachers may make sense of as 'their' conversation. In comparison to overhearers, eavesdroppers take this role in the participation framework without the speakers being aware that someone listens to them (Goffman 1979).

Beside the code switch that Felix introduces when he enters the conversation, his position as a child also plays a role in his making of participation statuses. It is usually not in his capacities to evaluate his peers' behaviour. Goodwin and Kyratzis (2007) note that children in peer conversations frequently make use of linguistic resources from the adult culture like control act forms to contest social hierarchies. During fieldwork, I have observed several instances where Felix commented on a peers' behaviour and was indirectly or directly told not to do so by the teachers. Now, he claims ratified participation in a conversation in which the teachers discuss the case of a particular child, which contributes to the subversion of the frame.

The unexpectedness of Felix's claim of (focal) participation manifests as teacher Helena flinches and makes a surprised 'ps:::'-sound (l. 10) at the same time as I, who observe the situation, start laughing (l. 11). Felix' initial question seems to require explanation after teacher Helena's and my reactions, so that Felix subsequently elaborates on the reasons why you cannot take children home in a low voice (l. 12). Teacher Helena aligns with his explanation and confirms, in Dutch, that she has a very small car. Child Felix has successfully subverted the participation frame and his contributions as a – now ratified – participant gets taken up by the adults who continue with him in a triadic participation frame in Dutch.

6. Discussion

Official language policies in Limburgish Early Childcare and Education centres commonly only make a difference between Dutch as main language and Limburgish as a language that might be used with individual children, without taking the complexities of multi-party frameworks into account. As common in diglossic situations, this language policy reflects an ideologically-grounded local status imbalance (Schiffman 1993) which children are socialised into. Scholars of language socialisation and language shift have brought to the fore that children are socialised into ways to handle this imbalance, e.g. 'restricting use of a particular language to particular domains (...) and cultivating proficiency in a particular language as a means of coping with entrenched social hierarchies' (Garrett 2011, 516). As the data shows, both cases apply in Dutch Limburg; The intimidation of a participation frame performed by the teachers in Limburgish indexes the use of Limburgish for the private domain, whereas the use of Dutch for staged conversations enforces the status of Dutch as a relevant language in the educational domain. This confirms Cornips's (2020b) results, which show that Dutch is the dominant language in bidialectal pre-school in Netherlandic Limburg, and the language used for group situations. These, as I have shown, also include situations which might on the surface look and sound like conversations between teachers, but in which the children take the status of intended overhearers (see section 5.2). In such situations, silence constitutes a relevant form of participation on the children's side (see Schultz 2009).

Previous literature on bilingual pre-school has demonstrated how children constantly move in and out of one another's conversations (Chaparro 2020). My analysis shows that teachers engage in similar practices when they move into more private/intimate or professional conversations

amongst colleagues and then move back to another participation frame, engaging with the children. When doing so, they use linguistic resources in distinct ways to construct their professional identities as educators (Ochs 1993) and their identities as befriended colleagues. 'Teacher talk' (Huth 2011) is performed in Dutch, while '(semi-)private talk' may happen in Limburgish.

The child Felix' participation in all cases presented in this paper highlights the complexity of the co-creation of participation frames: As Felix knows Limburgish, it becomes clear that opportunities for participation are much more complex than being simply a matter of language variety. Felix is expected to react in situations in which he is addressed by the teachers in Limburgish but not when Limburgish is used as a means that the teachers deploy to enact a personal or professional conversation amongst colleagues or adults.

Previous studies have shown how overhearer statuses can be socialised (de León 2011; de León and García-Sánchez 2021). Chaparro (2020, 14) found such overhearer statuses and their inherent silent participation to be 'a critical part of both second language socialisation and socialisation into a bilingual classroom community'. While my findings resonate with this, it is important to say that in pre-schools in bidialectal Limburg, Limburgish may also be used to arrange for non-participation, as demonstrated in section 5.1.

7. Conclusion

In this article, I discussed how teachers and toddlers use their linguistic and other semiotic resources to shape situational interactional participation in pre-school interaction. I investigated the role of Dutch and Limburgish, respectively, as well as that of other semiotic resources, for the co-creation of participation frames.

It resulted that teachers may use Limburgish to move into a one-on-one conversation in front of the children whereas they use Dutch for staged conversations which they intend to be overheard by the children. Hence, code switches, in combination with other interactional resources, have consequences for the organisation of attention. Participation involves constant attentiveness and attuning of the participating actors (Cekaite and Björk-Willén 2018). A child suddenly claiming focal participation in a way that is not attuned to the current participation framework might therefore situationally seem out of place for other participants, like in the situation in extract 5.3. The way the teachers switch from Limburgish to Dutch when child Felix enters the conversation there, confirms the importance of code choice for establishing participation frames.

Children actively co-shape participation frames and thereby inhabit the action of peers and teachers (Goodwin 2013). While such a co-shaping can, in practice, mean an orientation toward a certain frame, and a reproduction thereof, it is also characterised by children's agency (Schwartz 2018). Children can, e.g. subvert participation frames which are set up amongst adults and claim ratified participation. Furthermore, children succeed, even at a very young age, in initiating new collaborative action through embodied means and the performance of environmentally-coupled gestures. The analytic approach of participation frames and co-operative action provides a way not to prioritise speech by starting from a specific linguistic code (Chaparro 2020) but rather to embrace the multi-modal dynamic organisation of interaction. As such, it can account for young children's ways of communicating through embodied means and their ongoing language socialisation. For example, in situations which entailed staged conversations, the children's silence constituted a relevant form of participation. While this paper focused on multiparty interaction which include teachers, the question as to how peers enact similar shifts in participation frames remains open for future research.

Socialising interactional participation is an important part of children's becoming of members of the bidialectal community they live in. A socialisation into a specific code choice across participation frames and contexts thus impacts children's own bidialectal competences and language attitudes, ultimately in favour of the national language Dutch.

Notes

1. While Limburgish officially has the status of a regional language, the speakers mainly refer to it as dialect ('dialect' or 'plat', see Cornips, 2020b).
2. It must be noted, however, that the boundaries between dialect and Dutch are not always clearly defined, as Dutch can resemble dialect phonetically sometimes, and speakers also use mixed forms.
3. The data includes 102:19 h of audio-recordings of both formal and non-formal activities throughout the day as well as 15:01 h of video data complemented by extensive fieldnotes.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Leonie Cornips and Gunther De Vogelaer as well as two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. Thanks to Sara Atwater for proofreading the manuscript. All remaining shortcomings are my own.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 847596.

Notes on contributor

Marie Rickert is a PhD candidate at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Maastricht University and the Institute of Dutch Philology, University of Münster. She researches language socialisation in early education on both sides of the German-Dutch border. Her wider research interests include language ideologies in education, multilingualism and multi-modality, and L2 acquisition in the context of linguistic diversity and migration.

ORCID

Marie Rickert  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0126-517X>

References

- Akhtar, N. 2005. "The Robustness of Learning Through Overhearing." *Developmental Science* 8 (2): 199–209. doi:10.1111/j.1467-7687.2005.00406.x.
- Blum-Kulka, S., and C. E. Snow. 2002. "Editors' Introduction." In *Talking to Adults: The Contribution of Multiparty Discourse to Language Acquisition*, edited by S. Blum-Kulka, and C. E. Snow, 1–12. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Burdelski, M. 2019. "Young Children's Multimodal Participation in Storytelling." *Research on Children and Social Interaction* 3 (1–2): 6–35. doi:10.1558/rcsi.37284.
- Burdelski, M. 2021. "Classroom Socialisation: Repair and Correction in Japanese as a Heritage Language." *Classroom Discourse* 12 (3): 255–279. doi:10.1080/19463014.2020.1789483.
- Camps, D. M. 2018. "Legitimizing Limburgish: The Reproduction of Heritage." In *Standardizing Minority Languages*, edited by L. Pia, J. Costa, and H. D. Korne. Taylor & Francis. doi:10.4324/9781315647722.
- Cekaite, A., and K. Aronsson. 2004. "Repetition and Joking in Children's Second Language Conversations: Playful Recyclings in an Immersion Classroom." *Discourse Studies* 6 (3): 373–392. doi:10.1177/1461445604044295.
- Cekaite, A., and P. Björk-Willén. 2018. "Enchantment in Storytelling: Co-operation and Participation in Children's Aesthetic Experience." *Linguistics and Education* 48: 52–60. doi:10.1016/j.linged.2018.08.005.
- Cekaite, A., and A.-C. Evaldsson. 2019. "Stance and Footing in Multilingual Play: Rescaling Practices and Heritage Language use in a Swedish Preschool." *Journal of Pragmatics* 144: 127–140. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2017.11.011.
- Cekaite, A., and M. Holm Kvist. 2017. "The Comforting Touch: Tactile Intimacy and Talk in Managing Children's Distress." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 50 (2): 109–127. doi:10.1080/08351813.2017.1301293.

- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. 2020. *Formele kinderopvang; kinderen, uren, soort opvang, vorm opvang, regio*. Accessed June 12, 2021. j.mpendata.cbs.nl/#/JM/nl/dataset/20214NED/table?fromstatweb.
- Chaparro, S. 2020. "Martin and the Pink Crayon: Peer Language Socialization in a Kindergarten Bilingual Classroom." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1–19. doi:10.1080/13670050.2020.1786495.
- Cornips, L. 2013. "20. Recent Developments in the Limburg Dialect Region." In *Language and Space: Volume 3 Dutch*, edited by Frans Hinskens and Johan Taeldeman, 378–399. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Cornips, L. 2020a. "Dialect Acquisition by 'New Speakers' of Dutch and their Linguistic Othering." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–17. doi:10.1080/01434632.2020.1730384.
- Cornips, L. 2020b. "The Impact of Preschool Attendance on Children's Bidialectism in The Netherlands: Why Toddlers may Stop Speaking a Regional Language (Limburgish) at Home." *Language in Society* 49 (3): 1–23. doi:10.1017/S0047404520000275.
- de León, L. 2011. "Language Socialization and Multiparty Participation Frameworks." In *The Handbook of Language Socialization*, Vol. 72, edited by Alessandro Duranti, Elinor Ochs, and Bambi B. Schieffelin, 81. West Sussex: Wiley/Blackwell.
- de León, L., and I. M. García-Sánchez. 2021. "Language Socialization at the Intersection of the Local and the Global: The Contested Trajectories of Input and Communicative Competence." *Annual Review of Linguistics* 7 (1): 421–448. doi:10.1146/annurev-linguistics-011619-030538.
- Dennis, B., and C. Huf. 2020. "Ethnographic Research in Childhood Institutions: Participations and Entanglements." *Ethnography and Education* 15 (4): 445–461. doi:10.1080/17457823.2020.1722951.
- Dressel, D., and I. Satti. 2021. "Embodied Coparticipation Practices in Collaborative Storytelling." *Gesprächsforschung—Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* 22: 54–86.
- Evaldsson, A.-C., and O. Abreu Fernandes. 2019. "Embodied Performances and Footings in a Young Child's Spontaneous Participation in Bilingual Russian–Swedish Storytelling." *Research on Children and Social Interaction* 3 (1–2): 36–64. doi:10.1558/rcsi.37297.
- Extra, G. 2004. "Taal en identiteit. De vitaliteit van minderheidstalen in vergelijkend perspectief." *Taal en Tongval* 56 (17): 109–134.
- Garrett, P. B. 2011. "Language Socialization and Language Shift." In *The Handbook of Language Socialization*, edited by A. Duranti, E. Ochs, and B. B. Schieffelin, 515–535. doi:10.1002/9781444342901.ch22.
- Goffman, E. 1979. "Footing." *Semiotica* 25 (1–2): 1–30. doi:10.1515/semi.1979.25.1-2.1.
- Goodwin, C. 1981. *Conversational Organization: Interaction Between Speakers and Hearers*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodwin, M. H. 1990. *He-said-she-said: Talk as Social Organization among Black Children*. Vol. 618. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goodwin, C. 2000. "Action and Embodiment Within Situated Human Interaction." *Journal of Pragmatics* 32: 1489–1522. doi:10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X.
- Goodwin, C. 2007a. "Environmentally Coupled Gestures." In *Gesture and the Dynamic Dimensions of Language*, edited by Susan D. Duncan, Justine Cassel, and Elena T. Levy, 195–212. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Goodwin, C. 2007b. "Participation, Stance and Affect in the Organization of Activities." *Discourse & Society* 18: 53–73. doi:10.1177/0957926507069457.
- Goodwin, C. 2013. "The co-Operative, Transformative Organization of Human Action and Knowledge." *Journal of Pragmatics* 46 (1): 8–23. doi:10.1016/j.pragma.2012.09.003.
- Goodwin, C. 2018. "Why Multimodality? Why Co-Operative Action? (Transcribed by J. Philippen)." *Social Interaction. Video-Based Studies of Human Sociality* 1 (2), doi:10.7146/si.v1i2.110039.
- Goodwin, C., and M. H. Goodwin. 2004. "Participation." In *A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology*, edited by A. Duranti, 222–244. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.
- Goodwin, M. H., and A. Kyratzis. 2007. "Children Socializing Children: Practices for Negotiating the Social Order Among Peers." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 40 (4): 279–289. doi:10.1080/08351810701471260.
- Huth, T. 2011. "Conversation Analysis and Language Classroom Discourse." *Language and Linguistics Compass* 5 (5): 297–309. doi:10.1111/j.1749-818X.2011.00277.x.
- Jongbloed-Faber, L., J. van Loo, and L. Cornips. 2017. "Regional Languages on Twitter: A Comparative Study Between Frisian and Limburgish." *Dutch Journal of Applied Linguistics* 6 (2): 174–196. doi:10.1075/dujal.16017.jon.
- Morillo Morales, G., and L. Cornips. 2022. "Minoritising a Regional Language in Multilingual Preschools in Dutch Limburg: Teachers' and Toddlers' Choices Between Dutch and Limburgish." *International Journal of Bilingualism*, doi:10.1177/13670069221079335.
- Ochs, E. 1993. "Constructing Social Identity: A Language Socialization Perspective." *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26 (3): 287–306. doi:10.1207/s15327973rlsi2603_3.
- Ochs, E., and B. B. Schieffelin. 1986. "Language Socialization." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15: 163–191.
- Rickert, M. *under submission*. Entangled Research Encounters: Spontaneous Interactions between Multilingual Children and Researcher as a Research Site.
- Rijksoverheid. 2019. *Aantal kinderen op de kinderopvang verder gestegen*. www.rijksoverheid.nl/actueel/nieuws/2019/06/07/aantal-kinderen-op-de-kinderopvang-verder-gestegen.

- Robinson, J. D. 2006. "Getting Down to Business: Talk, Gaze, and Body Orientation During Openings of Doctor-Patient Consultations." *Human Communication Research* 25 (1): 97–123. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.1998.tb00438.x.
- Rogoff, B. 1990. *Apprenticeship in Thinking: Cognitive Development in Social Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schiffman, H. F. 1993. "The Balance of Power in Multiglossic Languages: Implications for Language Shift." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1993 (103): 115–148. doi:10.1515/ijsl.1993.103.115.
- Schmeets, H., and L. Cornips. 2021. Talen en dialecten in Nederland: Wat spreken we thuis en wat schrijven we op sociale media?" *Statistische Trends*. Accessed August 24, 2022. <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/longread/statistische-trends/2021/talen-en-dialecten-in-nederland>
- Schultz, K. 2009. *Rethinking Classroom Participation: Listening to Silent Voices*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Schwartz, M. 2018. "Preschool Bilingual Education: Agency in Interactions Between Children, Teachers, and Parents (Introduction)." In *Pre-school Bilingual Education. Agency in Interactions Between Children, Teachers, and Parents*, edited by M. Schwartz, Vol. 25, 1–26. Cham: Springer.
- Thissen, L. 2018. "Talking in/out of Place. Ethnographic Reflections on Language, Place and (Un)belonging." Unpubl. PhD diss.
- Vermeer, H., and M. Groeneveld. 2017. "Kinderopvang in kinderdagverblijven en gastoudergezinnen." In *Pedagogiek in beeld*, edited by M van Ijzendoorn and L van Rosmalen, 139–151. Houten: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum.
- Vousten, R. M. G. 1995. "Dialect als tweede taal: linguïstische en extra-linguïstische aspecten van de verwerving van een Noordlimburgs dialect door standaardtalige jongeren Radboud University Nijmegen]." Unpublished PhD thesis.
- Vroom, M. 2019. *Bijna alle peuters in peuteropvang*. Accessed February 14, 2020. <https://www.kinderopvangtotaal.nl/bijna-alle-peuters-in-peuteropvang/>.
- Wet kinderopvang/Law on childcare. wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0017017/2021-01-01.