

ETHNODIDACTICS: APPLYING ANTHROPOLOGY TO THE TEACHING OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN MIGRATORY CONTEXTS

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Abstract

The article presents an experimental didactic approach, termed ethnodidactic, applied to teaching a foreign language in multicultural school contexts. This approach integrates the principles of communicative didactics with those of anthropology, making use of the ethnographic method as a tool for both research and the conduct of the lesson. The experiment took place in 2024/2025 at a CPIA in Lombardy, involving adult migrant students with different levels of schooling, including illiterate students. The core of the model consists of the autonomous production of materials (images, videos, objects, gestures), through which students communicate personal experiences, which are then translated and re-elaborated into the target language. This reversal of the classic model, where it is usually the teacher who provides the content, enables active participation and enhances prior knowledge, creating an inclusive and motivating environment. In an ethnodidactic perspective, the learner is not merely a recipient but becomes an active resource and a source of linguistic material. Language teaching is thus grounded in the activation of an authentic communicative need, intentionally elicited by the teacher through the introduction of meaningful topics capable of generating biographical and emotional engagement. This need triggers a narrative process of autobiographical sharing, building bridges between proposed content and personal experience. The result is the creation of authentic linguistic materials—oral and visual texts—that reflect the cultural and linguistic complexity of the classroom. The teacher assumes a maieutic role, fostering relational spaces and offering tools for metalinguistic reflection, while the learner becomes the central figure in the language acquisition process through their own narrative. In this way, the classroom transforms into an intercultural and dialogic laboratory where language is constructed starting from the self and in relation to others, within a continuous dynamic of identity, alterity, and learning. This strategy was observed to transform the class into a relational community, akin to a family environment, where language comprehension arises from the desire to tell one's story, share, and be understood. Aligned with the communicative approach to language teaching, the proposed model goes beyond even the most advanced instructional recommendations, favoring a learning environment where language serves as a vehicle for communication and a tool for expressing one's self and worldview. In this framework, the teacher's role overlaps with that of the ethnographer, who, adopting an anthropological posture—centered on active listening, decentering, and valuing the other's perspective—observes classroom dynamics and participates as a facilitator (Mussi, 2022). The experimentation showed that this approach not only achieves the aforementioned objectives but also fosters a learning environment guided by an intercultural logic.

Keywords: ethnodidactics; CPIA; storytelling; images and videos; language teaching; flipped classroom; intercultural education; education of migrant adults; inclusion.

INTRODUCTION

This paper introduces an experimental teaching approach, which we define as ethnodidactic, for teaching

L2/FL in multicultural school contexts. The term combines elements of ethnography and language pedagogy, merging the principles of the communicative approach in second language teaching with those of the ethnographic method as the primary investigative tool of anthropology. The first experimentation was launched during the 2024/2025 school year at the Provincial Center for Adult Education (CPIA) in Monza, in a class composed of adult migrant students from diverse linguistic and educational backgrounds, some of whom were illiterate or had low levels of formal education. In Italy, the CPIAs—public institutions dedicated to adult education—have operated in their current form since 2015¹. These centers focus primarily on educating adults with migratory backgrounds. The experimental project was conducted at a CPIA located in the city of Monza, in northern Italy, where students - though all over the age of sixteen - differ in age and predominantly originate from North Africa, sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America. Migration flows have brought the issue of illiteracy back into focus in Italy, adding further complexity compared to the past: today, the individuals who need to be literate are typically non-native Italian speakers with beginner-level communication skills, often newly arrived in the country.² In this complex context, teaching a second language (L2) presents significant challenges, not only concerning linguistic acquisition, but also in terms of building relationships, fostering motivation, and promoting social inclusion. The approach proposed here aims to address these needs: by blending the communicative principles of language pedagogy with anthropological research, it places autobiographical narration, active listening, and participation at the center of the learning process. This contribution reports on the results of the experimentation, illustrating the strategies adopted and the observed outcomes. Findings indicate that the approach is generally effective and potentially replicable in educational settings characterized by high complexity. The experimentation was conducted collaboratively by the two authors, both L2 Italian teachers at the CPIA of Monza and Brianza, combining complementary expertise: one in anthropology and the other in adult literacy.

1. ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The anthropology of education today offers new interpretative lenses within school contexts (Simonicca, 2018), enabling the investigation—both in a comparative and diachronic manner—of dynamics emerging in educational settings. A paradigmatic example is the renowned study by Joseph Tobin on early childhood education in China, Japan, and the United States³ (Tobin, 2011). Numerous international studies have already highlighted the effectiveness of ethnography as a qualitative research tool capable of capturing, in depth, the interactions and inclusion processes within educational contexts (Hammersley, 2006; Tassan, 2024). In Italy, for example, one of the more recent studies was conducted by Alessandra Mussi (2023), who used ethnography as an anthropological method to give voice to Arabic-speaking women participating in an Italian L2 learning course, bringing to light the complexity of migrant parenting. Anthropology has long been acknowledged for its intrinsic educational value (Tim Ingold). Francesca Gobbo, an expert in intercultural education, proposes rethinking teacher training from the perspective of the 'teacher-ethnographer.' This figure is characterized by the adoption of fieldwork-inspired postures, including:

- The construction of an *ethnographic relationship* with students, grounded in gradual access, relational care, and intercultural sensitivity;
- The use of biographical approaches that emphasize giving voice to the “subaltern”;
- The adoption of a method that is rigorous yet flexible, capable of analyzing macro, meso, and micro perspectives and of adapting pedagogical planning accordingly (Gobbo, 2004).

Ethnodidactics incorporates the methodological and conceptual contributions that have emerged from the

¹ Adult education in Italy has undergone profound transformations in response to the country's economic and social changes. Starting in the 1980s, with the onset of what Colucci (2023) refers to as the “era of migrations,” and with Italy—like many other European countries—transitioning from a country of emigration to one of immigration (Castles, De Haas, Miller, 2014), the presence of foreign students has become increasingly significant, to the point that they now constitute the predominant group within the CPIA (Provincial Centres for Adult Education).

² After the fall of Fascism and the birth of the Italian Republic, illiteracy was officially recognized by the government as a social issue requiring intervention (Targhetta, 2015). Testimonies from current CPIA teachers who taught in workers' education courses during the 1990s in the Brianza area (now the CPIA of Monza) reveal that, for a long time, adult education—then organized around the “150-hour” program—was primarily attended by Italian citizens who were illiterate or had low levels of schooling, often originating from southern regions and having migrated northward during the period of internal migration toward the industrialized North.

³ Tobin's study is cited as a paradigmatic example in which the authors adopt a particular form of ethnography, which they define as “video-cued multivocal visual ethnography,” to investigate educational practices across three distinct geographical contexts. The book *Preschool in Three Cultures Revisited* has both a comparative and diachronic dimension, as it analyzes the same three settings twenty years later, highlighting the changes and continuities in educational practices.

studies described above: it recognizes both the usefulness of anthropology in understanding school dynamics and the broader educational value of the discipline itself. However, what sets ethnodidactics apart as an innovative approach is its specific recognition of ethnography—an anthropological tool—as being particularly useful for second language teaching in multicultural contexts.

The innovative element at the core of the proposed approach lies in the use of participant observation—typical of ethnographic methodology—not only as a research tool, but also as an epistemological and relational stance that guides the organization of teaching activities in second or foreign language instruction. It takes shape as a set of guidelines that are both operational and theoretical-conceptual, supporting the teacher's educational practice. From this perspective, both language pedagogy and anthropology do not merely provide theoretical frameworks, but concretely influence educational practices, prompting a transformation in the way the teacher relates to students. The teacher who adopts an anthropological stance considers the classroom as a field site, identifying within it a specific focus of observation and assuming the role of participant observer. This results in a rethinking of traditional teaching dynamics: the central focus is no longer solely the language itself—although it remains a vehicle of communication—but rather mutual recognition, relationship-building, and the opportunity to share one's story. The classroom becomes a shared space of exploration, where listening, narration, and participation are integral parts of the didactic practice.⁴

2. GLOTTODIDACTICS: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Ethnodidactics falls within the field of glottodidactics, sharing the communicative approach and integrating it with methods and postures drawn from anthropology.

The ethnodidactic approach proposes a reorganization of the teaching-learning process through a strategic inversion of traditional roles. In the initial phase, the teacher introduces selected discussion topics and invites students to autonomously prepare expository materials using a range of communicative modalities—images, videos, objects, gestures—in order to overcome expressive limitations in the target language. The learner thus becomes both observer and observed, narrator and protagonist of their own educational journey.

In this process, the teacher assumes the role of *semiotic mediator*, translating into the target language the communicative intent conveyed through the students' diverse expressive modes. This didactic process represents an original reinterpretation of *Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC)*⁵, but operates in a reversed logic: while traditional AAC involves transforming verbal language into images, the ethnodidactic model begins with images, gestures, and visual narratives as a foundation for the construction of linguistic competence (Beukelman & Mirenda, 2013).

This generates authentic and meaningful communicative needs, as the materials produced by the students—images, videos, objects, and narratives—are not confined to private use but are shared within the classroom community. The shift from “individual production” to a “learning community” creates a dialogic space that fosters an inclusive climate in which every participant is granted the opportunity for self-representation and recognition in their uniqueness.

The subsequent methodological phase involves the systematization of linguistic structures that emerged during the semiotic mediation. The transition from intersemiotic translation to verbal formulation is realized through the identification and selection of *lexical chunks*—cognitive units that facilitate efficient information processing and memorization (Miller, 1956; Gobet et al., 2001). In the proposed methodology, these elements do not originate from arbitrary selection, but emerge organically from the semantic content conveyed through students' iconic representations. The teacher's selection of linguistic structures is guided

⁴ A positive classroom climate is the result of a teacher's posture oriented toward active listening and the recognition of student contributions, where errors are embraced as an integral part of the learning process. The teacher must be aware that real learning can only take place in an environment where affective filters are lowered (Balboni, 2017). Creating such an environment requires an attitude of openness and emotional receptivity, in which each learner feels welcomed, seen, and encouraged to participate without fear of judgment. Moreover, the ethnodidactic approach itself actively fosters group cohesion: by placing students' personal narratives and multimodal productions at the center of the learning process, it promotes mutual recognition, empathy, and a sense of belonging within the classroom community. The shared experience of telling and listening to one another becomes a powerful engine for building a participatory and supportive learning environment.

⁵ Augmentative and Alternative Communication (AAC) is a set of strategies and tools designed to facilitate communication in individuals with complex communication needs. In traditional practice, AAC starts from verbal language and associates it with images, symbols, or signs that enhance comprehension or support production. It is, therefore, a process that moves from words to images, using visual aids to reinforce or substitute spoken language. (Beukelman, D. R., & Mirenda, P. (2013). *Augmentative and Alternative Communication: Supporting Children and Adults with Complex Communication Needs* (4th ed.). Paul H. Brookes Publishing Co.)

by cognitive psychology principles related to chunking, which enhances language acquisition by grouping information into manageable units.

The memorization of linguistic formulas within the ethnodidactic framework is grounded in the principles of *implicit learning* (Ellis, 2005) and the *usage-based theory of language acquisition* (Tomasello, 2003). These structures, anchored in the student's expressive experience through multimodal supports, are internalized through *semantic-pragmatic association* rather than mechanical repetition. The "natural" character of this memorization process lies in its contextualized and meaningful nature. As Wray (2002) has demonstrated in her work on *formulaic sequences*, the acquisition of pre-assembled lexical blocks is a fundamental cognitive strategy in second language learning, particularly effective when such sequences are tied to authentic communicative experiences.

The acquisition of formulaic language constitutes a natural learning strategy that allows learners to store a set of ready-to-use linguistic structures applicable to analogous communicative situations (Ellis, 2008; Wray, 2002). This formulaic approach proves particularly effective with:

- adult learners with limited schooling, as it mirrors language acquisition modes typical of mother-tongue learning and does not require metalinguistic competence (Minuz, 2005);
- illiterate learners, who develop cognitive styles primarily based on situational and contextual thinking (Cole, 1981; Street, 1984). This type of cognition is characterized by direct anchoring to concrete experience, as opposed to the symbolic abstraction typical of literate cultures. Research has shown that non-literate minds prefer information-processing modes tied to the concrete and the situational— traits that this teaching proposal seeks to activate and value in practice (Luria, 1976; Olson, 1994).

The classroom thus becomes a space of parity, as the ethnodidactic approach places literate and illiterate students on the same operational level. On one hand, both groups share similar limitations in oral proficiency in the target language; on the other, the necessary use of multimodal communication tools activates transversal competencies that are independent of traditional literacy. As a result, the learning environment is one in which formal education does not confer an advantage—where all participants can develop inclusive communication strategies. This approach values forms of intelligence and competence that transcend the literate/illiterate dichotomy, framing the class as a truly democratic learning space in which diverse forms of knowledge and expression are legitimized and equally developed. This is the revolutionary aspect of the proposed method: it goes beyond the common practice of grouping illiterate students into specially designated classes. The teacher plays an active role in facilitating the emergence of meaningful topics: they carefully observe spontaneous references, questions, and emotional reactions that arise during classroom exchanges, and remain receptive to stimuli coming from the external environment as well. Ultimately, it is the teacher's responsibility to identify relevant themes as they emerge—without imposing them, but allowing them to surface naturally through interaction. Given the priority placed on authentic communication, the teacher may resort to any strategy that supports mutual understanding, including the use of translation tools, images, real objects, or enhanced gestures. Thematic selection, which is central to conducting lessons using the ethnodidactic approach, emerges organically from the dialogue that naturally unfolds during classroom interactions. Very often, it is the students themselves who suggest topics to be explored, through spontaneous references or curious questions. Within this dialogic paradigm, the teacher also becomes a narrator, sharing their own experiences in a comparative perspective. A meaningful example of this dynamic arose during a lesson in which a spontaneous comparison of different religious practices emerged, involving the entire class. Each student attempted to explain their personal experience on the subject. In the following lesson, Sillah⁶—one of the learners in a condition of illiteracy—asked to show a video he had created and in which he was the protagonist. In the video, he explained, mainly through specific actions, how he prepares for prayer. The footage, which showed Sillah performing the ablution ritual, sparked a lively classroom discussion that encouraged other students to produce further audiovisual materials. Each of these documented everyday scenes related to prayer and/or liturgical practices as performed in their own domestic settings. This episode clearly illustrates how the approach allows highly meaningful content to emerge—content that would be unlikely to surface in a traditional lesson. In this phase, the teacher observes and reflects not only on the content that emerges, but also on the ways in which learners select, prioritize, and present aspects of their culture that they consider most significant to share with the class. Learners, in turn, are invited to present the topic using their full communicative repertoire: previously acquired Italian vocabulary, gestures, images, videos, and personal objects brought from home (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). The iconic materials presented by the students become carriers of complex meanings and enable the sharing of experiences that would otherwise be difficult to communicate orally. In summary, the lesson

⁶ All names of students mentioned in this article are pseudonyms, used to protect their privacy in accordance with ethical research standards.

structure follows sequential phases: active listening to the learner's multimodal production (iconographic supports); interpretation of meanings conveyed through different communicative channels; reformulation in the target language and analysis of the linguistic structures that emerge. It is essential that the teacher does not impose pre-defined translations, but instead guides learners in discovering the correspondence between signifier and meaning for the elements presented during the students' presentations and the teacher's reformulations. The next objective is the active reuse of the acquired linguistic structures and vocabulary. Students are encouraged to apply these structures in different communicative situations, adapting them to their own expressive needs. Through this process, individual strategies for re-elaboration emerge, which in turn inform the design of increasingly targeted and personalized didactic interventions.

3. FROM THE FIELD DIARY⁷

To make explicit the operational dimension of the proposed approach, we have chosen to include an excerpt from the field diary that accompanied the experimental teaching activities. The resulting ethnographic account documents not only the development of the teaching activities, but also highlights how the adopted approach contributes to transforming a heterogeneous group of individuals into a learning community shaped by an intercultural logic. The class that served as the field for research and experimentation belonged to the youngest age group at the CPIA, consisting of students aged between 16 and 25, who had recently arrived in Italy.⁸ It was a heterogeneous group in terms of educational and personal background, with very different levels of schooling, including two students who were illiterate. The participants came from several countries: Senegal, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Morocco, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Brazil, China, and Kosovo.

3.1 Ethnographic tale – January 9, 2025⁹

An opportunity for discussion arose during an afternoon lesson when the Muslim call to prayer suddenly echoed through the classroom. The sound came from Mariem's cellphone, and after a brief moment of hesitation, she lowered the volume. The moment proved to be a valuable opportunity to explain the meaning of the sound and to contextualize it. Given the students' different religious backgrounds, not everyone knew that there is a specific call to prayer for Muslims. I played the sound of church bells for the class, pointing out that Christianity also has its own form of prayer call. Using the interactive whiteboard, I explained how the number and rhythm of bell chimes can vary, signaling either a joyful event or a funeral. The students appeared surprised and interested, as they had heard church bells before but had never had a chance to understand their meaning.

This episode became a pretext for expanding vocabulary and language structures. The emergent structures, paired with words like "bell," "bell tower," "church," "funeral," "celebration," "prayer," "call," were linked to some useful language chunks: "this is a small church"; "this is a large mosque"; "this church has a bell tower"; "this is the sound of the bells"; "this is the call to prayer"; "in a mosque you pray barefoot"; "in a church you pray without a hat." These linguistic structures were contextualized and used in conversation. Finally, the class collaboratively wrote down the sentences that had emerged during oral interaction, thereby reinforcing the connection between orality and writing.

A collective reflection emerged on the variety of religious affiliations in the group: students of African origin declared themselves mostly Muslim, except for Zogbo, who is an evangelical Christian; students from Sri Lanka and the Chinese student identified as Buddhist. On the same day, still on the topic of religions, Nethmi approached the teacher's desk with a USB stick in hand, expressing a desire to share a presentation about her religion, which is Buddhism. Her autonomous initiative was welcomed enthusiastically, and her presentation, supported by slides, became a further opportunity for collective learning. The student showed images of an important procession that takes place in Kandy, Sri Lanka, in August, where dozens of adorned elephants parade through the streets. One of them carries a sacred relic: a tooth of the Buddha. Nethmi's story sparked curiosity among her classmates, especially among Muslim students, who asked many questions: "Is Buddha God?" "Is that God's tooth?" Once again, the comparison of personal experiences required an intercultural approach. Interest also extended to the ritual dimension, with a description of sacred dances, drums, and ceremonial practices.

This episode also led to vocabulary expansion. The emergent structures, paired with words like "drums,"

⁷ The field diary is a typical tool used by anthropologists to observe and describe situations, contexts, and interactions, with the aim of later developing theoretical reflections based on lived experience. The field diary was written independently by both teachers, who later compared and discussed their reflections. Most of the lessons were conducted by a single teacher, with some co-teaching sessions specifically planned to test the approach collaboratively.

⁸ The number of students varied over time due to sudden enrollments and a few dropouts related to personal circumstances. In general, the class group consisted of approximately 15 students.

⁹ The italicized sections are transcriptions from the field diary.

“barefoot men,” “elephants,” “music and dance,” were linked to chunks such as: “this is the sound of a drum”; “these are barefoot men”; “Sillah walks barefoot in the mosque”; “these men dance barefoot.” These structures were used in conversation and were later collaboratively written down, reinforcing the bond between spoken and written language. It was precisely this lesson that inspired Sillah to create a video in which he explained to the class the ablution practices related to his religion. This is the same video mentioned in the previous paragraph, born from a spontaneous initiative of the student as an active response to the intercultural dialogue that had emerged in the classroom.

Following the presentation of the video, some of the linguistic expressions that had emerged—such as “walking barefoot,” “to pray,” and “to wash”—were taken up again in subsequent activities. Students were guided to reuse them in short simulated dialogues and in oral production exercises focused on describing personal habits. This form of active reuse supported the memorization and expansion of the acquired structures, enabling learners to apply them in communicative contexts different from the original one.

This experience demonstrated not only the creative potential and relational value of the approach tested, but also the need to allocate appropriate time and space for sharing, so that moments of personal expression are not perceived as optional or marginal in relation to formal learning. It is also worth noting that the young age of the group acted as a facilitating factor: participants were familiar with the use of images and showed a good level of digital literacy, particularly with social media. This prior competence undoubtedly supported the production and circulation of visual content. We are aware that in different settings—for example, in classes composed of older adults with a more traditional educational orientation—such an approach may encounter resistance. This can represent a critical issue at the micro level, related to classroom dynamics, where the teacher might face challenges in fostering truly inclusive participation. The experimentation therefore highlighted the importance of cultivating a favorable environment for engagement, grounded in a welcoming and non-judgmental learning community capable of valuing spontaneous contributions without applying pressure. This gradual process allowed for a progressive increase in student participation over time. It follows that the ethnodidactic approach should be carefully calibrated according to the specific characteristics of the class group, with appropriate mediations and methodological adjustments. Participation was always voluntary. Students who were initially reluctant to share personal experiences were never pressured: they were given the possibility to refrain from exposing themselves directly, while still being involved in collective discussions. Overall participation grew gradually, also in relation to each learner’s personality traits.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The experiment conducted at the CPIA in Monza represents a first, non-exhaustive attempt to implement the ethnodidactic approach. Although limited in scope, it highlights some key features that proved to be particularly effective for this specific type of learners—namely, recently arrived adult migrants with low schooling levels, including pre-literate individuals and those unfamiliar with formal educational settings. The approach demonstrated its potential in teaching a foreign language in such highly diverse and complex contexts because it: facilitates a significant lowering of affective filters, resulting in the formation of a cohesive class group—an essential condition for the spontaneous acquisition of language (Krashen, 1985);

- promotes learning mechanisms typical of informal environments—where practical experience and personal engagement are central—by transposing them into formal school contexts (Rivoltella, 2013). Materials spontaneously presented by students—such as objects, stories, or videos—spark a genuine desire for communication and dialogue, characteristic of informal exchanges, thereby making learning more meaningful and participatory;

- allows teachers to gain insight into the personal experiences and backgrounds of each student, enabling a personalized didactic approach that identifies and values the competencies of each individual—also with a view toward guiding learners toward educational or career pathways suited to their unique characteristics (Porcaro, 2020);

- enables the teacher-ethnographer to grasp how students represent themselves, how they wish to be perceived by others, and the relational dynamics within the class (Hall, 1997). The materials created individually or in small groups become privileged vehicles of meaning: they express a way of inhabiting and interpreting the world;

- through the use of the field diary, allows for the collection of meaningful observations that support an ongoing process of critical reflection, both on the teacher’s own role and on the transformation of the class into a learning community. This is accompanied by a metadidactic reflection focused on improving the quality of language instruction, in which the critical observation of classroom interactions and student-produced materials serves as a foundation for didactic revision and innovation.

The approach proved particularly suited to contexts marked by disrupted educational trajectories and high biographical and cultural heterogeneity. It is based on a flexible and adaptive vision of teaching that values learners' existing communicative competencies—even when not formally recognized—and stimulates motivation by affirming the learner's voice within the school environment. In this way, language is acquired as a living, functional tool, in service of storytelling, relationships, and citizenship. Despite the encouraging outcomes of the experimentation and the positive feedback from students, it is important to highlight some potential critical issues that deserve consideration when extending or systematizing the approach. A first consideration concerns the initial decision to focus primarily on oral skills, with the goal of emphasizing interaction and negotiated meaning-making within the classroom. While this focus addresses many students' immediate need for tools for everyday communication and fosters inclusive relational dynamics, it may become problematic when learners move into more traditional instructional settings. In environments where teaching still privileges frontal instruction and written skills, the transition could be disorienting. Students accustomed to being at the center of the learning process may struggle to adapt to a less participatory model, risking a rupture in their educational experience and a consequent loss of motivation. A second issue, closely tied to the first, concerns school organization. An approach that includes separate learning cycles for specific skills (e.g., a module for oral comprehension and production, and another for reading and writing) would require a restructuring of the curriculum. This would entail formally recognizing two parallel tracks, with an hourly distribution that reflects this separation. However, in a system often characterized by limited resources and understaffed faculties, such a structure may not be feasible. Implementing multiple tracks would mean increasing teaching hours and hiring more teachers—conditions that many schools, particularly CPIAs, are not equipped to support. It therefore remains to be explored how to balance the need for methodological flexibility and personalized learning pathways with the concrete realities of the school system, in search of solutions that preserve the relational and communicative essence of the approach while remaining institutionally sustainable.

In conclusion, the approach tested constitutes a concrete proposal for addressing foreign and second language teaching in highly complex migratory contexts in an innovative and inclusive way. The replicability of the approach in other similar educational settings represents a development opportunity that deserves further exploration and experimentation.

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