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JO ANNE KLEIFGEN is Associate Professor of Linguistics and Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. She co-directs the Center for Multiple Languages and Literacies and is president of the International Linguistic Association. She has published research articles on language, literacy, and the use of computer technologies in classrooms. Her book, *Communicative Practices at Work: Multimodality and learning in a high-tech firm* (Multilingual Matters, forthcoming) describes her multiple-year study of a multilingual workplace in Silicon Valley. She has also edited a volume with George Bond: *The languages of Africa and the diaspora: Educating for language awareness* (Multilingual Matters, 2009). Currently, she is directing a long-term research project on the use of new media to support immigrant adolescents' language and literacy development.

CHARLES KINZER is Professor of Communication and Technology Education and Coordinator of the program in Communication, Computing and Technology in Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, where he works with technology in literacy instruction and to reconceptualize pre- and in-service literacy education. His research includes reading comprehension, vocabulary acquisition, teacher cognition, and the application of technology to education. He has published in journals such as *Educational Technology Research and Development*, *Reading Research and Instruction*, *Innovate*, *Instructional Science*, *Applied Cognitive Psychology* and the *Reading Research Quarterly*, is the coauthor of a major college textbook, and co-editor of *Interactive Literacy Education*.

'BILINGUALING' WITHOUT SCHOOLING

The role of comprehensive education

Ofelia Garcia¹

Graduate Center of the City University of New York

To protect themselves from the plague of informers, people learned – without anyone knowing how or where, or when, without schools, without courses, without records or dictionaries – another language, mastered it, and became so fluent in it that we simple and uneducated folk suddenly became a bilingual nation.

From *The Emperor: Downfall of an autocrat* by Ryszard Kapuściński. New York: Vintage House, 1989 (translated from the Polish by William R. Brand and Katarzyna Mroczkowska-Brand)

INTRODUCTION

The words above, taken from a book by the late Polish writer, Kapuściński, confirm the fact that much bilingual acquisition occurs without the intervention of formal schooling. Yet, because what is to count as a "language" to be taught and learned has been made into a matter of State interest, what is now known as bilingual education, or alternatively second or foreign language education, has come to dominate research on the many ways people acquire the many forms of languages they will

¹ This article benefitted greatly from conversations with Eun Yong Kim who originally proposed the difference between intentional and unintentional informal acquisition, what I'm calling here, planned and unplanned. I am very grateful to her.

speak.² Although *informal bilingual acquisition* is a well known phenomenon, the scholarly literature has paid scant attention to this topic.

The reason for this disinterest has to do with our formal conceptions of language and bilingualism and the reasons for these constructions. This chapter starts out by questioning the "invention" of language, and in particular academic language, and by reconstituting concepts of bilingualism. By changing the focus from language and bilingualism to how people use language(s)—their *linguaging* and their *bilingualing*—the chapter considers the little understood process of informal bilingual acquisition. We explore here what may be considered forms of *comprehensive education for bilingualism*, both those that because of intent and volition fall within what has been called *supplementary education* (Gordon, Bridglall, & Meroe, 2005), as well as those that are unintentional, a result of the processes of simply living a bilingual existence (Varenne, 2007) which we might call *human education*. We end by arguing that unless we embrace a more comprehensive view of education beyond schooling, and unless we focus on people's linguaging and bilingualing throughout their lives, rather than just their restricted language choices in school or formal classes, we're negating the human potential for educability as a life-long process.

DISINVENTING LANGUAGE: *LINGUAGING*

Makoni and Pennycook (2000) have proposed that our present conception of language was originally constructed by states that wanted to consolidate political power, and in so doing established language academies, encouraged the preparation of grammars and dictionaries to strengthen and standardize languages, and encouraged the enumeration of languages in ways that masked their differences or similarities. For colonized populations, it was then these "constructed" state languages that were "administratively assigned" by colonial officers and missionaries (Errington, 2001; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007).

Mühlhäusler (2000, p. 358) explains that the "notion of 'a language' makes little sense in most multilingual societies where people engage in multiple discursive practices among themselves." For example, in de-

scribing the complex language use in Papua New Guinea, Romaine states:

[T]he very concept of discrete languages is probably a European cultural artifact fostered by procedures such as literacy and standardization. Any attempt to count distinct languages will be an artifact of classificatory procedures rather than a reflection of communicative practices. (1994, p. 12)

Standardization occurs by fixing and regulating such features as the spelling and the grammar of a language in dictionaries and grammar books which are then used for prescriptive teaching of the language. Standardization is not an inherent characteristic of language, but an "acquired or deliberately and artificially imposed characteristic" (Romaine, 1994, p. 84). Wright clarifies:

A standard language is the means by which large groups become and remain communities of communication. The norm is decided and codified by a central group, disseminated through the institutions of the state such as education and then usage is constantly policed and users dissuaded from divergent practices, both formally and informally. (2004, p. 54)

Despite the fact that a standard language is an "invention" and has little to do with the language practices of real people, it is important to acknowledge its importance and its consequences. In schools, even bilingual schools, it is the standard language that is valued for teaching, learning, and especially to assess what is being learned. Schools pay a lot of attention to the teaching of the standard language itself, sometimes to the internal mechanics that characterize the language, what some call "grammar," other times to its use in meaningful contexts, especially in reading and writing. In society at large, it is also the standard that is valued and demanded in certain professions. The obsession with language categories, as well as the school's insistence in using only "the standard" to teach, learn, and assess, has much to do with the concept of "*governmentality*" as proposed by Foucault (1991). Foucault focuses on how language practices have much to do with "regulating" the ways in which language is used and establishing language hierarchies in which some languages, or some ways of using language, are more valued than others. This has to be interpreted within the framework of "*hegemony*" developed by Antonio Gramsci (1971) which explains how people

² Throughout this chapter we use the term "bilingual acquisition" to refer to the multiple acquisition of many languages without regards to the number. Thus, our use includes what others call "multilingual acquisition."

acquiesce to invisible cultural power, thus limiting the life chances of members of stigmatized groups. Our routine language practices become "regulatory" mechanisms which unconsciously create categories of exclusion. As Woolard (1998) has said, "Penalizing a student for being African-American may be illegal, penalizing a student for speaking African-American Vernacular English is not" (p. 19).

In general, languages have been constituted separately "outside and above human beings" (Yngve, 1996, p. 28) and have little relationship to the ways in which people use language, their discursive practices, or what Yngve calls their "linguaging." *Linguaging*, Merrill Swain (2006) tells us, emphasizes language as an action, as it becomes an integral part of our meaning-making selves. Linguaging, says Swain, is how we regulate our social, emotional and cognitive behavior as well as that of others, and how we transform our thoughts into a shareable resource. Language is then a social notion that cannot be defined without reference to its speakers and the context in which it is used.

RECONSTITUTING BILINGUALISM: *BILINGUALING*

Despite the advances of macro-sociolinguistics since the 1960s, scholarship on bilingualism, based on traditional language constructs and focused on school bilingualism, continues to define bilingualism as simply $1 + 1 = 2$, and to uphold the notion of *balanced bilingualism* which views a bilingual as two persons, each fluent in one of the two languages. But a bilingual is a single person with different and unequal experience in the use of two languages which have different power and prestige, and are used for different purposes, in different contexts, with different interlocutors. *Bilinguals are not double monolinguals*, and as Grosjean (1982) and Romaine (1995), among others, have repeatedly stated, they cannot be studied (or taught and assessed) as monolinguals. Bilingualism is not about $1 + 1 = 2$, but about a plural which mixes different aspects or fractions of language behavior as they are needed to be socially meaningful.

Generally, only two models of bilingualism, both having been developed in response to traditional bilingual schooling, are acknowledged in the scholarly literature. Bilingualism could be *subtractive* and resulting in monolingualism, or it could be *additive*, with the two languages added and maintained (see Figure 1).

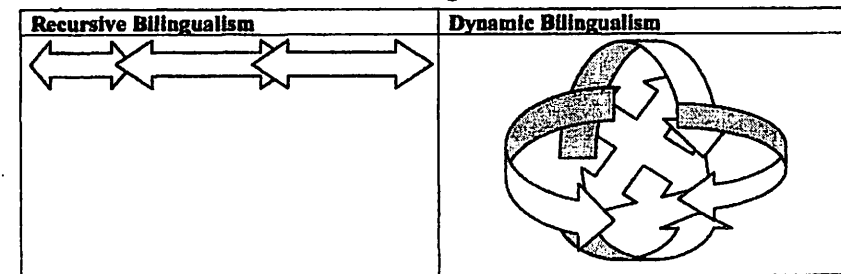
Figure 1

Subtractive Bilingualism	Additive Bilingualism
$L1 \rightarrow + L2 - L1 \rightarrow L2$	$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$

The first one refers to the bilingualism, of, for example, immigrants who are in the process of shifting to the language of power. Additive bilingualism is most often the way in which the elite have conceptualized their bilingualism.

Responding to the disinvention of language considered above, and the resulting "*bilingualing*" of speakers, García (in press) has recently proposed that bilingualism needs to be also seen as *recursive* and moving back and forth as it blends its components, or as *dynamic* with both languages coming in and out and mixing (see Figure 2).

Figure 2



These last two models of "bilingualing" suggest the fluid relationship between the multiple ways of languaging with the many interlocutors and the multiplicity of settings in which bilinguals interact. *Recursive bilingualism* reflects situations of *language revitalization* spurred especially by a renewed emphasis on language rights of Indigenous peoples and autochthonous minorities. When a community engages in efforts to revitalize their language, as, for example in the case of the Māori of Aotearoa/New Zealand, individuals "language" with the bits and pieces of their ancestral language, as it is reconstituted for new functions.

Dynamic bilingualism is consonant with the new ways in which bilingualism is being constructed for a globalized world. The concept of dynamic bilingualism has much to do with the notion of *plurilingualism* that has been advanced in the European Union. The Language Policy

Division of the Council of Europe³ has defined plurilingualism as "the intrinsic capacity of all speakers to use and learn, *alone or through teaching*, more than one language" (my emphasis). For the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural action, a plurilingual person "*viewed as a social agent, has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures*" (my emphasis) (Council of Europe, 2000, p.168). The concept of plurilingualism thus acknowledges the potential of comprehensive education inspiring informal bilingual acquisition, as it views "bilingualing" as a socially constructed meaning-making act. For example, the Council of Europe has promoted the European Language Portfolio which supplements certificates and diplomas awarded on the basis of formal examinations by allowing the owner to document language learning that has taken place outside formal education. In so doing, it fosters comprehensive education that supports lifelong learning.

Bilingualism cannot be seen as a simple continuum with monolingualism at either end. Especially in the 21st century, but also drawing from the longstanding multilingual experiences of speakers in Africa, Asia and especially the Pacific, "bilingualing" reflects a language competence that shifts and bounces, that is not linear but dynamic, drawing from multiple contexts. More than ever today, categories such as monolingual and bilingual, first and second language, host and borrowing languages, are not in any way constructive, for the world's globalization is increasingly calling on people to interact with others in ways that violate established language categories. With language interaction taking place in different planes that include multilingual multimodalities⁴ it is possible for individuals to engage in multiple complex communicative acts that do not in any way respond to the linear traditional models of bilingualism.

Increasingly, the world recognizes informal bilingual acquisition with its hybridity and differences from standard ways of using language, and potentializing multiple ways of communicating and multiple acts of identities. And yet, schools continue to insist in learning and assessing standard language, especially that of the powerful majority, without regard to the multiplicities of bilinguals and the potential of "bilingual-

ing." For example, the failure of language minorities in U.S. schools, as well as the failure of English speakers in the United States to learn additional languages in school, have much to do with the ignorance regarding "bilingualing" and the role of comprehensive education in spurring informal bilingual acquisition.

COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION AND INFORMAL BILINGUAL ACQUISITION

Krashen (1985) has distinguished between informal language acquisition and more formal language learning. According to Krashen, acquisition refers to "picking up" a language subconsciously in domains other than those associated with formal schools—communities, families, workplace, media. Learning, however, refers to language that is formally taught in classrooms. But ways of languaging are not in themselves unconscious, in fact, they are mostly deliberately planned and developed in work and practice with others, although they're not controlled by the school or the state.

When originally proposed, Krashen alluded to the success of those who become bilingual informally, as opposed to the great failure of formal language education in foreign language classrooms. Although outlining the success of informal language acquisition and the failure of formal language instruction, this theoretical distinction only became a way of infusing the language classroom with more informal and naturalistic ways of acquiring language. In second language education, grammar-translation approaches gave way to communicative approaches with language being used for authentic communication. The growth of bilingual education throughout the world, as opposed to just second language instruction, has also been an attempt to capitalize on the informal ways in which language is successfully acquired, since bilingual education creates a context in which language is used as a medium of instruction, rather than being formally taught. Although the theoretical distinction between acquisition and learning did much to change the ways in which languages were formally taught in schools, it did not succeed in focusing scholarly attention on the informal ways in which bilingual acquisition occurs outside of the school domain and to the agency of communities of speakers in such an educative process.

Formal bilingual learning is always intentional, that is, students are enrolled in courses for the purpose of becoming bilingual. But what we

³ The Council of Europe groups 48 nation-states at its seat in Strasbourg, France.

⁴ By multimodalities we mean that linguistic modes of meaning are intricately bound up with other visual, audio, and spatial semiotic systems. For more on this concept, see, for example, Jewett & Kress (2003) and the New London Group (1996).

are calling in this chapter *comprehensive education* that spurs informal bilingual acquisition could be 1) *planned* or *intentional*, with speakers consciously wanting to acquire an additional language and being involved in activities that might be called *supplementary education*, or 2) *unplanned* or *unintentional*,⁵ with speakers acquiring bilingualing ability without formal intent simply by living and participating, what we're calling here *human education*. These processes can be diagrammed as in Figure 3.

Figure 3

+ Control & Intentionality	Formal Bilingual Learning		School Education
Control & Intentionality	Informal Planned Bilingual Acquisition	Supplementary Language Education	Comprehensive Education
	Informal Unplanned Bilingual Acquisition	Human Language Education	

Although treated here as categories, it is important to understand that these are continuous processes that occur mostly simultaneously, but sometimes sequentially. All human beings are at all times involved in processes of "linguaging" that are educative, that is, in human language education. And if engaged in multilingual contexts, all are involved in human bilingual education. Most children in the developed world also attend formal schools where they are taught language in ways that are mostly different from the ways in which language is used at home. When the school doesn't educate in the language of the home, supplementary language education efforts may be organized by the community. Adults who are informally socialized in "bilingualing" in families and communities may also seek greater exposure to languages in supplementary kinds of education. There exists a myriad of combinations in which all these educative processes interact, although most scholarship has only focused on the one promoted in school education.

⁵ In calling this type "unplanned," we're not implying that there is no intent and deliberation. For example, some ways of texting messages by teenagers are "planned" to ensure that parents cannot read them. Nevertheless, this comprehensive education is not under the control of a school or of a state, as those that we're referring here as "planned."

Speakers involved in formal bilingual learning and planned bilingual acquisition have been called *elective bilinguals*, whereas immigrants, indigenous peoples, and autochthonous minorities who become bilingual simply by living are usually identified as *circumstantial bilinguals*, since their use of the additional language is a product of the circumstances in which they live and conduct their "bilingualing" practices, and is not an elective intentional choice (the distinction between elective and circumstantial bilinguals has been proposed by Valdés and Figueroa, 1994). But again, this is not always so, since speakers of majority and minoritized languages⁶ all have intentions and choices, even though the institutional opportunities afforded to majorities are greater than those given to minorities. The next two sections consider planned and unplanned bilingual acquisition as separate categories, although the relationship between these two categories is fluid and intertwined.

PLANNED INFORMAL BILINGUALISM: PLANNING BILINGUALISM THROUGH SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION

The scholarly field of *language policy and planning* (LPLP; for more on this, see Wright, 2004) has focused its attention on actions to encourage language maintenance of threatened languages, detain language shift to powerful languages, reverse language shift of endangered languages, or promote language spread of some others.⁷ In doing so, however, language planning activities have always gone beyond educational establishments and the role of formal education, since it has long been recognized that schools alone cannot educate for bilingualism. Fishman (1991, p. 371) clearly states:

The corresponding need for out-of-school reinforcement is doubly or triply great in conjunction with various aspects of language

⁶ We refer here to minoritized languages and not just minority languages to emphasize the power dimension of languages.

⁷ These are not the only activities of language policy and planning but they're the ones relevant to this chapter.

learning and this is so due to the communicational and identificational roles of language. ... Without considerable and repeated societal reinforcement schools cannot successfully teach either first or second languages and, furthermore, where such reinforcement is plentifully available, languages are acquired and retained even if they are not taught in school.

The example most often cited to show the failure of language learning in schools is Ireland, where Irish has been formally taught in schools without success since independence. English today, however, has spread throughout the world without the benefit of school education and simply because of the economic rewards and reinforcements that comes from being a powerful global language. Language planning efforts to promote bilingualism have always relied on agents other than schools—families, after-school activities, language camps, etc. Interestingly enough, language planning efforts, direct, and control processes of living bilingually. That is, the *supplementary education efforts* that language planning supports on behalf of bilingualism are designed precisely acknowledging the potential of *human language education*. And yet, the literature on supplementary education actions to acquire bilingualism is far richer than that of human education for bilingualism, as we will see in this and the following section.

Intentional bilingual acquisition is recognized especially through the many products that are marketed for these purposes. Audio tapes and electronic products of all kinds, some produced by private companies like Pimsleur, others by government units such as the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State, abound. Some of these products target specific language communities. For example, among U.S. Latinos *Inglés sin Barreras* is popular, a program that purports to teach English while sleeping. Most products promise that one can learn the additional language while doing other things, like driving and cooking. Language software such as the commercial product Rosetta Stone provides interactive lessons that include speech recognition tools and correction systems. And there are hundred of web sites where one can go to acquire an additional language. For example, both the British Council and the BBC maintain important web sites for acquiring English. Some websites offer language lessons to interact with people in specific trades or populations. In the United States, a website offers Spanish for those who want to speak to their maids! The ability to down-

load multimedia files through pod casting is also enabling many to share their own languages and others to acquire them on their own without the help of schools or other intermediaries. Technology has also enabled machine translation, facilitating the acquisition of an additional language.

Besides commercial products and technology, there are ways of tapping into the language resources and practices of the community that speaks the language that is being acquired. To develop listening proficiency in the additional language, people listen to radio, watch television, or go to movies in that language. To develop reading proficiency, they read newspapers, books, and public signs in the community. Whenever they can, they interact with the local speech community itself. They go to local community centers where the language is used, or they attend religious services in that language. When it is impossible to find a speech community, these individuals travel to other countries where they live with families who speak the language.

In an effort to promote the plurilingualism of European citizens, the European Commission introduced *Erasmus*, an exchange program that encourages university students from different European countries to study for part of their degree in a different language in another country. In answering whether students need to be fluent in the language of the university in which they plan to study, the website says:

If you are starting from scratch, do not be put off... everyone can learn languages. You will find that it is easier and more fun when you are living and studying in the country than when you are in the classroom at home! (Erasmus, 2007)

Erasmus recognizes the advantage of informal bilingual acquisition, even when planned, over more formal bilingual learning in classrooms.

The scholarship on the planned bilingual language acquisition in families is mostly of middle-class children in the developed world whose parents have carefully followed the *one person-one language* principle. For example, Leopold (1939, 1947, 1949, 1952), who meticulously noted the bilingual development of his daughter, Hildegard, in English and German, made special efforts to balance the use of two languages by carefully separating them. He only spoke German to his daughter, and his wife used only English.

In communities where bilingualism is important, *family bilingual planning* is rapidly becoming an important endeavor, a way of promoting informal bilingual acquisition while making families conscious of its potential. For example, in Wales, all parents attending family planning clinics are now also given a kit-box with information on language planning for their future children, in an attempt to stimulate them to reflect as seriously on the bilingual future of their children as on their physical well-being (Edwards & Newcombe, 2006). In Scotland too, there is official support of the same kind, with the promotion of guidebooks entitled *The Family Language Action Plan*, addressed to families to encourage them to speak Gaelic to their children.

Language revitalization (Hinton, 2001, 2002; Hinton & Hale, 2001; King, 2001; Nettle & Romaine, 2000) or *Reversing Language Shift (RLS)* (Fishman, 1991) efforts throughout the world for communities who have experienced language loss have also been built on the potential of informal planned bilingual acquisition—community-based programs, language camps and clubs, theatrical performances and religious services, play centers.

For indigenous peoples, language revitalization efforts include ways of tapping into the language practices of the community. For example, in Australia and Papua New Guinea, *community-based local programs* parallel the ways in which indigenous people have been observed to learn—by imitation, observation, and individual trial and error (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006 citing Harris, 1977). Thus, these programs select a community activity that is well suited to informal acquisition, use the indigenous language in carrying out the activity, and then encourage others to join in. This is also the principle used in the *Master-apprentice programs* developed after the 1990s in California for indigenous languages. This program pairs those who want to become bilingual with elder master speakers in real-life situations such as cooking or gardening. The apprentices are full participants and in so doing the indigenous language is acquired (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006).

The potential of informal bilingual acquisition is also recognized by the many *summer immersion camps* that are organized for the purposes of developing fluency in additional languages. There are many of these summer immersion camps for language majorities who want to become bilingual. They have also been shown to be extremely effective in reversing the language shift of indigenous peoples and autochthonous

minorities or in maintaining and developing their home languages, and that of immigrants. For example, the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages supports summer immersion camps for the small regional languages of Europe. They also provide backing to *community-based language clubs* in which members come together socially to use the additional language. And they award the title of "Language Friendly Community" to municipalities that encourage multilingual signs and correspondence, multilingual language use at public events, speeches and reports, multilingual cultural activities such as theatre and religious services, and the integration of speakers of other languages.

Building on the promises of informal bilingual acquisition is also behind the many *supplementary after-school or weekend language programs and activities* organized by communities who want their children to become bilingual, either in the language of the majority or the language of the ethnolinguistic minority.⁸ Children are immersed in drama, song, cookery, art, all done in the additional language. It is precisely the promise of this informal context for language acquisition that has spurred the growth of *bilingual pre-schools* or *play groups* throughout the world and of immersion bilingual programs for early childhood. Small children have also been observed to learn languages by imitation, observation, and individual trial and error. Pre-school bilingual programs build on this capacity of young children to acquire understandings, as they acquire an additional language. This is also the source of the success of the so called "language nest" movements in places like Aotearoa/New Zealand and Hawaii. For example, *Te Kōhanga Reo* programs in New Zealand involve pre-school children under the age of five in centers where the *whānau*, or extended family, impart Māori spiritual values, language and culture. The concept of *whānau* also includes clusters of values: virtues of *aroha* (caring, sharing, and empathy), *whānaukatanga* (family responsibilities), *rangimarie* (peacefulness), and *manaaki* (kindness) (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). It is the use of language informally, in authentic and meaningful culturally relevant ways that has succeeded in revitalizing the Māori language.

⁸ Many use the term "heritage language programs" for these activities. I have objected to the term "heritage language" because of its backward connotation, but also because it replaces the more dynamic concept of bilingualism. For more on this, see Garcia (2005).

Although planned informal bilingual acquisition has long been recognized as important in acquiring an additional language, scant scholarly literature exists on how this actually takes place. From the foregoing, however, we can surmise that there are a few principles involved in what we're calling here *supplementary education* efforts for bilingualism:

- A focus on using the language as an instrument for communication and signification, rather than on the language itself;
- Real speakers and their language practices as the center of attention, rather than teaching the language as an object;
- The additional language complements but does not in any way threaten the other language or identity;
- The process is developmental, although not linear, and responds to the communicative situation in question, rather than being considered an artificial step-wise system outside of the speakers themselves.

Although this kind of *supplementary planned language education* relies on the use of language as practiced in a *speech community*,⁹ it still does not always involve active participation in a *bilingual community of practice* (more on this below). It relies on the planned acquisition of an additional language as if it were two separate languages, that is, it mostly considers bilingualism as *daal languages*.¹⁰ Although this supplementary planned language education often does not partake of the constructed definitions of academic language used in schools, it still views the acquisition of two "standard" languages as the goal. Because it does not evolve from participation in bilingual community of practices, it sup-

⁹ We define speech community, following Romaine (1994, p. 22) as a group of people who "share a set of norms and rules for the use of language."

¹⁰ The recent trend in the U.S. of calling bilingual education programs dual language responds to this more elite notion of bilingualism where the two languages are kept separate under all circumstances, while it attempts to distance itself from the controversy over bilingual schooling.

ports a *monoglossic* language ideology that obviates the *heteroglossia* that is prevalent and important in bilingual communities.¹¹

UNPLANNED INFORMAL BILINGUALISM: HUMAN EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY BILINGUAL ACQUISITION

That communities of people would plan to "pick up" an additional language and become bilingual in ways other than those recognized by schools, language academics, or the scholarly literature is seldom accepted as worthy of study. That bilingual acquisition would happen spontaneously, without planning from the state and controlled by school, without direction, in overlapping ways is considered threatening to the "regulatory" language practices that nation-states impose on their citizens. And yet, this is the most common way of becoming bilingual. It is the way in which most people in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific become competent multilinguals, as they learn to negotiate their many languages. In Melanesia, for example, an area comprising the south-west Pacific island nations of Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and Fiji, up to 1,500 languages are spoken, and many people speak four or five languages without the benefit of schooling (Romaine, 1994). In South Africa, Batho (2005, p. 1) describes the language practices of a Tshivenda speaker:

[H]e may speak Tshivenda to his parents but use IsiZulu to address his workmates, and then receive orders from his employer in Afrikaans. But he may use English in a bank or when talking to educated strangers, and finally use Fanagalo in a pub with colleagues. To this Tshivenda speaker, each of these languages would provide not only a communicative function but also a social role.

But beyond these complex multilingual situations in the developing world, community bilingual acquisition characterizes the ways in which most people throughout the developed world, and even in nation-states that consider themselves "monolingual," become bilingual. In countries

¹¹ Bakhtin (1983) contrasts the traditional concept of monoglossia to heteroglossia, that is, the multiplicity of languages and rhetorical forms that are the product of linguistic interaction.

like the United States where bilingualism is not recognized or encouraged, we come across adults who have acquired bilingualism informally through work, family, community, and who can negotiate the functional interrelationship of their multiple languages and the different social roles afforded them—the Salvadorian attendant in the Korean nail salon who speaks Korean, the Italian contractor who speaks to his Mexican workers in Spanish, the Brazilian seamstress who speaks to her Latino co-workers in Spanish, the Korean green grocer who speaks to his workers in Spanish, the many African Americans who speak Spanish to their Spanish speaking neighbors, the scores of U.S. Latinos who speak English with features of African American Vernacular, and the countless U.S. Latinos who acquire English as adults without the benefit of schooling.

This community bilingual acquisition is even more prevalent among children. In New York City where English-speaking children are often left in the care of Spanish speaking nannies, there are many children growing up bilingual. In some cases, these nannies have been intentionally hired for this purpose, but in most cases, the unintended consequence of this child-care arrangement results in bilingualism. And the same happens when U.S. Latino children are born into families where Spanish is spoken. Despite never having the advantage of bilingual schooling, these children acquire Spanish, as well as English. Some acquire English before they go to school even when their parents do not speak it, from the television, the radio, the computer, the signs, or because as a Latina mother once told me, "English is in the air."

This process of community bilingual acquisition has been recently assisted by advances in technology. For example, Voice over Internet Protocol (VOIP), available to consumers at no cost, and mobile phones with their capacity for Short Text Messages (SMS or Short Message Service), make it possible for many more people to become immersed in language practices with others than the immediate community, thus exposing speakers to other languages and ways of using language. With the advent of DVDs, viewers have options of languages or subtitles. Secondary Audio Programming (SAP), available on television sets since 1990, enables one to see a television close-captioned program; that is, it has text that accompanies the video, or is in different languages. Whereas the close-captioning is especially useful for the Deaf commu-

nity,¹² the language option of SAP allows for a bilingual television experience. For example, starting fall 2005, all prime time television programs on the second largest U.S. television network, ABC, have been available in SAP dubbed in Spanish or close-captioned. This increases the ability of both U.S. Latinos and Anglophones to engage in bilingual practices even outside of their immediate community.

The power of the media in encouraging this unplanned bilingual acquisition is obvious if we compare the English language facility of youth who live in European countries that use subtitles—the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries, for example—with those that have a dubbing and policy—Spain and Italy. Dutch linguists always refer to the television, mostly in spoken English with subtitles, as the most important promoter of English language acquisition. Children become English speakers even before they start formal English language classes. The opposite occurs in Spain where children have to rely on schools to socialize them into English.

Unplanned bilingual acquisition is more complex than unplanned acquisition. It involves both "picking up" the language *and* using it for one situation, setting, and role relationship, that is, in one *domain* (Fishman, 1972). Rather than externally imposed mechanisms of control to protect each of the languages of a bilingual as in the traditional concept of *diglossia* (Fishman, 1972), speakers themselves use languages in *functional interrelationship* for communicative and social benefit (Martí et al., 2005) in what García (in press) has called "*transglossia*." Batibo (2005) gives the example of a woman trader in a Lagos market who may choose to address her client in standard Yoruba, dialectal Yoruba, Pidgin English or, if she is educated enough, Standard English. Bilingual speakers pragmatically access their multiple linguistic and cultural resources, as they participate in plural social networks. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, p. 181) have shown how speech acts are *acts of projection* in which "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike

¹² There is a difference between close-captioning and subtitling. Close-captioning can be viewed only if a certain device is turned on and is more sensitive to hearing-impaired viewers. Captions are also placed in different areas of the screen to indicate who is speaking. Subtitles are just words placed at the bottom in the center all the time and they do not appear when the native language is used.

those from whom he wishes to be distinguished." Pennycook (2003) introduces the concept of *performativity* which indicates that people do not use language based on their identities; but instead, perform their identities by using language.

Müthhäusler's *ecological approach* (2000, 2002) to bilingualism proposes that speakers find "a situation of equilibrium whereby languages automatically readjust themselves to fit into the environment, and perpetuate themselves through *language contact*, rather than isolation" (my emphasis, quoted in Tsai, 2005, p. 11). In bilingual speech, Lüdi (2003) tells us, "rules and norms are activated that overlap single languages and govern the harmonic, i.e. the 'grammatical' mixing of elements from different languages." Zentella (1997) shows how for the bilingual girls in the *blague* of her study, concepts of race, ethnicity and class, intersect with setting and topic as speakers draw from their full range of linguistic features. Heller (1999) calls our attention to interactions among discursive patterns that are socially constructed, rather than pre-determined. Speaking of Franco-Canadians, Heller (1999, p. 6) invites us to:

Look closely at the patterns and what you see is people interacting with each other, *drawing creativity on their linguistic and cultural resources to position themselves* and each other as they struggle to redefine what it means, in this case, to be francophone and to speak French, as well as to define the value of the linguistic resources each possesses. (my emphasis)

As Homi Bhabha (1994, p. 2) says: "the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated" and that "opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity [a newness] that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy." Gutierrez and her colleagues (2001, p. 128) explain that the hybrid language practices of bilinguals is "a systematic, strategic, affiliative, and sense-making process" that is most important for the community's educative potential.

Bilingual language practices in community and through media is mostly multiple and mixed. For example, in television subtitling, people are listening to the program in one language and reading subtitles in another. In bilingual homes, interlocutors engage in different language practices, ranging from one or the other language to both in different

combinations. Although this "translanguaging" (more on this concept below) seems to be essential in unplanned bilingual acquisition and demonstrates the speakers tremendous facility in acquiring and using a multiplicity of languages and performing their plural identities, it is a practice stigmatized in many societies and in many bilingual schools.

Translanguaging, or engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on standard languages, as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable. Translanguaging goes beyond what others have termed "code-switching." Whereas code-switching describes bilingual contact from the perspective of the language itself and perceives them as language-deviants, translanguaging refers to the language practices of bilinguals from the perspective of the users themselves. Translanguaging is the normal mode of communication and sense-making strategy that characterizes communities throughout the world (García, in press).

And yet, the heteroglossic language practices of bilinguals are often studied only from a monolingual and monoglossic perspective, and thus debased as inferior. For example, the language practices of U.S. Latinos, drawing creatively from both of their linguistic and cultural systems in innovative combinations are often characterized as deficient, a "patois" that is sometimes called *Spanglish* (Stavans, 2004). But their "bilingualing" reflects choices of a greater range of expression than each monolingual separately can call upon or that schools can ever accept, and conveys not only linguistic knowledge, but also combined cultural, social and political understandings that come to bear upon language practices. Sandra María Esteves (1997) expresses this in a poem to the Puerto Rican woman when she says: "I speak two languages broken into each other but my heart speaks the language of people born in oppression" (p. 384).

Increasingly, societies that want to advance their children's bilingualism support translanguaging practices of bilinguals, even in schools. For example, in Wales, Gen Williams has advanced a practice for which he uses the term "translanguaging," encouraging teachers to involve students in hearing or reading the lessons in one language and developing the work (the oral discussion, the writing of passages, the development of projects and experiments) in another language, and vice-versa (Baker, 2001; García, in press). In countries of Africa, where the switch

to the dominant language, usually English, typically occurs in the third or fourth grade, causing the miseducation of most African children who do not understand the language of instruction, educators who had previously banned code-switching from the classroom have started to defend what they're calling "responsible code-switching," a way of connecting to the students' home language practices and providing meaningful educative input (Van der Walt, 2006). And Gutiérrez and her colleagues (1999) have suggested that bilingual classrooms must use the "commingling of and contradictions among different linguistic codes and registers" of bilingual communities as resources for learning (p. 289).

Community bilingual acquisition is beyond the realm of language planning, since it does not rely on targeted action and cannot be controlled, but it happens nonetheless. It does need, however, "communities of practice" that provide experience "bilingualing" in socially meaningful ways. A community of practice, according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992, p. 464), is:

An aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short, practices—emerge in the course of this mutual endeavor. As a social construct, a Community of Practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages.

Community bilingual acquisition entails "bilingualing," engaging in practice which results in developing an identity within the community and vice-versa. Paraphrasing Lave and Wenger (1991, p. 115), bilingual acquisition and a sense of multiple identities are inseparable.

A *dynamic understanding of language socialization*, beyond that originally proposed by Schieffelin and Ochs (1989), is needed to understand community bilingual acquisition. Schieffelin and Ochs (1989) proposed that children are socialized through language (how they learn the group's ways of being and doing via language) and to language (how they become speakers of the languages of their community) at the same time. But language socialization is not only directed from caretakers to children, it does not only occur in childhood, and is not just developmental. Language socialization is steeped in practice that shifts in

response to negotiation about the social context among participants with whom the interaction takes place. It is a lifelong process in which those being socialized, including children, exhibit considerable *agency*, choosing among options offered, and sometimes *resisting* and *constructing* new ways of using language and new identities. Language socialization must be understood as participation, and not simply as transmission. We know, for example, that bilingual children growing up in bilingual households can switch ways of speaking, as well as "accents" on and off, depending on the social context in which they're interacting and the identities they're performing or want to project. In explaining this phenomenon, Bayley and Schecter state:

Socialization by and through language is not simply a process in which experts in a particular community pass on ways of understanding and acting in the world to novices. Rather, even young novices ... differ in what they draw from socialization activities. (2003, p. 8)

Furthermore, language practices, language ideologies and identities change over a speaker's lifespan, reflecting changing social networks, pressures, and opportunities (Luyx, 2003). Community bilingual acquisition involves the acquisition of a linguistic repertoire that can draw upon plural systems, and the social meanings of the different combinations. And it is situated in a place of resistance, of power, and of solidarity. This hybrid discourse, this translanguaging, is central to the construction of the multiplicity of identities in which multiple factors like age, race, social class, generation, sexual orientation, geopolitical situation and institutional affiliation come to bear (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

There are few studies of this process of community bilingual acquisition, although there are many descriptions of bilingualing in bilingual communities. In the United States, the bilingual practices of U.S. Latinos have been well documented. In *Growing Up Bilingual*, Zentella (1997) described the language use in *el bloque* by five New York Puerto Rican girls who were raised in the same tenement in El Barrio. The girls grew up in bilingual homes where varieties of Spanish such as popular and standard Puerto Rican Spanish, as well as popular and standard English, and everything in between were spoken to them. The girls also participated in networks where other varieties of Spanish and English were spoken, including African American Vernacular English

and Dominican Spanish. Other studies of the bilingualing of U.S. Latinos include, among others, Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez and Shannon (1994) on the language practices of Mexicans in the California Bay Area, González (2001) of those in Phoenix, Schechter and Bayley (2002) of those in northern California and San Antonio, and Farr (2006) and Farr & Guerra (1995) on those in Chicago.

An important advance in the language socialization of bilinguals was Bayley and Schechter's (2003) *Language Socialization in Bilingual and Multilingual Societies* which explored a more dynamic model of language socialization from multiple theoretical perspectives in a variety of national contexts, including Bolivia, Egypt and India. Among the many interesting chapters in the book there is one on the role of siblings and the way that language and literacy are socially constructed in an immigrant family (de la Piedra & Romo, 2003). The theoretical lens of a dynamic model of bilingual socialization has also been expanded in Zentella (2005) who combines it with what she calls "anthropolitical linguistics" in studying the language and literacy practices of Latino communities. The chapter by Ek (2005) describes the language socialization of immigrant Central American and Mexican youth in a Spanish-language Pentecostal church in southern California, an important domain of language socialization for immigrant communities. Breaking with other scholars on how to raise children bilingually, Roca (2005) challenges the idea that it is possible to follow the *one language-one person principle* in the hybrid communities of bilingual practices of the United States. She compares her mother's success in having raised her bilingual, even though she was a Cuban refugee with no money or training and at a time when Miami hardly spoke Spanish, to her own struggles raising her son, Juanchi, bilingually today. Roca tells us that her partner and she speak to their son almost exclusively in Spanish, but then continues,

but the two of us very often speak English between ourselves. He watches far too much television (in both languages), although we have spent a small fortune on videos and DVDs in Spanish, searching everywhere on the back of a DVD ... to see if it has a Spanish audio-track. ... He hears too much English-language news. ... We have made a conscious effort to teach Juanchi Spanish, but we have not made any effort to teach him English. We believed that his acquisition of English would come by osmosis, as it has, via interactions with the American side of the family, with the English mode of instruction at

his Montessori pre-K school, and with monolingual friends. Juanchi listens to us speak to each other in English, and many of our friends sometimes speak to him in English. My partner's mother speaks to him only in English because she does not know Spanish, and Clifford *the Big Red Dog* is not available in Spanish. (Roca, 2005, pp. 115-116)

Roca's words remind us that in the complex globalized world of today with its mixed and unconventional family configurations, bilingual acquisition happens in unplanned ways because life itself is that way, even if there is intent and volition.

Today there are also many cases of reconstituted families where there may be no common language shared between the new partners and their respective offspring in the family cell. A new sort of family cell is fairly frequent in international circles like the headquarters of the European Union in Brussels, where mixed language marriages among the civil servants from all over Europe are commonplace (García, in press). Just as in India or South Africa, the language practices of these homes are complex and do not simply correspond to different interlocutors or places, as had been described in the literature of planned bilingual acquisition.

Another interesting study of unplanned bilingual acquisition is that of Kalmar (2000) who shows how some undocumented immigrants once decided to help each other write down English "como de veras se oye" (as it really sounds). They thus developed a hybrid unique alphabet that coded the two languages and enabled them to make sense of their new language.

Adults, as well as children mix and blend official and unofficial language practices from public and private domains at all times. Gregory and Williams (2000) show how Gujarati children living in London bring family literacy practices that are different from those considered essential in the mainstream school literacy literature. For example, instead of having been read good bed-time stories, these children have developed excellent capacities for memorization, a product of their practices with Qur'anic reading. They also bring experience working in larger groups and concentrating over an extended period of time. The human potential for drawing from multiple sources in our meaning making practices, including languaging and bilingualing, is far greater than our social understandings of how language and bilingualism "should" behave.

The potential for educability in unplanned bilingual acquisition is great. One only has to notice immigrant children translating for their parents (Orellana, Reynolds, Dörnyei, & Meza, 2003). Or one has to listen to the many African children and adults whose multiple multilingual discourse appears to us, as westerners, to switch from one language to the other, whereas for them it is just their typical language practices. And we have to step into a bilingual home to understand the complexity and richness of language practices with siblings, parents, extended family, acquaintances, all speaking different languages and in different ways. Most of the time these bilingual families are *multi-bilingual-tasking* as they watch television in one language, listen to a radio in another one, read lists, labels, books and newspapers in different languages, write to different interlocutors pulling from one or another, at the same time that the young child, the older child, the parents, the relatives are speaking not only in different ways, but also using different languages. And this is not unlike the translanguaging practices of shoppers and salespersons in the high-end shopping mall in Coral Gables or of the *botánica* in the working class neighborhood of Hialeah, both in Miami-Dade County, which the author witnessed. The heteroglossia of bilingual homes and communities cannot be underestimated. And children, as well as adults, acquire, through practice, the ability to adapt their bilingual behavior to different settings, using their languages and identities in functional interrelationship, not just functional complementarity. Compare this to the limited education that takes place in most countries of the world—Africa, but also the United States—where these children's multiple discourses and identities are ignored while they are restricted to one language only, increasingly English and where schools continue to insist in a unidirectional link between language practices and identity.

Despite the absence of any scholarly theorizing on the topic of unplanned bilingual acquisition, we can advance three principles:

- It is common throughout the developing and the developed world;
- It is more complex than that which is planned formally because it requires participation in plural social networks;

- Hybrid language practices and especially translanguaging, as well as a heroglossic language ideology, characterizes unplanned bilingual acquisition.
- It is not based on functional complementarity of languages or identities as in that of the unplanned kind, but on functional interrelationships that maintain an adjusting language ecology.

CONCLUSION

Even scholars that study communities' ways with words (see, for example, Heath 1983) privilege school language in their call for teachers to build upon the communities' discourse practices to promote children's "standard" academic language. The impressive work of Moll and colleagues (see González, Moll & Amanti, 2005) documents the "funds of knowledge" of the U.S. Latino communities, but is often used as ways of helping educators improve the school learning of Latino children. We maintain here that the language practices of communities serve important purposes for their educability in and of themselves, that is, that they're also "funds of education" in their own right for entire communities.

In all of this, it is important to understand the role of scholarship. Scholarship can, in some sense, legitimize bilingual practices and "create" the communities that are engaged in such practices, as well as negate them or destroy them. The lack of attention to informal bilingual acquisition, especially of the unplanned kind, is testimony that western scholarship misunderstands the dynamic heteroglossia of bilingual communities of practices, sensing them as challenges to the "education" (in the narrow sense of schooling) of bilingual communities. By widening the lens, we have shown here how these multiple bilingual practices are in themselves educative processes for adults and children. Through these bilingual practices, we develop understandings of life—parenting, cooking, music and movement, religion, games, courtship, intimacy, birth and death—that are educative in themselves. Insisting on monoglossic language practices only limits these understandings. By negating these bilingual communities of practices, scholarship may even be destroying the lifelong opportunities, and even schooling possibilities,

of those who are able to use language in multiple ways and have multiple identities. This volume is an attempt to start "naming" this possibility.

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OFELIA GARCÍA is Professor in the Ph.D. program in Urban Education at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. She has been Professor of Bilingual Education at Columbia University's Teachers College, and at The City College of New York; and has been Dean of the School of Education in the Brooklyn Campus of Long Island University. Her most recent book is *Bilingual Education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. She has published widely in the areas of sociology of language, bilingualism, bilingual education and U.S. Spanish.

SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION: THE STUDY OF LIFE

Natalie Becker, Begoña Echeverría, and Reba Page¹
University of California, Riverside

Almost a century ago, John Dewey observed that "one of the weightiest problems with which the philosophy of education has to cope [is] the proper balance between the informal and the formal, the incidental and the intentional, modes of education" (1944/1916, p. 9). This weighty problem is still with us, spurred particularly by proposals to expand publicly-supported, out-of-school education, whether with universal pre-kindergarten, extended-day programs following the school day, supplementary or compensatory education to help close the achievement gap, the "free-choice" education available in museums, zoos, and community centers or, most extensively, a comprehensive education inclusive of all members of society engaging with multiple forms of knowledge in a "broad process of continuing transformation" (Study Group on Supplementary Education, 2007).

Dewey argued there is a "split" (p. 9) between often "abstract and bookish" (p. 9) formal education, typically in schools, and the informal "subject matter of life-experience" (p. 8) that one encounters simply by living with others, and the former is privileged over the latter. He

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