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'BILINGUALING' WITHOUT SCHOOLING

The role of comprehensive education

Ofelia Garcia¹

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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.


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

"The 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
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 "languageing." Languageing, Merrill Swain (2006) tells us, emphasizes language as an action, as it becomes an integral part of our meaning-making selves. Languageing, 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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtractive Bilingualism</th>
<th>Additive Bilingualism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1 → + L2 - L1 → L2</td>
<td>L1 + L2 = L1 + L2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 disinvestment 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).

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...
AND INFORMAL BILINGUAL ACQUISITION

COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION

"putting information through a machine" and the role of comprehensive education in the promotion of bilingual education.

The term "bilingual education" is often used to describe programs that provide instruction in two languages, typically the native language and English. In many countries, bilingual education is seen as a means of preserving and promoting minority languages and cultures, while also preparing students for success in a multilingual society. However, the effectiveness of bilingual education programs can vary widely, and there is ongoing debate about their long-term benefits and drawbacks.

This page from the document "Linguistics and Education" discusses the role of comprehensive education in promoting bilingualism and highlights the importance of informal bilingual acquisition. It cites research on the success of bilingual education programs in various contexts, including those with low socioeconomic status and limited access to resources. The text also notes the challenges of implementing bilingual education on a large scale and the need for continued research to better understand the factors that contribute to success.

The page references the Council of Europe's "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" and the "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in Education". These charters provide a framework for the protection and promotion of regional and minority languages, including bilingual education, within European Union countries.
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, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ Control &amp; Intentionality Control &amp; Intentionality</th>
<th>Formal Bilingual Learning</th>
<th>School Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Informal Planned Bilingual Acquisition</td>
<td>Supplementary Language Education</td>
<td>Comprehensive Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Unplanned Bilingual Acquisition</td>
<td>Human Language Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 “langaging” 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.

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

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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.
English proficiency can have a significant impact on a student's academic performance and future opportunities. Therefore, it is essential to integrate English instruction into the curriculum and provide students with ample opportunities to practice and develop their language skills. This can be achieved through various strategies, such as creating a supportive learning environment, utilizing technology, and incorporating real-world contexts into lessons.

Incorporating technology into language instruction can be particularly effective. Tools such as interactive whiteboards, educational software, and online resources can enhance student engagement and facilitate language development. Additionally, using multimedia resources can make learning more interactive and accessible, catering to different learning styles.

Furthermore, it is crucial to foster a positive and inclusive classroom culture where students feel comfortable expressing themselves in English. This can be achieved through activities that encourage collaboration and peer interaction, as well as providing opportunities for students to share their cultural backgrounds and interests.

Lastly, teachers can play a vital role in promoting English proficiency by modeling effective language use, providing constructive feedback, and seeking to understand and address the diverse needs and backgrounds of their students. By doing so, teachers can create a supportive and inclusive learning environment that empowers students to achieve their full potential in English.
The potential of bilingual education is also recognized by the government. Bilingual education is seen as a way to promote cultural diversity and to enhance the educational opportunities for minority students. However, the effectiveness of bilingual education programs has been debated, with some arguing that they do not provide adequate language instruction for English-language learners. In response, many schools are now implementing dual language programs, which combine instruction in both English and the native language of the students. These programs are designed to help students become proficient in both languages and to prepare them for success in a globally connected world.
The multiple, of languages, and the broader context of multicultural education, that is, bilingual education.

Human Education and Community

Unplanned Informal Bilingualism

Although planned, informal bilingualism has long been

Although planned informal bilingual education has long been

The process developed through our hearts and experiences,

The additional language components blur, and not in any way,

Attention beyond the language elements in the context of

Aspects of bilingual education and the importance of

Attention beyond the language elements in the context of

Alcohol-induced inattention to our own bilingual interactions
There are a few key points about close-captioning and IHRA that can be noted:

- The IHRA recognizes the value of close-captioning in promoting accessibility and inclusion for people with hearing impairments.
- Close-captioning can be a useful tool in ensuring that all content is accessible to everyone.
- It is important to consider the needs of different audiences when creating captions.

In summary, close-captioning is an essential tool for promoting accessibility and inclusivity in the digital realm. By providing captions for audio content, we can ensure that everyone has access to the information and entertainment that is available online.
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 (Luys, 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, power, and of solidarity. This hybrid discourse, this translanguage, 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 barrio 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.

An important advance in the language socialization of bilinguals was Bayley and Schecter'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 "anthropological 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 bilingual, 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 language and bilingualism, is far greater than our current understandings of how language and bilingualism "should" behave.
The potential for educational impact in multi-lingual acquisition is crucial. By recognizing the importance of promoting bilingualism in schools, we can enhance the learning experiences of children. The benefits of bilingual education include improved cognitive skills, better problem-solving abilities, increased language fluency, and enhanced social skills. Additionally, bilingual education provides a foundation for future career opportunities in fields such as international business, diplomacy, and healthcare.

Conclusion

By fostering an environment that embraces and supports early exposure to multiple languages, educators can help children develop a strong foundation in linguistic development. This approach not only enhances their cognitive abilities but also prepares them for success in a globalized world. In conclusion, the importance of bilingual education cannot be overstated, and schools must prioritize its implementation to ensure that all children have access to this valuable learning opportunity.
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.

REFERENCES


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SCIENCE, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION: THE STUDY OF LIFE

Natalie Becker, Begoña Echeverria, and Reba Page

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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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