Bilingual Youth

Spanish in English-speaking societies

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42

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CHAPTER 2

The translanguaging of Latino kindergarteners*

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Within the last decade, a number of bilingual education programs in the United States have begun teaching both Latino and non-Latino children together in English and Spanish. This chapter describes the educational and language ecology of one such bilingual program at the kindergarten level in a school in the school district of New Rochelle (New York). Children are instructed half the time in English and the other half in Spanish. The use of each language is controlled by the administrators, being kept separate at all times by assigning each language to different classrooms or locations. However, despite these strict linguistic boundaries, the children cross these borders on daily basis, and so their linguistic performances show much hybridity, giving evidence of *translanguaging* (hybrid practices of *languaging* bilingually). In the case reviewed in this chapter, *translanguaging* takes place across teachers and students in four ways: *to mediate understanding* (e.g. children's translations and interpretations to mediate with others and themselves); *to co-construct and construct meaning* (when children make use of the other language for understanding); to *include* (being responsive to perceived interlocutor's language use); to *exclude* (that is, other children from interaction) and *to show knowledge* (e.g., by trying out the words they know). It is concluded that the way (especially Latino) students *appropriate* the use of language illustrates a heteroglossic vision of bilingualism that occurs when Latino children of different generations and immigration histories, nationalities, race and social class, are educated jointly with non-Latino children.

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1. Introduction

In the last decade, bilingual education programs in the United States that were specifically designed for Latino children in the process of becoming bilingual have given way to educational spaces that provide bilingual instruction in English and Spanish to Latino children with different linguistic profiles, alongside non-Latino children. These two-way bilingual education settings[1] educate different kinds of Latino children – including those who are newly arrived and are acquiring English, those who are already bilingual, and those who have experienced shift to English – alongside those who are acquiring Spanish (Cazabón et al. 1999; García 2006; Lindholm-Leary 2001; Potowski 2007; Valdés 1997).

Here we will describe how the educational and language ecology of one such two-way bilingual program in New York helps shape young Latino children's language and literacy practices, as they come together during the first three months of school in a kindergarten. We also describe how the children themselves perform their linguistic identities. We attempt to answer two questions:

- How do young Latino kindergarteners with different linguistic profiles perform their new linguistic identities in a classroom space that is inclusive of linguistic differences?
- How does the curricular and pedagogical structure of this kindergarten interact with this linguistic identity construction?

Throughout this chapter we show how the performances of the two kindergarten teachers (Starcevic and Terry, who appear here as co-authors) support bilingual and biliteracy practices and help shape bilingual identities. In addition, we demonstrate how the kindergarten children construct hybrid practices of "languaging" bilingually – what García (2009a) has termed "translanguaging."

Languages as bound systems and fixed codes make little sense in multilingual communities (Mühlhäusler 2000). Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have shown how languages were originally constructed by nation-states that wanted to consolidate political power. Colonial officers and missionaries were called upon to impose a constructed "language" (Errington 2001) in ways that silenced the

1. These programs are also known as two-way immersion, and as dual language (Lindholm-Leary 2001). Recently, and because of the attacks against bilingual education in the United States, the term "dual language" has been extended to mean types of bilingual education programs other than transitional ones, including developmental bilingual education. We have decided not to use the word "dual" in this article because of the confusion that it creates and because we wish to name the bilingual reality that exists in these classrooms.

linguistic social practices or "languaging" of multilingual speakers[2] (Yngve 1996; Shohamy 2006). In much the same way, schools select and impose an academic standard language to be used for literacy, thus controlling the bilingual students' capacity to perform fluid linguistic practices framed within different social contexts. Languages as bound systems and fixed codes also make little sense in multilingual classrooms, and especially in two-way bilingual classrooms where children with different linguistic profiles interact. This is also the case of the two-way bilingual kindergarten that is the subject of this study.

Translanguaging, as used by García (2009a) builds on the concept of languaging, as it focuses on the discourse practices of multilingual speakers from the point of view of what speakers do and perform with them. Although translanguaging encompasses code-switching and other features of language practices that sociolinguists often study as "language contact," it differs in that the starting point is not language as an autonomous skill. Bilingual people translanguage as they make meaning in speech communities that are, in the 21st century, no longer attached to a national territory, and thus to a single national language. Bilingual communities often experience transnational lives, shuttling between states, as diasporic communities. But most of the time, bilingual people shuttle between communities that are hybrids themselves, a product of postmodern societies.

The language practices of bilinguals in the 21st century go beyond simply using what is considered one language for certain situations and with different people. Bilinguals mix and choose different features that may be considered parts of different autonomous languages, as they discursively perform their meanings. They use language practices associated with one or another autonomous language to perform different languaging acts, sometimes mixing uses for different modalities of communication (listening, speaking, reading, writing, signing, image, icon and sound production, etc). Translanguaging, or engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices, is an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on the constructed notion of standard languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable. These hybrid practices are not marked or unusual, but rather are the normal mode of communication that, with some exceptions in some monolingual enclaves, characterizes communities throughout the world.

We borrow the term "translanguaging" from Cen Williams in Wales, who used it to refer to a bilingual pedagogy that alternates language modes. For example, reading in bilingual classrooms may be done in one language and writing in

2. We differ in our definition from that given to the term by Merrill Swain (2008) who defined languaging as making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language. We use languaging to refer to language practices.

another; discussion takes place in one language and reading in another (for more on this, see Baker 2001). However, García (2009a) extends it to encompass all kinds of bilingual practices, including alternating diverse languaging and literacy practices in different social and semiotic contexts.

2. The context

2.1 The national context

The number of U.S. Latino students in the United States is on the rise and accounts for one-fifth of all 5 to 17 year old students. Whereas there were 53,279,370 five to 17 year olds in the United States in 2006, 10,244,249 or 20 percent of all students were Latinos, according to the U.S. Census (ACS 2006, Table B01001).

Of the 10 million Latino students in the United States in 2006, almost 8 million, 7,804,711, speak Spanish at home (ACS 2006, Table B16004).[3] Although the U.S. census does not provide any information as to the Spanish language proficiency of these students, it does ask for the English proficiency of those who use Spanish at home.[4] Table 1 displays the English language ability of U.S. students who speak Spanish at home.

Table 1. English language ability of U.S. Latinos 5–17 who speak Spanish at home*

English proficiency	Total	Percentage
Very well	5,728,426	73%
Well	1,322,158	17%
Not well	620,628	8%
Not at all	133,499	2%
Total Spanish speakers, 5–17 years old	7,804,711	100%

*Source: American Community Survey 2006, Table B16004

Despite the fact that these census figures are based on self-report, it is interesting to note that three-fourths of Latino students who speak Spanish at home are fully bilingual. In fact, only 2% could be considered Spanish monolinguals. Thus, U.S. language-in-education policy (LiEP) should take note of the bilingualism of

3. This in itself is evidence of the language shift that is taking place among Latino school-aged children, with 2 million claiming to be Latinos and yet not speaking Spanish at home.

4. These census figures are based on self-report and thus may not be entirely accurate.

Latino students, and not of their English proficiency or Spanish proficiency. It is bilingualism itself that is at the core of U.S. Latino students' identity.

Yet, the United States' language-in-education policy has always been deeply monolingual and ignores the bilingualism of its many Latino students.[5] In the 1970s, and as a result of Civil Rights legislation and judicial decisions based on equal educational opportunity,[6] bilingual education programs were developed, mostly for Latinos who were not fully proficient in English (transitional bilingual education).[7] But even then, the goal of transitional bilingual education for these Latino students was to encourage their language shift and eventual monolingualism in English.

In the last decade of the 20th century, the limited spaces that had been created for bilingual education since the 1970s, with Spanish used reluctantly and mostly temporarily, have been even further restricted. Several states (California in 1998, Arizona in 2000, and Massachusetts in 2002) have passed laws outlawing bilingual education programs. And the transitional bilingual education programs for Spanish-speaking children that sprung up around the country since the 1970s have started to be replaced by English-only programs. In some cases, these English-only programs include English as a Second Language instruction, sometimes pull-out, sometimes push-in,[8] sometimes special programs called Structured English Immersion and Sheltered English.[9] In other cases, little is done for these Spanish-speaking children.

5. For the history of this language-in-education policy, see Crawford (2004). Also see García and Kleifgen (2010).

6. One such example was Lau v. Nichols (1974) in which Justice William O. Douglas writing the majority opinion of the U.S. Supreme Court said: "[T]here is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education…."

7. During this time, there were also some maintenance bilingual education programs that aimed to develop bilingualism among Latino students. But these programs were controversial and fell out of favor with the federal government very quickly, although some still exist.

8. In pull-out programs, ESL teachers work with small groups of children outside of the classroom setting. In push-in programs, ESL teachers work alongside the classroom teacher, supporting emergent bilinguals.

9. These are special programs for emergent bilinguals that focus on scaffolding instruction of content areas by contextualizing language, building message redundancy, and increasing wait time for students to respond, react and learn. It is important to point out, however, that despite the use of the word "immersion" these programs are, in effect, submersion programs.

The No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) has been resolute about identifying, classifying, and assessing those whom are called "Limited English Proficient." But even in the choice of the name for these students (Limited English Proficient or English Language Learners), the U.S. LiEP continues to ignore the bilingualism of Latino students and the potential of these "emergent bilinguals" (for more on this, see García and Kleifgen 2010; García 2009b).

Yet, at the same time that the U.S. LiEP policy has become more explicitly monolingual, the status of Spanish has been rising globally. This has been facilitated, in part, by the growth of the U.S. Latino population, the ascendancy of Spain in the global market, the democratization of Latin American countries, the universalization of Latin pop culture and music, and the emergence of a "Latinidad" that was spurred by Latinos in the United States (see, for example, Mar Molinero 2008; García 2008; García 2009c).

The result of these two forces - the shrinking of a bilingual space in education for Latinos, coupled with the rise in the status of Spanish - has led to the possibility of carving out a new educational space in which Latino children with different linguistic profiles, and non-Latino students who speak English only or English and another language other than Spanish are educated together, mostly in primary schools. Because of the restrictive era with regards to bilingualism in which these bilingual education programs were developed, the programs were named with words other than "bilingual." Their two-way, and poly-directional bilingualism[10] often became referred to as "dual language," and in some instances, as "two-way immersion." The intent was not to name what Crawford (2004) has called "the B word," as the country's LiEP became openly monolingual and anti-bilingual. Thus, these educational programs are important because they represent spaces of resistance to the dominant monolingual language-in-education policy.

As we will see, because of the mixed and hybrid nature of two-way bilingual education, these educational programs are neither monolingual, nor are they bilingual in the traditional sense. The traditional bilingual education programs of the past have always considered the two languages as separate bounded entities. This has been the case of prestigious bilingual education programs around the world where the elite educate their children, and of immersion bilingual education in Canada for the Anglophone majority. This has also been the case of transitional bilingual education programs for language minorities, immigrants, and Indigenous and colonized groups throughout the world (for more on this,

10. Although conceptualized as two-way, these programs are poly-directional because it is not easy to categorize children as belonging to simply a Spanish speaking group or an English speaking group. The sociolinguistic reality is a lot more complex, and a lot more polydirectional. For more on this argument, see García (2009a).

see García 2009a). Two-way bilingual programs have the potential to be different because they offer the possibility of linguistic constructions that reflect the hybrid nature of the Latino experience in the United States in the 21st century.

2.2 The local context

In the last decade, New York City has experienced an economic resurgence, with housing prices escalating and gentrification of formerly immigrant and poor neighborhoods rampant. As such, new immigrants have flocked to nearby suburbs in search of cheaper housing, more residential space, and better schooling for their children.

The school district of New Rochelle in the southernmost part of Westchester County, just two miles from the Bronx, is one such district. New Rochelle is the second largest city in Westchester County and is the seventh-largest city in the state of New York. According to the 2006 American Community Survey, 25% of the school-aged population of New Rochelle (ages 5–17) speaks Spanish at home.

Under the leadership of Estee López, the school district of New Rochelle, with funding support from the New York State Education Department, started a two-way bilingual education program under the name of CILA (Children's International Language Academy). The promotional brochure for parents of kindergarteners states that "the design is to have two classes each comprised of approximately 23 students, half of whom are native English speakers and half Spanish speakers. ... at least one member of the teaching team will be a fluent speaker of both English and Spanish." The program guidelines call this a "50-50 model" and define it by saying: "This means that children will be instructed half the time in English and the other half in Spanish" (The City School District of New Rochelle 2007).

3. The participants and the study

The participants in this study are the two teachers and the 37 children in one CILA kindergarten program in New Rochelle. Although the program has a long history in the district, this is the first time that it is offered in this particular school, and these are the only teachers and students involved in two-way bilingual education in the school building. Although the program structure calls for half the children to be native speakers of English and half of Spanish, the children's linguistic heterogeneity is a lot more complex. It is often difficult to ascertain where a child

falls in the bilingual continuum.[11] This is further complicated by the fact that the child's position is not static, but dynamic, as s/he progresses and develops.

It is thus easier to talk about the characteristics of the parents. But these are also not easy to discern. Children sometimes live with one parent or the other. The families have been reconstituted time and time again as a result of separations having to do with immigration, divorce, remarriage. And furthermore, some families have come and gone to their places of origin many times in the children's short lives, and continue to do so even during the school year. The data we provide here under Tables 2, 3 and 4 were gathered after many conversations of the two teachers with the parents.

Table 2. Ethnic profile of parents of children in class

Characteristics of parents	# of children
Both non-Latinos	9
One Latino, one non-Latino	2
Both Latinos	26
Total number of children	37

Table 3. Linguistic profile of parents of children in class

	# of parents
Parents who speak English only, of non-Latino background	5
Parents who speak English only, of Latino background	1
Parents who speak Spanish only, of Latino background	9
Parents who speak a Language other than Spanish only	2
1 parent speaks English only, 2nd parent also speaks Spa, non-Latino	1
1 parent speaks English only, 2nd parent also speaks Spa, Latino	5
Both parents bilingual in English and Spanish	6
Unknown	8

Table 4. Place of birth of children, mothers and fathers

	# of children	# of mothers	# of fathers
U.S.	33	14	12
Mexico	4	19	20
Other Latin American countries		2	2
Other non-Latin Am countries		1	2
Unknown		1	1
TOTAL	37	37	37

11. Although much used in educational policy, the concept of language dominance has been recently refuted by scholars who construct their understandings of bilingualism from a heteroglossic perspective. For more on this view, see García (2009a).

The program is considered of the type "side-by-side," with two teachers in separate classrooms acting as monolingual teachers in one or the other language and providing children with an "immersion-like" experience in the language. Starcevic provides the English language experience and Terry teaches only in Spanish, with children switching classrooms at least twice during the day.

Both teachers are bilingual with different degrees of proficiency in the non-instructional language. Whereas Starcevic acquired Spanish through her life-experience growing up in a NY Latino neighborhood in the presence of a Spanish-speaking mother, neither she nor her mother are of Latino background. On the other hand, Terry was born in Santo Domingo and is fully bilingual.

The research study was initiated in September 2007 as the kindergarten program itself was started. García visited the classroom on a weekly basis since early September and draws here from observations and taped transcripts gathered in the first three months as children first construct their language and cultural identities.

4. The curricular and pedagogical structure: Separation and convergence

Responding to the additive model of bilingualism that is often accepted in the bilingual literature as most beneficial to children (Lambert and Tucker 1972), these two-way bilingual education programs in the United States have been developed following strict compartmentalization curricular structures – that is, English and Spanish are kept separate at all times. Starcevic and Terry speak in only one language and the languages are assigned to different classrooms or locations. And the children are carefully grouped for specific experiences in one or the other language. Despite the strict linguistic compartmentalization maintained by the teachers, the children cross these boundaries daily, sometimes multiple times during the day. Thus, although the children perceive the language territories as marking separate linguistic and cultural identities, their linguistic performances show much hybridity, as we will see.

Although the classrooms have been determined to be monolingual linguistic territories by the teachers, children with very different and complex linguistic profiles interact even within a single linguistic territory – for homeroom, lunch, specials, work choice. Furthermore, the children's linguistic profiles do not remain static, as they engage in complex languaging practices. And because Starcevic and Terry show evidence of excellent early childhood practices, the children intermingle freely, especially during what the teachers call "work choice."[12] It is then in

12. Work choice is the unstructured time in kindergarten in which children are free to interact with others in different activities – block corner, writing and drawing, coloring and cutting, computer, Smart Board, Train and car tracks, Legos, Puppets, Dress Up corner, Painting, and Teacher Corner for small group instruction.

these two supposedly monolingual territories where children, often during the free and unstructured time of "work choice," perform the translanguaging that defines the hybrid space of these classrooms.

The curriculum and pedagogy of these two kindergarten classes clearly separate the two languages, as the teachers avoid code-switching, giving each of the languages a supposedly 50/50 distribution. However, children do not stay in linguistically homogenous groups in the two classrooms. In fact, children come in and out of homogeneous and heterogenous groupings. Sometimes they're divided linguistically in order to teach them literacy and math in their home language or to support the second language. Other times, however, they are in linguistically heterogeneous groupings where they negotiate their linguistic identities. It is the weaving in of the separation and convergence that creates the conditions for the important linguistic and identity constructions in this classroom.

5. Translanguaging in kindergarten: Convergence and separation

Despite the advances of sociolinguistics since the 1960s, folk understandings of bilingualism, based on traditional language constructs and focused on school bilingualism, continues to define bilingualism as simply 1 + 1 = 2. The notion of balanced bilingualism which views a bilingual as two persons, each fluent in one of the two languages, is thus upheld. But bilinguals are not double monolinguals (Grosjean 1982; Romaine 1995). 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 (García 2009a).

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).

Subtractive Bilingualism	Additive Bilingualism
L1 → + L2 – L1 → L2	L1 + L2 = L1 + L2

Figure 1

Subtractive bilingualism refers to the bilingualism, of, for example, Latino immigrants who are in the process of shifting to English, the language of power. As the second language is added, the first one is subtracted. Additive bilingualism refers to the idea that a second language could be added to the first, without any loss

of the first. The bilingualism of most language majorities who acquire a second language in school is most often of the additive kind.

But if we view the languaging of bilinguals as social practices, these models of bilingualism are deficient. García (2009a) has proposed that the subtractive and additive models of bilingualism have been constructed from a monolingual perspective and as a result of a monoglossic ideology that views first and second languages as autonomous bounded codes. But bilingualism in the 21st century cannot be simply linear. Viewed from a bilingual and multilingual social reality, and a heteroglossic ideology that upholds multiple languaging practices, bilingualism also needs to be conceived as either *recursive* and moving back and forth as it blends its components, or as *dynamic* with both languages coming in and out fluidly (see Figure 2).

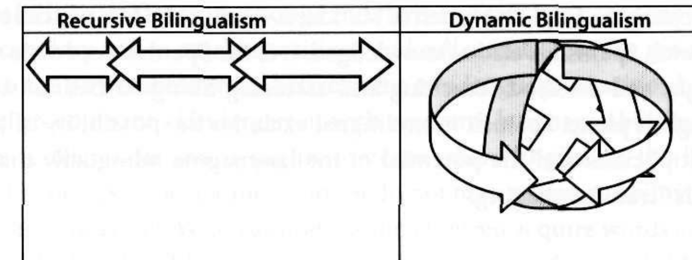

Figure 2

These last two models of "languaging bilingually " suggest the fluid relationship between the multiple ways of languaging with the many interlocutors and the multiplicity of settings in which bilinguals interact, especially in the 21st century as a result of globalization and advances in technology. *Recursive* bilingualism reflects situations of *language revitalization* spurred especially by a renewed emphasis on language rights of many minorities in the 21st century. U.S. Latinos beyond the first generation who are in the process of revitalizing their languaging practices to include what we know as Spanish, do so by recapturing bits and pieces of their ancestral linguistic practices, as they're reconstituted for new functions. They do not start as monolinguals, nor do they add a second language. They simply recover bits and pieces of language practices that exist within their fluid bilingual social context.

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. 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" (Council of Europe 2000, Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: 168). It is not about "adding" a "second" language; it is about developing complex language practices that encompass several social contexts. The new discourse contact that comes about from the complex communication that takes place with different interlocutors on diverse planes using various language abilities in simultaneous ways leads to the deconstruction of monolingual realities and the acceptance of heteroglossic speech where "rules and norms are activated that overlap single languages and govern the harmonic, i.e. the 'grammatical' mixing of elements from different languages" (Lüdi 2003).

Despite the new ways in which bilingualism needs to be constructed for the multiple interactions of the 21st century, U.S. schools continue to insist in learning and assessing an English academic standard. And in the few educational situations in which Spanish is also acknowledged, it is the Spanish academic standard that is taught and assessed. Teaching and assessing bilingual Latinos as if they were an English plus a Spanish monolingual excludes the possibility of their linguistic multiplicities and the potential of the languaging bilingually that García (2009a) calls "translanguaging."

6. Beyond monoglossic bilingual education: A two-way bilingual kindergarten

By having two separate classrooms, this two-way bilingual language kindergarten program reconstructs two geographical spaces that have boundaries, responding to a monoglossic view of bilingualism and bilingual education. But, between the linguistically separated spaces, there are "third spaces" such as the hallway, the cafeteria and the playground where the inter-communication and translanguaging among speakers of different linguistic backgrounds is intense.

And because of the excellent collaborative pedagogical structures that the teachers provide, even in one or the other classroom, children create their own "third spaces." Students *appropriate* the use of language, and although teachers may carefully plan when and how languages are to be used, children themselves use their entire linguistic repertoires flexibly. And they transgress physical spaces as they translanguage. In so doing, they shape more heteroglossic visions of bilingualism, those that build upon the recursive and dynamic bilingualism that occurs when Latino children of different generations and immigration histories, nationalities, race, and social class, are educated jointly with non-Latino children in ways that recognize each other's linguistic and cultural strengths. As a result, Latino children construct their own hybrid linguistic and cultural identities.

6.1 Translanguaging in kindergarten

In this bilingual kindergarten, despite the language separations, Latino children acquire an additional language and cultural practices through processes that have much to do with translanguaging. That is, the children do not simply acquire a separate second language, instead they integrate bits and pieces of these new linguistic practices into their complex and growing bilingual repertoire. The result is not simply additive, although it potentializes the languaging capacity of the children. As a result, however, we cannot speak of separate constructions of two language identities, but of a hybrid one.

During the first month of school, the two teachers (Starcevic in English and Terry in Spanish) use slightly different pedagogical approaches. Whereas Starcevic often accompanies her discourse with sign language to scaffold language for emergent bilinguals, Terry uses songs and rhymes. Starcevic uses songs too, not to build vocabulary, but to mark transitions and call attention to the group. This has to do with the power differential between the two languages. Latino children with little English come into kindergarten with receptive language abilities, a product of watching television and living in contexts where English is the language of prestige. In contrast, non-Latino children do not have receptive ability in Spanish. The difference is telling. Whereas non-Latino children acquire words and terms in Spanish as the building blocks in becoming bilingual, the Latino children quickly incorporate and integrate new linguistic and cultural social practices.

Translanguaging across teacher and students is common during the first few weeks of schools and it is precisely indicative of the bilingual acquisition that begins to take place. A week after school started, a Spanish-speaking boy, Samuel, plays with a baby doll in the home corner of the English classroom. Starcevic asks:

(1) Starcevic: What are you doing with your baby?
Samuel: *Le cambié el pañal*
'I changed the diaper.' (9/12/2007)

This male kindergartener understands the teacher, but relies on Spanish to communicate with her. A few weeks later, however, Samuel abandons playing with baby dolls in the housekeeping area, as he also abandons speaking Spanish only in the English classroom. Samuel starts constructing new language practices that incorporate what are seen as English features. Translanguaging becomes, for Samuel and for others, a way to mediate understandings, construct meaning, include, exclude, and show knowledge. In what follows, we present examples of translanguaging from Samuel and his classmates. We focus, then, on the important role that the children's translanguaging practices have in negotiating and building their more dynamic bilingual identities, even as the organizational structure of the program itself remains monoglossic.

6.2 To mediate understandings

When talking to each other, children often use both languages because they want to ensure that they're understood. For example, one October morning, two bilingual Latina girls are petting the newly arrived bunnies in the English classroom. Francisca who is more confident with the bunny than Veronica, advises her: "Relax, *relájate. No hace nada*" (10/17/2007). Some may consider this a simple code-switch. But the example shows Francisca's ability to linguistically engage in a social practice that violates the programmatic structure of "English-only in the English classroom" in order to communicate with Veronica, for whom it is important to relax around the rabbit because it does no harm. Francisca translanguages to mediate understandings in this social context. This is a social practice that children learn well.

There is no simpler translanguaging than what takes place in translations. Despite denials of administrators, effective two-way bilingual classrooms rely on these in order for children to make sense of what is being taught. In this kindergarten class, one particular bilingual boy, Diego, has an important function. He frequently provides interpretations and translations, often direct translations, for teachers and for children. It is his early ability to translanguage that makes him a natural co-teacher. In the example that follows, Starcevic has called the group to the rug in the English classroom. She calls the children to attention, which the bilingual interpreter quickly literally translates for the class:

(2) Starcevic: Sit up!
Diego: In Spanish, it's *siéntate arriba* [says to the whole class] (9/23/2007)

Just a few days later, the children, and in particular one Spanish-speaking girl, are not behaving appropriately:

(3) Starcevic: I'm getting angry at you... [to Irene, a Spanish speaking emergent bilingual]
Diego: *¡Qué tienes que escuchar a la maestra, Irene!*
'That you have to listen to the teacher, Irene!' (9/28/2007)

The student provides a quick translation that facilitates understanding. Diego's bilingual ability and his quick translations, sometimes too literal, have the same function in the Spanish class. The same day, in the afternoon, he is in the Spanish class when one of the non-Latina children, Meredith, asks for an explanation. Before the teacher can answer, he has provided a translation.

(4) Meredith: How do you say snowball in Spanish?
Diego: Right Ms. Terry, que snowball es *nieve bola*? (9/28/2007)

Diego's translation for the whole group and for a specific student is evidence not only of his ability to translanguage comfortably, but of his understandings that bilingualism is a precious ability that is appreciated, nurtured and developed in this bilingual classroom. In this classroom the message is clear – he has an advantage by being bilingual and he displays his translanguaging ability with pride and confidence.

But the translanguaging to mediate understandings is not always done with the other students in mind. Sometimes it consists of discourse in different languages to mediate one's own understanding. During a lesson on the sound of /a/ with those who speak Spanish as a second language, Ms. Terry shows a picture of a spider [*araña*] with shoes:

(5) Terry: *También mi araña tiene zapatos.*
'My spider also has shoes.'
Student A: And it looks like gloves in the fingers.
Terry: *¿Son guantes o zapatos?*
'Are they gloves or shoes?'
Students: *Zapatos.* (9/28/2007)

The student uses English to expand upon something the teacher has said in Spanish, thus mediating his own understanding of what is taking place. Without getting caught in the switch, the teacher then asks another question in Spanish which the children then answer in Spanish.

6.3 To co-construct meaning

The two participants in the example that follows are having snack during homeroom, which happens to be in the English classroom. A Spanish-speaking boy, Alfredo, whose bilingualism is at the very beginning stages, is snacking side-by-side Beatriz, a Spanish-speaking girl whose bilingualism is more advanced.

(6) Alfredo: [Looking out the window and talking to himself]
Está lloviendo mucho.
'It is raining a lot.'
Look [telling the others]. It's washing. There's washing *afuera.*
'outside'
Beatriz: *¿Está lloviendo?* [She asks him]
[Turning to García] He says raining. He speaks Spanish, only Spanish
[Turning to boy] Adolfo, raining.
Alfredo: Raining. (10/19/2007)

Although Alfredo had no word for "raining," and used "washing" to communicate, the translanguaging that occurred allowed a meaningful interaction between Alfredo, Beatriz, and García, and enabled Alfredo to acquire the lexical item that he needed without any intervention from the teacher. Thus, translanguaging in the classroom enables language acquisition without having to wait for the teacher to assume her role.

In the example that follows, Arthur, an English-speaking boy whose bilingualism is at the very beginning stages is counting pumpkin seeds during an activity around Halloween time in the Spanish classroom. Arthur is working with Maritza, a girl whose father is a Spanish-speaking Mexican, although her mother does not speak Spanish. Thus, this girl's bilingualism is a bit more advanced.

(7) Arthur: I have *veinticinco y* .... I need *dos más*, no *tres*, look!
[Counts to 25 in Spanish]
I only have *veintitres*, now.... *Veinticinco*. ¡I need *dos*!
Maritza: *¿Necesitas una? Toma ése.... Yo tiene una más..... Se cayó.*
'Do you need one? Take this one.... I have another one.... It fell!'
Arthur: *Necesita una más.* (10/26/2007)

This translanguaging event enabled Arthur to try out the Spanish language practices that he had acquired, mainly numbers. But the intervention of Maritza, despite the inaccuracies of her Spanish, enables Arthur to acquire more than numbers, as children co-construct languaging and meaning.

The following interaction happened between a bilingual Latino boy (Eric) with another Latino boy who has very limited English (Enrique) during the unstructured "work choice" in the English language classroom. The pair has chosen to draw, something that Enrique, the Latino boy with limited English, does very well. In this situation, therefore, it is the emergent bilingual Spanish-speaking boy who has the academic strength. Eric, then, becomes the "helper." Eric would have preferred to speak in English since we have observed him to do so in every "free" encounter in the classroom. However, because of the drawing dominance of Enrique, Spanish is the language of choice. And yet, it is translanguaging that helps them co-construct the meaning in this activity and to share each other's skills – Enrique his drawing ability, but also his knowledge of Spanish by offering the word "*cola*;" Eric his English ability to translate Ms. Starcevic's request for writing the name, but also his more advanced writing ability, by showing Enrique how to write his name.

(8) Eric: *¿Quieres deste así?*
'Do you want this this way?'
Enrique: OK

Eric: *Cortando algo.... Pa pegar... Ahí.*
'Cutting something... To glue... There!'
And now we're going to put a line.
¿Quieres así éste, pero, mucho?
'Do you want this one this way, but, a lot?'
Starcevic: Enrique, are you writing your name?
Eric: *Tu nombre. Así Enrique....*[Writes Enrique's name across the paper] *Mira.*
'Your name. This way Enrique...., look...'
Enrique: Ahhhhh
Eric: *¿Quieres más?*
[Asks García, How do you say in Spanish? [pointing to the bottle of glue]
Enrique: *Cola*
Eric: Enrique, *mira*. Now we got to just color. (9/23/2007)

In the example above, Eric provided translation for Enrique, while Enrique provided translation for Eric, and in that sense, meaning was constructed. Translanguaging provides the bridge for co-constructing meaning. This is also the case of the example that follows, this time in the Spanish classroom.

This interaction is between Paul, an English monolingual non-Latino boy and Lola, a bilingual English-dominant Latina. Paul is trying out all his Spanish words and expressions, but relies on Lola's bilingualism to provide him with unknown lexical items. And he quickly incorporates the Spanish lexical items into his translanguaging practices.

(9) Paul: This is dirty. These are *servilletas. Semillas. Y, ¿qué es eso?* [asks Lola, pointing to glue]
'napkins. Seeds. And what is this?'
Lola: *¿Ése? Semillas.*
Paul: *No, ése* [pointing].
'No, that one'
Lola: *Pega*
'Glue'
Paul: *Pega!* I learned it.... (10/26/2007)

6.4 To construct meaning within oneself

That translanguaging is important for children to develop bilingualism is especially evident when one listens closely to children talking to themselves, a practice that is prevalent among kindergarteners. The translanguaging practices that are

constructed always bring the other language to the forefront, even when that language is not being activated by the instruction. In the next example, Ms. Starcevic, the teacher, has taken the ESL children outside and is showing them the trees and teaching them how to compare them. Angélica, a Spanish speaking emergent bilingual Latina tries it out under her breath:

(10) Starcevic: This tree is bigger. That tree is smaller.
Angélica: [Tries out under her breath]. This tree is *grander*. (9/23/2007)

That children are always drawing on their home language practices is also evident in the next example. The teacher is drawing a Thinking Map to assist with brainstorming during an English lesson – in a typical Thinking Map, a circle is drawn at the center for the main idea, and many lines are drawn extending out of the circle that connect to related ideas. But to a bilingual kindergartener, the shape of a Thinking Map can only be one thing. *Sol!*, he exclaims, reminding us that for this five year old who speaks Spanish at home, a Thinking Map can be nothing short of his Spanish "sun."

Another Spanish speaking child sits next to García, as he practices writing his "d's" during the English class. To himself, he mutters:

(11) *Lo hice rápido.*
'I did it quickly.'
Es un "d." [with English pronunciation]
'It's a d.'
Yo lo estoy haciendo bien.
'I'm doing it well.'
Como una pirata.
'Like a pirate.'
De un cowboy, así, como un cowboy….
'Of a cowboy, that way, like a cowboy….'
Ahora voy a hacer esto.
'Now I'm going to do this.'
¿Cómo hago éste?
'How do I do this?'
Lo tengo que colorear.
'I have to paint it.'

This child's private speech is completely in Spanish. He uses Spanish, however, to produce English "d's" in writing. It is his translanguaging practices that allow the learning to take place.

6.5 To include

In this two-way bilingual kindergarten, playtime or work choice becomes a translanguaging negotiation event and the only way in which activities can continue across the different languages. In the example that follows, Carlos, a Spanish-speaking boy with limited English, and Silvia, a bilingual Latina are playing in the block area while using Spanish. Kathy, an English monolingual, approaches:

(12) Kathy: Are you done? [As she tries to take over the block area from Carlos and Silvia who have been speaking in Spanish]
Carlos: Yes, I done. [As he starts to walk away]
Silvia: [To Kathy] Do you want to play with us? *Ven* Carlos, stay here!
[They start playing, as Silvia negotiates the interactions between Carlos and Kathy by acting out a plane, and then a car, and repeating as she makes noises "*un avión*/a plane," and then "*un carro*/a car"….] (10/17/2007)

Carlos is ready to give up the block area since he feels he cannot continue to play in English. But Silvia saves the day by inviting Kathy in English, and Carlos in translanguaging ways, and then acting out her play bilingually in order to include both her friends.

Although the teacher of the English classroom is bilingual, her Teaching Assistant is not. In the next monologue by a bilingual Latino boy, Pablo, translanguaging plays a role in order to include the English speaking teacher assistant, García, and the child's inner voice. This occurs in the English classroom during work choice. The bilingual boy is playing with an Etch-a-Sketch board and starts talking to García in Spanish, addresses himself frequently in English, uses English to address the Teacher Assistant, and returns to Spanish when he tells García that he has forgotten to write down his name on the worksheet:

(13) Pablo: *Esto es* magic. *Yo puedo hacer* magic. *Mira, se borró todo, y aquí está.*
'This is magic. I can do magic. Look, it was all erased, and here it is.'
Es magic. …. *Mira que es* magic. *Y aquí está.*
'It's magic….. Look, it's magic. And here it is!'
Mira, son papeles. Y los encerraron aquí, pa' que los hagamos.
'Look, they're papers. And they put them in here, so that we can do them.'
I just erased it with my hand.
[He then turns to the English speaking teacher assistant who is distributing work sheets]
Can I do this with pencil?
I need some. I need this one. I could write….

[He then turns to García]
Mira, ¿quieres ver?
'Look, do you want to see?'
Éste no se borra con la mano.
You don't erase this with your hand.
Y esto lo vamos a llevar a mi casa.
[Speaks to himself, as he writes his name]
!Ay, qué mal! Es que siempre lo hago mal.
'Oh, so bad! It's that I always do it wrong.'
[Speaking to himself again because he didn't put his name on the paper]
I forgot my name.
[Turning to García]
Se me olvidó mi nombre.
'I forgot my name.' (10/09/2007)

In this exchange the child translanguages to respond to perceptions of the interlocutor's dominant language, both the teacher's assistant and García's, and to include them. This is not different from what others have found, including Potowski (2007). But what is interesting is that the child also translanguages in talking to himself. Like the papers in the "Etch-a-Sketch," his language practices come in and out, as he erases and weaves different language practices and linguistic identities.

6.6 To exclude

Just as translanguaging is used to include, it is also used to exclude others. Inclusion of others is a social practice that has to be learned in kindergarten. In the next interaction, two boys Francisco and Miguel, are playing in Spanish, but when they fall out of favor over handling a play horse, the bilingual boy, Francisco, switches to English to exclude Miguel who speaks very little English. Miguel starts to walk away, but a Spanish-speaking girl, Alina, acts as the mediator. She starts trying out the English word she knows, "horsey," in order to attract Francisco again. But Francisco insists on using English to demand that Miguel and Alina give him back the horse.

(14) Francisco: *¿Y la otra casita?*
'And the other house?'
Miguel: *No hay.*
'There isn't any.'
Francisco: Ok, *Tú juegas con eso, y yo juego con esto*
'OK, Play with that, and I'll play with this.'
Miguel: *No, yo soy el caballo.*
'No, I'm the horse.'
Francisco: I quit. [They start fighting over the horse figure and then Miguel starts to walk away]
Alina: *Se quiebran. ……*
'They'll break……'
In English it's "horsey."
Francisco: Give it to me! (10/19/2007)

6.7 To show knowledge

Translanguaging is especially prevalent among the Latino and non-Latino students who are acquiring Spanish, as they try out all the words they know. One day, there are children working in the computer in the Spanish classroom. Maritza, who has a Spanish speaking Mexican father, and an English monolingual mother and who is developing her bilingualism, tries out all the words she knows in Spanish with me. The conversation consists of words that start with the letter "a," the letter that they had been studying that week, as well as colors, and the one Spanish word she brings from home, "*playera*."

(15) Tere: *Mira,* I made *un avión*
Un arcoiris
Eso rosa
Esta playera es pink
Pink *es rosa*
y esto morado
y este blanco
y este azul
y este rojo (9/23/2007)

It turns out that in the Spanish language classroom, children are constantly trying out what they have learned. "*En español, gracias* means thank you," one of them tells me (9/23/2007). And in the housekeeping area, another girl has put a big play ring on her finger. In talking to me, she explains: "If you're an auntie or a mama or grandma, you can wear a ring." And then, thinking, she remembers that she has learned the Spanish word since it also begins with the letter "a." She quickly adds, "*anillo*!" (9/23/2007)

On another occasion, Maria, a bilingual Latina girl in the same Spanish classroom is playing with letters alongside Oscar, an English-speaking boy. Maria tells García:

(16) Maria: *Jugar con las letras...... la e.*
'Playing with letters.... "e"'
And this is Oscar.
Aquí está la e. .... En dos minutos cuando dicen, a limpiar....
'Here is the "e".... In two minutes when they say, clean up....'
Immediately, Oscar chimes in:
Oscar: *A limpiar* means clean up, and *pare* means time out. That's Spanish.
(10/17/2007)

In this two-way bilingual kindergarten children quickly learn that they must translanguage to show off their knowledge. To be bilingual in this classroom means showing off bilingual practices in order to mediate understandings, construct meaning, include, exclude, and show knowledge.

7. Conclusion

The chapter has described languaging practices in a two-way bilingual kindergarten during the first few months of school. The chapter gives evidence of the translanguaging practices in classrooms that enable children of different linguistic and cultural background to construct integrated language identities.

Although the kindergarten teachers reconstruct two geographical spaces that have linguistic boundaries, responding to a monoglossic view of bilingualism and bilingual education, the children themselves create their own "third spaces" with translanguaging predominating. The chapter shows how students, and especially Latino students, *appropriate* the use of language as they use their entire linguistic repertoires flexibly. In so doing, they shape more heteroglossic visions of bilingualism, those that build upon the recursive and dynamic bilingualism that occurs when Latino children of different generations and immigration histories, nationalities, race and social class, are educated jointly with non-Latino children in ways that recognize each other's linguistic and cultural strengths.

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