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10 *Constructing in-between spaces to 'do' bilingualism: a tale of two high schools in one city*

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10.1 Introduction

As technology and migration have gone global, multilingualism has become more familiar. It is interesting, however, that our greater awareness of multiple language practices has no correspondence at the societal level, even when educational programmes are organized for immigrants. In the United States, the greater language diversity has led some schools to shed traditional models of bilingual education that had been organized to educate especially the most numerous language-minority group – Spanish-speaking Latinos. This has meant that the bilingual education programmes of the past – both developmental programmes and transitional bilingual education programmes – have been increasingly abandoned, while programmes in which instruction is in English only (self-contained English as a Second Language programmes) have grown. At the same time, however, there are more schools that are being organized to teach two language groups in two languages, leading to the growth of the so-called 'dual language' bilingual programmes. What's going on? Are we societally on board with monolingualism or multilingualism? And what is happening in these supposedly monolingual English as a Second Language programmes and bilingual dual language programmes?

This chapter takes the position that language in US education has been, and continues to be, a site of struggle over power and identity. In the twentieth century, the tension was between those who wanted to have bilingual education options and those who insisted that schooling should be in English only. Although this struggle between supporters and critics of bilingual education continues, the tension today is between those who see *bilingualism as a commodity* that they must *have* as two separate languages, and those who *do bilingualism as bilingual Americans*. These two positions, of course, result in different stances towards types of education and pedagogy, as well as

theories of what language and bilingualism are. Those who want to *have bilingualism* because of its societal and market value, most often Anglos who come from monolingual households, insist on programmes that strictly separate languages and insist on bilingualism being two separate languages. That is, bilingualism for them is additive (Lambert, 1975) and linear. Those who *do bilingualism* in the United States, most often bilingual themselves, show a more flexible attitude towards bilingual language use and understand bilingualism as one complex language repertoire. For these people, bilingualism is dynamic (García, 2009) and enacted through translanguaging,¹ that is, the flexible use of linguistic resources by bilinguals in order to make sense of their complex worlds (García, 2009; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012a, 2012b; García & Li Wei, 2014; see also Creese et al., this volume).

At the same time, because the language separation / two languages idea has been 'normalized' in the imaginations of many, including language-minoritized communities, and because that position in the past had given US Latinos a measure of cultural autonomy in education, there is some fear among many Latino educators that support of a more dynamic bilingualism, rather than separate English and Spanish spaces, will result in stamping out bilingual education and losing protection for Spanish. This chapter considers the tensions between three positions: (1) a 'monolingual' position that insists that immigrant students be taught in English so that they 'have' English, (2) a 'dual' position of wanting to 'have' English and Spanish and (3) an integrative dynamic one that normalizes 'doing' bilingualism as an American. We present a multi-sited ethnographic-based case study (Hannerz, 2003) that shows how these tensions have been negotiated in two high schools for emergent bilinguals² that have been organized to educate, for the most part, Latino immigrants. The schools have been able to construct in-between spaces that allow them the flexibility to get their students to 'do' bilingualism as US Latinos, while simultaneously following official positions of English-only and separation of languages.

The two schools are autonomous and yet are located in the same school building in the borough of the Bronx, New York City. The year-long ethnographic studies of the language education policies in the two schools (2010–2011) were conducted by the three authors.³ The ethnographic studies included a full day of observations of classes every two weeks, as well as interviews with the educators, over the academic year. Many have called attention to the power of ethnography as a lens to ground studies of language policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007;

McCarty, 2010), including not only language management decisions, enacted by the state and other authoritative bodies, but also and most importantly, the language ideologies and language practices of the local community (Spolsky, 2004). Our study will show that language education policy is interpreted, implemented and resisted differently in the two schools (Johnson, 2009; Menken & García, 2010), leading educators in both schools to construct in-between spaces that transcend the English as a Second Language or dual language policy that the schools officially follow.

Our multi-sited ethnographic case studies extend the work of James Collins (2011), who asked the questions 'Who gets to define what counts as language?' (p. 129), 'What are languages?' (p. 131) and 'How is language in the world?' (p. 132), a world organized into tiered, hierarchical power relations as well as 'local' speech communities. The questions that we explore in this chapter through our case studies can then be formulated as follows:

- How do educators in two schools for emergent bilingual adolescents who are newcomers to the USA negotiate official school policies of English only and language separation? How do educators and students perform their language practices?
- What ideologies about bilingualism and education of language minorities are manifested through the analysis of classroom discourse?

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) have talked about 'unpeeling the onion' of language education policy. The multi-sited case studies in this chapter look at what happens in schools at the level of community of practice. But beyond the school itself, an ethnographic study of language education policy must consider the forces that are created at the nation-state level and the global level. Thus, we start this chapter by reviewing the language education policies and ideologies that have been in place in the USA since the twentieth century. Following a Bakhtinian (1981) approach, we bring in voices at different timescales and from different communities in order to show that language education policy operates at different levels simultaneously.

10.2 'Having' bilingualism or 'doing' bilingualism?

Language education, steeped in the idea that one must acquire/learn a language, has had a long history of separation – separation of students by language levels to keep input comprehensible, and of languages in teaching to focus attention on the 'target' language (Howards

1984; Yu, 2000). Yet as language education has entered the mainstream school system, especially to teach language-minoritized students, the concepts of separate distinct levels of proficiency, as well as separation of language practices, have started to be questioned (Fitts, 2006; Cummins, 2007; García, 2009; García & Leiva, 2014; Kibler, 2010; Martínez, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Li Wei, 2011; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Sayer, 2012; see also Creese et al.; Kramersch & Huffmaster; and Li Wei, this volume). This questioning has to do with more and more students using language and 'doing' their bilingualism differently from how educators expect. The history of the language education of US Latinos serves as the backdrop for the analysis of how separating languages so that some privileged students can 'have' one of them or two of them has coexisted in tension with the bilingual performances of language-minoritized students.

During the many years of racial segregation in the United States, even though Mexicans were considered 'white' under state segregation laws, they were segregated through local practice (Donato et al., 1991). The US Supreme Court declared racial segregation unconstitutional in 1954 in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, but language categories functioned differently from racial ones. For example, whereas it was clear that racial segregation excluded students from the equal educational opportunity guaranteed under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, integration for bilingual Mexican students often meant 'submersion' in English-only education and educational failure.

During this time, language education followed the Direct Method, as well as the Audio-lingual Method. Both methods advocated against the use of translation and of the student's language. Following this approach, the English as a Second Language programmes that were developed in the 1950s and 1960s ignored and minimized the use of the students' home languages. But in the wake of the civil rights era, and as a result of federal funding that became available through the Bilingual Education Act (1968), as well as the Supreme Court's decision in *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974) upholding language-minoritized students' rights to an education they understood, schools started to develop bilingual education programmes. As bilingual education came into being, pedagogies that supported complete language separation became contested. Latino teachers were now in charge of the education of their own children, making it possible to use the fluid bilingual ways of speaking in the Latino community to educate in ways that affirmed the children's complex identities. In many cases, the school leadership and Anglo educators simply did not care about these students and were happy to leave their education in the hands of Latino educators who knew them best. However, others started to fear that

Latino children would continue to 'do' Spanish, alongside English, when a shift to English had been expected of all immigrants in the past.

The Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized for the last time in 1994. In exchange for lifting the quota on English-only programmes that could be funded through bilingual education funds, a different kind of bilingual education programme, one that was not simply transitional, was embraced by all – the two-way immersion programmes. These programmes (often called 'dual language' education) saw Spanish and English as something to be dually 'had', by Anglos as well as Latinos.⁴ In drawing tight boundaries around the two languages, and identifying half of the students as 'native speakers' of English, and the other half as 'native speakers' of Spanish, the Latino students' ethnolinguistic identity, as well as that of the Anglo students, was defined as static. On the one hand, Spanish speakers were marked as 'non-native second-language' speakers of English, ensuring that only Anglos held authoritative English. On the other, the Spanish used and taught through complete separation from English had little to do with the bilingual practices of US Latinos. All students needed to 'have' English for standardized tests, and although in dual language bilingual programmes they were encouraged to perform English *and* Spanish throughout the first six years of schools, they were never to 'do' bilingualism. That is, these dual language programmes saw the two languages as separate and ignored the translanguaging of bilingual communities.

As other kinds of bilingual education programmes came under attack, 'sheltered English' or 'structured immersion' programmes, modelled on the immersion programmes in Canada that had been developed for language majority anglophone children, were developed. These programmes use English only. It is interesting to note that these English-only programmes have reappropriated the same 'immersion methodology' that dual language bilingual programmes follow, although they use it to undermine the goal of bilingualism. The methodology carefully 'shelters', or brackets, one language from the other, while language use is slower and more simplified, with guarded vocabulary, shorter sentences and visuals or modelling of lesson and graphic organizers for support.

As transitional bilingual education programmes started to be dismantled with a mandate to educate Latino students in English only, another change was taking place. The ethnolinguistic categories that had been made possible by power relations associated with colonization and nation-state ideologies started to be blurred (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), and new subjectivities were created. Ethnolinguistic

groups started to 'bleed' into each other. Latinos in the United States were now more heterogeneous than ever. On the one hand, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans were now joined by many from Central America and South America and, on the East Coast especially, by Dominicans. The educational failure of Latinos was now no longer just that of the first generation who needed to learn English, but also of second- and third-generation Latinos who were further along the bilingual continuum, and many who were even English monolingual. On the other hand, the increased social integration had led to more contact between non-Latinos and Latinos, with many children who identified as US Latinos having parents of different ethnicities and language proficiencies. Finally, many Latinos now spoke languages other than either English or Spanish at home, as more speakers of indigenous Latin American languages joined the growing ranks of US Latinos. All of a sudden, dual language bilingual programmes that were supposed to be 'two-way' programmes realized they could no longer categorize children as one or the other. Latinos showed a complexity of language use that could not be categorized as simply Spanish or English. At the same time, increased immigration from many different contexts also meant that the school population was now not simply just English-speaking and Spanish-speaking, but consisted of speakers of many languages other than English. English speakers could not be assumed to be white Anglos as they had been in the past (an assumption that in and of itself ignored the English usage of people of colour, and most notably of African Americans, throughout US history); instead, English-speaking East Indians, West Indians, Africans were now numerous and visible, and features of African-American English were widely heard. Many of these speakers were themselves bilingual. Bilingualism, as it had been previously understood, started to be challenged not only by the monolingual perspective but also by a more complex multilingual perspective.

Faced by the backlash against bilingualism now coming from a monolingual positionality, as well as from a multilingual one that found bilingualism insufficient, Latino educators, anxious to carve out a space where their children could be educated through English and Spanish, mounted the only wagon that was available to them – that of dual language programmes. However, in their increasingly segregated neighbourhoods, two-way bilingual education programmes were not always possible. Under the guise of 'dual language', many Latino educators instituted bilingual education programmes, now called 'one-way dual language' programmes. In these bilingual programmes, Latino students with different language profiles and generational and national differences were educated. In return, however, Latinos gave

up the greater language fluidity that had been prevalent in other types of bilingual education programmes. In both developmental maintenance programmes and transitional bilingual education programmes, Latino educators had used a bilingual vernacular which included linguistic borrowings as well as 'code-switching' (Jacobson, 1983). Although many language scholars have argued that these everyday language practices of bilinguals are normative and intelligent expressions of bilingualism (Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997; MacSwan, 2000), these practices have been racialized and stigmatized (Martínez, 2010; Rosa, 2010), and rendered as 'corrupted' language, as 'Spanglish'. The 'dual language' separation arrangement instead was supposed to generate 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller, 1999). But in becoming 'dual language learners', Latino children have given up 'doing' bilingualism as bilingual US Latinos, capable of sustaining these complex language practices as Americans.

The case studies that we present below are of two small schools that focus on the education of Latino emergent bilinguals and that are located in one building.⁵ The two schools serve only 'newcomers', that is, students who have been in the United States for less than two years at the time of admission. Furthermore, the two schools have had remarkable success in educating these students and have above-average graduation rates. As we will see, both show the traces of the tension between three language ideologies – (1) an English-only monolingual ideology, (2) an additive bilingual ideology of 'having' English separately from Spanish and (3) a dynamic bilingual ideology of 'doing' bilingualism as performances of bilingual US Latinos. The case studies show that in order to exist and be successful, these two schools have had to take up an official discourse of English-only, and of separation of English from Spanish. In reality, however, our data show that both schools are distinguished by a flexibility of language use, by what we call translanguaging practices, which make possible the development of bilingualism and bilingual US identities while advancing concepts of equality and social justice that question the superiority of English-only. In the sections below, we first offer a description of both schools, before analysing the ideologies about bilingualism and education that are manifested in the classroom discourse.

10.3 The two schools: a description

Both of our schools are located in an old school building that was formerly a large comprehensive high school in the borough of the Bronx – in 2007 the borough with the highest rate of poverty in the city (27%), the highest rate of single-parenthood (60%) and the lowest number of

college-educated residents (17%) (Block, 2009). In 2009, 32% of the residents of the Bronx were foreign-born, 56% spoke languages other than English at home and 45% spoke Spanish at home (US Census Bureau, 2009). The sense of urban decay is obvious at the school building's entrance. To enter the school you must go through metal detectors, and security guards often frisk students as they walk in.

One high school, which we will call the Latin American Intercontinental School, is located on parts of the first and second floors of the building. The school belongs to a network of high schools that were founded precisely to educate immigrants who are new to English. The original network model required that students spoke home languages other than English. Yet this particular school was organized to work with only Spanish-speaking immigrants and is, for purposes of State accountability,⁶ an English as a Second Language programme. The other school, the High School of Global Practices, located on parts of the fourth and fifth floor of the same school building, is also for State accountability purposes an English as a Second Language programme, although it also indicates to the State that it has a 'dual language' bilingual programme. When it started ten years ago, all students were Spanish speakers; however, the recent arrival in the Bronx of many immigrants who do not speak Spanish has led to the growing linguistic diversity of the school. Whereas the first school has evolved from a model that required that the newcomers had different languages to one that now includes only Spanish speakers, the other school has moved in the opposite direction, now including immigrant students who speak languages other than Spanish. Both schools report to New York State that they have 'English as a Second Language' programmes. However, data gathered during one year of observation in the schools reveal that their enactment of a teaching 'model', as either English as a Second Language or 'dual language', their pedagogies and the discursive practices within the schools do not respond neatly to traditional definitions. Both schools show the insufficiencies of educational 'models' and of traditional descriptions of language use in schools with language diversity.

10.3.1 *Latin American Intercontinental School*

At the time of the study, the school was in its third year of existence. As mentioned above, the student population is 100% Spanish-speaking and all are emergent bilinguals; that is, all are officially designated 'English Language Learners'. The majority of the students are from the Caribbean, particularly from the Dominican Republic, and 100% of the students are eligible for free and reduced lunch because

of low income. Despite the fact that all students are Spanish-speaking, about 20% of the total student body enters school with very low Spanish literacy levels and have experienced interrupted formal education for more than two years. Students are organized into two academies – the junior academy mixes ninth and tenth graders, and the senior academy combines eleventh and twelfth graders. Students are not separated into levels for English classes or other content classes. All classrooms have tables instead of traditional desks to facilitate the collaborative group work that lies at the core of the school's approach to learning. The school prides itself on teaching language through content, interdisciplinary planning, project-based learning and rigorous portfolio presentations that students are expected to complete every semester.

10.3.2 *High School of Global Practices*

The High School of Global Practices was opened ten years ago. Students entering this school are also categorized as 'English Language Learners' by the NYC Department of Education. About 98% of the school population is eligible for free or reduced lunch. The student population of the school is about 90% Spanish-speaking, most are from the Dominican Republic, and some classes are composed entirely of Spanish speakers. However, there are increasing numbers of students from Bangladesh, various West African countries (most from Guinea, with some from Togo, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Mali and the Ivory Coast) and Arab countries, especially Yemen and Morocco. The students who speak languages other than Spanish are predominantly Muslim. Twenty percent of the students in the school are categorized as having interrupted formal education and come with very low home language literacy levels.

In the case of the two schools in our study, the official policy of English-only and language separation does not reflect the diversity of discourses found in the schools.

The next section analyses how it is that both schools have been able to negotiate the official stories through the complex discursive practices that educators have adopted in educating these language-minority students.

10.4 Official and unofficial stories on bilingualism and education

Officially for State accountability purposes, as we have said, the schools have traditional English as a Second Language programmes,

and one school has a very small dual language bilingual programme. However, our year-long ethnographic study revealed that this official policy had little to do with the ideologies that many educators in the school held about bilingualism and education, or with the language practices in which teachers and students engaged. We have chosen to describe the classroom interactions of five teachers who are responsible for supposedly different linguistic spaces within the schools. At the Latin American Intercontinental School, we describe interactions between three teachers in their allegedly 'English', 'bilingual' and 'Spanish' classroom, and their students. At the High School of Global Practices, we offer an account of interactions between a teacher and students in a classroom that was said to be the 'Spanish' component of the 'dual language' programme, as well as of interactions of a teacher and students in an 'English' classroom. We analyse how these classrooms become in reality 'translanguaging spaces' (Li Wei, 2011; see also Li Wei, this volume), spaces where 'a new discourse is being produced by a new trans-subject' (García & Leiva, 2014). A translanguaging space refers not to the use of two separate languages or even to the shift of one language to the other. A theory of translanguaging posits that from the perspective of bilinguals, what we have is one linguistic repertoire with features that bilingual speakers use which have been socially assigned to one or another language (García & Li Wei, 2014). Translanguaging is rooted in the belief that bilinguals select language features from one linguistic repertoire and soft assemble their language practices in ways that fit their particular sociolinguistic situation (García & Li Wei, 2014). By positioning the discourse 'between' two languages that are no longer static or linked to one national identity, translanguaging then generates alternative representations and enunciations (García, 2009; García and Leiva, 2014). We turn now to how this happens in the two schools.

10.4.1 *Latin American Intercontinental School*

On paper and for State accountability purposes, this school is officially designated as an English as a Second Language programme, which technically speaking indicates an English-only approach to teaching and learning. Yet, despite the name of its official programme model, fluid bilingual practices are present as a tool for meaning-making in all classes observed. The school has even officially sanctioned that the math class be taught in Spanish. Below we describe the construction of three different translanguaging spaces in the school in what have been traditionally an English Language Arts class, an officially 'bilingual' math class and a Native Language Arts class.

TRANSLANGUAGING IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ARTS

Although officially an English class, this class is taught by a teacher whose home language is Italian, and who thus leverages her knowledge of Italian in order to communicate with her Spanish-speaking students. This allows her to develop strong affective bonds with her students while advancing their learning. As one student put it:

Oh, Angela, la Miss Angela. O sea ella no sabe español, pero ella hace el intento de ayudar ... o sea, esa clase no más corresponde en inglés ... pero ella hace el intento con nosotros ... ayudarnos, o sea si una cosa está en inglés, ella trata de traducir más o menos en español para ir aprendiendo más o menos lo que dicen.

[Oh, Angela, Miss Angela. She doesn't know Spanish but she tries to help ... I mean this class is just in English ... but she tries with us ... to help us, I mean if something is in English, she tries to translate more or less in Spanish to keep learning more or less what is said.]

We describe here a lesson that involved reading the play *Twelve Angry Men*. Although the text is in English, the lesson is an example of how a translanguaging space is created by the teacher. To contextualize the reading of the play, students watch a short clip from the movie of the play in English with Spanish subtitles first, then in English without subtitles. Students are provided with the script of certain sections written in English, with Spanish translations. Students then engage in a writing activity analysing what the judge said, using the script that has been provided. Not only does Angela use written texts in Spanish (both the subtitles and the script) to help students understand the English of the text, but she also draws on their increased content understanding of the plot to help them discuss the text. During the discussion, students participate using their entire language repertoire, including Spanish language practices. Angela ensures that all students understand the meanings in the text. She asks such things as: 'Qué significa x?' 'How do you say y?' 'Can you tell us in Spanish in your own words what it means?' But beyond this, Angela points often to cognates in the text. For example, at one point she has written a sentence on the blackboard that includes the word *verdict*. Pointing to the word, she tells them: 'This one is also close to Spanish.' And she sometimes uses her understanding of Italian to avoid confusions that would steer students in the wrong direction:

Angela: Who is the defendant?
Student 1: *El defensor!*

Angela: The defendant is not the lawyer.
 Student 2: *El defendido*. The person that is accused.

Two things happen in this exchange that would not happen in an English-only approach. First, Angela is able to use her receptive skills in Spanish to clarify a student's misunderstanding of the meaning of the word *defendant*. Second, after having negotiated meaning in Spanish, a student is then able to explain the meaning of the word in English. The student's Spanish is used to facilitate rather than hinder English language development.

In effect, through the teacher's leveraging of fluid languaging in this classroom discourse, students are learning to use their entire semiotic repertoire to make meaning in the classroom and to develop language practices that are socially regarded as standard English. Students are being taught how to 'do' bilingualism, and not simply to 'have' English, in addition to, and separately from, Spanish.

TRANSLANGUAGING IN 'BILINGUAL' MATH CLASS

While translanguaging was used in classes where English was the official language of instruction, it was also utilized in math classes which were officially designated as 'bilingual'. A bilingual classroom can mean different things to different people. For some, it means a classroom in which a language other than English is solely used; for others, it means the use of two languages. For this teacher, bilingualism in instruction meant the creation of a space in which translanguaging is used to leverage the students' emergent bilingualism, as well as their background and content knowledge.

In the following lesson, Yolanda, born and raised in the Dominican Republic, demonstrates how translanguaging facilitates her students' learning as well as a US bilingual identity. After about 20 minutes of a lesson in which Yolanda is teaching a lesson on the math concept of 'perimeter' using both Spanish and English fluidly, it became obvious to her that the students still did not understand the concept. She immediately says to them:

Nosotros somos del campo. Voy a poner un ejemplo. Ud. tiene una casita bien bella, un patio. Y Ud. sabe que el área de su casa va a ser todo su terreno, el espacio que ocupa las tierras en que está tu casa.

Pero si vienen los animales del vecino, entonces Ud. decide poner una cerca, ¿Dónde se pone la cerca?
 (Different students call out answers)

Sí. Alrededor.

Entonces Ud. va a comprar en la ferretería el material que va a comprar para cercar su terreno. La mayoría de las casas tienen 15 metros x 12 metros si están en el pueblo. ¿Cuántos metros van a necesitar para cercar su casa?

[We're from the countryside. I'm going to give you an example. You have a very pretty house, with a backyard. And you know that the area of your house is going to be all of your land, the space that occupies the land in which your house is.

But the neighbor's animals come, and so you decide that you have to fence your property. Where are you going to put the fence?

(Different students call out answers)

Yes. Around.

Then you go to the hardware store to buy the material that you're going to buy to fence your property. Most houses have 15 x 12 meters if they are in the countryside. How many meters are you going to need to fence your house?]

Yolanda uses Spanish to appeal to the students' cultural experiences, especially rural ones, which makes it easier to understand mathematical concepts. When asking students to draw figures in order to contextualize the mathematical problem they're solving, she tells them: 'Yo pensaría en mi patiecito, en la mata de guayaba' (I would think of my little backyard, of my guava tree). The *mata de guayaba*, as well as their home language practices in Latin America, are always present in the students' world. Yolanda does with language the same thing that she does with culture; that is, she treats the entire repertoire of linguistic and cultural practices (not just those from the school domain) as very important for students' sense-making.

Yolanda focuses on building the students' languaging and their bilingual repertoire. This is evident when one day, teaching about correlations, she asks students to write a sentence in Spanish on the blackboard. But seeing students' hesitation and the incomplete sentences they write, she asks:

¿Quién me dice qué es una oración? Porque veo que la mayoría de sus oraciones no tienen sentido completo. Una oración tiene que tener un verbo, un sustantivo, un sujeto y un predicado.

[Who can tell me what is a sentence? Because I see that most of your sentences do not have a full meaning. A sentence has to have a verb, a noun, a subject and a predicate.]

Yolanda does not focus simply on English language development, but on the development of language practices, and especially standard language practices for academic functions. Both English and Spanish standard language practices need to be developed, and these can only emerge in interrelationship. For these students, understanding sentence structure, regardless of language, is most important.

Although Spanish was frequently used in this 'bilingual' math classroom, Yolanda is also mindful of the students' development of English, again focusing on the development of the students' bilingual repertoire. The discourse that follows takes place during the first minutes of the lesson on perimeter (English translations in square brackets):

Teacher: OK, *¿quién quiere leer cuál es el Do Now?*
[Who wants to read the Do Now?]

(Calls on a student who reads it in English)

Teacher: *¿Quién más quiere leer?*
[Who else wants to read?]

(Calls on another student who reads it in English)

Teacher: *Todos diciendo ...* (they all read chorally from the blackboard)
[Everyone saying ...]

Teacher: *¿Quién quiere traducirlo en español?*
[Who wants to translate it into Spanish?]

Student: *¿Qué es la diferencia entre perímetro y área?*
[What is the difference between perimeter and area?]

Teacher: *Repitan:* What is the difference between perimeter and area?
[Repeat]

Teacher: *¿Cuál palabra es nueva para Uds. aquí?*
[What word is new for you here?]

Students: Perimeter (chorally).

Teacher: *Así es, perimeter, perímetro.*
[That's it.]

In this brief exchange Yolanda is speaking Spanish, although she has students read in English, repeat the written English on the blackboard, translate into Spanish and use their metalinguistic skills to identify new words. She finally repeats the term she's teaching in English and Spanish.

Another day, Yolanda is teaching about correlations. Although she's teaching in Spanish, she has the students write a sentence in their book in English. She points out the differences in pronoun use between English and Spanish:

En inglés no se omite el sujeto. Por favor Ud tiene que tener 'he', 'she', 'it'.

[In English you don't omit the subject. Please, you have to have 'he', 'she', 'it'.]

And she then asks the class:

¿Quién me puede empezar esa oración en inglés? Vamos a ver, ¿quién me quiere empezar en inglés?

[Who can start that sentence in English? Let's see, who wants to start in English?]

At the end of class, after the students have understood the mathematical concept, she says:

Ahora tienen que elaborar una pequeña oración en inglés, una pequeña oracioncita en inglés. ¿Qué relación existe entre las calorías y los gramos de grasa? Por favor, una oracioncita pequeña.

[Now you have to elaborate a small sentence in English, a little sentence in English. What relationship is there between calories and grams of fat? Please, a little sentence.]

At times during the lesson, Yolanda provides terms in English for the concepts she is teaching in Spanish. She says, for example: 'Una línea recta, en inglés se dice "straight line".'

What Yolanda stresses the most is that students could use their entire linguistic repertoire to demonstrate their mathematical knowledge. No one is wrong, and no way of saying anything is wrong. During this lesson, she tells them:

Aquí nadie se equivoca. ¿Quién quiere decir algo?

[No one here is wrong. Who wants to say something?]

And when students do not speak up, she adds:

Uds. saben que pueden usar inglés, spanglish o español, ¿verdad que sí?

[You know that you can use English, Spanglish, or Spanish, right?]

Yolanda knows that it is important for students to understand mathematics, and that to do so their entire cultural and linguistic repertoire has to be mined. In so doing, Yolanda is developing a sense of 'doing' bilingualism as US bilingual Latinos – capable of building on their home language practices to develop school literacy.

TRANSLANGUAGING AND NATIVE LANGUAGE ARTS

In this school, all students also have one class in Spanish that is traditionally referred to as Native Language Arts (NLA). But in this school, 'native' has lost the association of 'first', with the teacher constructing a translanguaging space in order to build a bilingual identity that considers bilingualism itself to be 'first', and all language practices, including those associated with English, capable of becoming 'native'.

The NLA class is not simply a 'scaffold' for English learning. One NLA teacher describes the role of her course as follows:

So my main goal is to help 100% of my students, to help them achieve, to help them succeed; not only in Spanish, but also in their other classes; for example, writing essays, and interpreting literature and analyzing. Those are skills that can be used in any other class and we can definitely teach them that in Spanish. As long as they have the skill, making the transfer is a lot easier; so that's my main goal, just helping them succeed, and do well, and graduate.

Spanish is not simply a separate subject matter for these students. It is a way of making the entire cognitive and linguistic repertoire of students more complex as it is used for all tasks, including academic ones, as well as for tasks that require English-only performances. To achieve this, NLA teachers meet with English teachers twice a week to co-plan instruction. As one NLA teacher explained:

We meet with the English teachers twice a week, because they do like the fluency, the reading and writing fluency in English. And we focus on literary elements and literary techniques and more on the literature aspects of the language.

This teacher understands that together the English and Spanish NLA teachers are building the students' integrated language repertoire, consisting of complex language practices that sometimes require students to perform in one or another language, but make up one bilingual repertoire that US Latinos can use.

This school does not see itself as offering a bilingual education programme. However, through translanguaging, bilingualism in education is deployed, ensuring that these immigrant students develop a sense of being bilingual Americans who have the advantage of a broader linguistic repertoire than those who speak English only. We turn now to our second school, which, despite being located in the same school building, has other ways of negotiating the official language policy.

10.4.2 *High School of Global Practices*

Because this school was originally planned for Spanish speakers only, the school has a 'Spanish' feel. Most announcements and postings in the school are in Spanish, and the secretaries and guidance counselors all speak Spanish. The majority of teachers speak Spanish, and many use it as a pedagogical tool within classes that are technically English-only. Despite the choice of the school administration to offer an English as a Second Language programme, the school built translanguaging spaces from the beginning. That is, translanguaging has been used as an informal pedagogy to ensure Latino students' understanding of content and development of English literacy, as well as the sustainability of Spanish, a language all adolescents speak. But with the arrival of students with languages other than Spanish, translanguaging practices have had to be extended to encompass these other languages. In 2008, the school decided to safeguard a space for Spanish only, by developing what they call a 'dual language' programme.

The students in this dual language bilingual programme take some of their courses in English and some content courses in Spanish. But the programme does not show the rigidity of most traditional dual language programmes in which a strict percentage of the content is taught specifically through only one language or the other. Rather, in this school's dual language bilingual programme students are guaranteed that some content be taught through the medium of Spanish, although, as we will see, these are also translanguaging spaces.

Below we describe how the construction of these different translanguaging spaces occurs in a content class supposedly taught in Spanish in the dual language programme, as well as in what, officially, is an English class. As we will see, both teachers are building a space where the hierarchies that exist between English and Spanish are dissolved, and where new bilingual identities of US Latinos emerge.

TRANSLANGUAGING IN THE DUAL LANGUAGE PROGRAMME:

HISTORY IN SPANISH

Although Ms Rojas's⁸ history class is technically designated as a Spanish language content area class, this teacher uses translanguaging in ways that develop students' sense of 'doing' bilingualism, as well as their ability to use language in the complex ways that are being required by the new common core State standards that have been adopted in the USA. On the day of this lesson, Ms Rojas wanted to explore legislation and policies surrounding race and interracial

marriages in the history of the United States. As she explained, there are few resources for such topics in Spanish that relate to this age group. Therefore, she found an article in a teen publication that was in English. Groups of students read the text in English, and together they discussed the meaning of the text in Spanish. They often annotated the English text with 'glosses', using words from Spanish, and at times used i-Pads and Google Translate. This was followed by a whole-class discussion, supposedly 'in Spanish,' that focused on interracial marriage and race-based laws in the United States. As the students shared their views, perspectives and questions in Spanish, they used English freely to cite evidence from the English language text. To support their positions, they read aloud passages from the article in English.

The class then moved on to a writing exercise. The focusing question for the free-writing exercise was: 'How big a role does race play in your life? How does it affect your views of yourself and your place in the world?' At this point, Ms Rojas gave students the freedom to choose any language of their choice for writing. She explained that this activity was 'about the content' and 'making connections', and that it was important that students be allowed their full range of expression. Figures 10.1, 10.2 and 10.3 show the ways in which three girls first reacted to the question. Their answers were subsequently used to expand the writing.

The first entry in Figure 10.1 and the last one in Figure 10.3 are written in Spanish, whereas the second one is written in English. But the language choice has little to do with the content and intent, since the first and third entries, written in Spanish, refer to the United States, whereas the second entry, written in English, refers to a Latin American context. In Spanish, the first entry talks about mixtures of races, including those that make up 'mi comunidad', presumably a Latino one, in the United States. The third entry, also written in Spanish, shows metalinguistic awareness, pointing to the title/question that is written in English, and providing a translation into Spanish. But then, in Spanish, the student refers to 'white people' being dominant in the USA and to the racial prejudice that others may show towards those that come from Latin America. In contrast, the entry in English goes back to her 'country', her 'family' and her 'origins'. And through English she expresses the fact that people from Spain enslaved people from Africa and Asia 'to make them work hard'. This student is starting to develop a critical consciousness, understanding that it was enslavement that was responsible for people that 'started to mix each other and in this way create new races'. It is precisely this sense of mixture that is creating new ways of performing language through translanguaging; that is, neither Spanish nor English, but 'new'. This is the same concept

Ms [redacted]
3/16/2011

How big a role does race play in your life? How does it affect your view of yourself and your place in the world? Explain?

La raza es el color de piel que proviene de mezclas, entre personas de diferente países. En mi vida la raza siempre ha sido muy interesante e importante ya que hay una gran cantidad de personas en mi comunidad. Estados Unidos contiene una gran cantidad de personas que son mezcladas entre países.. y hacen lo que se llama "raza."

Figure 10.1 Student work: Example 1

And answer: How big a role does race play in your life? How does it affect your view of yourself and your place in the world? Explain. [redacted]

When I was reading this article I went back to my country, my family and my origins. I started to think about the different races that conform my country from a long time ago when Spain began to bring people from Africa, and Asia to make them work hard. However, later they started to mix each other and in this way create new races.

Figure 10.2 Student work: Example 2

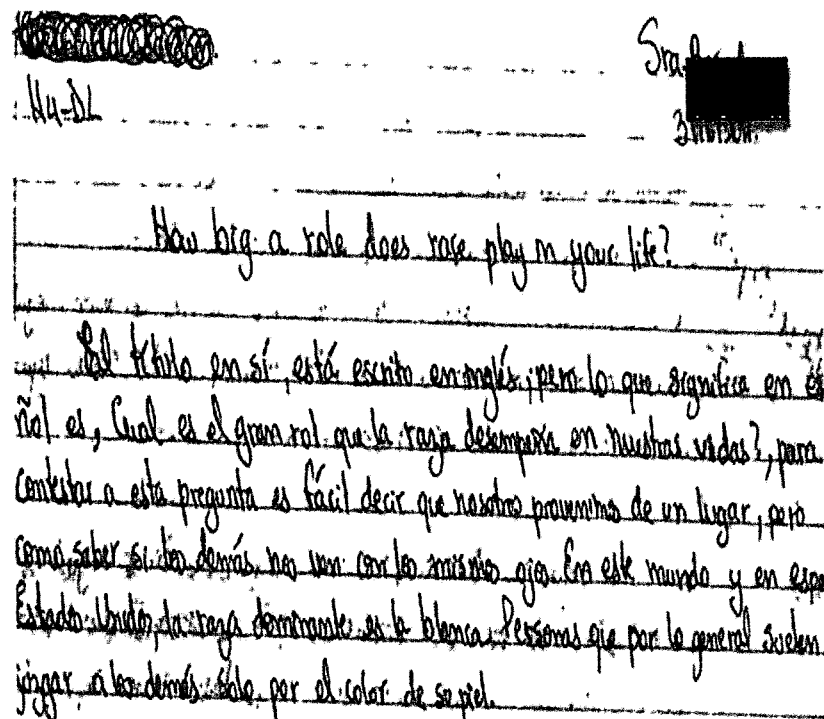


Figure 10.3 Student work: Example 3

contained in the writings of the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz (2002/1940) who introduced the concept of *transculturación* to refer to the complex and multidirectional process in cultural formation, always different from the source. *Transculturación* dissolves solid cultural and racial differences while it creates new realities. In the same way, translanguaging creates a new reality because neither English nor Spanish is seen as static or dominant, but rather operates within a dynamic network of cultural and linguistic transformations. Translanguaging encourages a recombination of linguistic features that precisely questions the linguistic dominance of English over the Spanish of Latin American immigrants. Coronil (1995: xxix–xxx) explains that the concept of *transculturación* ‘breathes life into reified categories, bringing into the open concealed exchanges among peoples and releasing histories buried within fixed identities’. For the first time, these students, in developing a US Latino bilingual identity, are able to express their histories of racial and linguistic subjugation by ‘releasing’ their tongues, developing an ‘other tongue’ and engaging in ‘border

thinking’ (Mignolo, 2000: 1). This border thinking, this ‘thinking *between* two languages and their historical relations’ (p. 74, our italics), requires ‘an other tongue’ as a way to crack the global designs of the United States. Through translanguaging, the students are situated in a space where alternative representations and enunciations can be generated because buried histories are released and alternative, and conflicting, knowledges are produced. The Latino educator and students in this class have ‘appropriated’ the ‘dual language’, spaces transforming them into ‘translanguaging’ spaces. As we will see, language is also approached the same way when the class is in English.

TRANSLANGUAGING IN AN ENGLISH CLASS

As in the English class described above in the Latin American Intercontinental School, translanguaging is also a common practice in this English class where most of the students are Spanish speakers, but some are not. Because Ms Dinos, the teacher in this class, speaks Spanish, Spanish use is common between students and teacher. The teacher explains:

Especially at the lower level, bilingualism in quick translation helps to make connections, helps students to learn vocabulary, gives students background, and helps them to feel more supported by teachers and peers. It makes a thoroughly interesting language class with constant comparing and contrasting of languages.

She also uses Spanish when working one on one with students or in small groups to clarify a concept, word or question. When asked about this practice when there are students in her class who do not speak Spanish, she expressed her desire to put her bilingualism to good use in an instructional sense. She said:

If I have 35 kids, and 33 speak Spanish, and if I explain in Spanish, it might not be fair to the few, but it’s also not fair to the majority to not speak Spanish. So then I can explain in Spanish, and then work closely with the two or three who don’t ... If I feel a non-Spanish speaker doesn’t understand something, I’ll have a student who shares a language to translate or help, and also ask the student to tell me the words so I can learn, and help.

Students’ language practices are used by this teacher not only to facilitate comprehension of the lesson but also as a way for students to act as experts in the classroom, and as language teachers of their home language for the teacher and other students. As Ms Dinos explains:

My Bengali speaker, we had something written on the board in different languages, simple things, 'Good morning', 'I love you', 'Thank you'. The Bengali speaker said the phrases and the whole class repeated them, then when he was done, the whole class clapped. It's a small step, but an important one in our enjoyment of diversity.

It turns out that it is this teacher's experience with translanguaging that allows her to extend herself to accommodate the bilingualism of others. She has developed the practice of pointing out cognates between English and Spanish, but building on the Latin roots of the second-most-known language among the students, French, spoken by many of the multilingual West African students, she now also does this for French. The teacher has also changed the way in which translanguaging is used in the classroom, to ensure that everyone is included. Whereas before she would often translanguage herself in whole-group lessons, now she calls on students with different language backgrounds to translanguage for clarification or meaning, but does not do it herself.

Ms Dinos uses 'language groups' where students of similar home languages work independently together, thus giving space for students to translanguage while working with English text or material. For many, these groupings are organized around an additional language, not necessarily a home language. For example, in one class, students from Guinea, Togo and Senegal worked together in French to create a semantic map written in English. For these students, home languages include Fulani, Kotokoli and Wolof, yet all were schooled in French in their home country, thus making this language common for them and a useful tool to make meaning of new content in English.

Finally, Ms Dinos encourages students to use their home languages independently. For example, she has encouraged students to create personal bilingual dictionaries, by writing down the word they do not know in English and using Google Translate or a bilingual dictionary to supply a definition. This enables all students to have a resource for future reference.

In this school, as in the first one, the teachers are building 'a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging' (Li Wei, 2011: 1223). The result is the ability to negotiate the official language policy of English-only and language separation in a way that affirms the rights of language-minoritized students by building on their language practices and dynamic bilingualism.

10.5 Conclusion

Putting alongside each other the national ideologies and official school language policy about English and bilingualism as a commodity to

'have', and the classroom discourse as enacted by teachers and students, this chapter reveals the negotiations that take place in schools that construct in-between spaces of promise for immigrant students. Although both schools are in the same school building and have an English as a Second Language programme exclusively for newcomers, as well as a student body with the same socioeconomic characteristics, their constructions of translanguaging spaces vary because of their different histories and constituencies. Both schools, however, understand that for these emergent bilingual youths to succeed in the four years of a US high school, more is needed than English-only and dual language practices that keep languages separate. Under the guise of an English as a Second Language 'official' designation for their programmes, these schools have built flexible translanguaging spaces capable of constructing and adjusting to new US bilingual subjectivities. Within these translanguaging spaces, it is then possible for educators and teachers to enact a process of social and subjectivity transformations capable of resisting the asymmetries of power that a dominant language or two separate 'language codes' have created in the past.

Notes

1. The term 'translanguaging' was first coined in Welsh (*trawsieithu*) by Cen Williams (1994) to refer to a pedagogical practice where students are asked to alternate languages for the purposes of reading and writing or for receptive or productive use; for example, students might be asked to read in English and write in Welsh and vice versa (Baker, 2006).
2. Following García and Kleifgen (2010), we use the term 'emergent bilingual', rather than the more accepted US term 'English Language Learner', to emphasize what these students can do and their potential, rather than what they lack. The term also emphasizes that bilingualism is at the center of the learning of English, because the use of the students' existing language practices are key in its development and because bilingualism should be the end product in the acquisition of an additional language.
3. Flores and García were involved in one school, whereas Woodley and García were involved in the second school. We are grateful to the administration, the teachers and the students in both schools for the time they granted us. All names of schools and teachers are pseudonyms.
4. For critiques of dual language programmes because of their dualistic designs, see especially Fitts (2006), McCollum (2000) and Valdés (1997).
5. In New York City, under mayoral control, many large comprehensive secondary schools were broken up into small schools of fewer than 500 students.
6. The New York State Education Department requires schools that educate emergent bilinguals to indicate whether their programmes for these students are English as a Second Language programmes or bilingual programmes. Each of these two types of programmes has specific requirements.

7. In New York City schools, teachers are required to have on the blackboard a 'Do Now', which is a short activity that students must do when they first come into a class, after they change teachers and subjects. It is meant to get students to settle down, take out their notebooks and pencils, and focus on the new content.
8. Unlike the first school where students called teachers by their first name, in this school only last names of teachers are used. Names selected here follow this practice.

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11 *Becoming multilingual and being multilingual: some thoughts*

David Block

11.1 From 'language learning' and 'language use' to 'becoming multilingual' and 'being multilingual'

There is a long-standing issue in second language acquisition (SLA) and educational bilingualism studies of how to describe individuals in terms of their language-mediated identities. In Block (2003), I discuss a distinction made by researchers such as Susan Gass (1998) between language 'learners' and language 'users', the argument being, in effect, that researchers can and should distinguish between individuals when they are in language learning mode and when they are in language using mode. In making this distinction, Gass was making a programmatic statement about SLA as a field of inquiry in the larger field of what she called 'second language studies'. She was also responding to Alan Firth and Johannes Wagner's (1997) prescient and oft-cited call for a broadening of SLA to take on frameworks and methodologies used in discourse analysis. She stated her position as follows:

the goal of my work (and the work of others within the input/interaction framework ...) has never been to understand language use per se ... but rather to understand what types of interaction might bring about what types of changes in linguistic knowledge ... Nevertheless, it is true that in order to examine these changes, one must consider language use in context. But in some sense this is trivial; the emphasis in input and interaction studies is on the *language* used and not on the act of communication. This may appear to be a small difference, but to misunderstand the emphasis and the research questions ... can result ... in fundamental misinterpretations and naïve criticism. In fact, the result is the proverbial (and not very useful) comparison between apples and oranges. (Gass, 1998: 84)

This perspective, eminently linguistic at the expense of a broader view of SLA which would include communication writ large, is represented in Figure 11.1 below.