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3 Transgressing Monolingualism and Bilingual Dualities: Translanguaging Pedagogies[1]

Introduction

Throughout the world language minorities are most often educated in schools that have been designed for language majorities. Usually they are educated only through the medium of the dominant state language. But even when they are given the opportunity to be educated bilingually, education programmes are most often built on models, frameworks and practices that have been designed for schooling language majorities.

Building on what we have learned in a study of successful schools in educating Latino youth who are developing English (García, Woodley, Flores and Chu, 2011), this chapter explores the interactions of teachers and students in US public schools for Latino recent immigrants that transgress the monolingual or traditional bilingual model of schooling. We do so by exploring the classroom interaction of teachers and students in these schools through their translanguaging practices; that is, discursive and pedagogical practices that break the hegemony of the dominant

1 We are grateful for the support given to Ofelia García and Nelson Flores by the Internationals Network for Public Schools for the study of PAIHS, and to the principals, Bridgit Bye Dyster and Marcella Barros, teachers and students for welcoming us into their schools. We are also grateful to Ramón Namnum, principal of High School of World Cultures, and for the teachers and students of the school, for the unrelenting support they have given Ofelia García and Heather Homanoff Woodley in our study of the school.

language in monolingual classrooms, and the isolation of languages in bilingual classrooms. Before we focus on these classrooms, however, we explore some of the theoretical frameworks that have to be transgressed in order to understand the power that translanguaging holds as a pedagogical practice by offering two theoretical alternatives – 1) transglossia, and 2) dynamic bilingualism. We also theorize about translanguaging itself, before we look at how it functions in the classroom.

From monolingualism and diglossia to transglossia

Language difference has been the purview of sociolinguistic studies since the mid-twentieth century, as studies explore how speakers make linguistic choices in social contexts. But the models that have been used often link one language choice to a speaker's identity on the basis of the domain in which language is used and the interlocutors (Fishman, 1967; Gumperz, 1982), or on account of social characteristics such as nationality, age, gender, or class (Labov, 1966). In many ways, sociolinguistic models of language choice have been diglossic, positing that one language variety (Ferguson, 1959) or one language (Fishman, 1967) or even one feature (Labov) is used for specific reasons, and that the choice of one feature, one variety, or even one language responds strictly to external characteristics or social contexts that function independently of others. Thus, a common sociolinguistic tenet is that language use is diglossic, meaning that one language variety (Ferguson, 1959) or one language (Fishman, 1964) is used in certain domains (or territories) with specific people and for unique purposes, and that the other language is used for different functions.

A diglossic arrangement has been the pillar of educational practices. In monolingual programmes, the dominant language of instruction, often a standard variety is most often kept separate and distinct from the ways in which students use language, and the students' home language practices are ignored. In bilingual programmes, the two languages being used as media of instruction are also most often kept completely separate. This monolingual or diglossic language use in the classroom was rampant in the twentieth century when 'speech communities' were understood as stable and homogeneous, reflecting the dominant language ideologies of the time embedded within the nation-state paradigm. Instruction was then usually teacher-centred, and students were given very little freedom to work collaboratively in groups or independently.

In the twenty-first century, the concept of diglossia has been called into question, as more situations of stable societal multilingualism without functional allocation have been described. Many have used the case of the complex and stable multilingualism of India and many African countries to question diglossic arrangements as the only way to achieve stable bilingualism (see, for example, Mohanty, 2006; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2010). In the European Union the promotion of plurilingualism has posited that it is possible to acquire and use different language practices 'to varying degrees and for specific purposes' (Council of Europe, 2000). Plurilingualism also connotes that it is possible to use language practices without functional complementarity, and at the same time not threaten home language practices. The spread of English throughout a globalized world has also meant that more groups of people use English without giving up their language practices, and most often use English language practices and other language practices in interrelationship. Advanced technology has made the simultaneous use of multimodalities possible, thus different language practices can be displayed at the same time.

The greater movement of peoples and communication in the twenty-first century has also made us realize that the concept of a homogeneous speech community tied to a national territory is flawed. Instead of 'speech communities', what we have are 'communities of practices', groups of people who interact and communicate regularly. Acquiring different language practices then cannot be the result of transmission of knowledge and of language, but of collaborative social practices in which students try out ideas and actions (Lave and Wenger, 1991), and thus socially construct their learning (Vygotsky, 1978).

García (2009) has argued that a stable, and yet dynamic, communicative network in the twenty-first century, with the many language practices

of different transnational groups in functional interrelationship, might be better called 'transglossia'. It is then important for schools to create transglossic spaces where students' multiple language practices in interrelationship can produce integrated knowledge, deep understandings, and coherent identifications and performances as bilinguals.

Transglossia has the potential to release ways of speaking of subaltern groups that have been previously fixed within static language identities and hierarchical language arrangements and that are constrained by the modern/colonial world system. Transglossia can develop what Mignolo (2000) calls 'an other tongue', 'the necessary condition for "an other thinking" and for the possibility of moving beyond the defense of national languages and national ideologies ...' (p. 249). Transglossia refers to the fluid, yet stable, language practices of groups of people. It questions traditional descriptions built on national ideologies and also interrogates the notion of two languages as autonomous systems (for a critique of the autonomous position of languages' position, see Makoni and Pennycook (2007)). In the next section we explore how transglossia allows us to construct dynamic understandings of bilingualism.

From subtractive or additive bilingualism to dynamic bilingualism

Bilingualism is often understood as linear. When the norm is monolingualism, groups are subjected to a subtractive form of bilingualism where the 'first' language is subtracted, as the 'second' language is added (Lambert, 1974). When the norm is a diglossic bilingualism, bilingualism is considered additive, with the 'second language' added to the first (Lambert, 1974). But in both traditional conceptions of bilingualism, bilingualism is not anything but a 'second language' added to or subtracted from a 'first language'.

This conceptualization of emergent bilinguals[2] as simply learners of a 'second language', and having a 'first language', a 'native language', a 'mother tongue', means that bilingualism in itself is not recognized. One could be a 'language learner', but one cannot be a 'bilingual' with a complex linguistic repertoire with features that transcend traditional descriptions of standard grammars. By reifying the concept of a 'second language', the language education field has negated bilingualism. On the other hand, by reifying the concept of a 'first' or 'native language', privilege or exclusion is assigned. For example, 'native' English speakers are often sought-after in Asian countries as English teachers, often meaning monolingual Americans, English, and Australians, preferably white, with other bilinguals excluded.

Speaking of 'mother tongue' Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) points out that depending on the criteria used, the term could mean different things. It could mean, as with 'first language', first learned. But even order of acquisition is problematic for bilinguals, since many bilinguals grow up with complex language practices that cannot be easily assigned to a 'first' or 'second language;' that is, there is bilingual first language acquisition (BFLA) (for more on this topic, see Genesee, 2003; see also De Houwer, 2009). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1981), a mother tongue could also be, as with 'first language', the language one uses most, or the language one knows best, or the language with which one identifies, or the language with which others identify the speaker. But for bilinguals all of these different criteria could result in different answers or in no answer at all, since it is often impossible for bilinguals to categorize their language practices only as autonomous languages. Regardless of the complexity of criteria, the problem with all of these theoretical formulations is that they insist in shaping bilingualism according to monoglossic classifications of one or another autonomous language, when bilingual practices are a lot more complex and interrelated, especially in the globalized world of today.

2 We choose to speak about emergent bilinguals, rather than English language learners, which is the term most often used in the United States. Following García (2009) and García and Kleifgen (2010), we emphasize the student's emergent bilingualism and the role that their home language practices play in their education.

The language practices of today's bilinguals do not respond to an additive or a subtractive model of bilingualism. In today's flows, language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act; that is, bilingualism is dynamic. A dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism (García, 2009) goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of a first and a second language, and of additive or subtractive bilingualism. Instead, dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language practices of *all* bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way. As García (2009) has said, they do not result in either the balanced wheels of two bicycles (as in additive bilingualism) or in a monocycle (as in subtractive bilingualism), but instead bilingualism is like an all-terrain vehicle which adapts to both ridges and craters of communication in uneven terrains (see also García and Kleifgen, 2010). Dynamic bilingualism sees bilingualism not as two monolithic systems made up of discreet sets of features, but as a series of social linguistic practices that are embedded in a web of complex social relations (for a similar view on literacy practices, see Street, 1984; Pennycook 2010).

Within a dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism, bilinguals are valued for their differing multi-competence (Cook, 2002) because their lives, minds and actions are different from those of monolinguals. As Herdina and Jessner (2002) have pointed out, the interactions of bilinguals' interdependent language systems create new structures that are not found in monolingual systems. Learning is then not just the 'taking in' of linguistic forms by learners, but 'the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008, p. 135).

A model of transglossia and of dynamic bilingualism needs a different pedagogy. In the next section, we develop what we consider the key to a different design for teaching emergent bilinguals – translanguaging as pedagogy.

Theorizing translanguaging

Jim Cummins' interdependence hypothesis posits that '[t]o the extent that instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly' (Cummins, 2000, p. 38). Resting on the interdependence of the languages of bilinguals, Cummins has moved away from discussing an L1/L2 dichotomy, characterizing the way in which languages had been conceptualized in Canadian immersion bilingual classrooms in the twentieth century as 'two solitudes' (Cummins, 2007), and calling for bilingual instructional strategies in the classroom as a way of promoting 'identities of competence among language learners from socially marginalized groups, thereby enabling them to engage more confidently with literacy and other academic work in both languages' (p. 238).

These bilingual instructional practices are related to the concept of translanguaging (García, 2009). The term translanguaging is the English translation given by Colin Baker (2001) to the Welsh concept of *trawsieithu*, a bilingual pedagogy designed by Cen Williams where the input is in one language and the output is in another. Since then, the term has been extended and used to talk about a flexible bilingual use in teaching and learning (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009). Translanguaging for us refers to 'the complex discursive practices of all bilinguals, and the pedagogies that build on these discursive practices to release ways of speaking, being and knowing of bilingual subaltern communities' (García, 2011).

By emphasizing 'languaging', translanguaging focuses on language practices of people, and not on languages as defined by nation-states and its schools (for more on the concept of languaging, see Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Shohamy, 2006). By focusing on its 'trans' aspects, translanguaging builds on the concept of 'transculturación' coined by Cuban ethnologist Fernando Ortiz in talking about Cuban culture: 'In all embraces of cultures there is something of what happens in the genetic copulation of individuals: the child always has something of both progenitors, but it is always different

from each of them' (Ortiz, 1940, p. 96). Thus, to us, translanguaging is not simply a passive and rigid adaptation to one or more standard languages. Rather, new and complex language practices emerge. Translanguaging differs from code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift between two languages, but to the use of original and complex discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another code. Bilingual students use these complex and fluid discursive practices to perform their learning – reading, writing, listening, discussing, taking notes, writing reports and essays, taking exams – by drawing on their entire linguistic repertoire. And teachers have the possibility of drawing on these translanguaging practices in their pedagogies.

Translanguaging as pedagogy refers then to building on bilingual students' language practices flexibly in order to develop new understandings and new language practices, including academic language practices. Translanguaging pedagogies are particularly important for language minority students who are emergent bilinguals because they build on students' strengths. They also reduce the risk of alienation at school by incorporating languaging and cultural references familiar to language minority students.

Translanguaging in a classroom is precisely a way of working in the gap between, on the one hand, the global designs of nation-states and their education systems, and on the other, the local histories of peoples who language differently. As we will see in the next section, translanguaging in US classrooms shows the tensions between the global design of the US in educating immigrants and language minorities, and the local histories of those students. In their design, classrooms most often exclude minority language practices, and when they do include them, they separate those discourses strictly from the dominant standard language of school. In reality, as we will see, teachers and students violate these compartmentalizations, acting on the new meanings of what it is to be an American bilingual. Before we describe translanguaging pedagogies in two educational spaces, we discuss the US national educational context in an effort to contextualize the reasons why teachers working with Latino recent immigrant youth transgress traditional practices of English as a second language or bilingual education programmes.

The national context and schools for immigrant adolescent newcomers

In the last decade, US schools have been faced with three competing demands – 1) an increase in the number of immigrant students, especially coming from Mexico and other Latin American countries, 2) the erasure of support for bilingual services and bilingual education, 3) a demand for higher achievement of all students. It is precisely the complexity of dealing with these three issues simultaneously that has spurred the increase in educational programmes that transgress traditional education models that are strictly monolingual or bilingual, as well as traditional pedagogies to develop a 'second language'. We explore each of these three issues below.

In the last decade the number of foreign-born Americans has soared, and in 2009 17 per cent of the population was born abroad (US Census, 2009). Latinos are the largest ethnic group and number 50.5 million, making up 16 per cent of the population in 2009 (US Census, 2010). Of Latinos who are over five years of age, approximately one quarter speak English-only at home, a sign of the varied language practices of US Latinos.

As the US linguistic landscape becomes evidently more bilingual, xenophobic ideologies have spurred campaigns supporting English-only, especially in education (for more on this history, see Crawford, 2008, and García and Kleifgen, 2010). English-only statutes that banned bilingual education were passed in two states with large Spanish-speaking populations – California in 1998, and Arizona in 2000. In 2002, Massachusetts also passed a proposition that replaced transitional bilingual education with 'structured English immersion programs'.

At the same time, the word 'bilingual' was struck out of every single name of federal education offices and projects, as well as legislation. For example, the Office of Bilingual and Minority Language Affairs came to be called the Office of English Language Acquisition. Likewise, the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education was renamed the National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition. Even more significant was that the Bilingual Education Act itself was substituted by Title III of the

No Child Behind Legislation of 2002, now named Language Instruction for Limited English proficient and Immigrant Students. The word 'bilingual' had become the 'B' word (Crawford, 2007, 2008), not mentioned because it is a 'bad word'.

At the same time that the number of emergent bilingual students was increasing and bilingual educational spaces were being closed, the country called for higher educational achievement for all, as well as for closing the achievement gap among racial, gender, linguistic and socioeconomic groups. Attention became focused on how those students that the federal government calls 'Limited English Proficient' were contributing to the gap in educational achievement. The education of emergent bilinguals became an important issue, as educators struggled with the shrinking of traditional bilingual education spaces. As a result, many educators started experimenting with bilingualism in education in the form of what we are here calling translanguaging (for more on this shift, see García, Flores and Chu, 2011).

The two educational spaces that we describe below are different, but they share some characteristics. They are public high schools that specialize in teaching recently-arrived immigrant adolescents who are emergent bilinguals, especially Latinos. Neither educational space is strictly an English-as-a-second language programme, nor a bilingual education programme. As such, teachers in both spaces are mostly content teachers, with some being Latinas/os, reflecting a city where 28 per cent of the population is Latino (US Census, 2009). All teachers speak English, and as good New Yorkers, many are not monolingual English-speakers, but fall within a Spanish–English bilingual continuum.

Below we describe the translanguaging practices used in these schools by teachers who fall at different points of the bilingual continuum. We look at how a translanguaging pedagogy scaffolds the instruction in English of Spanish-speaking adolescents who have recently immigrated to the United States. Specifically, in both educational spaces below we explore how translanguaging supports three functions – 1) the contextualization of key words and concepts, 2) the development of metalinguistic awareness, and 3) the creation of affective bonds with students.

High School of World Cultures

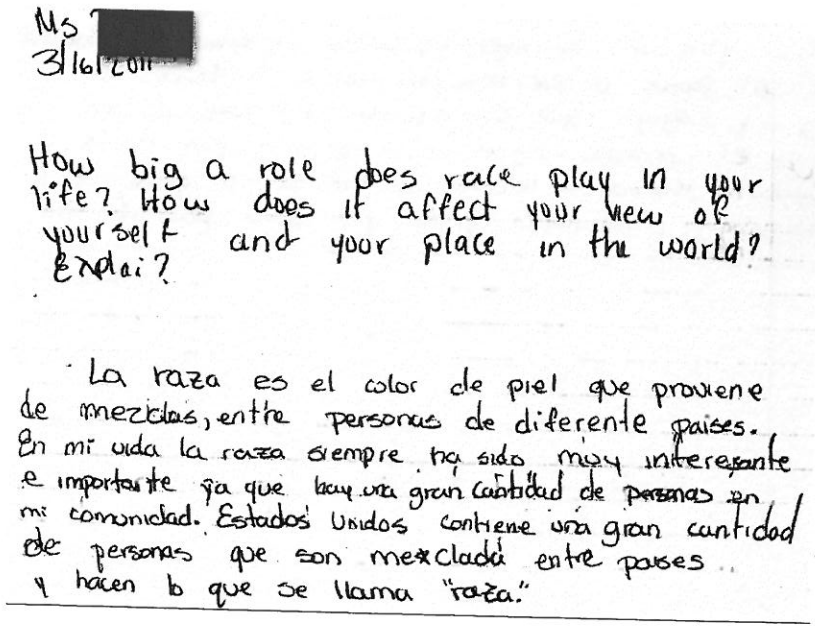
High School of World Cultures is a newcomer public high school in the Bronx. The purpose of this school is specifically to meet the needs of recently arrived immigrant youth. The student population of the school is about 90 per cent Spanish-speaking, and many classes are comprised of all Spanish-speakers. The school also focuses on affirming the diversity of its student population with school-wide displays of various flags, languages, multicultural festivals and celebrations. Students also take a class called Multicultural Studies where they explore issues of diversity, tolerance, learn about other cultures and countries represented in the school and community, and share as experts of their own home cultures.

The school's official instructional policy, according to the Language Allocation Policy that schools must have in New York City, is ESL, or English-only, but there are a select number of Spanish-speaking students who are on what the principal calls a 'dual language'[3] track which involves taking some of their courses in English, and some content courses in Spanish. Although the title of this programme insinuates a duality, the reality of the classroom is that languaging is fluid for teachers and students. One teacher in the 'dual language' bilingual programme, who we refer to as Ms R, is a global history teacher. Although the class is technically designated as a Spanish-instruction content area class, translanguaging abounds. In one particular lesson, Ms R wanted to explore issues of race and diversity in the United States with her students. As she found out during her planning of these lessons, there are few resources about such topics in Spanish that are appropriate for this age group. Therefore, she found an article in a teen publication written in English. She delivered her lesson in Spanish, which focused on historical contexts of interracial marriage and other race-based laws in the United States, accompanied by short read-aloud passages from

3 In the United States 'dual language' has been substituted discursively for 'bilingual' in an effort to silence the 'B word.' For more on this, see García, 2009; García and Kleifgen, 2010; García, forthcoming.

the article in English. This led to a class discussion, as the students shared their views, perspectives, and questions in Spanish. The class then moved on to a writing exercise. At this point, Ms R gave students the freedom to choose the language in which they wanted to write. She explained that this activity was 'about the content' and 'making connections', thus allowing students to express themselves and their understandings in different ways. Figures 1, 2 and 3 illustrate students' various language choices for writing in this class.

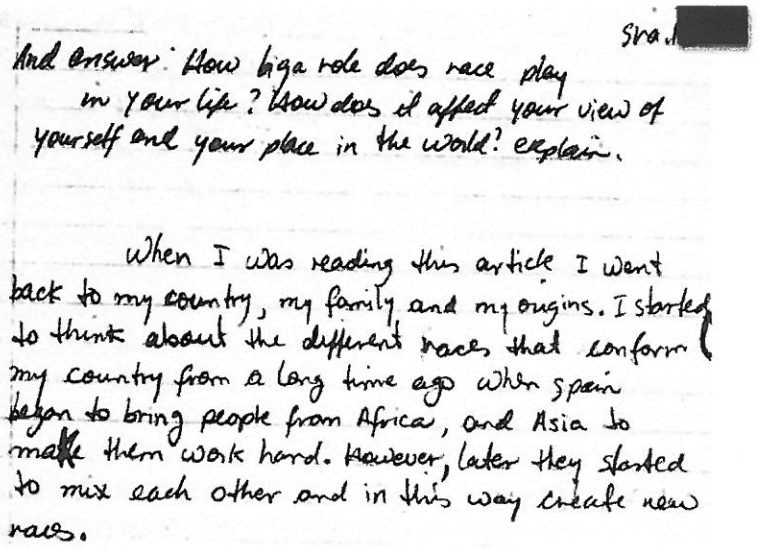
What is interesting about these samples of student writing is how they language fluidly. In Figure 1, the student writes the prompt in English, her response in Spanish, and in her heading uses the English title of 'Ms' for her teacher. In Figure 2, the student writes both the prompt and response in English, and then uses 'Sra' when designating his teacher's title. In Figure 3, the student writes the prompt in English, then uses Spanish for her written


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? Explai?

La raza es el color de piel que proviene de mezclas, entre personas de diferente paises. 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 mezclada entre paises y hacen lo que se llama "raza."

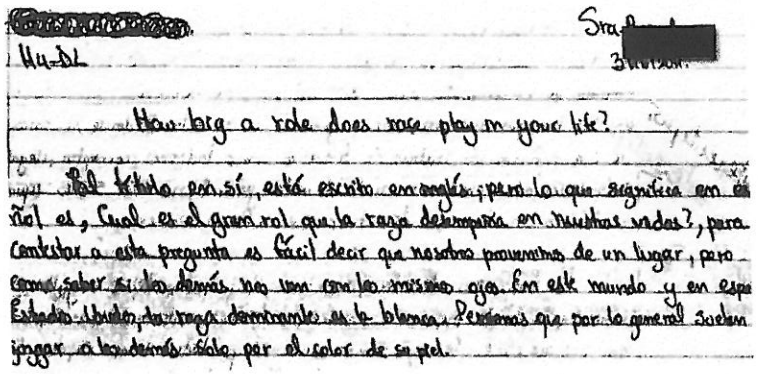
Figure 1


Sra. [redacted]

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.

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 2


[redacted]

Sra. [redacted]

How big a role does race play in your life?

El título en sí, está escrito en inglés, pero lo que significa en español es, Cual es el gran rol que la raza desempeña en nuestras vidas?, para contestar a esta pregunta es fácil decir que nosotros provenimos de un lugar, pero como saber si los demás nos ven con los mismos ojos. En este mundo y en especial Estados Unidos, la raza dominante es la blanca. Pensamos que por lo general suelen juzgar a los demás solo por el color de su piel.

Figure 3

response and 'Sra' for her teacher. These examples, as well as Ms R's lesson as a whole, illustrate the fluidity of language practices by students in this classroom. Spanish and English flow in this class through reading, writing, speaking, and listening, and the teacher provides this space of dynamic bilingualism in order to meet ultimate goals of student content learning, engagement, and expression.

For the majority of students in this school, however, class instruction is officially designated as English-only based on the school's instructional policy of 'bracketing English'; that is, of compartmentalizing languages so as to separate English strictly from Spanish (for a critique of this 'bracketing of English', see García and Kleifgen, 2010). However, 'English' classes build on translanguaging practices as students develop content understandings and English, as we will see below.

Each teacher in the lessons described below has a different ethnolinguistic background and falls at different points of the bilingual continuum. The classroom moments described below focus on singular lessons, but these translanguaging practices were common throughout days of observations within each of the teacher's classes. The cases here demonstrate how each teacher breaks from monolingual English only teaching, engaging the students and their own language practices. The three teachers integrate translanguaging in their classrooms at different moments and to different extent, but all serve three major functions – 1) the contextualization of key words and concepts, 2) the development of metalinguistic awareness, and 3) the creation of affective bonds with students.

Throughout the three classrooms, translanguaging was most often seen in the form of oral translation of key words and concepts in order to contextualize meaning. Ms D was born in the Dominican Republic, spoke Spanish at home and in school, began learning English in Dominican schools, and learned more upon moving to New York as a youth. In Ms D's 'English' class, the lesson focused on developing questions for an activity in which partners were to interview each other. As a whole group, the students brainstormed some possible questions to ask their partners, with students often contributing ideas in Spanish. Ms D wrote one of the student-generated ideas on the board: 'What do you do in the evening?' This led to the following conversation to ensure understanding of this question:

MS D:	Does everyone know what 'evening' means?
STUDENTS:	Noche.
MS D:	Expliquen 'evening' en español.
STUDENT:	Después de la tarde.
MS D:	Ahora, explíquenlo en inglés.
STUDENT:	After afternoon.

In asking students to translate this key word, Ms D created an interactive moment of translanguaging. Rather than just translating, the teacher asked for explanations of the word in Spanish and then in English, and engaged the students in the translation process to elicit their linguistic knowledge. Ms D finished reviewing the questions and, in Spanish, reminded the students that they could discuss the questions in Spanish first while planning what to ask, but to end with a question in English and write their answers in English. Here she made explicit the space for translanguaging in student-to-student conversations and in their learning process, as students are given the option to speak in ways they choose to make sense of their ideas prior to writing them in English.

After this discussion of planning questions, each pair of students began the process of creating their interview questions in English, negotiated in both Spanish and English. Students began to plan out their questions, frequently asking each other '¿Cómo se dice ...' followed by an answer by one of the partners; or if neither partner knew, the pair reached for a Spanish–English dictionary and searched for the word together. Several students asked Ms D in Spanish to confirm their understanding of a word, or the translation they found in their bilingual dictionary. At one point, a student looked up the word 'cuidar' in the bilingual dictionary. The translation she found was 'to care for', but she did not seem satisfied with this phrase. The student checked this with Ms D to see if this was correct, and Ms D told her 'dame toda la frase'. The student responded, 'A quién cuidas después de la escuela?' Ms D went on to explain in Spanish that in English, it is more common to say 'babysit' for what the student was insinuating here (caring for a younger sibling or neighbour). She then broke down the word 'babysit' to show that it refers to caring for someone who is younger, although not necessarily a baby. After these discussions, the pairs wrote their questions in English, followed by asking the questions and responding

in English, peppered with Spanish clarifications. Then each member took turns asking one another the written questions in English, responded in English, and wrote down their partners' responses.

In these working pairs, Ms D utilized translanguaging to push the student to ask more meaningful questions; the students translanguaged for the purpose of assisting each other in completing the task. They also utilized bilingual print material to help make sense of their ideas. Ms D herself took the time to explain how a dictionary translation might not always be direct in the case of 'cuidar' and 'babysit', and elaborated this point in Spanish to ensure students' understanding of both an issue of vocabulary translation and metalinguistic awareness of a new English word.

Upon seeing that the pairs had finished, Ms D asked for volunteers to share what they learned about their partners from their interviews. One student shared, 'I learn that he has 15 years.' Ms D affirmed that this was a good piece of information to get in an interview, but went on to explain why in English, one would say, 'He is 15 years old.' Using Spanish, Ms D explained that when speaking in English, 'puede pensarse en él como que *es* de 15 años, pero en español, se dice *tiene* 15 años'. The students nodded their heads and several looked back at their writing and erased something on their papers, as if they too had made the same mistake. The next student to share information about her partner started with, 'She *is* 16 years old', putting emphasis on *is* that caused the class and Ms D to laugh, and Ms D to positively affirm the student's work, 'Good, just what we talked about.'

Ms D took this opportunity to use Spanish while explaining a linguistic difference between Spanish and English and to break down a confusing point for students based on mistranslation. Through translanguaging, the students were able to hear an explanation in their home language and to gain a sense of what a direct translation of the English phrase would literally be in Spanish, as Ms D tells them to think of how it should be in English as 'es de 15 años', although this is not how it is said in Spanish. The students understood this point and immediately applied it to their work, as seen in the second presenter who stressed her use of *is* when describing her partner's age. The responses of both classmates and the teacher show how a classroom context that embraces linguistic diversity and translanguaging in learning also helps to create supportive bonds between teachers and students.

Ms K grew up in the United States in a monolingual English-speaking home. She studied Spanish in school, but considers her time living and working in the Dominican Republic to be the place where she 'really learned' Spanish. In Ms K's class, students read books of their choice in English independently. As they read silently, Ms K rotates around the room and conferences one-on-one with students. She asks them various questions about vocabulary, comprehension, and their opinions about what they read. One day, a student asked Ms K, 'What does this mean, "driveway"?' She responded to the student in Spanish with a translation, 'entrada', and the student's eyes lit up with understanding, eagerly returning to his book. In another conference interaction, Ms K asked a student, 'Who is this character?' as she pointed to a page in the student's book. The student shrugged and Ms K repeated the question in Spanish, '¿Quién es esta persona?' The student responded with several sentences in Spanish, and Ms K then responded, 'Great description, now try in English.' The student gave a brief translation of her original response in English, and Ms K praised both her efforts and her improved English description.

In the one-on-one conference with the student above, Ms K's translation of the conferencing question into Spanish provided the student with an opportunity to express her reading comprehension in Spanish, which she was clearly more comfortable in, although she was reading in English. Having had the opportunity to express her thoughts first in Spanish gave this student a sense of validation that her ideas and answers were right, thus allowing her to take the next step of expressing her ideas in English with more confidence.

After about fifteen minutes of independent reading, students were told to write about inferences they could make about their reading, while also providing evidence from the text that supports their reasoning. Ms K began this class discussion by reviewing what it means to make an inference. She explained that an inference is 'something you can guess by the evidence you have'. She asked the students to make an inference about her.

STUDENT: That you're nice.
MS K: Interesting. What's your evidence?
STUDENT: You speak nice, answer our questions, talk to us in Spanish.
MS K: (with a laugh) Why is this nice?
STUDENT: Other teacher, she yells at us, 'No Spanish', not very nice,
STUDENT: In groups we speak Spanish and you let us, that's nice.
STUDENT: Before I asked you what does 'driveway' mean and you told me. If you're not nice, you don't answer, or you don't let us speak Spanish in groups, or you yell at us.

The above conversation clearly demonstrates how students themselves have internalized the use of translanguaging as a sign of being 'nice' to students. The students juxtaposed Ms K with another teacher who yells 'No Spanish!' in her class. The use of translanguaging has created a positive environment in this class where students confirm that the presence and support of their home language practices contributes to positive rapport between the teacher and students.

Just down the hall Ms G is teaching writing. Ms G also grew up in a monolingual English-speaking home and studied French in school. She has begun speaking Spanish in the few years since coming to this school and learning from her students. Ms G's lesson focused on writing in the future tense. The students read a passage about a man and a woman who will be expecting a baby in the spring. There was some confusion about this phrase 'expecting a baby' and the students asked for clarification. Using both her hands to signify a large belly and the word she knew, Ms G said, 'You know, *embarazadas*.' The students all nod and said 'Yes, sí', but Ms G did not stop this lesson there. She continued what began as translanguaging for the purpose of translating one word, into a lesson on metalinguistic awareness. Ms G elaborated on the false cognates of *embarazadas* and embarrassed. 'But it's not like being embarrassed in English. What does that mean?' The students were silent, thus Ms G continued with examples to illustrate the meaning of embarrassed, 'If you do something and your face is red.' There was still silence, so she went on, 'If your mother comes to school and kisses you and all your friends see.' Ms G then acted this out and made an embarrassed face as the students giggled. One student raised his hand and shared, 'Miss, that's "avergonzado" in Spanish.' Unsure

if this was the correct translation, Ms G directed this student to look up the word in the Spanish–English dictionary for confirmation. The student showed his teacher the dictionary entry confirming its meaning, and Ms G nodded and continued the lesson on metalinguistic awareness. She ended by noting, 'So even though we have a lot of words that sound the same in Spanish and English, they don't always mean the same thing, we have to be careful.'

Although Ms G is not fluent in Spanish, she does not let this stop the use of translanguaging. Relying on bilingual print resources such as Spanish–English dictionaries, Ms G uses student linguistic knowledge to contextualize meaning and build metalinguistic understandings. At several other times throughout the class, Ms G focused on the use of cognates for understanding new words in English, informing students that their knowledge of Spanish was helpful in understanding English.

After this lesson, Ms G moved on to independent work in the class where students worked in small groups to write a short paragraph. Before beginning the work, she reviewed the guidelines for group work. She wrote on the board, 'Take turns talking', and then asked for students to explain this in Spanish to the class. Several students volunteered; however, Ms G made a deliberate decision to call on two students who had not yet participated in class. These two students shared their explanations for the guideline, 'hablar de uno en uno' [talk one at a time], was one response, while another student elaborated with, 'no hablar cuando alguien está hablando' [not to talk when someone else is speaking]. Ms G then had the two students come to the board and write these Spanish phrases next to the English. She smiled as these students seemed eager to share with the class and write on the board. Ms G then shared with the class, 'See, you teach me things too.' A student responded to her with a smile, 'You're a good student', and the class laughed, but nodded in agreement as Ms G affirmed the positive interaction by adding, 'And you are good teachers.'

Because of her limited knowledge of Spanish, Ms G utilized the students as linguistic experts, which ultimately led to affective bonding between students and teacher. Ms G made it clear that she had something to learn from these students who are often seen as just lacking English. She deliberately used their home language practices to benefit not only

other classmates, but her personally. Ms G used this as an opportunity to engage students who were not participating in the class, and utilized translanguaging to incorporate student knowledge and expertise into the class. In this interaction, Ms G bonded with the students as their teacher, and also as their student.

The classroom moments above illustrate the ways in which translanguaging occurs in three English classrooms with teachers across the continuum of bilingualism. They demonstrate how translanguaging can be utilized in ways that build English language development, metalinguistic awareness, as well as building affective bonds between students and teachers. Through translanguaging, students have the opportunity to expand their vocabulary, make sense of their own learning processes, and be linguistic experts. At the same time, students feel respected by their teachers as their home language expertise is affirmed. Each of these three teachers illustrates ways that teachers challenge the monolingual English-only instruction and the monoglossic ideology of diglossia in the education of emergent bilingual adolescents. These teachers push against linguistic boundaries as they strive to meet the needs of their students by embracing translanguaging in their classrooms.

The Pan American International Schools

The Pan American International Schools are two schools that are part of the Internationals Network for Public Schools, a network of schools that specialize in meeting the needs of immigrant students. All of the schools in this network pride themselves on the utilization of heterogeneous collaborative group work and a project-based approach to teaching and learning that culminates in a rigorous portfolio presentation process where students present their projects to a panel of teachers (see García and Sylvan, 2011 for more on these schools).

There is, however, one major difference between the Pan American International Schools and the other schools in the network. The majority of the schools in the network follow what the network refers to as the 'diverse language model' where students speak many different languages. In this model, English becomes the lingua franca for students, though whenever possible teachers work with students on the continued development of the home language. Because Latinos are the most numerous group of emergent bilinguals, and because they are concentrated in certain neighbourhoods, two Pan American International Schools were recently opened with a focus on serving Spanish-speaking Latino recent immigrants. In these two schools Spanish is the de facto language of communication for students and plays a more central role in the pedagogical repertoire of teachers.

Below are examples of how three 'English' teachers across the continuum of bilingualism translanguaged to help students in their development of English. The first teacher, who we call Ms C, was born in the US of Chilean parents and grew up speaking both English and Spanish. The second teacher, referred to here as Ms L, grew up speaking Italian and learned English as an additional language. The third teacher, referred to here as Ms S, is of South Asian background and is learning Spanish from her students. Each of these cases show how teachers break out of the borders suggested by the monolingualism of an English-only classroom or the duality of bilingual classrooms, while simultaneously showing that translanguaging is possible across the continuum of bilingualism and does not require an idealized bilingual teacher with balanced competence in two languages.

As we saw in the High School for World Cultures, one of the most common ways in which translanguaging is used by all of these teachers is in the contextualization of key words and concepts for students. This oftentimes emerges spontaneously through oral conversation in the classroom. For example, in one lesson, Ms C had students complete a 'Mind Mirror' based on the graphic novel *American Born Chinese*. This activity entails having students take a character from the text and delve into his or her personality through the identification of key quotes and the creation of symbols and original phrases to represent the character. This is all visually displayed on a representation of the character's face. As Ms C was

trying to get students to create symbols to represent characters in the story that they were reading, some students were struggling with the concept of symbol. After explaining the concept in English and realizing that some students did not quite grasp it, she reinforced it for the students by explaining 'un symbol representa algo'. In this case, simply translating the meaning of the term helped ensure that students would be able to successfully complete the task and be able to eventually explain the reason they chose the symbol in English. In short, translanguaging is being used as a bridge toward a final product in academic English that would also demonstrate content mastery.

An equally common phenomenon during this lesson was for students to ask Ms C how to say certain key words in English. For example, when asking students to identify the relationship between background images and the character represented in the mind mirror, the following exchange occurred:

STUDENT: ¿Cómo se dice complemento?
MS C: Complement.
STUDENT: Because they complement the picture.

In this exchange, Ms C used her bilingualism to help a student successfully state her response in English. Again, Spanish, rather than being seen as an interference or crutch, is instead treated as a tool to facilitate English language development. Students are allowed to use their entire language repertoire to make meaning, while working to expand their discursive repertoires.

In addition, there were many times throughout the lesson where Ms C allowed students to use Spanish to negotiate meaning and ask questions, though she would respond to them in English, as demonstrated in the next example:

STUDENT: ¿Qué hay que poner aquí?
MS C: You have to put the setting.
STUDENT: ¿Hay que dibujarlo?
MS C: Yes.

In this exchange, a student is not quite sure what he is supposed to do and asks Ms C a procedural question. Ms C acknowledges that she understood what he said, but responds to him in English. In this way, the student is able to make sense of what he is supposed to do, while at the same time listening to English input.

Ms C also translanguages to develop the metalinguistic awareness of her students. For example, in response to a student's question about how to say 'conocer' in English, Ms C says 'knows', which then leads to a discussion about 'knows' versus 'nose' ['nariz']. Ms C explains that 'nariz' is written 'nose' in English. In another example, when explaining the meaning of the term 'background', Ms C explains it by saying '"back" means "espalda", so "background" is "behind"'. Both of these examples gave students the opportunity to understand how their home language practices are used to facilitate the process of adding more English to their language repertoire – something that could not have happened in a strictly English-only classroom.

Yet, there was a substantive exchange during this lesson that went beyond the word level to larger ideas. This provided a moment of affective bonding between Ms C and a group of students in the class. This occurred when Ms C was brainstorming some ideas with one of the groups. One of the students asked her in Spanish if she could think of a symbol that they could use to represent China, which led to the following exchange:

MS C: Is she from China?
STUDENT: No. Japón. Pero es lo mismo. Hablan el mismo idioma y tienen los ojos así (moves her eyes to be narrower).
[No, Japan. But its the same thing. They speak the same language and their eyes are like this.]
MS C: Hemos hablado de eso. Es como decir que todos los brasileños y peruanos son iguales ...
We've talked about this. It is like saying that all Brazilians and Peruvians are the same.
(They then continue having an extended conversation in Spanish about stereotypes).

A student continued to express a stereotype that Ms C had been working with the students to unlearn throughout the entire unit. In order to ensure that this teachable moment was not wasted, Ms C used Spanish to ensure that there were no misunderstandings. She also provided examples from Latin America in Spanish to connect to students' own cultural backgrounds, so that they could see that this issue is also relevant to them.

The other two teachers are positioned at different points on the continuum of bilingualism than Ms C, and are, therefore, oftentimes not able to translanguage in the same spontaneous way. Ms L, however, is Italian, and is sometimes able to use her knowledge of Italian in helping students make meaning. One day they were preparing to watch the movie, *Twelve Angry Men*:

MS L: Who decides if the defendant is guilty or not guilty?
STUDENT: ¿Qué significa 'guilty'?
MS L: Culpable.

At other points, Ms L relies on students to contextualize the meaning of key words and concepts through Spanish, as demonstrated in the following interaction during the same conversation:

STUDENT: In the courthouse.
MS L: Yes. In the courthouse. How do you say that in Spanish?
STUDENT: ¡La corte!

Ms L utilizes the same principle of teaching as Ms C in that they both use translanguaging practices as a way of supporting students in their English language development.

Perhaps because of her inability to always respond spontaneously in providing home language support to students when they need it, Ms L also relies on written texts to help students make meaning of the concepts being explored in class. For example, in this same lesson on *Twelve Angry Men*, Ms L had students watch a short clip from the movie in English first, then again in English with Spanish subtitles. Students then engaged in a writing activity analysing what the judge said, with Ms L, providing students with the actual script of what he said, along with a Spanish translation. The

resulting conversation was in English. In short, Ms L used written texts in Spanish to help students understand the content, and then utilized this understanding of the content to help them discuss it in English.

Like Ms C, Ms L also translanguaged for metalinguistic awareness. One way she did this was through pointing out cognates. Below is one example from this lesson where Ms L points out a cognate, while translanguaging to ensure that students are familiar with the concept in their home language:

MS L: This one ['verdict' is on the blackboard] is also close to Spanish.
STUDENT: Veredicto.
MS L: Can you tell us in Spanish in your own words what it means?
STUDENT: Una decisión, como la decisión final.

Once it is clear that students understand the concept in Spanish, they then can be supported in the process of discussing it in English.

Like with Ms C, there were also many examples of students using Spanish to negotiate meaning in their interactions with Ms L:

MS L: What is 'a reasonable doubt'?
STUDENT 1: Cuando existe alguna duda.
MS L: About what?
STUDENT 2: Cuando hay una duda en el caso.

In this exchange, Ms L is able to use her understanding of Italian to negotiate meaning with a student. In the next example, the translanguaging strategy helps a student eventually discuss the meaning of the key concept in English:

MS L: Who is the defendant?
STUDENT 1: El defensor!
MS L: 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 a monolingual English-only approach or in a bilingual diglossic approach that strictly separates languages. First, Ms L is able to use her receptive skills

in Spanish to clarify a student's misunderstanding of the meaning of the word 'defendant'. Secondly, after having negotiated meaning in Spanish, a student is then able to explain the meaning of the word in English. Once again, the student's Spanish is used to facilitate rather than hinder English language development.

Translanguaging also provided Ms L with the opportunity to affectively bond with her students. In particular, students appreciate her efforts using Spanish, and show interest in also learning about Italian. For example, one day she is working with a group of students who are struggling. As she reads with them, she contextualizes the lesson in Spanish. A student responds happily, 'Miss, you speak Spanish!' As she continues to work with them, she asks: 'How do you say "agree" in Spanish?' One student responds: 'De acuerdo.' But a second student says, 'In Italian it is d'accordo.' The translanguaging in this classroom allows Ms L to bond with students in a way that she otherwise might not be able to.

Ms S is of Indian descent and she is picking up Spanish from her students. As such, she relies on students to help her with the process of translanguaging more than the other two teachers. For example, in one exchange during a lesson focused on comparing and contrasting, Ms S has the students assist her in translating keywords to English:

MS S: How do you say 'find' in Spanish?
STUDENT: Buscar.

In another exchange, Ms S uses some Spanish but also relies on the students to assist her in getting her point across:

MS S: Can I please have Julio come on up ... (Julio comes up to the front of the room). Escribir una comparación with Julio and myself. Can someone say it in Spanish?
STUDENT 1: Que tienen que comparar a ellos.
STUDENT 2: Algo que ellos tienen en común.

In this exchange, Ms S uses students to communicate to others the concept she is trying to convey.

While there was a great deal of oral translanguaging that occurred in this classroom, with students playing an active role in this process, there were also written supports that Ms S provided to assist students in making meaning of key concepts. This written support came in the form of translating key words, as demonstrated in what was written on the board for students as they began class on one day:

AIM: Why do we compare ('comparar') and contrast ('diferenciar') things, ideas, or people?
DO NOW: To compare is to find similarities ('similares') in two things.
To contrast is to find differences ('diferencias') in two things.

Here Ms S translated key terms that are essential for students to understand the major objective of the lesson. By introducing this at the beginning of class, Ms S activates students' prior knowledge and preps them for what they will be expected to do that day in class. In addition, because three of the words are cognates, Ms S also uses this as an opportunity to build their metalinguistic awareness and make them more conscious of the relationship between English and Spanish.

Despite her recent introduction to Spanish (or perhaps because of it), Ms S is able to translanguage to develop affective bonds with students. This is demonstrated in an interaction that occurred during a student portfolio presentation when at the end of the semester students orally present in English work they have done. One student completely shut down during her presentation and refused to speak. After the presentation, Ms S tried to encourage her to take risks. Originally, she was communicating through a translator, but ended up having a direct conversation with the student utilizing translanguaging strategies. Her message was completely understood as she expressed the importance of taking risks languaging. In so doing, she became a model of the very experimentation that she was encouraging in the student. This moment of bonding would not have been possible through a translator.

As in High School of World Cultures, the above analysis demonstrates the ways that translanguaging occurs in two similarly situated schools in classrooms for emergent bilingual students with teachers across the

continuum of bilingualism. It demonstrates that translanguaging can be used in ways that both foster English language development and metalinguistic awareness, while facilitating affective bonds and affirming the language practices with which students come. These educators demonstrate ways that teachers at PAIHS push against the English-Only paradigm of English language development. They challenge language borders in ways that are responsive to the needs of their students.

Conclusion

As language diversity becomes more complex as a result of globalization, technology and transnationalism, language education policies throughout the world have often become more intolerant of language differences. Thus, most students are increasingly taught in the dominant language of the state without harnessing the linguistic resources they bring. This is especially so in the United States where English-only instructional practices have silenced bilingual education practices that had been negotiated in an era of Civil Rights.

But a close look at ESL programmes reveals, however, that on the ground, Spanish–English bilingualism in the education of recent Latino immigrants to the United States has actually increased (see García, Woodley, Flores and Chu, 2011). Educators transgress English-only spaces in an effort to effectively educate Latino adolescents in an era of higher standards for all. This Spanish–English *bilingualism in education* is different from that of traditional *bilingual education* programmes where languages are kept separate. Instead, teachers and students use their discursive practices fluidly in order to educate effectively, building on translanguaging pedagogies.

For translanguaging pedagogies that we outline in this chapter to reach their full potential, we would need to let go of theoretical formulations of bilingualism that continue to dominate the field of language education. Our chapter questions diglossia and additive/subtractive conceptualizations

of bilingualism, while offering the theoretical alternatives of transglossia and dynamic bilingualism. Within those alternative theoretical positions, translanguaging as pedagogy offers educators a way to harness the increased linguistic variation of students in the classrooms of today in order to educate meaningfully.

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