Controlling the use of language is a primary way of managing diversity in our current era. Indeed, in current US society, language may be one of the few areas where overt discrimination is still permissible. While it would be considered uncouth to insist that somebody hide their cultural background when interacting with others, it continues to be common for people to insist that only Standard English be used in order to participate in US public life. It is equally common for bilingual American students to receive messages of the inappropriateness of their language practices in US society.

Well-meaning educators, aware of the difficulties experienced especially by emergent bilingual students; that is, those students in the US who are still developing English (García & Kleifgen, 2010), insist on teaching Standard American English. Unfortunately, most efforts at doing this come in the form of delegitimizing the students’ home language practices. In this chapter, we propose an alternative pedagogical approach that embraces the fluid language practices of bilingual and multilingual students. Building on the concept of third space as articulated by Bhabha (1994), we argue that such an approach makes classrooms into a linguistic third space capable of transforming traditional views of language in the US, as well as American ethnomingluistic subjectivities.
This chapter starts with an exploration of the origins of current US language ideologies, connecting them to the development of nation states that was part of the European colonial project. It then examines shifts in critical applied linguistics—that have attempted to deconstruct these language ideologies and reconstruct new ones outside of these colonial relations of power. Focusing then on the alternative language practices of two English teachers at a newcomer school for Spanish-speaking immigrants in New York City, the chapter argues that the linguistic third spaces that these teachers construct transcend current hegemonic language ideologies that emerged within the nation-state paradigm. We begin by tracing the nature of our current language ideologies in the US.

The Origins of National/Colonial Language Ideologies

The origin of current language ideologies lies with the invention of the printing press. Moved by the emerging capitalist economic system, codified vernacular languages were needed to increase the size of the markets so that the printing press would be profitable (Anderson, 1991). Linguistically heterogeneous speakers had to be moulded into a homogeneous linguistic group.

This creation of homogeneous linguistic groups also had to do with the consolidation of power of the newly emerging European bourgeoisie as part of the development of nation states. Bonfiglio (2010) argues that the codification of a particular grammar and a particular pronunciation produced the bourgeois subject as the speaker of ‘the norm’, a more correct and perfect language than that of the inferior Other. This creation of a standardized language shifted the focus of language from its communicative aspects toward a focus on correct form as an expression of a static superior national identity. In other words, whether a message was understood was less relevant than whether one articulated the message within the proper form as articulated by nationalistic grammarians.

This ideology of the superiority of one language ‘norm’ was an integral component of the European colonial project. For example, Mühlhäusler (1996) looks at the imposition of a modernist conception of homogeneous and enumerable languages on the Pacific Rim as part of a larger process of colonization. Colonial grammarians sought to codify and name the languages of the Pacific Rim, thus ignoring the fluid language practices that made communication possible in this linguistically heterogeneous setting.
To Mühlhäusler, the categorization of language practices into enumerable and autonomous ‘languages’ was a form of epistemic violence that did not represent the actual language practices of people.

In summary, the nationalist/colonial language ideology saw language as a tool for the unification of a people under one standard language living in the borders of one territory. This standardization was part of the creation of a bourgeois subject differentiated from the lower classes of Europe and colonial subjects abroad. Language became a tool for managing the lower classes and people of colour all over the world through the imposition of static language forms and an erasure of linguistic heterogeneity.

Critique of Nation State/Colonial Language Ideologies

A critique of nation state/colonial language ideologies has emerged in critical applied linguistics that seeks to excavate subaltern knowledge and challenge the colonizing tendencies in current language ideologies (Canagarajah, 2005; Cummins, 2007; Makoni & Makoni, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Mignolo, 2000; Pennycook, 2010). Critical scholars are creating theoretical frameworks that treat language as a contested space – as tools that are re-appropriated by actual language users. Ultimately, the goal of these critiques is to break out of static conceptions of language that keep power in the hands of the few, thus embracing the fluid nature of actual and local language practices of all speakers.

García’s (2009) critique of the current state of bilingual education is demonstrative of this resistance toward nation state/colonial language ideologies. At the core of her argument is a challenge to the homogeneous language constructs at the centre of most language education policy, including those dealing with bilingualism in education. Nation state language ideologies continue to treat bilingualism as the mastery over two separate and distinct languages; that is, from a monoglossic perspective. To replace this type of thinking, García argues for adopting a heteroglossic perspective, with languages not seen as separable and countable, or associated with nation states. Instead, a heteroglossic perspective acknowledges multilingual speakers’ fluid language practices in their full complexity. An education that would respond to this heteroglossic ideology would then leverage multilingual students’ complex discursive practices, their dynamic multilingualism, in order to make meaning. García (2009) refers to the dynamic meaning-making discursive processes of bilingual and multilingual populations as (following Cen Williams, 1997) translanguaging. In education, translanguaging offers an
important alternative to current monoglossic language ideologies, monolingual practices and traditional pedagogies. Translanguaging in education not only creates the possibility that young bilinguals could use their full linguistic repertoire to make meaning, but also that teachers would ‘take it up’ as a legitimate pedagogical practice in educating those who are linguistically different.

In what follows, a heteroglossic perspective will be taken to describe the fluid language practices of English teachers working with Latino emergent bilinguals in a special high school for newcomer immigrants. Through embracing translanguaging as pedagogy, these teachers are facilitating the development of new subjectivities in their classrooms that defy ethnolinguistic identities defined by a nation state/colonial paradigm.

Creating Linguistic Third Spaces at Pan American International High School

The Pan American International High School (PAIHS) is located in Queens, New York, and serves recently arrived Spanish-speaking immigrant adolescents. The school is part of a network of public government-funded secondary schools that use progressive approaches to educate emergent bilingual students (García & Sylvan, 2011). The school’s pedagogical approaches include utilizing all of the students’ language practices as tools in the learning of academic English. The use of bilingualism in education doesn’t then emerge from structures of language allocation or curriculum, but rather ‘from the students up’. Although English is the language of instruction according to plans submitted to government officials, the schools’ collaborative group learning structures facilitate students’ use of their home language practices when meaning-making in the classroom. How teachers, supposedly teaching ‘in English’ respond to these fluid language practices and ‘take them up’ to educate is the subject of this chapter.

During 2010–2011, we conducted observations of all teachers of 9th and 10th graders, and more intensively of Math and English teachers, to attempt to answer our overarching research question: *How does Spanish support English language development in a school where all students speak Spanish, but not all teachers do?* (García & Flores, 2011). In this chapter we focus on the language practices of two of the teachers of ‘English’ who are at different points on the bilingual continuum. Whereas one is a fluent bilingual who speaks English and Spanish, the other is ‘picking up’ Spanish language practices from her students. Specifically, we look here at how these two teachers, with different bilingual proficiency, use translanguaging as a pedagogy to educate these students for whom translanguaging is also a common language practice at home and in the community.
The snapshots that are offered here are based on audio-recordings of lessons conducted by these two teachers, as well as field notes written by us as we observed the teachers in their interactions with students. All actual quotations are from transcriptions of the audio-recordings. While we are very aware of the fact that linguistic third spaces are not only created by teachers, the nature of our data only allows us to analyse the creation of linguistic third spaces from the teachers’ perspectives.

The first teacher, who will be referred to as Ms C, is a Chilean-American born in the US who grew up using English and Spanish. We will focus on the ways that she systematically incorporated translanguaging strategies to facilitate the development of linguistic and cultural third spaces in her classroom. In particular, we will analyse one observation we conducted of a weekly event that she called ‘Hip-Hop Monday’.

The second teacher, who will be referred to as Ms S, is an Indian-American whose language practices include Gujarati, Hindi, Urdu, English and (now) Spanish. She reported taking Spanish in high school, but not using it on a regular basis until working at PAIHS. While Ms S planned translanguaging in ways that facilitated the creation of linguistic third spaces, her planning was less systematic and more spontaneous. We will focus here primarily on her interactions with students during her ‘English’ lessons in the course of our observations. Putting these two teacher snapshots together allows us to illustrate the ways that teachers at different points on the continuum of bilingualism create linguistic third spaces through translanguaging. In addition, we look at the effects of translanguaging as a pedagogical practice.

**Ms C’s Classroom**

As mentioned above, Ms C has a special session of her ‘English’ class every Monday that she calls ‘Hip-Hop Monday’. This section describes the overall structure of Hip-Hop Monday and demonstrates how it is structured in such a way as to create linguistic third spaces. In addition, one session of Hip-Hop Monday will be described to illustrate how linguistic third spaces look in practice as translanguaging is consciously incorporated into a lesson plan. We will demonstrate how Hip-Hop Monday undermines nation state/colonial language ideologies and facilitates the development of fluid ethnonlinguistic identities that are culturally and linguistically transformative for both Ms C and her students.

Every Hip-Hop Monday centres around two songs on a particular topic, usually a topic dealing with social justice around US Latino/Latin American issues – one in Spanish, and one in English. It is this juxtaposition of two songs on a related topic but in different languages that lies at the core of the
linguistic third spaces created every Hip-Hop Monday. Students are introduced to the topic through listening to the Spanish song, which connects to their Latin American national identities. They analyse the song with a critical socio-political, as well as language/literary lens, using language practices that incorporate Spanish features as well as English features in order to provide a deep critical and creative analysis. They then translate a section of the song into English in writing using their full linguistic repertoire, sometimes incorporating Spanish features, sometimes English features, always both. They do so using dictionaries, asking each other questions and always collaboratively in heterogeneous groups that consist of students at different levels of English language development. As we will see, putting Spanish and English alongside each other, many times with features that are ‘trans’ – blends of both – starts to construct an ethnolinguistic identity that is not solely Latin American and Spanish monolingual, and not solely Anglo US and English monolingual, but a US Latino bilingual identity. Students are then exposed to the same topic again through listening to an English song and orally analysing the song using the translanguaging of their evolving discourse. They then translate in writing a section of the song into Spanish, translanguaging actively and constructing their discourse not solely from an English-language perspective, but through the use of complex bilingualism that does not separate English from Spanish. As will be seen in the description of one Hip-Hop Monday below, this constant going back and forth between seemingly static languages and ethnolinguistic identities allows for the emergence of fluid border identities that transcend national borders and challenge homogeneous language constructs.

In one session, Ms C is teaching the students about ‘los desaparecidos’ [‘the disappeared’] in Chile during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Ms C begins the lesson by presenting a PowerPoint with images to build background knowledge on the US-backed coup in Chile that brought Pinochet to power. While the PowerPoint is written in English, key terms are written in Spanish. In addition, both Ms C and the students interact with the PowerPoint in linguistically fluid ways. One exchange between Ms C and a group of students demonstrates what this sounds like.

**Ms C:** Well I don’t know where they were from, but they got money from the United States. But they came and they bombed it. The President Allende was inside.

**Student:** ¿Murió?

**Ms C:** And he died y murió.

Ms C begins the exchange in English. A student indicates her understanding of what Ms C says by posing a question in Spanish. Ms C responds to her
question in English, but then reiterates it in Spanish. This repetition in Spanish not only acknowledges the original language of the question, but also emphasizes the point for the entire class. There could be no misunderstanding. President Allende died and the language in which it was expressed did not change the tragic nature of it.

Ms C continues with this exchange and enlarges the linguistic third space through sharing her own personal connection with the death of President Allende, as a Chilean-American.

Ms C: And my uncle who I told you about, right? Didn’t I tell you?
Students: Yeah.
Ms C: He was inside also because he worked in the government.
Student: ¿Y se murió también?
Ms C: No, he didn’t die that day. He was taken then to the concentration camp. So Allende died. La gente no sabe si se suicidó o lo mataron. Es como un misterio histórico en Chile. But then who took over? The picture of him is right there.
Student: Pinochet.

Ms C develops a linguistic and cultural third space by permitting and participating in fluid language practices in her interactions with students, as well as by sharing her experiences as a Chilean American. First, a student expresses his interest in knowing more about her uncle in Spanish. Ms C acknowledges his interest, though she answers in English. However, she then uses Spanish to emphasize the key point that she wants students to take away from the presentation — namely that Allende died and it is unclear whether he committed suicide or was murdered.

This linguistic third space culminates in Ms C emphasizing in Spanish the connection between the military coup in Chile and the experiences of other Latin American countries:

Ms C: Hay gente desaparecida todavía en la República Dominicana, Haití, Peru (says it with an American pronunciation).
Student: (mockingly exaggerating an American accent) Peru.
Ms C: Peru. Perú.
Students: (continuing to mock) Peru, Peru.
Ms C: (laughs) Perú. Alright. So this is not only Chile. There are many places that this has happened.
Student: México.
Ms C: México. Yeah.
Ms C is able to transcend the borders of individual Latin American countries and to support students in the construction of a Pan-Latino third space through the shared experiences of Latin American desaparecidos. At the same time, the going back and forth between Ms C’s Anglicized ‘Peru’, and the Spanish ‘Perú’ after students mock her pronunciation, extends the Pan-Latin-Americanism to include a Latino US identity. The identities that the students are constructing (and that Ms C is helping develop) as US Latinos cannot simply be expressed in Spanish, or in English, but need a translanguaging discourse to transcend the realization that their new country is partially responsible for the disappearance of many of their own people in their other countries. To develop these complex understandings they cannot be simply North American, or simply Latin American; they cannot be simply English speakers, or simply Spanish speakers. Instead, they must accept their role and responsibility as new US Latinos. Their translanguaged discourse opens up the possibility of a more just US future that would include Latinos as equals. This is a classroom moment when national and linguistic boundaries are transcended, as students and teacher express shared histories and solidarity with one another’s struggles, beyond nationality or language.

The second part of the lesson is centred on listening to a song in Spanish about the disappearances in Chile. Ms C now has the students listen to and watch a music video by the Chilean hip-hop group Subverso. After listening to this Spanish-language song, students answer a series of questions written in English. At times the nature of the questions inevitably requires students to answer in Spanish. The following interaction concerning one of the questions demonstrates this point:

Ms C: What do you hear multiple times?
Student: Dónde están.
Ms C: Dónde están. Good.
Student: Matar.
Ms C: Matar.
Student: Verdad.
Ms C: Verdad. Nice. So you just write it right there.

In short, while the questions are in English, because the song is written in Spanish it is, in fact, impossible not to answer some of the questions in Spanish. Therefore, the task by necessity requires the fluid use of language and translanguaging. More importantly, the Spanish use on the part of the students cannot possibly be interpreted as ‘a crutch’, since an English answer would have been incorrect. For example, to have said that ‘where are they’ was repeated multiple times would not have been accurate, since what was
actually repeated multiple times was ‘dónde están’. The students’ fluid linguistic abilities become an asset, a necessary tool in navigating the classroom discussion, as opposed to something that should be avoided at all costs.

After hooking students through the incorporation of the Spanish hip-hop that many of them listen to daily, Ms C then turns the students’ attention to an English pop song entitled ‘They Danced Alone’ by Sting. By pairing this song with a Spanish hip-hop song, Ms C positions Spanish/English and Latin America/US alongside each other, helping students construct a transcultural and transnational Pan-Latino US identity that affirms their multiplicities and the dynamic interrelationships of their developing language repertoire and ethnonlinguistic identities.

The music video is about Chilean women dancing the national dance, which is traditionally done with a male partner, by themselves, as a form of protest against the disappearance of their men during the Chilean dictatorship. In introducing the song, Ms C connects back to students’ national identities:

*Ms C:* [Sting] saw in 1987 what was happening in Chile and he wrote this song about it, right? *El escribió esto porque supo lo que estaba pasando.* And he wrote the song called *La Cuesta Sola* because *La Cuesta* is, what? *¿Qué es La Cuesta en Chile?*

*Student:* *El baile nacional.*

*Ms C:* Good. So here is a picture of the national dance. Here’s a picture. Do you see it? *El baile nacional.* Like in the Dominican Republic what would the national baile be?

*Student:* *Merengue.*

*Ms C:* *Merengue.*

*Student:* *Bachata.*

*Ms C:* *Bachata.* In Chile, *La Cuesta, La Cuesta.*

Ms C begins this exchange by stating in English, and emphasizing in Spanish, the reason Sting wrote the song – namely that he wanted to raise awareness about the Chilean situation. She then has a Chilean student in the class explain in Spanish that *La Cuesta* is the national dance of Chile. Once affirming this student’s national identity, she then once again shifts the classroom discourse back to a more fluid pan-Latino identity through an acknowledgement of the national dance of another country – the Dominican Republic. But then through translanguaging, English is added to the mix of language practices, going beyond Latin American identities to construct a complex and multiple US Latino identity. As opposed to gradually replacing Spanish by English, Ms C develops the students’ comfort with translanguaging and the discursive fluidity characteristic of bilingual communities.
A linguistic third space is developed in the interaction between a language (Spanish) and style (hip-hop) with which students are more familiar, and a language (English) and style (pop) which are less known. Thus, students not only cross national and linguistic borders (Rampton, 2006) but go beyond them. As a result, they make meaning of the consequences of the Chilean dictatorship in a way that speaks directly to their developing subjectivities as US Latinos. Issues of social justice are at the centre of this translanguage, as injustices are neither hidden nor blamed on others, but engage students' sense of responsibility for a more just world. In this educational context, English becomes a tool to add to global understandings and incorporate multiple subjectivities, instead of being simply an instrument for marginalization and the construction of Otherness. A translanguage pedagogy becomes a way of transcending national/colonial language ideologies. Yet the question remains as to how a teacher who has less experience with Latin American culture and the Spanish language can facilitate the development of these spaces. It is to this that we now turn.

Ms S’s classroom

As mentioned above, Ms S grew up in a multilingual environment and now self-identifies as speaking five languages, although she has also spoken other languages at different points in her life. Ms S’s multilingualism has allowed her to develop a strong understanding for the communicative aspects of language and has made her less concerned with form than with using language effectively. Therefore, despite what a more traditional approach to language would consider ‘ungrammatical’ or ‘broken’ Spanish, we will demonstrate that Ms S is a successful user of Spanish in that she is able to use it to leverage comprehension and learning among students. She is thus able to create linguistic third spaces that allow both her and the students to take on fluid ethnolinguistic identities, as well as fluid language practices.

Some of the translanguageing that Ms S uses in the classroom is planned. This oftentimes comes in the form of translating key terms of the day into Spanish to-scaffold instruction and build on students’ prior knowledge. This translanguageing also makes students notice cognates, an important clue to unlocking the meaning of a new language. For example, in a lesson early in the year on comparing and contrasting, Ms S wrote the following on the board:

**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.
By positioning Spanish alongside English keywords, students are able to jux-
tapose their prior understandings with terminology in a new language.

Most of the linguistic third spaces that Ms S developed during our obser-
vations are spontaneous, as she navigates communication with her students
in a language that she has not used extensively prior to arriving at the school.
Rather than accepting a monoglossic ideology that would position her as a
'Spanish Language Learner', she uses features of Spanish as she translangu-
guages, to engage her students in learning and meaning-making, as well as
to encourage the addition of English features to their linguistic repertoire.

An incident that occurred during a public student presentation illustrates
this point. After being pressured by other teachers to present in English, a
student completely shut down and refused to speak. Ms S started to com-
 municate with the student through a translator, but ended up having a direct
corneration with the student, utilizing translanguaging strategies. Her mes-
 sage was completely understood, as she expressed the importance of taking
risks languaging. In so doing, she became a model of the very experimenta-
tion that she was encouraging in the student. It is one thing for a teacher to
courage students to take risks, and quite another for a teacher to model
what taking these risks might look like.

In translanguaging, Ms S also frequently positioned herself as the novice
in relation to her students who are speakers of Spanish and who can incor-
porate more English features into their Spanish discourse than she can incor-
porate Spanish features into her English. In one exchange, Ms S uses Spanish
to communicate an important idea to the students, but also asks for assist-
tance from the students in helping her convey her message:

Ms S:  
Escribir una comparación with Julio and myself. Can someone
say it in Spanish?

Student:  
Que tiene que comparar ellos.

Student:  
Algo que ellos tienen en común.

Ms S:  
We both have hair. Both of us are human. We both have
homework.

Student:  
You are the same high school

Ms S:  
We both go to the same school every day.

Here Ms S begins the exchange in Spanish, but immediately positions stu-
dents as the experts by asking if somebody could say in Spanish what she
wanted them to do. This attempt on her part at using Spanish, while
acknowledging her needs, creates a linguistic third space where students feel
empowered in what they know and are then more comfortable taking on
English features into their linguistic repertoires. After she provides some
models for what a response in English might be, a student also comes up with an answer in English. Ms S then paraphrases what the student says without offering any corrections.

This routine continues throughout the exchange, with Ms S primarily using English, but also using Spanish, to get key points across. She continues:

Ms S: ¿Qué es diferente en nosotros? Tamaño, size.
Student: Your skin, different color.

Ms S makes an effort to make herself understood using Spanish, and the students make an effort to make themselves understood using English. Indeed, Ms S and her students are constantly making an effort to communicate with one another using fluid language practices, though all with the purpose of adding more English to the linguistic repertoire of students, and adding more Spanish to the linguistic repertoire of Ms S.

Yet, interestingly, despite the fluid ethnolinguistic identities and dynamic language practices utilized by both Ms S and her students during this particular class period (and in general), there was still a resistance on the part of students to accept her as a legitimate user of Spanish, or themselves as legitimate users of English, as indicated in the continued discussion of the differences between Ms S and her students:

Student: You speak English and we speak Spanish.
Ms S: But you guys speak English too....
Students: No!!!
Ms S: But I speak Spanish too.
Students: No!!!!!!!

In short, despite the existence of linguistic third spaces in the classroom, for the students it was still difficult to position Ms S as a Spanish speaker or themselves as English speakers. This indicates the continued effect of monoglossic language ideologies even in such a heteroglossic classroom – namely, that if one does not fit an idealized conception of a ‘native speaker’, one cannot be positioned as a legitimate user of a language.

Despite the apparent contradiction between perceived language identities and actual language use expressed by the students here, there were many instances where Ms S was, in fact, a successful user of Spanish, and when the students through their interactions with her were successful users of English. One does not need to be ‘fully bilingual’ in order to translanguge in ways that facilitate the creation of linguistic third spaces. It is true that Ms S translanguaging creates different linguistic third spaces than Ms C. Ms
C is able to use her extensive familiarity with Spanish and English, along with her wealth of understandings of Latin American and US culture, history and politics to interact with students in ways that construct a pan-Latino identity and encourages emergent bilinguals to dynamically take up features from English into their original Spanish-only linguistic repertoire. Ms S uses her supposed lack of knowledge of Spanish to model for students how to privilege the communicative aspects of language over form. In this way, she too is able to break out of nation state/colonial language ideologies and demonstrate ways to create fluid ethnolinguistic identities that transcend national and linguistic borders.

Conclusion

Schools most often reflect national and colonial relations of power. The language ideologies that schools use and foster has been used throughout history as an important instrument for nation states to manage diversity, control and marginalize populations that are different, and consolidate power. Recently, however, there has been an epistemological shift, as language minorities have demanded their language rights in education, and as some societies have yielded to their demands for the inclusion of their languages in education. Despite the growth of bilingual education programs throughout the world since the second half of the 20th century, bilingual education programs remain instruments of control, as bilingualism is perceived to be the simple addition of two autonomous languages. Thus, even in bilingual education practices, the complex discursive practices that characterize all bilingual communities have been shunned.

This chapter highlights the case of two teachers of ‘English’ in a secondary school for Latino newcomers who are learning English. The two case studies show how the use of translanguaging in education constructs a third space that makes possible the development of students’ dynamic language and cultural practices, and thus a meaningful education. Contrary to popular belief, the insistence on using only the dominant standard language in monolingual education or in carefully compartmentalizing the two languages in bilingual education cannot break the language hierarchies that exist. If we wanted to ensure the full participation of all citizens, including those who are linguistically different, we would have to let go of the static definition of acceptable language use that has been part of the European colonial project. The two cases here considered clearly show that translanguaging has the capacity to transcend language and cultural hierarchies, facilitating a functional interrelationship of discourses and identities that is necessary for
minority students' healthy development linguistically and educationally. The two cases further show that translanguaging as a pedagogy does not necessitate a fully bilingual teacher; what it does require is the teachers' willingness to engage in learning with their students, becoming an equal participant in the educational enterprise that should seek, above all else, to equalize power relations. Translanguaging as a pedagogy offers much promise to enable linguistic and cultural constructions that transcend the nation state relationships of power.

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