Language Education Tensions in Global and Local Contexts

Codeswitching in the Classroom

Critical Perspectives on Teaching, Learning, Policy, and Ideology

Edited by Jeff MacSwan and Christian J. Faltis

CAL CENTER FOR APPLIED LINGUISTICS

ROUTLEDGE

CODESWITCHING IN THE CLASSROOM

Bringing together sociolinguistic, linguistic, and educational perspectives, this cutting-edge overview of codeswitching examines language mixing in teaching and learning in bilingual classrooms. As interest in pedagogical applications of bilingual language mixing increases, so too does a need for a thorough discussion of the topic. This volume serves that need by providing an original and wide-ranging discussion of theoretical, pedagogical, and policy-related issues and obstacles in classroom settings—the pedagogical consequences of codeswitching for teaching and learning of language and content in one-way and two-way bilingual classrooms.

Part I provides an introduction to (socio)linguistic and pedagogical contributions to scholarship in the field, both historical and contemporary. Part II focuses on codeswitching in teaching and learning, and addresses a range of pedagogical challenges to language mixing in a variety of contexts, such as literacy and mathematics instruction. Part III looks at language ideology and language policy to explore how students navigate educational spaces and negotiate their identities in the face of competing language ideologies and assumptions. This volume breaks new ground and serves as an important contribution on codeswitching for scholars, researchers, and teacher educators of language education, multilingualism, and applied linguistics.

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choices involving medium(s) of instruction and educational language policies
promotion or suppression of local languages
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accountability in language teaching and learning
impact of different theories of language acquisition and learning
intersections of class, race and gender in language education
changing perspectives on bilingualism/multilingualism and language teaching
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Edited by Jeff MacSwan and Christian J. Faltis

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
NEW YORK AND LONDON

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First published 2020
by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this title has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-138-22505-3 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-138-22506-0 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-40110-2 (ebk)

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102

Typeset in Bembo
by Taylor & Francis Books

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SERIES EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

Co-published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and Routledge, the Language Education Tensions in Global and Local Contexts series examines current and pressing theoretical, ideological and educational issues that arise from the interface of the learning and use of global languages, and the learning, maintenance, and use of local/minoritized languages. The interplay of such factors often leads to critical issues in language planning and policy, language learning and teaching, and language learning and use as it relates to national and individual identity. Books in the series explore the tensions that exist in language education today in a range of contexts around the world and suggest new directions for the future. The series is organized into two strands: (1) United States and (2) international contexts.

Books in the series cover a wide variety of topics in language education, including but not exclusively: language standards; medium(s) of instruction; language education policies; promotion and suppression of local languages; the impact of language theories, culture and identity; intersections of class, race, and gender; changing perspectives on bilingualism/multilingualism; accountability requirements; educational resourcing; and the teaching of non-dominant languages.

We are pleased to present *Codeswitching in the Classroom: Critical Perspectives on Teaching, Learning, Policy, and Ideology*, edited by Jeff MacSwan and Christian J. Faltis, as the second volume in the series. It brings together emerging and established scholars to address language mixing in dual, multilingual and bilingual classrooms settings from a range of angles. Reflecting the recent surge in interest in the topic, this is a much-needed and timely collection that informs and extends the conversation by tackling head-on the often thorny theoretical, practical, policy, and pedagogical implications associated with codeswitching.

Terrence G. Wiley, Reynaldo F. Macias, Sandra McKay, Guadalupe Valdes and Joel Gómez, with Karen Adler

PREFACE

This volume examines the pedagogical consequences of codeswitching, or language mixing, for teaching and learning in bilingual classrooms. It connects contemporary research, developed around a variety of perspectives, with a rich tradition of antecedent theory and practice in sociolinguistics, linguistics, applied linguistics, and education.

We are pleased to include this book, titled *Codeswitching in the Classroom: Critical Perspectives on Teaching, Learning, Policy, and Ideology*, in the new series titled Language Education Tensions in Global and Local Contexts, jointly published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) and Routledge. The series examines current and pressing theoretical, ideological, and educational issues that arise from the concurrent use of global languages alongside local, non-dominant languages. The present volume, which explores language education tensions in the context of current theory and practice related to language distribution in multilingual classrooms, is well suited to the series theme; we are especially honored to include the volume as part of CAL's rich tradition of exploring these topics, harkening back at least as far as Guadalupe Valdés's classic monograph *Codeswitching and the Classroom Teacher*, which appeared in CAL's Language in Education: Theory and Practice series in 1978.

The present volume responds to a recent surge of interest in pedagogical applications of bilingual language mixing, and engages related topics from theoretical, pedagogical, and policy-related perspectives. Part I, Theory and Context, provides an overview of the research context of the book's topics in two chapters. In Chapter 1, Jeff MacSwan provides a detailed and accessible account of the sociolinguistic foundations of codeswitching research, from earliest contributions to current research. The chapter provides an overview of codeswitching research as *language use* as well as *language structure*, drawing implications for the theoretical

underpinnings of newer terms like *translanguaging*. In Chapter 2, Christian J. Faltis tells the story of pedagogical research on language mixing in classroom settings, noting the important influence of Joshua Fishman's early work on diglossia on the organization of contemporaneous bilingual programs. Faltis reviews Jacobson's *New Concurrent Approach*, developed in the late 1980s, which he calls an "extraordinary pedagogy," comparing and contrasting it to recent developments in the translanguaging literature, as he notes his own personal journal in coming to an enriched understanding of bilingual language practices for teaching and learning in bilingual classrooms. These framing chapters are followed by critical perspectives on language mixing in the contexts of teaching and learning and of policy and language ideology.

Part II, called Teaching and Learning, comprises five chapters that address pedagogical aspects of language mixing. Johanna Tigert, James Groff, Melinda Martin-Beltrán, Megan Madigan Peercy, and Rebecca Silverman (Chapter 3) examine dynamic language practices of bilingual students cross-age peer tutoring literacy program within officially designated monolingual instructional settings. The focal program, Reading Buddies, brought pairs of students together from kindergarten and fourth grade to read and discuss science, technology, engineering, and math related texts together. Tigert and colleagues found that students in their study shifted from English to Spanish and back again to direct tasks, give instructions, and manage instructional materials, often using dynamic language practices to build rapport, express emotions, and perform affective check-ins as well, clearly enhancing the literacy experience for both younger and older Reading Buddies.

In Chapter 4, Judit Moschkovich examines the use of codeswitching in mathematics instruction for bilingual learners, focusing on how hybrid language practices provide resources for mathematical activity. Moschkovich argues for a shift in our thinking about academic literacy in mathematics for bilingual students from a simple view, which emphasizes individual word meanings, to a complex view, which emphasizes mathematical practices, especially ways of describing and explaining these practices. Moschkovich illustrates this point of view with a teacher's response to students' nonce borrowing (or creative word formation in Spanish, based on English mathematical terms) in which the teacher, rather than requiring students to use the "correct" version of the English term, accepted and built on students' hybrid language use to support their participation in a mathematical discussion. Moschkovich makes the case that hybrid language practices provide resources which enable bilingual students to engage in protracted mathematical discourse, which enhances learning.

In Chapter 5, Guadalupe Valdés turns her attention to the field of language teaching, focusing on the choice and role of the instructional language in teaching and learning and the use of mixing, blending or alternating of two languages for accomplishing pedagogical goals in the service of "language curricularization." Valdés provides an account of evolving challenges to monolingual orthodoxy,

and argues that, to bring about change in the ways in which language is taught, applied linguists must find common ways to describe and examine successful and unsuccessful ways of challenging monolingualist language teaching dogma.

In Chapter 6, Jeff MacSwan, Natalia Guzman, Kara T. McAlister, and Margaret Marcus examine the effects of home language policy supporting codeswitching on bilingual language acquisition in Spanish and English. The study, which uses natural language samples collected through a story retelling task, finds no difference between the Spanish or English of children raised in a codeswitching home as compared to those raised in a non-codeswitching home. The study draws comparisons to debates about the use of codeswitching in instructional settings, concluding (with cautions) that language mixing in classrooms, as in the home, will not negatively affect ultimate attainment of bilingual language proficiency.

Further reflecting on the role of language alternation in teaching and learning, Mileidis Gort (Chapter 7) examines English-Spanish preschool-age bilingual children's literacy practices during retelling performances of Spanish- or English-medium stories which their teacher previously read aloud to them. Gort concludes that children's translanguaging practices revealed their linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge, reflective of the language norms and practices of multilingual communities throughout the world, and showed that their formalized language performances realized in story telling permitted them to experiment with academic discourse. Gort further concludes that children's translanguaging practices are a valuable mechanism for observing their literacy learning and sense-making, and that pedagogies that recognize, promote, and build upon their bilingualism are needed as bilinguals become the 'new normal' in many US schools.

Part III of the volume turns to Policy and Ideology. In Chapter 8, Susan Hopewell, Kathy Escamilla, Lucinda Soltero-González, and Jody Slavick examine elementary school teachers' beliefs and policies about codeswitching in the context of a revitalized bilingual education program. Hopewell and colleagues found that many of the teachers they studied had positive beliefs about codeswitching, seeing it as a natural mode of bilingual communication, but were uncertain and inconsistent in their views of its role in the classroom. They suggested that teachers' uncertainty about codeswitching in the classroom is attributable to "a lack of intentional language planning within the school districts, and was exacerbated by English language assessments that often trumped beliefs about holistic bilingualism and the intentional incorporation and allowance of multiple languages in the formal learning environment."

Kathryn Henderson and Peter Sayer (Chapter 9) draw on ethnographic data from two elementary bilingual classrooms in South Texas where the local Spanish variety, often called TexMex or Spanglish, which has been heavily stigmatized. Henderson and Sayer articulate a perspective on translanguaging in Texas schools in which teachers' attend to language variation through the lens of critical

language awareness (CLA). Henderson and Sayer see translanguaging as a pedagogical approach which recognizes students' fluid bilingualism as a resource, codeswitching being one of several specific oral language practices used. Henderson and Sayer's study concludes that teacher preparation and professional development should expose pre-service and in-service teachers to the concepts of CLA and translanguaging to re-orient pedagogical practices that embrace and utilize linguistic variation. An important observation in their work is that bilingual education models appropriate for simultaneous bilinguals, like the students in their study, must be developed specifically for simultaneous bilingual students whose needs and language learning situation differs in significant respects from that of sequential bilinguals.

Ramón A. Martínez and Danny C. Martinez (Chapter 10) present an ethnographic analysis of multilingual and multidialectal students at two southern California high schools, telling the story of competing language ideologies. As Martínez and Martinez focus on student and teacher interactions, they note that many appear to be motivated by a commitment to expand students' repertoires; however, in doing so, they make incorrect assumptions about what Latinx and Chicanx students already do or do not do with language. These assumptions, they argue, are often grounded in raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores & Rosa, 2015) which get inscribed and enacted in educational policy and practice in ways that marginalize Chicanx and Latinx students. Martínez and Martinez provide a rich discussion of the linguistic talents of their students, which reflect indigenous languages as well as non-dominant varieties of Spanish and English, and show how students additionally codeswitch among them, navigating spaces and interlocutors in their daily lives.

As the final chapter installment in the volume, Deborah K. Palmer presents findings from an ethnographic discourse analysis in two kindergarten two-way dual language classrooms. The classrooms Palmer studied dichotomized participating children according to their home language (or "strongest" language), treating them as either English speakers or Spanish speakers; in this way, they were positioned not as bilinguals but as monolinguals. English speakers were the blue kids, and Spanish speakers the red kids. Palmer focused on four kindergarteners and observed their identity formation as not blue or red kids, but as *purple* kids. Palmer argues that identity formation is a critical component of becoming bilingual, and suggests that programs and schools should enhance and promote children's emerging bilingual identities, not erase them.

In a complement to the volume Preface, Terrence G. Wiley concludes the volume with an Afterword, sharing some final words of discussion on codeswitching, translanguaging, and dynamic language use in educational settings reflecting the various contributions to the volume.

A variety of terms have been used in linguistics, sociolinguistics, and education to refer to language mixing. In addition to older and more widely used terms like *codeswitching* and *codemixing*, other popular terms include *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin, 1975), *hybrid language practices* (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejada, 1999), *polylanguaging and polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011),

metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011), *codemeshing* (Young, 2004), *translingual practice* (Canagarajah, 2013), *multilanguaging* (Nguyen, 2012), *holistic bilingualism* (Grosjean, 1989), and, of particular recent interest, *translanguaging* (Williams, 1994; García, 2009). Each of these terms has its adherents, who identify in some way with its distinctive characteristics.

The present volume is theoretically diverse in the same way, with some contributors preferring one term, others another, and most finding utility in embracing a plurality of nomenclature. We have selected the most common and best known, *codeswitching*, to capture a broad range of perspectives on language mixing. Although some recent scholarship (e.g., Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015) finds fault with this classic term and underlying conceptualization of language mixing, we, like the many contributors to the present volume, continue to find it useful. We hope that the contributions in the present volume serve to add to fruitful discussion related to current debates and ongoing discussions of codeswitching in the contexts of teaching, learning, policy, and ideology.

Finally, we would like to thank our many friends and colleagues who made this volume possible. Terrence G. Wiley, in his role as President and CEO of the Center for Applied Linguistics at the time, first suggested the idea of the volume for the new CAL–Routledge jointly published series. We are grateful to Terry for thinking of us, and to Guadalupe Valdés, the series editor, for her thoughtful assistance throughout the process. Naomi Silverman, Senior Editor and Publisher at Routledge, facilitated the project until her retirement, when she was ably succeeded by Karen Adler. We are grateful to the many contributors in the volume for sending us some of their best work, and, for those who could, assisting with the peer review process. We are profoundly grateful to them and other chapter reviewers for their time in providing thorough and thoughtful feedback; our chapter reviewers included Jeff Bale, Donna Christian, Vivian Cook, Kathy Escamilla, Tomás Galguera, Mileidis Gort, James Groff, Natalia Guzman, Kathryn Henderson, Susan Hopewell, Angel Lin, Kate Mahoney, Margaret Marcus, Melinda Martin-Beltran, Danny C. Martinez, Ramón A. Martínez, Judit Moschkovich, Deborah Palmer, Megan Madigan Peercy, Peter Sayer, Rebecca Silverman, Jody Slavick, Lucinda Soltero-González, Johanna Tigert, Fuhui Tong, and Guadalupe Valdés. In addition, we are grateful to the three anonymous proposal reviewers who provided feedback and expressed enthusiasm for the project.

Finally, we are indebted to Tabitha Kidwell, then a doctoral student and now a newly minted PhD, who assisted with the process throughout, working closely with the editors, communicating with contributors and reviewers, checking submissions for compliance with the publisher's style guide, and many other critically important tasks over the full course of the project. Katharine Glanbock succeeded Tabitha in this role, and ably brought the project to the finish line.

Thank you all!

Jeff MacSwan and Christian J. Faltis

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PART I

Theory and Context

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1

SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND LINGUISTIC FOUNDATIONS OF CODESWITCHING RESEARCH

Jeff MacSwan

Codeswitching is language mixing; it occurs *intrasententially*, or within sentences, and *intersentientially*, or between sentences. It has been studied in a wide range of language pairs, typically among *simultaneous* (rather than *sequential*) bilinguals and their communities. For example, Poplack (1980) observed Spanish–English codeswitching in New York City's Puerto Rican community, illustrated in (1a,b, below); Fuller (1999) documented German–English codeswitching in Pennsylvania, shown in (2a,b); and MacSwan (1999) studied Spanish–Nahuatl codeswitching in San Sebastián Zinacatepec, Mexico, shown in (3a,b). Codeswitching can occur as a single word or as a phrase; it is conventionally marked by *italics*. In the literature, codeswitching is variously spelled with and without a hyphen, sometimes as two separate words, and is sometimes abbreviated *CS*.

(1a) Leo un *magazine*
'I read a magazine'

(1b) Me iban a *lay off*
'They were going to lay me off'

(2a) Mer hen *farmed* mit Geil
'We farmed with horses.'

(2b) Mer hen *'bout three years* gefarmt
'We farmed about three years.'

(3a) A ver *axa nomejwa xiktlajtlanika n ye kox yokitak n* película
'Let's see now, you guys ask him if he already saw the movie.'

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-2

(3b) ¿Más o menos *tlánon kijito non* película?
'More or less, what's this movie about?'

The present chapter seeks to provide a concise overview of sociolinguistic and linguistic research on codeswitching as a resource to pedagogically focused theories of language mixing and their relationship to teaching and learning.

Codeswitching emerged as a field of research in the middle of the last century, driven by broader academic interest in bilingualism (Weinreich, 1953; Haugen, 1953; Mackey, 1967), the emergence of the new field of sociolinguistics (Hymes & Fought, 1975; Labov, 1972), and a social and political climate concerned with the nature of the language of disadvantaged groups, such as African Americans and Latinos in the US (Riegelhaupt, 2000). The work quickly converged on an understanding of codeswitching as systematic, rule-governed behavior. Far from providing evidence of linguistic confusion or "semilingualism," language mixing revealed that bilinguals are exquisitely sensitive to tacit rules which govern language mixing itself (Lipski, 2014; MacSwan, 2017). Gumperz (1967, 1970), Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez (1970), Hasselmo (1972), Timm (1975), Wentz (1977), Wentz and McClure (1977), Poplack (1978), Lipski (1978), Pfaff (1979), and Woolford (1983) were among the earliest scholars to bring these findings to light, now firmly established by an extensive body of empirically and theoretically rigorous linguistic research (for recent summaries, see MacSwan, 2014, 2016; Ritchie & Bhatia, 2013). Despite early interests, an actual codeswitching research literature did not emerge until the 1960s and early 1970s, when work focusing on social, grammatical, and pedagogical attributes of language mixing began steadily appearing.

Research on codeswitching served as a fundamental building block of Grosjean's (1985) case for *holistic bilingualism* as a new conceptual framework. While many researchers insisted on comparing bilinguals to "monolingual norms" who spoke the bilingual's two languages, Grosjean (1985) argued persuasively that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one, reflecting what he called a *monolingual* or *fractional* view of bilingualism. Instead, he argued that a bilingual is a linguistically unique language user whose languages reflect the speaker's unique experience. Grosjean (1985, 2010) used a sports analogy to illustrate the holistic perspective: Hurdlers blend high jumping and sprinting as an integrated whole, combining two separate athletic competencies. Hurdlers do not meet either high jumping or sprinting expectations separately, but by blending both, they compete athletically in their own right, excelling in their sport in ways that neither high jumpers nor sprinters could. Among other sources of evidence, Grosjean argued that a bilingual's sensitivity to the underlying rules of codeswitching revealed the unique linguistic competence of bilingualism. As Rampton (2007) remarked in the same vein, "research on code-switching has waged a war on deficit models of bilingualism and on pejorative views of syncretic language use by insisting on the integrity of language mixing and by examining it for its grammatical systematicity

and pragmatic coherence" (p. 306). See Cenoz and Gorter (2011) for a discussion of holistic bilingualism in relation to recent related ideas like *translanguaging* and *codemeshing*.

Codeswitching as Language Use

Language use is the study of how language is realized in concrete situations to perform communicative and social functions; it is often studied by linguists interested in pragmatics, discourse analysis, and conversational analysis. Research on codeswitching as language use focuses on how codeswitching functions within these domains, and contrasts with the study of codeswitching as language structure, which focuses on the underlying grammatical structure of language mixing.

Myers-Scotton (1993a) credits Blom and Gumperz (1972) with sparking interest in social aspects of codeswitching. Blom and Gumperz (1972) studied codeswitching between dialects of Norwegian in Hemnesberget, a Norwegian fishing village. Although the topic was actually introduced in previous work (Gumperz & Hernández-Chávez, 1970), the chapter by Blom and Gumperz received considerably more exposure because it was included in Gumperz and Hymes's (1972) edited collection which became a standard textbook in the many new sociolinguistics courses created in the 1970s. Since Gumperz's original contribution, sociolinguists have studied codeswitching as a bilingual language practice within three major research traditions, as summarized in Table 1.1, spanning discourse analysis, markedness theory, and conversational analysis.

Originally, Blom and Gumperz (1972) analyzed codeswitching as "situational" or "metaphorical." *Situational codeswitching* reflected a focus on a wide variety of speaker-external factors which may alter a situation in a way which could trigger language alternation. Gumperz (1982) associated situational codeswitching with

TABLE 1.1 History of the study of codeswitching as language use: Key proposals and representative references.

Timeframe	*Proposal*	*Representative Reference(s)*
1970s, 1980s	Discourse Strategic *Functions of Codeswitching*	Blom and Gumperz (1972), Valdés (1976), Valdés-Fallis (1978), Mühlhäusler (1980), Gumperz (1982), Valdés (1981), Saville-Troike (1982)
1990s	Markedness Theory *Social Motivation of Codeswitching*	Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993b, 2000)
1990s to the present	Conversation Strategic *Conversational Contribution of Codeswitching*	Auer (1984, 1998), Heller (1988), Li Wei (1994, 1998, 2002, 2005), Li Wei, Milroy & Ching (1992), Zentella (1997), Lo (1999), Gafaranga & Torras (2002), Jørgensen (2003), Cashman (2005a, 2005b, 2008a, 2008b), Raymond (2015)

language alternation between domains and in relation to specific activities, similar in important respects to Ferguson's (1959) definition of *diglossia*.

> Distinct varieties are employed in certain settings (such as home, school, work) that are associated with separate, bounded kinds of activities (public speaking, formal negotiations, special ceremonials, verbal games, etc.) or spoken with different categories of speakers (friends, family members, strangers, social inferiors, government officials, etc.).
>
> *(Gumperz, 1982, p. 61)*

Metaphorical codeswitching involved the disruption of diglossic conventions: "The context in which one of a set of alternates is regularly used becomes part of its meaning, so that when this form is then employed in a context where it is not normal, it brings in some of the flavor of this original setting" (Blom & Gumperz, 1972, p. 425). For Gumperz, situational codeswitching was governed by parameters such as participant constellation, topic, mode of interaction, and others which create a predictive model of language choice in an "almost one-to-one relationship" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 61) between extralinguistic factors and language choice, while metaphorical codeswitching was governed by speaker-internal factors.

Auer criticized the situational/metaphorical distinction as vague and theoretically unsustainable:

> The point to be made here is that the distinction between situational and metaphorical code-switching must be criticized from both ends; at the "situational code-switching" end, the relationship between language choice and situational features is less rigid, more open to re-negotiation, than a one-to-one relationship, at the "metaphorical code-switching" end, things are less individualistic, less independent of the situation.
>
> *(Auer, 1984, p. 91)*

Auer argued, and Gumperz agreed in appended comments to Auer's paper, that the distinction "always has to be one of degree" (Auer, 1984, p. 110).

Gumperz introduced the term "conversational codeswitching" as an alternative to "metaphorical codeswitching," and subsequently focused his analysis on the ways in which codeswitching may serve as "discourse strategies" within a conversation. As research on social aspects of codeswitching progressed, the distinction between *situational* and *metaphorical* fell into gradual disuse, with researchers preferring to conceptualize the former as the study of *language choice*, conditioned by linguistic ideology and the "political economy of code choice" (Gal, 1988; Heller, 1992; Auer, 2013), and the latter simply as *codeswitching*.

Gumperz defined (conversational) codeswitching as language mixing "within the same speech exchange" (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59), and outlined its six major functions as (a) quotation; (b) addressee specification; (c) interjection; (d)

reiteration; (e) message qualification; and (f) personification vs. objectification. Gumperz's model focused on micro-level sociolinguistic analysis, using naturally occurring data from small-group interactions as the core data source. As an example of *quotation* as a function of codeswitching, Gumperz described a conversation among Hindi–English bilinguals in which one remarked, "I went to Agra, *to maine apne bhaiko bola ki* [then I said to my brother that], if you come to Delhi you must buy some lunch" (ibid., p. 76), where a codeswitch is used to mark the onset of a direct quotation. *Addressee specification* occurs when a speaker uses a shift in language to coincide with a change of addressee within a group. *Interjections* for Gumperz were "sentence fillers," exemplified by *ándale pues* ("alright then") used in an otherwise English utterance or *you know* tossed into an otherwise Spanish utterance (ibid., p. 77). *Reiteration*, as the term suggests, is repetition of a message in the alternate language to clarify or amplify a message. Gumperz illustrates message qualification with an English–Spanish example in which the speaker repeats the English message with greater detail in Spanish: "The oldest one, *la grande la de once años* [the big one who is eleven years old]" (ibid., p. 79). Finally, Gumperz's contrast of *personification vs. objectification* posits that the degree to which a speaker is personally involved in a matter may serve as a trigger for codeswitching.

Valdés (1981) posited two additional functions of codeswitching based on Labov and Fanshel (1977): (g) mitigating the illocutionary effect of speech acts by using indirect requests, and (h) aggravating the illocutionary effects of speech acts. The former function is associated with indirect requests, while the latter with direct requests. As an example of an aggravating speech act, Valdés offers a quotation from two Chicanos discussing their obligations at work, in which one exhorts the other, "*Mira mano* [look, man], you just have to do it till it's okay and they say it's okay" (p. 104). Codeswitching is used to mitigate, however, in an exchange of two friends discussing car trouble, in which one indirectly requests assistance (*ibid.*):

(A) No, lo que necesita es que alguien que sepa de carros me lo chequie.
[No, what it needs is that someone who knows about cars checks it out for me.]

(B) Bueno, pos si quieres que le meta mano, *I'll be glad to.*
[Ok, well if you want me to give it a try, I'll be glad to.]

Whereas Labov and other sociolinguists tied language use to sociological variables, Gumperz considered language use to be a function of the dynamics of interaction. Thus, for Gumperz, language choice conveys intentional meaning of a sociopragmatic variety: "Detailed observation of verbal strategies revealed that an individual's choice of speech style has symbolic value and interpretive consequences that cannot be explained simply by correlating the incidence of linguistic variants with independently determined social and contextual categories" (Gumperz, 1982, p. vii).

Gumperz's approach sought to distill symbolic and interpretive value from the analysis of codeswitching. By contrast, Myers-Scotton's (1993a) Markedness Model sought to provide a predictive theory of language choice in a bilingual exchange; according to the Markedness Model, "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/or relation with others which they wish to have in place" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 75). Myers-Scotton (ibid., p. 113) posited a "negotiation principle" which underlies all codeswitching events. The Markedness Model posits that speakers use language choices to index *rights and obligations (RO) sets*—a construct previously used by Blom and Gumperz (1972)—each of which represents the abstract social codes in operation between participants in a given interaction.

> **The Negotiation Principle**
> Choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations [the RO set] which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange.

The RO set is indexed by binary features, turned on and off as in other subfields of linguistics with plus (+) and minus (–). Speaking English in Nairobi, for instance, "may be indexical of any of a set of attributes, including most prominently 'plus high educational level/socio-economic status', 'plus authority', 'plus formality', and 'plus official'" (Myers-Scotton, 1993a, p. 86). In other words, people assert a specific identity by the way they speak, and codeswitching is an aspect of speech choice which contributes to identity. Depending on larger social conventions at play, these conditions influence whether and in what way codeswitching takes place, according to the Markedness Model. Critics of the Markedness Model (Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1994; Li Wei, 1994, 2002; Cashman, 2008a, 2008b) have argued that it represents a static perspective on social behavior in which speakers are described according to existing norms. Furthermore, because there is no finite inventory of features making up the RO set, the approach appears to do little toward building a working theory of bilingual language use.

As an alternative to the Markedness Model, Auer (1995) advocated the Sequential Approach, which derives from work in conversational analysis (CA), a widely used approach in interactional sociolinguistics. Rather than provide "motivational speculation" regarding the codeswitching of interlocutors, the CA approach is focused on a turn-by-turn analysis of language choice and how the meaning of codeswitching is constructed. Hence, CA researchers are concerned more with how codeswitching is used to make meaning and create identities than the underlying motivation of language switching, which dominated Gumperz's (1982) original analysis as well as the Markedness Model (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). More specifically, Cashman (2005a) observed that research on codeswitching led to a complex and nuanced perspective

on the interaction of social structure (identity) and its relation to bilingual conversation. Such research has shown that a switch itself, rather than the direction of a switch from a socially dominant language to a non-dominant language, is a conversational resource (Auer, 1984; Li Wei, 1994; Alfonzetti, 1998), or that speakers might use the majority language to invoke a minority identity or vice versa (Bailey, 2000; Sebba & Wootton, 1998), or use language bilingually to do a wide range of identity work, including claiming group membership and establishing a bilingual identity (Rampton, 1995, 1999; Lo, 1999; Bucholtz, 1999).

These analytic approaches have been used in a wide range of contexts to develop insight into the nature of bilingual language use, or linguistic *performance*. The other major strand of linguistic research on codeswitching is concerned with the nature of bilingual linguistic *competence*, that is, how a bilingual's internalized linguistic system simultaneously represents two or more languages, as indicated by patterns of language mixing. We turn to this next.

Codeswitching as Language Structure

The conclusion that codeswitching is structured and rule-governed follows from observations of the patterns of language mixing—and if codeswitching is structured, then it provides evidence of linguistic knowledge, not of a linguistic deficit.

As an illustration of such patterns, consider the case of codeswitching between languages in which subjects precede verbs (SV languages, like English) and languages in which subjects follow verbs (VS languages, like San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec and Irish). In these cases, the syntactic pattern associated with the language of the verb systematically determines word order, regardless of the language of the subject. This pattern is illustrated in (4a,b) for Irish–English codeswitching (Stenson, 1990), in (5a,b) for Breton–French codeswitching (Pensel, 1979), and in (6) for San Lucas Quiavini Zapotec–Spanish codeswitching (MacSwan, 2004).

(4a) VS verb (Irish), SV subject (English)
Beidh *jet lag* an tógáil a pháirt ann
be-FUT taking its part in-it
'Jet lag will be playing its part in it'

(4b) VS verb (Irish), SV subject (English)
Fuair sé *thousand pounds*
get-PA he
'He got a thousand pounds'

(5a) VS verb (Breton), SV subject (French)
Oa ket *des armes*
be-3S IMP NEG of-the arms
'There were no arms'

(5b) VS verb (Breton), SV subject (French) (Troadec, 1983, 35)
Setu oa *l'état-major* du-se barzh ti Lanserot
There be-imp the military-staff down-there in house Lanserot
'There was the military staff down there in Lanserot's house'

(6) VS verb (SLQ Zapotec), SV subject (Spanish)
S-to'oh *mi esposa* el coche
DEF-sell my wife the car
'My wife will definitely sell the car'

The same pattern occurs for codeswitching between languages which place objects after verbs (VO languages) and those which place objects before verbs (OV languages), as originally observed by Mahootian (1993). As with subjects, the language of the verb determines the placement of the object, whether the object is from an OV or a VO language, as shown in (7) for English-Farsi codeswitching (Mahootian, 1993), in (8) for Japanese-English codeswitching (Nishimura, 1985), and in (9) for Korean-English codeswitching (Lee, 1991).

(7a) VO verb (English), OV object (Farsi)
Tell them you'll buy *xune-ye jaedid* when you sell your own house
Tell them you'll buy house-POSS new when you sell your own house
'Tell them you'll buy a new house when you sell your own house.'

(7b) OV verb (Farsi), VO object (English)

Ten dollars *dad-e*
ten dollars give-PERF
'She gave ten dollars.'

(8a) VO verb (English), OV object (Japanese)
… we never knew *anna koto nanka*
… we never knew such thing sarcasm
'… we never knew such a thing as sarcasm.'

(8b) OV verb (Japanese), VO object (English)
In addition, his wife *ni yattara*
in addition, his wife DAT give-COND
'In addition, if we give it to his wife.'

(9a) VO verb (English), OV object (Korean)
(I) I ate *ceonyek* quickly
(II) 'I ate dinner quickly.'

(9b) OV verb (Korean), VO object (English)
Na-nun *dinner*-lul pali meokeotta
I-SM dinner-OM quickly ate
'I ate dinner quickly.'

In addition to these interesting word order regularities, codeswitching reveals *grammaticality effects* just as monolingual language does. Grammaticality effects serve in large part as the basis for our theories about our subconscious knowledge of language structure. In English, for instance, speakers regard *John saw the red barn* and *John painted the barn red* as well-formed (or grammatical), but regard *John saw the barn red* as ill-formed (or ungrammatical). *John put the book back on the coffee table* is well-formed, but *Table coffee the on back book the put John* is not. Data such as these allow linguists to posit theories about grammatical structure; such theories must define all the well-formed expressions of a language to the exclusion of all the ill-formed expressions. Hence, linguistic theories about the structure of bilingual codeswitching also require consideration of *negative evidence*, that is, examples of utterances that speakers report to be ill-formed. Very importantly, linguists do not ascribe relative value to different variations in the way communities may speak (a *prescriptivist* orientation) but rather seek to explain how a language works within a community, regardless of the social value that is ascribed to it by others (a *descriptivist* orientation).

With this in mind, consider patterns involving codeswitching between a pronoun and a verb on the one hand, and switching between a lexical subject and a verb on the other hand. As Timm (1975) observed, "One of the strongest restrictions against switching applies to pronominal subjects … and the finite verbs" (p. 477) (compare Gumperz, 1976; Lipski, 1978; Jake, 1994). Research on codeswitching over a wide range of language pairs reveals this surprising fact: Whereas codeswitching between a lexical subject and verb is well-formed, switching between a pronominal subject and verb is ill-formed, as illustrated in (10) for English–Dutch and (11) for Spanish–English codeswitching, as reported in van Gelderen and MacSwan (2008), where * marks an ill-formed expression.

(10a) Those awful neighbors *lachen altijd te veel*
Those awful neighbors always laugh too much

(10b) *They zeggen te veel
They say too much

(11a) *Yo fight all the time
I fight all the time

(11b) *Ellos fight all the time
they fight all the time

(11c) *Ella fights all the time
she fights all the time

(11d) Mi novia fights all the time
My girlfriend fights all the time

(11e) Mis amigos fight all the time
My friends fight all the time

Remarkably, the acceptability of the utterances change under conjunction. If the lexical subject is conjoined with the pronoun, whether the pronoun is immediately before the verb or not, the construction is well-formed, as shown in (12).

(12a) Mis amigos y yo *fight all the time*
My friends and I fight all the time

(12b) Yo y mis amigos *fight all the time*
I and my friends all the time

(12c) Mis amigos y el *fight all the time*
My friends and he fight all the time

(12d) Mis amigos y ellos *fight all the time*
My friends and they fight all the time

What might the underlying structure be such that these patterns emerge? This question asks for an explanation—that is, a theory of the grammatical dimensions of codeswitching, or a theory of bilingual grammar, by virtue of which these and other linguistic facts may be given an account. Researchers interested in the grammatical structure of bilingual codeswitching have proposed models to address questions such as these for several decades; major currents of this research are outlined in Table 1.2.

As indicated in Table 1.2, early codeswitching studies were highly language-specific, and focused on characterizing the licit structural boundaries of language mixing. For instance, Timm (1975) identified five constraints on Spanish-English codeswitching, observing that switching does not occur within phrases containing nouns and modifying adjectives, between negation and the verb, between a verb and its auxiliary, between finite verbs and their infinitival complements, or between pronominal subjects and their verbs. Wentz and McClure (1976) and Pfaff (1979) attempted to refine Timm's proposed constraints. As noted, an important finding of this early descriptive literature was the observation that codeswitching behavior, like other linguistic behavior, was rule-governed. This important finding set the stage for a program of linguistic analysis which sought to

TABLE 1.2 History of the Study of Codeswitching as Linguistic Structure: Key Proposals and Representative References.

Timeframe	*Proposal*	*Representative References*
Early Developments (1970s)	Construction-specific constraints	Gingrás (1974), Timm (1975), Gumperz (1976, 1982), Pfaff (1976, 1979), Lipski (1978)
Phrase Structure Oriented Proposals (1980s–2010s)	Equivalence Constraint	Poplack (1978, 1980), Lipski (1978), Pfaff (1979), Sankoff & Poplack (1981), Woolford (1983)
	Free Morpheme Constraint	Poplack (1978, 1980), Sankoff & Poplack (1981)
	Constraint on Closed-Class Items	Joshi (1985)
	Government Constraint	Di Sciullo, Muysken & Singh (1986), Halmari (1997)
	Null Theory	Mahootian (1993), Mahootian & Santorini (1996), Pandit (1990)
	Functional Head Constraint Word-Grammar Integrity Corollary	Belazi, Rubin & Toribio (1994)
	Matrix Language Framework (MLF) Model	Myers-Scotton (1993b), Azuma (1991, 1993), de Bot (1992), Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross (2002, 2005), Myers-Scotton & Jake (2009, 2013)
Feature Oriented Proposals (2000s–present)	Constraint-free Approach	MacSwan (1999, 2000b, 2005a, 2005b, 2014), Cantone & Müller (2005, 2008), van Dulm (2007, 2009), van Gelderen & MacSwan (2008), Cantone & MacSwan (2009), González-Vilbazo & López (2011, 2012), Sánchez (2012), Grimstad, Lohndal & Åfarli (2014), Bandi-Rao & den Dikken (2014), Finer (2014), MacSwan & Colina (2014), Milian Hita (2014), Moro Quintanilla (2014), Di Sciullo (2014), Toribio & González-Vilbazo (2014), Giancaspro (2015), Lillo-Martin, Müller & Chen Pichler (2016), López, Alexiadou & Veenstra (2017)

develop more theoretically-focused accounts of codeswitching, departing from the earlier construction-specific catalogues of grammatical patterns.

"Constraints" were the focus of much of the syntactic research in early generative linguistics well into the 1970s, and seemed to be a natural term for linguists interested in the grammar of codeswitching to use to refer to the rules of codeswitching as well. As a result of this legacy, the term "constraint" is used in two very difference senses in the codeswitching literature today, one *descriptive*

and the other *theoretical*. In the descriptive sense, when we speak of constraints on codeswitching, we mean only that some codeswitched constructions are well-formed and others are ill-formed. For example, in examples (10) and (11), utterances involving a switch between a pronoun and a verb are ill-formed, and those involving a switch between a lexical subject and a verb are well formed. These patterns show that there are constraints on codeswitching in the descriptive sense. However, the early literature on codeswitching moved from constraints in the descriptive sense to constraints in the theoretical sense as 1970s syntacticians independently enumerated constraints on grammar, that is, constraints which function as actual rules within the grammatical system, not just as descriptive generalizations at the observational level (Newmeyer, 1986). A constraint in the theoretical sense is posited to be a part of our linguistic competence, a statement within the grammatical system itself.

Poplack, a pioneer in the field, was among the first to articulate a set of constraints, understood as a grammatical theory of codeswitching, which sought to capture the facts of language mixing. Poplack (1980) discovered that word-internal codeswitches at morphological boundaries were illicit. She posited the Free Morpheme Constraint to capture this generalization, defined in Sankoff and Poplack (1981) this way: "A switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical item unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the language of the bound morpheme" (p. 5).

Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint is intended to capture the intuition of bilinguals that words like *run-iando* ([rʌnéando], 'running') are ill-formed; here, a phonologically unambiguous English stem *run* (with a mid-central vowel that is not available in Spanish phonology) is combined with a Spanish suffix. However, the Free Morpheme Constraint permits cases of (nonce) borrowing like *parqueando* ('parking') and *flipeando* ('flipping') where the stems are accommodated to Spanish phonology (pronunciation). The distinction between *borrowing*, where words are phonologically integrated into the recipient language, and *codeswitching*, where they are not, is critical; borrowed words like *parqueando* and *flipeando* are considered Spanish words, just as French-origin *croissant* and *custard* may be used as English words.

Poplack's descriptive generalization about word-internal codeswitching has been attested across a wide range of language pairs (Bentahila & Davies, 1983; Berk-Seligson, 1986; Clyne, 1987; MacSwan, 1999), but it has also been somewhat controversial, with some codeswitching scholars noting counter-examples (Bokamba, 1989; Myers-Scotton 1993b; Nartey, 1982; Chan, 1999; Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross, 2002). However, in presenting counter-examples, researchers have often given too little attention to the specific syntactic and phonological characteristics of the examples cited, making it difficult to determine whether they are in fact violations of the Free Morpheme Constraint or instances of (nonce) borrowing (Poplack, Wheeler & Westwood, 1989; Sankoff, Poplack & Vanniarajan, 1990; Meechan & Poplack, 1995; MacSwan, 2004). A reasonable consensus perspective in the field holds that word-internal codeswitching is very rare (López, Alexiadou & Veenstra, 2017).

Poplack's Equivalence Constraint, like some of the other constraints noted in Table 1.2, is focused on the role of phrase structure in codeswitching boundaries. This constraint, as summarized in Sankoff and Poplack (1981), stipulated that "the order of sentence constituents immediately adjacent to and on both sides of the switch point must be grammatical with respect to both languages involved simultaneously" (p. 5). In the model of generative grammar underlying this work, the order of sentence constituents is first defined by a phrase structure grammar, which generates a tree structure which can then be further modified by a system of transformational rules. For example, a set of phrase structure rules such as *S* → *NP VP, NP* →*D (Adj) N,* and *VP* → *V NP* defines the structure shown in Figure 1.1. Lexical insertion rules then apply to fill the terminal nodes (D with *the*, Adj with *happy*, N with *house*, and so on).

In Spanish, adjectives come before nouns, of course, so a Spanish phrase structure grammar would include the rule *NP* → *D N (Adj)* instead of *NP* → *D (Adj) N*, as in English. Poplack and others had noted that Spanish–English bilinguals tend to regard *the white casa* as a well-formed codeswitch and *the casa white* as an ill-formed codeswitch (Gumperz, 1967; Lipski, 1978; Sankoff & Poplack, 1981; Belazi, Rubin & Toribio, 1994).

So their challenge was to constrain the grammar so that it would generate the English syntax with English words, the Spanish syntax with Spanish words, and the codeswitched structure with the rule *NP* → *D (Adj) N* and not *NP* → *D N (Adj).* Their solution was to introduce a superscripting mechanism, known as a *language tag*. In effect, this convention introduced internal differentiation within the system as it associated Spanish lexical items with phrase structure rules specific to Spanish, and English lexical items with English rules, but allowed rules common to both to be lexically filled by either language. Lipski (1978), Pfaff (1979), and Woolford (1983) similarly proposed that some sort of equivalence condition governed the ways in which languages could be mixed. This yields a tree just like the one in Figure 1.1, but with *casa* selected to lexically fill the final N instead of *house.*

Subsequent researchers challenged Poplack's constraints, but nonetheless relied on conventions reminiscent of the *language tag*, such as a *language index* (Di Sciullo,

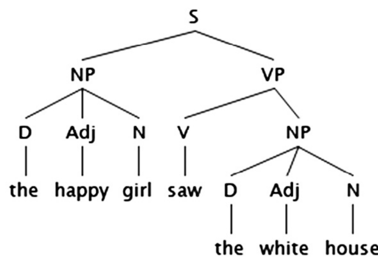

FIGURE 1.1 A syntactic tree generated by an early generative-transformational grammar.

Muysken & Singh, 1986), a *matrix/embedded language* dichotomy (Joshi, 1985; Myers-Scotton, 1993b), or a *language feature* (Belazi, Rubin & Toribio, 1994). Constraints of this nature are codeswitching-specific, even though the proposing researcher typically claims otherwise (MacSwan, in press), because the proposed rules of grammar refer to *languages* or to *language switching*. However, because a particular language (like *Spanish* or *Tagalog*) is the output of the rule system, identifying it as part of the input creates an ordering paradox. Furthermore, such constraints are tautological, offering restatements of the known facts rather than theories about what specific properties of our linguistic knowledge explain attested boundaries in codeswitching.

In addition to this important theoretical weakness of this class of proposals, researchers have raised significant empirical concerns about the full range of phrase structure-oriented constraints listed in Table 1.2 (for discussion, see Belazi, Rubin & Toribio, 1994; Mahootian & Santorini, 1996; MacSwan, 2013, 2005a, in press). Persuasive counter-examples have been offered for each. In addition, phrase structure-oriented constraints on codeswitching are focused on adjacency of lexical categories (e.g., nouns, verbs, determiners, etc.), and as such they naturally struggle to explain *asymmetrical codeswitching*. Such data show that codeswitching in a specific phrasal domain may be permissible from language A to language B, but not from B to A. For instance, drawing on a large dataset of naturally occurring Spanish–English codeswitching collected in Gibraltar (Moyer, 1993), Moro Quintanilla (2014) showed that in Spanish–English codeswitching, a Spanish determiner may precede an English noun (e.g., *los* <u>*teachers*</u>, 'the teachers'), but an English determiner may not precede a Spanish noun (e.g., *the* <u>*casa,*</u> 'the house') (compare similar data in Lipski, 1978; Jake, Myers-Scotton & Gross, 2002). As another example of asymmetrical codeswitching, MacSwan (1999) found that Nahuatl negation may occur before a Spanish verb phrase (e.g., *Amo* <u>*estoy trabajando*</u>, 'I'm not working'), but not the other way around (e.g., *No* <u>*nitekititoc*</u>, 'I'm not working').

These and many other examples show that codeswitching theories focused on phrase structure adjacency are empirically inadequate. As an alternative, many researchers have contributed to a "constraint-free" approach which posits explanations of codeswitching which rely on independently motivated principles of grammar. Rather than positing codeswitching-specific constraints (as subconscious rules governing language mixing), this approach sees grammaticality in codeswitching as an emergent property of the interaction of the bilingual's grammars. Within this approach to codeswitching theory, there are no rules posited as specific to codeswitching itself.

Consider, for example, a constraint-free approach to the facts Poplack sought to explain with the Free Morpheme Constraint. Within the new approach, the relevant research question is, how can restrictions on word-internal codeswitching be derived from independent properties of the linguistic system?

Because the Free Morpheme Constraint was concerned with phonological processes in language mixing, it is reasonable to suspect that the phonology, or

system of rules governing pronunciation, is highly relevant. Phonologists capture cross-linguistic variation in terms of differences in the rankings associated with phonological rules, called *constraints* in current phonological theory, known as Optimality Theory (OT). As Prince and Smolensky explained:

> OT hypothesizes that constraints are prioritized with respect to each other on a language-specific basis. If a constraint A is prioritized above B, we will write A>>B and say that A is ranked above or dominates B. A ranking of the constraint set—*a constraint dominance hierarchy*—allows the entire set to evaluate alternatives.
>
> *(Prince & Smolensky, 1993, p. 3)*

Since language-particular phonologies differ with respect to their internal rankings, it follows that bilinguals will have discrete phonological systems, each with a distinct ranked order of constraints. If the systems were combined as one, as in a single model, the distinct rankings would not be preserved, and the phonological processes would not generate phonetic form (or pronunciation) as expected. More concretely, building on Prince and Smolensky's explanation, if *A>>B* and *B>>A* are both part of a speaker's phonology, then a ranking paradox emerges, and *A* would have no priority relative to *B*. To avoid the paradox, the human language system organizes two discrete systems, one corresponding to the phonological output of each language. For the language system, these are just different constraint dominance hierarchies defined by their abstract properties.

To illustrate, Spanish /b, d, g/ are usually realized as stops when following another stop, a pause, or /l/ in the case of /d/ (e.g., *cuando* [kwan̪do] 'when', *tengo* [teŋgo] 'I have') but as continuants in intervocalic contexts (e.g., *hada* [aða] 'fairy', *haga* [aɰa] 'do-subj.3sg') (Lipski, 1994). English does not have this distribution. This difference is represented phonologically by ranking Spanish stricture agreement higher than it is ranked in English—more specifically, rendering the constraint ranking *Agree(stricture) >> Ident-IO(continuant), Ident-IO(sonorant)* for Spanish and *Identity-IO(continuant), Ident-IO(sonorant) >> Agree(stricture)* for English.

In MacSwan and Colina (2014), we empirically evaluated the theory that phonological systems are discretely represented for Spanish–English bilinguals using this specific potential conflict. In one experiment, we tested whether Spanish intervocalic approximant allophones of /b, d, g/ would occur in codeswitching contexts when situated between a Spanish vowel and an English vowel at word boundaries (e.g., *Hablamos de mi ghost yesterday*). The goal was to discover whether Spanish–English bilinguals (*N* = 5, adult simultaneous bilingual Arizonans) would allow a Spanish phonological process to modify English word structure (in the example, /g/ in *ghost*). A second experiment examined whether an English segment could trigger a Spanish phonological process (/s/-voicing) to modify a Spanish word (e.g., *mis ghosts*). The results of a phonetic analysis showed that our bilingual participants switched seamlessly and effortlessly at language

boundaries, but maintained separation of their phonological systems; participants applied the Spanish phonological processes exclusively to Spanish segments, even in a bilingual triggering environment.

So codeswitching is restricted within words during phonological parsing, but occurs freely at word boundaries. The PF Interface Condition (PFIC) (MacSwan, 2009; MacSwan & Colina, 2014) captures this restriction as an epiphenomenon, or emergent property of the linguistic system. *PF* refers to *Phonetic Form*, or the final pronunciation after all phonological processing is complete. For more information on the formal details of the PFIC, see MacSwan and Colina (2014), where it is defined as follows:

PF Interface Condition (PFIC)

i. Phonological input is mapped to the output in one step with no intermediate representations.
ii. Each set of internally ranked constraints is a constraint dominance hierarchy, and a language-particular phonology is a set of constraint dominance hierarchies.
iii. Bilinguals have a separately encapsulated phonological system for each language in their repertoire in order to avoid ranking paradoxes, which result from the availability of distinct constraint dominance hierarchies with conflicting priorities.
iv. Every syntactic head must be phonologically parsed at Spell-Out.
v. Therefore, the boundary between heads (words) represents the minimal opportunity for codeswitching.

Thus, while bilinguals create new words deriving from language contact, the phonology and morphology are tightly linked. As noted earlier, bilinguals will create new words through borrowing by phonologically integrating a word stem from one language into another, as in *parqueando* ('parking'), *flipeando* ('flipping') or *lonchar* ('to have lunch') where the stems are accommodated to Spanish phonology. But switching phonological processing mid-word is not permitted by the grammar for reasons specified in the PFIC, so words like *run-iando* ([rʌnéando], 'running'), where a uniquely English sound [ʌ] occurs in an otherwise Spanish word, are ill-formed.

The ban on word-internal switching extends to word-like units, too, where linguistic processes have merged elements together, affecting words that are phonologically integrated with adjacent elements such as *clitics*. Typically pronouns or articles, clitics are words which are phonologically merged with adjacent words, as in Spanish *dámelo* ('give me it'), comprised of the imperative *dá* ('give'), the indirect object clitic *me* ('me'), and the direct object clitic *lo* ('it'). However, note that orthography may not always reflect phonological merger, as in Spanish *Yo la ví* ('I saw her') where the object pronoun *la* ('her') is syntactically and phonologically merged with the verb *ví* ('saw'). The PFIC predicts that

codeswitching between a clitic and the verb would result in an ill-formed construction, as both words and word-like structures must be phonologically parsed in one fell swoop. Bilinguals' grammaticality intuitions regarding codeswitching in these contexts confirm this theory-driven prediction: *Yo la saw* ('I saw her'), where a Spanish pronominal clitic is mixed with an English verb, is judged to be strongly ill-formed.

Other pronouns besides clitics seem to have this property too. Pronouns appear to be bundles of abstract features like number, person, and case (what linguists call *φ-features*), whereas nouns are *referring expressions* (Postal, 1969; Chomsky, 1981; Abney, 1987; Longobardi, 1994; Cardinaletti, 1994; Cardinaletti & Starke, 1996; Carnie, 2000). Like clitics, pronouns appear to combine with verbs through a process known as *head merger* in order to establish subject–verb agreement (the assignment of φ-feature values), whereas common nouns establish agreement through other syntactic means. For example, in (11b) above, *ellos* ('they') and the verb both merge with T (representing Tense) to check features, resulting in a syntactically formed complex "word" (or *head*). Because word-like units must be phonologically parsed by a single phonology (as captured by the PFIC), the construction *Ellos fight all the time* ('They fight all the time') is ill-formed because *ellos fight* cannot be phonologically parsed. This structure is illustrated in Figure 1.2, where movement motivated by feature checking is represented by arrows.

Feature checking in the case of common nouns (lexical DPs) operates differently. Being full phrases rather than individual words, expressions like *mis amigos* ('my friends') have to move to a higher position in the tree, as shown in Figure 1.3. In doing so, no mixed-language heads (or word-like units) are created, so expressions like (11e) are well formed. (For a more technically detailed discussion of this analysis, see van Gelderen and MacSwan, 2008.)

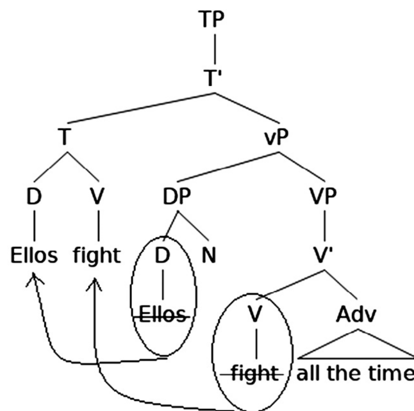

FIGURE 1.2 Syntactic derivation of an ill-formed codeswitched construction involving head merger.

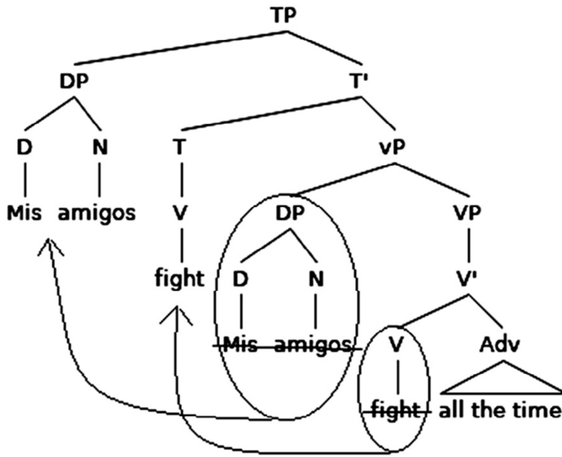

FIGURE 1.3 Syntactic derivation of a well-formed codeswitched construction involving movement to a specifier position.

Finally, in (12), we see that when common nouns are conjoined with pronouns, codeswitching is licensed as in the case of common nouns alone, following the pattern in Figure 1.3; that is because conjoined phrases must behave as a unit, and hence follow the pattern of heavier subjects serving as referring expressions.

This style of codeswitching research is known as the *constraint-free approach* because it does not posit rules or conditions that are specific to codeswitching, but rather allows the grammaticality facts and patterns to fall out of independently motivated principles of grammar. Prior approaches, like the Free Morpheme Constraint and others, posited rules that applied specifically to codeswitching; these approaches, which have increasingly fallen into disfavor, are known collectively as *constraint-based approaches*.

Analyses of many other codeswitching examples could be presented (for other examples, see MacSwan, 2013, in press). Together, they show that bilinguals are sensitive to their subconscious knowledge of grammar, just like monolinguals, and that a bilingual's linguistic systems interact to account for mixed language utterances just as a monolingual's grammar accounts for grammaticality in monolingual language. These powerful facts make it impossible to articulate a deficit perspective on bilingual language mixing in credible terms, and show that bilinguals' linguistic knowledge is every bit as rich and complex as that of monolinguals. In this respect codeswitching research supports a *holistic view of bilingualism*, as noted by Grosjean (1985): Bilinguals may be linguistically *different* from monolinguals, as all speakers differ one from the other in some respects, but there is no basis for conceptualizing their uniqueness as in any way incomplete or inadequate.

Next, we consider what codeswitching research tells us about the nature and organization of mental grammars.

Codeswitching, Mental Grammars, and Linguistic Repertoires

Broadly speaking, we may think of a grammar as a system of rules which maps sound to meaning. We hear *sounds* and assign them *meaning*, and we express *meaning* with *sound*. In linguistic terms, a phonological representation is mapped onto a semantic representation, with syntax intervening. Recent linguistic theory has conceptualized this relationship in terms of a rich lexicon whose individual items are specified for much of the structural information that is spelled out in the syntax. In this respect, the lexicon—or list of words a person knows—becomes the locus of language-specific information accounting for variation in word order as well as the idiosyncrasies of morphological agreement. A lexical item, or word, may be of two types: lexical, with substantive or referential content (e.g., *chair, table*), or functional, where it primarily carries abstract features (e.g., *the, if*). Every lexical item is a feature set, where lexical features may be of four specific kinds (Chomsky, 1995):

i Categorial features (Noun, Verb, Adjective, Preposition, Tense, or more)
ii Grammatical features (φ-features, Case, and others relevant to word order)
iii Inherent semantic features (referential content, or word meaning)
iv A phonological feature matrix (determining its pronunciation)

These features have consequences for word order and well-formedness as an expression is put together.

Our lexically encoded knowledge projects the structural relations we see in sentences. This system maps sound to meaning by associating phonology (PHON, or PF for *phonetic form*) with semantics (SEM, or LF for *logical form*) in the way illustrated in Figure 1.4. As shown there, lexical items are selected from our large bank of words, or Lexicon, into a small set of elements to be used to express a thought. To accomplish this, an operation called *Select* draws words from the *Lexicon* and places them in a *Lexical Array*. The features of lexical items are then structurally arranged by *Merge*. The resulting structure is split into two at a point called Spell-Out, with features relevant to phonology are passed on to PHON, and features relevant to semantic interpretation are passed on to SEM. (For more information on general concepts of contemporary syntactic theory, see van Gelderen, 2017, and Uriagereka, 2012.)

In the bilingual case, things get just a little more complicated.[1] As noted earlier, a bilingual's phonological systems are discretely represented in order to preserve the conflicting priorities of ranked constraints. The features assigned to lexical items are also different across languages. For example, agreement features like person, number and gender (φ-features) are different for Spanish, German, and English, among others. To keep track of these potentially conflicting grammatical properties, discrete Lexicons are also needed in the case of a bilingual. Figure 1.4 represents how these components of mental grammar interact in the case of an idealized monolingual (as conceptualized in standard syntactic theory) and the case of a bilingual.

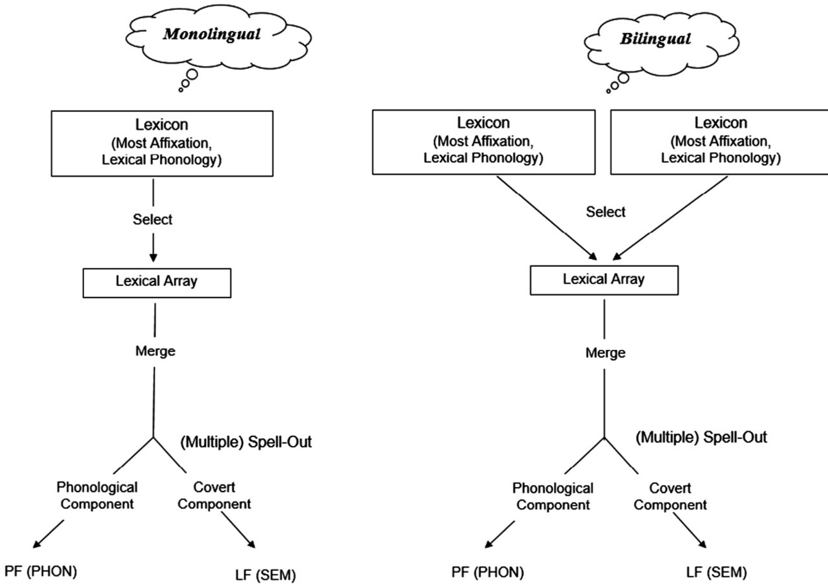

FIGURE 1.4 Representations of human mental grammar for monolinguals and bilinguals.

Multilinguals have a system in which some linguistic components (syntax, semantics) are common to the languages they know, and others (phonology, lexicon) are discrete, each corresponding to a different language community, as depicted in Figure 1.5, where G devotes a *grammar*. This Integrated Model of Multilingualism stipulates that multilinguals have both shared and discrete grammatical resources. For discussion, see MacSwan (2017). This property of bilingual grammar is explicit in Figure 1.4 (and originally, in MacSwan, 1999), but it is also an evident underlying assumption of other theories of codeswitching noted in Table 1.2. This research tradition seeks to craft theories of *linguistic competence*, or an understanding of what each of us subconsciously knows about language. However, it is consistent with findings of researchers focused on theories of multilingualism and *linguistic performance*, or the use of our linguistic knowledge in

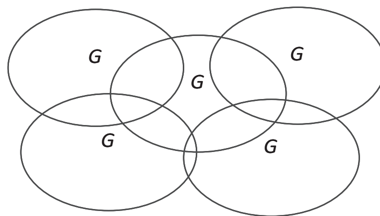

FIGURE 1.5 The integrated multilingual model.

the production of actual utterances. For example, in the domain of *linguistic performance*, Hartsuiker and colleagues (2004, 2016) examined the question of whether multilinguals had a shared or separate syntax for each language they know. Consistent with the bilingual version of the model in Figure 1.4, Hartsuiker and colleagues developed a "lexicalist model" of bilingual language production in which they posited that bilinguals have discrete lexicons and a shared syntax for the languages they know. Their research was based on syntactic priming experiments.

Recently scholars interested in language mixing in educational settings have explored a number of alternative terms for language mixing, including *heteroglossia* (Bakhtin, 1975), *hybrid language practices* (Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez & Tejeda, 1999), *polylanguaging* and *polylingual languaging* (Jørgensen & colleagues, 2008, 2011), *translanguaging* (Williams, 1994; García, 2009), *metrolingualism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2011), *codemeshing* (Young, 2003), *translingual practice* (Canagarajah, 2011), and *multilanguaging* (Nguyen, 2012).

These join the ranks of an older synonym, *codemixing*, which is typically used to mean the same thing as *codeswitching*. For example, DiSciullo, Muysken and Singh (1986), Lee (1991), Muysken (2001), and Genesee and Nicoladis (2006) prefer *codemixing*, while recent books (e.g., Myers-Scotton, 1993a, 1993b; Gardner-Chloros, 2009), handbooks (Bullock & Toribio, 2009), edited volumes (e.g., Milroy & Muysken, 1995; Auer, 1998; MacSwan, 2014), and major handbook chapters (e.g., Ritchie & Bhatia, 2013; MacSwan, 2013, 2016; Yow, Patrycia & Flynn, 2016) have used *codeswitching*. While some researchers have operationally distinguished between *codeswitching* and *codemixing* in the context of specific studies (e.g., Auer, 1999; Bokamba, 1989; Muysken, 2001; Toribio, 2001; Meisel, 1989, 1994), these distinctions are generally narrowly confined to individual studies and have not broadly shaped a distinction in the field.

Of particular interest in education in recent years is translanguaging. *Translanguaging* was originally used by Williams (1994) to refer to "the planned and systematic use of two languages inside the same lesson" at school (Baker, 2011, p. 288), but became widespread in the educational literature following the publication of García (2009). While García's earlier work included extensive discussion of codeswitching, understood to be one of many manifestations of translanguaging, she later characterized codeswitching as an endorsement of standard language ideology (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015).

García (2012) defined translanguaging as the perspective that "bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively" (p. 1, italics in original). Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) similarly define translanguaging as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (p. 283). These observations underscore the important respects in which translanguaging relates to

language policy and language ideology (García & Menken, 2015), particularly in classroom settings. While bilinguals may feel they have "permission" to enact a bilingual identity with family and friends, they are typically compelled to act unnaturally with peers and teachers in a school setting. Rather than having the freedom to use both languages, bilinguals are often directed to "separate" their languages based on the belief that mixing them at school or in the classroom will have negative social consequences.

Independently of these important observations about bilingual language use in school, some but not all translanguaging scholars have asserted that bilinguals not only have a single repertoire for the languages they know (an uncontroversial claim) but that they furthermore have a single, undifferentiated *grammar* (García & Otheguy, 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015). This idea, which relates to the linguistic representation of bilingualism, can and should be separated from the pedagogical research program concerned with language distribution in classrooms. The idea emerged under the influence of Pennycook's (2006) contention that discrete languages are purely social constructions: "A postmodern (or post-colonial) approach to language policy … suggests we no longer need to maintain the pernicious myth that languages exist" (p. 67). If languages do not exist, then "many of the treasured icons of liberal-linguistic thought … such as language rights, mother tongues, multilingualism or code-switching" are fictions too (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007, p. 22). However, an analysis of the linguistic facts leads to the conclusion that bilinguals have overlapping linguistic systems with shared and discrete components, as depicted in Figure 1.5.

Translanguaging is a broad and varied concept that includes at least three components. First, it is a conceptual framework which affirms a holistic view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 1985, 2010) and rejects prescriptivist dogma related to the language of bilingual communities and individuals. Second, it is a pedagogical research program, often realized as a particular point of view on bilingual instruction which rejects strict language separation policies. And third, as articulated by some translanguaging scholars very recently, it offers a perspective on "bilingual grammar" which questions the existence of discrete languages, along with complementary ideas such as multilingualism, language rights, mother tongues, or codeswitching. This third component of translanguaging, introduced most sharply in Otheguy, García and Reid (2015), is absent from early treatments such as García (2009), where codeswitching is extensively used and discussed as one example of dynamic language use.

Indeed, it is not difficult to see that one can readily preserve and accept the first two components of translanguaging, which relate to its underlying conceptual framework and pedagogical research program, and reject the third, which not only puts it at odds with "many of the treasured icons of liberal-linguistic thought … such as language rights, mother tongues, multilingualism or code-switching" (Pennycook, 2006, p. 22), but also relieves us of any meaningful discussion of community-level language varieties, second language acquisition, and

much of sociolinguistics quite generally. In fact, if we take seriously the view that multilingualism is a fiction, then any discussion of multilingual education immediately becomes incongruous.

Importantly, a *grammar* is not a *repertoire*, and we can capture the singularity of bilingual language use in terms of the latter, at the heart of García's (2012) definition: "bilinguals have *one linguistic repertoire* from which they select features *strategically* to communicate effectively" (p. 1). *Repertoire* is often used to refer to the broad stock of speech styles, registers, varieties, and languages people know (Coulmas, 2005; Spolsky, 1998). The term was originally introduced by John Gumperz, who defined a "verbal repertoire" as "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed in the course of socially significant interaction" (Gumperz, 1964, p. 137). Another way to think of a linguistic repertoire is as a collection of what Gee calls *social languages*.

> Languages the size of "English" or "Russian" are composed of a myriad of what I will call "social languages" … Social languages (some of which might be called dialects, registers, varieties, or styles or by other names) are styles of using words, grammar, and discourse to enact a socially significant identity.
>
> *(Gee, 2016, p. 69)*

These social languages are enacted in different contexts to create one or more social identities in interaction with others. Everybody has a diverse linguistic repertoire consisting of multiple social languages. These social languages are each appropriate to one or more social contexts, but may feel out of place in others.

We are all multilinguals in the sense that we each use different social languages in different contexts. For some, these social languages are enacted through more dramatic structural differences, broadly described with labels like *English* and *Spanish*. A bilingual in this sense selects different social languages according to social and situational contexts, like any of us—sometimes making use of both languages simultaneously (codeswitching), and sometimes making use of just one. However, it is important to distinguish a *repertoire* from a *grammar*. A linguistic repertoire includes our richly diverse internalized mental grammars, as well as the diverse vocabulary and systems of knowledge pertaining to discourse, pragmatics, and other social conventions which we recruit in verbal interactions with others, reflecting "contextual and social differences in speech … subject both to grammatical and social restraints" (Gumperz, 1964, pp. 137–138).

Furthermore, and very importantly, the consequences of denying the existence of multilingualism, and therefore of codeswitching, are far reaching. If codeswitching does not exist, then neither does the empirical basis for the repudiation of a deficit perspective on language mixing, a critically important and frequently cited body of basic scientific research (e.g., Cook, 2001; Durán & Palmer, 2013; Fuller, 2009; García, 2009; García, Flores & Woodley, 2015; Gort, 2012; Grosjean, 1982, 2010; Martínez, 2010; Valdés-Fallis, 1978; National Academies of Sciences, Engineering,

and Medicine, 2017). More to the point, we cannot both rely on codeswitching scholarship to support a positive view of bilingualism, and at the same time deny that multilingualism and codeswitching exist. By choosing the latter, we lose the empirical case against a deficit perspective on bilingualism, and are left only with an ideological one. For further discussion, see MacSwan (2017).

Codeswitching and Education

Research on codeswitching originated in an effort to illuminate language differences in the Latino community in the US. A conventional perspective on educational and economic disparities among minority groups was that the poor did not do well at school because of inherent cultural, intellectual, and linguistic limitations (Raz, 2013). Deficit-oriented policymakers suspected that bilingualism itself was the chief cause of poor school achievement. This motivated many linguists and sociolinguists concerned with bilingual students' school failure to address important questions about the stigmatized language varieties of the poor.

Guadalupe Valdés was among the first to emphasize the importance of a sound understanding of codeswitching for classroom teachers. She observed that many teachers hold the view that "children who code-switch really speak neither English nor Spanish" (Valdés-Fallis, 1978, p. 2). This observation was echoed by Commins and Miramontes (1989), who noted that "a popular belief is that children who code-switch … do so because they do not command enough pieces in either language to form a complete code; thus, they are considered semilingual" (p. 445). Indeed, the notion that codeswitching might be evidence of *semilingualism* was made explicit in Cummins's early adaptation of the concept:

> Several investigators have drawn attention to the fact that some bilingual children who have been exposed to both languages in an unsystematic way prior to school, come to school with less than native-like command of the vocabulary and syntactic structures of both LI and L2 … Gonzalez (1977) suggests that under these conditions children may switch codes because they do not know the label for a particular concept in the language they are speaking but have it readily available in the other language.
>
> *(Cummins, 1979, p. 238)*

The way teachers, researchers, and others view children's language ability is important because it will affect their views of what the children know, of their families and communities, and of the treatment children are likely to receive in school contexts. Viewed positively, teachers' views of children's language as rich assets are likely to enhance their school experience and outcomes. López (2017) recently examined how teachers' beliefs about asset-based pedagogy and their related behaviors were associated with Latino students' ethnic and reading achievement identity, revealing that teachers' understanding of the sociohistorical

influences on traditionally marginalized students' trajectories moderated their expectancy, resulting in higher school achievement (see also López, 2018). Rather than seeing children's home language as a deficit, asset-based pedagogies see it as a critical resource to be affirmed, valued, and fully utilized as part of a child's school-based learning experience.

More specifically with regard to bilingual children, if teachers believe that codeswitching relates to an inherent disability in children which might be remedied by instruction, then children's perceptions of their own "natural abilities" as severely limited, conveyed by classroom teachers, will impact upon their success in school. In a study involving 278 elementary school teachers from fourteen elementary schools in South Texas, Nava (2009) reported that a large majority of teachers viewed codeswitching negatively and discouraged their students from using it. Teachers expressed the view that codeswitching reflects limited proficiency in both languages, and interferes with academic and cognitive development. Ramirez and Milk (1986) similarly found that teachers differentiated "standard American English" from three marked varieties, with "Hispanicized English" rated more favorably than grammatically ill-formed (descriptively speaking) English constructions and codeswitching. Of the four varieties of language differentiated in the study, codeswitching was consistently ranked "least acceptable" by teachers.

These concerns about codeswitching, expressed by scholars and teachers, reflect a belief that bilinguals who codeswitch may be motivated by inadequate linguistic competence in both languages. However, as in the case of language prejudice generally—indeed, as in the case of any species of deficit psychology—the burden of proof for the deficiency is on those who assert it, who must show that a specific variety reflects deficiencies, not just differences, and that these deficiencies have the sort of negative cognitive effects attributed to them. While no such evidence has been developed, advocates of what Newmeyer (1986) called "linguistic equality" have shown the inherent richness of stigmatized language varieties in much the same way as Franz Boas showed that non-Western languages were as linguistically complex as their European counterparts, or as William Labov (1970) and others showed that African-American English is as rich and complex as the English of the educated classes—by presenting linguistic analyses which reveal its structure and richness. Codeswitching scholars engaged this enterprise with a focus on bilingualism. As John Lipski, an early pioneer of the field, recalled:

> Seeking to dispel popular notions that equate code-switching with confusion, "alingualism," imperfect acquisition, and just plain laziness, linguists have since the early 1970s devoted considerable effort to demonstrating grammatical and pragmatic conditions favoring or constraining code-switching. Bilingual code-switching so analyzed is not regarded … as a deficiency or anomaly.
>
> *(Lipski, 2014, p. 24)*

The recent resurgence of interest in pedagogical aspects of language mixing affirms codeswitching as a viable approach to bilingual teaching and learning, building on the foundational work of Jacobson (1978), Milk (1986), Jacobson and Faltis (1990), and Faltis (1989, 1996). Jacobson's (1978, 1988) New Concurrent Approach advocated codeswitching as an instructional strategy, providing detailed descriptions of how teachers should use it most effectively in classrooms. Much like educational researchers today, who engage in these topics from a variety of pathways, these early advocates of language mixing in classroom settings faced strong opposition from those who favored language separation as a way of avoiding "cross-contamination" of the two languages (Jacobson, 1990, p. 4). Faltis (1989) similarly noted the tension between two approaches to bilingual teaching, one which seeks "to maintain a strict separation of the two languages on the basis of time or subject matter," and another which would "allow for both languages to be used during all content instruction, but with clearly expressed guidelines for how alternation from one language to another is to occur" (p. 117). Faltis supports Jacobson's New Concurrent Approach (NCA), which advocates codeswitching as an approach to bilingual teaching, noting that educators do not widely support it perhaps due to "a lack of understanding about community-based code-switching behavior" and the structured manner in which the NCA prescribes language mixing in classroom settings (p. 125). (See Faltis, Chapter 2, for extended discussion.)

Codeswitching research has had a long and important history in sociolinguistics, linguistics, and education. Sociolinguists have studied the discourse, social motivation, and conversational contributions of codeswitching, detailing the ways in which bilinguals use language switching to achieve specific conversational effects and perform their linguistic identities. Researchers concerns with the underlying linguistic structure of codeswitching—or the *grammar of codeswitching*—have labored to reveal the specific mechanisms at work in defining the structure of language mixing itself, and showing in the course of doing so that the underlying grammar of codeswitching gives evidence of a rich and complex system of rules, every bit as impressive as the rules of monolingual grammar. These rich traditions of basic scientific research have long provided a basis for pedagogical inquiries into language mixing in classroom settings. So, too, the present chapter has sought to provide an overview of the theoretical foundations of codeswitching research to help undergird our understanding of critical questions in bilingual teaching and learning, taken up in the chapters that follow.

Acknowledgments

Holly Cashman provided assistance with Table 1.1. Christian J. Faltis, Karen Feagin, Katharine Glanbock, and Lijuan Shi provided detailed comments on an earlier draft of this paper, which resulted in substantial improvements. Many thanks.

Note

1 The monolingual/bilingual distinction is itself an idealization. As Roeper (1999, 2016) noted, we are all multilinguals. See MacSwan (2017) for discussion.

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2

PEDAGOGICAL CODESWITCHING AND TRANSLANGUAGING IN BILINGUAL SCHOOLING CONTEXTS

Critical Practices for Bilingual Teacher Education

Christian J. Faltis

The preparation of bilingual teachers for bilingual education programs, from transitional and late-exit to more current dual-language orientations, has remained fairly stable over the past forty years: New bilingual teachers are taught to strictly separate named languages for literacy and content area instruction, and to discourage their students from mixing named languages in any classroom discourse (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Faltis & Valdés, 2016). There are multiple reasons for this long standing tradition in bilingual education, and throughout this chapter, the intention to show how the tradition likely came to be socially constructed. In the later sections of the paper, a grand counter-narrative to the separate language approach to bilingual education and dual-language education is presented through the examination of two major approaches to bilingual teacher education that reflect the current multilingual turn (May, 2014) in attempting to understand codeswitching and translanguaging for instruction and learning. The grand counter narrative offered in this chapter encourages bilingual teachers and their students to draw from and use "their linguistic repertoires across various modalities (reading, writing, speaking, and listening), … in order to meaningful learn" (García & Woodley, 2015, p. 141) and to understand pedagogical codeswitching practices to engage bilingual learners in bilingual and dual-language programs. This chapter limits the discussion to US public school contexts, owing to my lack of experience preparing bilingual public school teachers outside of the US There has been, nonetheless, some important work on codeswitching in school settings done in African, Asian, and European countries beyond the scope of this chapter (see, for example, Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1990; Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998; Auer, 1998; Lin, 2013; Setati, 1998; Li, 2005).

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-3

A Brief History of Codeswitching

The study of codeswitching among bilinguals (mostly adults) began in the 1950s, and it was not carried out by specialists of bilingualism. If fact, Haugen (1956) and Weinreich (1953), who both wrote books on bilingualism, excluded the idea of codes and codeswitching from their descriptions of bilingualism and languages in contact (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998). Jakobson, Fant, and Halle (1952/1988) were among the first to examine sound systems within bilingual users to argue from informational theory of the time that bilinguals "switched codes", i.e., cognitively distinguished one code (phonemic system) from another (phonemic system) when interacting with other bilingual users. They argued that "Two styles of the same language may have divergent codes and be deliberately interlinked within an utterance or even one sentence" (Jakobson et al., 1952/1988, p. 604). In other words, they concluded that all languages have multiple codes; however, languages in and of themselves are not codes. Language users *switch their codes* to interpret and produce new language, which may include multiple codes from the languages being used to communicate through social interaction. This early work is essential because it suggests that when bilinguals switch codes within and across languages, their language systems *work together in certain ways*, depending on the codes being switched. Their work anticipated the idea that codeswitching within short utterances appears to be rule-governed in the sense that the two codes bring with them places where they will and will not switch to the other style or language (MacSwan, 2014).

Subsequent work by sociolinguists, such as John Gumperz, Michael Clyne, and Shana Poplack, among others, moved away from the cognitive portrayal of "switching codes" to a more socially embedded, community based notion of "code switching" (also rendered as codeswitching). This newer version examined bilinguals' language mixing, to include speech acts, and longer chunks of languaging by bilingual interlocutors, arguing that codeswitching was both rule-based (internally) and community-oriented (externally, that sociolinguistic cues mattered for triggering codeswitching) (Li, 2005). The external orientation also proposed that codeswitching is a community phenomenon, that it is learned through continued social interaction with others who also codeswitch for interpreting contextual cues and conveying meaningful communication. From this early work, it was also learned that some bilingual community members prefer not to participate in codeswitching at either the word or the utterance level, even during conversations with other bilinguals. Codeswitching, when it does occur for these particular language users, is at the macro level of named language, where the users stay within the codes of one named language or the other, still paying attention to contextual rather than conversational cues. Lastly, research on codeswitching relevant for schooling contexts reveals that not all codeswitching is socially meaningful to those who use it; that is, codeswitching can occur for multiple reasons, including play, interpretation, identity, lack of language ability,

among others. All codeswitching that occurs between and among bilinguals, however, expects and aims for meaningful communication.

Codeswitching research has generated thousands of studies since the 1970s to the present (Auer, 1998; Heller, 2007; Lin, 2013; Lipski, 2014; MacSwan, 2013; Nilap, 2006, to name a few sources that review the vast literature). Some of the empirical work on codeswitching has been and continues to be highly important to education; other, more theoretical work is better suited for understanding how codeswitching works in various contexts with different languages in contact (MacSwan, 2014; Myers-Scotton, 1993, Li, 2005). A review of these studies is beyond the scope of this chapter (Chapter 1 of this volume for further discussion).

One area of language study that has contributed to a macro understanding of bilingualism in schools and communities, and in many ways to a separate language policy in schools, is the work done by sociologists of language, the most important being the work of Joshua A. Fishman. It is to this work that we now turn.

Diglossia and Bilingual Education

Many of the bilingual teacher educators who teach in US-based bilingual credential, licensure, and endorsement programs view themselves as highly proficient in a language other than English. This high proficiency is marked by a propensity toward the use of standard varieties (or codes) of Spanish and English for instruction in academic contexts, and a proclivity towards monoglossic and separate language ideologies, which promote using named unmixed languages within distinct domains as the norm. In this manner, diglossia reinforces the assumed power (or lack thereof) each named language holds in the lives of teachers and within university teacher education programs. The idea of one named language for separate purposes as a means to develop and sustain languages in the community can be tied to the work of sociologist of language Joshua Fishman, who in 1967, wrote about "bilingualism with and without diglossia." Fishman borrowed the concept of diglossia from Charles Ferguson, who in 1959, published his influential paper on diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), which for him meant the use of separate varieties of a named language for distinct purposes, often between quotidian and religious purposes. Fishman (1967) was initially interested in finding ways for European languages such as Hungarian, Czech, and Polish, to be developed maintained overtime, when few new immigrants were refreshing these languages, and English, as the dominant language of the nation, was threatening to overcome them. Fishman found that regardless of the number of bilingual speakers in a community, the maintenance and stability of the minoritized language was possible only when diglossia prevailed and persisted. In other words, for the minoritized language to survive, its speakers need to recognize and use the two language for distinct social situations, and not allow the dominant language to enter domains in which the minoritized language

prevails. This social construction of language into separate domains to ensure the minoritized language lives and continues to be used for social functions is what I have referred to as the *Fishman Rule:* Whenever the dominant language enters the social domain which was previously recognized and designated by the community for the minoritized language, the dominant language will eventually take over (Faltis, 1976). Later on, when Fishman (Fishman, Cooper & Newman, 1971) and his team studied bilingual Puerto Rican communities in New York, using the Fishman Rule, he concluded that children in Puerto Rican families would eventually lose their Spanish because they used "both English and Spanish" in home, recreation, and work environments, according to survey responses. Using both English and Spanish, that is, mixing the two languages rather than using one or the other named language within the domain, was considered a harbinger for language loss, and thus, should be avoided.

Beginning in the mid and early 1980s, a number of bilingual scholars began to openly challenge the validity of diglossia and its use to portray bilingualism in Latinx and Chicanx bilingual communities. Most notably, scholarship on codeswitching, which began in force in the 1970s (to name just a few: Barkin, 1976; Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez, 1971; Lance, 1975; Timm, 1975; Valdés-Fallis, 1978, 1981; see also Nilap, 2006, for a detailed history of codeswitching in sociocultural linguistics), posed a new set of research questions about the feasibility of portraying bilingualism in Chicanx and Latinx communities as constituting two separate, distinct languages. These scholars examined the dynamic use of two languages among bilingual users for communicative purposes, so prevalent in many bilingual communities where grandparents, parents, and children switched rapidly between Spanish and English with certain people, and stayed predominately in Spanish or English for other kinds of social interactions. In these communities, children were *not* adding a second language, but rather they were integrating their language practices as part of their communitive repertoire (Reiglehaupt, 2000). Zentella (1981) studied an entire community in New York to learn about how the children in that community grew up bilingually and sustained their dynamic bilingualism well into their adult lives. One year earlier, Pedraza, Attinasi, and Hoffman (1980) published a chapter called "Re-thinking Diglossia." The authors lived and interacted with children, youth, and adults living in the same community where Joshua Fishman and his team had carried out his survey research on bilingualism with and without diglossia. Fishman et al. (1971) surveyed families in the barrio to learn if they reported using Spanish, English, or both Spanish and English, when interacting with others in particular social domains. Fishman and his team never observed the people being surveyed, never interacted with them other than for the survey, or certainly never lived among them. Accordingly, Fishman's results ended up bearing out the Fishman Rule, that over time these bilingual people would eventually become monolingual English-only speakers. Pedraza et al. (1980), however, found that language and languaging practices in the community was much more complex than Fishman and his team had imagined, and that bilingualism, far from losing ground, was highly dynamic and

flexible, such that as children grew older, they languaged their intentions, desires, positions, and feelings across languages, with others who likewise had grown up bilingually. They found that, contrary to the Fishman Rule, growing up using two languages, codeswitching dynamically, meant that Spanish as a named language intimately connected to English, thrived in the community, a community with a constant influx of new speakers and users of Spanish and bilingual communitive repertoires.

The Fishman Rule had a powerful influence on how many public school bilingual programs were designed from 1968 to the 2000s. While many of the transitional bilingual programs were designed as 90/10 models for the first year of instruction, and then quickly become 50/50 and 30/70 for the second and third year. Many dual-language programs are 50/50. The idea of diglossia as two separate languages used for two distinct purposes within specific domains dovetailed very well with the monoglossic language ideologies that also prevailed at the time Fishman was conducting his sociological research. Monoglossic language ideologies present language as separate, countable objects that can be studied through what Harris (1981) refers to as segregational linguistics (Mühlhäuser, 2000). That it, traditionally, applied linguistics begins with the assumption that languages are distinctly monolingual, and that the end point of learning a new language is the internalization of a native-like implicit grammatical system belonging to one distinct and named language, such as English. In segregational linguistics, acquiring an additional language is viewed and normalized through the socially constructed lens of an idealized monolingual native speaker of that language. From this perspective, deviations from the monolingual norm are considered to be learner language errors, imperfections, mixing errors, and/or fossilizations (Faltis & Valdés, 2016). Accordingly, for example, if a student in a bilingual program were to utter during "Spanish time" in a dual-language program:

> Ana María tiene José's lápiz. [Ana María has José's pencil]

The Spanish rendition is appropriate for Spanish time, but would be considered an error from a monoglossic perspective because it uses English grammar code features for possession within a Spanish language utterance. Likewise:

> Ana María tiene Jose's pencil [Ana María has José's pencil]

would be considered an error because the student mixed the two language codes during Spanish time, albeit in this case, the two grammar codes work together within each language's rule system. Through the lens of diglossia and monoglossic language ideologies, the goal is to reach native language status, and to suppress language errors, including language mixing and bilingual practices that break the Fishman Rule of drawing on two languages where one was expected to be used

by all. Accordingly, neither of the above utterances would be acceptable as anything other than an error vis-à-vis a perspective where students are not encouraged or allowed to mix languages. However, both are examples of codeswitching, and both communicate meaning for bilinguals using codes from Spanish and English.

Bilingualism constructed as diglossia coupled with monoglossic language ideologies have been foundational in many bilingual education programs, where the aim is to move minoritized children as quickly as possible from monolingual to brief bilingualism, and finally to English. In two-way and dual-language education programs, ostensibly, the goal is to develop equal language proficiency in two languages, yielding what Cummins (2007) disparagingly refers to as the "two solitudes". The means to gain equal proficiency stems from instruction in which the two named languages are kept separate for and during instruction and for assessment. There are many variations of these essentially immersion-based programs, with some beginning in kindergarten, some in the upper elementary grades, and some in middle school. Language use in these programs can be nearly complete (90%) or some lower percent of the time (typically 50–50 or 80–20, eventually becoming 50–50, the most typical program model). Despite these distributional differences, for the most part, such programs are deeply monoglossic, based on monolingual language norms, standardized codes, and bolstered by the social construction of bilingualism with diglossia (the two solitude construction of language) as the best indicator of individual language development and maintenance.

Becoming a Bilingual Teacher in the US through Teacher Education Programs

College students who wish to become classroom teachers with a bilingual teaching credential and certified/endorsed to teach in public school bilingual programs, such as the ones mentioned above, typically take bilingual education coursework in a what I refer to as "teacher-friendly" approaches to second language acquisition, bilingualism, and applied linguistics (see Faltis & Valdés, 2016). In such coursework, designed for new teachers and taught mainly by bilingual teacher educators with classroom teaching experiences in the US or experiences in Spanish speaking countries, college students are still taught that named language development (the second language) depends on large amounts of rich language and comprehensible language input (Krashen, 1985); that the negotiation of meaning, especially with monolingual "native speakers" of a named language, leads to linear language growth from simple to complex uses (Long, 1983), and the most language learners will develop an interlanguage (Selinker, 1972), with lots of language imperfections that need constant attention through error correction (and perhaps some fossilization of language errors); only those few who begin language learning at very young ages and continue from at least 7 years immersed in the named second language will

reach native speaker status in speaking, listening, reading, and writing (all part of segregational approaches to linguistics; see Faltis, 2013). College students in these sorts of bilingual teacher education programs practice teaching academic content in Spanish[1] or some language other than English (LOTE) for a number of weeks within coursework and during student teaching (a monolingual approach to bilingualism). They are typically expected to use only Spanish when teaching on Spanish days or during Spanish instruction time, and only English when teaching on English days or during English instruction time (see, for example, de Jong, 2016; Li, Steele, Slater, Bacon & Miller, 2016). This monoglossic single code-ideology of separate languages for separate times, content, and people is particularly enforced when the college supervisor visits the classroom to observe and evaluate a student-teaching lesson conducted in Spanish or English.

Across many bilingual teacher education programs, college students also take coursework in which they learn to use and teach specialized content vocabulary and genres in Spanish or a LOTE (Aquino-Sterling, 2016; Faltis & Hudelson, 1998; Faltis & Valdés, 2016; Flores, Hernández Sheets & Riojas Clark, 2011; Merino & Faltis, 1986), with the goal of supporting the development of multiple language uses in academic contexts. It is assumed that only when children learn to use academic varieties of languages, are they able to speak those languages well. Moreover, speaking languages well is part of what applied linguistics attempts to study and promote as part of the mission to understand language acquisition (Ortega, 2014). The assumption about needing to use language in academic contexts *well* is in part based on a colonialized perspectives of elite bilinguals, for whom using language *well* means using standard language varieties to interact, interpret, and perform in academic contexts[2]. It is believed that students who develop these abilities have intellectual superiority over children who do not. Accordingly, it is commonplace for college students to learn about language teaching strategies that are useful while teaching academic content areas and for promoting advance literacies, including digital and other modalities of becoming literate. These language teaching strategies, stemming from a prescriptive focus on form and correctness, provide new teachers with simple tools for teaching the standard forms of language, and to offer corrective feedback to eliminate non-standard and imperfect uses of language, which to some, include codeswitching and Spanglish (Chappell & Faltis, 2007; Sayer, 2008). For example, I know teacher educators who have their students learn about Spanish Total Physical Response lessons, use techniques from Silent Way (a highly analytical language teaching method that uses cuisenaire rods), and a variety of Sentence Starters as ways to teach children to use full sentences (a language teaching goal) when responding to teacher-generated directives and questions, all in English or in the LOTE, but never mixing or using both. Each of approaches to language teacher education are based on monoglossic language ideologies and norms, which as we have seen have had a powerful influence on bilingual education and bilingual

teacher education. As is well known, the Common Core Standards, written for English speakers, but also used in some bilingual programs, demand that students show evidence of using language (here meaning one particular language) in ways that reflect what well educated speakers and writers (within a particular age level band) do in order to explain, justify, clarify, and summarize thoughts, procedures, and analyses. As Bale (2015) points, the Common Core Standards stand in opposition to pedagogical approaches that encourage bilingualism in general, and codeswitching practices in particular. Students must show these language functions in either Spanish or English, and are compared with native language users of the individual languages (Faltis & Valdés, 2016).

In states with long standing immigrant and indigenous populations that do offer bilingual licensure, such as California, Texas, New Mexico, and Colorado, bilingual teacher education students are also required by their respective state departments of education to demonstrate high levels of language proficiency in the LOTE (assessment of a separate language, normed on monolingual users of the language) and to provide evidence of the ability to teach academic content completely and *well* in the LOTE. In California, for example, to show evidence of language proficiency in a LOTE, students intending to become bilingual teachers must be able to describe, surmise, explain, retell, and forecast events that are both familiar and unfamiliar in both speaking and writing in the LOTE they intend to teach in and through (Faltis & Valdés, 2016). Evidence for language proficiency in the LOTE is assessed through a face-to-face interaction and a writing sample, in which the bilingual teacher candidate is expected to perform exclusively in the LOTE with minimal errors in speaking and writing the standard variety of the LOTE.

It goes without saying that these bilingual licensure practices—academic content courses taught in a LOTE and demonstration of LOTE oral and written proficiency—have been built around the socially constructed image that bilinguals are people who speak, understand, read and write two separate languages. Accordingly, in order to be qualified as a bilingual classroom teacher, college students in bilingual teacher education programs must, for the most part, adhere to a monoglossic language ideology, in which languages are separate and should remain separate for instruction, lest Fishman's Rule become a reality. Moreover, the meta-myths that "good" bilingual teachers speak standard varieties of each language, and are able to use language for academic purposes in academic contexts and "bad" bilingual teachers mix the two languages using codeswitching practices are alive and well (Faltis & Coulter, 2004; Sayer, 2008). Below, codeswitching as a pedagogical practice is discussed in more detail. Suffice it to aver at this point that codeswitching is, by its very nature, viewed as a non-standard practice in separate language approaches to bilingual education, even when the language used within the codes is in the standard variety of the code. One of the main goals of this paper is offer a counter-narrative to the above dominant social characterizations of language and bilingualism in bilingual education, and to argue for the use of bilingual

languaging practices such as codeswitching and translanguaging for instructional and learning purposes, with the understanding that these two languaging practices have somewhat differing theoretical underpinnings.

The following section introduces the New Concurrent Approach to teaching and for learning bilingually. This extraordinary approach pedagogically challenges teachers who rely on a separate language approach to instruction to re-consider how codeswitching can be beneficial for both language and content learning in classroom and communities contexts.

The New Concurrent Approach: An Extraordinary Pedagogy

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Jacobson (1981) and Jacobson and Faltis (1990) proposed and promoted the New Concurrent Approach (NCA) to bilingual pedagogy, an extraordinary pedagogy based on community codeswitching practices, to counter the prevailing narrative of separate language bilingual education pedagogy. In the NCA pedagogical model, bilingual teacher educators teach their students to avoid translation (see Faltis, 1996) and to use a cue system (Jacobson, 1977, 1981) when switching between languages throughout a lesson while engaging in interaction with emergent bilingual students. When the NCA was developed, it was an extraordinary because it explicitly promoted codeswitching, teaching bilingually, so that students engaged in protracted interaction in one language and then the other language. The NCA was the first bilingual pedagogy to offer a viable and effective way of promoting both language and content development during an era when any kind of language mixing during bilingual instruction was viewed as harmful to students. The US approach to bilingual education during much of the Bilingual Education Act era (1968–2000), in which language proficiency was positioned as the main criterion for entry into and exit from bilingual programs, focused on developing English as quickly as possible, and not on promoting development of strong bilingualism and biliteracy.

In the 1980s, Jacobson and Faltis (1990) challenged the widespread diglossic approach to bilingual pedagogy in teacher education on several fronts, as pedagogically privileging separate language ideologies (Pedraza et al., 1980) at the expense of flexible bilingual practices used in Chicanx and Latinx bilingual communities and as sociolinguistically ersatz, essentially promoting social inventions of separate language practices (Kubota, 2014).

Jacobson (personal communication) argued that the NCA reflected the flexible bilingual language practices of children and youth, particularly in Mexican American communities in Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and California. He referred to these language practices, particularly those used in the San Antonio, Texas region, as codeswitching flexibly within and between two languages.[3] The NCA was constructed around scholarship on community codeswitching that was socially constructed and developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Jacobson (1990) was concerned with providing equal learning time in and equal status to Spanish and

English, to counter the dominance of English in bilingual classrooms (Sapiens, 1982; Valdés-Fallis, 1978) during instruction and for classroom management purposes. He wanted to leverage codeswitching practices through the use of a cue system to promote language development along with student content learning. Jacobson devised a way to help bilingual teachers use concurrent practices in Spanish and English to promote bilingual language development, content learning and bilingual community building. He wanted to develop a bilingual pedagogy that would not only scaffold learning bilingually, but also one that honored the bilingual language practices in the communities where the children attending bilingual schools and programs lived, played and grew up. It did not make sense to him to separate languages for instruction when in the community, bilingual children and families codeswitched on a daily basis for a wide range of communicative functions, not only to show identity membership, but also to capture and express meaning when interacting, interpreting, playing, and performing with other bilingual community members (see Palmer, 2009 for a similar view).

The NCA to bilingual pedagogy relies on a set of teacher cues for when codeswitches might occur, plus attention to the amount of time students interact in their languages. Teachers using NCA to bilingual pedagogy are expected to use the two languages approximately equally for classroom instruction. The cue system is built around four major categories: Pedagogical practices, content development, language development, and community building. Within each of these categories are examples of more focused cues the teacher may draw on for switching between languages. The goal is to help teachers develop a sophisticated set of reasons and purposes for pedagogical codeswitching. Teachers are also encouraged to codeswitch with children and youth outside of classroom settings, during recess and in the hallways during the day.

Children in NCA classrooms are then encouraged to use both languages for discussions, the development of writing ideas, to build PowerPoint presentations, for writing plays, composing musical events (see Montes-Alcalá, 2012–2013), and other creative classroom activities under the direction of the teacher. In an NCA classroom, the teacher may preview lesson activities in one language, then engage students in activities where they codeswitch with the peers, and then close the activities with a review in the students' other language. An NCA cue system is presented in Table 2.1.

Jacobson opposed intrasentential codeswitching by bilingual classroom teachers because he found that teachers who used this type of codeswitching tended to use more English than Spanish, and tended to translate from Spanish to English frequently, two practices he believed did not promote strong bilingualism. Jacobson was fully aware that intrasentential codeswitching practices were common in bilingual communities, and he expected children in bilingual classrooms to use any sort of codeswitching practices for peer-to-peer conversations, and in response to teachers.

TABLE 2.1 Cue system for classroom codeswitching practices.

Pedagogical Practices	*Content Development*
a. Scaffolding conceptual understanding. b. Review key ideas c. Reinforcing main ideas d. Providing feedback on understanding. e. Promoting discussion	a. Language appropriateness b. Building background knowledge c. Engaging with multiple texts and modalities d. Multiple ways of discussing specialized vocabulary
Language Development	*Community Building*
a. Paying attention to language needs b. Expanding vocabulary and special uses of languages c. Connections across language d. Translatability	a. Small group interaction b. Bilingual identity c. Building rapport d. Informal classroom time

Source: after Jacobson (1981)

Jacobson's primary concern was helping teachers learn to use codeswitching practices that supported both language and content learning and stretched students' abilities to use both languages for language and content learning. In other words, Jacobson was interested in developing a bilingual pedagogy that involved second order categories of language, rather than first order categories. Neither Jacobson nor I were opposed to the use of codeswitching within utterances by teachers or students in bilingual classrooms, especially during student-led small group work. We both did, and I continue to believe, however, that if students are to expand their spoken and written communicative repertoires in bilingual academic contexts, they need to be engaged in interactions, interpretations, and performances (Valdés, Capitelli & Alvarez, 2010) that involve opportunities to use their bilingual language practices extensively and repeatedly, with multimodal experiences, with a variety of real audiences, including audiences that are largely monolingual in the named languages used in bilingual programs. In other words, if bilingual teachers constantly move between languages, at the first order level, codeswitching within utterances, and/or translating from English to Spanish or vice versa extensively during instruction, for scaffolding classroom interaction, and for managing group behavior, it remains to be seen what sort of bilingualism and biliteracy result from these contexts and practices. There is some evidence that children in late-exit (more than 3 years) bilingual programs develop strong bilingual and biliteracy practices, owing to extensive time and use of one or the other named language for a range of social and academic purposes; in fact, much stronger and more extensive language practices than children who have fewer than 3 years of bilingual instruction, where the named language of English is increasingly used overtime (Ramírez & Merino, 1990). Moreover, I contend that quality bilingual instruction and interaction needs to include long chunks of language between the two named languages (not language separated by teachers,

days, or classroom) throughout the day, so that children hear and respond to ideas and content in both languages, with opportunities to stretch their discourse abilities (see Lin, 2015, pp. 85–87). This is particularly important for building sustainable indigenous language communities, in which the number of bilingual speakers is relatively small (McIvor & McCarty, 2016) and replacement of new speakers is either impossible or very challenging. All in all, it is important for bilingual teacher educators to the challenge systems that do not seek to address monoglossic ideologies and unfounded pedagogies that reflect dominant views of bilingual practices (no mixing, no codeswitching, diglossia, and standard, academic language).

In hindsight, Jacobson's NCA and my own understanding of codeswitching in bilingual communities (Jacobson, 1990, 1996) was influenced by the epistemological frameworks of language at that time. Professor Jacobson passed away in 2006 at the age of 90; nonetheless, I believe he would assert that at no time in our work did we perceive of codeswitching within Mexican and Chicanx communities as evidence of a language deficit (see Faltis & Coulter, 2004). Nor did we attribute deficit perspectives to most of the scholars we read and learned from. Jacobson celebrated codeswitching as a linguistic talent, to wit, "Children in multilingual settings have been shown to possess unusual talents that allow them to become, not only bilinguals, but polyglots regardless of how they have been exposed to the various linguistic sources" (Jacobson, 1990, p. 4). There were of course exceptions (see Hernández, 1979 as an example of prescriptive and deficit-oriented views on Chicanx codeswitching). However, we selected the work of scholars who at that time pushed back on the dominant narrative alive and well among many language teachers, bilingual as well as monolingual teachers, that languages should not ever be mixed, lest they be considered macaronic or evidence for the inability to speak or write well in one language or the other. In 1976, I read and studied *El lenguaje de los chicanos* (Hernández-Chávez, Cohen & Beltramo, 1975), and in that volume learned of Aurelio Espinosa's 1919 study of "Speech Mixture in New Mexico," and Fernando Peñalosa's "Chicano multilingualism and multiglossia" among other writings. Peñalosa (1975) argued that within Chicano communities, many speakers were multicodal, and multiglossic, using their two languages in complex ways not found in other bilingual, diglossic communities. I first read the work of Guadalupe Valdés-Fallis in 1976, when she began focusing on codeswitching among young Chicanx youth. As a young scholar interested in bilingualism and Chicano studies, I learned from many Chicanx and Puerto Rican authors that codeswitching was commonplace, and part of a group identity unique to communities in which codeswitching was acquired. I codeswitched across Spanish and English regularly with my friends in the neighborhoods where I lived in the Bay Area of California, and with bilingual colleagues who were studying bilingualism in the Chicanx community in graduate school. There were also times when I spoke Spanish with Spanish speakers, and English with English speakers, including school aged children, even when

these speakers might have been bilingual too. I learned that not all bilingual children, youth, and adults necessarily codeswitch when speaking with other bilinguals. I felt it was racist at that time, as I do presently, that codeswitching was often positioned as an undesirable bilingual practice for Chicanx children, but when White people spoke Spanish and English and mixed them, they were often praised and showcased for their bilingual abilities.

In the 1980s and 1990s, Jacobson and I accepted the social constructions of language as codes that could intertwine and mix features of the two languages in unpredictable ways, but, based on the research on codeswitching at that time, both of us believed that there were constraints on what members of bilingual communities would likely *not* produce. The work done by Shana Poplack (1980), Lenora Timm (1975), and Ana Celia Zentella (1981), among others, showed that bilingual users who grew up in bilingual communities used codes within their two languages interchangeably, switching flexibly across codes in their languages during conversations; however, these scholars found that these bilingual users tended not to switch between languages under certain conditions. For example, Poplack (1980) argued that syntactic constraints came into play for the Puerto Rican bilingual codeswitching users she studied in New York, but that there were exceptions, owing to the creativeness of bilingual users. She also found that there were significant differences between men and women codeswitching practices: Over half of the switches uttered by women were within utterances, while only about a third of the switches men made were of this type. Men tended to chunk language prior to codeswitching, and moved between the two languages according to contextual cues. Poplack (1980) was among the first to consider gender in codeswitching practices. To my knowledge, no one was examined this in bilingual classrooms, either for bilingual teacher or among emergent bilingual children and youth.

The NCA developed a line of research and theoretical understandings of languaging for pedagogical purposes that, at the time, was unique in the field of bilingual teacher education. Today, however, times have changed significantly, and bilingual education as we knew it in the 1970s–2000s has changed considerably. California outlawed bilingual education from 1998 to 2016; Arizona continues to be an English-only state since 2000. Massachusetts has also banned bilingual instruction. While the number of immigrants from Mexico and Central America has leveled off in the past 5 years, there are still millions of children and youth in need of bilingual teachers and programs. In these new programs, teachers are likely to learn multiple new terms for languages in contact that were not around during the introduction of the NCA. One of the most impressive new terms is *translanguaging*, first introduced by Williams (1994), and extended significantly by García (2009) and García and Li (2015). Translanguaging has become almost synonomous with codeswitching in bilingual teacher education circles (Gort, 2012; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Poza, 2017; Sayer, 2013; Li, 2017). The following section provides an overview of new terminology, with an eye

toward comparing and contrasting translanguaging with pedagogical codes-witching developed in the NCA. The argument is made that some aspects of translanguaging may be too broad for pedagogy, and that codeswitching within a translanguaging framework has its own set of issues, but both ways of thinking about multilingualism and language have a role to play as counter-narratives in bilingual education for pushing back on the diglossic, single-code language ideologies that continue to prevail in bilingual and dual-language education programs.

New Ways of Re-imagining Language

Theories about language have also changed considerably since the introduction of bilingual education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since 2000, there has been both a social (Block, 2003) and multilingual turn (May, 2014) in how language is portrayed and understood, and a complete reinvention of codeswitching and bilingualism. Since 2000, new ways of thinking about language have burgeoned, especially in European contexts, where sociolinguists report a new sort of super-diversity in language and vernaculars (for a critique see Makoni, 2012; Makoni, 2014; Orman, 2012), leading to innovations in thinking about language and codes (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Scholars of language are grappling with how to capture new work being constructed in the literature on superdiversity and supervernaculars, especially among bilingual and multilingual youth. One of the outcomes of this work it that the very idea of language as an object has been challenged in the field of sociolinguistcs as too static, as a monoglossic invention tied to colonialism, and part of a single code-ideology, that fails to consider the complexities of language within and among bilingual communities. Regardless of the challenges, language continues to the be at the heart of multilingualism, and as I show below, new terminology created to address the problem of monoglossic ideologies, all have to contend with existing notions about languages, especially within the realm of bilingual teacher education, which continue to be known as Spanish–English, Korean–English, Chinese–English, Sign Language–English bilingual programs.

As we saw above, codeswitching can be any instance in which two or more codes are used across space and time. Codeswitching may or may not follow the grammatical codes of named languages. This definition of codeswitching depends on the social construction of language as multiple codes. As Makoni (2012) points out, all named languages are comprised of codes, which are used for meaningful communication. However, Makoni (2012, 2014) also problematizes the language-as-code construction for understanding the complexities of diversity within language. For our purposes, let us assume that named languages are not natural objects, as Chomsky (2000) and others have argued. Named languages are what Harris (2000) calls *second order* categories and what García (García & Woodley, 2015) refers to as *external* orientations. Named languages are different from what

people actually do with language in ongoing communication, or *first order* categories on *internally generated* practices. Codes belong to named languages, but they are also part of spontaneous language actions that come into play for communicating meaningfully (Makoni, 2014). The role of codes in conversation is to express meaning from the sender to the receiver using a repertoire of codes that accomplish meaningful communication between language users who share codes of named languages. For example, "Oye, Miguel, préstame tu eraser porque mine ain't working." In this example, the named languages of Spanish and English, along standard and non-standard codes of English are used to communicate a request to Miguel. If Miguel is also bilingual, and he lends out his eraser, then the communication involving multiple codes is meaningful. Let us entertain another example, this time using a bilingual meme "Stay thirsty, mis amigos." used in a Mexican beer commercial. In this example, the actor saying the bilingual phrase is a French–English bilingual who can also pronounce Spanish; hence the two codes being used are comprehensible to most. Last, consider the use of mock Spanish (Hill, 1998) by Donald Trump, who uttered "he's a bad hombre", pronounced using English phonology, but involving two named language codes, plus a third, non-linguistic code for a racist portrayal (i.e., depicting Mexicans as criminals); a mixture of language and a racial code that most adults, bilingual or not, understand. Of these three examples, only the first would be considered by most as codeswitching. While the [stay thirsty mis amigos] and the [bad hombre] renditions involve elements from two languages, they are contrived and ersatz, and thus fall outside what the research literature would consider as examples of codeswitching, even though they are meaningful.

The Move toward Translanguaging in Bilingual Education

Makoni and Pennycook (2007) put forth the argument that all languages are social constructions, and that people in power, particularly during the eras of vast European colonization of Africa and North, Central, and South America, construed languages as social objects that could be named and counted. They argue that there is really no such thing as language, rather that there are socially named languages, and that what people do with language is more important than what the languages are called. They call for the disinvention and reconstruction of language in ways that question code-based approaches to language, and that promote a more complex understanding of language as a local practice (Pennycook, 2010), which necessarily involves multilingualism at its very core. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) reject the idea of codeswitching, arguing that, in their view, codeswitching stems from a separate code ideology in which the codes are social inventions that have no linguistic reality; languages are codes that were social constructed and named arbitrarily by those in power to name them. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) conceive of language as necessarily including elements of identity, locality, hybridity, and local practice. In their view, the

mixing of named languages is fundamental to all languages, hence, all languages in the world are first and foremost, creoles. Accordingly, the socially created and named languages of say, English and Spanish, and Spanglish, Singlish, etc. are all creoles, having been developed through years of contact, often colonization, and certainly, transformation.

In the preface to Makoni and Pennycook's book, García (2007) admits to a deep misunderstanding of many of the key ideas in the field of bilingual education up to the that point in time, the main one being that language is a separate, countable object, capable of being added to one's native language, and reducible to single codes which can be switched from one language to the other. Within a couple of years, García (2009) began reconstructing how bilingualism might be understood from a non-code, monoglossic perspective. Like Makoni and Pennycook (2007), she rejected a long standing term in bilingualism and bilingualism, codeswitching, which she argued was based on the social construction of language-as-codes, a monoglossic invention. For her, codeswitching as used in the bilingual education and bilingualism literature presupposes the existence of discrete language or separate codes. Following Makoni and Pennycook (2007), García argues that languages and hence, codes, are actually socio-historical constructions—not real objects—that benefit dominant groups and that have been used to marginalize minoritized groups. In her view, codeswitching promotes separate, named language ideology that ignores the realities of bilingual communities, retaining an external perspective of language.

In response to her and others' critiques of named languages and separate, monoglossic ideologies, García (2009) developed the term *translanguaging*, drawing from Williams (1994), who first suggested the term for the bilingual instruction he used in a Welsh English bilingual classroom. In her development of the term, García eschewed the thousands of research studies and articles that studied codeswitching practices. Although translanguaging describes many of the same language practices as codeswitching, García proposed that it derives from an entirely different premise about the nature of language. She characterized codeswitching as an external linguistic concept, where bilinguals alternate from one code to another (intersentential codeswitching) or they mesh the codes within a linguistic utterance (intrasentential codeswitching). In contrast, translanguaging is based on the premise that bilinguals have one unitary language system that enables them to draw on and use features of their named languages (García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2016; Orellana & García, 2014). Bilinguals communicate by tapping into these language features in order to respond to social and cultural contexts. According to García, bilingual children who translanguage tap into features in multiple and creative ways, most often in ways that emerge through interaction with other bilinguals, but sometimes as attempts to communicate with others through their evolving linguistic repertoires.

A translanguaging framework relies on three major tenets:

1. bilingual children possess and develop a single complex language repertoire;
2. bilingual children can communicate only with features of their repertoire, those that respond to named languages;
3. developing bilingual children's abilities in named languages depends on recognizing and leveraging their entire language repertoire (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 16)

In this manner, translanguaging can include utterances that in the codeswitching literature would be called intersentential switches. Here are some examples of translanguaging from García and Kleyn (2016):

(A) "Si yo tengo agua en este container." (p. 169).
(B) "Maybe tiene miedo, right?" (p. 152).
(C) "Maybe he died cuando le dio al sol con la mano." (p. 106).

These examples look identical to examples you might see in the hundreds of studies involving codeswitching. Of the three, the middle one brings up several questions. Because it is in written form, one might assume the base language is English, given the punctuation. However, the absence of a subject pronoun tags the utterance of Spanish. García's point is that translanguaging doesn't adhere to linguistic criteria, rather it is a way of using elements of one's single repertoire of features to produce meaningful communication. Accordingly, an utterance mentioned earlier in the chapter, "Ana María tiene José's lápiz," is a perfectly legitimate instance of translanguaging, because the bilingual child who uttered it drew on features from a single repertoire in an effort to report a fact. This is a tenet of translanguaging that both bilingual teacher educators and teachers alike will need to grapple with, given the highly prescriptive nature of schooling.

Translanguaging pedagogy entails three strands: stance, design and shifts (García et al., 2016). Teachers need to take a strong stance to resist deficit oriented portrayals of language mixing and the use of language mixing in academic contexts. The design of the translanguaging classroom needs to support student engagement with complex content and multi-modal texts, to promote language uses for academic purposes, to ensure bilingualism and students' identities as bilingual learners are honored.

Translanguaging shifts refer to the decisions teachers make in response to the bilingual flow of instruction and learning. As we saw in the New Concurrent Approach, the decision making process for switching languages was guided by a set of cues for teachers to use in response to the content and language needs of students depending on the flow of the lesson. In a translanguaging classroom, shifts are moment-to-moment decisions about language use. Among the reasons a teacher in a translanguaging classroom might switch languages are:

1. To help students understand new and specialized vocabulary and expression, by translating, paraphrasing, and using synonyms.
2. For making sense of new content, by drawing on stories and familiar cultural examples.
3. For relating new content to students' experiences through stories (García et al., 2016).

These reasons for translanguaging shifts are not much different from the cues that would be used in the NCA classroom. However, the pedagogical decisions a translanguaging teacher makes do not take into account the amount of time children spend in their bilingual language system, a goal that is essential for the NCA classroom. This is an area of concern for bilingual teacher educators to address in methodology coursework.

Table 2.2 presents a comparison between the NCA and translanguaging in terms of premise, responses, research, suitability and type of language mixing.

Final Thoughts on Pedagogical Codeswitching and Translanguaging

As this chapter has attempted to make clear, there are very good reasons to rethink the language separation models of bilingual and dual-language education. Having students artificially separate their two languages to learn content and

TABLE 2.2 Comparison between the new concurrent approach and translanguaging for bilingual instruction.

New Concurrent Approach to Codeswitching	*Translanguaging with Multilingual Students*
Based on an external community model of codeswitching practices for bilingual instruction	Based on internal model of language as a unitary system of multiple languages that are entwined for bilingual instruction
Asks bilingual teachers to pay attention to cues and time in language, to ensure students have opportunities to engage in extended discourse about content in academic contexts	Asks bilingual teachers to shift languages in response to language and content learning needs, and to develop students' bilingual identities
Seeks equal distribution of named language use	No attention to time in language
Based on robust literature on codeswitching and language pedagogies	Newly reconstructed idea with little or no research literature on bilingual instruction with translanguaging
Suitable for bilingual classrooms, with a bilingual teacher	Suitable for bilingual as well as multilingual students, with a monolingual or bilingual teacher
Promotes codeswitching in language chunks	Promotes the flexible use of language, within and across utterances

language and to express their interests is based on some questionable assumptions about language, about bilingualism, and about how children learn bilingually. Bilingual teacher education programs, in my view, would do well to challenge the monoglossic ideologies that inform many of the practices taught in bilingual education. Pedagogies, such as the NCA and translanguaging, are powerful counter-narratives to the colonial inventions of language as separate, countable objects, that place named written, standard languages at the top and mixed, non-standard languages at the bottom of a raciolinguistic hierarchy. Codeswitching and translanguaging are political acts in response the dominant models of language and language separation (see Flores, 2014). Both are de-colonizing pedagogies that bilingual teachers can and should use for promoting bilingual students' content and language learning, for leveraging bilingualism, and for valuing the language resources that bilingual children and youth bring to the classroom. The commonalities, in terms of what each contributes to promoting bilingualism, far outweigh their theoretical differences (see MacSwan, 2017 for a deep discussion of theoretical differences). Both were constructed to counter claims that bilingual language practices found in bilingual communities were unworthy for use in academic settings with curricula created by and for English speakers. Codeswitching practices were documented and studied mainly by Latinx (Mexican American, Central American, and Puerto Rican) scholars in US contexts; translanguaging was initially developed in European, colonizing countries, and primarily from the work of white male, European scholars.

It is my sincere hope that bilingual teacher educators pay much more attention to the approaches presented in this chapter to prepare the next generation of bilingual classroom teachers. However language mixing is framed, it will continue to be contentious in US classrooms, where language separation and standard language uses continue to be defended as the model for becoming fully bilingual. This defense furthers the efforts of those who ignore Whiteness and gender in language practices, and turn a blind eye to the languaging practices in bilingual communities of color.

Notes

1 In this chapter, I will refer mainly to Spanish–English bilingual teacher education programs, because I have many years of experience in such programs. There are Korean–English, Chinese–English, Arabic–English and others, and most use practices similar to those in Spanish–English bilingual teacher education programs, owing to state certification/licensure requirements.

2 I am fully supportive of expanding teacher's and students' communicative repertoires in English and LOTEs, and learning disciplinary ways of talking and writing are important. My concern is that social constructed terms such as academic language and CALP, become dog whistles for deficit thinking about the language practices of minoritized students and their families. My theory of change is to work with schools and education to re-think language.

3 See Sayer (2013) for an ethnographic study of Tex Mex, and codeswitching practices among children in San Antonio, Texas.

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PART II

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3

EXPLORING THE PEDAGOGICAL POTENTIAL OF TRANSLANGUAGING IN PEER READING INTERACTIONS

Johanna Tigert, James Groff, Melinda Martin-Beltrán, Megan Madigan Peercy and Rebecca Silverman

Introduction

Classrooms in the United States are increasingly becoming "linguistic contact zones" (Cazden, Kwek & Comber, 2009, p. 1), where students' language varieties coexist with schools' dominant English discourses. However, students' full linguistic repertoires are rarely recognized as resources in academic spaces that continue to rely on English as the dominant medium of instruction (García & Flores, 2014; Menken & Kleyn, 2010). In our study, we explore dynamic language practices of emergent bilingual students during cross-age peer tutoring interactions within officially designated monolingual instructional settings.

While a growing body of scholarship has called attention to the multiple and dynamic language practices among emergent bilingual students (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2011; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015; Martínez-Roldán, 2015), the majority of these studies have focused on teacher-directed practices in dual language/bilingual, immersion, and heritage language programs. Our study is unique in that it sheds light on students' bilingual practices in English-medium classrooms where the teaching and learning practices were student directed in a cross-age peer tutoring (CAPT) literacy program, Reading Buddies, which brought together pairs of students from kindergarten and fourth grade to read and discuss science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) related texts together. Because most of these students shared similar home language resources as emergent bilinguals in both Spanish and English, they were able to tap into their wider linguistic repertoire that went beyond the language used in the English texts they read together. We observed students using both Spanish and English to engage in reading English texts together, which we conceptualized as translanguaging

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-5

practices. We use the term translanguaging to emphasize the social practices of language use or the "doing being bilingual" (Gort, 2015, p. 1), which we discuss in our conceptual framework below.

We examined how translanguaging emerged among students while they engaged in literacy activities in the English-dominant context of their school. For the purposes of this chapter we explored the following research question: How, and for what purposes, do emergent bilingual students engage in translanguaging in cross-age peer learning interactions as they read and talk about texts together?

Background Literature

Sociocultural Perspectives to Understand (Trans)languaging

Grounded in a sociocultural theoretical framework, we view language use as both a cognitive and social activity (Cole, 1996; Engeström, 1987; Lantolf, 2000; Rogoff, 1990; Swain, 2006; Vygotsky, 1978). Our examination of peer-peer dialogue is informed by the sociocultural concept of *languaging*, or "the use of speaking and writing to mediate cognitively complex activities" (Swain & Deters, 2007, p. 821). Building from Swain and Lapkin's (2000) suggestion that learners mediate one another's understandings when they "focus attention, solve problems and create affect" (p. 105), we examine how students use discourse to facilitate thinking and learning.

In our study we examine how students used language as a tool for interaction and semiotic mediation, drawing upon the work of DiCamilla and Antón (2012) who provided a sociocultural taxonomy of language functions in peer collaboration. Studying English-speaking university students working collaboratively on a writing task in Spanish, DiCamilla and Antón (2012) found four macrofunctions of students' use of their L1 in peer interaction: (1) creating, discussing, and translating content, (2) negotiating the grammatical, lexical, and stylistic choices of language, (3) planning, defining, and managing the task, and (4) maintaining and developing interpersonal relations. Though their study differed from ours in terms of context (adults in a world language class vs. bilingual children in an English-medium elementary school), DiCamilla and Antón's (2012) coding scheme helped us understand how students may draw on their multilingual language practices to enrich their collaborative learning interactions.

It is within a sociocultural framework, that we frame our understanding of translanguaging is built upon decades of language mixing research that conceptualized students' mixing of L1 and L2 as codeswitching (Gumperz, 1982) or a "bilingual-mode activity" (Cook, 2001, p. 408). Originally used by Cen Williams (1994, 1996) in the Welsh–English bilingual context, the term "translanguaging" referred to the planned pedagogic use of one language for input and another for output, with the aim of strengthening students' academic language skills in both languages. Baker (2011) further defined translanguaging as "the process of making

meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (p. 288). Our conceptualization of translanguaging is informed by the work of MacSwan (2017) who argues for a multilingual perspective and suggests translanguaging as a pedagogical approach "emphasizes the dynamic use of multiple languages to enhance learning and make schools more welcoming environments for multilingual children, families and communities" (MacSwan, 2017 p. 191). Specifically, in our study we focus on the pedagogic functions of translanguaging among peers.

Translanguaging can act as a powerful tool for students' literacy learning, and has been employed as a deliberate pedagogical strategy by teachers (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). However, more research is needed to understand how students themselves engage in translanguaging, specifically in peer learning interactions, where translanguaging can potentially allow bilingual students to use their "liminal linguistic zones as a mediational sense-making tool" (Sayer, 2013, p.70). When engaged in translanguaging practices, multilingual students draw upon their wider linguistic repertoire to facilitate learning (e.g. García, 2011, García & Li, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Martin-Beltrán, 2009, 2014). For the bilingual students in our study, translanguaging meant that they were not restricting themselves to only drawing upon English, the official language of their schools. Rather, they were, at times, opening up bilingual spaces by engaging their more holistic linguistic repertoire (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011), which included Spanish, English, and the enacted dynamic bilingual practice of integrating these two languages together.

The Use of Multilingual Competence to Mediate Literacy Learning

Research has shown that teachers can use translanguaging to facilitate bilingual students' literacy development in contexts such as bilingual and heritage language schools. For example, Creese & Blackledge (2010) found that students' full meaning making in Chinese and Gujarati heritage schools in the United Kingdom often necessitated translanguaging, which served purposes such as enriching their co-constructed interpretations of text. Vaish and Subhan (2015), investigating Malay and English translanguaging with Singaporean second graders, found that the use of Malay scaffolded students' reading performance in English, as the teacher purposefully wove the two languages together to support students' comprehension and vocabulary learning. Both of these studies found that translanguaging interrupted typical, teacher-centered I(nitiation)–R(esponse)–E (valuation) sequences, increasing the frequency of student-initiated interactions. Sayer (2013) studied second grade students' translanguaging which included the use of English, Spanish, and "Tex-Mex" vernacular forms and identified the ways that translanguaging was a tool for sense-making and for indexing aspects of students' bilingual and bicultural identities.

In these studies, teachers played a key role in actively promoting their own and their students' translanguaging as a pedagogical tool. However, there is much less literature on students' own, spontaneous translanguaging practices in dominantly English contexts where translanguaging is unplanned, and where it is neither encouraged, nor utilized by the teacher. Particularly, we are not aware of any research that has examined bilingual students' translanguaging practices in cross-age peer tutoring. However, our study is informed by the above-mentioned research findings that have shown the pedagogical potential of translanguaging for literacy, as well as for greater understanding of content and language (Ballinger, 2013), stronger linkages between students' linguistic, cultural, and community resources (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), and increased linguistic creativity (He, 2013; Li, 2011b).

Student Interactions and Collaborative Learning in Peer Tutoring

While we recognize the vast array of research on collaborative learning, for the purposes of this chapter, we draw on literature related to peer tutoring, as the focal program of this study was based on principles from CAPT research (Topping, Thurston, McGavock & Conlin, 2012). Studies have shown the effectiveness of CAPT programs for improving both tutors' and tutees' reading skills. For example, Wright and Cleary (2006) found that the reading skills of third and fourth grade tutors and third grade tutees improved significantly as a result of a CAPT intervention. Van Keer and Vanderlinde (2010) found that sixth grade tutors' and third grade tutees' reading strategy use and third grade tutees' reading strategy awareness improved significantly in a CAPT program, but the program did not have a significant effect on the students' reading comprehension. Topping et al. (2012), however, found that students' reading comprehension improved after a CAPT program. Overall, studies have shown CAPT to be an effective intervention that taps into students' own instructional potential, thereby increasing schools' capacity to address the needs of struggling readers (Wright & Cleary, 2006).

While these and other studies of both same-age and cross-age peer tutoring programs have shown the positive outcomes of peer learning (for reviews, see Rohrbeck, Ginsburg-Block, Fantuzzo & Miller, 2003; Roscoe & Chi, 2007), very few studies have used close analysis of student talk to understand how learners navigate potential learning opportunities and challenges that may occur during peer interactions around text. We found just two studies that specifically focused on student discourse. Duran and Monereo (2005) studied same-age peer tutors' interactions in a secondary school and found that students who worked on collaborative writing exchanged mostly cooperative messages, as opposed to the I–R–E sequences often seen in teacher-led instruction. Klingner and Vaughn (2000) found that comprehension checks and elaboration dominated student discourse when fifth-grade bilingual Spanish and English speaking students worked in small groups, and that students used translations and longer explanations of words and concepts in Spanish as scaffolds as they worked together.

These studies have shown the potential of peer interaction for learning during *same-age* peer collaboration; however, there is a dearth of literature examining student talk during CAPT. Previous research has suggested that we lack deep understanding of "the collaborative nature of interactions among students and their potential impact on the reading process" (Rubinstein-Ávila, 2003, p. 85). We respond to Roscoe and Chi's (2007) call for future research to analyze "peer tutors' actual behaviors and their connection to learning" (p. 567) by closely examining bilingual peers' interactions during CAPT sessions.

In sum, our study contributes to empirical studies reviewed above, which have examined language mixing in bilingual classrooms (yet focused less on student-student interactions) and studies examining learning in cross-age peer tutoring (CAPT) reading interactions, which have not previously focused on students' enactment of dynamic bilingual practices.

Methodology

Setting and Participants

The data in this study come from the final year of a three-year research project. Over the three years, our research team worked closely with teachers and students in seven elementary schools in an urban area in the Mid-Atlantic United States to design and implement a peer learning literacy program to supplement regular reading instruction. The Reading Buddies program consisted of one preparatory lesson for the purpose of introducing the buddy pairs, 12 teacher-led lessons, and 12 buddy sessions. During the weekly teacher-led lessons, the fourth grade "big buddies" and kindergarten "little buddies" were prepared separately for the peer learning session to follow. Big buddies practiced defining the week's four target words, practiced reading strategies such as summarizing, previewed the text in order to be ready to ask questions and discussed strategies to guide the little buddies' comprehension (the use of Spanish as a discussion tool was not explicitly taught). Little buddies were introduced to the definitions of the week's target words and asked to choose their favorite target word and draw a picture about it. During the 45-minute buddy session, big buddies and little buddies were paired up, each week with the same buddy. The buddies began by sharing their favorite target vocabulary word for that lesson. Next, the big buddies read aloud to their little buddies from a book, watched a video story, or listened to a digital story on a tablet, while discussing comprehension questions. Buddies also practiced defining and using the four target vocabulary words in each lesson. Finally, buddy pairs played a question-and-answer game related to the new vocabulary and story. All curricular materials, except for translations of the target vocabulary into Spanish in student picture glossaries, were in English. During the teacher-led lessons, teachers typically had students pronounce the Spanish translations of the target words, but we did not witness teachers preparing the students for bilingual exchanges in any other way.

Both schools that participated in this study had an enrollment of approximately 950 students. At the first school, which we call Bridgeport Elementary, 44% of the students were identified as English language learners, and 86% of students received free and reduced-cost meals. For the second school, Kennedy Elementary, these figures were 55% and 93%, respectively. We analyzed a total of six 45-minute videos and transcripts from dyads who shared the same first language.[1] Combing through the transcripts, we witnessed many instances where students, despite a shared linguistic background, did not translanguage—possibly due to the status of English in the school as the *de facto* official language. The six transcripts we chose for analysis, were deliberately chosen because they represented sessions in which students seized the opportunity to translanguage extensively in their interactions, shuttling between languages throughout the session. Our focal students were three big buddies and four little buddy partners. During one lesson, Crista (big buddy), worked with two little buddies. Student information is presented in Table 3.1.

Coding Process

Earlier, we had examined students' discourses during Reading Buddies, engaging in open coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) to examine how students discussed texts and made meaning of new vocabulary together. These analyses revealed discourse patterns described elsewhere (see Martin-Beltrán, Daniel, Peercy & Silverman, 2017; Martin-Beltrán, Tigert, Peercy & Silverman, 2017).

TABLE 3.1 Participant backgrounds.

Student	*Grade*	*Reading Level (Teacher Assessment)*	*ESOL Level*[a] *(1–6)*	*School*	*First Language (Reported on Parent Survey)*
Crista	4 (big buddy)	On grade level	exited ESOL services	Bridgeport	Spanish
Teresa	K (little buddy)	No information	1	Bridgeport	Spanish
Catarina	K (little buddy)	No information	No information	Bridgeport	Spanish
Yazmin	4 (big buddy)	Below grade level	exited ESOL services	Kennedy	Spanish
Abigail	K (little buddy)	Above grade level	1	Kennedy	Spanish
Inés	4 (big buddy)	Below grade level	4.9	Bridgeport	Spanish
Daria	K (little buddy)	No information	No information	Bridgeport	Spanish

[a]ESOL level was reported by ESOL teachers using the ACCESS, annual English language proficiency test aligned to the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) English language development standards.

During the open coding process (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) examining student discourse during their buddy interactions, students' use of translanguaging became salient. We identified translanguaging episodes, in which the buddies used linguistic resources other than monolingual English. While translanguaging is a normative practice among bilinguals, the dominant status of English in these schools rendered Spanish the marked case (Auer & Eastman, 2010). Therefore, we viewed the students' languaging in Spanish as evidence that students were employing their wider linguistic repertoire and opening up a potential bilingual space that challenged monolingual assumptions, with the shift across languages often marking the initiation of student interaction with more linguistic flexibility. Therefore, what we coded as translanguaging episodes typically began with a shift from English usage to Spanish and translanguaging, and ended when the students went back to using only English.

As we reread the transcripts to refine our codes and engaged in axial coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994), we sought to understand how students used translanguaging for different functions or purposes. We noticed that big buddies often used Spanish to signal the move from one task to another. We also noticed that buddy pairs used Spanish for rapport building, affective check-ins, and the expression of emotions. Returning to the literature, we found that our axial coding scheme was similar to the language functions identified by DiCamilla and Antón (2012), whose study examined students' use of their L1 and L2 in interactions surrounding collaborative writing. The four macrofunctions identified by DiCamilla and Antón, which we described in more detail in our conceptual framework, were content, language, task management, and interpersonal relations. We adapted these functions and also drew upon the work of Klingner & Vaughn (2000) who used the code "checking for understanding" in their work in which students were reading and discussing text together in an elementary school context. We found this code to be useful because it captured important parts of the interaction that were salient in the reading context, which differed from the writing tasks described in DiCamilla and Antón's (2012) study.

After several rounds of coding, we adopted a coding scheme that identified five major functions of translanguaging in peer–peer dialogue:

1. Negotiating content—use of translanguaging to understand the content of the text—such as new concepts whose meaning students had to clarify.
2. Clarifying language—use of translanguaging to determine the meaning, use, and definitions of focal vocabulary words.
3. Checking for or confirming understanding—use of translanguaging to check for understanding to confirm understanding of ideas or vocabulary (see Klingner & Vaughn, 2000).
4. Task management—use of translanguaging to discuss or explain directions regarding what to do next as related to perceived session objectives.
5. Building relationships—use of translanguaging to show care, affection, emotion, to build trust and relationships (see García, Woodley, Flores & Chu, 2012).

Finally, in search for verification through contrasting or qualifying evidence (Corbin & Strauss, 2014), we also coded the transcripts for *missed opportunities* for translanguaging, discursive moments that could have utilized translanguaging (e.g. Spanish/English glossary) yet students and teachers did not take advantage of a wider linguistic repertoire for meaning making or mediation (see mediational episodes, Martin-Beltrán, 2013).

Findings

In this section, we present several excerpts that illustrate how students used translanguaging for different purposes in their interactions. Among the five codes, task management and building relationships were the two most often observed functions of translanguaging, while negotiating content was observed least frequently. We chose to highlight a number of episodes, not based on the frequency of the different functions, but rather, to offer rich examples of translanguaging and to show what each function looked like in the discourse. We recognize that within some episodes, functions and purposes for translanguaging overlapped. For the sake of clarity, we foreground each of the five functions (as described in our coding scheme) separately in Excerpts 1–4 and 6–9. In Excerpt 5 we present an example of a translanguaging episode that is particularly illustrative of the multiple functions translanguaging served in students' interactions. Finally, we present some examples of missed opportunities for translanguaging in Excerpt 10.

Negotiating Content

We found the students in our study engaged in translanguaging for negotiating content when they discussed the concepts they read about in text or the content of the story, or negotiated how to summarize the story, using Spanish and English. For example, in Excerpt 1, Crista (big buddy) is explaining to her two little buddies how birds inspired the invention of the airplane, using translanguaging together with gestures and pictures to make sense of the content in the text about inventions.

Excerpt 1: Negotiating Content—El avión y los pajaritos

See Appendix for transcription conventions.

00:12:00

CRISTA: ((Reading)) "Would you like to fly birds? Would you like to fly? Birds can. For years, people tried to copy birds, so they could fly too. It seemed impossible, until two brothers named Oliver and Wilbur Wright invented the airplane." So like the birds, the airplane can fly, right? ((Motions flying with arms out)) The airplane can fly? ((Looks to Catarina, who gives no response))

El avión puede volar, ¿verdad?¿Sabes de donde copieron, sabes de donde inventaron el avión? ¿De quién? Pajaritos, ¿verdad? Pajaritos, ¿sí? [A plane can fly, right? Do you know from where they copied, from where they invented the airplane? From who? Birds, right? Birds, yes?]

CATARINA: ((nods))

00:12:30

CRISTA: ((Addressing Teresa)) *Porque ellos copiaron los pajaritos porque esto* ((points to the picture of the airplane)) *puede volar* ((gestures flying)). *Y se mira como un pájaro, ¿verdad?* ((Points at the picture.)) *¿Sí? ¿O no?* [Because they copied birds so this can fly. And it looks like a bird, right? Yes or no?]

TERESA: ((nods))

CRISTA: Yeah? *Por eso inventaron como un pájaro,* [That's why they invented it like a bird.] ((Points to the picture))

In this excerpt, Crista (big buddy) paused after reading from the book to discuss a salient idea from the text—the idea that the flight of birds inspired the invention of the airplane. She explained the concept to her little buddies (Catarina and Teresa) in her own words, using an analogy in English and enhancing her explanation with a gesture; however, she got little response. Drawing upon Spanish allowed her to continue to negotiate meaning around the text that was written in English. She scaffolded her questions about the content of the text by breaking down the concept into smaller questions, such as "*El avión puede volar, ¿verdad?*" [A plane can fly, right?]. When she finally got an affirming nod from Catarina, indicating understanding, she turned to Teresa using Spanish again to extend content and meaning and then asking questions to check for comprehension: "*Y se mira como un pájaro, ¿verdad?*" [And it looks like a bird, right?] Crista connected her explanation in Spanish with the picture in the text, and Teresa seemed to show her understanding with an affirming nod. Finally, Crista synthesized the main idea and used the target vocabulary word (invent) in Spanish (*Por eso inventaron como un pájaro*) at which point the buddies returned back to the text in English.

While we cannot argue that this episode presents strong evidence of the little buddies' understanding (due to limited spoken responses), we do argue that Crista's use of translanguaging created an opportunity for deeper meaning-making, tapping into both languages as a joint resource for negotiation of meaning. Crista's use of translanguaging and scaffolding to explain key ideas that she perceived to be critical to her little buddies' comprehension of the text demonstrated her own understanding of the text and afforded an opportunity to externalize her learning across languages.

Excerpt 2 below is another example of using translanguaging to negotiate content when Inés (big buddy) asks Daria (little buddy) to explain the concept of temperature and why doctors measure people's temperature.

Excerpt 2: Negotiating Content and Checking for Understanding—Una pregunta

00:17:00

INÉS: Okay. Time for *una pregunta. ¿Por qué es importante por los doctores que te … para cheque tu temperatura? Porque no vas a estar …* [Time for a question. Why is it important for doctors that…to check your temperature? So you won't be …] ((motions for Daria to finish the sentence))

00:17:30

DARIA: Uh …

INÉS: *No vas a estar …* [You won't be …]

DARIA: Ill.

INÉS: *Enferma. Aquí, si… Como si no te chequean tu vas a estar muy mal y no puedes estar en la escuela. Si tu no vas a escuela, tu no vas a aprender …* [Sick. Here, if … Like if they don't check you, you will be very ill and won't be able to be at school. If you don't go to school, you won't learn …]

In this excerpt, Inés made use of Spanish to explain a hypothetical situation that might ensue if a doctor did not check your temperature. Inés used translanguaging to call attention to one of the comprehension questions that appeared in the Reading Buddies materials as she used the phrase, "Time for *una pregunta*" [a question]. She translated the question that appeared in English in the curricular materials to Spanish to ask why it would be important to measure one's temperature; then scaffolded a response when she offered ("*No vas a estar …*" [You won't be]) and Daria finished the sentence in English ("ill"). This translanguaging practice across speakers was an example of co-construction of meaning, which suggests that students were translanguaging as they were listening, thinking and responding across languages. In addition to outwardly producing speech in two languages, translanguaging was also possible when students demonstrated their understanding across their wider linguistic repertoire as an integrated system to participate in literacy practices.

Clarifying Language

Students also drew upon translanguaging to clarify the meaning of the target vocabulary words. Since the target words were printed in both Spanish and English in the student glossary, it must be noted that in these instances students' translanguaging was somewhat scaffolded by the curricular materials. However, students were not specifically prompted by adults and they went above and beyond using these translations, as big buddies would also explain the focal words in Spanish, skillfully drawing from the English definitions that were given in the student glossary. In Excerpt 3 below, Crista asks her little

buddy to repeat a part of the definition of the word "invention" using both Spanish and English. Despite Teresa's reluctance to talk (observed across several sessions), Crista was able to engage Teresa by drawing on both languages in a repeat-after-me sequence.

Excerpt 3: Clarifying Language—Inventions

00:05:30

CRISTA: Okay. ((Crista turns to Teresa)) Now, you say it. *Xxxx decir.* [Xxxx say.] Inventions.

TERESA: Inventions.

CRISTA: *Ayuda … ayuda … ayuda … Dilo.* [Help … help … help … say it.] It's okay. *Ayuda.*

TERESA: *Ayuda.*

CRISTA: *A resolver.* [To solve]

00:06:00

TERESA: *A resolver.*

CRISTA: *Problemas.* [Problems.]

TERESA: *Problemas.*

(2 sec)

CRISTA: Invention means …

TERESA: Invention means …

CRISTA: To come up … to come up …

TERESA: To come up …

CRISTA: Something for the first time.

TERESA: Something for the first time.

What is interesting about this translanguaging episode is the way that Crista broke down the semantic content into meaningful clauses in both Spanish and English. Rather than repeat the same literal definition in both Spanish and English, Crista highlighted different aspects of the meaning of the word in each language. For example, in Spanish she called attention to the way that inventions can help solve problems, and in English she clarified the importance of coming up with something "for the first time." By offering these complementary meanings across the languages, the big buddy was able to provide the little buddy with more building blocks with which to construct an understanding of the target vocabulary word.

Checking for and Confirming Understanding

Throughout the data, we saw instances of big buddies using translanguaging to check whether little buddies had understood a concept in the text, which served as a tool to gauge comprehension. In Excerpt 4, Crista checks for Teresa's

comprehension in Spanish as she calls attention to the significance of the word "determine."

Excerpt 4: Checking for and Confirming Understanding—Determine

00:32:00

CRISTA: *Ahora, ahora dime qué significa* determine. [Now, now tell me what determine means.]

TERESA: ((No reaction))

CRISTA: *¿Te acuerdas? ¿Te acuerdas? ¿No? ¿Una vez más OK?* [Do you remember? Do you remember? No? One more time, OK?] Determine

TERESA: Determine

CRISTA: Means

TERESA: Means

CRISTA: To

TERESA: To

CRISTA: Find

TERESA: Find

CRISTA: Out.

TERESA: Out.

00:32:30

In this example, the big buddy first checked Teresa's comprehension and tried to elicit the definition of the focal word: *"Ahora, ahora dime qué significa* determine." [Now, now tell me what determine means]. She checked for Teresa's comprehension using Spanish. However, getting no response from the little buddy, Crista limited her explanation of the definition to a "repeat-after-me" strategy in English only.

In contrast to Excerpt 3, where Crista broke down the definition into meaningful clauses in both Spanish and English, in Excerpt 4 Crista broke apart a phrasal verb into parts that confused their combined meaning (To. Find. Out.) While the episode represented a limited form of translanguaging to check for understanding, we wonder if she would have re-phrased the definition more meaningfully had she done it in Spanish (as seen in Excerpt 3). This is related to our discussion of "missed opportunities" (below). Ideally, big buddies could be trained to spot such instances of breakdowns of little buddies' comprehension and encouraged to respond to them by using their complete linguistic resources.

Later in the session, when the buddy pair returns to this word, Crista uses translanguaging to check for understanding and to manage the task, while also using metacognitive strategies to orient herself and her little buddy. This is a particularly illustrative example of the functions of translanguaging overlapping.

Excerpt 5: Checking for Understanding and Metacognitive Strategies—¿Te vas a acordar qué significa?

00:30:00

CRISTA: ((Reads)) "Determine means to find out," OK? Remember? Your word? Can you remember what it means? yeah? *¿Sí? ¿No? ¿Sí? ¿Te vas a acordar qué significa?* [Yes? No? Yes? Will you remember what it means?] ((Teresa shakes head no))

CRISTA: *¿No? OK, pues te voy a decir tre- dos veces* [OK, I'm going to tell you three-two times] ((Reads)) "Determine means to find out"… determine *significa que encuentres algo OK?* [Determine means to find something OK?] ((Teresa nods, Crista checks off a box in the checklist))

00:30:30

When Crista asked, "*¿Te vas a acordar qué significa?*" [Will you remember what it means?], on the surface, the question seemed to be checking for understanding. However, Crista was also calling attention to a metacognitive strategy and managing the task in a proactive manner, by letting Teresa know that her task was to remember the word in the future. The next comment, "*¿No? OK, pues te voy a decir tre- dos veces*" [Then I am going to tell you three- two times] switched to task management in the moment, as it prepared Teresa to listen to the word definitions in both Spanish and English. However, in doing so, Crista might have also been mediating her own understanding, another important use of language. Her comment can be seen as self-talk (Vygotsky, 1962), as she oriented herself to the next pedagogical task. We see her negotiating what to do next as she corrected herself ("*tre- dos veces*" [three- two times]). Her comment also served as indirect encouragement. When Teresa shook her head no, Crista was immediately responsive and reassures Teresa that she will take action to re-mediate her lack of understanding. What follows is Crista teaching the word definition both in English and in Spanish, "*dos veces*," as she promised. As we can see, this translanguaging episode served multiple functions including mediation of one's own and the buddy's thinking. Our findings remind us that students' shuttling between languages sometimes defies categorization due to the richness of their language use.

Task Management

We frequently observed the students using translanguaging when giving directions, explaining what they were going to do next, or drawing attention to the objective of the task. In the following excerpt, Yazmin and her little buddy Abigail are looking at a picture that Abigail drew using her favorite focal word, "succeed," and Yazmin used translanguaging to call attention to the task of identifying the focal word.

Excerpt 6: Task Management—Esta palabra aquí

00:00:30

YAZMIN: Are you in the water? ((Yazmin points to the illustration of water on the paper))

ABIGAIL: No, I go outside, play.

YAZMIN: In the sky.

ABIGAIL: Yes.

YAZMIN: ((Reading)) "Which word did you pick as your favorite and why did you choose it?"

(1 sec)

YAZMIN: Can you read me this? *¿Esta palabra aquí?* [This word here?] (Points to the word "succeed," which Abigail has copied above her picture.)

ABIGAIL: I go play…

YAZMIN: Uh huh and you succeed when you play ball.

00:01:00

Using both Spanish and English serves to raise awareness of the focal words and learning tasks. Although the little buddy could not read the word, by using translanguaging Yazmin was increasing access to the task and redirecting her little buddy's responses to relate to the key focal concepts (in this case re-using the word "succeed"). Similar uses for L1 have been found previously, for example by Swain and Lapkin (2000), who found that French immersion students used their L1 for moving a task along and focusing their attention to language structures during joint story writing.

Building Relationships

We observed several instances where the buddies used translanguaging to create a friendly social environment for learning and to build relationships.

Excerpt 7: Building Relationships—¿Te gusta estar conmigo?

00:14:30

CRISTA: *Acércate, acércate* [Get closer. Get closer.] ((Moves the little buddies' chairs closer.)) ((Crista puts earbud in Catarina's ear))

CRISTA: *Tienes unas lindas orejas… ¿así?* [You have cute ears… like this?] You're so cute. *¿Te gusta estar conmigo?¿No? ¿Sí? ¿Te gusta estar conmigo Catarina?* [Do you like to be with me? No? Yes? Do you like to be with me Catarina?] Can you tell me? Do you like being with me? *¿Te gusta estar conmigo? ¿Sí? ¿No? ¿Te gusta estar conmigo?* [Do you like to be with me? Yes? No? Do you like to be with me?]

((No reaction from Catarina))

CRISTA: *¿Sí?… ¿No? ¿No te gusta estar conmigo?* [Yes? No? You don't like to be with me?]

By using Spanish with her new little buddy, Crista signified their shared linguistic repertoire, giving her permission to draw upon translanguaging as a resource to establish a relationship with her new buddy. Crista also uses Spanish to show affection/cariño (as seen in García et al., 2012). Crista crosses languages, (Do you like being with me? *¿Te gusta estar conmigo?*) in one utterance allowing her partner to draw from her wider linguistic repertoire to express her feelings for her partner. Crista uses translanguaging to try to put her new little buddy at ease and to gauge how Catarina feels about interacting with a new big buddy.

During the buddy sessions, there was very little down time for the students, as they were supposed to move through the lesson in approximately 45 minutes. However, we observed students take the time to learn more about their buddies' personal lives, at the expense of completing the lesson. In Excerpt 8 we can see Inés asking Daria what she learned; getting no satisfactory answer she tells her little buddy she will model an answer, but then she abandons the task altogether and starts asking Daria about her family.

Excerpt 8: Building Relationships—¿Tienes una hermanita?

00:07:30

INÉS: *Okay voy a decir algo. Okay. ¿Qué aprendistes?* [Okay, I will say something. What did you learn?]

(10 sec)

((Daria says something but her hands are covering her mouth))

00:08:00

INÉS: *Yo voy a decir y luego tu. Yo aprendí …que …* What is that? ((laughs)). *Yo aprendi- … okay dime algo que tu haces en casa. ¿Tienes una hermanita?* [I will say and then you. I learned … that … What is that? I learned- okay tell me something you do at home. Do you have a little sister?]

((Daria again mumbles something with her hands over her mouth.))

INÉS: Huh?

DARIA: *Xx hermanito un hermanito …* [Xx a little brother a little brother …]

INÉS: *¿Dónde?* [Where?]

DARIA: *Xx. En Maryland?* [In Maryland?]

INÉS: *¿Pero dónde, dónde está tu hermanito?* [But where, where is your little brother?]

DARIA: *En Maryland también. Vive conmigo. Y tiene dos años de mi otro tio y XXX de seis.* [In Maryland also. He lives with me. And he is two years old from my other uncle and xxx six]

INÉS: Oh. Huh. *¿Cuántos años tú tienes?* [How old are you?]
DARIA: *¿Yo?* [Me?]
INÉS: Uh-huh.
DARIA: *Cinco.* [Five.]
00:08:30
INÉS: *Oh. ¿Mi hermanita? Ella tiene cuatro. Okay yo voy a decirte mi familia. Tengo una mamá, un papá, una hermana que es más grande. Es de cinco grado. No cinco pero de más grande. ¡Y una hermanita que tiene cuatro! ¡Y…y yo!* [My little sister? She is four. Okay I will tell you about my family. I have a mom, a dad, a sister who is bigger. She is in fifth grade. Not fifth but greater. And a little sister who is four! And … and me!]
00:09:00

In this excerpt, Inés uses translanguaging to create an opportunity to get to know her little buddy better. She shares about her own family as a way to build their relationship and encourage her buddy to share. Inés compares Daria to her little sister using the term of endearment *hermanita*. Throughout our data, the big buddies expressed care by using translanguaging to express a form of affection/cariño that might not translate to one language alone.

We also observed many instances throughout the lessons where big buddies used Spanish to check in on the comfort levels and needs of little buddies. In Excerpt 9, Crista is taking on a caregiver role, asking Teresa whether she would like some water, which allows the little buddy to take a mental break at the same time.

Excerpt 9: Building Relationships—¿Necesitas algo?

CRISTA: ((Recapping what the buddies have been talking about)) … sharks, seals, sharks, seals, octopus … and … lizard. Okay so xxx for the super inventions. ((Asks Teresa)) *¿Necesitas algo?¿Quieres agua? ¿Sí?* [Do you need anything? Do you want water? Yes?]
(13 sec)
CRISTA: *xxx este.* ((Crista removes Teresa's lapel microphone)) *¿Sí?* [xxx this. Yes?] Okay.
((Teresa goes to get water))

In the first line of Excerpt 9, Crista summarizes (in English) the academic content of what the buddies have been learning about, then switches to Spanish with her next utterance, "*¿Necesitas algo?*" [Do you need anything?]. This language shift signals a shift in attention and a way to express care and concern for her little buddy's wellbeing. Even with Teresa not answering her questions ("*¿Quieres agua? ¿Sí?*" [Do you want water? Yes?]), Crista proceeds to take care of what she thinks

Teresa's needs are—making sure she is not thirsty and that she gets a little break from the lesson.

Missed Opportunities for Translanguaging

Given the English-dominant context at the schools, it comes as no surprise that buddies used mostly English and did not always take advantage of their shared linguistic repertoire as a resource to solve breakdowns in communication. Although the students engaged in translanguaging practices spontaneously in some cases, teachers did not model ways for students to engage their full linguistic repertoires for meaning making. Even though the curriculum offered simple Spanish translations of focal words in the picture glossary at the end of the book, students often skipped over this resource and instead continued to read (in English) because they were not taught how to use the bilingual glossary as a tool for discussion.

An example of a missed opportunity for translanguaging was apparent in the following excerpt when Yazmin and Abigail were reviewing the focal words after reading. Even though Yazmin quickly read the Spanish translations of the focal words given in the picture glossary, the buddies do not engage in any discussion or meaning-making around the word in Spanish.

Excerpt 10: Missed Opportunity for Translanguaging, Envision

00:12:30

YAZMIN: ((Reading)) "Envision. When you envision something it means you picture it in your mind or imagine. *Imaginar.*" "Autumn envisions a beautiful birthday cake." Can you tell me again, what is this? What is this? ((Yazmin points to a picture in the packet)) (2 sec) What is this? (2 sec) Abigail! What is this?

ABIGAIL: Cake!

YAZMIN: Good job. ((Yazmin checks off a box in the Buddy Checklist)). ((Reading)) "When you succeed you are able to do it in the end. *Tener exito* [succeed]" or something like that- ((Yazmin interrupted by Abigail))

00:13:00

ABIGAIL: My picture, I want to write my name!

YAZMIN: Here. ((Yazmin hands Abigail a pencil and then, Abigail writes her name on her picture))

In this excerpt, we can see that Yazmin does read the Spanish translations of the focal words aloud (which was not the case later in the lesson where she simply skipped over the Spanish), but it is not clear that she connects these Spanish words to the English meaning. She may not feel comfortable reading the focal

word in Spanish, which is illustrated by her comment "or something like that." This finding reveals the limitations of simply providing a "Spanish word" in the curriculum, which became the authority ("the right answer") and cut off the possibility of dialogue. This is in contrast to allowing the students to use their own linguistic repertoire to construct their own meaning across languages, which may offer richer opportunities for learning and taking ownership of new language.

Conclusions and Implications

This study has provided a window into what translanguaging looks like in CAPT interactions and points to future research to analyze the multiple ways that emergent bilingual students employ their linguistic resources to mediate literacy learning. While there is an extensive body of research shedding light on the use of multiple languages in multilingual settings, such as dual language, bilingual schools and world language classrooms, there are very few studies that examine students' use of multiple languages in English-medium K–12 settings. We add to this body of knowledge by shedding light on how and for what purposes linguistically diverse students in K–12 schools use translanguaging in cross-age peer learning interactions.

Few studies have focused on students' unprompted use of translanguaging for both academic and social aims. This study is significant in that the data foreground both of these dimensions and show how students use translanguaging to mediate collaborative discourse. The data demonstrate that students' use of their linguistic resources in two languages was creative and purposeful. Translanguaging served as a tool to construct meaning, to mediate task completion, and to build relationships. Students, especially big buddies, used translanguaging practices to interpret and summarize the meaning of texts and to teach the meaning of unfamiliar concepts to their little buddies. They drew on two languages to construct word definitions aimed to convey the meaning of English vocabulary words. We found that students often shifted from English to Spanish and back again when students directed tasks, gave instructions, and managed the instructional materials. Often, this served an affective function as well; in other episodes we saw buddies translanguaging explicitly to build rapport, express emotions, and perform affective check-ins. For further discussion of buddies' learning experiences, discursive scaffolding and they ways that positioning buddies as experts afforded opportunities for language development see Martin-Beltrán, Daniel, Peercy, and Silverman (2017).

It is significant to note that our findings corroborate the major findings of DiCamilla and Antón (2012): most of the buddies' languaging functions within collaborative interactions fall into the four macrofunctions identified in their study. However, perhaps because of the nature of the task (reading instead of writing), or because of the age difference and initial unfamiliarity between the students in our study, we saw most of the translanguaging being used for task

management and relationship-building, rather than for content and language learning. Often buddies utilized translanguaging for multiple purposes within one episode. However, this serves as further evidence that translanguaging stems from a flexible, integrated system where all linguistic resources are in use.

Several other questions arose as we analyzed the data, which warrant further investigation. Peer interactions offer students the potential to open up translanguaging spaces (Li, 2011a), where students who share language resources beyond English can begin to use these resources in meaningful ways. However, in a school environment that does not encourage and might even curtail the use of the home language in the classroom, translanguaging may not even occur to young multilingual students as a possible resource for meaning making. Moreover, in order to foster and leverage translanguaging, it may not be enough to merely pair students with similar language backgrounds. Literature has indicated that peer tutors do better with thoughtful teacher guidance (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Vaish & Subhan, 2015). We wonder whether, with a little coaching, buddies might have used translanguaging practices more deftly and selectively to improve instruction. Coaching big buddies to use translanguaging to address little buddies' comprehension breakdowns might have reduced instances of big buddies relying on less helpful strategies such as the repeat-after-me recital of a word definition in English described in Excerpt 4. For example, during the teacher-led lessons, as big buddies practiced using reading strategies such as questioning and summarizing to prepare for the buddy sessions, big buddies could have also been encouraged to use translanguaging in conjunction with these strategies to improve little buddies' comprehension. In most of the interactions, the fourth grade students did most of the talking and thus initiated most of the translanguaging, while the little buddies participated by listening and responding to the translanguaging. To increase their participation in the buddy discourse in general and in translanguaging episodes in particular, little buddies could have also been coached to respond to questions and explain their understanding in any language they felt most comfortable.

Coaching both big and little buddies to leverage translanguaging in the abovementioned ways would require that teachers first come to understand that translanguaging is a normative practice for everyday language exchanges in multilingual communities (García & Li 2014) and that it can be used to improve, not hinder buddies' learning outcomes in English. The scope of the Reading Buddies program did not allow us to engage in teacher training that would have improved our participants' understanding of these issues. Future work could explore ways to better train teachers to use translanguaging in their classrooms in order to improve multilingual students' learning. Such changes would also open up the possibility for future research to move beyond students' unprompted and instinctive use of translanguaging, and focus instead on how deliberate, strategic translanguaging might aid students' meaning making. The present study focused on the intended uses of translanguaging especially by the big buddies. However, we are not able

to draw any firm conclusions about the effectiveness of translanguaging—for example, we have no data on how translanguaging may or may not have improved buddies' retention of the target vocabulary words. Future studies, then, should also focus attention on how strategic, deliberate translanguaging practices might improve student outcomes.

This study suggests that offering a space for student-led instruction opened up an opportunity to use translanguaging, which some students seized more fully than others. Many authors have advocated for opening up such hybrid spaces (Hornberger, 2002, 2005; García & Li, 2014; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999), and exploring the enhanced academic and social opportunities that emerge. This exploratory study calls for further research to examine the moment-to-moment interactions that allow for translanguaging to broaden the possibilities of learning and participation for all learners.

Note

1 This was reported data from a parent survey, which oversimplified language acquisition by limiting the responses to "English," "Spanish," or "both." We recognize the limitations of the term "first language" and suggest that educators problematize the assumed separation between "first and second" languages when, in fact, these students acquire language in fluid, bilingual contexts.

Appendix: Transcription conventions

?	rising intonation at end of sentence
!	increased volume and tone of excitement
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
–	abrupt cut off
<u>Underline</u>	stress given to this word or phrase
…	micro-pause less than 1 second
(1 sec)	pause, silence indicated by number of seconds
(())	comments about gesture, facial expression, eye gaze, body, posture
italics	utterance in Spanish
[brackets]	translation of utterance in Spanish
"quotations"	indicate student reading directly from the book
xxx	unintelligible/inaudible approximately one syllable per x

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4

CODESWITCHING AND MATHEMATICS LEARNERS

How Hybrid Language Practices Provide Resources for Student Participation in Mathematical Practices

Judit Moschkovich

Mathematics education research has considered language issues for bilingual mathematics learners (for a review see Moschkovich, 2010). Interest in codeswitching while doing mathematics generated many questions: Why do learners codeswitch while doing mathematics? How does codeswitching reflect mathematical reasoning? How does codeswitching, especially the different connotations of a word, impact mathematical thinking? These questions reflect an intuitive model of language as an individual activity and a simple relationship between language and mathematical thinking. Some of the assumptions underlying such questions include: (a) speakers have a reason (conscious or unconscious) for switching languages, (b) these reasons are purely cognitive, (c) bilingual speakers, two languages are separate systems so that word connotations arise only if a mathematics word is actually spoken, and (d) the relationship between language and thought is simple, mechanistic, and unidirectional so that a spoken word impacts or reflects thinking in a way that is easily accessible to a speaker or an analyst.

In contrast, I will use a sociocultural framework to consider a different set of questions regarding how bilingual learners use language during mathematical activity. First, rather than focusing on codeswitching only, I will focus on the broader category of hybrid language practices. This move is motivated by several factors. My work is in mathematics education, not linguistics, and I analyze the mathematical activity rather than the details of language practices (i.e. whether the switching is inter- or intrasentential, follows particular patterns, etc.). Also, many documented examples of language switching during mathematical activity (see Example 2) are not classic instances of codeswitching, but instead fall under the broader category of hybrid language practices. Most importantly, recent work on emergent bilinguals suggests a shift to broader categories such as languaging (Swain, 2006), translanguaging (García,

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-6

2009, 2014) and hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez, Baquedano-Lopez & Alvarez, 2001; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999).

Second, rather than asking why, how, or when mathematics learners codeswitch, I instead consider how hybrid language practices provide resources for mathematical activity framed as sociocultural, not purely individual or cognitive. In order to frame questions about hybrid language practices in this way, I first provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of mathematical activity that includes a complex view of both mathematics and language. This framework for *academic literacy in mathematics* (Moschkovich, 2015a, 2015b) emphasizes mathematical practices (Moschkovich, 2013) beyond computation such as understanding, reasoning, and communicating. I then use that framework to re-consider two examples of bilingual learners using hybrid language practices during mathematical discussions, focusing on how hybrid language practices support student participation in mathematical practices. These examples illustrate that hybrid language practices are not a reflection of linguistic, cognitive, or conceptual deficiencies, but instead, can provide students with resources to participate in mathematical practices and teachers with evidence of student reasoning. The second example also shows how teachers build on students' hybrid language practices by scaffolding formal language. I end with recommendations for instruction that supports academic literacy in mathematics for emergent bilingual learners.[1]

The purpose of the chapter is to introduce the reader to central issues regarding how bilingual learners use language during mathematical activity. To provide some historical context, in the next section I summarize past work on language issues for bilingual mathematics learners.

Summary of Past Research

Early Research on Bilingual Mathematics Learners

Early research on bilingual mathematics learners (see Moschkovich, 2010 for a review) focused on the disadvantages that bilingual learners face, comparing response times between monolinguals and bilinguals during arithmetic computation (Marsh & Maki, 1976; McClain & Huang, 1982; Tamamaki, 1993) or on the obstacles the mathematics register in English presented for English learners when solving word problems, understanding individual vocabulary terms, or translating from English to mathematical symbols (Cocking and Mestre, 1988; Cuevas, 1983; Mestre, 1981; Spanos and Crandall, 1990; Spanos, Rhodes, Dale, and Crandall, 1988). Studies that focused on the disadvantages bilingual learners faced in computation response time or with the mathematics register did not consider any possible advantages of bilingualism or the resources bilingual learners use. Studies that focused on the differences between bilinguals and monolinguals may have missed any similarities, for example, that both groups had similar responses to syntactic aspects of algebra word problems (Secada, 1991).

Some early research used narrow conceptions of mathematics and focused on two scenarios, answers to arithmetic computation and word problems. Later studies developed a broader view of mathematical activity,[2] examining not only responses but also reasoning, detailed protocols of students solving word problems, the strategies children used to solve arithmetic word problems (Secada, 1991), or student conceptions of two digit quantities (Fuson, Smith & Lo Cicero, 1997).

More recent research uses sociocultural and sociolinguistic perspectives and broader notions of both mathematics and language. A central concern has been to shift away from deficit models of bilingual students to recognizing the resources students bring to the mathematics classroom from previous experiences. Researchers have studied language, bilingualism, and mathematics learning in different settings including Australia (e.g., Clarkson, 1991; Ellerton & Clements, 1991), Papua New Guinea (e.g., Clarkson, 1991; Clarkson & Galbraith, 1992; Dawe, 1983; Jones, 1982; Souviney, 1983), Australasia (Barton, Fairhall & Trinick, 1998; Roberts, 1998), United Kingdom (Barwell, 2009), and in South African multilingual classrooms (e.g., Adler, 1998, 2001; Setati, 1998; Setati & Adler, 2000).

Research in International Settings

Although this chapter examines two mathematical discussions in classrooms in the United States with Latino/a students, studies in other settings are relevant to research and practice with bilingual mathematics learners. For example, researchers have studied language, bilingualism, and mathematics learning in Australia (e.g., Clarkson, 1991; Ellerton & Clements, 1991), Papua New Guinea (e.g., Clarkson, 1991; Clarkson & Galbraith, 1992; Dawe, 1983; Jones, 1982; Souviney, 1983), and in South African multilingual classrooms (e.g., Adler, 1998, 2001; Setati, 1998). This work provides important resources for research with other student populations, as long as researchers note differences among settings that are relevant to language and learning mathematics for the student population for a particular research study. What might be the relevance of work from Australia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand, or the UK for mathematics learners in the US? What are the historical, political, and linguistic differences between the US and South Africa that one should consider when using research from these two settings? Before applying research from Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, or the UK to US settings and student populations, researchers should carefully consider relevant differences among settings, students, languages, and communities.

One difference is that the US Latino/a population of school age children can be largely described as bilingual in Spanish or as monolingual English speakers.[3] In contrast, the majority of students (and teachers) in South African classrooms speak multiple indigenous languages at home. Another contrasting example is Pakistan, where the language of schooling is usually not spoken at home, but reserved for activities related to school or government related activities. Barwell

(2003) distinguishes among different language settings as *monopolist, pluralist*, and *globalist*. In monopolist classrooms, all teaching and learning occurs in one dominant language; in pluralist classrooms, several local community languages are also used for teaching and learning; in globalist classrooms, teaching and learning are conducted in an internationally used language not used in the surrounding community.

Another difference to consider across settings and national languages is the nature of the mathematics register in students' home language. For example, individual mathematics terms exist in Spanish (university level courses and texts have existed in Spanish for centuries), so the mathematics register in Spanish can be used to express mathematical ideas from every-day to advanced academic mathematics. This may not be the case for the home languages of students in other settings such as South Africa (Setati & Adler, 2000) or in the case of Australasian Aboriginal languages and Maori (Barton, Fairhall & Trinick, 1998; Roberts, 1998).[4]

Research on Codeswitching in Mathematics Classrooms

Research in mathematics education has explored how codeswitching can serve as a resource during teaching and learning mathematics (Adler, 2001; Gorgorió & Planas 2001; Halai 2009; Jones, 2009; Khisty, 1995; Moschkovich, 1999, 2000, 2002, 2007a, 2007b, 2007d, 2011; Norén 2008, 2011; Planas & Setati, 2009; Razfar, 2013; Setati, 1998, 2005; Setati & Adler 2000; Setati & Barwell, 2006; Then & Ting 2009). As Barwell, Moschkovich, and Setati-Phakeng summarize:

> In most classrooms, the occurrence of codeswitching seems to be motivated by cognitive or classroom management factors (Merritt et al., 1992; Adendorff, 1993); it is used to focus or regain the learners' attention, or to clarify, enhance or reinforce lesson material … . Codeswitching among students has also been described as motivated by politeness when repeating or clarifying an explanation (Moschkovich, 2007a) or due to cognitive demands (Clarkson, 2007).
>
> *(Barwell, Moschkovich, and Setati-Phakeng, 2017, p. 592)*

Some research has focused on teachers' codeswitching (see Barwell 2005; Bose and Choudhury 2010; Clarkson 2007; Farrugia 2009a, 2009b; Halai 2009; Setati 2005, 2008), the dilemmas (Adler, 2001) teachers face. Prediger, Clarkson, and Bose conclude:

> teachers code-switch while providing scaffolding to make the subject-matter comprehensible or to develop certain mathematical abilities among the students; to reduce students' cognitive load; and while enforcing authority and discipline in the classroom. Codeswitching is also used to facilitate the connection of verbal languages with visual representations.
>
> *(Prediger, Clarkson, and Bose, 2016, p. 200)*

Research focused on bilingual or multilingual mathematics learners addressed two common practices, switching languages during arithmetic computation and during mathematical discussions. Bilingual learners may carry out arithmetic computations in a preferred language, usually the language in which they learned arithmetic. There is evidence that adult Spanish bilinguals sometimes switch languages when carrying out arithmetic computations and that adult bilinguals may have a preferred language for carrying out arithmetic computation, usually the language of arithmetic instruction (Marsh & Maki, 1976; McLain & Huang, 1982). The difference between performance in a preferred language and a non-preferred language was slight (200 milliseconds). Comparisons between monolinguals and bilinguals (who preferred English to Spanish) showed a slight but statistically significant difference of about 0.5 seconds for mean response time. However, the reported slight difference in response time disappeared if bilinguals were not asked to switch languages during an experimental session (McLain and Huang, 1982). If bilinguals are required to use only one of their languages, the "preferred language advantage" can be eliminated. There is also some evidence suggesting that switching languages does not affect the quality of conceptual reasoning (Bialystok, 2001; Cumming 1989, 1990, cited in Qi, 1998). This language switching can be swift, highly automatic, and facilitate rather than inhibit solving word problems in the second language (Qi, 1998), providing the student's language proficiency is sufficient for understanding the text of the word problem (Bialystok, 2001). These findings suggest that classroom instruction should allow bilingual students to choose the language they prefer for arithmetic computation and ensure that students understand the text of word problems.

Students also use two languages during classroom discussions. A common misunderstanding is that codeswitching is a sign of deficiency. Research does not support a view of codeswitching as a deficit itself or as a sign of deficiency in mathematical reasoning. Codeswitching is a complex language practice, not primarily a reflection of language proficiency, discourse proficiency, or the ability to recall (Valdés-Fallis, 1978; MacSwan, 2016). Bilinguals use the two codes differently depending on the interlocutor, domain, topic, role, function, and a speaker's cultural identities. Researchers in linguistics agree that codeswitching is not random or a reflection of language deficiency—forgetting a word or not knowing a concept. Therefore, we cannot use someone's codeswitching to reach conclusions about their language proficiency, ability to recall a word, knowledge of a particular mathematics word or concept, mathematical reasoning, or mathematical proficiency. It is crucial to avoid superficial conclusions regarding codeswitching and mathematical thinking. We cannot conclude that bilingual students switch into their first language because they do not understand a mathematical concept. Rather than viewing codeswitching as a deficiency, instruction for bilingual mathematics learners should consider how this practice serves as a resource for communicating mathematically. Bilingual speakers have been documented using two languages and codeswitching as a resource for mathematical discussions, for example first giving an explanation in one language and then switching to the second language to repeat the explanation (Moschkovich, 2007d).

Research has also explored alternative explanations for codeswitching during mathematical activity (Zahner & Moschkovich, 2011), how bilingual learners use hybrid language practices outside of school (Domínguez, 2011; López Leiva et al., 2013) and in school (Langer-Osuna et al., 2016). Two recent studies examined English learners' participation in high cognitive demand tasks (Turner, Dominguez, Maldonado & Empson, 2013; Turner & Celedon-Pattichis, 2011), emphasizing multiple semiotic resources (two languages, multiple representations) and modes (talk, text, pointing, gesturing). Domínguez (2011) found differences in the function of students' two languages across mathematics problem contexts (everyday and school) and two languages. He reports that discussions in English reflected patterns of school interactions and discussions in Spanish reflected interaction patterns more typical of home and community practices. Students were more likely to share knowledge in Spanish than in English (both to reproduce and reinvent ideas) and students engaged in joint exploration of ideas in Spanish, in contrast to more individual approaches in English.

Langer-Osuna et al. (2016) described students using hybrid language practices in multiple ways. A Spanish-dominant bilingual fifth grader in the USA negotiated mathematical ideas and her position as an English learner while collaborating with an English proficient peer; multilingual students in Sweden re-directed their teacher's planned lesson toward Swedish counting words, an aspect of mathematical language they were developing; and bilingual students in the US used linguistic and representational resources to interpret open-ended problems. Students drew creatively on humor, personal interests, and bilingual competencies to position themselves productively as learners, shift the nature of mathematical discussions, or engage in complex debates of mathematical ideas.

In closing this section, I summarize one study that explored alternative explanations for codeswitching during mathematical activity (Zahner & Moschkovich, 2011) because it includes many of the hypothesized explanations for using two languages during mathematical discussions. The study used data from a sixth-grade mathematics class in a dual-immersion bilingual school in California; classes were taught in both Spanish and English and bilingualism was both encouraged and valued. All students in the small group discussion were bilingual, though some reported a preference for speaking Spanish and others preferred speaking English both in and out of school. Since all of the students in the small group were able to talk about a computation exercise in both Spanish and English, we considered different possibilities for why students mixed Spanish and English in their explanations.

We first considered whether the students switched languages when they experienced difficulties, but we did not see evidence of this in our data. In fact, specifying which language the students spoke was difficult because the children frequently used both Spanish and English in the same utterance. We also considered whether students used two languages for words they did not remember.[5] In many bilingual communities, school is exclusively in a non-home language.

For example, anti-bilingual education initiatives in California schools denied access to content instruction in students' home language (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Children may only learn academic vocabulary in the language of instruction, not in their home language, and the "missing word" explanation may seem valid. However, in that data students did not seem to be missing words, since we saw examples of the students using *both* Spanish and English words for the mathematical concepts and operations they were discussing (percent/porciento, divided/entre, times/por, punto/decimal point).

Another explanation was that children were using their home language for computations or formal mathematical words. However, we documented students using words and expressions from both languages to describe mathematical operations and switches in language did not systematically align with shifts from informal to formal, or everyday to mathematical, registers. We found that, rather than systematically switching languages for arithmetic recall or computation, the communicative function of utterances appeared important. Generally, the children used both languages (or switched between languages) to command attention. Using two languages facilitated interactions, especially managing the conversational floor and face-saving, and these social functions of codeswitching facilitated mathematical reasoning during group discussions. Our analysis showed two primary functions for codeswitching: managing "face" during a mathematical discussion (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Lakoff, 1973; Rowland, 2000) and managing turn taking and controlling the conversational floor (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). We saw evidence that students used Spanish and English in their bids to gain and control the conversational floor and there were several instances where students used both Spanish and English to repeat themselves as they attempted to gain the floor. Numerous studies of peer discussions in monolingual settings have shown that monolingual children manage issues such as preserving face and regulating turn taking (Barron, 2000, 2003; Jurow, 2005; Pirie, 1991). Our analysis showed that the use of two languages was one additional resource that children used for these purposes during a mathematical discussion. Our data seem to support the explanation that codeswitching functioned to manage the social/interactional demands of a mathematical discussion.

Conclusions from Past Research

An overview of past work suggests that there are a multitude of ways that students use two languages during mathematical activity. Future research in mathematics classrooms needs to consider multiple aspects of a situation to describe bilingual students' choice of language. We can start with some of the aspects suggested by Zentella (1981) and Torres (1997): setting, social roles, topics, addressees, and markers of identity. This means considering the place, the purpose, the topic, the participants, and the social relations among them. Important questions to ask are who the student is addressing, especially whether the speaker is addressing a

bilingual or monolingual person, whether the setting is private or public, what social roles participants play (is the speaker addressing a teacher, another student, an aide, an elder, a child, etc.), what topics are being discussed (is the conversation about family history, an exchange of cooking recipes, a school topic, an academic subject, etc.), and whether oral or written modes are involved.

When focusing on mathematics, we should also consider mathematical aspects of the situation, such as whether a student is doing computation or engaged in more conceptual activities, the mathematical topic (algebra, geometry, etc.), the student's experiences with each language in and out of school, and past experiences with mathematics instruction in each language. The type of mathematics problem and the student's experience with mathematics instruction can influence which language a student uses. For example, some students may choose to use their first language when working alone on arithmetic computation. After completing a computation, a bilingual student may or may not translate the answer to the other language, depending on who else is involved in the conversation. On the other hand, if bilingual students have not been exposed to mathematics instruction in a particular topic in their first language, it seems reasonable that they would talk about that topic primarily in their second language. In other situations, students might switch between two languages. Students will have had varied experiences with the mathematics register (Halliday, 1978; Pimm, 1987) and mathematical discourse in each language. A student who may be less proficient in vocabulary for a specific topic in mathematics in one language may be proficient in another aspect of mathematical discourse in that language, such as making comparisons between quantities or presenting a mathematical argument (for examples of mathematical discourse, see Moschkovich, 2007c). It is crucial to consider the specifics of each situation in understanding the relationship between mathematical activity and a student's choice of language.

In terms of instruction, these studies also suggest that there are a variety of ways that students use two languages. Some research suggests that classroom instruction should allow bilingual students to choose the language they prefer for arithmetic computation and ensure that students understand the text of word problems. Even if children use their first language to "fill in" vocabulary they may not know in the language of instruction, there is no evidence that this is detrimental for learning mathematics. As long as students have opportunities to learn and use words meaningfully in both languages, using a word from the home or school language during mathematical discussions could facilitate learning the corresponding word in the other language. If bilingualism is the goal (rather than English acquisition), then using primary language vocabulary may facilitate learning vocabulary in the second language. Lastly, using two languages can function as a way for students to manage the social and interactional demands of mathematical discussions.

Reviewing research on bilingual mathematics learners highlights a central challenge in addressing the relationship between language and mathematics

learning. Such research must be framed not only by current theoretical perspectives of mathematical thinking and learning, but also by current views of language, classroom discourse, and bilingualism. Some perspectives on the role of academic language in mathematics reduce the meaning of "language" to single words and the proper use of grammar (i.e. Cavanagh, 2005). In contrast, work on the language of specific disciplines provides a more complex view of mathematical language (e.g., Pimm, 1987) as not only specialized vocabulary (new words and new meanings for familiar words) but also as extended discourse that includes syntax and organization (Crowhurst, 1994), the mathematics register (Halliday, 1978), and Discourse (Gee, 1990) practices specific to mathematical activity (Moschkovich, 2007c).

Theoretical positions in the research literature in mathematics education range from asserting that mathematics is a universal language, to claiming that mathematics is a language, to describing how mathematical language is a problem. Rather than joining in these arguments to consider whether mathematics is a language or reducing language to words, I use a sociocultural perspective and assume that language and mathematics are both sociocultural activities. I use the phrase "the language of mathematics" not to mean a list of vocabulary words or grammar rules but the communicative competence necessary and sufficient for competent participation in mathematical Discourse practices. To further describe mathematical activity, in the next section I use this perspective to frame a definition of *academic literacy in mathematics* that focuses on mathematical practices such as understanding, reasoning, and communicating.

A Sociocultural Perspective of Academic Literacy in Mathematics

This chapter uses a sociocultural framework and an integrated view of *academic literacy in mathematics* (Moschkovich, 2015a, 2015b). The framework draws on situated perspectives of learning mathematics (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989; Greeno, 1998) as a discursive activity (Forman, 1996) that involves participating in a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), developing classroom socio-mathematical norms (Cobb, Wood & Yackel, 1993), and using multiple material, linguistic, and social resources (Greeno, 1998). Mathematical activity thus involves not only mathematical knowledge, but also mathematical practices and discourse. Beyond the assumption that mathematical activity is simultaneously cognitive, social, and cultural, a sociocultural perspective brings two other assumptions to a definition of academic literacy in mathematics. First, the focus is on the potential for progress in what learners say and do, not on learner deficiencies or misconceptions. Second, participants bring multiple perspectives to a situation, representations and utterances have multiple meanings for participants, meanings for words are situated and constructed while participating in practices, and multiple meanings are negotiated through interaction.

A sociocultural perspective of academic literacy in mathematics[6] provides a complex view of mathematical proficiency as participation in discipline-based practices that involve reasoning, understanding, and communication. A situated and sociocultural perspective on bilingual mathematics learners (Moschkovich, 2002) shifts the focus from looking for deficits to identifying the mathematical discourse practices evident in student contributions (e.g., Moschkovich, 1999). The sociocultural perspective in Moschkovich (2002, 2004, 2007b) also provides a theoretical framework for recognizing the mathematics in student contributions.

Defining Academic Literacy in Mathematics

Typically, "literacy" is interpreted as referring to words and "mathematics" as referring to numbers. For example, we could imagine that solving the word problem below involves literacy in reading and understanding the words, and mathematics in extracting the numbers and relating them through arithmetic operations:

> Jane, Maria, and Ben each have a collection of marbles. Jane has 15 more marbles than Ben, and Maria has 2 times as many marbles as Ben. Altogether they have 95 marbles. Find how many marbles Maria has.

However, *academic literacy in mathematics* is defined here as more complex than simply combining alphabetic literacy with proficiency in arithmetic computation. Reading and solving this word problem entails not only *mathematical proficiency* (proficiency in the content of mathematics) but also competencies in using *mathematical discourse* as well as *mathematical practices*. These three components cannot be separated when considering mathematical tasks, analyzing student mathematical activity, or designing mathematics instruction.

Simplified views of academic language in mathematics focus on words, assume that meanings are static and given by definitions, separate language from mathematical knowledge and practices, and limit mathematical discourse to formal language. In contrast, academic literacy in mathematics as defined here includes three integrated components: mathematical proficiency, mathematical practices, and mathematical discourse. This view of academic literacy in mathematics is different than previous approaches to academic language in several ways. First, the definition includes not only cognitive aspects of mathematical activity—such as mathematical reasoning, thinking, concepts, and metacognition—but also sociocultural aspects—participation in mathematical practices—and discursive aspects—participation in mathematical discourse. This is an integrated view of three components working in unison, rather than isolating academic language from mathematical proficiency or mathematical practices. Second, this integrated view, rather than separating academic language from mathematical proficiency or practices, views the three components as working in unison. Separating language from mathematical thinking and practices can have dire

consequences for students. This separation can make students seem more deficient than they are, since they may express their mathematical ideas through imperfect language, but may still be engaged in correct mathematical thinking, and they may participate in mathematical practices through other modes, for example using objects, drawings, or gestures to show a result, describe regularity in data, or illustrate a mathematical concept. Lastly, this definition includes the full spectrum of mathematical proficiency, balancing fluency in computing with an emphasis on conceptual understanding, reasoning, and communicating.

Shifting from a simplified view of academic language in mathematics to an expanded view emphasizing mathematical practices is crucial for students who are bilingual. Research and policy have repeatedly, clearly, and strongly called for mathematics instruction for this student population to maintain high standards (American Educational Research Association, 2004) and high-cognitive demand (American Educational Research Association, 2006). In order to accomplish that, mathematics instruction needs to move beyond low-level language skills (i.e. vocabulary) or mathematical skills (i.e. arithmetic computation). Such instruction requires a complex view of "language" that a) includes multiple modes of communication, symbol systems, registers, and languages as resources for mathematical reasoning and b) supports students in negotiating situated meanings for mathematical language that are grounded in mathematical activity, instead of giving students definitions divorced from mathematical activity. Such instruction also requires a complex view of "mathematical proficiency" that balances computational fluency with conceptual understanding and includes mathematical practices such as reasoning and communicating.

Defining Mathematical Proficiency

A current description of mathematical proficiency (Kilpatrick, Swafford & Findell, 2001) shows five intertwined strands: Conceptual understanding, Procedural fluency, Strategic competence, Adaptive reasoning; and Productive disposition. Procedural fluency is knowing how to compute. Conceptual understanding is fundamentally about the meanings that learners construct for mathematical solutions: knowing the meaning of a result (what the number, solution, or result represents), knowing why a procedure works, and explaining why a particular result is the right answer. Reasoning, logical thought, explanation, and justification are closely related to conceptual understanding. Student reasoning is evidence of conceptual understanding when a student explains why a particular result is the right answer or justifies a conclusion.

The five strands of mathematical proficiency provide a cognitive account of mathematical activity focused on knowledge, metacognition, and beliefs. However, from a sociocultural perspective, mathematics students are not only acquiring mathematical knowledge, they are also learning to participate in valued mathematical practices (Moschkovich, 2004, 2007c, 2013). Some of these

practices include problem solving, sense-making, reasoning, modeling, and looking for patterns, structure, or regularity.[7]

In the next section, I use two examples to illustrate how bilingual students participated in academic literacy in mathematics and how hybrid language practices supported student participation in mathematical practices.

Hybrid Language Practices During Mathematical Discussions

Example 1: Using Hybrid Language Resources and Mathematical Practices

Although arithmetic calculating is important, it is not the most valued component of mathematical proficiency. This example shows two students doing more than computing: they are actively engaged in discussing mathematical ideas as they work on a high-cognitive demand task. The students used hybrid language practices to participate in several valued mathematical practices: stating assumptions explicitly, connecting a claim to a representation, and attending to the precision of a claim.

The transcript shown below is from an interview with two ninth-grade students conducted after school. The students had been in mainstream English-only mathematics classrooms for several years. One student, Marcela, had some previous mathematics instruction in Spanish. The two students were working on the problem in Figure 4.1 after they had worked on problems with positive slopes greater and less than 1.

We join the students after they graphed the line $y = -0.6x$ by hand on paper (Figure 4.2) and were discussing whether this line was steeper than the line $y = x$. Giselda first proposed that the second line was steeper and then decided it was less steep. Marcela repeatedly asked Giselda if she was sure. In the excerpt below,

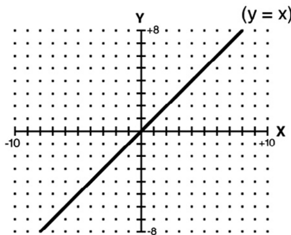

FIGURE 4.1 Problem for Example 1.

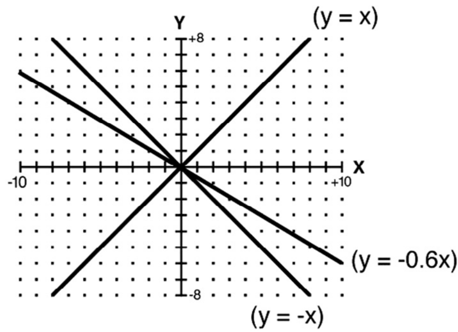

FIGURE 4.2 Lines drawn by students.

Marcela proposed that the line was less steep and then she explained her reasoning to Giselda. (Brackets indicate transcript annotations. Italics indicate translation.)

1. Marcela: No, it's less steeper …
2. Giselda: Why?
3. Marcela: See, it's closer to the *x*-axis … [looks at Giselda] … isn't it?
4. Giselda: Oh, so if it's right here … it's steeper, right?
5. Marcela: Porque fíjate, digamos que este es el suelo.

   [*Because look, let's say that this is the ground.*]

   Entonces, si se acerca más, pues es menos steep.

   [*Then, if it gets closer, then it's less steep.*]

   … 'cause see this one [referring to the line $y = x$] … is … está entre el medio de la x y de la y. Right?

   [*is between the x and the y*]

6. Giselda: [Nods in agreement.]
7. Marcela: This one [referring to the line $y = -0.6x$] is closer to the x than to the y, so this one [referring to the line $y = -0.6x$] is less steep.

I use the following questions to show how hybrid language practices supported student participation in mathematical practices:

> How did students use hybrid language practices to communicate mathematically?
> How were students participating in mathematical practices?

How did the students use hybrid language practices to communicate mathematically? The students used two languages as resources for their explanations and discussion, showing that both home and school languages offered resources for

mathematical reasoning and that students can use two languages in the service of communicating a mathematical explanation.[8] There are several instances of codeswitching. One is the use of "steep" in line 5; another is the use of "right" as an extra-sentential English tag at the end of an utterance in Spanish (end of line 5); another is the pronunciation of the letters "*x*" (as "ex" rather than "equis") and the letter "*y*" (as "why" rather than "y griega") in English within a Spanish utterance (end of line 5).

In a previous analysis (Moschkovich, 2007b), I described multiple ways to frame the codeswitching in this example; here I briefly summarize that analysis. Two interpretations of Marcela's use of the word "steep" in line 5 are that (a) Marcela did not know the word for "steep" in Spanish and/or (b) Marcela was struggling with the concept of "steepness" and her switch to English signaled this struggle. A conjecture that this switch reflects forgetting or not knowing the Spanish word for steep, "empinada," implies that codeswitching is a sign of a deficiency in her Spanish mathematical vocabulary. The second interpretation, that the codeswitching signaled a struggle with the concept of steepness implies that codeswitching is a sign of deficiency in her mathematical knowledge. Assuming that she did not know the word "empinada" in Spanish confuses proficiency in a first language with fluency in the register of school mathematics. In general, a bilingual student's language use should not be compared to that of individuals who have received formal instruction in mathematics where Spanish was the medium of instruction. Instead, "school-related loans reflect the lack of Spanish-language instruction in the public schools for many, many years" (Sanchez, 1994). Without mathematics instruction in Spanish on particular mathematical topics, it is not surprising that some Latino/a bilinguals might lack knowledge of the formal or school mathematics register in Spanish more technical and formal styles of standard Spanish (MacSwan, 2000).

One way to understand the codeswitching in this example is to consider how using "steep" connotes familiarity, in contrast the more formal choice in Spanish, "empinada" (the Spanish word for "steep"). Using "empinada" would have been more formal than using the English word "steep" because "empinada" is a formal school term. This interpretation of Marcela's use of "steep" is consistent with empirical research on Chicano discourse (Sanchez, 1994). Bilingual Chicanos/as in the US have been documented using English words that are less formal than the Spanish. In many working-class Latino/a communities, English is used for formal and technical domains and Spanish tends to be used in informal, intimate situations, especially in the home and neighborhood. Some utterances with a loan can connote "familiarity, while the standard (Spanish) expressions connote distance or coldness and in some cases pedantry" (Sanchez, 1994, p. 126). The switch to "steep" could be interpreted as a switch to technical English, a less formal and more familiar choice, for the goal of communicating with another student who is also looking at a written work sheet where the word "steep" was used.[9] Inducements and jokes have also been documented as calling for brief codeswitching episodes (Sanchez, 1994).

Marcela's explanations in lines 3, 5, and 7 are examples of examples of inter-sentential codeswitching. Here switching between two languages may be serving as a transitional device that allows for repetition of a point already raised, another documented use of codeswitching in Latino/a communities (Sanchez, 1994). This interpretation parallels analyses of conversations among bilingual Latinos/as recorded switching for elaboration, first expressing propositions in English and then giving expansions, additional information, or details in Spanish (Sanchez, 1994). Marcela's explanations illustrate how switching from one language to another can serve as a resource for elaborating ideas while expanding, repeating or adding information for another speaker.

Next, I focus on how these hybrid language practices supported participation in mathematical practices. The task involves mathematical proficiency beyond computing, it requires connecting two symbol systems (equation and graph), a typical way to support conceptual understanding (Leinhardt, Zaslavsky & Stein, 1990; Moschkovich, Schoenfeld & Arcavi, 1993). The task requires conceptual understanding of the concept of slope, in part because the qualitative comparison means that computation is not a useful strategy. Students needed to show conceptual understanding of how slope works, particularly when the slope is negative and between 0 and 1. The prompt to explain why the line would be steeper or less steep provides an opportunity for explaining and justifying one's reasoning, and thus is high-cognitive demand.

Several mathematical practices are evident in this discussion. Marcela stated assumptions explicitly, thus attending to precision, and connected her claims to two mathematical representations (graphs and equations). First, she used phrases that reflect mathematical practices. The phrase "If___, then ___" reflects reasoning abstractly, and the phrase "Let's say this is ___" reflects constructing arguments. She also attended to precision, but not precision in computing or using a precise word. Precision here is in the claim, by stating an assumption explicitly so that the claim was precise when she said "Digamos que este es el suelo, entonces …" (*Let's say that this is the ground, then …*). When she said, "Porque fíjate, digamos que este es el suelo" (*Because look, let's say that this is the ground*), Marcela explicitly stated the assumption that, to decide whether a line is steeper or less steep, we first need to state the reference line for making this claim. She also connected a claim to the graph, another important mathematical practice. She supported her claim by making a connection to a mathematical representation. She used the graph, the line $y = x$ (line 5) and the axes (lines 5 and 7), as references to support her claim that the second line was less steep. She used axes as references to support a claim about the line saying "Está entre el medio de la x y de la y" (*Is between the x and the y*).

A shift to a complex view of academic literacy in mathematics that emphasizes mathematical practices is particularly important for students who are bilingual. A simplified view can lead to the assumption that precision lies primarily in individual word meaning, an assumption that could have dire consequences for these students, as they are likely to use imperfect language to describe their mathematical

thinking.[10] One interpretation of Common Core State Standards for Mathematical Practices Standard #6 (National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010), "Attending to precision," is that precision lies in using two different words for the set of symbols "$x + 3$" and "$x + 3 = 10$." If we focus on precision at the individual word meaning level, the first is an "expression" while the second is an "equation."

However, the mathematical practice "attending to precision" should not be interpreted as using the perfect word. Attending to precision is also involved in making precise claims, a practice not at the word level but at the claim level. We can contrast the claim "Multiplication makes bigger," which is not precise, with the claim "Multiplication makes the result bigger, only when you multiply by a positive number greater than 1." When contrasting the two claims, precision does not lie in the individual words nor are the words used in the second (more precise) claim, formal mathematical words. Rather, precision lies in specifying when the claim is true. In a classroom, a teacher's response to the first claim focusing on precision at the word level might be to ask a student to use a more formal word for "bigger." In contrast, a teacher focusing on precision at the claim level would ask "*When* does multiplication make a result bigger?"

Example 2: Building on Students' Hybrid Language Resources and Mathematical Practices

This example illustrates how some hybrid language practices that support participation in mathematical discussions may not easily fit into the category of codeswitching. It also shows how a teacher built on students' hybrid language and mathematical practices by focusing on the mathematical ideas and revoicing student contributions in more formal ways. The example comes from a lesson in a fourth-grade bilingual classroom (33 students, urban school in California). This teacher introduced topics first in Spanish and then later in English, using materials in both languages. Desks were arranged in tables of four and students worked together. Students had been working for several weeks on a unit on two-dimensional geometric figures. Instruction had focused on the properties of quadrilaterals and included vocabulary such as the names of different quadrilaterals in both languages. Students had been talking about shapes and had been asked to point, touch, and identify different shapes. The teacher described this lesson as an ESL (English as a Second Language) mathematics lesson, where students would be using English to discuss different shapes.

Below is an excerpt from the transcript for this lesson involving descriptions of a rectangle. (Brackets indicate transcript annotations.)

1. Teacher: Let's see how much we remembered from Monday. Hold up your rectangles … high as you can. [students hold up rectangles] Good, now. Who can describe a rectangle (for me)? Eric, can you describe it? [a rectangle] Can you tell me about it?

2. Eric: A rectangle has … two … short sides, and two … long sides.
3. Teacher: Two short sides and two long sides. Can somebody tell me something else about this rectangle? If somebody didn't know what it looked like, what, what … how would you say it?
4. Julian: Parallel(a). [holding up a rectangle]
5. Teacher: It's parallel. Very interesting word. Parallel, wow! Pretty interesting word, isn't it? Parallel. Can you describe what that is?
6. Julian: Never get together. They never get together [runs his finger over the top length of the rectangle].
7. Teacher: OK, what never gets together?
8. Julian: The parallela … they … when they, they get, they go, they go higher [runs two fingers parallel to each other first along the top and base of the rectangle and then continues along those lines] they never get together.
9. Antonio: Yeah!
10. Teacher: Very interesting. The rectangle then has sides that will never meet [runs fingers along top and base of an invisible rectangle] those sides will be parallel [motions fingers vertically in parallel lines]. Good work. Excellent work.

Julian's pronunciation in turns 4 and 8 is an example of a hybrid language practice not easily classified as codeswitching. His utterances can be interpreted as a mixture of English and Spanish, the word "parallel" pronounced in English, and the added "a" pronounced in Spanish.[11] In Spanish, the word parallel would agree with the noun (line or lines), in both number (plural or singular) and gender (masculine or feminine; "parallel lines" translates to "líneas paralelas," "parallel sides" translates to "lados paralelos"). The grammatical structure in turn 8 can thus also be interpreted as a mixture of Spanish and English. The apparently singular "parallela" (turn 8) was followed by the plural "when they go higher."

The excerpt illustrates how this teacher, rather than requiring students to use an idealized version of pure language practices, accepted and built on students' hybrid language to support student participation in a mathematical discussion: asking for clarification, probing what students meant, and revoicing student statements. In turn 5, the teacher accepted Julian's response, revoicing it as "It's parallel," and probed what Julian meant by "parallela." In turn 10, the teacher revoiced Julian's contribution in turn 8: "the parallela, they" became "sides," and "they never get together" became "will never meet, will be parallel."

Revoicing is an important way teachers can build on students' own use of mathematical practices or add new mathematical practices to a discussion. There were several mathematical practices evident in Julian's original utterance in line 8. Julian was abstracting, describing an *abstract* property of parallel lines, and generalizing, making a *generalization* that parallel lines will *never* meet. In this case, the teacher's revoicing made Julian's claim more precise, introducing a new mathematical practice, attending to the precision of a claim. In line 10, the teacher's claim is more

precise than Julian's claim because the second claim refers to the sides of a quadrilateral, rather than any two parallel lines. Revoicing also provided opportunities for students to hear more formal mathematical language. The teacher revoiced Julian's everyday phrase "get together" as "meet" and "will be parallel," both closer to academic language.[12]

Recommendations for Instruction

With a complex definition of academic literacy in mathematics, teachers can choose (or design) tasks that support academic literacy in mathematics, provide opportunities for bilingual learners to participate in academic literacy in mathematics, and recognize academic literacy in mathematics in student activity. When designing instruction, teachers can consider how each component of academic literacy in mathematics might appear and how to provide students opportunities to participate in each of the three components. If students are participating in academic literacy in mathematics as defined here, then we see or hear them engaged in the full spectrum of mathematical proficiency as they participate in mathematical practices, many of which are discursive. Academic literacy in mathematics for bilingual learners involves much more than numeracy or computation, so if students are participating in academic literacy in mathematics, we see or hear them using more than numbers, computation, or symbol manipulation; they actively participate in *mathematical practices*. As seen in the examples, they use mathematical concepts and show conceptual understanding through reasoning and communicating.

Mathematics instruction for students who are emergent bilinguals needs to shift from simplified views of language as vocabulary and carefully consider when and how to emphasize correct vocabulary and formal language. Such views severely limit the linguistic resources teachers and students can use to teach and learn mathematics, and separate language from mathematical practices. Focusing instruction on vocabulary limits students' access to the five strands of mathematical proficiency and curtails students' opportunities to participate in mathematical practices (for examples of instruction for English learners focusing on word activities see de Araujo, 2012a, 2012b). In contrast, the view of academic literacy in mathematics used here emphasizes mathematical practices.

One might assume that emergent bilingual learners cannot participate in mathematical practices because they do not know mathematical vocabulary or they need to learn English first. However, research has documented that these students can, in fact, participate in discussions where they grapple with important mathematical content[13] and participate in mathematical practices. Instruction for this population should not emphasize low-level language skills over opportunities to actively communicate about mathematical ideas. One of the goals of mathematics instruction for emergent bilinguals should be to support all students, regardless of their proficiency in English, in participating in discussions that focus

on mathematical concepts and engage students in mathematical practices, rather than on low-level linguistic skills. By learning to recognize how learners actively use hybrid language practices to engage in understanding, reasoning, and communicating, teachers can provide opportunities for students to participate in all three components of academic literacy in mathematics.

We should not expect bilingual students to switch into their other language only to provide a missing word. While some students may sometimes use their home language in this way, other students will use their home language to explain an idea, justify an answer, describe mathematical situations or elaborate, expand and provide additional information. In contrast to emphases on linguistic or cognitive deficits, recent research in mathematics classrooms has documented students' use of hybrid language practices for mathematical, social, and positional functions. In general, hybrid language practices have been documented as providing resources in multiple ways to participate in mathematical discourse practices, from elaborating on a point that is repeated without repeating the original utterances, to providing words and phrases from the mathematics register in two languages, to managing the conversational floor and face-saving. More research is needed to understand how emergent bilingual learners use hybrid language practices to successfully navigate mathematics classroom interactions. This research can then inform the design of classroom environments that support bilingual learners' participation in mathematical practices.

Notes

1 In the rest of the chapter I will use the phrase "bilingual learners" for brevity.
2 The edited volume *Linguistic and cultural influences on learning mathematics* by Cocking & Mestre (1988) includes both types of research studies.
3 There are also Latino/a children and adults in the US who also speak an indigenous language as their first language, Spanish as a second language, and English as a third language.
4 These differences should not be construed as reflecting differences in learner's abilities to reason mathematically, or express mathematical ideas, or a hierarchical relationship among languages that have different ways to express school mathematical ideas (Bishop, 1986; D'Ambrosio, 1991).
5 Note: the "missing word" explanation reflects a deficit view of children's linguistic or mathematical proficiency.
6 This sociocultural perspective builds on previous work where I described a sociocultural view of mathematics learners who are bilingual and/or learning English (Moschkovich, 2002, 2007b), of mathematical discourse (Moschkovich, 2007c), and of mathematical practices (Moschkovich, 2013). In other publications (Moschkovich, 2008, 2009, 2011), I described how mathematical discourse is situated, involves coordinated utterances and focus of attention, and combines everyday and academic registers. The definition of academic literacy in mathematics used here brought together and built on different aspects of those analyses.
7 For this summary of mathematical practices, I draw principally on my own work on mathematical practices (Moschkovich, 2004, 2007c, 2013), the NCTM Standards, and recent CCSS standards for mathematical practices.

8 Marcela also combined everyday and academic ways of talking to clarify the mathematical meaning of her description. She used two phrases typical of academic mathematical discourse, "Let's say" and the construction "If __, then __," regularly used in academic mathematical discourse to construct arguments. She combined these academic ways of talking with informal ways of addressing her peer. Marcela used her everyday experiences and the metaphor that the x-axis is the ground ("Porque fíjate, digamos que este es el suelo" [*Because look, let's say that this is the ground*]) as resources for making sense of this problem. Rather than finding everyday meanings as obstacles, she used an everyday situation to clarify her reasoning. The everyday experience of climbing hills thus provided a resource for describing the steepness of lines, showing that everyday meanings need not be obstacles for mathematical reasoning (Moschkovich, 1996).
9 Another example of a switch to connote familiarity occurred in an earlier exchange where Giselda switched to Spanish to ask Marcela to "Look it over, then" ["*Revisalo, pues*"].
10 For examples of accurate mathematical thinking expressed through imperfect utterances see Moschkovich (2002, 2011).
11 Julian uttered "parallela" (turn 4) with hesitation and his voice trailed off. It is impossible to tell whether he said "parallela" or "parallelas."
12 This revoicing seemed to impact a later interaction with another student, when Julian used the term "side(s)" twice, providing some evidence that revoicing supported this student's participation in mathematical practices and more formal academic language.
13 For examples of lessons where English Learners participate in mathematical discussions see Moschkovich (1999, 2008) and Khisty (1995).

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5

SANDWICHING, POLYLANGUAGING, TRANSLANGUAGING, AND CODESWITCHING

Challenging Monolingual Dogma in Institutionalized Language Teaching

Guadalupe Valdés

Introduction: Institutionalized Language Teaching

The language-teaching profession, the profession that institutionalizes language teaching and learning, can be said to have had its beginning twenty-five centuries ago (Kelly, 1969). It has been rooted in traditions associated with the teaching of Latin and other classical languages structured around translation and the methodologies of grammar instruction. Over time, the modern-language-teaching (as opposed to the classical-language-teaching) profession has engaged in a continuing search of pedagogies and practices appropriate for developing students' ability to comprehend and/or to produce a language other than the first. Ideas from the study of logic, grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and later from linguistics and psychology, have deeply influenced the teaching of languages. Comparing the linear development of sciences with the cyclical development found in art, Kelly (1969) argues that all teachers, including language teachers, unwittingly rediscover old techniques. Additionally, language teachers appear to engage in the same debates and discussions about the value and effectiveness of particular pedagogies.

In this paper, I examine discussions and disagreements present in the language-teaching field about the choice and role of the instructional language in the teaching and learning process and the use of mixing, blending or alternating of two languages for accomplishing pedagogical goals in the process of language curricularization. I examine ideologies of institutionalized language teaching and learning and stress the relationship of these ideologies to rapidly changing and currently highly contested conceptualizations of language. I raise questions about the degree to which terms used to refer to various types of language combining and interspersing (e.g., mixing, codeswitching, sandwiching, translanguaging,

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-7

polylingualism) matter in moving beyond monolingual orthodoxies in institutionalized language teaching.

In part one of the paper, I begin by describing the process of transforming the teaching of language into an ordinary academic subject. I present various different conceptualizations of language that have informed and continue to inform language instruction and discuss the shifting theoretical landscape in which the field of second language acquisition is currently positioned. Proceeding to an examination of the established perspectives on the use of students' own language in language teaching and learning, I then describe various different types of language teaching programs currently implemented in the US at its different levels. I argue that it is difficult, if not impossible, to talk about institutionalized language teaching in the abstract and therefore anchor the discussion of instructional language choice in specific types of language programs and underscore their similarities and differences. In the second part of the paper, I discuss the choice of instructional language(s) in institutionalized language teaching and the ways in which monolingual orthodoxy has been challenged. I describe both mainstream and alternative challenges and the metaterminology that has been used to describe these efforts. I compare the aspects of the language curricularization process with which different challenges have been concerned and conclude by emphasizing the importance of specificity in bringing about change in the teaching and learning of languages in a highly charged ideological context.

Transforming Language into an Academic Subject

The discovery and rediscovery of ideas informing language teaching in the United States mentioned above is well captured in a retrospective summary of articles published since 1916 in the *Modern Language Journal* (a journal specializing in language learning and teaching). According to Mitchell and Vidal (2001), articles published over this 94-year period make evident that language instruction has been influenced by a set of dichotomous views (e.g., the importance of fluency versus accuracy, the need to teach integrated skills versus separate skills) as well as by various theoretical positions (e.g., contrastive analysis, behaviorism, structural linguistics, and generative linguistics). Among the major mainstream methods listed by Mitchell and Vidal (2001) are: (1) the Grammar Translation Method used in the teaching of Greek and Latin; (2) the Direct Method which taught language by the direct association of words with actions and objects; (3) the Reading Method which argued for reading as the principal skill to be acquired by college foreign language learners; and (4) the Audio-lingual Method which derived from the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) and involved memorization and pattern drill.

Since the 1970s, members of the second language teaching profession have moved to the implementation of what have been called "communicative teaching methods" (Leung & Scarino, 2016). These varied methods view language as

communication and consider the goal of language study as the acquisition of functional competence in actual communicative interactions using both the written and the oral mode. Moreover, they take the position that activities involving communication and meaningful tasks will promote learning. Syllabi for communicative courses vary, but generally include lessons on structures and functions and task-based activities. Instructors expect students to play the role of negotiators, contributors, and actors, while instructors are expected to facilitate the communication process, act as participants in communication, and serve as analysts of the communicative needs of students. The dilemma for these educators is how to design teaching programs that can result in both functional competence in face-to-face communication as well as in the accurate use of the written language in both receptive and productive modes.

Curricularizing Language in Institutionalized Language Instruction

The direct teaching of languages in educational institutions of all types involves the process that I have described (Kibler & Valdés, 2016; Valdés, 2015, 2018; Valdés & Parra, 2018) as *curricularizing language* itself. When language is curricularized it is treated, not as a species-unique communicative system acquired naturally in the process of primary socialization, but as an academic subject or skill the elements of which can be ordered and sequenced, practiced and studied, learned and tested in artificial contexts within which learners of the target language outnumber proficient speakers. This process of curricularizing language—an essential aspect of all language teaching—involves the activity of organizing and selecting elements from a particular dialect/variety of a language (e.g., Spanish, English, French, German, Chinese) for instructional purposes as if they could be arranged into a finite, agreed-upon set of structures, skills, tasks, or functions. When language is *curricularized*, its "teaching" is approached as if it were an ordinary academic subject the learning of which is parallel to learning science, history, or mathematics. It is assumed that "language" can be "taught" and "learned" in classroom settings, its "study" awarded units of credit, and its "learning" generally assessed by paper and pencil examinations. Concentrating most often on standardized or prestige varieties of language, such *curricularization* is informed by specific conceptualizations of language (e.g., language is structure, language is use, language is action) drawn from various informing disciplines and theoretical perspectives, by ideologies of language, by traditions of instruction, by existing textbooks and materials and by language policies that define unit/credit institutional requirements. The process of curricularizing language involves a series of interacting mechanisms and elements all of which function as part of an interacting, multilevel system as depicted in Figure 5.1.

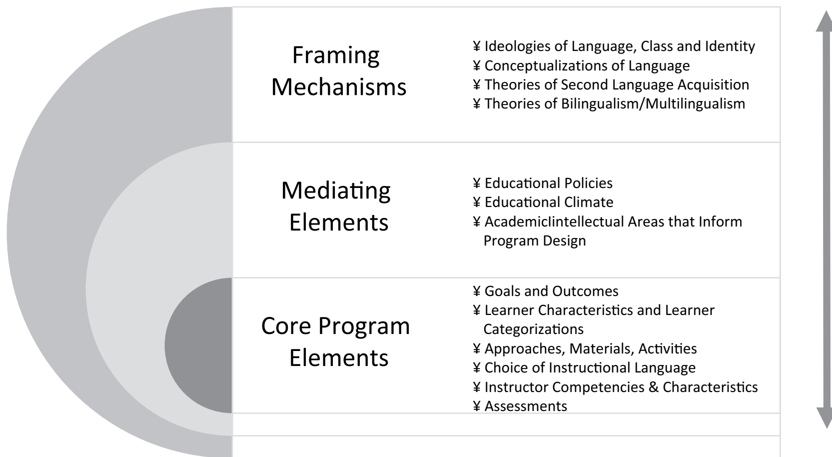

FIGURE 5.1 Language curricularization as a system of interacting mechanisms and elements.

Framing Mechanisms

As will be noted in Figure 5.1, when language is curricularized, the activity is not self-contained. It is informed by the various mechanisms and elements which interact with each other and with smaller program-specific elements forming a complicated system of theoretical, pedagogical, and policy relations. All language programs, for example, must be aligned with educational language policies, that is, with credit-unit requirements and with state or profession-wide language standards (i.e., aspirational progressions stating what students can do and how well at different levels of study). Program designers are not free to simply respond to perceived student needs. They are constrained and informed, moreover, by ideologies of language, race, class and identity, by their conceptualizations of language, by theories of second language and second dialect acquisition, by perspectives on bilingualism/multilingualism, and by educational language policies.

Ideologies of Language, Race, Class, and Identity

As Figure 5.1 makes evident, ideologies of language, race, class and identity inform the entire process of language curricularization and directly influence language education. They inform constructions and conceptualizations of language itself and established and emerging theories of what it means to "acquire" both a first and a second language. Language ideologies intersect in important ways with perspectives on bilingualism and multilingualism as well with theories of bi/multilingual acquisition and use.

Ideologies of language can best be thought of as unexamined ideas and beliefs that shape people's thinking about language itself and about those who use language. Rumsey (1990, p. 346) defines ideologies as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world." Silverstein (1979, p. 193) describes them as "sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use." Heath (1989, p. 53) views language ideologies as "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group," and Irvine (1989, p. 255), considers language ideology to be "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistics relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." Eagleton (1991, p. 19) notes that "ideology creates and acts in a social world while it masquerades as a description of that world," These ideologies—often multiple and conflicting—help comprise the institutional and social fabric of a culture (Kroskrity, 2004, 2010; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) and include "notions of what is 'true,' 'morally good,' or 'aesthetically pleasing' about language, including who speaks and does not speak 'correctly.'" Defined variously as feelings, ideas, conceptions and cultural models of language (Kroskrity, 2010), doxas by Bourdieu (1977), language ideologies may appear to be commonsense but are, in fact, constructed from specific political economic perspectives and frequently result in evaluative views about speakers and their language use.

In the case of the process of curricularizing language, that is, the larger system in which language instruction is embedded, language ideologies, discoursal constructions of otherness including race, class, gender and sexuality present in the larger society directly influence the practice of language teaching (Kubota & Lin, 2009). These constructions are influenced by instructors' backgrounds (Valdés, Fishman, Chavez & Perez, 2006; Valdés, Gonzalez, García & Marquez, 2008), including whether they are speakers of particular regional or social varieties of the target language. In heritage language education (HLE), for example, race and class is constructed as a visible and tangible attribute of individuals. As Valdés et al. (2006) pointed out, in Spanish language departments in US universities, white/European-identified faculty (often Spaniards or upper-class Latin Americans) respond negatively to the class and racial identities of US Latinos and structure Spanish instruction to eradicate all features of their original modes of expression.

Conceptualizations of Language

Conceptualizations of language are views and ideas about language as well as definitions of language that are informed by the study of or exposure to established bodies of knowledge. There are many ways that ordinary people as well as linguists define language. Different perspectives on language, moreover, give rise to dramatically different expectations about teaching, learning and assessing languages. As Seedhouse (2010) contends, researchers and practitioners involved in the area of language teaching and may not be aware that they are starting with

vastly different conceptualizations of language and that it is these differences in conceptualization that have led to existing debates in the field.

The conceptualizations of language that have informed and continue to inform institutionalized language learning include notions that various researchers have commented on, including Guy Cook and Seidlhofer (1995), Vivian Cook (2010), Ellis (2010), Dufva, Suni, Aro, and Salo (2011), Heller (2007), Larsen-Freeman (2010), Makoni and Pennycook (2007), and van Lier (2004). Many of these notions can be seen as "common sense," (e.g., language is a medium of communication) while others are more closely informed by specific theoretical positions (language is a rule-governed system).

Related assumptions about language were categorized by van Lier (2004) and are summarized in Table 5.1. It is important to emphasize that van Lier contended that all of these assumptions involve "half-truths that can easily lead to questionable teaching and learning practices" (p. 27).

Theories of Second Language Acquisition

The field that studies the learning/acquisition of additional languages is the field of second language acquisition (SLA). What is now referred to as mainstream SLA, (as contrasted with alternative approaches to SLA) is informed primarily by componential and formalist conceptualizations of language as well as by the disciplines of linguistics and psychology. Until the last two decades, mainstream second language acquisition has viewed the end-state of additional language learning to be the acquisition of the full monolingual norm said to be characteristic of educated "native speakers." It also has considered the process of second language acquisition

TABLE 5.1 Seven common assumptions about language.

Assumption	*Conceptualizations of Language and Language Learning*
Computational	Language is information exchange consisting of inputs and outputs.
Storage	Language is a fixed code which is learned by internalizing knowledge and skills
Either–Or	Language consists of two separate aspects: form (structure) or meaning (function)
Componential	Language consists of building blocks: pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and meaning (including discourse and pragmatics)
Correctness	Language use can be classified as correct or incorrect, standard or non-standard, native or non-native
Warring Languages	Languages are systems that compete with other like systems in human brains for attention and storage
Separateness	Language is autonomous, separate from all other aspects of human characteristics or experience

Source: van Lier (2004)

to be a cognitive phenomenon that takes place in the mind of individual learners. The primary focus of language study has been considered to involve the internalization of the linguistic system (i.e., the forms and structures) of the additional language. These theories and perspectives have played an important role in framing the practice of institutionalized language teaching.

Theories of Bilingualism/Multilingualism

Until recently, mainstream SLA had given little attention to bilingualism or multilingualism. The end-state of the acquisition process was seen as the acquisition of the linguistic characteristics of the educated native speaker of the additional language. This native speaker, moreover, was constructed as a monolingual. When bilinguals entered the discussion, they were viewed from a monolingualist perspective that dominated the second and foreign language teaching field and that constructed "ideal" or "full" bilinguals as two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 1989) who are capable of keeping their two internalized language systems (or their two sets of social practices or linguistic resources) completely apart. As Dufva et al. (2011) point out, until quite recently, monological thinking dominated the field of applied linguistics and the practice of language teaching. Dominated by both established theoretical linguistic perspectives as well as by a written language bias (Linell, 2004), languages were seen as singular, enclosed systems. As a result, involuntary, momentary transfers in language learners that drew from the "other" national language were frowned upon, corrected, and labeled linguistic interference. The use of borrowings and other elements categorized as belonging to another language system were labeled language mixtures (e.g., Spanglish, Chinglish, Franglais), and language learners were urged to keep their new language "pure."[1] They were expected to refrain from "mixing" languages and from engaging in practices typical of competent multilinguals that involve the alternation of (what have been considered to be) two separate and distinct systems

Currently, much has changed. Monolingualist perspectives have been problematized, and the expansion and increasing epistemological diversity in the field of SLA has led to what some (e.g., May, 2013; Ortega 2013a, 2013b) have referred to as the "multilingual turn" in applied linguistics. According to May (2013) and Ortega (2013a), this turn is a direct consequence of a growing dissatisfaction with and concern about the tendency to view individuals acquiring a second language as failed native speakers. Beginning in the early 1990s, numerous scholars (Canagarajah, 1999; Davies, 1991, 2003; Doerr, 2009; Doerr & Lee, 2013; Kramsch, 1997) criticized monolingual assumptions and the narrow views of language experience that these perspectives implied Nevertheless, writing many years later, Ortega (2013b) contends that mainstream SLA has not yet fully turned away from the comparative fallacy (Bley-Vroman, 1983, 1989), that is, the concern about deviations from the idealized norm of the additional language

produced by language learners. She argues, moreover, that, in spite of the extensive work carried out on this topic (Canagarajah, 1999; V. Cook, 1999; Doerr, 2009; Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997; Piller, 2002; Rampton, 1990; Toker, 2012), many applied linguists and language educators do not fully understand the ideological or empirical consequences of the native-speaker norms and assumptions they rely upon in their work

Others are more optimistic. For example, the Douglas Fir Group (Atkinson et al., 2016), a gathering of the most distinguished applied linguists and second language acquisition theorists of various persuasions (including Dwight Atkinson, Nick Ellis, Lourdes Ortega, Heidi Byrnes, and James Lantolf), contends that a wider range of intellectual traditions and disciplines are now contributing to the field of SLA leading to a greater focus on the social-local worlds of additional language learners. They argue that SLA must be "particularly responsive to the pressing needs of people who learn to live—and in fact do live—with more than one language at various points in their lives, with regard to their education, their multilingual and multiliterate development, social integration, and performance across diverse contexts" (Atkinson et al., 2016, p. 20).

While not yet widely represented systematically in the actual practice of language instruction, there has been an extensive expansion and problematization, at the theoretical level, of positions that were previously unquestioned, for example, (1) that language programs teach and students learn specific "national" (named) languages, (2) that national languages are unitary, autonomous, abstract systems formally represented by rules and items. There is also increasing rejection of the position, that although national languages have different social and regional varieties, the goal of language teaching is to help learners to acquire the norms of the "standard" language as codified by pedagogical grammars and dictionaries.

Mediating Elements

Educational Language Policies

As can be noted in Figure 5.1, educational language policies inform and directly influence the process and practice of curricularizing language. These policies include, for example: national and state standards, state world-language frameworks, high school graduation requirements, college entrance language requirements, and college and university unit-credit language requirements. These policies, with few exceptions are focused on the education and on the needs of majority individuals who generally speak the societal language and are the primary focus of school instruction. Specifically, foreign or world language education policies are primarily directly concerned with the acquisition of languages other than the societal language. They, therefore, govern the study of foreign or world languages in state run and other accredited educational systems and establish the specific languages that are offered as subjects in schools and universities as well as the outcomes of elementary, secondary, and post-secondary "foreign" or world language instruction.

Language policies also include state mandates that regulate the education of K–12 students, the use of non-societal languages in instruction, the identification, categorization and assessment of immigrant-origin students, and the establishment of special language support programs for these students (e.g., bilingual education, ESL). Whatever the policies or the requirements may be at any given point in time, they directly inform and constrain decisions on program goals and outcomes, on instructional approaches and materials, on learner categorizations and assessments, and on the relationship between the program and other subject matter areas.

Institutional Climate and Academic Intellectual Areas that Influence Instruction

The specific institutional climate or context in which a program is implemented has a direct impact on many aspects of language instruction. Figure 5.1 depicts this climate as surrounding the program itself and therefore determining programmatic alignment with other intellectual and academic areas that can enrich language instruction through connections with other important areas of knowledge. institutional goals, approaches, materials, and expectations of student success. For example, in some post-secondary institutions, links between language departments and other entities such as Latin American Studies, German Studies, Modern Thought and Literature are common. Scholars from across these areas of interest share students and often work together. In K–12 programs, examples of institutional climates that impact instruction include those in which students categorized as language–learners are separated from fluent speakers of the language and considered the sole responsibility of "bilingual" faculty.

Core Elements and Learning Programs

As pointed out in Figure 5.1, the teaching and learning of languages (referred to as second languages, additional languages, languages other than first), is a challenging and multifaceted endeavor. Before examining the role and function of the language of instruction in language teaching, it is important to emphasize that what "language teaching" involves depends on the specific goals and purposes of particular language programs. It is not possible to generalize about the language of instruction or to arrive at conclusions about the appropriateness of using students' own language without a clear understanding of the specific types of program involved.

In the many centuries in which additional languages have been taught (or learned) and in the many years in which language-teaching has been documented, it has become clear that there are many different types of programs that involve the activity of "language teaching" variously defined. The examination and study of such programs, that is, the analysis of the ways in which the various

aspects of language curricularization takes place, requires taking into account (1) learners and their characteristics, (2) the context of acquisition or learning, and (3) the goals of language learning and/or the goals of language and content instruction. Table 5.2 lists and describes the principal types of institutionalized programs that involve language instruction currently being implemented in the US, the learners they serve, the classroom context, and the goals of language instruction.

Key differences that should be noted in examining the programs listed in Table 5.2 are (a) the presence or absence of speakers of the target language in the classroom; (b) the levels of proficiency of the learners in the target language that are present in the classroom; and (c) the goals and objectives of the instruction. Important questions to ask about programs are:

1. What will students be expected to do with the language at the end of the program?
2. What types of access to speakers of the target language do they have?
3. How will their progress be assessed?
4. What approaches, methodologies and materials are used in instruction?

As will be noted in Table 5.2, the different types of instructional programs (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H) have different goals. Some programs (A, B, and C) focus exclusively on the language itself. Others (D, E, F, and G) focus on both language and academic content. Foreign/World language programs (type A), for example, have as their goal teaching languages that are still seen as national, named languages: French, Spanish Chinese. In the US, students in such programs will normally share English as a common school language. In other countries, students will share the dominant, societal and school language. For example, students in Spain study English as a foreign language and share Spanish with each other. English language teaching (ELT) in non-English-speaking countries can generally be categorized as the study of a foreign language.

Foreign language programs in the US also enroll heritage language speakers. Such students, because they have been schooled in English and have not developed literacy in their home language, have different goals than do students who have no background in the language. For example, English monolingual students in the class may want to develop communicative proficiencies in the language in order to travel or to engage in activities with speakers of the language. Heritage or home-background speakers may want to develop additional oral and written language proficiencies. Some members of both groups of students, however, may simply see language study as fulfilling an educational requirement.

Adult ESL Programs (type B) enroll students of different languages and educational backgrounds who live in the United States and who wish to either develop or improve their English in order to pursue further educational opportunities or in order to improve their ability to function in their environment and obtain employment. Other than for program evaluation purposes, adult ESL

TABLE 5.2 Principal types of institutionalized programs that involve language instruction in the US.

Type	*Program*	*Learners*	*Context*	*Goals*
A	World /Foreign Language Instruction	Speakers of the dominant societal language. Some programs may also enroll heritage language speakers.[a]	Learners outnumber fluent speakers.[b] Instructor may be only fluent speaker if there are no heritage speakers present.	To meet seat-time requirements for graduation and college admission. To pass AP and other language examinations. To acquire some use of the language for travel and other personal purposes.
B	Adult ESL Programs	Speakers of languages other than English. Literacy and academic backgrounds vary. Levels of English may also vary.	Learners outnumber fluent speakers. Classmates with slightly higher English levels may also provide input.	To acquire survival English in order to work or function in their immediate contexts. To learn "basics" that can support further academic study of English.
C	High School and Middle School ESL Programs	Speakers of languages other than English. Literacy and academic backgrounds vary. Levels of English may also vary.	Learners outnumber fluent speakers. Classmates with slightly higher English levels may also provide input.	To develop English in order to learn academic subjects. To pass required state assessments.
D	Elementary ESL/ELD Programs	Speakers of languages other than English. Same levels of English are required in leveled ELD programs.	Learners outnumber fluent speakers. In leveled ELD classes, there are no classmates with slightly higher English levels to provide additional input.	To develop English in order to learn academic subjects. To pass required state assessments.
E	Bilingual Programs—Transitional	Speakers of the same non-English language. Levels and background in non-English language may vary. Levels of English may also vary.	Teachers are bilingual. Teachers may limit instruction to a single language at particular times, on particular days or for particular subjects.	To use non-English language to learn content. To develop English in order to learn academic subjects. To pass required state assessments.

Type	*Program*	*Learners*	*Context*	*Goals*
F	Bilingual Programs—Main-tenance	Speakers of the same non-English language. Levels and background in non-English language may vary. Levels of English may also vary.	Teachers are bilingual. Teachers may limit instruction to a single language at particular times, on particular days or for particular subjects.	To use non-English language to learn content. To continue to develop non-English language. To develop English in order to learn academic subjects. To pass required state assessments.
G	One way immersion programs	Speakers of the same non-English language. Levels and background in non-English language may vary. Levels of English may also vary.	Teachers are bilingual. Teachers may limit instruction to a single language at particular times, on particular days or for particular subjects.	To develop non-English language in order to learn academic subjects. To continue to develop English to learn academic subjects and pass required state assessments.
H	Two-way immersion programs	Speakers of a non-English language. Speakers of English.	Teachers are bilingual. Teachers may limit instruction to a single language at particular times, on particular days or for particular subjects.	*For non-English speakers:* To develop non-English language in order to learn academic subjects. To continue to develop English to learn academic subjects and pass required state assessments. *For English speakers:* To use non-English language to learn content. To acquire use of the non-English language for personal purposes. To continue to develop non-English language. To develop English in order to learn academic subjects. To pass required state assessments.

[b]The ratio of fluent speakers of a target language to classroom learners of the language has been found by some researchers (e.g. Wong Fillmore, 1982) to be an important factor in rate and success of acquisition/learning. Wong Fillmore specifically argues, that when the learners outnumber fluent speakers, it is not a good condition for language learning.

students are normally not required to demonstrate their language development on standardized tests. Similar programs designed for the teaching of the societal language to new immigrants exist around the world. In many countries, obtaining citizenship depends on the demonstrating proficiency in the receiving country's language.

High school, middle school and elementary ESL programs (types C and D) are, in theory, designed to support the development of the receptive and productive oral and written English of young people who must then engage in the learning of academic content through English. They must also pass required state English language proficiency assessments in order to be reclassified as Fluent English Proficient and given access to more advanced academic content. A variety of programs of type C and D have been implemented around the world to support the acquisition of the societal language for students who must then use this language to learn subject-matter content. These include both pull-out and push-in programs of various types, informed (or misinformed) by different theories and perspectives. Arizona's controversial Structured English Immersion approach to English-language instruction (Arias & Faltis, 2012) is one example.

Programs labeled as types E, F, G and H are different from those described above because their goal is to teach both language and content. Rather than through language instruction exclusively, in such programs the additional language is to be acquired through the learning of academic content. Because such programs are "bilingual", students' own language is purposively used, in content instruction. In some programs (transitional), students' own language is used solely as a bridge to English, but in other programs (maintenance, one way immersion, two-way immersion), the development of student's own language is also a central goal. In type E and F programs (bilingual transitional and bilingual maintenance), children share a common non-English, language. In one-way immersion programs (type G programs), students have English as a shared language. In type H programs, (two-way immersion) both groups of children share a common language. Similar content-based programs have also been implemented in many other parts of the world.

A Key Core Element: The Choice of Instructional Language

I have included details about different types of programs above because any discussion of the choice of instructional language depends on the goal, purpose, and particular character of the specific language-teaching program. Every discussion, moreover, of the use of students' own language in instruction must engage with questions about (1) whether the learners share a common language and (2) whether the instructor speaks a language other than that being taught. Additionally, the various mechanisms that are part of the complex system of language curricularization need to be taken into account because they play an important role in the choice of the primary instructional language and in the ways that both teachers and

students respond to any deviation from the expected or mandated choice. Core program elements encompass not only the specific goals of instruction, but also approaches, materials and activities considered to be aligned with program goals. This includes the very important choice of instructional language. In every case, both learner characteristics as well as instructor competencies and both personal and professional characteristics matter.

Monolingual Orthodoxy: Perspectives on Own Language Use as the Language of Instruction

Given strong monolingualist ideological positions that have been and are part of established perspectives on bilingualism both in the language teaching profession and in society in general, there have been extensive debates in the language-teaching field about the use of the non-target language, that is, students' *own language*, *first language* or *native language* in instruction. There has been a strong rejection, in particular, of the intermixing or alternating of languages by language teachers. Such views reflect the view established by early researchers on bilingualism (e.g. Weinreich, 1974) that true or competent bilinguals do not or should not alternate between their two languages. Monolingual language instruction, then (i.e., the exclusive use of the target language in its instruction), has largely been viewed as the best approach to language teaching.

Referred to as both dogma and a professional neurosis by Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009), the monolingual approach rests on a number of assumptions that G. Cook (2010) has characterized as empirically untested, including views that (1) using the additional language exclusively is more natural and similar to own language acquisition, (2) students need large amounts of input (Krashen, 1981) in order to acquire an additional language, (3) students profit most from interaction with a monolingual, native-speaking teacher, and (4) the classroom can be structured to resemble the target-language country. According to Macaro (2005), the dogmatic or "virtual" position in the ongoing debate insists on the exclusive use of the target language.

In their review of first language use in second and foreign language learning, Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) agree that the virtual position on the exclusive use of the target language in second language classrooms has become hegemonic. They point out, moreover, that "there is a blind acceptance of the notion that exclusive target-language use is the *best* practice" in all types of language teaching and learning. Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) further characterize the rejection of *mother tongue* (MT) use in language instruction as directly related to educational language policies that recommend a minimal use of students' first language. They emphasize that the "doggedness of dogma" (p. 21) that requires exclusive monolingual teaching approaches prevails in spite of extensive research that supports the superiority of bilingual techniques. As others have also done, Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) further suggest that teacher monolingualism, particularly in the case of the English Language Teaching (ELT), may be a strong

factor in rejecting the use of students' own languages. Similarly, Kerr (2014) documents what he terms *a long stream of dissent* against the widespread use of mother tongue teaching in language classes. Citing G. Cook's (2010) book on translation in language teaching as a catalyst, he relates that the subsequent interviews conducted by the British Council of well-known ELT trainers and researchers revealed a strong support for the use of bilingual dictionaries, text translations, and the inclusion of students' L1 in language instruction.

Mainstream Challenges to Monolingual Orthodoxy

The challenges to monolingual orthodoxy have been many. Applied linguists such as V. Cook (1999), Dodson (1967), Stern (1992) and Widdowson (1978) have repeatedly emphasized the value of using students' "mother tongue" in L2 instruction. Moreover, well-known "alternative" approaches such as Suggestopaedia (Lozanov, 1979; Lozanov & Gateva, 1988) and community language learning (Curran, 1982) were specifically based on the principled use of students' own language. And, most importantly, classroom teachers characterized by Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) as "stubborn" have over many years written (often apologetically) about their use of students' own language in instruction. Challenges to monolingual orthodoxy have been documented in the various types of language-teaching programs described in Table 5.2 including foreign language programs, Canadian immersion programs, and bilingual education program.

I refer to these challenges as *on-going and traditional* because, with rare exceptions, they are framed within established conceptualizations of language (e.g., language as structure and form) and mainstream second language acquisition theories that have been and continue to inform institutional language teaching. They do not question traditional goals of language learning (.e.g., the acquisition of the linguistic system), nor do they specifically reject monolingualist perspectives on bilinguals and bilingualism. In general, also, researchers and practitioners proposing challenges to the exclusive use of the target language in instruction are quick to emphasize that they are not advocating for the predominant or excessive use of students' own language.

For example, current and recent work (e.g., Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009; G. Cook, 2010; Cummins, 2005, 2008; Hall & G. Cook, 2012; Kerr, 2014, Swain & Lapkin, 2000) has emphasized (1) the mediating function of acquired languages in teaching for transfer in order to engage prior understandings and supporting cross-linguistic interdependence (Cummins, 2008), (2) the importance of attaining message-oriented discourse in the classroom (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009), (3) the value of providing students with skills for operating in multilingual environments (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986), and (4) the usefulness of providing students with an important social and cognitive tool (Swain & Lapkin, 2000). Several reviews of the literature (e.g., Hall & G. Cook, 2012; Levine, 2003; Macaro, 2000) as well as a recent edited volume on the subject

(Turnbull & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009) provide evidence that the use of students' own language in various different ways and following numerous carefully-thought-out strategies is well established, supported by empirical research, and promotes specific benefits for the development of students' target language proficiency.

Naming the Practice

Occasionally, scholars and practitioners in providing guidance for teachers describe and name specific techniques that can be used in teaching the target language with the use of the mother tongue. For example, Butzkamm & Caldwell (2009) describe the technique of *sandwiching* which involves the translation of an unknown expression that can be carried out in the tone of an aside:

> French teacher of English: What's the matter? *Qu'y a-t-il*? What's the matter?
> *(Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009, p. 33)*

G. Cook (2007, 2010) uses the broader term *translation* to refer to the strategic teaching tool in language teaching and learning, an approach that includes the use of students' primary language to give access to meaning. Cook contends that translation is an aid to language acquisition and that translation is both intellectually and aesthetically rewarding for students.

The term most frequently used to describe the use of two languages in the language teaching classroom by both teachers and students in the literature on the use of a non-target language in instruction is *codeswitching*. As Lin (2013) documents, beginning with early studies in bilingual education in the US, research questions focused on the quantity and function of students first and second language in a classroom context, that is, with the use of two separate and stable codes by teachers and learners. Subsequent work took the same position and tended to use established sociolinguistic and ethnographic analytical approaches seeking to explain the functions of teachers' and students' use of two languages in the classroom in order to understand the role that they played in student interactions with each other, with texts, and in the development of the target language. In some cases, analyses also drew from critical research perspectives and examined the dominant linguistic ideologies reflected in classroom language use (e.g., Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001). More recently, a number of studies (e.g., Macaro, 2009), have gone beyond the documentation of language choice and have sought to design experimental studies that can reveal the impact of particular instructional language uses on, for example, vocabulary acquisition.

In a recent book, Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain (2009), the volume editors were concerned specifically about the use of first language in second and foreign language learning, they specifically framed the discussion using the codeswitching literature. As a result, the other authors in the volume also use the term *codeswitching* to describe both the language choices of teachers (McMillan & Turnbull,

2009), students' reactions to teachers' use of various types of codeswitching (Macaro, 2009), the functions of code choice and codeswitching in computer mediated communication (Evans, 2009), and children's use of codeswitches in a Spanish/English two way immersion classroom (Potowski, 2009) and also in a German/English two-way immersion program (Fuller, 2009). Authors are informed by traditional sociolinguistic research methodologies in describing the functions of codeswitching in bilingual communities and the language use of skilled bilinguals in a number of different contexts.

The term *codeswitching* and/or *code choice*, then, has been predominantly used by mainstream researchers focusing on the use of the non-target languages in instruction. Hall and G. Cook (2012) list over thirty-six studies carried out around the world that have emphasized both learner code choice in classroom interactions as well as teacher choices in both practice and selection of materials. Such studies include, for example, the work of Hobbs, Matsuo & Payne (2010) carried out in Japan, the work of Lin (1996) carried out in Hong Kong, and the Canadian work of Swain and Lapkin (2000) and Cummins (2007).

Importantly, more recent work on the use of two languages in additional language instruction (e.g., Lin, 2013), has begun to express a concern about the analytical implications of the notion of "code." Lin writes:

> We all seem to know what classroom codeswitching is about. For example, one can easily define classroom codeswitching as language alternation—the alternating use of 2 more than one linguistic code in the classroom by any of the classroom participants (e.g., teacher, students, teacher aide), and this can include both code-mixing (intra-clausal/sentential alternation) and codeswitching (alternation at the inter-clausal/sentential level) … However, whether we refer to it as code-mixing, switching or alternation, this "code-X" terminology begs the question of whether language should, in the first place, be conceptualized as discrete "codes" with stable boundaries.
>
> *(Lin, 2013, pp. 1–2)*

Lin (2013) goes on to cite Alvarez-Cáccamo (2001), a well-known sociolinguist who has written extensively on codeswitching, primarily from a social-interactional perspective, and who, in several publications (Alvarez-Cáccamo, 1998, 1999), examined the applicability of the notion of code to the study of human interaction. Lin comments on the plethora of terms listed by Lewis, Jones & Baker's (2012) discussion of the work of poststructuralist researchers who no longer view language as a static code with solid boundaries.

In sum, mainstream challenges to the prohibition of the use of students' own language in instructed language contexts has focused on the level of program language elements as presented in Figure 5.1 (i.e., language of instruction and language of classroom interaction). This work has primarily used analytical approaches common in both the linguistic and social-interactional study of

codeswitching. Primary concern has been with the amounts of each language (percent of time in which one or the other language is used, with total number of utterances, and with the instructional and social functions of utterances in instruction). Much less attention has been given to the effects of the amounts and functions of language used on the acquisition of the target language.

Evolving Challenges to Monolingual Orthodoxy: New Terms and New Meanings

By comparison with the mainstream challenges described above, what I term here *evolving challenges to monolingual orthodoxy* are efforts that, like the studies described above, are also concerned with the role of students' language in instruction. These efforts, however, tend to more directly interrogate other mechanisms that are part of the curricularization process at both the theoretical and the pedagogical levels. For example, while they are aligned with the new transdisciplinary perspectives (Atkinson et al., 2016; May, 2013; Ortega, 2013b) that are now increasingly influencing the teaching and learning of additional languages, these efforts also problematize established conceptualizations of language and second language acquisition theories and draw from current discourses on globalization. They are also influenced by current critical sociolinguistic theorizing in which, as Orman (2013) has argued, a new meta-terminology is being developed to describe language practices in the context of this *superdiversity* (Vertovec, 2007). The claim is that:

> The impact of superdiversity … forces us to see the new social environments in which we live as characterized by an extremely low degree of presupposability in terms of identities, patterns of social and cultural behavior, social and cultural structure, norms and expectations. People can no longer be straightforwardly associated with particular (national, ethnic, sociocultural) groups and identities; their meaning-making practices can no longer be presumed to "belong" to particular languages and cultures—the empirical field has become extremely complex, and descriptive adequacy has become a challenge for the social sciences as we know them.
>
> *(Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 13)*

Summarizing briefly, the growing body of work that is informed by views that problematize notions of language as shared, bounded, systems of structures and forms (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Heller, 2007) and that, to some degree, reflect the concerns of integrationist theorists (Harris, 1996, 1998, 2001, 2013; Makoni, 2011) and other respected scholars (e.g., Kress, 2001) in their rejection of "the structuralist Saussurean pairing of a determinate form (the signifiant) and a determinate meaning (the signifié), a notion that continues to be maintained in nearly all fields of modern linguistics, including sociolinguistics" (Orman & Pablé,

2015, p. 593). The new scholarship argues that existing concepts and categorizations (e.g., code-based views of language, notions of community, traditional conceptualizations of bilingualism) are inadequate for describing dynamic communication environments in which individuals interact deploying numerous communicative resources and engage in practices that impact and transform their existing repertoires. Multilingual competence, from this perspective, consists of "languages" that are not discrete and separate but that form an integrated system emerging from actual interaction and everyday, local practice. "Language learning," then, is seen, not as the mastery of separate grammatical systems, but as the development of a repertoire of practices to be used for different functions in a variety of contexts.

In order to describe perspectives that problematize established and unquestioned conceptualizations of language itself, of multilinguals and multilingualism, and of the end goal of the language teaching and learning process, a new metalanguage has been considered necessary for the purpose of challenging existing unexamined and deeply influential perspectives. A number of scholars and researchers, then, have introduced a variety of new terms that they believe can draw attention to aspects of language practice to which other terms and their underlying conceptualizations have not been sensitive (e.g., *languaging, superdiversity, transidiomatic practices, codemeshing, polylanguaging*). In the section that follows, I provide an overview of work that uses this new metalanguage and makes a distinction between those studies that reflect the still-evolving theoretical perspectives described above and work that appears to be using the terminology of the day (that is, the metalanguage that is now in vogue) without necessarily questioning underlying theoretical perspectives.

Using the New Metalanguage

A number of new challenges to traditional monolingual language curricularization (at its conceptual, ideological, policy and program design levels) use the new terminology referred to above to propose alternative approaches to traditional language instruction. These challenges include theoretical and pedagogically oriented examinations of existing practice that use terms including *translanguaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García 2009, García & Leiva, 2014; García & Li Wei, 2014; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2016; Hornberger & Link, 2012), *codemeshing* (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011b); *polylanguaging* (Ritzau, 2015), and *polylingual and polycultural learning ecologies* (Gutiérrez, Bien, Selland & Pierce, 2011).

Commenting on the large number of terms currently in use Canagarajah (2011a), in his discussion of emerging issues for research and pedagogy, points out that the theorization of alternative practices is taking place in a variety disciplines including composition, new literacy studies, applied linguistics, and sociolinguistics. Using the term *translanguaging* (defined as a neologism standing for the various positions described above), Canagarajah (2011a, 2011b) argues that these positions are widespread. Moreover, he lists numerous related terms and identifies

the fields in which they are used: (1) composition (*transcultural literacy, translingual writing*); (2) new literacy study (*multiliteracies, continua of biliteracy, pluriliteracy*); (3) applied linguistics (*plurilingualism, third spaces, metrolingualism*); and (4) sociolinguisitcs (*fluid lects, hetero-graphy,* and *poly-lingual languaging*). He also identifies several contexts in which researchers have identified or advocated for the practices subsumed under the term *translanguaging,* including academic reading and writing (Lu, 2009), internet communication (Williams 2009), and indigenous literacy (Hornberger, 2003).

In order to contrast these more recent challenges to monolingual orthodoxy with the various efforts discussed previously, I discuss three of these terms as they have been applied to language instruction: codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011a), polylanguaging (Ritzau, 2015) and translanguaging (Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Hendeson, 2014; Sayer, 2013; García et al., 2016).

Codemeshing

Canagarajah (2011b) uses the term *codemeshing* in a study of his own writing strategy instruction with one multicompetent student. He notes that the term has been adopted in the fields of rhetoric and composition in the study of African-American students' use of vernacular and standard English to refer to a process that treats two languages as a single integrated system. According to the author, the term *codeswitching* (and its accompanying analytical stance and methodologies) is being rejected because it "treats language alternation as involving bilingual competence and switches between two different systems" (ibid., p. 403). Canagarajah then contrasts codemeshing with translanguaging stating that:

> Unlike translanguaging, codemeshing also accommodates the possibility of mixing communicative modes and diverse symbol systems (other than language). In this article, I use translanguaging for the general communicative competence of multilinguals and use codemeshing for the realization of translanguaging in texts.
>
> *(Canagarajah, 2011b, p. 403)*

After examining the strategies and choices used by a French-, Arabic-, and English-speaking graduate student in her writing, the author concludes that in codemeshing, languages are not meshed indiscriminately and that teachers can help students grow in, what the author refers to as, *their translanguaging proficiency* and in their ability to examine their choices in writing. The author expresses his belief in a pedagogy that he believes can help students develop as strong writers through the analysis and use of two languages, but he also communicates the many steps in the journey that are needed in developing a knowledge base about what students learn from codemeshing. An additional step will involve understanding how to develop teachers' ability to implement such pedagogies.

Seen from the perspective of language curricularization (Figure 5.1), in this particular article, Canagarajah is predominantly concerned with program elements, that is, with the ways that the use of two languages can be understood and supported by teachers in writing instruction. His study is situated in a graduate level course in the teaching of writing (Canagarajah, 2009) that includes multilingual students who use several languages in their everyday lives. Specifically, then, the class in which the examined writing is produced is not technically a language-teaching course as described in Table 5.2. Nevertheless, the author is indeed challenging monolingual orthodoxy at the classroom practice-level while simultaneously engaging with broader ideological and theoretical issues. The author is informed by a larger theoretical framework that is part of the post-structuralist ideological discourses described above while at the same time focusing on classroom practice and calling for the continued building of an informing body of knowledge that can support the widespread implementation by teachers of strategies that support the complex competencies of multilingual students.

Polylanguaging

Polylanguaging is a term associated with the work of Møller (2009) and Jørgensen et al. (2011) that rests on the notion of *languaging*. Also, defined variously in the current literature, *languaging* is viewed as the phenomenon that human beings use in interaction (Møller & Jørgensen, 2009, 2012). This notion of languaging is based on the position that "languages" are ideologically socially constructed abstract concepts. It specifically rejects common established views including: (1) that a "language" (including a dialect and sociolect) is a set of features different from all other sets of features; and (2) that speaking a "language" is using only one set of features associated with that single language. For these scholars, languaging is seen as the use in all types of communication of the entire set of linguistic features that are part of speakers' repertoires. Polylanguaging, then "is the phenomenon that speakers employ linguistic resources at their disposal which are associated with different 'languages,' including the cases in which the speakers know only few features associated with a given 'language'" (Møller & Jørgensen, 2012, pp. 1–2).

From the perspective of this paper, advocating for polylanguaging in institutionalized language-teaching contexts would be considered a challenge to monolingual orthodoxy. It is important to point out, however, that studies of polylanguaging have primarily taken place outside of language-teaching settings. A recent study (Ritzau, 2015) is an exception and reveals that, in spite of the possible potential of the theoretical perspectives informing notions of polylanguaging for challenging classroom dogmas, the hegemonic perspective on the advantages of the exclusive target-language in language learning does not yield easily to new liberating perspectives. The author examines the views and beliefs about language learning of multilingual, college-level learners of Danish in her

own classroom drawing from a theoretical framework of language ideologies and repertoires that is directly informed by the work of post-structuralist scholars including Møller and Jørgensen. Students in the class were speakers of Swiss German, as well as English and other European languages. Because they were enrolled in a program in Scandinavian studies, many were already also speakers of Norwegian and Swedish.

In her analysis of students' perspectives, Ritzau used students' written learning journals, first in German and then in Danish, in which students were prompted to write on topics relating to their learning of Danish, their thoughts on their progress and achievements, and on the course in general. She determined that, in spite of their accomplished multilingualism, students: (1) viewed language as a system, (2) saw languages as separate entities, (3) had very strong ideas about language correctness and authentic target-language use, and (4) strongly believed that languages belong to a certain group of speakers, its native speakers. Ritzau concludes that while the language actually produced in students' writing had much in common with that documented in the polylanguaging literature, her multilingual students clearly saw particular linguistic features as belonging to different languages.

The challenges of utilizing still-evolving theoretical perspectives in carrying out research on language teaching and learning is highlighted by a critique of Ritzau's (2015) study written by Orman and Pablé (2015). Drawing from an integrational linguistic perspective (Harris, 1996, 1998), these authors critique Ritzau's attributing to students a view of language-as-system and, what they see, as the implications of her work: that a well-meaning, theoretically sophisticated language teacher can "exorcise the ghosts of 'authentic' or 'real' target languages haunting foreign language teaching" (Orman & Pablé, 2015, p. 595). They point out that language courses are not meant as journeys of self-discovery. More importantly for our examination of challenges to existing orthodoxies, they further argue that, while polylanguaging can be considered to be more humanistic than Saussure's views on language and more congenial to the modern world, "theories of language and communication should not be made to fit with the latest social reality" (ibid., p. 596). They conclude their article by pointing out the existence of theoretical incoherence in modern sociolinguistics in its attempt to reject the idea of "language code while at the same time retaining the notion that linguistic features are still coded, i.e. determinate" (ibid., p. 598). Orman and Pablé strongly contend that it is the structuralist conception of the linguistic sign that must be disavowed before "one can go about rejecting or 'disinventing' the notion of individual linguistic systems" (ibid., p. 598).

Translanguaging

The term translanguaging appears to be the most controversial among the various neologisms that are now being used in the rapidly evolving and contested theoretical terrain of multilingualism and education. As the above critique of *polylanguaging* makes evident, conceptualizations of language and languaging are now

being problematized by both traditional and reformist scholars. The term translanguaging, however, appears to have triggered a particularly negative response even among many scholars who have engaged in the study of bilingualism for many years and who are committed to social justice.

From the perspective of this paper, translanguaging can be considered to be yet another challenge to existing monoglossic dogma. Various practices referred to as *translanguaging* are currently being written about by different researchers with the objective of challenging both monolingual classroom orthodoxies and established theoretical perspectives on the nature of multilingualism and multilingual communication. Researchers who are currently using this term directly interrogate other mechanisms that are part of the curricularization process at both the theoretical and the pedagogical levels. In order to illustrate the current use of this term, in this section, I provide a brief overview of the developing scope of the term and its underlying concepts.

Lewis et al. (2012) begin their discussion of the concept with García's concept of dynamic bilingualism of which translanguaging is a process. They refer to the set of related terms (previously referred to in this paper) that are currently being used in the discourse on language in an age of globalization. Tracing the term from its early days, these researchers point out that the concept of translanguaging builds on notions of linguistic complexity and subsumes ideas that include an emphasis on the holistic nature of bilingualism and multilinguals' full range of linguistic performances and a rejection of diglossic views of language. Lewis et al. (2012) specifically mention the historical connection between translanguaging and codeswitching. They emphasize that, while there is an overlap between the two concepts, codeswitching is associated with language separation. The study of codeswitching has presupposed that the phenomenon under investigation involves a mixture or alternation of separate codes, while scholars who have recently proposed the use of the term translanguaging assume and emphasize the unitary nature of the multilingual repertoires used in communication among multilinguals.

One might also add that, while the term *translanguaging* is closely linked to pedagogy, codeswitching (with the exception of the work of Faltis, 1989; Jacobsen, 1981, 1983; Jacobson & Faltis, 1990,1995) has not been studied extensively as a pedagogical strategy. Research involving codeswitching, from the perspective of linguistics, sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics, has primarily involved the study and examination of the language production of individuals who use two different languages/dialects (codes) in various types of settings, interactions and purposes. It is important to note, however, that the term codeswitching has been used by a number of scholars, e.g., Cook, 2001; Fuller, 2009, 2010; Gort, 2012; Martínez, 2010; Moschkovich, 2007; Nava, 2009; Palmer, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Shin, 2005.

More recently, in a book titled *The Translanguaging Classroom*, García et al. (2016) present a multifaceted pedagogical approach designed with the specific purpose of supporting and developing the intellectual and social identities of

bilinguals/multilinguals. Throughout the book, *translanguaging* is used as a cover term both for the practices of multilinguals and community and for the pedagogies used with multilinguals to combat monoglossic and monolingual teaching practices (García et al., 2016). The authors define translanguaging (citing García, 2009) as an approach "to bilingualism that is centered not on languages as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable." They also include a second definition (citing Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015) "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages" (García et al., 2016, p. 2). The authors emphasize that translanguaging is to be understood as focusing on both (1) the practices of bilingual individuals and communities, and (2) pedagogical approaches that can develop and enhance the complex practices of bilingual/multilingual students. Throughout the entire text, the authors underscore that teachers' translanguaging pedagogy must encompass:

> a specific stance or belief about student's language use and development,
> the careful and well planned design of units, lessons, instruction and assessment
> an embracing of moment to moment shifts as necessary to keep meaning and learning as the center of all activities.

From the perspective of this article, translanguaging pedagogy, as described by García et al. (2016), directly challenges monolingual orthodoxies and yet goes beyond the pedagogical. Seen from the standpoint of the model of language curricularization in Figure 5.1, translanguaging practices take into account framing mechanisms (ideologies of language and conceptualizations of language) by making teachers aware of the importance of their own philosophical stance in a context in which children's ways of speaking are often devalued. It also takes into account one mediating mechanism, language policy, particularly as it dictates the strict separation of languages in language-teaching contexts. Finally, translanguaging pedagogy attends to program elements including materials, instruction and assessment.

The Use of the Term "Translanguaging" in Research and Practice

At this point in time, in spite of the increasing use of the term *translanguaging* by researchers, it is not clear how well the concept of translanguaging is currently understood in the field of applied linguistics broadly defined and to what degree it will be explored or adopted by others as a pedagogical approach. MacSwan (2017), for example, has offered a critical assessment of the theories of bilingualism underlying *translanguaging*, as defined by García and Otheguy (2014) and Otheguy et al. (2015). He argues that denying the existence of codeswitching

results in also denying "the empirical basis for the repudiation of a deficit perspective on language mixing," thus leaving only an ideological stance for a positive view of bilingualism that has been used by many scholars in supporting the educational needs of minoritized students by dispelling notions that equated the alternating use two languages with confusion, alingualism, and laziness. MacSwan proposes an alternative view of the underlying theory of translanguaging arguing for an integrated multilingual model of individual bilingualism. While the technical details supporting his argument are beyond the scope of this article, MacSwan's work suggests that debates and disagreements about the theories underlying current views on translanguagiing will continue to inform our understanding of both the new metalanguage and the use of mixing, blending or alternating of what have been known as two "languages" for accomplishing pedagogical goals.

Several recent articles (e.g., Palmer et al., 2014; Sayer, 2013) suggest that the still-evolving use of metaterminology may create difficulties for researchers who embrace social-justice perspectives and attempt to use these terms with analytical preciseness—particularly in contexts in which monolingualist and classist/racist ideologies of language directly impact the lives of children. To be sure, the plethora of terms that are currently being used in challenging exclusive target-language use in language- teaching contexts broadens mainstream discussions that previously focused exclusively on classroom language practice to a broader consideration of ideological and theoretical issues. At the same time, ongoing and very likely continuing theoretical debates that are attempting to challenge fundamental and well-entrenched understandings, may, in the short-term, lead to a varied and possibly contradictory use of both terminology and associated frameworks by both researchers and practitioners.

The Future of Monolingual Orthodoxy in Institutionalized Language Teaching

Because it is embedded in a system of elements and mechanisms that inform and constrain it, changing institutionalized language teaching by challenging monolingual orthodoxy, will be difficult. When change happens, it will be slowly and over a period of time in which many discussions will take place. Practices and perspectives built over twenty-five centuries of language teaching will not be easily moved or altered. The various approaches to the problematization of monolingual dogma in language teaching that I have examined here make evident that, while different, all raise important questions about existing business-as-usual approaches to language teaching and, I would add, about language teacher preparation. As applied linguists move forward to determine the best ways to change practice (ranging from a simple increase in the use of translation in a foreign language literature class to the total rejection of separate language times in bilingual education programs) I suggest that there are two areas that are particularly important: the question of ideology and the question of specificity.

The Question of Ideology

In many ways, the question of ideology is the most important in this discussion. Ideologies of language, race, class and identity are the central framing mechanisms in the process of language curricularization. As pointed out in an earlier section of this paper, ideologies include both unexamined impressions and strongly held articulated beliefs about the superiority and inferiority of particular languages and language varieties and styles, about the role and status of the "national" language in the nation state, about the acquisition and use of the national language by new immigrants, and about threats to the integrity of the idealized standard language by contact with other languages and language varieties. Kroskrity (2010) has suggested that ideologies are plural and that they should be regarded as a "cluster concept, consisting of number of convergent dimensions" (ibid., p. 195) that include: (1) perceptions of language and discourse that protect and legitimate the interests of particular social groups; (2) multiple, divergent and contradictory perspectives; (3) unarticulated positions about which there is variable consciousness; (4) selective focusing on features of both linguistic and social systems; and (5) responses to difference employing processes such as iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure (Gal & Irvine, 2000). Kroskrity (2010) also emphasizes important directions in recent and current research including the contributions of the work on the historiography of language ideologies (Blommaert, 1999), the exploration of the relationship between ideologies and the production of social identities, and ideological processes in linguistic racism and language shift. He concludes with a mention of "professional language ideologies," that is, the ideologies of specific professions that perform "important roles not only in the displays of professional competence but also insofar as they contribute to and otherwise create the very institutions in which various professions typically perform" (ibid., p. 206).

Changing institutionalized language teaching is a challenge because talking about and reaching agreement about what needs to change is framed by both broad ideologies of language and more narrow professional language ideologies that are central to our identities as researchers, scholars and practitioners. In this article, I have called attention to the ideological binds in which the discussion itself is framed in order to highlight the difficulties that currently accompany discussions of "language" itself as well as first language, second language, own language, target language, and additional language as well as terms commonly, and more recently, used in talking about challenges to monolingual orthodoxy. In a rapidly changing theoretical landscape that has strongly denounced social constructions and terminiological uses with which we have operated, every choice of terms is fraught with difficulty. If we are to move forward, however, in bringing about changes to institutionalized language teaching that will prevent the replication of uninformed and directly damaging approaches to teaching language, especially to young children, we will have to move beyond arguments about metaterminology. We need to agree on ways that language, if it must be curricularized, can be organized to make the process of expanding students' heteroglossic repertoires as painless as possible.

The Question of Specificity

In moving forward, however, the question of specificity is essential. Teaching takes place in a variety of program types as exemplified in Table 5.2, and finding ways to reach conclusions about effective challenges to monolingual uses across such program types will continue to be difficult. In all cases, the question of how or whether particular challenges or monolingual teaching practices work (e.g., teacher codeswitching, teacher sandwiching or student translanguaging) can only be answered with reference to specific program types and to the particularity of program implementations. It matters: (1) what the goals of language instruction are; (2) what the policies governing language instructions mandate; (3) how students' language development will be assessed; and (4) what students and teachers believe about language (e.g., standardness, appropriateness) and what the end-goal of language learning instruction is considered to be. How many speakers of the target language(s) are in the room also matters, as do the language(s) that the teacher speaks and/or understands.

In order to move this work forward, researchers must provide accurate descriptions of the students which they are concerned and of the languaging resources they bring with them. For example, it matters if the students in question include newly-arrived Syrians learning Finish who have not had previous contact with this named language. These students will be different from upper-middle-class Basque-Spanish "bilinguals" learning English whose acquired languaging assets include the use of resources related to the target language. They will also be different from second and third generation Latinos enrolled in a two-way immersion program in Texas. If we are to understand the role, benefit, and challenge of using students' own language in institutionalized language teaching, the precise description of initial language resources must be provided along with information about change over time.

The model of *language curricularization* presented in Figure 5.1 suggests a way of examining, contrasting and comparing existing and future work focusing on the use of instructional language(s) in institutionalized language teaching and learning. Once the type(s) of language program being studied have been made clear, the levels of the curricularization process (depicted in Figure 5.2) that the challenge(s) are specifically directed to can be examined.

Questions that can be asked with reference to these levels are:

1. To what degree is the challenge (e.g., sandwiching) concerned with core program elements (classroom techniques)?
2. Does the challenge (e.g., translation) also address mediating elements (e.g., language policy)?
3. Does the challenge (e.g. polylanguaging, translanguaging) also address framing mechanisms (i.e., conceptualizations of language, SLA theories, ideologies of language, class and identity)?

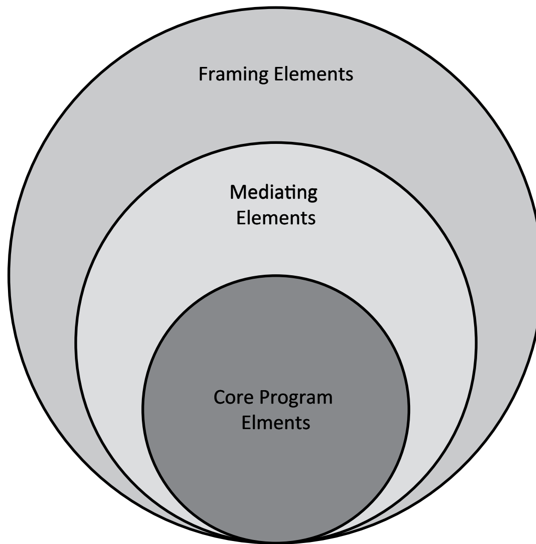

FIGURE 5.2 Levels potentially addressed by challenges to monolingual orthodoxies.

In order to bring about change in the ways that language is taught, particularly at a time when the limitations of current practices are clearly evident for the world's most vulnerable citizens, applied linguists must work together to find common ways of describing and examining successful and unsuccessful challenges to monolingualist language-teaching dogma.

Note

1 For additional detail on what Haugen (1972) referred to as the "stigmata of bilingualism," the reader is referred to Lippi-Green (2012).

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6

EFFECTS OF HOME CODESWITCHING PRACTICES ON BILINGUAL LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Jeff MacSwan, Natalia Guzman, Kara T. McAlister and Margaret Marcus

Children have the capacity to learn multiple languages effortlessly and without instruction, and are able to navigate both languages according to specific social and interpersonal cues (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine, 2017). However, questions remain about home language policy, and how it may relate to successful acquisition of two or more languages; and in educational research, new work has reopened classic questions about the utility of codeswitching for teaching and learning (Faltis, Chapter 2, this volume). In the present chapter, we empirically evaluate how home language policies pertaining to codeswitching affect successful multilingual acquisition, and discuss possible implications of our findings for children's language acquisition experiences at home and school.

Codeswitching and Bilingual First Language Acquisition

Research on codeswitching and bilingual first language acquisition has focused primarily on whether young children's codeswitching reflects adult-like intuition about the underlying grammar of codeswitching, or the subconscious rules which govern language mixing (see MacSwan, Chapter 1, this volume, for discussion of the grammar of codeswitching). For example, Meisel (1994) studied two German-French children, ages 1.5 to 3 years old, and found that their language mixing, which occurred in the earliest samples, adhered to known grammatical constraints in codeswitching. Similarly, Paradis, Nicoladis and Genesee (2000) followed fifteen French–English bilingual children from ages 2 to 3.5 years and found that the children in their study also adhered to adult-like knowledge of codeswitching constraints. Cantone (2008) studied five Italian–German bilingual children ranging in age from approximately 1.5 to 5 years old. She found that the

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-8

children she studied respected the grammatical properties of the languages involved in codeswitching, along with their emergent properties which served to constrain codeswitching. In this sense their behavior conformed to adult-like knowledge of the underlying grammar of codeswitching. Quin Yow, Patrycia and Flynn (2016) studied older Mandarin-English bilingual children, approximately 5.5 to 6.5 years old, who attended two private schools in Singapore. They found that codeswitching did not adversely affect children's receptive vocabulary, lexical diversity, and linguistic complexity in English or Mandarin.

In the present study, we examine a related but different question, namely, whether codeswitching as a linguistic environment impedes successful acquisition of two languages. For some, the answer to this research question seems obvious, as we regularly encounter children from bilingual communities, where codeswitching is commonplace, who clearly speak two languages—mixed or separately. However, there has been some doubt expressed in the educational literature on this matter. As Commins and Miramontes (1989) noted, "a popular belief is that children who codeswitch … do so because they do not command enough pieces in either language to form a complete code; thus, they are considered semilingual" (p. 445). Indeed, the notion that codeswitching might be evidence of semilingualism was made explicit in Cummins's early formulation of the construct:

> Several investigators have drawn attention to the fact that some bilingual children who have been exposed to both languages in an unsystematic way prior to school, come to school with less than native-like command of the vocabulary and syntactic structures of both LI and L2 … Gonzalez (1977) suggests that under these conditions children may switch codes because they do not know the label for a particular concept in the language they are speaking but have it readily available in the other language.
>
> *(Cummins, 1979, p. 238)*

For a critical discussion of semilingualism more broadly, see MacSwan (2000) and MacSwan and Rolstad (2006, 2010).

A central concern in bilingual and dual-language education has been language distribution in teaching and learning activities. Discussion has frequently focused on how much time should be devoted to each language during teaching and learning activities, to what extent and by what means languages should be separated in a program—and, what factors should be used to manage language separation (hours in the day, days of the week, subject, teacher, so on). Early on, Jacobson (1983) argued that languages are best mixed in the classroom by codeswitching. Conventional approaches in which languages are separated lead to numerous quandaries, Jacobson maintained—for instance, if languages are separated by *time*, then teachers will have to teach each subject twice, once in English and once in, say, Spanish, a practical problem of significant proportions. If, on the other hand, language

separation is based on *content*, Jacobson argued, then it will be impossible to decide which subjects should be taught in which language. Children who learn math in English, for example, may later have difficulty talking about it in Spanish (for lack of appropriate vocabulary), or they may come to view English differently from Spanish because math is a highly valued subject in our society.

Jacobson (1983) believed that by codeswitching in the classroom students would acquire subject-appropriate vocabulary in both languages, with none of the practical problems of language separation approaches. However, he also asserted that switching should not be done haphazardly or randomly. In order for it to be effective, he argued, four criteria must be met: (1) the languages must be distributed at an approximate ratio of 50/50; (2) the teaching of content must not be interrupted; (3) the teacher must be conscious of her alternation between the two languages; and (4) the alternation must accomplish a specific learning goal. Codeswitched instruction which does not meet these criteria Jacobson calls the "unstructured approach."

One consequence of (3), in Jacobson's New Concurrent Approach (NCA), is that teachers should only use *intersentential* codeswitching, or mixing *between* rather than *within* utterances, according to Jacobson. Jacobson (1983) worried that if teachers switch *within* sentences (*intrasentential* codeswitching), "the child is not exposed long enough to any one language to derive from the teacher's talk the grammatical, semantic and lexical rules of English nor Spanish" (p. 5). Jacobson (*ibid.*) disapprovingly gives the following contrived example of "flip-flopping" between Spanish and English for purposes of instruction:

TEACHER: This is a seed, *¿entienden?* We plant it *en la tierra para que eche raíces*. To make it grow fast, we water it. *Le echamos agua* and then the plant grows a stem and leaves. *¿Qué más tiene la planta?*
STUDENT: *Hojas* and a flower.
TEACHER: Have you all seen plants with leaves and flowers?
STUDENTS: (No response.)
TEACHER: *¿Han visto ustedes plantas con hojas y flores?*
STUDENTS: Yes.

Jacobson (1983) recasts the same exchange in intersentential codeswitching, where his NCA is used correctly:

TEACHER: This is a seed. We plant it in the soil to develop roots. To make it grow fast, we water it. *Después que la planta ha echado sus raíces y la hemos regado bastante, produce un tallo y las hojas. ¿Qué más tiene la planta?*
STUDENT: *Tiene hojas y una flor.*
TEACHER: *Muy bien, tiene hojas y a veces tiene también flores*. Have you ever actually seen plants with leaves and flowers?
STUDENT: Yes, in my backyard.

For additional discussion of Jacobson's model, see Faltis (Chapter 2, this volume).

In terms of the theory of codeswitching presented in MacSwan (1999; Chapter 1, this volume), we expect children to acquire the grammars of both languages from bilingual data, even under conditions of intrasentential codeswitching.

Children acquire language by setting *parameters*, each of which defines the range of variation among human languages. Consider, for example, the behavior of verbs in English and French. In French, verbs occur to the left of adverbs, but to their right in English, as classically observed by Pollock (1989):

French: Jean mange souvent des pommes.

Jean eats often the apples

English: John often eats apples.

During acquisition, children must acquire specific parametric values associated with placement of adverbs and verbs in English and French. In this case, an abstract property of a functional category known as *Tense* attracts the French verb upward in the syntactic tree, deriving verb-adverb word order, but the same property in English Tense does not have this effect. In acquisition, children acquire the specific value of this abstract property according to whether their primary linguistic data is French or English. As noted by MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume), in codeswitching, functional categories which merge with lexical categories (through *head movement*) are phonological parsed by one or the other language, compelling such structures to resist codeswitching. Children who hear mixed language input as primary linguistic data will therefore be subconsciously aware of whether Tense is of the "French type" or the "English type" through its association with a language-particular phonology, permitting acquisition to proceed as in the monolingual case.

Hence, we are led to expect that children will acquire both language systems from mixed language data as efficiently as in the monolingual case, given sufficient bilingual language input. We next examine this question empirically.

The Present Study

Data Collection and Methods

Participants

We initially tested 200 sixth grade students with Spanish-speaking backgrounds and interviewed their parents. The students were between 11 and 12 years old at the time of the study and had been continuously enrolled in a US school since kindergarten. Per parental reports, all students had not started learning English

until kindergarten. In school, the students were instructed in English in a variety of programs, including bilingual education programs, dual-language immersion, and Structured English Immersion in Arizona.

Instrumentation

Language Measures

Using standard methods in the study of child language, students were asked to interact with native speakers of English and Spanish on separate occasions spanning four to six weeks and tell a story about a boy and a frog from a Mercer Mayer's picture book with no text (Mayer, 1969). These speech samples were coded for lexical, morphological, and syntactic structures and errors.

Speech samples of each child telling the whole story depicted in the picture book were individually videotaped. These speech samples were then transcribed word for word, and coded using MacWhinney's (1995) standard CHAT (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts) format, as modified by Curtiss, MacSwan, Schaeffer, Kural, and Sano (2004) and adapted to Spanish by Valadez, MacSwan, and Martínez (2002). An example of a coded Spanish utterance is presented below, with translation provided in brackets:

*MAR: El niño se está durmiendo, y la rana se escapó.
[The boy is going to sleep, and the frog escaped]

%mor: DART|el niño REF|se IAUX|está-3Ss dormir-DUR conj|y DART|la rana REF|se IF|escapar-pret-3Ss
%lex: N|niño N|dormir N|rana N|escapar

Language samples were collected in separate sessions for each child in English and Spanish by native speakers. Coding was done by native speakers, and each coded transcript was proofed by at least one other native speaker trained in the coding system. When judgments regarding error coding differed, these were resolved using procedures detailed in Curtiss et al. (2005) with sensitivity to regional diversity (Lipski, 2008). In this coding system, errors of selection (for instance, when *la* is used where *el* is required for the morphological category DART) are prefixed with = (equal sign); errors of omission (a category such as DART or IAUX is missing altogether) are suffixed with = 0. Erroneous lexical selection is similarly noted on the %lex: (lexical) tier, and errors in word order, if present, were noted with appropriate annotations on a %syn: (syntactic) tier. This system permitted the calculation of morphological and syntactic error rates in English and Spanish for the children in the study. Because morphological structure is regarded as central to grammatical representation, both historically in the study of child language acquisition (Brown, 1973) and in contemporary linguistic

theory (Chomsky, 1995; Uriagereka, 2012), we focused our analysis on morphological error rate as an index of participants' knowledge of grammatical structure in English and Spanish.

In addition, we administered the Woodcock Language Proficiency Battery (WLPB) in English and Spanish to assess oral language proficiency. Language measures included the oral language cluster of the WLPB in English and Spanish, which focus on both receptive and expressive oral language abilities (Woodcock, 1991). Productive measures of vocabulary were collected using the Clinical Evaluation of Language Functions (CELF; in English and Spanish) and receptive vocabulary knowledge was tested using the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test (PPVT; English) and Test de Vocabulario en Imágenes Peabody (PVIP; Spanish).

Of the oral language measures, we regard the story retelling task samples to be very solid measures of children's knowledge of grammatical structure in English and Spanish. Although a standard stimulus was used to elicit the samples, the context of the task provided a broad opportunity for participants to demonstrate their knowledge of the grammatical structure of English and Spanish. The English Oral Language Cluster of the WLPB, on the other hand, is focused on English used in academic contexts, and may measure language proficiency concurrently with aspects of academic achievement (MacSwan & Pray, 2005). Similarly, we note that the Peabody appears to focus on school-related vocabulary and may have substantial construct overlap with academic achievement, unlike the CELF, an open-ended and more context independent vocabulary measure. We therefore regard the natural language samples and CELF to be good indicators of language proficiency, and believe the Woodcock Oral Language measure and the Peabody vocabulary test to be more narrowly representative of language used in the context of schooling. Language measures were collected in both Spanish and English for all children in the study.

Academic Achievement Measures

Academic achievement was measured using the Reading, Mathematics, and Language scores of the *Stanford Achievement Test*, 9th edition (SAT-9), as administered at the end of the sixth grade and obtained from students' academic files. As is evident from the data summaries and analyses presented below, participants in the study appear to have had sufficiently well-developed English language proficiency to minimize measurement error introduced by developing proficiency in the linguistic medium of the test (see Thompson, DiCerbo, Mahoney & MacSwan, 2002 for discussion).

Parent Survey

In addition, parents completed a survey in Spanish or English. The survey was administered verbally, either over the telephone or in person, by a bilingual research assistant. The survey asked questions about the home language

environment—i.e., the relative use of Spanish and English in the household, attitudes toward codeswitching, as well the presence and language use of other family members at home.

Analysis and Findings

From the initial dataset, we identified 80 students as either most likely to codeswitch (n = 42) or most likely not to codeswitch (n = 38). We used parent survey responses to identify these subsets. A question in the interview that focused on parental attitude towards codeswitching was binary-recoded as either codeswitchers (= 1) or non-codeswitchers (= 0). Table 6.1 reproduces the question from the survey. Question 15 was binary-coded as 1 (most likely to codeswitch) if parents responded either 1 ("It is OK that [English and Spanish] be mixed") or 4 ("Both languages are OK as long as they are not mixed") respectively.

Tables 6.2 and 6.3 are summary of means and standard deviations for Spanish and English language tests respectively. Table 6.3 also includes descriptive statistics for the achievement tests. Finally, both Table 6.2 and 6.3 compares the performance of the codeswitching (CS) group and the non-codeswitching (non-CS) group in all measures using t-tests. An inspection of Tables 6.2 and 6.3 shows that the mean differences between the CS group and non-CS group is relatively small, in particular for the story retelling tasks in Spanish and English, and the Spanish and English CELF measure. Standard deviations are also relatively similar across

TABLE 6.1 Questions from parents' interview used to identify codeswitching group from non-codeswitching group

Question	Response
15. How do you or your family feel about mixing English and Spanish while speaking? Please choose an option.	1. It is OK that they be mixed. 2. Only Spanish 3. Only English 4. Both languages are OK as long as they are not mixed.

TABLE 6.2 Summary of means and standard deviations for Spanish language tests.

	Non-CS group		*CS group*		*Comparison*
Measure	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*t-test*
Frog story task	98.36	1.58	98.72	0.99	–1.23
CELF	11.13	1.66	11.9	2.15	–1.79
Peabody	59.29	8.66	61.26	7.62	–1.08
Woodcock-Munoz	488.43	9.77	487.73	9.48	0.32

Note: $^{*}p \leq 0.05$; $^{**}p \leq 0.01$. t-tests based on 78 degrees of freedom.

TABLE 6.3 Summary of means and standard deviations for English language and achievement tests.

	Non-CS group		*CS group*		*Comparison*
Measure	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*t-test*
Frog story task	97.81	1.15	98.01	1.37	–0.73
CELF	12.11	2.08	11.6	2.1	1.09
Peabody	88.13	10.75	85.67	12.09	0.96
Woodcock-Munoz	492.34	18.41	494.2	11.64	–0.54
SAT Math	656.71	35.66	654.14	25.42	0.37
SAT Reading	646.79	28.74	644.14	24.36	0.45

Note: $^{*}p \le 0.05$; $^{**}p \le 0.01$. *t*-tests based on 78 degrees of freedom.

the two groups. Independent-samples *t*-tests were conducted to determine if the mean in all measures—i.e., Spanish and English language tests as well academic achievement scores—were different between the groups. All *t*-tests were found to be statistically not significant as shown in Tables 6.2 and 6.3.

A visual inspection of the two groups using boxplots (Tukey, 1977) in Figures 6.1 to 6.5 for all the measures is congruent with the descriptive statistics and *t*-tests in Tables 6.2 and 6.3. A boxplot represents the middle 50 percent of the distribution of the scores within the box. Each hinge of the box represents the 25th and 75th percentile while the middle vertical line in the box represents the median or 50th percentile. The lines that extend from the box display data outside of the middle 50 percent and give a visual representation of the spread of the data (Lomax & Hahs-Vaughn, 2012). To conclude, the graphs in Figures 6.1 to 6.5 show relatively similar median values and comparable spread of scores

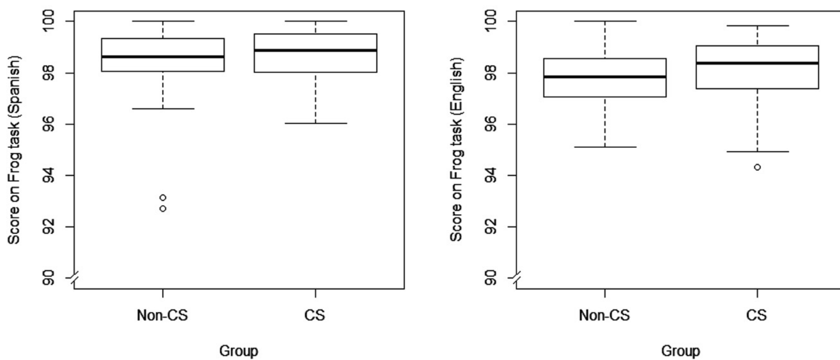

FIGURE 6.1 Boxplots of scores on retelling (*Frog*) tasks in Spanish (left) and English (right) for non-CS and CS groups.

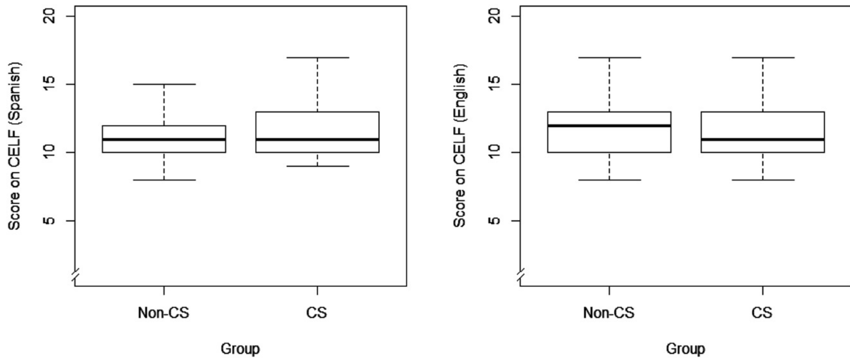

FIGURE 6.2 Boxplots of scores on CELF tasks in Spanish (left) and English (right) for non-CS and CS groups.

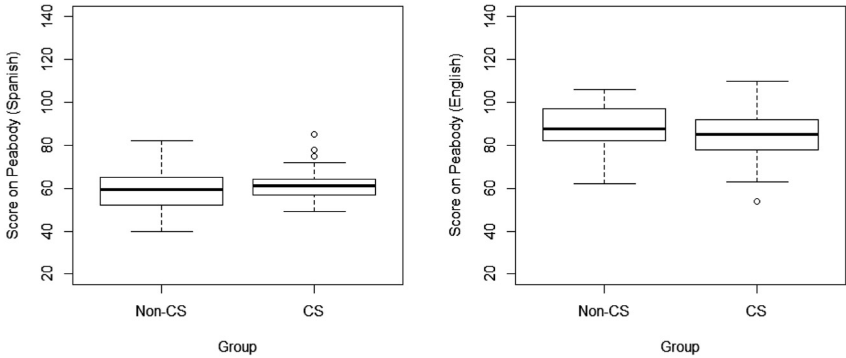

FIGURE 6.3 Boxplots of scores on Peabody tasks in Spanish (left) and English (right) for non-CS and CS groups.

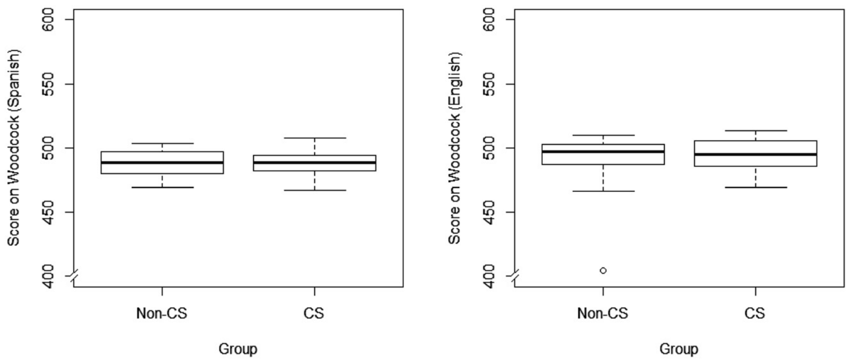

FIGURE 6.4 Boxplots of scores on Woodcock-Munoz tasks in Spanish (left) and English (right) for non-CS and CS groups.

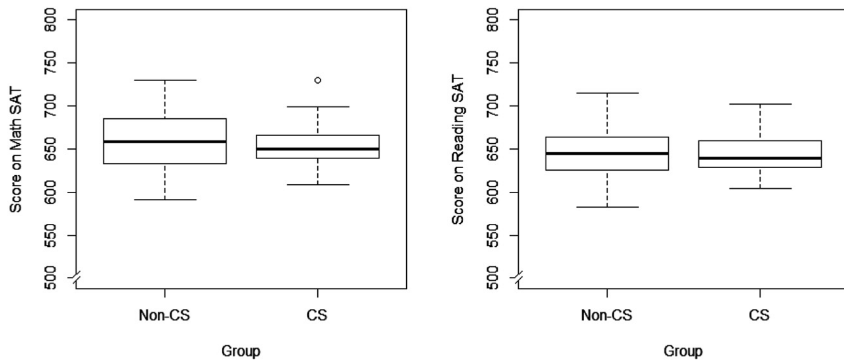

FIGURE 6.5 Boxplots of scores on Math SAT (left) and Reading SAT (right) for non-CS and CS groups.

for all the measures across non-CS and CS groups. The visual representation of the data is in agreement with the findings of Table 6.2 and 6.3.

Discussion

We detect no language-related differences between children raised in codeswitching homes and those raised in non-codeswitching homes. The statistical summaries presented show no credible evidence of a language difference for English or Spanish between the two groups, casting doubt on the presumption that acquiring two languages in a codeswitching environment will result in a language-related deficit. Just as codeswitching itself provides evidence of deep sensitivity to the underlying linguistic structure of both languages (MacSwan, Chapter 1, this volume), codeswitching as an environment for bilingual language acquisition similarly appears to have no negative consequences for ultimate attainment.

This finding is consistent with the longstanding view in the codeswitching literature regarding the nature of codeswitching as a reflection of bilingual language proficiency. Much as Labov (1965, 1970), Wolfram (1969), Fasold (1972) and others had shown through painstaking analysis that stigmatized language varieties spoken by African-Americans were just as rich and complex as the language of the privileged classes, codeswitching researchers demonstrated that language mixing was not a reflection of language confusion or semilingualism, but was rule-governed and systematic, like other ways of speaking (Riegelhaupt, 2000). Among the earliest to observe that language alternation revealed systematic, rule-governed behavior were Gumperz (1967, 1970), Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez (1970), Hasselmo (1972), Timm (1975), Wentz (1977), Wentz and McClure (1977), and Poplack (1978). An extensive body of research has now shown conclusively through rigorous empirical and theoretical analysis that

bilinguals are exquisitely sensitive to tacit rules which govern codeswitching itself, leading to the conclusion that language alternation is sophisticated, rule-governed behavior which in no way reflects a linguistic deficit. As Lipski put it:

> Seeking to dispel popular notions that equate code-switching with confusion, "alingualism," imperfect acquisition, and just plain laziness, linguists have since the early 1970s devoted considerable effort to demonstrating grammatical and pragmatic conditions favoring or constraining code-switching. Bilingual code-switching so analyzed is not regarded … as a deficiency or anomaly.
>
> *(Lipski, 2014, p. 24)*

Rampton (2007) also noted, "research on code-switching has waged a war on deficit models of bilingualism and on pejorative views of syncretic language use by insisting on the integrity of language mixing and by examining it for its grammatical systematicity and pragmatic coherence" (p. 306).

The present study reaches the same conclusion using a different approach, focusing on whether ultimate bilingual attainment differs for children raised in codeswitching environments and those raised in language separation environments. By showing that it does not, we add additional support to this longstanding conclusion, and further motivate support for the view that policies pertaining to bilingual language use in home and in school may comfortably accept active language mixing. Although our study did not ask parents to differentiate between intersentential and intrasentential codeswitching, we believe that we may reasonably assume that those homes in which codeswitching was accepted engaged in it freely, "flip-flopping" in the manner that Jacobson (1983) saw as potentially detrimental.

Limitations

While these conclusions are important, further research will be useful. We did not have observational data to confirm the codeswitching practices reported by our parents, and do not know whether their reported beliefs about codeswitching were sustained over time or relatively recent or perhaps infrequent. The students in our study learned English in school, and were thus early sequential bilinguals. We do not know how the patterns we observed might be different for simultaneous or sequential bilinguals, but we conjecture that the results would be similar for either group.

Also, while our participants were part of active bilingual communities, conditions affecting language distribution other than codeswitching may play a role in successful acquisition. For instance, De Houwer (2007) observed that children in bilingual homes in which both parents used the minority language and where one parent spoke the majority language had a high chance of successful language acquisition. Recent studies have also expressed concern that unstructured pedagogical language mixing could threaten the minority language—referring not so

much to intrasentential codeswitching, as in Jacobson (1983), but to the absence of any cues or motivational strategies to facilitate adequate exposure to a new language, especially under conditions of language revitalization efforts. For example, Jones (2017) noted that language mixing has sparked some debate about the need to protect the non-dominant language in some Welsh-medium schools situated in predominantly English-speaking areas of Wales, where translanguaging seems to have led to increased use of English. Martínez-Roldán (2015) similarly found that the language mixing practices of teachers in her study tended to reinforce the hegemony of English, leading her to caution that pedagogical translanguaging may inadvertently lead to language hierarchies and greater inequalities in the bilingual classrooms classroom. Thus, conditions affecting language distribution other than codeswitching may play a role in successful acquisition. Codeswitching itself, however, is a natural feature of bilingual communities, and evidently has no negative effect for successful bilingual language acquisition.

Acknowledgments

Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at Multilingual Individuals and Multilingual Societies (MIMS) II (Hamburg, 2013), First and Second Languages: Exploring the Relationship in Pedagogy-related Contexts (Oxford, 2009), the International Association for the Study of Child Language (Edinburgh, 2008), and Bangor University (2008). We are grateful to Gerda Lobo (then Gerda de Klerk), who made significant contributions in these early phases of this work. Many thanks to Jeffrey Harring for consultation and feedback on a draft of this chapter. Fuhui Tong and Christian J. Faltis also reviewed the paper and provided very helpful feedback. We gratefully acknowledge research support from the US Department of Education Institute of Education Science, award # R305T000164. Data presented in this chapter were previously analyzed to address other research questions in MacSwan, Thompson, Rolstad, McAlister and Lobo (2017).

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7

YOUNG EMERGENT BILINGUALS' LITERATE AND LANGUAGING PRACTICES IN STORY RETELLING

Mileidis Gort

Introduction

This chapter examines preschool-age, English–Spanish emergent bilingual children's literate and languaging practices during retell performances of Spanish- or English-medium stories previously read aloud by their teacher. The study was framed around García's (2013) concept of translanguaging—the normative, dynamic discursive practices (e.g., codeswitching, translation, parallel monolingual performances in bilingual conversations) that characterize the bilingual experience. For emergent and more experienced bilinguals alike, translanguaging is a unique semiotic resource. Through translanguaging bilinguals access specific language features and modes from their full linguistic repertoire to maximize their communicative potential. That is, translanguaging acknowledges the varied linguistic repertoires that bilinguals bring to their interactions with others and allows them to use all those features for expression and meaning making "without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, p. 281).

From the outsider's view, we look at language as a cultural object that is comprised of a set of entities that are societally allocated to one language or another. However, seen from the speaker's (insider) perspective, language is a repertoire of lexical and structural features that belong to the individual speaker's idiolect and are deployed to enable and sustain communication (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015). This fluid use of features from bilinguals' entire linguistic repertoire supports their understanding of rigorous content and language production in the ways expected in academic contexts, while empowering them as bilingual individuals whose linguistic realities transcend traditionally defined language boundaries.

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-9

Developing Bilingual Literacy in Early Childhood

Emergent Biliteracy

Because bilingual children experience the world through two languages, their literacy development differs in important ways from that of monolingual children (Gort, 2006, 2012; Gort & Bauer, 2012; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Valdés, 1992); thus, monolingual models of literacy development are not adequate to describe bilingual literacy development (Gort, 2006; Escamilla et al., 2013; Reyes, 2012). Emergent bilingual children use their expanding oral and written language resources to construct and convey meaning, yielding multiple, dynamic understandings of literacy. Through participation in dynamic, multilingual and multicultural social networks that are not accessible to monolinguals, bilinguals can experience a range and variety of literacy practices and transact with two literate worlds to construct knowledge and transform it for meaningful purposes. Bilingual children's capacity for understanding the underlying linguistic nature of language use and differentiating relevant purposes and contexts within which to use their two languages is an important aspect of emergent biliteracy that is unique to bilingual literacy development.

A growing research base in early biliteracy development suggests that young bilinguals have the potential to develop literacy in two languages in supportive contexts, either simultaneously or in succession. I refer to the ongoing process of early biliteracy development as emergent biliteracy, following others in the field, but adding a specific meaning to the term *emergent* since young children may not yet have developed conventional—or adult-like—writing and reading competencies. Thus, I use the term *emergent biliteracy* to refer to the ongoing, dynamic development of concepts and expertise for thinking, listening, speaking, reading, and writing in two or more languages (Bauer & Gort, 2012; Gort, 2006, 2012; Reyes, 2006).

Story Retelling as Narrative Performance

Narrative development plays a crucial role in young children's educational experiences as it has shown to be predictive of later literacy acquisition (Snow & Dickinson, 1990) and to provide opportunities for children to expand their repertoires of language as they develop as readers and writers (Stadler & Ward, 2005). Literate behavior, generally defined, involves the comprehension and production of decontextualized language (Olson, 1977; Scribner & Cole, 1978). Whereas in contextualized language much of the meaning comes from the "context" and/or shared knowledge between interlocutors and not directly from the words and sentences uttered, decontextualized language conveys meaning relatively independent of the context; that is, the text itself carries much of the meaning explicitly in the words, phrases, and sentences. (For a contrasting view on decontextualized language, see Gee, 2014.)

Literate behavior also involves narrative competence, or the ability to tell and comprehend the narratives typically used in school-based literacy events (Galda, 1984; Gardner, 1980; Olson, 1977). Narrative competence results from children's exposure to and enactment of routinized everyday social interaction and children's literature themes. As children hear and reconstruct a variety of stories, and engage with others around different types of narrative scripts and daily activities, they construct schema for these stories. These stories are represented mentally in terms of the settings and characters' feelings and actions. An important part of narrative competence is understanding characters' behaviors and the temporal and causal motivations of their plans and actions (Pellegrini, 1985).

A number of these interrelated linguistic skills are incorporated in literate behavior. That is, school-based literacy events require children's use of decontextualized language. Further, children are expected to produce and comprehend different types of stories in these literacy events. Such narrative competence supports children in producing and recognizing character-appropriate language and behavior (Galda, 1984), as well as comprehending and (re)constructing stories with the appropriate story event sequence (Galda, 1984). In sum, school-based literacy events require children to talk, read, and write in specific ways about narratives that include information relevant to settings, characters' actions, motives, and problem resolution (Pellegrini, 1985). While most studies of narrative development have focused on monolingual children of different ages and home language groups, research on the ways in which bilingual children leverage their dynamic discursive practices and linguistic knowledge as they (re)construct and convey stories in and through multiple languages is sparse.

Narratives offer a number of advantages as an entry point to the study of emergent bilingualism and biliteracy in the context of schooling. First, narratives characterize authentic languaging performances that allow examination of multiple linguistic levels, including: lexis, morphosyntax, discourse structure, and fluency. Second, the structure of children's narratives is relatively invariant across languages (Fiestas & Peña, 2004; Gutiérrez-Clellen, 2002; Iluz-Cohen & Walters, 2012; Pearson, 2002), suggesting that narratives of bilingual children should display robust elements of story structure regardless of the language/s used for narration. Third, narrative samples are considered to be a naturalistic and ecologically valid representation of the language performances of children from culturally- and linguistically-diverse backgrounds and varied language experiences (Bedore, Peña, Gillam & Tsung-Han, 2010; Miller, Gillam & Peña, 2001). Finally, as authentic languaging performances, narratives produced by young bilinguals have the capacity to yield linguistic practices that are unique to bilinguals. Framed around García's (2013) concept of translanguaging, the study reported here investigated how preschool-age, English–Spanish emergent bilingual children employed their developing bilingual and biliteracy resources to retell Spanish- or English-language stories that had been read aloud by their teacher earlier in the day.

Translanguaging as Common, Natural, and Distinctive Feature of Bilingual Behavior

Emergent bilingual children's interactions in linguistically complex classrooms[1] highlight the fluid, dynamic, and flexible nature of their language repertoires. In these classrooms, children with different linguistic profiles and at different points along the continua of bilingualism and biliteracy (Hornberger, 2002) draw on a range of practices to communicate with each other and their teachers. Translanguaging—the ways in which bilinguals move fluidly among multiple languages, dialects, and modalities in their everyday interactions (García, 2009, 2013; García & Leiva, 2014; Li, 2018)—focuses on the discourse practices of multilingual speakers from the point of view of what speakers do and perform with them. Translanguaging encompasses a range of dynamic communicative and cultural practices through which bilinguals perform identities, including codeswitching and translation, which are shaped and constrained by social norms, expectations, and language ideologies (Sayer, 2013).

While translanguaging does not attempt to replace codeswitching or other related linguistic phenomena that have received a great deal of interdisciplinary scholarly attention over the past several decades (e.g., codemeshing, codemixing, language mixing)—and, in fact, shares with these concepts the explicit repudiation of deficit perspectives and monoglossic language ideologies that persist across much of education policy and practice for emergent bilinguals (MacSwan, 2017)—it focuses less on the specific linguistic features of students' language production and more on the practices themselves. Codeswitching can be understood as a particular language practice of alternating languages between or within sentences (Gumperz, 1982; Poplack, 1980), affording us a nuanced window into the sophisticated, rule-governed linguistic behavior of bilinguals that is characterized by grammatical systematicity and pragmatic coherence (MacSwan, 2014). To be sure, codeswitching research has been instrumental in providing the empirical basis for the rejection of a deficit perspective on bilinguals' everyday languaging on which translanguaging perspectives are built.

Translanguaging allows us to understand and conceptualize the broad range of language practices of bilinguals, as well as they ways bilinguals use their language repertoires to make sense of their multilingual worlds, without reference to existing notions of grammaticality. García (2009, 2013) and colleagues (García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017), building on the work of Williams (1994) and others, theorize translanguaging as an act of bilingual performance and a bilingual pedagogy for teaching and learning that is centered on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable. These practices are not marked or unusual but rather are the normal mode of communication that, with some exceptions in some monolingual enclaves, reflects the linguistic realities of multilingual communities throughout the world. A common, natural, and distinctive feature of bilingual behavior, translanguaging is characterized by multilingual, multimodal,

multisemiotic, and multisensory performances that integrate diverse languaging and literacy practices in different social and semiotic contexts to maximize communicative potential and indicate social standing, class identity, prestige, and access to different forms of human capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Li, 1998, 2018). That is, bilinguals strategically and competently use a range of linguistic features in ways that conform to societal constructions of a separate and distinct named language at times (i.e., follow monolingual languaging norms); at other times, they draw on their linguistic repertoire to produce new and complex discursive practices that cannot be easily ascribed to a single code (García & Li, 2014; Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997).

Recent empirical studies of language use in linguistically complex classrooms have documented how and why school-age emergent bilinguals engage in the multiple discursive practices that encompass translanguaging. These studies have found, for example, that emergent bilinguals use their linguistic, cultural, and other semiotic resources to mediate understanding, demonstrate knowledge, and co-construct meaning between peers, as well as to fluidly draw from their linguistic repertoire in order to solve problems, extend storylines, enact roles, and internalize social identities (García & Li, 2014; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Poza, 2018). Nurturing students' translanguaging practices in the classroom is a mechanism for promoting emergent biliteracy as it may help children optimize the benefits of using and connecting their linguistic resources and knowledge about language strategically (Canagarajah, 2013; García & Kleifgen, 2010). However, leveraging bilingual students' linguistic resources in this way requires taking a bilingual stance (i.e., understanding bilinguals as bilinguals) and explicit teacher support so that a child's bilingual and biliterate potential is maximized. It is through this lens through which to view language as a social practice replete with agency and meaning—and in turn, the normative, dynamic language practices of bilinguals as valuable, generative, and powerful—that I analyze the story retellings of preschool emergent bilinguals.

Method

The analysis presented here emerged from a two-year ethnography of the language and literacy practices of emergent bilingual preschoolers and their teachers in a Spanish–English dual language bilingual education program located in a socioeconomically, linguistically, and culturally diverse community in the southeastern United States. The school, which had been operating for five years at the time that we began collecting data for the larger study, provides a year-long academic program serving approximately 130 children from around the county, ages 6 weeks to 5 years old, who represent a variety of cultural, home language, and socioeconomic backgrounds. To support a socioeconomically diverse student population, the school offers 25% of their enrollment slots to children from families who pay tuition based on an annual income scale, while 25% of families pay full tuition and 50% are provided county, state, and

federally supported subsidies, such as Voluntary Pre-Kindergarten (VPK), Head Start, and Early Head Start programs. The average preschool class size during the study years was 16 children.

A primary goal of the early childhood education center which houses the preschool is to engage children with two prominent languages in the local community—Spanish and English—in meaningful, intentional, and varied ways. In the preschool classrooms, two co-teachers lead small and whole group activities, each one serving as a monolingual model of the Spanish or English language. The language of instruction in the preschool classrooms, and thus, the teacher/language model leading whole group instruction, alternated on a weekly basis. The formal language allocation policy of the school stipulates that teachers maintain the monolingual use of their designated language in interactions with each other and the children. However, teachers did not police children's language use or constrain children's deployment of their full linguistic repertoire by requesting that they perform in a particular language as they engaged in various tasks and interacted with teachers and peers alike. Thus, children in this program employed agency in the use of the full range of their linguistic resources to meet their communicative needs, and as such their language use was much more flexible, reflecting the range of bilingual language proficiencies and normative language development variation among young emergent bilinguals with different language experiences in this multilingual community. Importantly, as a result of the program's articulated policy of language separation and the pairing of two teachers in each classroom, teachers' and children's language enactments often resulted in bilingual interactions, in which (for example) each teacher languaged monolingually in Spanish or English according to their language designation and children languaged sometimes monolingually and sometimes bilingually.

Data for this analysis were drawn from one preschool classroom wherein read aloud as a whole class activity occurred on a daily basis and featured English- and Spanish-language books in equal proportion to each other.[2] Child participants were 17 emergent bilinguals/biliterates (11 boys and 6 girls) of Latino heritage whose ages ranged from 3 years, 2 months to 5 years old. Six children spoke English at home, four spoke Spanish, and seven spoke both languages; all children were born in the United States.

Data Collection and Analysis

Children's narrative productions were elicited by three Spanish–English bilingual research assistants who helped collect data for the larger research project and with whom the children were familiar due to their weekly presence in the preschool classrooms. Research assistants were doctoral candidates specializing in early childhood bilingualism who had formally studied through both Spanish and English and lived in contexts where both languages were used for daily communication. Throughout the study, children from the focal preschool class were

invited to share with research assistants their own renditions of an English- or Spanish-language story their teacher had read aloud to the class as a whole group earlier that day. Children's individual retell performances were video recorded twice per month (alternating retells of Spanish- and English-language books) in a quiet area in the preschool. Research assistants offered each child a copy of the picture book that had just been read and asked children to tell them about the story; children were encouraged to use the book as a resource as they narrated the story. Occasionally, research assistants prompted children to say more, to tell what happened next, and/or to provide additional details. Research assistants' language choices in the retell task were guided by the language of the text; that is, they generally used Spanish to elicit children's retells of Spanish language books and English for English language books.

Analysis occurred in two phases, starting with the whole corpus of retell data and moving to micro-analysis of the narrative and languaging performances of three focal children selected as a representative sample of emergent bilinguals who participated in the study. In the first phase, I reviewed video data and each focal read aloud book to identify patterns in children's language use and key elements of story structure present in their retells. For example, I initially analyzed macro- and microstructures of all children's retells for evidence of how children expressed information, negotiated their relationship as storyteller, and meaningfully organized their message (Halliday, 1985). Translanguaging—i.e., children's receptive and productive enactments of their bilingualism, including engaging in parallel monolingual conversations with the research assistants and codeswitching—emerged as an important communicative resource in children's retell performances. Thus, in the second phase of analysis I further explored the nature of children's retells, including their translanguaging practices in retell activity, focusing on the post-read aloud story retellings of three focal children—Amaya, Jacob, and Milan—who at the beginning of data collection were aged 3;9, 4;0, and 4;3, respectively. Each child represented varying, but typical, bilingual experiences of children enrolled in the dual language bilingual education program.

Amaya (age 3 years, 9 months) spoke English most of the time, as this was the language used in interactions with her parents at home. English was also Amaya's preferred language; according to her parents and teachers, it was the language in which she communicated best. She typically participated in school activities through English, regardless of the instructional language (i.e., the language used by the teacher who was leading the activity); occasionally, Amaya integrated some Spanish language features in interactions with Spanish-dominant peers and teachers, demonstrating her emerging bilingual skills.

Jacob (4 years old) spoke Spanish at home and in most interactions at school. Spanish was Jacob's preferred language, although he was regularly exposed to English when interacting with cousins and friends, through mass media, and in daily interactions with other members of his community. Jacob generally used Spanish to engage in school activities conducted in either Spanish or English,

although sometimes he attempted to use English in interactions with English-dominant peers and teachers.

Milan (age 4 years, 3 months), on the other hand, demonstrated much more flexible and extensive bilingual skills and experiences across home, community, and school contexts. While Spanish was the primary language of the home, Milan was also regularly exposed to English through mass media, neighborhood friends, and his cousins. At school, Milan was responsive to his peers' and teachers' language practices and preferences within the dynamic bilingual sociolinguistic context of the dual language classroom. In whole group activities, Milan generally participated using the instructional language of the activity (e.g., English during an English storybook read aloud). However, Milan aligned his language choices flexibly and fluidly to those of his peers and teachers in small group activities and interactions.

I selected for closer analysis a total of 27 post-read aloud retells collected over the course of one academic year (9 per focal child; once per month, alternating Spanish and English storybooks). A microethnographic analytic approach allowed for a reflexive and recursive analytical process, combining a focus on how people use language and other semiotic systems in constructing classroom events with attention to social and cultural processes (Bloome, Carter, Christian, Otto & Shuart-Faris, 2004). Examples of analytical categories included the nature and function of children's literate and languaging practices during story retelling; the nature of children's interactions with books/text; and the nature and contributions of other semiotic resources on which children drew to express meaning. Emergent bilingual children's literate and languaging practices in story retelling evidenced *children's varying conceptualizations of the retell task* as well as *their developing narrative, oral storytelling*, and *bilingual competencies*. Findings related to these four facets of children's story retellings are presented below.

Findings

Children's Conceptualizations of the Retell Task

Children's retell performances evidenced at least three interpretations of the retell task, and this varied by child and story. One way that children conceptualized the retell task was to name and/or label what they saw in the pictures on each page of the book. This involved identifying characters (e.g., *This is the bear and this is the mouse; A snake is on the boat; Look, there's five monkeys here. One, two, three, four, five*) and other relevant contextual information (e.g., *That's a tie lace; This is a boat; Este es rojo … este tiene mucho gajo, aqui* [*This one is red … this one has a lot of branches, here*]; *Estos son amigos* [*These are friends*]; *These apples are green and yellow and red*). Children also described character actions as depicted in the illustrations, some of which relayed relevant story events (e.g., *He's going to blow out fire; It's driving; They were racing; She was flying out; They're cleaning the window; El papá le está leyendo el libro* [*The dad is reading her a book*]; *Está comiendo semillas* [*He is eating

seeds]; *A lot of monkey was jumping; Esta troca le chocó para que se vaya para arriba* [*This truck crashed into it so that it would move up*]). Additionally, children made personal connections to those characters, objects, and experiences they described in their retells, often interjecting personal preferences and anecdotes (e.g., *I like this one; I like all of that; I jumped on Nana's bed, but this is more bigger*).

Children's engagement with the retell task was leveraged by the material, social, and cultural semiotic resources at their disposal, including the book, the research assistant (whom they sometimes asked for help with labeling aspects of the illustrations, e.g., *¿Cómo se llama esto?* [*What is this called?*]), and their funds of knowledge (e.g., prior experiences, culturally-based knowledge). For example, Jacob's retell of the Spanish-language picture book, *Un árbol para todas las estaciones* (*A Tree for All Seasons*; Bernard, 2011), included rich description of the growth progress of a maple tree over time and the seasonal changes that stimulate its development; the book's colorful images served as an additional semiotic resource from which Jacob drew actively as he narrated key information about this process. An excerpt is presented below.

Excerpt 1: Jacob's Retell of the Spanish-Language Picture Book, Un árbol para todas las estaciones

RESEARCH ASSISTANT (RA): Jacob, cuéntame lo que pasó en el libro. [*Jacob, tell me what happened in the book.*]

JACOB: (opens book, points to illustrations of trees on page) Unas matas se cayeron, uno se cayó, no hay mata … está cayendo *snow* (points to snow covered tree) y este tiene … no tiene matas (pointing to leafless tree in the winter). Y este es rojo (points to tree with colorful foliage). Este tiene mucho gajo aqui y mucho gajo aqui (pointing to trees with bare branches in book). [*Some leaves fell, one fell, there are no leaves … snow is falling and this one has … it does not have leaves. And this one is red. This one has a lot of bare branches here and a lot of bare branches here.*]

JACOB: (continues) Todo [tiene] *snow*. Toda se cae. Y este es muy muy verde y tiene palo y el otro tiene *snow*. [*Everything (has) snow. All (the leaves) fall. And this one is very very green and it has (bare) branches and the other has snow.*]

JACOB: (turns page) Y tiene un … otro árbol de *snow*. Tiene un … (points to page) yo no sé. Tiene un … tiene un pájaro arriba de la mata. [*And it has … another snow covered tree. It has … I don't know. It has … It has a bird on the tree.*]

JACOB: (turns several pages) Las matas se empezaron a caer, (turns page) y ya. Se empezaron a caer y [los pájaros] suben en esto, mira (pointing to tree branches in illustration). [*The leaves started to fall, and that's all. They started to fall and they (the birds) climb on top of this, look.*]

Jacob responds to the research assistant's initial prompt to tell what happens in the book by offering a descriptive overview of the maple tree's physical changes as

the seasons progress (e.g., bare branches, falling snow, green leaves, red foliage). This overview corresponds to the distinct physical characteristics of each of the four maple trees pictured in the first page of the book, and aligns with the book's genre—a report, depicting the tree's status in winter, spring, summer, and fall. As he turns to the second page, Jacob describes the conditions of the first season depicted in the book, winter. He identifies the snow on the tree's branches, as well as the bird that is shown perching on a small branch. Moving ahead a few pages, Jacob again describes further change in the maple tree's cycle (e.g., falling leaves, nesting birds), evidencing his understanding and performance of the retell task as that of relaying relevant information about the book's topic—in this case, cyclical changes of a maple tree across the seasons—with illustrative details of the tree's physical characteristics and elements of its surrounding environment. The illustrations provide an important scaffold in this process. It should be noted that with the exception of the word *snow*, which was illustrated but did not itself appear in the text in either English or its Spanish equivalent (*nieve*), Jacob performed this retell in Spanish (the language of the text). Each instance in which he references *snow* is an example of intrasentential codeswitching, which is defined as mixing languages within the boundary of a sentence or phrase. Jacob begins each utterance in Spanish ("Todo [tiene] …;" "Y este es muy muy verde y tiene palo y el otro tiene …;" "Y tiene un … otro árbol de …") before inserting the English lexical item "snow" at the end of each sentence. An in-depth discussion of the possible reasons for Jacob's insertion of an English word in his otherwise Spanish language retell is beyond the scope of this chapter, but it's important to note that the lexical codeswitch served at least one important communicative function—to convey meaning, without disruption, in a retell performance for a bilingual audience.

Children's Emerging Narrative Competence

Children's oral retell languaging practices also demonstrated their developing understanding of narrative structure over time. Throughout the course of the year, children's retells increasingly included attention to the schematic structures of orientation, complication, evaluation, and resolution of narrative genre. For example, children's retells sometimes began with an orientation to the story, especially with regard to setting (e.g., *One day there was a lot of trees filled of apples; Estaba de noche* [*It was night*]). As they gained more experience with narrative genre, children highlighted more explicitly the complication, or statement of the problem, in their oral retells (e.g., *La semilla no estaba saliendo nunca* [*The seed was not sprouting*]; *Ella está llorando ahora y no para de llorar* [*She was crying and would not stop*]; *He didn't have no toys for Show and Tell; The monkeys could swing but not the elephant; El se cayó en la sopa* [*He fell in the soup*]; *Era un oso que no podía parar de roncar* [*He was a bear that could not stop snoring*]) as well as provided an evaluation around the significance of events for characters (e.g., *She was tired; Todo el mundo se quedó contento* [*Everyone was happy*]; *He was sad 'cause he didn't know where his*

mommy and sister were at; She was happy). At times, but increasingly more so as the year progressed, children's retells included a resolution (e.g. *Y después le ponió* [*sic*] *agua y si salió* [*And then they watered it and it did sprout*]; *And then they were sleeping but not the bear; And they did it; He was so proud because he found his mommy and his sisters; Se puso contento porque el hermano lo cargó* [*He was happy because his brother carried him*]; *Tiene un amigo nuevo* [*He has a new friend*]; *El vió a su familia y estaba contento y corrió a su famila* [*He saw his family and he was happy and he ran toward his family*]).

The following excerpt from Milan's retell of *Mapache solito* (*Raccoon on His Own*; Arnosky, 2011), a story about the adventures of a baby raccoon that is separated from his mother and siblings as they dig in the mud for food, showcases children's emerging resourcefulness and competence in performing the schematic structures of narrative genre (e.g., orientation, complication, resolution).

Excerpt 2: Milan's Retell of the Spanish-Language Picture Book, Mapache solito

RA: El libro se llama *Mapache solito*. ¿Que pasa en en el cuento? [*The book is called Raccoon on His Own. What happens in this story?*]

MILAN: (turns pages) Hay unos pájaros tratando de comer (turns page) … y tomar agua y … (turns page) hay una familia de mapachos y todos [los pájaros] tenían alas pero este no (pointing to illustration of birds; turns page). [*There are birds trying to eat … and to drink water and … there is a family of raccoons and all (the birds) had wings but not this one.*]

RA: Oh.

MILAN: Y estos empujaron el bote y un mapache se fue (pointing to illustration of boat; turns page). Y luego, un mapache que se fue en el bote estaba alcanzando una rama y no pudo … (turns page) y luego fue fue … y luego pasó por una rama y eso sí lo pudo alcanzar pero vió algo arriba que era una vívora (pointing to illustration of the snake). [*And they pushed the boat and one raccoon floated away. And then, a raccoon that floated away on the boat was nearing a branch but he couldn't … and then he went on went on … and then he floated by a branch and that one he was able to reach but he saw something above that was a viper.*]

RA: Oooo.

MILAN: … Y estaba solito (turns page) … y luego pasó un cocodrilo (turns page) y luego pasó un otro cocodrilo (turns page) … y luego lo vió cinco pájaritos (turns page) y luego él puso su mano abajo para tocar una tortuga (turns page) … y luego, y luego vió mmm … mmm … patos (turns page) …y luego ya él vió a su familia y estaba contento (pointing to illustration of racoon family; turns page) … y corrió a su familia. [*And he was alone … and then he passed an alligator and then he passed another alligator … and then he saw five little birds and then he put his hand underneath to touch a turtle … and then, and then he saw mmm … mmm … ducks … and then he saw his family and he was happy … and he ran to his family.*]

In response to the research assistant's prompt to tell him what happens in the story, Milan begins his retell by orienting him to the main characters ("there is a family of raccoons"). After providing other contextual details (birds eating and drinking water; birds with open/closed wings), Milan introduces another important schematic structure, the complication (one of the young raccoons floats away on a canoe, by himself), and related story events (as he floated away, he tried to reach a branch, but couldn't; he reached another branch but there was a viper on it; he saw alligators, five little birds, a turtle, and ducks along the way). To conclude his retell, Milan offers the resolution: baby raccoon and family were reunited, and he was happy. Throughout the activity, Milan references and engages with the book's illustrations to scaffold his narration, which he performed monolingually in Spanish.

Children's Emerging Oral Storytelling Competence

Children's retelling languaging practices not only revealed development in their understanding of the elements of a story, but also *how* to tell a story. Their storytelling repertoire integrated repetition, dialogue, voicing, facial expressions, and hand gestures as vehicles to convey the story. For example, children repeated words for emphasis (e.g., *They tried and tried and tried; And they pull pull pull pull; And then they lift lift lift; Kevin y su papá limpiaron toda toda toda toda la alfombra* [*Kevin and his dad washed all all all all the rug*]; *Doblaron ropa, mucha mucha ropa* [*They folded clothes, many many clothes*]; *Y puso la agua muy muy muy muy muy muy MUY muy muy caliente* [*And he made the water very very very very very very very VERY very very hot*]) and included dialogue (i.e., quoted and reported speech by story characters; e.g., *He said, "Do you need help, my friend?"; And he said, "Yes, dear friend"*) in their retells. Children also enacted dramatization techniques such as voicing characters and using gestures and facial expressions to convey key story elements (e.g., *She tried with all her muscles* [*flexes arm muscles and contorts face to mimic great effort and strength*]). They also experimented with culturally-specific storytelling devices to begin (e.g., *One day…; Once upon a time…*) and end (e.g., *The end; ¡Y ya!* [*That's all!*]; *And that's the end!*) their retells.

Amaya's retell of *A Little Bit More* (Canetti, 2011), a story about teamwork among a group of animal friends, includes a number of oral storytelling elements, an excerpt of which is included below.

Excerpt 3: Amaya's Retell of the English-Language Picture Book, A Little Bit More

RA: Can you tell me the story of *A Little Bit More*?

AMAYA: (opens book and flips through pages) *A Little Bit More*. (repeating the book title)

AMAYA: The monkeys could swing but not the elephant. He fell.

AMAYA: (turns page) The zebra came and she said "Do you need a little help, my friend?" (using high pitch voice) and he said (pointing to illustration of elephant), "Yes I do, my dear friend" (lowering pitch). She tried with all her muscles (flexes arm muscles and contorts face to mimic great effort and strength).

RA: Did it work?

AMAYA: (Shakes her head). But they need more help (turns page). Then the monkey came, he said "Do you need help, my friend?" And he said, "Yes dear friend." He was so sad. He's changing colors! (turns page). Then the camel came, (using deep voice) "I'm strong … of those two (holds up two fingers) are strong. I am strong too". (turns page) Then they all did it. (turns page) Then the hippopotamus came (pointing to illustration; turns page). Then they tried. (turns page)

RA: And then?

AMAYA: And then the penguin came and they and then they picked him up like this (lifts arms to show a picking up motion; turns page) and they tried (turns page) and the ant came.

RA: The ant?

AMAYA: He did it!

AMAYA: They all, yeah, they all did it. I thought you didn't seen [*sic*] this book. (turns page) He's like this (puts her hands behind her head) and he said something. (turns page) The red ants bite.

RA: The red ants bite? Oh! He bit him?

AMAYA: No.

RA: Oh.

AMAYA: That's a black ant.

RA: Oh, that's a black ant.

AMAYA: Yeah, black ants don't bite. They don't. Mmhmm. Then he picked him up. The ant is right here on his nose (pointing to illustration; turns page).

RA: Oh. Very nice. And which was your favorite part Amaya?

AMAYA: Um, when they lift him up (opens book again, from back to front, flipping back to last page to show illustration of favorite moment).

Amaya's retell begins with a restatement of the book title, and a clear statement of the problem (the elephant could not swing on a tree branch like his monkey friends and so he took a bad fall). In what follows, Amaya performs a number of story retelling techniques to animate and enact the voices, actions, and feelings of the story characters through voicing, dialogue, gestures, and facial expressions. For example, she raises the pitch of her voice to mimic the zebra's initial question to the elephant ("Do you need a little help, my friend?"), subsequently lowering it to mimic the elephant's response ("Yes I do, my dear friend."). Amaya also uses arm, hand, and facial gesturing to perform the zebra's physical efforts to help the elephant to his feet (flexing her arms and contorting her face to mimic great effort and strength) and later the penguin's contributions to the group effort ("they

picked him up like this" [raising her arms]), as shown in the illustrations. She voices additional characters' dialogue in the story—including the monkey and the camel ("Do you need help, my friend?"; "I'm strong too.") —varying the pitch in her voice for each one and adding commentary to highlight their feelings and physical state ("He was so sad. He's changing colors!"; "They tried"). To reflect the story's temporal arrangement, wherein a number of different animal friends attempt to help up the elephant in sequential order, Amaya uses connectives such as "and" and "then." Additionally, Amaya integrates her funds of knowledge about animals—in this case, ants—to further evidence her emerging storytelling expertise as she distinguishes which ones bite (red) from those who don't (black). The entire retell was performed in English.

Children's Emerging Bilingual Competence

In addition to enacting the various strategies and practices reported above, children showcased agency in language choice and emerging bilingual dexterity as they drew on their developing bilingual competence to convey their meaning. Some children's language choices in retell activity reflected their language preferences at home and school. That is, regardless of the language of the text and that used by the research assistant, some children generally performed retells monolingually in English while others performed them in Spanish (as evidenced by the three excerpts shown above). This sometimes resulted in bilingual retell exchanges wherein the research assistant prompted children's retelling using the language of the text (and mirroring the instructional language of the read aloud activity) while children responded in the other language. An example of such bilingual exchanges is illustrated in the following excerpt from Amaya's retell of *Oso no para de roncar* (*Bear Snores On*; Wilson, 2010). In this story, a hibernating bear sleeps soundly in a cave in the woods as a number of animal friends go into the cave to escape the cold; the gathering results in an impromptu celebration, eventually waking up Bear from his slumber.

Excerpt 4: Amaya's Retell of the Spanish-Language Picture Book, Oso no para de roncar

RA: ¿Que pasó en este libro?

AMAYA: He [the bear] was … keep sleeping and keep sleeping and he was not at … and he was not stop worrying about the sleep (turns page). That's a tiny tiny mouse (pointing to illustration of mouse) … and right here and right here (pointing to the illustrations of mouse as she turns pages). This is the bear and this is the mouse (pointing to illustrations; turns page). Now, a rabbit and a rabbit and a mouse. A bear, a mouse, and a rabbit. (turns page) A rabbit, a mouse and (turns page) a bear, a rabbit, I mean … pshhh a mouse and a rabbit. (turns page) Ummm, a rabbit … uuum, what is this?

RA: ¿Qué?

AMAYA: Hmmmm … (laughs) The mouse and … (Amaya pauses, looking at RA for help with animal names).

RA: No se que es. ¿Una marmota?

AMAYA: Mmmm, And what is this?

RA: Un pájarito.

AMAYA: Mmhmm. (turns page) There were dancing on the stair. Bear was too sleepy. (turns page) The rabbit, the mouse, this is a bird too, and the bird, ummm (turns page) mouse, rabbit, bird and bird … (turns page) Bear, mouse, rabbit, mouse and (turns page) mouse, bear, mouse, bear … (turns page) bird, bird, rabbit, and mouse (pointing to each animal as she said its name). And then they were sleeping but not the bear.

Both Amaya and the research assistant contributed to the bilingual nature of this retell performance. That is, while Amaya's retell was performed entirely in English, the fact that she responded appropriately to the research assistant's (Spanish-language) questions and contributions and sustained the interactive activity seamlessly, without disruption, reflects her comprehension of Spanish and her emerging bilingualism.

Aside from these bilingual exchanges where children and research assistants engaged in the retell activity monolingually (each using a different language), there were a number of instances in which children codeswitched—or integrated language features and structures flexibly across traditional language boundaries to communicate ideas and construct meaning in the task (e.g., *Y luego … estaban limpiando las ventanas con el Windex* [*And then they were cleaning the windows with Windex*]; *Luego recogieron todo, los libros, los papeles, los juguetes, los … los … los things, los platos, los todo* [*And then they picked up everything, the books, the papers, the toys, the … the … the things, the plates, the everything*]; *El jungle era muy muy muy muy muy muy scary* [*The jungle was very very very very very very scary*]; *Luego fueron a tomar un … un … un drink, tomaron un smoothie* [*Then they went to drink a … a … a drink, they drank a smoothie*]; *Then un camello come and he help* [*… camel …*]; *Compartió un pancake con el papá* [*She shared a pancake with the dad*]; *Y después cogió un hammer y hammer it up* [*And then he took a hammer and hammer it up*]). Examples of such translanguaging could be seen in Excerpt 1 above, and in Jacob's retell of *A Whistle for Willie* (Keats, 1999), excerpted below.

Excerpt 5: Jacob's Retell of the English-Language Picture Book, A Whistle for Willie

RA: Can you tell me about this story, *A Whistle for Willie*?

JACOB: (turns pages from back to front) El niño no puede *whistle* ahí pero ya ahí sí puede *whistle*, y aprendió … el perro aprende a *whistle* también. Y se escondio él afuera. Y después … el niño está … ¿a donde está el niño y el perro? Estàn afuera. [*The boy could not whistle there but then there he could whistle,*

and he learned … the dog learned to whistle too. And he hid outside. And then … the boy is … where is the boy and the dog? They are outside.]

RA: Uh huh

JACOB: To(do) lo vieron. [*They saw everything.*]

RA: Okay

JACOB: *And everyone was looking for them.*

RA: What else happened?

JACOB: (continues to flip book pages from front to back) ¡Y ya! [*That is all!*]

Jacob's languaging in this example evidences both agency in language choice—as he performed most of the retell of this English-language story in his preferred language (Spanish)—and an emerging bilingual dexterity—as he integrated key vocabulary ("whistle") from the text and an explanatory phrase in English ("*And everyone was looking for them*"), appropriately and effectively. These linguistic moves yielded both intra- and intersentential codeswitches,[3] further contributing to the dynamic bilingual nature of this interactive retell. Jacob accurately responded to the research assistant's (English) prompting, evidencing his comprehension of the prompts and his awareness of the research assistant's bilingualism. This and similar examples shown earlier suggest that a flexible language space to perform retells enabled Jacob and his peers to leverage their emerging bilingualism as a communicative and meaning-making resource through which they could express the entirety of their ideas and display their literacy expertise.

Amaya's retelling of the book *Kevin y su papá* (*Kevin and His Dad*; Smalls, 1999), similarly illustrates her ability to engage in a retelling of a Spanish-language text and respond to Spanish-language prompting from a research assistant in detail through the use of her expanding bilingual repertoire.

Excerpt 6: Amaya's Retell of the Spanish-Language Picture Book Kevin y su papá

RA: ¿Te acuerdas del libro *Kevin y su papá*? [*Do you remember the book, Kevin and His Dad?*]

AMAYA: Mmhmm.

RA: Me puedes decir ¿en el cuento, qué pasó? [*Can you tell me what happened in the book?*] (Amaya opens the book, looking at illustrations, and turns several pages).

RA: ¿Qué están haciendo? (Points to picture in book) [*What are they doing?*]

AMAYA: They're cleaning everything.

RA: Uh huh. ¿Y por qué? [*And why?*]

AMAYA: Because everything is dirty.

RA: Y entonces, ¿qué pasa? [*And then what happens?*]

AMAYA: They're cleaning the window.

RA: ¿Y qué está haciendo el perro? [*And what is the dog doing?*]
AMAYA: Looking through the window.
RA: Mmhmm. ¿Y después? [*And then?*]
AMAYA: Mmmm … All the papers fell out. (Turns two pages)
RA: (Turns one page back) ¿y esta?… una página aquí. ¿Cómo se llama esta persona? ¿Quién es? [*And this one? … one page here. What is this person called? Who is it?*]
AMAYA: (pointing to characters pictured on page) La niña y la papá [*sic*] [*The girl and the dad*].

Amaya's languaging practices in this example included performing a retell of a Spanish-language book (mostly) in English with the integration of some Spanish language features, evidencing her comprehension of the main story elements and the research assistant's (Spanish-language) prompting, her ability to recreate the storyline in her own words, her flexible use of bilingual resources and emerging linguistic dexterity, and a clear awareness of the research assistant's bilingualism. As Amaya performs her retell she points to various elements in the pictures, illustrating her resourcefulness in drawing on available semiotic resources to support her work in this activity. While Amaya performs most of the retell in English, she shifts to the language of the text to name two key characters in the story ("*La niña y la papá*" [*sic*]), misapplying the gender marker for the male noun *niño* and mismatching the corresponding article for both male nouns (*el niño; el papá*). These approximations, what have elsewhere been described as evidence of interlanguage (Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1992) or interliteracy (Gort, 2006), represent growth of biliteracy and not a backward developmental progression. That is, when emergent bilinguals attempt to apply such language-specific elements from one language to the other, they are exhibiting general language/literacy knowledge although they may not yet produce these particular elements or conventions of one of their languages in ways that conform to standard usage. As mentioned earlier, Amaya generally used English to engage with peers and teachers, but sometimes integrated Spanish language features in her interactions with Spanish-preferring peers and her Spanish-model teacher. Regardless of the resulting non-standardized forms, it is clear that Amaya draws on her expanding linguistic repertoire to experiment with new language forms to perform her retell, construct meaning, and engage in bilingual interaction.

Milan's languaging practices similarly modeled dynamic bilingualism and positioned him as a competent young bilingual. While his retell performances generally mirrored the language of the text and the research assistant's prompting (i.e., reflecting monolingual languaging practices in either Spanish or English), as captured in Excerpt 2 above, they also evidenced translanguaging as an authentic communicative practice. Like his peers, Milan sometimes integrated cross-linguistic lexical and structural features from his dynamic bilingual repertoire (e.g., "Tomaron un *smoothie*…"; "Then un *camello* come and he help [*sic*]"; "Luego fueron a tomar un *drink*") to convey key story events and information, to narrate character actions and feelings, and to make personal connections.

In these ways, Milan, Amaya, and Jacob strategically and competently integrated lexical items and other features from their expanding bilingual repertoires, effectively and seamlessly moving between Spanish and English, to perform their story retells in ways that conformed to societal constructions of separate and distinct named languages at times (i.e., followed monolingual languaging norms); at other times, they transcended socially constructed language systems and structures to engage their broad linguistic repertoire and multiple meaning-making systems in the fulfillment of the various oracy and literacy functions of retell activity.

Discussion and Implications for Teaching Young, Emergent Bilinguals

The performances of the preschool-age participants in this study illustrate how young, Spanish–English emergent bilinguals draw on a variety of representational systems (e.g., illustrations, text, gestures) and their developing bilingual and biliteracy competence to retell book-based stories, and demonstrate agency in their language choices regardless of the language of the text/activity when supported and nurtured as bilinguals. Children's translanguaging practices revealed their dynamic linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge, scaffolded their formalized language performances and experimentation with academic discourse and new language forms, and reflected the language norms and practices of multilingual communities throughout the world. These findings have instructional implications for maximizing the bilingual and biliterate potential of young, emergent bilinguals.

Children's Translanguaging Practices are a Valuable Mechanism for Observing their Literacy Learning and Sense-Making

Translanguaging was an authentic communicative resource to meet the literacy and oracy demands of the retell task within the linguistically complex, bilingual learning space of the focal preschool dual language classroom. Children flexibly drew on their expanding linguistic repertoire as they remembered events and characters from, and made personal connections to, English- and Spanish-language stories that their teachers had read to them. Children not only deployed lexical items from across the breadth of their linguistic repertoires, but also made use of a variety of modalities in communication through the strategic assembly of linguistic and other semiotic resources. In doing so, they experimented with language and displayed a wide continuum of emergent bilingualism and biliteracy, including the normative and dynamic language practices of codeswitching and related bilingual phenomena (Gort, 2006). Translanguaging, thus, has tremendous potential for maximizing children's bilingual and biliterate development because it centers the ways that language users leverage their resources to establish shared understandings about the world as they interact with others.

The featured transcripts provide a glimpse into young bilinguals' conceptualization and performance of story retelling, a prevalent literacy activity that is enacted daily in early childhood classrooms across the US. Regardless of how they interpreted the task—naming/labeling illustrations, describing character actions/story events, or making personal connections to characters, objects, and/or experiences—children's retell performances evidenced their comprehension and production of decontextualized language, an important component of literate behavior (Olson, 1977). The retell activity provided children the opportunity to demonstrate their emerging summarizing and paraphrasing abilities. Translanguaging supported children along different stages of bilingual progressions to participate fully in the retell activity and to display their understandings and developing narrative and storytelling competence, including the comprehension and (re) construction of different story types—or genres, the recognition and production of character-appropriate language and behavior, and the comprehension and production of appropriate story event sequence (Galda, 1984). Recognizing and supporting normative bilingual languaging practices as legitimate and fruitful resources for learning and making meaning can help educators understand and use children's linguistic repertoires to engage them and promote their development.

Pedagogies that Recognize, Promote, and Build Upon Children's Bilingualism Are Required as Emergent Bilinguals Become the "New Normal" in US Schools

Regardless of the artificial boundaries of language separation that is characteristic of dual language programs, young bilinguals in this study translanguaged dynamically and creatively to engage with others in book-based interactions, to develop and refine their understandings of story lines and character development, and to display their developing storytelling and language expertise. Opportunities for translanguaging emerged both through children's agency in languaging choices as well as through adults' support of children's linguistic flexibility. While themselves modeling the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages through monolingual performances (García & Lin, 2017) and the imposed language boundaries of their bilingual program curriculum, teachers (and research assistants) did not restrict children's access to their own dynamic bilingual repertoire of linguistic practices and features in retell and other interactive classroom activity. Children in this classroom were afforded freedom to enact their bilingual identities authentically, to take linguistic risks without fear of humiliation or marginalization, and to approach assignments and activities with a focus on their conceptual foundations rather than performing the norms of rigid language separation. Whether children chose to perform their retells in the language of the text or crossed traditionally-defined language boundaries in these interactions with bilingual adults, they demonstrated awareness of normative bilingual discursive practices and of their audience's bilingualism by moving fluidly and

flexibly across their bilingual repertoire. As more and more children come from homes where languages other than English are spoken, and as emergent bilinguals become the "new normal" in US schools (Escamilla et al., 2013), translanguaging pedagogies are required.

Findings from this study also suggest that bilingual teachers who speak children's languages are an important resource for children's language and literacy learning as they can provide access to, and scaffold children's ability to use, language according to the norms that have been socially constructed for those particular languages. That is, bilingual teachers can and should structure opportunities to model monolingual forms and discursive practices through extensive authentic, meaningful input and interaction, *in addition to* opportunities for children to use their full bilingual repertoire flexibly and selectively to make meaning across codes and modalities.

Notes

1 Linguistically complex classrooms are defined as learning environments that integrate students across a broad range of bilingual proficiency and linguistic experiences in and out of school.
2 On occasion, teachers selected bilingual books, i.e., books that included both Spanish and English versions of the story, for read aloud activity. However, teachers always read this type of book monolingually in the focal instructional language of the week.
3 Intersentential codeswitches are those in which the language switch occurs across sentences.

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PART III

Policy and Ideology

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8

¿QUÉ QUIEREN DE MÍ?

Examining Elementary School Teachers' Belief Systems about Language Use in the Classroom

Susan Hopewell, Kathy Escamilla, Lucinda Soltero-González and Jody Slavick

> First I was a bilingual teacher, and I could teach in Spanish all day long. *Luego pasaron el* English-only law, and they told us that they would fire us *si usábamos español en la clase o la escuela.* Now, they want us to teach 80% in Spanish and 20% in English, *pero los niños ya no hablan español, no lo saben leer y se les dificulta en los dos idiomas. Ahorita, no sé qué quieren de mí.*
>
> [First I was a bilingual teacher, and I could teach in Spanish all day long. Then, they passed the English-only law, and they told us that they would fire us if we used Spanish in the classroom or in the school. Now they want us to teach 80% in Spanish and 20% in English, but the children no longer know Spanish. They cannot read it and it's hard for them to learn through two languages. I just don't know what they want from me.]
>
> *(3rd grade dual-language teacher, Arizona)*

The title for this chapter derives from the quote referenced above. It captures the essence of the challenges faced by elementary school teachers who currently have the opportunity to implement bilingual/dual-language programs to replace, and hopefully mollify, the devastating impact of English immersion. While renewed efforts at the implementation of bilingual/dual-language programs are welcome, they have not occurred without obstacles, as the teacher above so eloquently expresses in two languages. Her manner of expression, that some would describe disparagingly as "codeswitching," and therefore problematic, is an enigmatic and interesting example of typical bilingual communication practices of children, families, and educators who are accustomed to drawing upon all of their linguistic resources to express themselves. In this chapter, we will explore the impact of policy changes that affect the language practices of bilingual students and their teachers. In particular, we will examine how teachers have come to understand the bilingual policies in schools that are transitioning from linguistic policies of

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-11

English-only to those of bilingual education, noting in particular, their belief systems about language use in the classroom. As part of this inquiry, we will document the challenges and supports teachers have experienced as they struggle to make the desired changes. One artifact of these institutional changes is both the official and unofficial attitude with regard to codeswitching.

Throughout the long and tumultuous history of bilingual education in the US, we have passed through eras in which bilingual education has thrived, eras in which bilingual education has been censored and all but eliminated, and most recently one in which bilingual/dual-language programs are being revived. These radical shifts in policy over the past 30 years characterize the two school districts in this study, one in Arizona and one in Colorado. Each experienced a strong commitment to bilingual education policy, followed by a period of English-only, and is now reviving bilingualism. The resulting tumult is captured through the testimonies and perspectives of the teachers who teach within them.

No matter the program type or era, the role of codeswitching in US public school education has been controversial, and there is little consensus in the field as to what an appropriate use of codeswitching (if any) is within bilingual/dual-language programs (Ho Lee, 2012). One question that has been consistently raised is how to understand when codeswitching is beneficial, harmful, or neutral to the development of bilingualism and biliteracy (Sayer, 2013). If, indeed, it is beneficial, how do we change teacher and community attitudes about codeswitching and how do we better understand how to leverage its utility in teaching children in the rejuvenated bilingual/dual-language programs of the 21st century (Hopewell, 2017)?

Simultaneous bilingual learners are those learners who are exposed to two or more languages prior to the age of three, and who speak, hear, listen and process two languages to varying degrees consistent with early exposure and in ways that are context/content specific (Baker & Jones, 1998). Currently, during the revival of bilingual education, the question of the appropriate role of codeswitching has become an even bigger topic because many of the children affected by the English-only mandates are simultaneous bilingual learners, who have acquired two languages since birth, who may have received English-only instruction prior to the revival, and are now arriving in the newly created bilingual/dual-language programs with little or no formal instruction in Spanish, but are expected to learn in and through Spanish as well as English.

In this study, we use teacher voices and perspectives to try to understand how these language policies and practices are enacted in communities where English-only schooling has led to Spanish language loss, and the joys and challenges this presents in current efforts to revive bilingual/dual-language education. Using a conceptual framework of holistic bilingualism, we will problematize the binary between policies of strict separation of languages where codeswitching is condemned and censored, to those that allow for unexamined and uncritical language policies where, in essence, "anything goes." We will focus specifically on

how languages are used in districts that have experienced recent policy shifts from English-only to biliteracy, and will interrogate how complex historical contexts have influenced, or not, teachers' attitudes toward language use in the classroom with a focus on codeswitching. Our discussion will provide guidance for how teachers can use languages strategically in service to learning and as a means to reverse language loss.

Guiding Questions

The questions we sought to answer were the following:

1. How do elementary school teachers understand and implement the bilingual policies at their schools?
2. What do elementary school teachers perceive as the challenges and supports that have resulted from the district and state level changes with regard to language policies?
3. What are elementary school teachers' beliefs and policies about codeswitching?

All Politics Are Local: The Study Contexts

Although many of the teachers in this study have deep roots in bilingual education, others are relatively new to the field. Regardless of the length of time they had been teaching, all were struggling to make sense of systems in which schools were experiencing dramatic, and at times traumatizing, shifts from bilingual education programming, to English-only programming, and a recent return to bilingual education. As we spoke to teachers, we found them grappling with how to reconcile their experiences and knowledge with contradictory messages from their administrators, and a new population of students whose prior schooling affected very much their linguistic proficiencies and preferences. While the global shifts in educational policies across these districts are parallel, there are important differences in their histories that one must understand in order to contextualize the teachers' responses.

Desert Mountain, Arizona

Sixty-four percent of the students in Desert Mountain School[1] district are Latino, and while the district fails to report what percentage is classified as English Language Learners (ELLs), it is important to understand that Desert Mountain is a relatively large district that is located less than 100 miles from the US–Mexico border. Visitors cannot help but note the bicultural bilingual nature of the community, and it is safe to say that the bilingual population is sizable.

The complex story of the education of bilingual learners in Desert Mountain begins with the commission of the *Invisible Minority Report* by the National Education Association (NEA, 1966). In commissioning the report, the NEA recognized that the Spanish-speaking students of the Southwest, including those of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, were academically underachieving and were grossly over-represented in the dropout population. They understood that something in the system needed to change to better serve the needs of the children in this demographic, and they also wanted to honor the fact that "some teachers and some school systems were developing forward-looking solutions built on this base of bilingualism" (ibid., p. v). The purposes of the report, therefore, were twofold: "(1) call attention to some of the constructive approaches to the problems of the Spanish-speaking children, and (2) make possible a sharing of the ideas, methods and materials which apply to a bilingual system of teaching" (p. v). Researchers used survey methods, school visits, student observations, and teacher and administrator interviews across the five-state area to arrive at their findings. The report concluded by making nine recommendations which have been summarized and paraphrased here to the following five:

1. Instruction in pre-school and throughout the early grades should be in both Spanish and English. Instruction in a home language should continue to high school, though it is unnecessary to require that all programs be implemented identically.
2. English should be taught as a second language.
3. School systems should foster pride in students' cultures, histories, and languages.
4. Spanish-speaking teachers should be recruited, and teacher preparation programs should include attention to bilingualism.
5. Bilingualism should be researched, necessary funding to support bilingual education should be sought, and any laws that specify English as the sole language of instruction should be repealed.

(NEA, 1966, pp. 17–18)

The results of this report created wide-spread change at the state and national level. In the state of Arizona, it provided the impetus for the development and implementation of bilingual programs across the state. Desert Mountain became one of the first districts to implement bilingual programs widely. It came to be known as the "*cuna del movimiento bilingüe*" (cradle of the bilingual movement). Bilingual education programs grew and flourished from 1968 to 2000.

The district reversed course, however, in 2000, when a state-wide initiative known as Proposition 203 (English Language Education for Children in Public Schools) was passed. This legislation abruptly eliminated bilingual education in

the state and mandated that, "all children in Arizona public schools shall be taught English as rapidly and effectively as possible" (Arizona Proposition 203, 2000, §1). Bilingual learners were to be educated in English immersion programs during a temporary transition period "not normally intended to exceed one year" (ibid., §§15–752). A parent could request that a child be exempt if it could be determined that the child already knew English, was ten years old or older, or was identified as having special needs. Proposition 203 all but eliminated bilingual education programs in the state, and greatly affected university programs that were intended to prepare teachers to work in such settings.

Importantly, Proposition 203 was financed by California software engineer, Ron Unz, whose "English for the Children" coalition launched a public relations campaign that deceptively appeared to be pro-immigrant and pro-English. He blamed bilingual education for the academic failure of English Language Learners (ELLs). The public failed to grasp that the majority of ELL students was not educated in bilingual programs (Gándara & Contreras, 2009). In other words, if the majority of students labeled ELL was indeed failing, it should not have been ascribed to their bilingual educations, as most of them were not participating in bilingual schooling. Despite the misinformation and obfuscation, the measure passed 63% to 37% resulting in a mandate for primarily English-only schooling. As will be seen in our data, teachers refer to the school district policies as "before Unz" and "after Unz."

English immersion models became the standard until 2014–2015 when Desert Mountain reclaimed its status as the "*cuna*," and advocated for the resurgence of bilingual/dual-language education. In an ambitious attempt to reverse course, district administrators reinvigorated efforts to establish K–12 dual-language programs for its children. Initially, the revitalization efforts began in ten schools in grades K–2, 6th, and 9th. The plan was to add a grade each subsequent year such that by the year 2017–2018 they would have K–12th dual-language programs available for bilingual learners in at least 10 schools.

Because the district had a distant, but strong, foundation in bilingual education, there were numerous people in the district with expertise who could help design the new programs and could seek appropriate supports where needed. One area of identified need was in biliteracy. As such, they contracted with us, the developers of Literacy Squared, a research-based and research-tested biliteracy model, to help them design, deliver, and develop a well-articulated vertically aligned approach to literacy instruction (Escamilla et al., 2014). Literacy Squared is a K–5 paired literacy model in which Spanish and English literacy are coordinated and connected, and literacy instruction in both languages begins in kindergarten. Systematic explicit instruction in reading, writing, oracy and metalanguage are the bedrock of the model. The Desert Mountain teachers and coaches who participated in the present study were those that were selected to begin these biliteracy efforts.

Steeltown, Colorado

Like Desert Mountain, Steeltown's demographics indicate a thriving presence of Latino families. Eighty percent of the students in Steeltown School District is Latino, and over half of the district's student population is classified as ELL. Bilingual programs and native language support were a staple in the district until 2009 when they were replaced with all-English instruction. Unlike in Arizona where the shift was a state mandate, in Steeltown, the decision was made at the district level and was greatly influenced by the prevailing beliefs of the delegated superintendent.

In 2008, newly appointed superintendent, Gretchen Sandler, in an effort to comply with the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) requirement that districts identified by the Colorado Department of Education as needing "program improvement" conduct an appraisal of current educational practices and use the results to develop a plan for improvement, had a Comprehensive Appraisal of District Improvement (CADI) conducted. One of the four district-wide themes highlighted in the CADI appraisal was: "Developing Proficient English Language Skills in All Students through a Well Designed and Competently Delivered English Language Acquisition (ELA) Program" (Benson et al., 2008). The findings included evidence that there was a lack of systemic practices among the bilingual and ELA programs at the schools. The recommendations overwhelmingly called for greater expansion and refinement of Spanish instruction and programming, citing research that outlined the benefits of bilingual education in fostering students' English acquisition (Benson et al., 2008).

Upon receiving the CADI report, the superintendent convened an ELL Design Committee to review the CADI and make recommendations regarding the future programming for ELLs in the district. While it is unclear exactly who served on the committee, we know that there were no district ELA experts, bilingual education staff, or ELL parents (Romine, 2014). Despite the apparent lack of expertise in language acquisition, and in opposition to the CADI report's call for expansion of Spanish language instruction, the superintendent approved the committee's recommendation that the district change to an "all-English" alternative language program, utilizing an "English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL)" approach, commencing the 2009–2010 school year (Romine, 2014).

Steeltown schools implemented the new "all-English" model with varying degrees of interpretation, which in turn, affected staff, students and parents in divergent ways. It caused a cascade of controversy and discord amongst teachers, administrators and parents in the community and prompted several years of change and unrest. Administrators who voiced dissent were terminated, teachers with marked accents in English were given poor evaluations, and Spanish language materials were boxed and removed from schools (Romine, 2014).

In 2010, a staff member filed a complaint with the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) alleging "instances of discrimination against students, parents and staff on

the basis of national origin (Hispanic)" (Romine, 2014). OCR conducted a lengthy investigation covering the time period between 2008 and 2012 and uncovered significant evidence of discriminatory acts in the district. Their report, which was released in 2014, shared evidence that over 40 individuals at eight schools suffered from discriminatory acts. OCR and the school district reached a settlement agreement to resolve the numerous violations uncovered during the investigation.

As the OCR investigation drew to a close (2012), Superintendent Sandler was dismissed and subsequently replaced by Michael Martínez, who reinstated bilingual instruction in the district beginning the 2015–2016 school year. As in Arizona, Literacy Squared, was adopted as part of the innovation configuration (Escamilla, et al., 2014). The teachers interviewed for the current study are those that were selected to enact the implementation of the newly adopted model of biliteracy.

These abbreviated histories help us to understand the contexts within which teachers have been striving to make sense of shifting district policies. Whether it was state or district administration that decided upon the language policy, it was the teachers who ultimately had the agency to enact (or not) these policies in their classrooms. Although teachers are an integral part of policy enactment and development, there are very few studies that take a close look at how policies are subsequently implemented and how teachers are affected by them (Varghese, 2006). This study aims to fill that gap by drawing upon teachers' voices to express how they make sense historically of varying approaches to bilingual education and how the constant fluctuation and turmoil have influenced language policy and language use within their schools and classrooms.

Conceptual Framework

Language mixing, or codeswitching, has sometimes been disparaged and stigmatized as an indicator of a poor command of either named language (Ramirez & Milk, 1986). These assumptions begin from the premise that there is a norm or standard for each language that must be maintained and protected, and that the preferred or competent bilingual is one who is completely balanced and able to express and understand all concepts equally in each language (Boztepe, 2003). Despite this sometimes strongly held belief, it is well-recognized that it is the rare person who presents as a fully balanced bilingual (Grosjean, 1998; MacSwan & Rolstad, 2006). This is particularly true because languages are acquired and used for different purposes in different contexts. As MacSwan and Rolstad (2006) state, "we expect children to acquire the language of the specific speech community in which they grow up, along with whatever features of the language that might be stigmatized in the dominant societal group" (p. 2308). The temptation to use monolingual native speakers as the yardstick by which to measure the linguistic abilities of bilingual persons is inherently deficit in nature and derives from what

Grosjean has deemed a "monolingual bias" (Grosjean, 2008). A monolingual bias promotes the idea that a bilingual person's language proficiencies can only be deemed adequate when they are on par with a native speaker's in either language. These understandings serve to fractionalize bilingual language users' abilities and to take them into consideration only in isolation.

Those who subscribe to this orientation hold that the ability to strictly separate two languages in oral and written communication is considered a sign of linguistic competence, and language mixing or codeswitching is considered to be a sign of deficiencies in one or both languages. Bilingual competency, then, is linked to language separation (Deuchar & Quay, 1999; Fantini, 1985). In bilingual settings, these belief systems have resulted in language policies that require teachers and students to maintain code at all times. Theoretically, asking students to maintain the language of the learning environment increases the probability that the student will have adequate opportunity and sufficient time to practice each language in a carefully engineered language community (Cummins, 2000; Miramontes, Nadeau & Commins, 1997). These arguments, though housed within bilingual education frameworks, evoke the same logic that the time-on-task scholars use when arguing for English-only education (Imhoff, 1990; Porter, 1990). In other words, the underlying logic is that the more time one spends comprehending and producing the target language, the more likely one is to learn it. As we have argued elsewhere, however, we know that time-on-task in English-only contexts has not proven to be more conducive to English language acquisition (Hopewell, 2013). In other words, research comparing academic outcomes in English-only environments to those of bilingual programs, particularly in the area of English reading, have consistently demonstrated that students educated in and through two languages achieve as well or better than their peers in English-only programs (August & Shanahan, 2006; Greene, 1997; Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005). Given these findings, we should question the application of this logic to the design and organization of bilingual education models. Conceptually and practically, we reject the fractional conceptualization of bilingual proficiency.

Instead, we adopt a conceptualization of students' languages, histories, and social interactions as forming a tightly interlaced and indivisible whole. Disruptions and suppressions of any part of this whole has consequences that are both cognitive and linguistic, but also psychological and emotional. At their core, they inform one's identity and sense of self, but also the ability to express that identity and the world knowledge that accompanies it.

Intentional compartmentalization of linguistic knowledge, while possible in the application of languages, is impossible in language processing. This view of linguistic proficiencies is one that has been termed "holistic." It upholds the supposition that access to, and application of, the entire linguistic repertoire leads to greater overall engagement with the larger world as compared to when linguistic abilities are conceived of as independent and relegated to metaphoric silos

(Grosjean, 1989). In other words, rather than parallel competencies in each language, holistic conceptualizations envision integrated competencies that are mutually reinforcing and wholly available to the bilingual learner. Holistic bilingualism, then, is not simply the sum of the parts, but rather a greater entity unto itself. Bilingual speakers are competent in their own right.

Another way that holistic notions of bilingualism have been conceptualized is as bilingual multicompetence in which it is recognized that languages share a mental lexicon and an understanding of notions of grammaticality that facilitate one's ability to codeswitch (Cook, 1992). Given these conceptualizations it is more apropos to think of codeswitching as a normal bilingual behavior that serves an important social function rather than as an indicator that someone does not know both languages well.

Schools are a site of language contact, and as such, it is not surprising that in bilingual contexts, where comprehension and communication across named languages is possible, students and their teachers, even when unaware of their own codeswitching, might express themselves in the most efficacious and parsimonious manner whilst drawing upon all of the linguistic resources at their disposal. These behaviors are consistent with a holistic understanding of the nature of bilingualism. From a sociolinguistic perspective, speakers will use their entire mutually understood repertoires to create shared meaning (Boztepe, 2003). As Charlene Kenner (2004) reminds us, "The wider society tries to keep children's worlds separate, with different codes for each context. Children, however, tend to synthesize their resources. Further, the availability of alternatives is a key aspect of growing up bilingual" (p. 59).

A dilemma in our field is that these two conceptualizations of bilingualism are often used to create dichotomous binaries in the creation of linguistic policies for bilingual learners. We will argue hereto forward that a theory of holistic bilingualism is a productive way to take codeswitching out of a deficit paradigm; however, that it is important to create strategies and frameworks that inform how and when it is helpful for language acquisition and academic achievement. As alluded to previously, we believe that there should be pedagogies of bilingualism that strategically and purposefully create spaces for bilingualism and that there is a concurrent need to examine critically how and when those spaces make sense. One way to begin to conceptualize these spaces is to privilege teacher's voices and experiences in understanding how policy and practice intersect with enacted language practices.

Method

Using a multi-case design in which we employed qualitative methodological tools, we systematically collected data from educators in each school district to understand how teachers defined and were implementing the new bilingual programs, what challenges and supports teachers experienced, and what beliefs and policies teachers enacted with regard to codeswitching.

Data Collection and Analysis

Working in pairs, we conducted a total of 16 semi-structured interviews that were sometimes individual and sometimes collective focus groups. The nature and structure of the interviews was determined by participant availability and time constraints. The participants were K–6th grade classroom teachers (*N* = 21), coaches (*N* = 3) and interventionists/resource teachers (*N* = 2) across the two school districts. For the purpose of this study, we focused on the elementary and K–8 schools that had most recently rededicated themselves to bilingual programming. In the case of Steeltown (Colorado), there were four schools and eight teachers. In the case of Desert Mountain (Arizona), there were five elementary schools and three K–8 schools with a total of 18 educators. Each interview lasted between 30–90 minutes. Most were audio-taped and transcribed, though some were captured only through field notes. Two researchers attended each interview, and in each case one author took the lead in conducting the interview, while the other recorded the responses.

We developed and used an initial interview protocol consisting of 10 primary questions; however, upon conducting the first few interviews, we found that the following four questions were those that yielded the most information; thus, subsequent interviews were guided by these:

1. Tell us something about yourself including what made you want to become a dual-language teacher?
2. What is the dual-language model at your school?
3. From your perspective, talk about the changes in education for bilingual learners?
4. What are your beliefs and policies about codeswitching?

Each question also included possible sub-questions, and interviewers were encouraged to ask probing and follow-up questions.

Data were analyzed iteratively with each pair of researchers initially focusing on collecting and analyzing the data from only one district. These findings were then compared across districts and reanalyzed to understand how the findings in one district informed and/or contradicted those of the other. Using Excel spreadsheets, each researcher coded teacher statements into the following broad categories: policy statements, observations about children's language use, English-only versus Bilingual education comparisons, and beliefs/policies about codeswitching. These statements were then grouped for further analyses. Our approach to examining the data was informed by narrative analyses in which teachers, coaches, and interventionists shared their personal experiences with regard to the changing policies and demographics in their school districts. In narrative analyses, participants' everyday lived experiences shed light on social and cultural phenomena (Bruner, 1991). We employed open coding to conduct a thematic analysis that was specific to each research question. Patterns were noted and categories of findings identified.

Findings

Defining and Implementing Bilingual Policies

Returning to bilingual education after a sustained period of English-only policies resulted in confusion and inconsistent implementation. This was influenced greatly by teachers' experiences and backgrounds. It would be easy and accurate, yet totally insufficient, to state simply that there was no consistency in teacher understanding of the policies, and therefore conflicting and uncertain implementation. The findings speak to a much more complex phenomenon. For example, in both Arizona and Colorado, we interviewed teachers who were bilingually certified teachers before the English-only mandates, who for all intents and purposes had gone "underground" until the reinstatement of bilingual programs in 2012. These were formally trained and experienced bilingual teachers who had witnessed first-hand the success that bilingual education programs had had on Spanish speaking children and their families. For them, the resurgence of bilingual education was most welcome and they expected that they would be able to simply reinstate the pre-2000 programs. What caught them by surprise was the change in the student population with regard to Spanish proficiency. They were taken aback by the Spanish language proficiency loss among their students. The program models they had learned at the university were insufficient and inadequate to serve the new population of students who were no longer "Spanish dominant," but whose parents aspired for them to become bilingual in the new iteration of dual-language education.

In Arizona, it had been 16 years since the passage of Proposition 203. We interviewed younger teachers who were elementary and secondary students at the time of the change in language policy who were themselves traumatized by the shift from bilingual education to English-only education. One teacher expressed that, "Second grade was beautiful and I understood everything. Third grade was awful and I went home crying every day because my teacher only talked to me in English." Another teacher talked about being in high school at the time of the passage of Amendment 203 and being in an AP English class with a teacher who was a co-chair of the English for the Children (Unz) movement. She had to sit in class daily with a teacher who wore a T-shirt declaring that everyone should vote for English for the children. She was intimidated and confused by the attack on her language and heritage.

These young teachers were affected as students by the Unz initiative and did not have the benefit of a bilingual teaching experience prior to the passage of Amendment 203. Once it became law, these aspiring teachers did not have a university training experience that taught them about bilingual program models or methods of implementation, and while they enthusiastically embraced the reinstatement of bilingual/dual-language programs, they had neither the practical experience nor university preparation to understand what was even meant by a

bilingual policy. Subsequently, when they were asked to do 90/10 or 50/50 program models, they did not know what those terms meant and did not know that these policies needed to be implemented consistently across grade levels. They were on their own to define and implement the policy.

A second key policy finding was that insistence and vigilance of language guidelines was more stringent and traumatizing when instituted at the district level rather than when mandated by state statute. Like those in Desert Mountain, the teachers in Steeltown (Colorado) talked about what they perceived to be a relatively successful bilingual program before the English-only period. In their responses, however, the Colorado teachers appeared to be much more traumatized by the English-only period than their Arizona counterparts. They spoke of the language policing practices that characterized the era and the overt discrimination that they were subjected to by principals and coaches who made them feel incompetent because they had accented English. They lamented that children were made to feel ashamed of speaking Spanish. They reported that they were given no support to do English-only, only chastisement and rebuke. They expressed that parents were left in the dark about the policies and were told that parent-teacher conferences were only in English. The language policing was likely more stringent in Colorado since the English-only policy was a district level decision and district leaders were adamant that it be followed. As a result, teachers spoke about the socio-emotional trauma of the policy on them and on children and families.

In contrast, in Desert Mountain, there was little or no reported policing of the Unz amendment. The district was an outspoken opponent of the amendment prior to its passage, and when it became legislation, it felt mandated to implement it, but only did so half-heartedly. Teachers adhered to the English-only policy, but did not feel overly scrutinized or critiqued as they made the shift.

Finally, it was clear from talking to teachers from both states that these English-only policies had a perceived negative impact on children. Although enthusiastic about the reinstatement of bilingual education, this quote from a teacher in Colorado sums up teacher concerns, "*Ahora tengo un grupo de niños que están muy bajos en los dos idiomas*" ("Now I have a group of students who are low in both languages"). While we would encourage teachers to adopt a more holistic understanding of bilingualism in which the bar for comparison were not the standard monolingual acquisition norm, we understand that it is difficult to conceive of educational models that capitalize on uniquely individual linguistic talents that fluctuate and differ across languages. Language shift is a challenge created by district and state policies and must be taken into account in the development of new programs.

Challenges and Supports

Every teacher we interviewed, in both districts, was overjoyed with the opportunity to do dual-language or bilingual education; however, when asked about the challenges and supports to implementing the new policies, teachers were

quicker to share their frustrations rather than their joys. The overwhelmingly expressed need was for knowledgeable leadership in the form of school level administrators and instructional coaches. Following this, teachers lamented the extent to which English language assessments drove instructional decisions, and finally, there was a call for greater and more varied Spanish language materials and for bilingual curricula.

A nearly universal sentiment expressed by participants was that teachers needed the support of their principals, and that it was vitally important that principals and coaches be knowledgeable about bilingual education and bilingual pedagogy. Unfortunately, in many cases, teachers did not feel that this reflected their current situation. With regard to coaches, one teacher summed it up with the following, "*Me pregunto si es suficiente el personal que se tiene para este programa bilingüe. Mi* coach*, que es la* Literacy Coach, *ella no me puede venir a ayudar con planeación o materiales para lectoescritura en español*" ("I wonder if the personnel we have is adequate for our bilingual model. My coach is the school Literacy Coach. She can't help me to plan or to choose materials for Spanish language literacy"). In Desert Mountain, in particular, teachers often expressed that they were not sure how or why particular administrators were assigned to their schools, and they lamented the lack of foundational knowledge by their principals. A common sentiment was, "Leadership in some of the dual-language programs doesn't even understand language acquisition." In nearly every interview we conducted, a participant initiated a line of critique that led back to a lack of trust in school level leadership.

To be fair, and in an effort to acknowledge disconfirming evidence, there were two teachers who sang the praises of their administrators, though this was significantly less prevalent in the data than the sense of frustration.

Teachers also reported receiving contradictory messages from their administrators with regard to expectations in terms of delivery of instruction and language allocation. This was exacerbated by the influence of English language testing requirements. Teachers made statements like, "Administrators do not check on the delivery of bilingual education. The students are not assessed in Spanish. There is always a push for more English" or "The principal will tell us to be loyal to the program, but then the vice-principal will call us in, tell us our students' scores (in English), and say, 'why aren't these children progressing (in English)?'" Because assessments are in English, teachers report that interventions tend to take place in English, effectively undermining the goals of the revitalization of bilingual education. Further, in one of the districts, teachers reported that students qualifying for gifted education services were primarily moved from bilingual models to English-only.

Changing demographics and shifting language proficiencies led teachers to speculate that more nuance is needed in the design of their bilingual models and that this extends to the curricula adopted and the materials available. Teachers want to have a consistent program over a longer period of time and to recognize that the needs of the students are different than those for whom they designed programs in previous eras. As one teacher put it:

> They need to give us our guidelines and stick with them for 5–8 years. *No tantos cambios* [not so many changes] because right when we start getting used to it, *ya no más* [then they take it away] … We need academic freedom. we need to trust our teachers. We need curricula: one for the English language learner, one for the English-only learner, and one for the true bilingual learner … We need to be frank about things. We have a diverse population of students. We need to tailor our policies. We can't just dump everybody in the same boat because we lose kids, and we lose their love to learn in whatever language they cling to.

While this teacher's vision and understanding may be unattainable given our current knowledge bases and understandings of how best to design and deliver bilingual instruction to simultaneous bilingual learners, the sentiment and desire for differentiated opportunities is worth noting.

With regards to materials, quite tragically, teachers in both states spoke at length about the destruction of Spanish language materials during the English-only eras. The Colorado teachers spoke about being mandated to gather up and either throw away or give away the books (at times in the presence of the children). In Arizona, teachers spoke about how the Spanish literacy books they had circa 2000, even if out of date, would be very helpful now and that one of their biggest obstacles to implementation is appropriate instructional materials. In short, teachers embraced the opportunity to reinstate bilingual education practices, but worried how to do so when they lacked basic materials.

To a person, these educators expressed that it was a joy and privilege to be in bilingual education. They cherish the children, the community, the culture, the revitalization of the value of bilingualism, and the ability to work more closely with bilingual colleagues. The constant change in language policy, however, has left them scrambling to make sense of program designs that are not yet well-defined or resourced.

Teacher Beliefs and Policies Regarding Codeswitching

Teachers' attitudes toward language use in the classroom varied and was an artifact of inconsistent and changing language policies. Although a few teachers saw codeswitching as a crutch that may preclude students from trying to learn and use the target language, most had a positive attitude toward the use of codeswitching in the classroom. Consistent with modern scholarship, they viewed it as an inherent part of their identity and as a natural language practice in their community, as described here by a teacher, "I do it all the time. It's part of who I am. The kids do it. I told them it's codeswitching. The kids can name it in 5th grade. It's part of who we are and it is part of being bilingual." The teachers in the Colorado school district noted that their simultaneous bilingual students, the majority of whom come from Spanish-speaking households, codeswitched

naturally throughout the day. Teachers from Arizona also acknowledged codeswitching as a common language practice, but they saw their students as heritage learners of Spanish who preferred to use English most of the time. Therefore, any attempt by their students to use Spanish, including switching from English to Spanish, was celebrated as a sign of language learning and a way to combat the hegemony of English. It showed that their students were trying to use all their linguistic resources.

This positive view of codeswitching as a natural aspect of being bilingual was espoused by teachers not without uncertainty about its role for teaching and learning in the classroom. Such uncertainty seems to be linked to the controversy around codeswitching that has prevailed in popular culture that stigmatizes ways of speaking by certain language groups and is often characterized as "Spanglish" or "pocho" (the mixing of two languages), and the implied lack of mastery of either language. Some teachers wondered about whether codeswitching was a temporary stage in children's bilingual and biliteracy development and allowed its use based on this developmental perspective. One teacher from Arizona expressed that, "it's hard to know if this is when they need it, but maybe won't need it in 3rd grade. Whatever they can do. I'd rather they try than do nothing." Teachers struggled to reconcile the perceived disagreement with regards to the use of codeswitching in the classroom and their own beliefs about its advantageous use for teaching and for supporting their students to develop their two languages. These sentiments are captured in this quote:

> I think [codeswitching] is valuable because it shows me something about how people learn language. I understand that some people think it's not mastering language. But it's grammatically correct. It shows me that the student needs vocabulary … Codeswitching helps me determine what vocabulary they need. Codeswitching is valuable. It teaches you what you need to know.

These utterances demonstrate some tensions in teachers' understanding of holistic linguistic repertoires and what the scholarship would tell us about when, why and for what purposes bilingual learners codeswitch. Though teachers mostly had positive attitudes towards codeswitching, they felt that they were on their own to define their language policy and implementation in the classroom. Most were clear about the importance of being intentional about when to use codeswitching and for what purposes; however, the lack of language planning and policies for the implementation of their dual-language and biliteracy model made teachers feel uncertain about how to enact bilingual policies that were congruent with their language program and their students' needs. One teacher expressed this sentiment when she said, "I'm working on it. I'm not against it. I think there's a time for it. It's hard because I see kids suffering. I've battled with how much do I switch." The lack of language policy during this transition towards reinstituting bilingual education in these school districts is a striking

contrast with the English-only era during which teachers and children were expected to maintain code, as stipulated in their English-only program.

The need to be intentional about the use of codeswitching in the classroom appeared several times during the interviews. In this sense, teachers' beliefs mirrored those of early codeswitching researchers who developed and analyzed the Concurrent Approach to language use which specified that language switches should be preplanned and designed to achieve pedagogically predetermined objectives (Faltis, 1989; Jacobson, 1981, 1982; Milk, 1984). However, as stated previously, there was no overall agreement about parameters for how to utilize both languages for specific purposes. Teachers reported the use of codeswitching for a variety of purposes, including: monitoring students' learning ("checking for students' understanding; assessing how much they've learned"); clarifying instructions; conceptual development ("activating or building on prior knowledge, allowing students to ask questions"); social and emotional development ("express feelings and needs, interact with each other"), and to support the development of their two languages ("promoting metalanguage and cross-language connections as when teachers use codeswitching as part of the lesson to point out differences between the two languages"). Some teachers recognized its value to promote student engagement and to save instructional time. Examples of how teachers described their planning for language of instruction in the classroom included the use of the target language for specific strategies or a specific subject, or based on the language of existing curricular materials. One coach explained the importance of planning for the use of codeswitching in biliteracy lessons:

> You've got to be very intentional as to when and how you use it and put it in the lesson plans. Sometimes it's spontaneous, but also [teachers should] be prepared for how to use it and not over use it. I know I need to support teachers on how to use it.

There was a sense among teachers about the strategic use of both languages and the need to be knowledgeable about bilingual pedagogy.

Discussion and Implications

In each of these districts, students, teachers, and families have been subject to overt discrimination as a result of speaking and knowing Spanish. Their educations and their lives have been disrupted by language policies that have banned, and then reinstated, the use of Spanish in the school system. The testimonies reported herein reflect the profound impact these decisions have had on these communities. One does not reverse course, or change a policy and erase the scars and damage that have been inflicted. Language is not simply a collection of words; it is a profound component of one's identity, and schools, as government sanctioned institutions of learning, do much to shape these identities. We have an

obligation to teach children to love all of their languages and cultures, but also to love themselves. School messages, both overt and covert, that mitigate against this must be eradicated.

Holistic understandings of teaching, learning, and identity require that we acknowledge that languages, cultures, and histories are not easily divided. Formal language policies of English-only, or for that matter bilingual education, cannot account for what is happening both in the head and in life. These communities greet and make sense of the world and all of its content using the totality of the resources available to them, including their languages.

While many teachers believed that codeswitching was a natural part of communicating as bilingual individuals, they were uncertain and inconsistent about its role in education. This is primarily attributed to a lack of intentional language planning within the school districts, and was exacerbated by English language assessments that often trumped beliefs about holistic bilingualism and the intentional incorporation and allowance of multiple languages in the formal learning environment. The biggest "problem," then, with regard to codeswitching may have less to do with attitudes, and more to do with intentionality. Teachers need guidance on how to interpret students' participation when they engage in codeswitching and how to design instruction that incorporates it and acknowledges it as part of sound bilingual pedagogy and as a normal part of developmental bilingualism.

If we recognize simultaneous bilingualism as the new normal, it stands to reason that we need programs and policies designed for this new normal. We have new attitudes, but we need new pedagogies that recognize that the paradigms of the past do not fit the children of the present. Therefore, we suggest that schools and districts considering a renewed interest in bilingual education institute policies that take into consideration the following concepts.

Leadership matters. Administrators and coaches must be well-versed in language acquisition and bilingual methodologies. They should work with teachers to articulate a language allocation plan that is vertically aligned and which is developed in response to the actual children and families of their communities. Not all programs need to have identical plans.

Schools and programs should be well-resourced with both bilingual teachers and bilingual materials, but with the recognition that these alone are not enough. Linguistic competence and bilingual books sans a well-articulated program/policy are insufficient and will likely result in failure. Language policy should begin from the premise that bilingualism/biculturalism is the ideal outcome and work to create spaces in which these can be nurtured, understanding that codeswitching has a role within these policies. Students and teachers should be encouraged to use the languages they have to make sense of teaching and learning. We need to move, however, from an environment of "anything goes" to one in which teachers and administrators spend time grappling with how and in what contexts intentional codeswitching is beneficial.

Strategic codeswitching might include: (1) providing instructions in one language but completing the task in the other; (2) engaging in translation/interpretation exercises; (3) clarifying conceptual confusions; (4) activating prior knowledge; (5) referencing cultural phenomena; or (6) using materials available only in one language, but having students discuss and express their knowledge in the alternate language. The possibilities are vast and this list is not exhaustive (for additional ideas and scholarship, see Escamilla et al., 2014; Puzio, Keyes, Cole & Jiménez, 2013; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2016; and the work of Cen Williams as cited in Baker, 2003). As we have done in this study, we encourage communities to explore ideas together and to privilege the experiences and voices of the teachers. No teacher should ever have to say "¡No sé qué quieren de mí!" ("I don't know what they want from me!").

Note

1 All names, people and places, are pseudonyms.

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9

TRANSLANGUAGING IN THE CLASSROOM

Implications for Effective Pedagogy for Bilingual Youth in Texas

Kathryn Henderson and Peter Sayer

This chapter presents the concept of *translanguaging* as an alternative for teachers to conceptualize the bilingual language practices of their students and explores what factors go into allowing teachers to use it as a pedagogical framework effectively. Translanguaging represents the diverse ways bilinguals communicate, make meaning, and construct identities, and frames these practices and processes in a positive or additive way (García & Li, 2014). In South Texas, the linguistic repertoires of Latino students include varieties of Spanish, English, and a combination of the two commonly referred to as Spanglish or TexMex (Sayer, 2013). Although the mixed vernacular and "non-standard" varieties of English and Spanish are commonly used by children and adults in interaction in bilingual communities throughout the area, in schools educators rarely see them as linguistic resources. Additionally, bilingual programs traditionally aim at keeping languages separate, often reinforcing a standard language ideology (Wiley, 1996); teachers feel compelled to attempt to "correct" features of the students' bilingual/non-standard vernacular, such as codeswitching. Language separation approaches can misconstrue the students' real home language, and devalue and stigmatize the language practices of bilingual communities.

Latino families and communities in South Texas continue to use Spanish well beyond the typical three-generation pattern of immigrants' language assimilation to English in the US (Anderson-Mejias, 2005). What has emerged is a stable, local contact variety of Spanish characterized by codeswitching, English loan words, and non-standard features, as well as a high degree of fluid bilingualism in many communities where the local variety serves important social functions across a range of domains. Nevertheless, the history of forced linguistic assimilation of Tejanos in schools in Texas, and the continued ideological pressures towards standardized, monolingual varieties of English have stigmatized localized varieties

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-12

of Spanish and contributed to language shift in South Texas. Bilingual education, implemented in Texas in the 1970s during the era of the Tejano Civil Rights Movement (Trujillo, 1998), has represented an important step forward for educational equity of linguistically marginalized students in the state. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 recognized that for Spanish-speaking Latinos, providing equal access to education means providing schooling in the language they understand. However, we argue in this chapter that pedagogical models in bilingual education that separate languages are premised on a view of static bilingualism, or what Heller (1999) refers to as "double monolingualism."

Translanguaging as a pedagogical approach, on the other hand, recognizes students' fluid bilingualism as a resource (García, 2009; García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer, 2017). We believe this approach better reflects the home language in this context by considering language practices both along a Spanish–English *and* standard-vernacular continuum. Codeswitching is one way to describe a particular oral language practice of bilinguals. As García and Li (2014) explain, the concept of translanguaging is broader than codeswitching or even language mixing because it focuses less on the linguistic elements of students' language, and more on the practices themselves, embracing an understanding of language as practice (Pennycook, 2010). Translanguaging is therefore better understood as both language practices as well as the way students use their repertoires to make sense of their multilingual worlds (García, 2009).

Drawing on ethnographic data from two elementary bilingual classrooms in South Texas, in this chapter we demonstrate that translanguaging is a useful framework for teachers to reorient their pedagogy to acknowledge the instructional potential of students' diverse language practices (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014). We locate translanguaging pedagogy within a perspective that seeks to develop teachers' attention to language variation or *critical language awareness* (CLA) (Alim 2010; Martínez, 2003).We examine this in two ways by focusing on two elementary teachers in Texas. First, we describe the co-construction of classroom spaces that accept, value and leverage the linguistic repertoire of bilingual students. Next, we turn to focus on the actual language practices during academic classroom activities. Bilingual languaging is a means for students to mediate and access academic content through language mixing (Sayer, 2013; Swain 2006). We present student and student–teacher interaction data, which shows how bilingual students process cognitively demanding content by drawing on their full linguistic repertoires. In our discussion, we consider the identities and ideologies of both teachers, and how this led to their instructional approach. Finally, we make connections between our findings to consider the power and potential of a translanguaging teacher pedagogy based on the notion of critical language awareness.

We posit that teachers who are able to ideologically embrace a translanguaging approach can yield both academic and socio-cultural student benefits. Our work

will demonstrate how teacher identity, CLA, and the classroom context connect to implementing translanguaging pedagogies. Implications for teacher preparation, professional development, and bilingual program development are discussed.

Classroom One: Mr. Smith

Mr. Smith teaches a third grade bilingual classroom at Otter Elementary in a predominantly Mexican neighborhood in south-central Texas. Mr. Smith is a white, native English-speaking male who grew up in the same area, attended the same school district as this study, and was initially exposed to Spanish in informal community interactions. As an adult he played music professionally in an Afro-Cuban/Flamenco group, and served as an interpreter for nonprofits in Mexico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Peru. He selected to continue his bilingual development in formal school settings by majoring in college and pursing a master's degree in Spanish.

Otter Elementary is part of a district-wide dual-language bilingual education program implementation that strictly divides language of instruction by content area. In third grade, math is taught in English, science and social studies are taught in Spanish, and students receive a block of language arts instruction in each language. Despite the official district language policy, Mr. Smith describes the school language policy as more accurately reflecting a transitional bilingual education model; the administration emphasizes English acquisition, and aims to transition students to English only as quickly as possible. Mr. Smith and his team-teacher of five years, Ms. Cardenas, do not agree with the administrative perspective, and co-construct their own classroom language policy distinct from both the district and school mandates. Having taught in bilingual classrooms at Otter Elementary for ten years, Mr. Smith has garnered agency to make classroom-language policy decisions. They divide their instruction by content area, but do not separate languages: Mr. Smith teaches math and science in both English and Spanish. Glancing around Mr. Smith's room, cognate charts hang on the walls next to student work written in Spanish, English, and Spanglish. The classroom's symbolic capital represents a dynamic bilingual space, which mirrors the teacher and student interactions in the classroom. A typical day in Mr. Smith's class would look and sound like the following:

Mr. Smith takes out his guitar and asks his students which version of the science chlorophyll song they would like to sing first: Spanish or English? Several students shout out "English" at the same time as a group of students plead for "*español.*" Mr. Smith artfully transitions students from one subject to the next using songs. As he strums the last chord, students shuffle to get their math materials ready, accustomed to the well-oiled routine.

Mr. Smith places his cell-phone on the overhead projector with a 7-minute timer and directs students to the 6 math problems they should be working on in their STAAR preparation manual. Students immediately engage. The timer beeps

and Ramón, the classroom secretary for the week, stands to get the tin can containing popsicle sticks with students' names on them. Mr. Smith replaces his cellphone with the math problems (in English) visible for all students to see. Ramón picks a stick out of the can and announces the name "Lisel" to the class. Mr. Smith shifts his attention to Lisel and asks, "*¿Cuál número quieres*? [What number do you want?]" Lisel responds "four," to which Mr. Smith beams, "Four. Okay. *Se está convirtiendo en un expertazo de tablas.* [You're becoming a super expert of times tables.]" Lisel goes to the front of the classroom and explains in English, slipping in Spanish words, how she got to her answer. While Lisel is a little confused at first, she realizes the pattern is times 7, "*Este, lo de,* um, with the, we can put a seven. [Like, it, um, with the, we can put a seven.]" She identifies the two multiple choice "dumb answers," which are not multiples of 7: "Charlie (C)" and "Bravo (B)." This helps her find the answer that is "for realz": "Alpha (A)." Lisel uses the international radiotelephony-spelling alphabet in lieu of saying the letters, a system Mr. Smith taught at the beginning of the school year. Mr. Smith commends Lisel in English and reminds the class of the recipe for standardized math test problems: there are two "dumb answers/*respuestas estúpidas*" one "tricky/*tramposa*" and one that is "for realz/*la neta*." Mr. Smith extends his fist to Lisel, "*muy buen trabajo, chócala.* [Great work, high five.]" Lisel returns the fist-bump with a grin ear to ear.

As Lisel sits down, Ramón picks the next name stick, Javier. Having just immigrated from Honduras two weeks prior, Javier does not speak or read hardly any English. Like five other students in the class, he has the math problems in front of him in Spanish. Mr. Smith immediately asks Javier in Spanish if he would like to read along with the class the question projected on the board in English; Javier nods his head yes. Mr. Smith selects the easiest of the six problems for Javier to read. He shares later that he is still trying to assess what Javier can and cannot do in math in Spanish. Not even halfway through the class choral reading the question, Mr. Smith interrupts to clarify a vocabulary word: "Stop right there, slice of bacon. This right here (Mr. Smith points to the image of the bacon slice from the word problem), *la rebanada de tocino* (Mr. Smith gestures eating a slice of bacon accompanied by chewing noises). Okay, *seguimos* [Let's continue]." The students finish choral reading the problem in English, and Mr. Smith turns to Javier and asks him in Spanish to explain how he got to the answer marked on his sheet. Javier does not say anything. After a 30-second pause, Mr. Smith asks, "*¿Quieres ayuda de la clase?*" Javier nods his head again. Mr. Smith says, "If you think we *h:ave* the total, do an h. *Si ustedes creen que tenemos el total, H, Asi a ladito* (Mr. Smith gestures an H in sign language). If we're *l:ooking* for the total, *sí lo estamos buscando*, L (Mr. Smith gestures an L in sign language)." Students begin to sign their answer. Javier looks around the room, assessing his classmates answers, and slowly signs an L. Mr. Smith looks at Javier and says, "*¡Qué cheveré!*" Javier grins ear to ear and sits down.

The next stick Ramón picks is Pedro. Mr. Smith turns and asks Pedro in English to read the question. Like Javier, Pedro's math notebook in front of him is in Spanish; he immigrated to the United States three years prior from Mexico. The following classroom interaction ensues:

TEACHER: Okay, read it for us please.

PEDRO: *¿En Español? Porque aquí está en español.* [In Spanish? Because here it's in Spanish.]

TEACHER: *Bueno, en lo que tú quieres, en chino si quieres* (laughs) [Well, in whatever you want, in Chinese if you want]

PEDRO: Which clock below shows at times between six thirty p.m. and six forty five p.m.?

TEACHER: So what do we need to circle up here (pointing at the word problem on the board)? Which clock below shows the time between six thirty and six forty five?

PEDRO: *Este* … You have to circle the … u:h … u:h … *entre* [between]

TEACHER: Yeah. *¿Entre que*? [Between what?]

PEDRO: *Entre seis treinta, seis y media y seis cuarenta y cinco* [Between six thirty, six and a half, and six forty five]

TEACHER: Okay, the between, right? So to review the word, Javier, *para repasar esa palabra entre o* [to review that word between or] between. *Yo estoy aquí entre el cinco y el seis.* [I am here between five and six] (teacher stands between two numbers hanging from the ceiling.) *Sigo aquí entre, ¿verdad? Estoy entre estos dos números?* [I'm still between right? I'm between these two numbers.]

STUDENTS: *¡Sí!*

Throughout this interaction, Mr. Smith and Pedro shift in and out of Spanish and English. Their shifts serve multiple purposes. Mr. Smith initiates the interaction in English, but Pedro responds in Spanish, the language of his workbook, and asks if it is okay for him to read in Spanish. Mr. Smith *mirrors* Pedro's language choice and responds in Spanish joking that he could read it in Chinese, a language that is not spoken in the classroom. This statement playfully demonstrates Mr. Smith's classroom language policy that students can draw on any linguistic resource for academic work.

Despite having asked if he could read it in Spanish, Pedro reads the problem in English. Pedro's choice to read it in English might have been to demonstrate his competency in English. Mr. Smith responds to him in English, again mirroring Pedro's language choice. Pedro codeswitches to answer the more cognitively difficult question. Pedro shifts between Spanish and English two times including pauses indicating his cognitive processing. Pedro is engaging in translanguaging both by accessing his full linguistic repertoire and making meaning. Mr. Smith mirror's Pedro's language choice again. In the following turns, Mr. Smith switches between Spanish and English specifically for the

purpose of vocabulary development. He translates the statement for Javier, the recent Honduran immigrant, to make sure he has access to the discussion and can build his content-based English vocabulary.

Discussion

There was no explicit language separation in Mr. Smith's instructional approach. He purposefully drew on his full linguistic repertoire for different instructional strategies, such as his use of cognate charts and improvised songs in both languages, as well as to engage students, mirror and validate students' language choices, and allow recent immigrants in his classroom access to the content. Mr. Smith translated when it seemed necessary and appropriate, and infused daily math and science content lessons with language instruction. He explicitly and constantly made linguistic connections including drawing students' attention to language to help their acquisition in both languages, like stopping in the middle of a math problem to explain a vocabulary word.

Mr. Smith's approach reflected CLA in his conscious and deliberate attention to language variation (Alim, 2010). He not only created spaces for students to draw on their full language repertoires, but also capitalized on students' language practices for instructional purposes including developing students' awareness of language variation. Mr. Smith said to Javier (the recently arrived student from Honduras) "*qué cheveré* [how cool]," a vernacular expression in Honduran Spanish similar to "*qué chido*" in Mexican Spanish. Mr. Smith intentionally brought both varieties into the classroom and directly taught his students about the linguistic variation, adding linguistic tools to his students' repertoires for linguistically and culturally diverse interactions.

Mr. Smith engaged in other instructional strategies that created opportunities for students to develop CLA (Alim 2010; Martínez, 2003). He brought in additional languages including the radiotelephony spelling alphabet and sign language illustrated in the vignette above. Mr. Smith also taught students phrases based on languages spoken by students in his class. Over the years, he taught students phrases in German and Bosnian. Perhaps most unique about Mr. Smith's instructional approach was his use of language practices along the standard-vernacular continuum. Mr. Smith did not simply mix Spanish and English, he intentionally used expressions, slang, and vernacular forms of both English and Spanish. For example, several of the colloquial expressions that Mr. Smith used in his class were ones that teachers might typically "correct" (i.e., *la neta*/for realz). These were purposeful and strategic language practices on Mr. Smith's part; he explained it was a way to engage his students, make them laugh, or provide some comedic relief during cognitively demanding academic tasks (including mandated standardized test preparation).

The benefit of allowing students to use their full linguistic repertoires became visible as they engaged in cognitively demanding math problem solving. Swain

(2006) first referred to this as *languaging,* or the process of using language to gain and make knowledge. The extension of languaging, or knowledge building and sense making across languages, is *translanguaging* (García, 2009), which emphasizes the flexible, dynamic and transformative nature of this process (Li, 2011). As a meaning making process, translanguaging is multisensory, multimodal, multi-semiotic and multilingual (Li, 2016). Lisel, Javier and Pedro, all at different points on the bilingual continua (Hornberger, 2002), used distinct language practices (verbal and non-verbal) to explain how they solved a math problem to the entire class. Lisel engaged predominantly in English, yet naturally codeswitched into Spanish when she appeared to be thinking ([*este, lo de*, um]) before articulating her conclusion in English ([we can put a seven]). Similarly, Pedro chose to read the math problem in English, but codeswitched to Spanish when he engaged in the more cognitively challenging task of explaining how he got the answer. Javier used body language to engage in the classroom. Mr. Smith did not require him to speak in either language, as Javier was still learning classroom routines and how to engage in the complex discourse pattern of explaining how to solve a math problem. In every case, the different language practices were tools to engage and solve the problem.

Classroom Two: Ms. Casillas

Ms. Casillas teaches second grade in a historically Mexican-American neighborhood in San Antonio. The school uses a transitional bilingual education (TBE) model through grade 3, and though all the students in her group of 13 are classified as LEP (limited English proficient) some prefer English, and codeswitching is common. The room is decorated with brightly colored Mexican tissue paper cutouts, painted clay skeletons and wooden animals, papier-mâché deer masks, and trinkets Ms. Casillas collected from her travels in Mexico. During 26 years as an educator, she has amassed a collection of hundreds of bilingual books, and the posters covering the walls are variously in Spanish or English. After doing the Pledge of Allegiance and the Pledge to the Texas Flag in English, she settles the class down and begins her language arts lesson, discussing a story the students began in Spanish yesterday. As they reread the story, Ms. Casillas pauses to check their comprehension of the problem of the story, that the main character has no bowl to eat her soup:

CASILLAS: *Dice "un plato llano"… ¿qué quiere decir plato llano? ¿Cómo es?* [It says "a flat plate"… what does it mean, a flat plate? How is it?]

ITZEL: *Redondo* [round].

YOLANDA: (referring to picture) *Ovelado* (ovalado) [oval {sic}].

TEACHER: *Sí, pero ¿qué clase de plato necesitas para la sopa? ¿Un plato plano?* [Yes, but what kind of plate do you need for soup? A flat plate?]

JONATAN: [excited] *No, ¡necesita un* bowl*!* [No, he needs a bowl!]

CASILLAS: *Sí, necesitas un tazón.* [Yes, you need a bowl.]
OTHER STUDENTS: *Ahhh … ¡tazón!*

Jonatan, who is a strong bilingual student but prefers English, figures out the problem the protagonist faces and uses the English word *bowl* to convey the problem to the rest of the class. While keeping the lesson almost entirely in Spanish, Ms. Casillas encourages the students to use any and all of their linguistic resources to help students understand. Besides providing instruction in the students' L1, the school's TBE program has no explicit language policy about whether or not languages need to be separated. She admitted that she doesn't "always do a really good job keeping the languages separated like I should." However, while her Spanish does have features that clearly marks her as a Tejana speaker of the local South Texas variety of Spanish, she makes a conscious effort to model what she considers standard, academic Spanish as best as she is able across the content areas. She usually does not insist that the students do the same, and generally the students' languaging moves fairly fluidly across languages, reflecting the students' own home variety. Later that morning, the teacher pauses the language arts lesson so the children can participate in the mock election for the upcoming gubernatorial campaign (current Secretary of Energy Rick Perry was running for re-election as governor at the time). The children were to have discussed the candidates with their parents, and so Ms. Casillas asks the students who they are planning to vote for and why:

MIGUELA: I don't want Rick Perry anymore because I found out he's mean.
TEACHER: *¿Por qué?* [Why?]
MIGUELA: *Mi mamá me dijo.* [My mom told me.]
TEACHER: *¿Qué te dijo?* [What did she tell you?]
MIGUELA: *Que Rick Perry dice que está bien que nos paren y luego si no tienes tus papeles te van a mandar pa'trás, de donde vinistes.* [That Rick Perry says that it's okay for them to stop us and then if you don't got your papers they're gonna send you back, where you cames [sic] from.]
DOLORES: That's true, *mi mamá* said that too.

The students' language is marked as Spanglish is several ways, including features such as intrasentential codeswitching (*mi mamá* said that too), a calque (*mandar pa'atrás* = to send back), and a marker of rural/non-standard Mexican Spanish (*vinistes*); these features are discussed below. Again, while Casillas models a variety of standard Mexican Spanish, she rarely comments on their vernacular language use. Instead, she explains that her goal is to get the children engaged, and that not restricting or forcing them to use any particular variety allows them to better express their ideas. During the mock election discussion, she explained her purpose was to stress the importance of civic engagement, to have them talking about why they should take seriously the duty to vote for leaders. She said she

was pleased with how thoughtful the children had been (even though she had not clarified that Miguela mixed up the 2010 Arizona SB 1070 anti-immigrant law with the Texas governor's position).

Back in language arts class, the teacher is working from a big book (see Figure 9.1) on a lesson about compound words in Spanish like *paraguas* [umbrella] and *anteojos* [glasses]. However, the lesson soon took a turn:

TEACHER: *¿Qué quiere decir tomar el sol?* [What does it mean to sunbathe? (literally, to drink the sun)]

VIRGINIA: *Porque es como* you're drinking it. [Because it's like you're drinking it.]

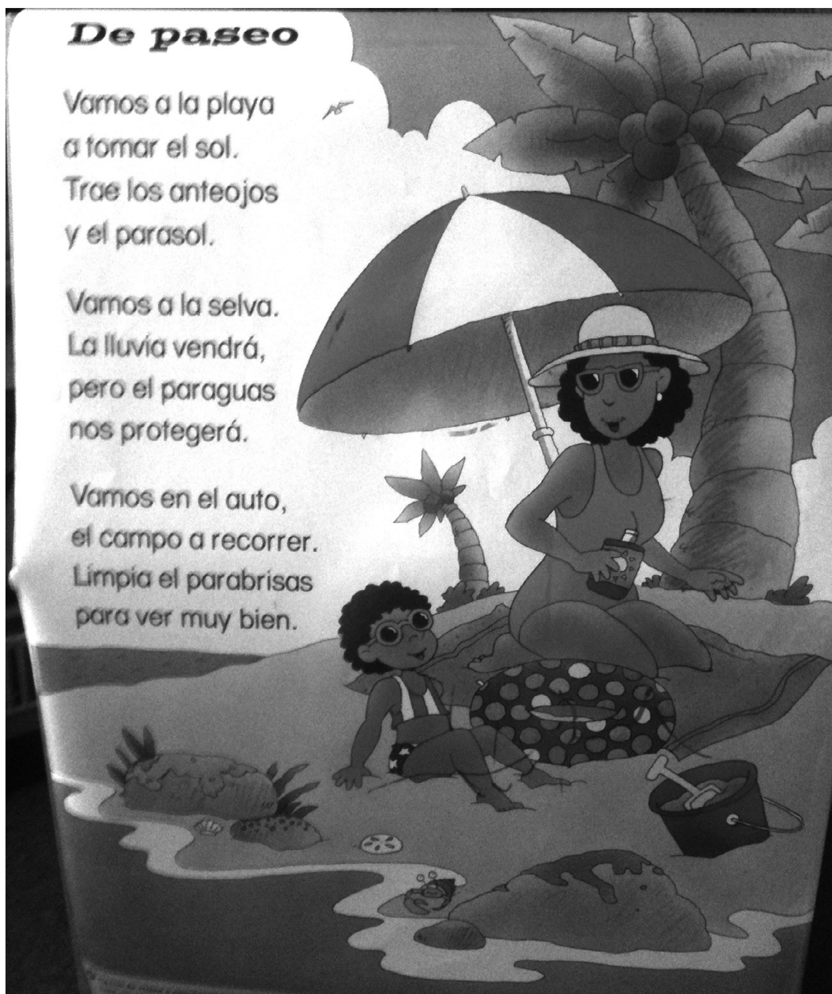

FIGURE 9.1 Teacher leading a lesson on compound words from a big book.

The discussion continues, and teacher introduces the word *broncear* [to tan]. Several turns later:

DOLORES: *Es algo que no lo hacemos.* [It's something we don't do.]
TEACHER: *¿Y por qué no salimos a broncear?* [Why don't we go out to tan?]
DOLORES: *Te hace como cafecito.* [It like makes you get a little browner.]
MATEO: *Mi mamá no le gusta que yo sea moreno, más moreno.* [My mother doesn't like me to get dark-skinned, more dark-skinned.]Several children agreed that their mothers did not let them play in the sun either. Ms. Casillas let a few more talk, before interjecting:
TEACHER: Los blancos tiene que salir a tomar el sol porque ese color es hermoso. Nosotros no tenemos que tomar el sol porque ya tenemos ese color. Pero los blancos sí, porque quieren ser como nosotros. [The Whites have to go out to sunbathe because this color (points to her arm) is beautiful. We don't have to sunbathe because we're already this color. But the Whites do, because they want to be like us.]

In the lesson, Ms. Casillas had paused to check the students' comprehension of the term *tomar el sol*. Virginia uses a common technique of relating the word back to her knowledge of English and using translation and codeswitching to explain and demonstrate her understanding ("it's like you're drinking [the sun]"). However, a few turns later Dolores interjects a seemingly innocuous side comment, that sunbathing is "something we don't do." This comment likely voices the 8-year-old student's perception that the image in from the book of Latinos taking a trip to the beach is incongruous with her lived experiences. Despite the skin color of the characters in picture, the suggestion that a mother would purposively allow a child to lie around the beach with her skin exposed in order to get a suntan represents a cultural model that fits more with Anglos. Ms. Casillas immediately picks up on this use of an inclusive "we" to reference Latino identity and uses it as an opportunity for a teachable moment, asking the child to extend her comment.

Discussion

It was important, Ms. Casillas felt, not to "let it slide" when these teachable moments presented themselves, because she considered it part of her job to actively defend the children in the bilingual program from the stigma attached to being a "Spanish kid," as the "English kids" referred to them. The previous day, in the cafeteria, she had overheard another Latino second grader from the English-medium class say to Carla, one of her girls, "What are you looking at, chocolate milk?" She had immediately confronted the boy, and pointed out that, in fact, he was the same color as she was. Therefore, while Ms. Casillas said that she tried her best to be a good language model by speaking "proper" Spanish, she felt

that it was perhaps even more important to be a good model as a Latina who was proud of her ethnicity and heritage. She pointed to the sunbathing and chocolate milk incidents as examples of how, even though the school was 98% Latino, kids who spoke Spanish were perceived as being more brown, and that being darker was seen as a problem.

In this sense, she saw herself as a (bi)cultural agent in the classroom and school. This extended to her extracurricular work, such as organizing a tamale party (common Mexican dish made of corn dough) or setting up a large and elaborate Day of the Dead altar in the hallway (traditional Mexican celebration for All Souls Day). The contradiction is that although she was keenly aware of how the children's identities as Latinos were marginalized, she was less in tune with how the processes of marginalization manifested through language. While she usually allowed the children linguistic free reign, she herself expressed linguistic insecurity about her own language, and admitted that she did not feel that she was a particularly strong language model for the children, because she herself had not been schooled in Spanish. At various times she called herself a "heritage speaker of Spanish" or a "Spanglish speaker." She herself had entered school in Texas in the 1960s as a monolingual Spanish speaker, but "there was no such thing as bilingual ed back then," and by fourth grade she had become more dominant in English.

Now as a bilingual teacher, even at the second grade level, she frequently encountered academic vocabulary that she did not know how to translate into Spanish, particularly in math and science, such as how to say *a school of fish* or *balance beam scale*. She had also been told in her college Spanish classes (where, ironically, she had had to study Spanish as a foreign language in order to be bilingual certified) that she did not conjugate verbs entirely correctly, did not know rules for accent marks or spelling, and would mix inappropriate colloquial expressions into her formal written work. Hence, on the one hand she resisted strongly the positioning of her students in the transitional bilingual program as remedial or less capable because they were Spanish speakers; she often reminded them of the purpose for being in the bilingual program by saying "We need to be bilingual because our families are from Mexico, and we will always speak Spanish, but we are Americans too so that's why we speak both." On the other hand, she had largely internalized the ideologies of standard language and language separation, which manifest as the concern that her Spanish was not really "good enough" to be a good bilingual teacher.

Translanguaging Linguistic Features and Critical Language Awareness

Both vignettes in Mr. Smith and Ms. Casillas's classrooms illustrate that the language practices in bilingual classrooms include not only standard or academic English and Spanish, but also a range possibilities in between.[1] Labeling or considering emerging bilingual students in South Texas as L1 speakers of Spanish obscures the fact that the

putative home language is often not standard, monolingual Spanish. Instead, the home language of many Latino communities in the US is better understood as a mixed vernacular. As Hornberger's (2002) continua of biliteracy model reminds us, language varieties are not fixed and stable, but rather can be described across various dimensions that shift over time.

As such, translanguaging is a useful concept to discuss and make sense of the language practices and meaning-making processes of bilingual students. Translanguaging is not only the movement from Spanish to English, although it does include codeswitching in the traditional sense, and like earlier codeswitching research, recognizes that language mixing follows grammatical rules just like monolingual language (Poplack, 1980; Zentella, 1997; Chapter 1, this volume). We would also note that for many of the students in Mr. Smith's and Ms. Casillas's classrooms, we should not think of translanguaging as the movement from the L1 to the L2, since the simple dichotomy of "first language" and "second language" is problematic for many emergent bilingual students given the nature of their early bilingualism. Translanguaging also entails movements from standard to vernacular ("*la neta*" for the correct answer), across varieties of the "same" language (Honduran and Mexican expressions), and even across identity positions (making sense of cultural practices such as sunbathing on the beach or dealing with police stops as a Latino living in the US). We embrace an understanding of translanguaging that does not imply a single language system, but rather an evolving meaning-making repertoire with multiple systems and constant movement across different, intersecting, and continuously evolving linguistic and cultural conventions.

Building from this perspective, translanguaging practices were prevalent in both classrooms, but with different instantiations and appearance. The first teacher, Mr. Smith, had a strong command of both registers, and often fluently mixed not only languages but also standard and vernacular forms, such as when he commented that the student is an "*expertazo de tablas*" or to find "*la neta*" answer. His students similarly shifted between languages, registers and dialects for interaction and meaning making, for example Pedro's answer to the posed math question, "*Este* … You have to circle the … u:h … u:h … *entre*." Ms. Casillas was less confident about her standard Spanish, but also less comfortable about speaking colloquial Spanish, although she sometimes referred to herself as "a native speaker of Spanglish." She strictly separated her languages, which is arguably still a form of translanguaging, but a non-stigmatized practice. Her motive for allowing students to engage in a variety of language practices was connected to student identity formation and her effort to value their ethnic and cultural backgrounds. She actively sought out instructional moments for critical reflection on issues of class and race, embracing linguistic variation as a resource for dialogue, and opening up space for Miguela's comment, "*te van a mandar pa'trás, de donde vinistes* [they're gonna send you back, where you cames [*sic*] from]," and Dolores's response, "That's true, *mi mamá* said that too." Either way, each classroom

included discursive spaces for children to use translanguaging to mediate their learning of both content and language.

This does not, however, imply that the teachers' classrooms were spaces where language use was random and devoid of intentionality. In fact, Mr. Smith and Ms. Casillas were very attentive to how they and their students used language, and when to model or push students to use academic language, and when to encourage linguistic flexibility. This attention to and management of standard and vernacular forms is the enactment of teacher CLA (Alim, 2010). Although the concept of translanguaging and a translanguaging pedagogical framework does not focus on analyzing linguistic features per se, we would argue that teachers who have developed greater CLA will be able to use translanguaging pedagogy more effectively.

CLA includes the recognition of how features index particular social identities. That is to say, how speakers mark themselves by the way they use language. Codeswitching is clearly a marker; however, in our data we noted that inter-sentential codeswitching, an alternation of languages at sentence boundaries, is generally not viewed as language mixing. This type of codeswitching is therefore not marked or stigmatized, because it is usually not seen as "violating" the separation of languages. Other types of mixing are seen as more problematic and tend be more heavily stigmatized, as in Examples 1–3 (from the vignettes):

1. *Porque es como* you're drinking it.
2. *Se está convirtiendo en un expertazo de tablas.*
3. *si no tienes tus papeles te van a mandar pa'trás, de donde vinistes*

Example 1 is an intrasentential switch at a clause boundary. Example 2 adds an emphatic suffix *-azo* to the noun "expert," which is common colloquial Mexican Spanish, where a *golazo* in soccer is a "super goal". Example 3 includes a calque, or the imposition of English grammar on the Spanish phrase, since Spanish does not have phrasal verbs but *pa'atrás* functions as a particle, equivalent of "send back" in English. Example 3 also includes a non-standard conjugation of the verb *vinistes*; the additional of -s in the second person preterit is feature of rural Mexican Spanish.

However, from a CLA perspective, we would argue that for teachers the specific details of the linguistic features are less important than their development of metalinguistic or multilingual awareness (Alim, 2010). What an understanding or awareness of the features does serve to accomplish is to debunk key misconceptions about translanguaging. First, that translanguaging is not just the haphazard mixing of languages;[2] it serves particular and powerful linguistic, social and pedagogical purposes (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; García et al., 2017; Palmer et al., 2014). Second, that translanguaging is not detrimental to the acquisition of standard language; it serves as a means for students to access standard language and content (Sayer, 2013). Finally, that translanguaging does not need to be taught to

students; bilingual students translanguage in everyday interactions in and out of school, and translanguaging pedagogy merely recognizes and tries to validate students' natural language practices and multifaceted meaning-making processes (Li, 2016).

Teacher Identity, Translanguaging Pedagogy, and Language Ideologies

Each teacher approached her or his own bilingualism differently according to their identities, which was reflected in the distinct ways the teachers' translanguaging pedagogical approach manifested at the classroom level. As a white, male, native English-speaker, Mr. Smith did not experience discrimination based on his use of non-standard language practices including Spanglish. Rather, Mr. Smith recognized that he was praised for his knowledge of any Spanish. He self-described himself as a "true linguaphile," and this identity was constantly ratified and co-constructed through interactions involving approval of his bilingual abilities. In this way, his positive view on language mixing was safer, and not entwined with historical linguistic oppression as is the case for speakers from distinct subject positionings including Latinos and non-native English speakers (Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999; Zentella, 1997).

In this sense, teachers' translanguaging practices are always implicated with language ideology, the beliefs and values we attach to languages, varieties, and language practices, which often become reified as our common sense understandings of "just the way things are." In the United States, language ideologies are historically constructed, and attach our valuations of certain languages and linguistic features to our ideas about groups of people (Lippi-Green, 2012). Judgments about a person's intelligence and worth are often shaped by an accent or grounded in a standard language ideology, which exerts a strong assimilationist pressure on speakers of languages and dialects with less status or power. On the other hand, Mr. Smith's translanguaging approach reflected his pluralist language ideology: the notion that language and cultural diversity is an inherently good thing and should be recognized, validated and nurtured.

Mr. Smith directly communicated his classroom language policy to his students and their ability to engage in diverse language practice. He reinforced this language policy at different points during instruction, for example, responding to Pedro's question, "*¿En Español? Porque aquí está en español.* [In Spanish? Because here it's in Spanish.]" by saying, "*en chino si quieres* [in Chinese if you want]." He also embodied his pluralist ideology by engaging in language practices along the Spanish–English and standard-vernacular continuums and directly teaching his students about language variation. However, we reiterate that as a White male who was recognized by colleagues as being highly proficient in the standard varieties of both languages as well as Spanglish, Mr. Smith personally had to risk very little in his enthusiasm for language mixing.

We view Ms. Casillas's translanguaging approach as distinct from Mr. Smith's. As described above, Ms. Casillas, at times, viewed her own language practices through a deficit lens, the result of her internalization of the standard language ideology from her lived experiences as a Tejana from a Spanish-speaking home. While she articulated this linguistic belief, she simultaneously recognized ethnic, racial and cultural discrimination and self-identified as a social justice educator committed to empowering her students. She described her recollections as a Spanish-speaking student in South Texas in the 1960s having to pay into the "nickel jar" whenever she spoke Spanish in class, or losing her recess time for speaking Spanish on the playground. In Ms. Casillas's classroom, this ideological perspective guided her actions and decision-making, for example, by allowing students to engage in hybrid language practices, seizing teachable moments, and never "letting it go." Thus, Ms. Casillas's translanguaging approach and her acceptance and valuing of students' diverse language practices manifested from her sense of herself as a (bi)cultural agent.

Translanguaging is therefore both a descriptive label of the bilingual practices and sense-making going on in classrooms we have profiled, as well as a pedagogical approach where teachers purposefully try to enact a pluralist language ideology. We recognize that the options teachers have to take up translanguaging pedagogy will invariably be shaped by the teacher's own identity and the sociohistorical context of her or his school and classroom. We also recognize that "translanguaging" is the (etic) label that we as researchers applied to what we observed, not how they themselves talked about their own teaching approach. In both cases, our discussions with the teachers as we did on-going ethnographic research with them – critical and reflective discussions about their students' language practices – strengthened both the researchers' and teachers' understandings of how to employ translanguaging more strategically and effectively. The cases we have presented represent two possibilities for translanguaging pedagogy, but we concur with Li (2011) that the development of true "translanguaging spaces" (p. 1223) depends on continued classroom-based work with teachers.

Implications for Dual-Language and Bilingual Education

This chapter supports current research in support of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach in bilingual education. Based on ethnographic work in two classrooms, we have attempted to show the usefulness of such a framework for educational contexts such as South Texas, in which the local language variety is a mixed vernacular. We understand these language practices along a Spanish–English *and* standard-vernacular continuum. Even within language mixing there exists language practices that are more or less stigmatized (Zentella, 1997). Teachers who embrace a translanguaging pedagogical approach must value language practices across *both* continua.

In Mr. Smith's and Ms. Casilla's classrooms, students were able to engage in translanguaging. They did this in both visible ways through their language practices done through the local variety and use of vernacular features, and through less apparent ways including sense-making and cognitive processing. Both teachers capitalized on their students' translanguaging for different purposes including language development, meaning making, and identity construction. Beyond this core value of a translanguaging approach, our work demonstrates how the context combined with the teacher's identity and ideologies will result in nuanced meanings and appearances at the local level. Mr. Smith and Ms. Casillas engaged in a translanguaging approach, but from distinct perspectives: Mr. Smith as a "linguaphile" and Ms. Casillas as a cultural agent. A translanguaging pedagogical approach includes fostering both bilingual and bicultural development.

It is important to re-emphasize that the student population was important in the development of these spaces; the students in our contexts were entering school bilingual and bicultural. In other words, these were simultaneous bilinguals rather than sequential bilinguals, which requires a paradigm shift. In these contexts specifically, we need to move away from sequential bilingual models and establish new practices based on simultaneous bilingual students' needs. Teachers must be equipped with tools and strategies to flip the narrative on the most stigmatized language practices. This can begin with teachers ideologically embracing a translanguaging approach.

Clearly, translanguaging pedagogy is not a recipe or method for carrying out classroom interactions. The language mixing these teachers and students engaged in cannot be scripted. It arises naturally in interactions in bilingual classrooms, and is part of the knowledge construction and sense making that emergent bilingual students do. For teachers, however, they should recognize that translanguaging represents an important challenge to the conventional language boundaries, and to the linguistic order inscribed by standard language ideologies, order that Zentella (2016) has referred to as the "linguistic border patrol" or *language migra*. The history of bilingual education, while it has been instrumental in addressing serious issues of educational access and equity for Latino students, has often unwittingly reinforced the language hierarchy, and contributed to stigmatization and sense of linguistic insecurity of heritage speakers of vernacular varieties of Spanish in the United States. Indeed, current models of bilingual education prescribing to the strict separation of languages and discouraging language mixing continue to often foster oppressive school environments.

Teacher preparation and professional development can expose pre-service and in-service teachers to the concepts of CLA and translanguaging to re-orient pedagogical practices that value, embrace and utilize linguistic variation. Specifically, while it is not necessary for teachers to be able to name all of the different linguistic features of bilingual language practices, teachers do need to have an *awareness* of them. Translanguaging is a relatively new and evolving concept, presenting an opportunity for the co-construction of pedagogical practices with developing pre-service teachers and experienced teachers such as Mr. Smith and Ms. Casillas.

Moving forward, in order for a translanguaging pedagogical approach to be systemic, we need to re-visit the radical race roots of bilingual education and re-envision bilingual education models that are not premised on strict language separation, but rather are grounded in the empowerment of students engaging in language practices on the margins from marginalized communities.

Notes

1 The teachers often referred to "academic language," and in Ms. Casillas's case, to the use of "good Spanish." For convenience sake, we have kept the terms here. What the teachers refer to as academic language in their classrooms is a form legitimate language (Bourdieu, 1991) that is recognized in school settings as a standard variety. In Texas, this is based on a monolingual norm of standard Mexican Spanish.

2 We acknowledge that this point was part of the early focus of code-switching researchers, to show that code-switches obey grammatical constraints like any other language (e.g. Zentella, 1997, among others), and part of a larger agenda of early sociolinguists such as William Labov to make the case that vernaculars, like African American Vernacular, are just as rule-governed as standard varieties.

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10

CHICANX AND LATINX STUDENTS' LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRES

Moving Beyond Essentialist and Prescriptivist Perspectives

Ramón A. Martínez and Danny C. Martinez

At Eastside Middle School in a major metropolitan area in southern California, sixth graders Teresita and Alina had just finished lunch and were walking to their fifth period English Language Arts classroom. Along the way, they passed the school's lunchtime "detention area," where their classmate Caroline was seated. As they walked by, Caroline joined them, and the following interaction ensued:

CAROLINE: (to Alina and Teresita) Hello.
ALINA: Hi, Caroline!
TERESITA: (to Caroline) *Ya nada más te falta* one day, huh?
CAROLINE: Two.
ALINA: Of what?
CAROLINE: Detention.

Caroline went on to explain that she had gotten detention for wearing jeans to school. She and her two classmates began discussing the school's behavior and discipline policies as they made their way back to the classroom. At one point, they passed a student who was spoon-feeding another student at one of the lunch tables. Caroline motioned to them and commented, "*Así le da de comer mi* mom *a mi* nephew." Teresita and Alina laughed. In the few remaining minutes of the passing period, Caroline, Teresita, and Alina continued to engage in casual conversation, moving flexibly, and in seemingly effortless fashion, between English and Spanish as they did so.

On the other side of town, Ms. Birch was preparing to teach a science mini-lesson to the Kindergarten and first grade students in her Spanish–English dual language classroom at Central Bilingual School. Once all 20 of her students were seated on the rug in front of her, Ms. Birch produced two clear plastic cups. One

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-13

was filled with wood shavings and the other was filled with sawdust. Plutarco asked, "Are we gonna eat that?" Julio responded: "*No somos* hamsters." Karla then turned towards Julio and said, "Imagine we are hamsters." Laughter ensued. Ms. Birch then explained in Spanish that they were going to do an experiment. She asked students to predict what would happen if she filled each of the cups with water. As she did this, Linda walked around and distributed cups of sawdust to her classmates. When Karla received her cup of sawdust, she noted: "It's yellow. It's yellow. *Se mira como cebolla.*" Julio smelled his cup and added: "*¡Huele feo*, man!" As the students waited to receive their cups of wood shavings, they continued to talk informally among themselves, blurring the supposed linguistic boundaries between Spanish and English.

At Willow High School (WHS), located just a few miles away from the two schools previously mentioned, Joe was speaking to Danny prior to a scheduled semi-formal interview. The interview took place immediately after Joe's senior presentation where he and two of his peers presented their senior research projects to a panel of WHS faculty. Joe revealed that he wore a suit on this day because students were asked to dress "professionally." He also reported that his suit was new, recently purchased by his mother to wear to his grandmother's funeral. In the following transcript Joe uses reported speech to convey a narrative account of incidents leading up to his grandmother's death. In the following transcript, Joe recounts the words of his mother and grandmother, as he understands them, during their final conversation.

JOE: She (his mother) was like oh *qué hace* (to his grandmother) and she (grandmother) was like *nada mija* (mother) *aquí esperando mi raite* and then ah *ya llegó su* ride (grandmother's ride) and my mom was eating too and she was like oh okay *se despidieron* and so that day she (grandmother) went to work and then *regresó* the next day which was Friday and then at four in the morning she laid down and then I heard that the lady that gives her a ride home in the *madrugada* she said that something was wrong with her cause she was crying but she asked her and then she said nothing was wrong with her she was just crying and then she was like are you sure

Joe's narrative highlights his repertoire of languages, which is fluid, drawing on a range of his practices to communicate his family's loss. A few minutes later, Joe and I began to discuss his views on language. He told me that he often made fun of his Latino friends who did not speak Spanish. Joe remarked that many times, he would say things in "Salvadoran" to further confuse his peers.

JOE: When I make fun of them *I be* talking to them like Salvadoran
A2: ahh
JOE: or telling them Salvadoran words and sometimes *they be like* "what what is that"

Throughout the interview, Joe seamlessly deployed his linguistic resources to communicate.

Although the students in the preceding examples represent different points along the K–12 spectrum and different points along the continua of bilingualism and biliteracy, they all share one thing in common—they are all Chicanx and Latinx.[1] In schools throughout the United States, Chicanx and Latinx children and youth draw on diverse and expansive linguistic repertoires that often include multiple languages, dialects, registers, and styles. As the examples above reveal, in addition to being bi/multilingual and *bi/multidialectal* (i.e., speaking two or more dialects), these students often combine or mix these language varieties in their everyday speech—a linguistic phenomenon that has been described using terms such as codeswitching, codemixing, hybrid language practices, style-shifting, and translanguaging. In this chapter, we explore the linguistic dexterity and flexibility of Chicanx and Latinx students, and we situate this exploration within ongoing scholarly discussions about the nature of bi/multilingualism and bi/multidialectalism. Drawing on data from our respective ethnographic studies in diverse urban classrooms, we highlight the dynamic nature of students' everyday language practices, contrasting these practices with essentialist ideas about how Chicanx and Latinx students *do* speak and with prescriptivist notions about how they *should* speak. We further examine the various—and often contested—terms used by both scholars and speakers to name these dynamic language practices, and we discuss these terms in relation to competing ideologies and theoretical perspectives.

Chicanx/Latinx Students and Linguistic Dexterity

The vignettes that we shared above, which come from schools in three different communities in the same major metropolitan area in southern California, begin to provide a glimpse of the linguistic flexibility of Chicanx and Latinx children and youth. Again, these examples are from different program types (i.e., English immersion/English only vs. dual language), and the students featured represent different points along the K–12 spectrum and along the continua of bilingualism and bi-literacy. This diversity of contexts, experiences, and characteristics contrasts sharply with essentialist and prescriptivist perspectives that frame Chicanx and Latinx students as monolithic. Examining these examples of bilingual speech more closely can help us better understand the dynamic nature of these students' everyday language practices.

Eastside Middle School

If we return to the opening vignette from Eastside Middle School, for example, we see three sixth grade students engaged in a dynamic bilingual conversation:

01	Caroline:	(to Alina and Teresita) Hello.
02	Alina:	Hi, Caroline!
03	Teresita:	(to Caroline) *Ya nada más te falta* one day, huh?
04	Caroline:	Two.
05	Alina:	Of what?
06	Caroline:	Detention.

Caroline initiates the conversation above by greeting her two classmates in English in line 01. Although Alina responds to her in English (in line 02), Teresita switches to Spanish for the beginning of her utterance in line 03. Teresita's question ("*Ya nada más te falta* one day, huh?") is an example of what linguists have historically called Spanish–English codeswitching. Gumperz (1982) defined codeswitching as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (p. 59). Similarly, Milroy and Muysken (1995) define codeswitching as "the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation" (p. 7). As the other chapters in this volume make clear, codeswitching is a linguistic phenomenon that has received a great deal of interdisciplinary scholarly attention over the past several decades. Although scholars have approached the study of codeswitching from diverse methodological and theoretical perspectives, they have universally agreed that it is a normal and intelligent expression of bilingualism (Gumperz, 1982; Lance, 1975; MacSwan, 1999, Chapter 1 [this volume]; Poplack, 1981).

Teresita's utterance in line 03 is an example of *intra*sentential codeswitching—or mixing languages within the sentence or phrase boundary. She begins her utterance in Spanish ("*Ya nada más te falta* …") before switching to English ("… one day, huh?") within the same sentence. This kind of codeswitching can be distinguished from *inter*sentential codeswitching—or mixing languages across sentences (even if within the same interaction). As some scholars have noted, intrasentential codeswitching is characteristic of the speech of many balanced and proficient simultaneous bilinguals when they engage in conversation with other bilingual speakers (Poplack, 1980; Toribio, 2004). Although Teresita is the only student to codeswitch during this brief interaction, it is important to note that her two classmates demonstrate bilingual competence by responding to her codeswitched utterance. In other words, even though Alina and Caroline respond only in English, the fact that they respond appropriately and sustain the conversation reflects their comprehension of Spanish. In this way, their utterances, as much as Teresita's, contribute to the bilingual nature of this conversation.

Moreover, although Caroline does not codeswitch between English and Spanish within the space of this particular interaction, we see that she does proceed to do so shortly thereafter when commenting on the student that they observe spoon-feeding another student. Her utterance—"*Así le da de comer mi* mom *a mi* nephew"—is another example of intrasentential codeswitching. In this

example, Spanish is the matrix language into which two English lexical items ("mom" and "nephew") are inserted, resulting in a flow from Spanish to English to Spanish and then back again to English, all within the space of a single sentence. If we adopt a sequential approach (Auer, 1995) to examining this particular instance of codeswitching, we might interpret it as having been primed by Teresita's earlier instance of codeswitching ("*Ya nada más te falta* one day, huh?"). In other words, perhaps Teresita's intrasentential switching prompted Caroline's subsequent intrasentential switching. Although this is a compelling analysis, it is important to emphasize that we cannot explain this—or any other—example of codeswitching solely in relation to the details of the sequential organization of local talk. If we situate this instance of bilingual speech within the broader social and cultural contexts from which it emerged, then it becomes clear that our analysis must also necessarily include attention to multiple factors across time and space, including long-term interactional patterns. Although restrictive language policy has mandated an "English only" instructional model statewide, Spanish–English codeswitching is a typical feature of everyday conversation at Eastside Middle School, and students are exposed to these bilingual speech patterns on a regular basis. Knowledge of this bilingual context and the interactional patterns that obtain therein likely plays a role in motivating individual instances of codeswitching such as Caroline's above. Indeed, as one of Caroline's classmates suggested when asked to explain why she sometimes codeswitched in conversation with her friends, "It's like, cuz, you know two languages, and, like, they understand you, too."

It is worth mentioning here that the two lexical switches above were for words that Caroline knew in both languages. In other words, she was not engaging in what Zentella (1997) calls *crutch-like* switching or *crutching*—switching to one language because of a lexical gap in the other. The same is also true of the final three words of Teresita's codeswitched utterance above. She knew how to say "… *un día, ¿verdad?*" but chose to switch to English. Although an in-depth discussion of the possible motivations for these students' codeswitching is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to make two related points here. First, as Ramón has discussed elsewhere (Martínez, 2010), regardless of awareness, intentionality, or deliberation, these students' and their classmates' frequent codeswitching often served important communicative functions in the classroom and on the playground, including clarifying and/or reiterating utterances, quoting and/or reporting speech, conveying humor, communicating subtle nuances of meaning, shifting voices for different audiences, and indexing solidarity and/or intimacy. Second, in contrast to these valuable communicative functions, these students overwhelmingly attributed their codeswitching to lexical gaps and/or an overall lack of proficiency in one or both languages, invoking "deficit rationales" (Martínez, 2010). Such rationales are both constituted by and constitutive of dominant ideologies of monoglot purism that frame codeswitching in terms of deviance and deficiency, and the circulation of such ideologies at the societal,

community, and classroom levels serves to obscure the creativity, skill, and intelligence reflected in these students' everyday codeswitching (Martínez, 2013).

The dynamic and flexible combination of English and Spanish reflected in the examples above is not only the communicative norm in this classroom, but also in the community more broadly. Indeed, the area surrounding Eastside Middle School is home to one of the largest and oldest Chicanx communities in the United States. In addition to a well-established Chicanx population (including second, third, and fourth generation residents of Mexican ancestry, as well as those whose ancestors never crossed the current US-Mexico border, but have always resided on what is now the US side), the community also welcomes a regular influx of recent Latin American immigrants, primarily from Mexico. A wide continuum of bilingualism is on display in this community, and codeswitching and related linguistic phenomena are typical of everyday speech among many of its residents.

Central Bilingual School

Similar bilingual speech patterns, however, are also evident in other parts of this metropolitan area, including those with a slightly different demographic composition. The vignette from Central Bilingual School, for example, was documented in a community just west of the city's downtown area. An entry port for immigrants, this densely populated community is home to over 350,000 people. This is a less established and much more recent Latinx community than the one surrounding Eastside Middle School, and it is also somewhat more diverse. In addition to the Central American population, there is also a sizeable population of mixed Mexican and Central American families. Among the Mexican population, there is a fairly large Oaxacan population, including a sizeable indigenous population. Although Latinxs still represent a majority in this community, they are joined by immigrants from South Korea, the Philippines, Sudan, and various south Asian countries. Compared to Eastside Middle School, where 99% of the students are Latinx (and primarily Chicanx), the population of Central Bilingual School is 78% Latinx and 15% Asian, with the remaining 7% including African, Filipino, and African American students. Not surprisingly, the linguistic repertoires of Latinx students at this school reflect some of this diversity. In addition to speaking various regional Mexican and Central American dialects of Spanish, some of these students' linguistic repertoires also include bits of Korean, Tagalog, and Arabic, as well as features characteristic of Black Language[2] and indigenous Mexican and Central American languages, such as Zapoteco, Mixe, Mixteco, and Quiché.

To be sure, this is more than a bilingual speech environment. Nonetheless, English and Spanish are the two dominant languages, and some of the same bilingual speech patterns that we witnessed at Eastside Middle School are also on display here. If we return to a transcript of the interaction in Ms. Birch's classroom, for example, we see Kindergarteners and first graders moving flexibly and fluidly across Spanish and English within the context of a science mini-lesson:

(Ms. Birch produces two clear plastic cups, one filled with wood shavings and the other filled with sawdust.)

07	Plutarco:	Are we gonna eat that?
08	Julio:	*No somos* hamsters.
09	Karla:	*(to Julio)* Imagine we are hamsters.
10		*(Laughter from class)*

Like the first interaction at Eastside Middle School, this interaction begins in English. Plutarco asks (perhaps jokingly) in line 07 if they are going to eat the wood shavings and sawdust that Ms. Birch is holding up for them to inspect. Julio's response in line 08 begins in Spanish but then switches to English for the word "hamsters." Although the Spanish equivalent (*hámster*) is almost identical to the English word, Julio clearly draws on English phonology in his pronunciation here. Karla then responds entirely in English (in line 09), stressing the word "are" in her utterance. Similar to the interaction at Eastside Middle School, we see an interaction here that is characterized by a single codeswitched utterance. That Karla has comprehended Julio's codeswitched utterance is apparent from the appropriateness of her response, particularly her emphasis on the word "are."

Also like the example from Eastside Middle School, we see a bilingual student demonstrate bilingual competence by responding only in English, and then, shortly thereafter, we see that same student demonstrate bilingual competence by engaging in codeswitching. Recall that following this interaction, Ms. Birch explained in Spanish that the class was going to do an experiment. As another student distributed cups filled with sawdust to the class, Karla contributed some codeswitching of her own to the conversation:

11	Linda:	(Hands cup filled with sawdust to Karla.)
12	Karla:	It's yellow. It's yellow. *Se mira como cebolla.*
13	Julio:	¡*Huele feo*, man!

In this brief interaction, Karla describes the contents of her cup in both English and Spanish (in line 12). She first notes the color in English, and then switches to Spanish to say that it looks like an onion. Unlike the previous instances, this is an example of intersentential codeswitching, since Karla switches *between* sentences rather than within the sentence or phrase boundary. Julio then follows up with another intrasentential switch in line 13, noting that the contents of his cup smell bad. In this interactional strip, we see two consecutive instances of codeswitching from two different students. Karla and Julio draw flexibly on their bilingual repertoires to communicate and engage in meaning making within the context of a science mini-lesson that the teacher was facilitating entirely in Spanish. Taken together, this series of interactions showcases the dynamic nature of these students' everyday bilingualism.

Willow High School

At WHS, Joe and his peers shared a dynamic linguistic landscape, similar to those at Eastside Middle School and Central Bilingual School. What differed for Joe was his socialization in an intensely segregated Black and Latinx community. Joe lived and attended a school in a community that had, in the last 20 years, undergone intense demographic shifts. His community was once known as a Black community where approximately 80% of students at WHS were Black, and 20% Latinx. Like many predominantly Black communities throughout the US, Latinx immigration flows dynamically changed the racial and ethnic makeup of these communities (Pastor, de Lara & Scoggins, 2011). First Mexican immigrants made their way to small enclaves within predominately Black communities. Eventually additional Mexican and newer Central American immigrants soon followed making their way into these communities, particularly in the 1990s, when civil war and violence influenced the departure of many Latinx families from Central America to the US. Over time, while Blacks were no longer the majority population in these contexts, Latinx youth continued being heavily influenced by cultural and linguistic practices associated with Black communities (Paris, 2009). Danny documented various ways Latinx youth used language, and found that Black Language features were one of many linguistic tools that were a part of the linguistic repertoires of Latinx youth.

Joe represented one of many students who were not Mexican, but Salvadoran, Guatemalan, or Honduran among others. He was proud of being Salvadoran. Yet, Joe was also cognizant of and appreciative of what he learned from his Mexican and Black peers. During Joe's interview, he displayed his ability to codeswitch while revealing the details of his grandmother's death. Like the other students already profiled, Joe continuously shuttled between his varied Englishes and Spanishes to communicate his narrative. Joe, along with many Latinx youth at WHS, reported engaging in Spanish-English codeswitching, a practice further confirmed through fieldnotes and audio-recordings of interactions in English classrooms. Joe's interaction provides evidence of his peer language socialization (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011) in an intensely segregated Black and Latinx community, particularly as Joe's utterances index his socialization to and through Mexican and Black Language practices prominent at WHS and the larger community. In the reported speech offered by Joe, he immediately launches into the codeswitching and later style shifting into features of language associated with Black Language.

14 Joe: she (his mother) was like oh *qué hace* (to his grandmother)
15 and she (grandmother) was like *nada mija* (mother) *aquí esperando mi raite*
16 and then ah *ya llegó su* ride (grandmother's ride)
17 and my mom was eating too and she was like oh okay
18 *se despidieron* and so that day she (grandmother) went to work

19 and then *regresó* the next day which was Friday
20 and then at four in the morning she laid down
21 and then I heard the lady that gives her a ride home in the *madrugada*
22 she said that something was wrong with her cause she was crying
23 but she asked her and then she said nothing was wrong with her
24 she was just crying and then she was like are you sure

Similar to previous youth, Joe engaged in Spanish-English codeswitching. In line 14, Joe began speaking in English, "she (his mother) was like" and ended his sentence in Spanish with "*oh qué hace* (to his grandmother)." He continued in line 15 with "and she (grandmother) was like *nada mija* (mother) *aquí esperando mi raite*" following a similar structure where he spoke in English up until he reported the speech of his mother and grandmother, and switched to Spanish. We can also note that in line 15, Joe uttered the word *raite* to stand in for ride. This might be how his grandmother used the word, or perhaps, this was Joe's choice of word while narrating the interaction. Whichever may be true, what is significant here is that Joe's use of *raite*, an anglicization of the word ride, was deployed even though he uses the word "ride" in the following line 16 "and then ah *ya llegó su* ride (grandmother's ride)" when reporting his grandmother's words.

Joe's codeswitching is not limited to reported speech, however. He also engaged in codeswitching while narrating the story without reported speech. In lines 18 and 19 Joe states, "*se despidieron* and so that day she (grandmother) went to work and then *regresó* the next day which was Friday." While he does not employ his mother or grandmother's voice in this interaction, he begins his sentence in Spanish, "*se despidieron*" while continuing in English "and so that day she went to work and then" only to switch to Spanish with "*regresó*" only a few words later.

Within the larger interaction, and in other documented interactions involving Joe, he regularly deployed utterances that support notions of *language crossing* (Rampton, 1995) or *language sharing* (Paris, 2009). Joe consistently used language consistent with Black Language. Most consistent was his use of the habitual be, a feature scholars have argued is one of the hallmark features of Black Language (Alim, 2004; Paris, 2009; Smitherman, 2000). For example, after moving on from discussing his grandmother's death, Joe begins telling me about how he makes fun of his Latinx peers who do not speak Spanish.

25 Joe: When I make fun of them *I be* talking to them like Salvadoran
26 A2: ahh
27 Joe: or telling them Salvadoran words and sometimes *they be like* "what
28 what is that"

What is most interesting about this interaction is Joe's use of Black Language features in addition to his confident and unmarked naming of his language as

"Salvadoran." Joe provides a glimpse of how he and many of his Latinx peers engage in the kind of code- and style-shifting (Alim, 2004) that indexes their socialization to many kinds of Englishes and Spanishes. In line 25 and 26 Joe uses "*I be*" and "*they be*" rather than the dominant English usage of "I talk to them" or "they are often." Joe's use of these features indexes his own socialization into a community that might privilege Black Language practices. In a community like his, Black Language practices have a currency that often runs against schooling expectations of language.

Moving Beyond Essentialist and Prescriptivist Perspectives

As the examples above demonstrate, Chicanx and Latinx children and youth boast diverse and expansive linguistic repertoires that often include multiple languages, dialects, registers, and styles. We highlight the expansiveness of these linguistic repertoires in order to contrast them with dominant perspectives that frame Chicanx and Latinx students and their language practices in pejorative terms—as both deviant and deficient. In particular, we challenge essentialist ideas about how Chicanx and Latinx students *do* speak and prescriptivist ideas about how they *should* speak. These essentialist and prescriptivist perspectives are evident in the discourse and practice around improving academic achievement for Chicanx and Latinx students. For example, pervasive concerns with meeting and teaching to the Common Core State Standards (CCSS) and preparing students for high-stakes standardized tests have fueled teachers' efforts to help Chicanx and Latinx students cultivate *dominant* language practices—*standardized* ways of speaking, listening, reading, and writing that are often referred to as "Standard American English" or "academic English." Many of these teachers, we would argue, are motivated by a commitment to *expand* their students' existing linguistic repertoires—to add to what their students already know and do with language in ways that affirm and promote linguistic dexterity (Paris, 2009) and rhetorical competence (Guerra, 2012). In their efforts to expand Chicanx and Latinx students' linguistic repertoires, however, teachers often neglect to first explore those very same repertoires. Indeed, calls to provide Chicanx and Latinx students with dominant language practices are often grounded in assumptions about what they are—or are *not*—already doing with language. These assumptions, in turn, are often grounded in *raciolinguistic ideologies* (Flores & Rosa, 2015)—perspectives that "conflate certain racialized bodies with linguistic deficiency unrelated to any objective linguistic practices" (p. 150). Such ideologies are pervasive, and they get inscribed and enacted in educational policy and practice in ways that marginalize Chicanx and Latinx students.

Essentialist Perspectives

A pervasive assumption about Chicanx and Latinx students is that they do not speak English proficiently. In contrast to this essentialist—and essentializing—

assumption, the examples that we have shared in this chapter showcase very proficient English speakers. Among the students that we observed across these three schools, there were many who would likely be considered "English dominant," including some who spoke little or no Spanish. In fact, some of the students who engaged actively in bilingual conversations did so using only English. Recall, for example, that Karla's response to Julio's codeswitching ("Imagine we *are* hamsters.") was uttered entirely in English. On the face of it, it seems difficult to imagine anyone determining that Karla is not a proficient English speaker based solely on a reading of this transcript. However, underlying the assumption that Chicanx and Latinx students do not speak English proficiently are deeply rooted ideologies of *monoglot standard* (Silverstein, 1996) or what Lippi-Green (1997) calls *standard language ideology*—the belief that only one language corresponds to each nation state, and that there is a single correct way of speaking each national language. Those who subscribe to such ideologies might concede that Karla speaks English, but they might be just as quick to suggest that she does not speak "standard" English.

If someone subscribing to standard language ideologies were to listen to the audio recording of Karla's speech, for example, they might evaluate her English as being "non-standard." Although we would argue that the utterance in question contains features that do not at all deviate from what is considered "standard" American English syntax, we agree with Flores and Rosa (2015) that "raciolinguistic ideologies produce racialized subjects who are constructed as linguistically deviant even when engaging in linguistic practices positioned as normative or innovative when produced by privileged white subjects" (p. 150). To be sure, some of the linguistic features that we have described above (and some that we have not described) are characteristic of stigmatized and marginalized dialects of English (e.g., Joe's use of the *habitual be*). However, Karla's speech in this excerpt stands out as not including such features. And this is precisely the point: Even in the absence of empirical bases, Karla—and, for that matter, the other students featured in our examples above—might very easily be deemed speakers of "non-standard" English depending on who is doing the listening and what they expect to hear. One possible scenario whereby their English might be called into question involves the perception of accent. Because we know that accents are often *seen* instead of heard and that perceptions of race often mediate these processes (Rubin, 1992), the detection of a "Spanish" (or "Hispanic" or "Latino") accent is as much a matter of subjective perception as it is the result of empirical observation. When raciolinguistic ideologies mediate the evaluation of language proficiency in this way, subjective perceptions trump the presence standardized linguistic features. As Martin-Beltrán (2010) notes, this "perceived proficiency" is often socially constructed in classroom settings in ways that negatively impact Chicanx and Latinx students.

Closely related to the assumption that Chicanx and Latinx students do not speak English proficiently is the equally essentialist assumption that they do not

speak *Spanish* proficiently. Indeed, these two assumptions often work together to frame Chicanx and Latinx children and youth as *semi-lingual* or "*languageless*" (Rosa, 2018). As Rosa (2018) astutely observes, Chicanx and Latinx students are "expected to speak two languages but assumed to speak neither correctly" (p. 38). In contrast to these harmful and racist assumptions, we offer the examples above as evidence that these students are extremely proficient Spanish speakers. Among the students that we observed across these three schools, there were many students who would likely be considered "Spanish dominant." Although we do not include examples of extended monolingual speech in Spanish (or English), such instances certainly abound in our data. The reason that we do not showcase such data in this chapter is precisely because they strike us as less powerful examples of these students' bilingualism.

A related essentialist assumption is the notion that Chicanx and Latinx students only and/or always mix Spanish and English in their speech. Contrary to the assumption that students who codeswitch do so because they cannot speak in any other way—because they cannot "turn it off," so to speak—we have examples of these same students speaking only in English and only in Spanish with monolingual interlocutors for extended strips of talk. In addition, even the examples of bilingual interaction that we have shared above reveal that students who codeswitch, such as Caroline and Karla, do not *always* do so, and that they sometimes contribute to bilingual conversations by speaking only in one of the two languages. In other words, they can and do "turn it off" on occasion. The more important point, though, and one that seems as if it should go without saying, is that these students should not have to refrain from engaging in this dynamic and skillful bilingual practice in order to prove that they are bilingual. Indeed, this practice itself should be proof enough. It is worth emphasizing that most of the interactions during which we observed these students involved them talking with other bilinguals, and that the kinds of intrasentential codeswitching that we observed are precisely the kinds of codeswitching that are more characteristic of the speech of balanced and proficient simultaneous bilinguals when in conversation with other similarly balanced and proficient simultaneous bilinguals. Again, we argue that the examples of codeswitching above are powerful evidence that these students speak *both* Spanish and English, and that they do so skillfully and creatively.

Similarly, we argue that the examples of styleshifting, language crossing, and language sharing above constitute powerful evidence that these students are not only multilingual, but also multidialectal. Given that Black Language and the regional Mexican and Central American dialects that these students speak are systematically denigrated, we can see how standard language ideologies might frame the richness of these students' multidialectal repertoires as deviant and/or deficient. In contrast, we offer these examples as evidence of these students' expansive linguistic repertoires. Not only do they speak English and Spanish proficiently, they speak multiple varieties of both languages.

Perhaps the most pervasive and unquestioned essentialist assumption about Chicanx and Latinx students is that they are *only* bilingual. Samantha, who is in Ms. Birch's class along with Karla and Julio, provides an interesting contrast to this assumption. To begin with, Samantha and her parents are of Zapotec ancestry. The Zapotecs are an indigenous people who reside mostly in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca. Samantha speaks the Zapotec language—*Zapoteco*—as a heritage language. However, this important layer of her linguistic repertoire is often rendered invisible. Along with other indigenous Mexican students at her school, Samantha is "positioned as part of a 'Latino' or 'Mexican' population that is assumed to be linguistically and ethnoracially homogeneous" (Martínez, 2017, p. 87). Samantha's indigeneity and her indigenous language are effectively erased, as she is "essentialized and racialized as 'Latina' and imagined to be only bilingual" (ibid.).

Although a focus on the indigenous languages spoken at Central Bilingual School is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to reiterate that there are other students at this school who speak indigenous Mexican and Central American languages, including Zapoteco, Mixe, Mixteco, and Quiché, as heritage languages. In addition to Zapoteco, English, and Spanish, Samantha speaks a variety of sign language with a family member who is d/Deaf. This is yet another layer of her everyday communicative competence. Samantha, and students like her at schools around the country, disrupt the Spanish–English binary and compel us to recognize the diverse and expansive linguistic repertoires that many Chicanx and Latinx bring to the classroom.

Prescriptivist Perspectives

Related to essentialist perspectives on how Chicanx and Latinx students *do* speak are prescriptivist ideas about how they *should* speak. Perhaps foremost among these prescriptivist notions is the idea that these students should learn to speak what is considered "standard" American English. Again, dominant language ideologies frame standardized language practices as the idealized norm to which all speakers should aspire. As Lippi-Green (1997) observes, through processes of linguistic subordination, schools institutionalize linguistic hierarchies that privilege these practices and frame them as superior and as prerequisites for academic and career success. In this regard, we agree with those who have critiqued the assumptions underlying prescriptivist views about the relationship between learning so-called "standard" American English and gaining access to opportunities (Alim, 2004; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Smitherman, 1977). Appropriating standardized language practices does not, in and of itself, guarantee that Chicanx and Latinx students will have access to greater educational and career success. In fact, because of how raciolinguistic ideologies serve to mediate perceptions of proficiency, appropriating standardized language practices does not even guarantee that these students will be *recognized* as having appropriated standardized language practices in the first place. As Flores &

Rosa (2015) argue, given how Chicanx and Latinx students are racialized, their linguistic practices "can be stigmatized regardless of the extent to which they approximate or correspond to standard forms" (p. 152). To suggest that simply approximating or appropriating standardized speech norms will ensure increased access to opportunity is, as Smitherman (1977) suggested almost four decades ago, fundamentally disingenuous.

On the other hand, of course, to insist that Chicanx and Latinx student *not* be taught to speak in "standardized" ways would also be prescriptivist. To be sure, there is a fundamental difference here, in that such a prescriptivist position would seem to stem from an anti-oppressive and culturally sustaining standpoint. However, it would still seem to rest on the essentialist assumption that Chicanx and Latinx students do not already engage in standardized language practices. Alim (2004) has critiqued a similar assumption by noting that African American youth are often presumed to be "mired in this monostylistic ghetto"(p. 247). The question of what we mean by "standard" English notwithstanding, we argue that both the notion that Chicanx and Latinx students *should* speak standardized varieties of Spanish and English and the notion that they should *not* be compelled to do so are grounded in essentialist assumptions about how these students *do* speak.

Most relevant to the codeswitching practices that we have showcased above is the view that Chicanx and Latinx students should not mix Spanish and English in conversation, but rather keep the two languages separate. This prescriptivist perspective undergirds the language separation policies characteristic of the dual language education programs that are currently proliferating nationwide. In previous work (Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015), Ramón has argued that this perspective is fundamentally rooted in ideologies of linguistic purism. These ideologies circulate widely in schools and in society. Bilingual students who themselves engage in codeswitching often internalize these perspectives, and even among teachers who actively promote bilingualism and biliteracy, such ideologies are pervasive. Nonetheless, students and teachers also sometimes interrogate and challenge these purist language ideologies within the contexts of everyday classroom interactions (Martínez, 2013). Simply by virtue of continuing to codeswitch, they contest dominant ideologies and normalize this dynamic form of everyday bilingualism.

What's in a Name? Language Ideologies and Linguistic Terminology

Although we have devoted attention to showcasing the linguistic flexibility of Chicanx and Latinx students, the problem of *what to call* their everyday language practices remains unaddressed. Here we briefly examine the various—and often contested—terms used by both scholars and speakers to name these dynamic language practices, and we discuss these terms in relation to competing ideologies and theoretical perspectives.

The Terms Scholars Use

Up to this point, we have privileged mainstream linguistic terminology (including terms from variationist sociolinguistics and related sub-fields) to describe the forms of bilingualism and bidialectalism in which Chicanx and Latinx children and youth engage. For example, we have used the term *codeswitching* to refer to students' dynamic bilingualism, and we have used the term *styleshifting* to refer to their bidialectalism. To be sure, some definitions of codeswitching are broad enough to include styleshifting. Woolard (2004), for example, defines codeswitching as "an individual's use of two or more language varieties in the same speech event or exchange" (pp. 73–74). Her emphasis on "varieties" (generally speaking) versus "languages" (specifically) seems to blur the distinction between the two language practices in question. In general, however, this is a distinction that is often made in the applied linguistics literature. Similarly, we have used the terms *language, dialect, register*, and *style* without questioning the conceptual or ideological underpinnings of these terms. It should be emphasized at this point that these categories (and the distinctions between them) are not purely empirical facts, but rather social—and, therefore, ideological—constructions of language (Bauman & Briggs, 2003). The ideological dimensions of language have increasingly become the focus of scholarly attention in recent years, as language ideological inquiry has emerged as a bona fide sub-field of linguistic anthropology (Silverstein, 1979; Kroskrity, 2004).

One key insight that has emerged from this scholarly development is not just that there are various theoretical conceptions of language, but also that these theoretical perspectives on language are often grounded in competing linguistic ideologies (Bauman & Briggs, 2003; Kroskrity, 2004). As a consequence, many of the key assumptions undergirding mainstream linguistic theory have come into question. As part of a broader "practice turn" in the social sciences, for example, language scholars have increasingly begun to frame language as a social practice—a form of human action that emerges in particular social and cultural contexts (Blommaert, 2010; García, 2009; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005; Pennycook, 2010). These scholars have shifted attention "away from language as a system and towards language as something we do" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 8). This perspective contrasts sharply with the prevailing perspective in mainstream linguistics, which has historically emphasized the structure and systematicity of language. As Pennycook (2010) notes, reframing language as practice "moves the focus from language as an autonomous system that pre-exists its use … towards an understanding of language as a product of the embodied social practices that bring it about" (p. 9). This paradigm shift necessarily challenges the notion that different languages are separate and bounded entities, which has important implications for how we understand the kinds of bi/multilingualism on display in the examples above.

A prevailing assumption in mainstream linguistic theory has been that a bilingual speaker's different languages function as two autonomous systems. Scholars aligned with the practice turn have critiqued this assumption as being grounded in monolingual perspectives, referring to it as *parallel monolingualism* (Heller, 1999) or the *pluralisation of monolingualism* (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005). Rather than understand bi/multilingualism through a monolingual lens, these scholars have argued for a more dynamic understanding of the practice of bi/multilingual speech. Gutiérrez and Rogoff (2003), for example, introduce the notion of *repertoires of practice*, which they define as "ways of engaging in activities stemming from observing and otherwise participating in cultural practices" (p. 22). Included in this definition are particular ways of using language—or *language practices*. Gutiérrez (1995) also introduces the term *hybrid language practices* to refer to the full use of one's linguistic repertoire. Similarly, García and Kleifgen (2010) propose the concept of *dynamic bilingualism* to refer to "the development of different language practices to varying degrees in order to interact with increasingly multilingual communities" (p. 42).

A related term that García (2009) has revived and popularized in recent years is *translanguaging*, which she defines as inclusive of but not limited to what linguists have historically called codeswitching. Aside from being a broader umbrella term (like hybrid language practices), the key distinction between translanguaging and codeswitching is theoretical. As Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015) clarify, translanguaging differs from the way that mainstream linguists have historically conceptualized the phenomenon known as *codeswitching*. While codeswitching has been defined as the alternation of two distinct languages or codes (Gumperz, 1982), a translanguaging perspective rejects this premise in favor of the premise that speakers who engage in this language practice are drawing flexibly on a single linguistic repertoire. Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015) define translanguaging as "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages" (p. 283). They note that *all* speakers—including monolinguals—engage in translanguaging when they combine elements typically assumed to belong to distinct linguistic *varieties* (i.e., languages, dialects, registers, and styles) in their everyday speech. However, monolinguals are typically not recognized as translanguaging and are, therefore, allowed to do so without sanction. Bilinguals, in contrast, are explicitly marked when they draw flexibly on their linguistic repertoires, and their translanguaging is, therefore, often stigmatized, discouraged, and restricted by policies and practices of language separation (Martínez, 2017).

In recent years, scholars have increasingly embraced translanguaging as a term and as a perspective on bi/multilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Gort, 2015), and some of this literature has begun to address possibilities for translanguaging pedagogies in linguistically diverse classrooms (García & Kleyn, 2016; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014;

Pontier & Gort, 2016). At the same time, this trend has generated some debate in the scholarly community. MacSwan (2017), for example, critiques the theory of bilingualism that undergirds translanguaging, agreeing with the notion that bilingual speakers have a single linguistic repertoire, but arguing that this repertoire is comprised of both shared and discrete grammatical resources rather than a unitary mental grammar. Proposing what he calls a *multilingual perspective* on translanguaging (MacSwan, 2017), he argues for the continued utility of conceptualizing a bilingual speaker's differentiated mental grammars.

It is worth briefly considering the relative affordances and constraints of different terminologies for describing and making sense of the dynamic bilingual practices that we have highlighted above, just as it is useful to consider the theoretical assumptions and broader ideologies that undergird the use of these terms. The literature on codeswitching and styleshifting has historically enabled us to talk back to deficit perspectives that frame Chicanx and Latinx students and their language in racist and pejorative terms. In a similar way, the emergent translanguaging literature provides us with a vocabulary for challenging the dominant language ideologies that continue to circulate in society and in the classroom. Despite different underlying assumptions, these bodies of scholarship converge in that they both afford a perspective that recognizes the richness of Chicanx and Latinx students' dynamic linguistic repertoires.

In our own work, we have drawn on *both* the terms codeswitching and translanguaging. Although we have not used these terms interchangeably, we have at times used them concurrently in ways that some might find inconsistent or contradictory because of the competing conceptual and ideological foundations of the respective terms. Indeed, as Valdés (Chapter 5, this volume) notes, the current debate around terminology "may create difficulties for researchers who embrace social-justice perspectives and attempt to use these terms with analytical preciseness—particularly in contexts in which monolingualist and classist/racist ideologies of language directly impact the lives of children" (p.138). While we acknowledge these difficulties, we wish to briefly make the case for the concurrent use of both terms. In our work, we have framed codeswitching as a specific form of translanguaging, using the former term not to reify Spanish and English as distinct codes, but rather to highlight the ways in which students disrupt the supposed boundaries between the two languages. As a term, codeswitching allows us a degree of precision that we feel helps to highlight the specific contours and details of students' everyday translanguaging. While we do not see the literature on codeswitching as the only empirical means by which to contest deficit views, and while we are, in fact, skeptical of the potential of any empirical or conceptual literature to influence such views (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2017), we feel that it is necessary to emphasize the important role that the codeswitching literature has played in challenging dominant ideologies and discourses in both research and practice over the past several decades. In fact, we feel that the scholarship on codeswitching has helped to prepare us—or prime us—to understand and embrace the translanguaging literature.

On the other hand, the literature on translanguaging has helped us to understand things that the codeswitching literature has not addressed. While we do not see the individual bilingual speaker's perspective as one that can be assumed a priori (or without reference to the complicated influence of dominant ideologies that often help shape such perspectives), we embrace the translanguaging literature because of how it seeks to privilege and normalize bilingual students' flexible and dynamic expressions of bilingualism and their attendant perspectives. In our own work and, impressionistically, in our own personal lives, we have encountered countless examples of codeswitching that are not necessarily attested in the literature and that are not easily explained in terms of differentiated grammars. As a term, translanguaging allows us to understand and conceptualize such instances without reference to existing notions of grammaticality. At the risk of seeming equivocal, we see a rationale for using both the terms codeswitching and translanguaging. And we see the ongoing scholarly debate around these terms as a generative conversation that helps us understand the value of previous scholarship and conceptualizations, and that helps us understand the need for new perspectives. Whether or not we need to choose a single term, and which term we should choose, are questions that cannot be answered without reference to the speakers themselves—to bilingual and bidialectal children and youth.

The Terms Students Use

Regardless of which of the above terms we use to refer to the forms of bi/multilingualism featured in this chapter, we ultimately end up privileging scholars' terminologies and perspectives. But what do Chicanx and Latinx students themselves call their language practices, and what does this tell us about how they think and feel about their everyday ways of speaking? In our view, this is an ethnographic question, and there isn't a single answer. Some students seem to have internalized dominant perspectives that frame their everyday language practices in pejorative ways, and this is reflected in the terms that they use (Martínez, 2013; Martinez, 2017a, 2017b). For example, some of the youth at Willow High School referred to their everyday language practices as "hood language" and "ghetto slang." Similarly, some of the students at Eastside Middle School referred to their codeswitching as "weird" while framing monolingual English speech as "normal."

At the same time, some students seemed to normalize their everyday bilingual and bidialectal speech. About half of the students at Eastside Middle School used the term "Spanglish" to describe their everyday codeswitching, invoking and constituting a form of semantic inversion whereby this term, which has historically had a negative and deficit-oriented connotation, comes to signal positive meanings. Indeed, many of the students who used the term "Spanglish" framed this way of speaking as a normal everyday form of communication. Similarly, when one student was asked what she called her codeswitching, she replied, "I

just call it talking." In much the same vein, a student at Willow High School noted, "This is how kids talk." Indeed, there seemed to be an understanding among the Willow High School students that they spoke in ways that were normal. Others simply referred to their language practices as "urban talk."

It is worth emphasizing that these students did not use the same terms that we used as researchers to describe their everyday ways of speaking. When Danny introduced terms such as "Black Language" and "Spanglish," for example, the students were slow to embrace these. The same was true at Eastside Middle School, where none of the students had ever heard the terms "codeswitching" or "translanguaging." Overall, the terms that students used to describe their everyday language practices varied significantly and reflected competing perspectives. In our view, however, what is most noteworthy is that the Chicanx and Latinx children and youth with whom we have worked did not necessarily talk or think about their own bi/multilingualism and bi/multidialectalism in relation to current scholarly debates. They did not seem concerned, for example, with whether or not Spanish and English exist as separate codes or grammars, but rather with whether or not their everyday expressions of bilingualism and bidialectalism would be accepted or marginalized in the classroom. To be sure, the debate around these terms and their underlying conceptual frameworks is more than a trivial concern. We do not mean to suggest otherwise. However, from our perspective, steeped in classroom practice, it seems that both the literature on codeswitching and the literature on translanguaging can inform practical efforts to recognize, validate, cultivate, build upon, and sustain Chicanx and Latinx students' everyday ways of speaking. We will continue to engage with these related bodies of scholarship, and we will continue to follow and contribute to this ongoing debate, in ways that are consistent with promoting this broader pedagogical orientation.

Notes

1 Although we use the terms "Chicana/Chicano" and "Latina/Latino" in our own work to refer to participants who self-identify as either male or female, we use the terms "Chicanx" and "Latinx" when referring more generally to groups of people of Mexican and Latin American ancestry, respectively. In solidarity with transgender and gender non-conforming members of our community, we use the "x" ending to signal gender inclusivity and challenge binary notions of gender.

2 Black Language has been variously called Black English, Black English Vernacular, African American English Vernacular, African American Vernacular English, African American English, African American Language and Ebonics. We will use Black Language throughout this chapter.

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11

"YOU'RE NOT A SPANISH-SPEAKER!"—"WE ARE ALL BILINGUAL"

The Purple Kids on Being and Becoming Bilingual in a Dual-Language Kindergarten Classroom

Deborah K. Palmer

Two-way dual language (TWDL) is an enrichment-oriented model of bilingual education that is growing in popularity in the United States (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2009; Wilson, 2011). With the goals of bilingualism, biliteracy, and cross cultural competence for all participants, TWDL teaches language through content and content through language, requiring at least 50% of academic instruction to be in the "target" or non-English language. Programs are intentionally structured to admit a balance of "Spanish-speaking" and "English-speaking" students, and expect all students to participate together in integrated classroom spaces, essentially learning language and content from and with one another. In ensuring "balanced language groups," TWDL programs necessarily have a tendency to place children into distinct categories—either "Spanish-speaking" or "English-speaking," failing to account for children who enter school along a continuum of bilingualism. Furthermore, while integrating children in the classroom, most TWDL programs mandate explicit separation of program languages for academic instruction, a practice that, although justified in the interests of protecting spaces for the development of a minoritized language (Fishman, 2001), has met with recent criticism as it seems to promote a form of dual or parallel monolingualism as opposed to supporting the development of bilingualism (Fitts, 2006; García & Wei, 2014; Lee, Hill-Bonnet & Raley, 2011; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus & Henderson, 2014).

This chapter will explore the challenges and opportunities for bilingual children as they and the adults around them strive to further develop their bilingualism in a context of programmatic language separation. I will share findings from an ethnographic discourse analysis in two kindergarten TWDL classrooms. The program in this study requires teachers to visually differentiate the two program languages in the environmental print throughout the classroom: English is written in blue,

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-14

Spanish in red. Teachers must also provide initial literacy instruction only in children's "primary" language for the first three years of the program, which requires categorizing children as stronger in one language and segregating them for initial literacy instruction. Meanwhile, many of the children enter school with a mix of these two languages (Escamilla, Butvilofsky & Hopewell, 2017; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López & Tejeda, 1999). The program model does not offer the option of mixing the red with the blue in children's labels; there is no purple label.

Drawing on positioning theory (Davies & Harré, 1990) and a conception of identities as co-constructed through discursive processes (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998) I will share the experiences of four kindergarten students whose co-constructed identities defy the somewhat rigid boundaries of the TWDL program. Although the program must label them either "blue" (i.e. English-speaking) or "red" (i.e. Spanish-speaking), parents, teachers, and the children themselves find creative, agentic ways to flout these labels in order to be—or become—bilinguals.

Motivation: Setting up our Context

During the "back to school night" presentation for kindergarten parents at a small elementary school in the center of a large urban school district in early October 2010, for parents who have enrolled their children in Hillside Elementary School's brand new two-way dual-language program, the bilingual kindergarten teacher comments that the children are using a great deal of Spanish in the classroom already. The following is an excerpt from my field notes:

> There is a white, English speaking mom (with limited Spanish) sitting near me. She makes a strong sound of approval upon hearing this, and the Latina mom next to her (Miguel's[1] mom) asks her, "¿Usted quiere que aprenda español (*you want your child to learn Spanish*)?" The mom replies enthusiastically, "¡Sí! Yo no hablo muy bien pero quiero mucho mucho que ella puede hablar español. (*Yes! I don't speak very well but I want very much that she can speak Spanish.*)" Miguel's mom, seeming pleasantly surprised, comments that she really wants her son to learn English.
>
> *(Field notes, October 5, 2010)*

Forty new families, including that of the white, English speaking mother described above, had recently joined this little school in order to enroll their kindergarten and first grade children in the TWDL program. Meanwhile, due largely to the way in which TWDL was brought into this context, parents of children who had been at the school all along (mostly bilingual or Spanish-dominant families) did not always have a full understanding of the changes their school was undergoing, as evidenced by Miguel's mother's surprise above.

As frequently (but not always!) occurs with parents in TWDL programs, these two mothers came from vastly different backgrounds—racially, culturally, linguistically, and socioeconomically. Yet they shared a common goal: they desired for their children to become bilingual, biliterate, and bicultural through schooling. For many parents enrolling their children in dual language bilingual programs—regardless of their own language backgrounds—their desire to see their children embrace bilingual identities seemed primary and central to their decision making about schooling and opportunities for their children. Parents who have sought out and selected dual language programs—both those I interviewed for this study and those who I have heard speak in district and school meetings—talk about the opportunity to become bilingual as essential, powerful, and universally positive. They are certainly not alone in this desire to see their children become bilingual: the growing number of children enrolled in programs such as this one in the United States is indicative of a potential shift in our national identity. Middle class families are seeking out bi(multi)lingualism as a powerful form of intellectual capital (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). And while Latinx, Spanish-speaking families continue to desire access to English, there is increasing awareness that academic bilingualism can help their children succeed both in school and in life (Dorner, 2015).

Teachers at Hillside also appear to have very powerful motivations for ascribing bilingual identities onto their students. In the beginning of the 2010–2011 school year, Hillside had two TWDL teachers: Ms. Ortiz, the bilingual teacher, team taught with Ms. Callison, the ESL teacher. Ms. Ortiz, having been schooled in an English-only school environment as a child herself, was deeply invested in supporting her students, especially Spanish speaking students, to comfortably embrace bilingual/bicultural identities. She explained in an interview:

> Technically I was monolingual at home and monolingual at school. My parents only speak Spanish and I was brought up in a mainstream English classroom … I struggled a lot … So I think that's where my passion comes from. Having my kids know that they have both languages.
>
> (Interview, Ms. Ortiz, August 2010)

Ms. Callison, an African American raised in El Paso along the US Mexico border, considered herself bicultural and very comfortable in Spanish-speaking and Latinx communities, even though, as she put it, her "language has been English." Although she did not carry on conversations nor attempt to teach in Spanish, Ms. Callison sprinkled her classroom transitional talk with Spanish words and phrases, especially on "Spanish days" when this was expected. She asserted:

> An early exit … it's an injustice to the children … to tell them "Your native language, whatever it is, isn't enough. Isn't good enough to speak here all the time … it's not good enough for you to learn it, to be able to read in

> it" … I just feel like that's so unfair to do, to an eight-year-old … And there is a way to value both, grow both, develop both and still be successful … why not be successful in both languages?

Both TWDL teachers, therefore, were dedicated to supporting their young students to develop bilingualism and bilingual identities.

In this TWDL context, parents and educators are deeply invested in cultivating bilingual identities for children as part of their schooling experience, while at the same time the program model requires children to be labeled as either English-speaking or Spanish-speaking. How do these students get to be bilingual?

Theoretical Frame: The Figured World of Bilingualism, Dynamic Bilingualism, and the Continua of Biliteracy

This analysis is grounded in a sociocultural constructivist perspective that places interactions at the center of both learning and identity construction. Bakhtin (1998) describes words as both collectively understood and individually transformed in the constant negotiation for meaning and self. The members of this cultural world of kindergarten at Hillside elementary all seem to share the goal of supporting all the children to join the *figured world* of bilingualism (Holland et al., 1998; Norton, 2000). Holland, et al. (1998) describe *figured worlds* as "a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (p. 53).

I ask the question how do children, involved in ongoing interaction with one another and their teachers, *position* each other and get *positioned* within this *figured world* of bilingualism According to Davies and Harré (1990), "An individual emerges through the processes of social interaction, not as a relatively fixed end product but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (p. 47).

The classroom under study (like, in a way, all classrooms) is a site in which children are charged with learning new languages and cultures, in which teachers operate to encourage the construction of a very specific set of identities—academic and linguistic—and in which parents are deeply invested in the growth of those identities for their children. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argue that identities are located and collaboratively co-constructed within social interaction. I approached these data interested in the kinds of moves parents, educators, and children themselves made within school and classroom discourses that positioned children with relation to the *figured world* of bilingualism.

An important prior question is, what does it mean to be—or to become—bilingual and biliterate? While this is necessarily a contextualized question (depending to some extent on local definitions within the cultural world of these

kindergarten classrooms), I draw on two frameworks to undergird my understanding of bilingualism and biliteracy. First, García and Sylvan (2011) define *Dynamic Bilingualism* as "beyond the notion of two autonomous languages, of an L1 and an L2 … dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language practices of all bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way" (p. 288).

Embracing a dynamic perspective throws wide open the label of "bilingual," allowing individuals whose linguistic repertoires overlap two conventional language categories to claim admittance regardless of the extent of that overlap, and allowing that development of bilingualism is a unique process for each individual. Given such space, children in this context can indeed all be and become bilinguals.

However, as García and Sylvan (2011) acknowledge, not all bilingual and biliterate practices hold equal power in a given context. Hornberger's (2003) *Continua of Biliteracy* further complicate our understanding of bilingualism and biliteracy, arguing that individuals' language and literate practices manifest along multiple continua, all of which are mediated by status and power. Biliterate practices are never neutral; within the cultural world of Hillside's kindergarten (as in all contexts) certain dimensions of biliteracy are more highly valued than others, and these values are a moving target. For example, many of the children in this context engage in hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez, et al., 1999) that belong neither to standard English nor to standard Spanish or that creatively merge both, including Spanglish (Martínez, 2010) or African American Language (Alim, 2004).

Children are expected to navigate along these continua, with help or hindrance along the way by the structures and the people that surround them, to achieve high-status forms of biliteracy. Not all children are equally successful, due in large part to factors beyond their control such as class/race/gender and the status of the language and literacy practices that prevail in their homes. The continua help us interrogate these dynamics in the classroom, taking more fully into account the role of power and status in the positioning of certain kinds of language and literacy practices in a diverse TWDL context.

In summary, in this analysis, I will explore the ways that children and their language practices are *positioned and position themselves* for entry into the *figured world* of bilingualism, defined and understood as *dynamic* and emerging along *continua* mediated by status and power.

Literature Review: Two-Way Dual-Language Bilingual Education and Identity

According to the definition of TWDL provided by the Center for Applied Linguistics, a program must "provide at least 50% of instruction in the partner language at all grade levels beginning in pre-K, Kindergarten, or first grade and running at least five years" (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016). A key

characteristic of TWDL programs is the separation of program languages for academic instruction. Programs can choose to divide instruction in the different languages by time (e.g. mornings in Spanish and afternoons in English, or alternating Spanish and English day by day or week by week) or by teacher (e.g. one teacher uses English, one uses Spanish). Language separation is encouraged in order to protect space for the acquisition of the minoritized language (Cloud, Genesee & Hamayan, 2000).

Given their intrinsic and intentional diversity, TWDL programs are a natural site for negotiation of identities. They have the potential to open up opportunities for children to experiment with authoring new linguistic, cultural and academic selves. In fact, Reyes and Vallone (2007) argue that *identity* should be considered the fourth major goal of TWDL programs. Particularly for students from marginalized communities, they argue, access to empowering identities is one of the most important outcomes of a well-constructed, critical additive TWDL program. Some researchers have explored the issue of identity development in TWDL programs (Bearse & de Jong, 2008; Fitts, 2006; Lee et al., 2011; Palmer, 2008; Potowski, 2007). Palmer (2008) looked at the way a TWDL program can facilitate students' development of academic identities, posing the question to what extent are identities developed in a controlled, TWDL context durable beyond the specific time and place in which they were nurtured. Potowski (2007) considered fifth grade TWDL students' investments in linguistic and cultural identities, exploring the various factors that appeared to influence their language choices in and outside of class. Bearse & de Jong (2008) looked at TWDL high school students' attitudes toward their program and participation and concomitant language and cultural identities. Lee, et al. (2011) and Fitts (2006) considered the ways that teacher and student interactions within the constraints of the TWDL program opened (or not) spaces for certain students to claim higher status linguistic identities. Both studies found status seemed linked to standard (as opposed to hybrid or vernacular) language practices. Lee, et al. (2011) characterized the tendency of TWDL contexts to encourage use of the two program languages (in standard registers) separately as "dual monolingualism;" Fitts (2006) termed a similar phenomenon "parallel monolingualism." In line with the present study, both studies explored the consequences of such policies for different members of TWDL classrooms. This analysis will explore the power and complexity of bilingual identity construction for young bilingual and emergent bilingual learners in a TWDL kindergarten that structures the separation of languages for instruction.

Context: Gomez–Gomez TWDL

The dual language program model that Hillside Elementary School was implementing was called the "Gomez–Gomez Model" (Gomez, Freeman & Freeman, 2005). Also referred to as the "50/50 Content Model," this model has been

spreading throughout Texas as the consultants who created it have contracted with over 100 school districts throughout Texas and beyond to implement "with fidelity" this particular brand of dual language education.

Developed in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, along the US–Mexican border, this DL program was envisioned as a vehicle to build on the strengths of children who began their lives with two languages and cultures. Following the language separation expectation for dual language education, the model divides the two languages of instruction by content area, assigning mathematics to English and social studies and science to Spanish. Children learn initial literacy in their primary or dominant language, and three years into the program they add literacy instruction in the opposite language. In addition, the "language of the day," used for social, incidental and management talk, alternates between Spanish and English. There is a designated time during the day—called "bilingual centers" in the primary grades—when children are given choice in both activity and language. Children are assigned to work in "bilingual pairs" (i.e. an "English speaker" with a "Spanish speaker") during both centers and academic content area lessons. The complexity of the model means that children and teachers are shifting languages throughout the day, throughout the week, and even sometimes within specific events during the day. In its dynamic nature, at classroom or program level, the model seems to reflect the dynamic bilingualism of the US–Mexico border region.

Yet, from the perspective of each individual child, the model still exacts dichotomies. Children must be labeled and treated in the program as either English speakers or Spanish speakers, thus positioning them not as bilinguals but as monolinguals in the early years of school. Labeling, in this instance, very concretely structures children's experiences (Gutiérrez & Orellana, 2006), and language separation, in itself controversial (Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Lee, et al., 2011; Fitts, 2006), turns into actual, visible and concrete segregation of children. In fact, the model's requirement to segregate children for initial literacy only in their "dominant" language has little evidence to support it, and even runs counter to the stated purposes of TWDL education (Howard, Sugarman, Christian, Lindholm-Leary & Rogers, 2007).[2]

Methods and Study Design

In collaboration with the teachers, students, and administrators involved in implementation of dual language at Hillside Elementary, I began an ethnographic discourse analysis of policy implementation in August 2010, the first semester of the program's implementation, focusing on the school's experience in a mostly top-down district-mandated implementation of the Gomez-Gomez model of 50/50 DL education. As a whole, the study continued for six years and included several collaborators. Data for this analysis were drawn from the first semester of implementation, August through December 2010, primarily from artifacts, field

notes, video recordings, and parent and teacher interviews related to one team of kindergarten TWDL teachers and their students.

Ethnography is used more and more in conjunction with discourse analysis in order to provide a contextualized account of interactional data (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Erickson, 2004). Ethnography of policy implementation has been developed as a way to understand the intricacies of interactional dynamics as teachers and students, administrators and policy makers negotiate the complexity of implementation of educational policy (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007). In analysis of discourse, I draw on interactional sociolinguistics (Erickson, 2004; Hymes, 1972). Keeping in mind my research questions, I purposely selected events and moments from video recorded classroom interaction that allowed me a window into the phenomena of interest, and conducted microanalysis of these moments, considering the connections between micro-interactions and societal macro discourses. Overall, my analysis cycled between a thematic analysis of field note and interview data, and a close examination of transcriptions of video recordings of classroom interactions, with each stage informing the next.

Regarding data collection, I acted as a participant observer in the school wide dual language program implementation process. I attended school and district related meetings throughout that first school year, shadowed the paid consultants during their interactions with the focal school, shadowed the dual language teachers, and engaged school community members in frequent informal conversations about their experiences and the implementation process. All of these experiences were documented in field notes.

Before school began, I interviewed all of the (future) dual language teachers and the principal about their own experiences and motivations, concerns and excitements. During the spring semester, I and my graduate students conducted formal interviews of selected parents as well as several upper-grade (as-yet uninvolved in the TWDL program) teachers. I conducted follow-up interviews with most TWDL personnel and the principal in May/June.

At the classroom level, I visited the two kindergarten TWDL classrooms approximately twice per week throughout the fall semester. Once permission was secured from parents in late September, I began digital video recording clips of interaction during my classroom observations that varied in length from a few minutes to an hour. In total, I captured nine hours and 40 minutes total of video data in the kindergarten classrooms over ten different visits, and carried out observations with field notes on 20 days total (including those ten). I strove to capture a range of classroom experiences both in field notes and in video recordings.

Findings: The "Purple Kids"

Four kindergarten students will be our windows into the range of possible experiences with the *figured world* of bilingualism in this context:

Katie, English dominant from an English-speaking family, but with receptive bilingualism due to extensive exposure to Spanish in a childcare setting since infancy.

Elizabeth, a Spanish dominant child of Mexican immigrant parents whose exposure to English through her older brothers has planted in her a seed of desire for English.

Emilie, half Korean-American and half Colombian-American and English dominant, whose mother has spoken at least some Spanish with her since birth.

Clarita, a relatively balanced bilingual whose parents use both Spanish and English at home, who seems to take bilingualism in stride, as part of the background of her life.

Katie: "You don't speak en español*!"*

Katie's parents spoke only English. But determined to give their daughter the cognitive, social, and economic advantages of bilingualism, they enrolled her at a Spanish Immersion day care center when she was an infant. By 5 years old, according to her parents, Katie could understand conversational Spanish and had begun to use it with friends and teachers at school, and even a little at home. Her mother explained, "There were already some … words, certain phrases that we decided to start saying *en español* (in Spanish) [at home] so that she would, so that there would be a little bit of a crossover." Katie was, therefore, an emergent bilingual child.

Katie's parents were excited about the new program and proud to be one of the pioneering English-dominant families to help establish it, to potentially create a stronger bilingual learning space for all participating children. As Katie's mother expressed: "Here's an opportunity for not only improving my own child's education, but somebody else's. That concept of validating the Spanish speaker is really cool to me. That we're not just helping Katie, we're helping somebody else."

Katie's mother articulated the social-justice argument at the core of TWDL: that including English-dominant speakers in bilingual contexts as emergent bilingual learners of a minority language like Spanish has the potential to add status and validity to the use of the minority language for academic purposes (Palmer, 2009). This argument has overtones of interest convergence and has been critiqued for continuing to center the needs of the dominant community (Valdés, 1997; Cervantes-Soon, 2014). Nevertheless, this discourse was common among English-dominant families in this program.

Although children were initially enrolled in the program based upon their home language survey and parents' assessment of their language dominance to approximate a population of 50% Spanish-dominant and 50% English-dominant students, they were formally assessed using the Preschool Language Assessment Scales, Oral (Pre-LAS-O) in both Spanish and English within the first thirty days of school. The outcomes of this test, in addition to informal conferring among

teachers and sometimes parents, were used to ensure children were placed in the right classroom (Spanish or English) for initial literacy instruction. Because of her Spanish-medium pre-school experiences and her parents' wishes, Katie was initially placed in Spanish language arts. However, after the Pre-LAS-O administration in the first weeks of school determined Katie to be a "1" on a 1–5 scale in Spanish, where a score of 4 or 5 was considered "fluent," 2 or 3 was considered "limited", and 1 was considered "non-speaking." So, with input from the Spanish language arts teacher who asserted that Katie was silent in class and appeared not to understand, it was determined that Katie should have been placed in English language arts classroom.

A letter went home on a Friday to inform Katie's parents that she would be moved the following Monday. The school, therefore, was attempting to officially *position* Katie as an English-speaker rather than a Spanish-speaker. Katie's mother was incensed. She immediately sent a letter to the principal, copying a number of people including this researcher and the district director for bilingual and dual language education:

> When I found out yesterday that our daughter was being switched from Spanish-based teacher to English-based teacher, I was heart-broken. While it is true that my husband and I are not native Spanish speakers, we have deliberately chosen a bi-literate path for our daughter. We are aware of its benefits and therefore became engaged in the fight for dual language education in [District]. I disagree with your choice to switch [Katie] as I feel the best way for her to learn Spanish and to develop her neural pathways is through immersion … The four formative years that our daughter has spent in Spanish-immersion education is being negated …

Katie's mother's letter clearly stated her strong desire to ascribe a bilingual identity onto Katie ("we have deliberately chosen a bi-literate path for our daughter"), and claimed that with this move, all her previous Spanish immersion schooling experiences were "negated." She went on to ask for details about the assessments and how they were carried out, and to demand that they reconsider. She explained that she was making these demands because "I believe in dual language education," and cited her own recent signed commitment to keep her child in the TWDL program for 6 years (which was part of the application process for students transferring into the school for the program).

The principal, perhaps not yet accustomed to dealing with the unique communication demands of middle-class families like Katie's, did not respond to the parent over the weekend. On Monday morning, Katie's mother sent out a follow-up email in which she stated: "We are aware that we are in a unique situation. Not many other parents have made the conscious decision to seek out a bi-literate education for their child." This was an intriguing assertion given that this school district had over 60 elementary schools with bilingual education

programs serving primarily Spanish-dominant emergent bilingual children. Katie's mother seemed to not assume that Spanish-dominant families had the same types of choices that she had for her child; in a certain sense, due to the privileging of Katie's home language, she was correct (Valdés, 1997). After that second note, the principal did respond, reassuring Katie's parents that:

> your little one is not out of the Dual Language Program, in fact, she is very much a part of our DL program but she'll be learning Spanish as a Second Language since she isn't comfortable or ready to be in the class with the native speakers or the students who tested more fluent in Spanish …

The principal's strong reputation as a gentle, caring professional with a long history in this school and confidence in his teachers came through in his tone as well as his message. He went on to say, "I assure you that we will do everything just right so that all the children develop as bilingual, biliterate and bicultural students according to their strengths." The principal, like the teachers, *positioned* this child in an initial-English role. According to the recipe, evidently in order to grow a bilingual child one must start with a monolingual kindergartner, and add the second language gradually. In other words, in order to gain entry into the *figured world* of "bilingualism and biliteracy", children must first choose a door: English or Spanish.

As Katie's mother related in an interview several months after the incident, one of Katie's close friends from preschool, who had been labeled Spanish-dominant by the school and remained in the Spanish literacy group, evidently provided Katie with a narrative for what this move should mean. Katie reported to her mother, "Anela said they switched my classroom because I don't speak *en español* (in Spanish) anymore." In what appears to have been a powerful move to save face, Katie chose to embrace a monolingual English-speaking identity. She began to refuse to use Spanish, and explained to her mother, "Mommy I don't speak *en español.*" It appears that a Spanish-bilingual identity no longer felt available to Katie.

According to her mother, it took several months of coordinated, deliberate effort on the part of Katie's parents, her teachers, and a cooperative bilingual classmate enlisted by the teacher, to continuously position Katie as bilingual and Spanish-competent. Ms. Callison (the English language arts teacher) took Katie's (Spanish-labeled) bilingual partner aside during centers, asking him to praise Katie's efforts in Spanish. Katie's mother reported also deliberately positioning Katie as a Spanish expert in her own interactions with her daughter:

> And now, to keep her speaking … I'll ask her how to say something in Spanish. And putting her in that empowered teacher role works a lot, so that's one of the tricks I use as a parent to get her speaking in Spanish.
>
> *(Interview, Katie's mother, May 2011)*

According to her mother, Katie began again to use Spanish bit by bit in January: "She quit speaking in October. And it's taken her these months to get it back."

A bilingual identity seemed less available to Katie in the English language arts classroom, and her own need to save face and claim a powerful identity seemed to lead Katie toward monolingualism—an unfortunate dynamic for a TWDL program that is supposed to be working toward bilingualism and biliteracy for all participants. Yet in spite of these issues, the people surrounding Katie worked together to actively force open that door for her to the *figured world* of bilingualism, to position her over and over as a competent bilingual until she felt secure again claiming that identity. It is inspiring to see that parents, teachers, and peers can have this much agency to engage with dynamic bilingualism within a space that seems in some ways structured to separate and limit.

Emilie and Elizabeth: "I don't know Spanish!" / "A veces no la entiendo" [sometimes I don't understand her]

Emilie, a precocious and outgoing English-dominant child, had heard Spanish from her Colombian-American mother and her maternal side of the family since she was an infant. She did not speak it herself, but her mother believed she had some receptive understanding. Her Korean-American father did not speak much Spanish. Initially, because the "Home Language Survey" listed Spanish among the languages spoken in her home, Emilie was placed in the Spanish literacy class. However, within the first week of class, Emilie complained repeatedly that she did not understand. Her teacher, too, commented to her parents that she "seems not to understand Spanish." Puzzled, her mother, a bilingual teacher at another local school, commented to me in an informal conversation around that time, "I thought that they were supposed to expect that in the dual language program?" Yet in response to her child's complaints, without further discussion she asked them to move Emilie to the English literacy classroom.

Emilie was a strong willed and sometimes domineering child, and the teachers found it a challenge to put her with an adequately strong bilingual partner for pair-work. Her pattern of interaction throughout the fall semester with her bilingual pairs was to speak entirely in English with them, and to ignore or declare that she could not understand their Spanish. Emilie seemed to be compelled to talk about her own self-declared lack of Spanish, to continually make an issue of it. In the following excerpt, which was typical of her appearances in video clips, I was chatting informally with Spanish-dominant Elizabeth during bilingual centers time about an upcoming field trip to the zoo (in Spanish) when Emilie leaned into the camera frame and interrupted our conversation to tell me, "I don't know any Spanish."

RESEARCHER: [to Elizabeth, chatting about upcoming field trip] Se dice que es bien lindo tambien allí. Van a divertirse pienso. / *They say it's very pretty too there. You're going to have fun I think.*

EMILIE: [leaning into camera frame] I don't know any Spanish.

ELIZABETH: Y va haber animales. / *And there will be animals.*

RESEARCHER: Pero entiendes mucho, ¿verdad? Que me comprendes. / *But you understand a lot, right? That you can understand me.*

ELIZABETH: Y va estar muchos animales tambien. / *And there will be lots of animals too.*

EMILIE: She knows how to say a lot of words.

RESEARCHER: [to Elizabeth] Sí. / *yes*

EMILIE: [to researcher] Do you know how to say ummm … sloth in Spanish because my mom keeps forgetting. But she knows how though.

RESEARCHER: Como se dice … qu … ¿qué? / *How to say … wh … what?*

There is evidence in this passage both of Emilie's lack of understanding of Elizabeth's comments, and of Elizabeth's lack of understanding of Emilie's comments. Emilie, upon hearing me speaking in Spanish, interrupted and turned the conversation to English. Perhaps because she knew it would interest me, she chose to discuss her own lack of understanding of Spanish. Elizabeth for her part simply continued on, ignoring Emilie's English interjections. Being a fairly competent bilingual (and former kindergarten teacher i.e. multitasker), I attempted to maintain both conversations, continuing to respond to Elizabeth's comments about the field trip while responding quickly to Emilie's comments. Emilie seemed unsatisfied with sharing the attention in this way and ultimately came up with a stumper for me, perhaps in order to derail entirely my conversation with Elizabeth: "Do you know how to say 'sloth' in Spanish?" Interestingly, I had been talking with Elizabeth in Spanish about the animals they might see on their trip to the zoo when Emile introduced this question about an animal name. Perhaps this was just a random choice, as it seemed to me at the time—a word so odd or unexpected that it would be guaranteed to throw me off, or a word Emilie had been discussing with her mother at another time. Or, perhaps it was evidence that Emile was actually understanding more of my Spanish conversation with Elizabeth than she claimed.

Emilie's bilingual pair in the above interaction was Elizabeth. Elizabeth was a Spanish dominant child whose parents spoke only Spanish. She entered school at age 4 to attend Hillside's Spanish bilingual pre-kindergarten program (which was not at that time a TWDL program, but rather a transitional bilingual classroom). Although in the fall of her kindergarten year Elizabeth was still very much a beginner in English, she was desperate to be—and to be considered by her peers—bilingual. We caught her on video on several occasions mimicking the sounds of English, and her mother in her interview also described her engaging in this behavior at home, particularly with her older brothers, who had learned

English in school. Elizabeth, like Emilie, was a strong willed child; perhaps for this reason, her teachers chose to pair her with Emilie.

While Elizabeth was working hard to construct herself as a bilingual speaker, Emilie continued to position herself as a non-Spanish speaker and then half-betray herself by simultaneously demonstrating receptive comprehension. Just prior to the first excerpt below, I watched Emilie choose her book for free-reading and asked her, "How come you don't want to take the ones in Spanish?" She responded as she walked back to her seat, "I don't want to read in Spanish." Then, as the girls were sitting together at the table reading, Emilie leaned in to whisper something to Elizabeth. Although I could not hear what she said, she looked at me several times throughout the whisper, thus leading me to suspect she was discussing my video recording—which Emilie was very curious about. Elizabeth did not seem to understand her, though; she turned quickly away, returning her book to the bin and commenting to me, "Yo no le entiendo muy bien / *I don't understand her very well.*"

In the below exchange, Elizabeth and I discussed her and her partner's emerging bilingualism. We spoke in Spanish, and Emilie participated appropriately—but in English.

ELIZABETH: Yo no entiend- yo no habl- yo no hablo inglés solo español. / *I don't under- I don't sp- I don't speak English only Spanish.*

RESEARCHER: Pero andas aprendiendo inglés, ¿verdad? / *But you're learning English, right?*

ELIZABETH: [nods] ¡Ya mero! / *Almost there!*

RESEARCHER: Ya mero, ¿verdad? Y ella no habla español pero anda aprendiendo! ¿verdad? / *Almost there, right? And she doesn't speak Spanish but she's learning, right?*

ELIZABETH: [curt nod, looking at Emilie]

EMILIE: [stretches out arms and points fingers at Elizabeth]

ELIZABETH: [covers face with book, as if to hide a smile]

RESEARCHER: ¿ya mero o no tanto? / *Almost or not so much?*

EMILIE: My mom thinks I speak Spanish!

RESEARCHER: [to Elizabeth, about Emilie] Le queda mucho trecho para aprender español [laughs] ¿verdad que sí? / *She has a long way to go to learn Spanish, isn't that so?*

ELIZABETH: [curt nod, continuing to hide her smile]

EMILIE: My mom has—my mom knows how to speak Spanish.

The above exchange seemed to help Elizabeth to frame her own emergent bilingual status in a more positive way, to see her Spanish knowledge as a resource she could share with her partner. (At least, given my own positionality as a long-time advocate for bilingualism and biliteracy, this was probably my intention in the interaction.) In the next few moments, Elizabeth attempted the below efforts to position herself as Emilie's teacher:

ELIZABETH: A ver, ¿cómo se dice … Ummm … .Dientes. Como se dice español dientes? Emilie, [pulls back Emilie's hair] ¿cómo se dice español [Emilie turns to face her, causing her to hesitate / jump a little] ummm dientes? / *Let's see, how do you say … umm … Teeth. How do you say Spanish teeth? Emilie, how do you say Spanish umm teeth?*

EMILIE: What's dientes?

ELIZABETH: uh … Y ¿cómo se dice uh "ball" español? / *Uh … and how do you say uh "ball" Spanish*

MIGUEL: Español es dientes. / *Spanish is "dientes".*

ELIZABETH: [silently mouths] PE-LO-TA … PE-LO-TA …

EMILIE: Pa-lo-ta?

ELIZABETH: ¡sí! / *yes!*

EMILIE: well you just said it.

ELIZABETH: *(pointing to her eyes)* ojos. / *eyes.*

[Bell rings; Teacher's voice in distance]

ELIZABETH: [stands, immediately slams book closed and shoves it into bin at center of table.]

In this excerpt, Elizabeth was working hard to position herself as bilingual and as a language teacher. She used English, and she tried to translate. Her body language in particular seemed aligned with these positionings: she used gestures to make herself clear to Emilie during the lesson just like a teacher, but she also embodied some of the tremendous risks she took in trying to be Emilie's Spanish teacher. First, she hesitated and jumped nervously when she finally achieved Emilie's attention. There was also tension in her voice and in her body as she tried hard to pronounce "ball" and as she jumped from one word to the next in her mini-lesson in search of a word that Emilie could translate. She was also extremely quick to pay attention to the first second of "clean-up time" at the end of the clip, which seemed to send the message that she was ready to exit the conversation.

Meanwhile, Emilie was a reluctant participant in this dialogue. By asking specifically "what's dientes?" she obliquely demonstrated that she had understood the expression "¿cómo se dice?" that preceded it. And, when she more or less correctly voiced the word "pelota" that Elizabeth had been trying to teach her, she rejected the possibility that she could be successfully using Spanish in a meaningful way, snidely replying, "well you just said it." After the children cleaned up their books, as they were waiting in the library center to be called by the teacher back to the rug, the following dialogue occurred, which appeared to be a follow-up to the above, in which Emilie (still speaking entirely in English) endeavored to position herself as Elizabeth's Spanish teacher:

ELIZABETH: [slaps hands on table]

[Teacher speaking in background; largely not audible, but speaking in Spanish]

EMILIE: [puts palm up in Elizabeth's face; Elizabeth tries to slap it as in game] Ok how do you say this in Spanish. [Pointing to a small spot on the palm of her hand, looks to me like a cut]
ELIZABETH: What?
EMILIE: This [points] in Spanish … I know what it is!
ELIZABETH: Sangre. / *Blood.*
EMILIE: What's a sangre?
ELIZABETH: Sangre de que— / *Sangre is like*—
MIGUEL: You you you—Sangre's you're bleeding. [Elizabeth nods vigorously, looking at Miguel and then turning to Emilie]
EMILIE: Noooo!
ELIZABETH: Yeah!
EMILIE: It's not bleeding! … It's a SPLINTER!

Elizabeth, when she was playing teacher, seemed to try to select words that Emilie would be likely to know—common school-based beginning words such as "dientes," "pelota" and "ojos," Emilie in contrast chose to quiz her partner on "splinter," in a tone almost of teasing. It may be that despite her efforts to claim a monolingual English-speaker identity, Emilie did not appreciate the insinuation that she needed a "teacher" in Spanish. To explain "sangre", their more bilingual classmate Miguel (who was working with his bilingual partner at the same table) stepped in to support Elizabeth, and she nodded vigorously in agreement, moving her body to align herself with him and with his bilingualism. By the end of the clip, the Spanish word for splinter never did emerge—prompting me to question whether either girl had any idea how to translate that word, although it is not difficult to imagine that Emilie had had an exchange with her mother about the topic very recently (i.e. when removing the splinter).

In all three clips, the ways in which Elizabeth and Emilie looked at and touched each other as they communicated (e.g. Elizabeth pulling back Emilie's hair, Emilie putting her open hand up to Elizabeth's face) was not entirely friendly, but it was incredibly well-coordinated; words and actions came together, in synchrony and aligned—sometimes in the very moments in which they appeared to be intentionally challenging each other.

In some ways, this kind of exchange is what the "bilingual pairs" construct is supposed to look like in TWDL: children with different language dominance challenging and supporting one another through social and academic communication to experiment with each other's languages. Throughout this exchange, neither child fully stayed in one language. Emilie used nearly all English except for the few words that Elizabeth pushed her to pronounce, and seemed to scorn Elizabeth's efforts to "teach" her; Elizabeth used all Spanish except a few words such as "what" and "yeah" and a very intentional "ball" sprinkled into her efforts to teach Emilie, seemingly very interested in appearing bilingual in front of both her classmates. Both girls showed evidence of more or less understanding the

whole conversation, though, and beyond the explicit words that each tried to teach the other, they modeled communicative practices, provided comprehensible (and incomprehensible) input, and negotiated meaning across both languages. In these cases, it is difficult if not impossible to tell what the language of instruction was supposed to be, but it is not hard to discern each child's own dominant language. The girls both demonstrated the negotiations that occurred in this TWDL classroom around who is and who should be admitted to the *figured world* of bilingualism. There are clearly advantages—and potential challenges—of integrating students for language and literacy acquisition. Just like Katie, both Emilie and Elizabeth struggled to claim bilingual identities in this kindergarten classroom, for different reasons that ranged along the continua of biliteracy. It is clearly hard work to become bilingual and biliterate, even in a TWDL classroom—a space that was developed intentionally to facilitate children's claiming such identities.

Clarita: Occupying the Borderlands

Clarita's family was bilingual. She appeared to prefer English, but nevertheless she had strong oral Spanish skills upon entry into kindergarten. Although I was not able to interview her parents, it was clear that Spanish and English were seamlessly present in Clarita's world. Because her Pre-LAS scores demonstrated her English (4, or fluent) was stronger than her Spanish (2, or limited), she was placed in English Language Arts. Therefore, Clarita's name tags throughout the classroom were blue and she gladly played the role of "English expert" in her bilingual pairs. Yet throughout her interactions in Spanish instruction, she positioned herself and was positioned as a "Spanish expert" too, offering translations and contributions in Spanish with fluency. She appeared thrilled with the fact that instruction was occurring in Spanish. Thus, despite an initial English label, Clarita embraced a bilingual identity from the very beginning, and her teacher and classmates colluded with her.

In the following excerpt, Clarita served as a Spanish model in a science lesson. The teacher sought ideas from the children on the topic of "¿Qué ya sabemos de las calabazas? / *What do we already know about pumpkins?*" Clarita's contribution fit the teacher's goals very well, offering scientific knowledge about pumpkins in a relatively standard register of Spanish. Clarita clearly enjoyed the interaction. She began the lesson on her own taped blue spot on the carpet alongside her bilingual pair towards the back of the class, but by the time she completed her contribution Clarita was sitting right next to the teacher, up on her knees, enthusiastically dictating her contribution in Spanish for the teacher to scribe.

MS ORTÍZ: ¿No más aparecen allí? / *Do they just appear there?*
CLARITA: ¡No, Crecen! / *No, they grow!*
MS ORTÍZ: ¿Qué es lo que hacen? / *What do they do?*

CLARITA: ¡Crecen! / *Grow!*
MS ORTÍZ: Crecen. [nods, turns to begin writing] / *Grow.*
CLARITA: Y. [inaudible] hechas agua. Y la cuidas. / *and … you give them water. And take care of them.*
MS ORTÍZ: Ahh! Gracias, Clarita! Eso era lo que estaba tratando de decir Miguel. Porque sí los cuidas. ¿Cuándo los cuidamos? [looks at Miguel] / *Thank you Clarita! That's what Miguel was trying to say. Because yes, you take care of them. When do we take care of them?*
MIGUEL: ¡En octubre! / *In October!*
MS ORTÍZ: No, no en octubre, [looks at Clarita] ¿Qué es lo que me acabas de decir de las calabazas, tienes que … / *No, not in October, What did you just tell me about pumpkins, you have to …*
CLARITA: Cuidar y aguar. / *Take care of them and water them.*
MS ORTÍZ: ¿Y poner qué? / *And put what?*
CLARITA AND SEVERAL OTHER CHILDREN: ¡Agua! / *Water!*
MS ORTÍZ: Agua. Para que puedan qué? / *Water. So that they can what?*
SEVERAL CHILDREN: ¡Crecer! / *Grow!* [Clarita makes growing hand motion]

Ms. Ortiz's evident enthusiasm for Clarita's contribution ("Ahh! ¡Gracias Clarita!") brought a big smile to her bilingual student's face. She prompted Clarita, revoiced her contribution, amplified it for everyone's benefit, and slightly recast it, replacing Clarita's Spanglish choice of "aguar" with "poner agua" and after this segment "hechas agua". But by and large, Clarita's own words were what ended up on the chart paper with her name on it. The entire exchange occurred in Spanish, as expected for the content area of science according to the TWDL model; Clarita's positioning by the structure of the program as an "English speaker" did not impede her participation in this lesson. Clarita was a secure participant in the *figured world* of bilingualism. This final case illustrates the potential of TWDL to be a space for strong language, literacy, and identity development for initial bilingual children as they build from bilingual beginnings to embrace both vernacular/hybrid and standard language registers in both their home languages.

Conclusion

What can these children teach us about the process of co-constructing bilingual identities? It seems clear from her body language and voice tone that for Elizabeth, constructing herself as bilingual is very challenging and comes with risk—of losing face with her (not always friendly) bilingual partner Emilie, and of potentially mispronouncing or misunderstanding English. Gaining entry into (learning the cultural and linguistic practices of) the *figured world* of bilingualism takes interactional skill and practice. I would also assert that everyone—even Clarita—needs help to build and maintain a bilingual identity; co-construction occurs constantly as we live, learn and grow in communities, and developing an intentionally bilingual community that

welcomes in new members is no small task. Power and status matter, too, regardless of how young the emergent bilingual students are. Finally, this study aligns with a growing consensus in the field that hybrid and bilingual language practices are an integral part of bilingual identities (Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Gutiérrez, et al., 1999). Even supposedly monolingual children experiment with and mix their languages when they are *doing being*—and learning to *do being* (Erickson, 2004) bilingual. Pretending that they do not, or insisting that languages must be learned entirely in isolation, has the potential to undermine children's efforts to construct themselves as bilinguals, as it seemed to for Katie for at least a significant portion of her kindergarten year. While the children's and teachers' agency did seem to overcome the program's enforced parallel monolingualism, one wonders why we would structure a program in such a way that it runs counter to productive bilingual/biliterate development.

In US schools, more and more children enter our classrooms like Clarita, Katie, Emilie and Elizabeth, drawing on two (or more) languages from very early in their lives (Escamilla, et al., 2017). In fact, all over the world children enter school straddling the continua of biliteracy; the process of developing and deepening their bilingualism and biliteracy really is best reflected as a well-blended mix of the red and the blue. So blended, in fact, that it turns into its very own color: purple, neither red nor blue, but with elements of both—sometimes more blue, sometimes more red, sometimes with a bit of some other colors mixed in, but always a blended self. I propose that we work to make our classroom language and literacy programs and policies reflect these colorful linguistic realities.

This implies engaging children in literacy learning that straddles their linguistic repertoires right from the beginning: speaking to them in ways that encourage them to develop new language practices by drawing on their current ones, offering them tools and tasks that allow them to build skills in manipulating the languages of schooling and formal spaces as well as continuing to develop the richness and flexibility that their own bilingualism affords. There is tremendous potential in the growing body of work describing potential *translanguaging pedagogies* that satisfy these requirements (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Palmer et al., 2014; García & Kleyn, 2016), although more work must still be accomplished to best understand how translanguaging pedagogies look in the complex TWDL context. Above all, in a program that aims to develop children's bilingualism and biliteracy, perhaps we should avoid labeling our children as monolinguals—especially when they simply do not fit the labels.

Notes

1 All names are pseudonyms.

2 It is important to note that according to the official definition offered by the Center for Applied Linguistics, such segregation by language dominance would disqualify this as a TWDL program since it leaves English "dominant" children with less than 50% of their instruction in the target language (Spanish). This chapter will continue to use the label, however, because in this particular school, parents and educators envisioned a TWDL program for their children, and worked toward that goal.

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AFTERWORD

On Contested Theories and the Value and Limitations of Pure Critique

Terrence G. Wiley

The contributors to this volume demonstrate the relevance and ongoing value of codeswitching research, particularly when it is applied to the classroom (1) as a tool for expanding students' language learning and (2) using their own home language(s) to learn. The volume also demonstrates the value of the increasing number of contributions under the auspices of translanguaging and associated trending terminologies. While there exists some disagreement, primarily at the theoretical level, about the compatibility of codeswitching with translanguaging (MacSwan, Chapter 1, this volume), there are also considerable areas for complementarity and agreement (Martínez and Martinez, Chapter 10, this volume). Both frameworks can be mobilized to refute ever resilient deficit theories and disempowering classroom practices so that students can be enabled to draw on their own linguistic resources in order to learn.

As the editors and many of the contributors (see, for example, MacSwan, Guzman, McAlister & Marcus, Chapter 6, this volume) to this volume note, misguided deficit theories, such as the now discredited notion of semilingualism, have been based on assumptions that language produced while codeswitching or language mixing is inferior language, or worse, that it represents mental confusion. Thus, the contributions of this volume are instructive in providing tools for the analysis of language produced in schools and can help guide the instructional practices which encourage students, particularly linguistically minoritized students, to use and build upon the linguistic resources they bring to school. Below I offer a few reflections on the legacy of deficit theories related to language diversity, some comments on the useful insights provided by the contributors herein, and conclude with some cautionary thoughts about the pursuit for theoretical purity, or "pure critique."

DOI: 10.4324/9781315401102-15

Reflecting Back and Considering How Far We Have Come

In *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*, Kenji Hakuta (1986) chronicled past approaches, and progress made, in the study of bilingualism. With considerable empathy for the often well-intended but highly misguided scholars of the past, Hakuta provides examples of now discredited but once widely held deficit views regarding bilingualism. Among one of his more telling examples is that of a quantitative study by Madorah Smith (1939), who attempted to evaluate the "problem" of bilingualism as related to the English language abilities of 1,000 "non-American" preschool children in the then Territory of Hawai'i. Focusing only on the goal of English acquisition, Smith created an evaluation scale using the following scheme: "'If *correct* English only was used in the home, the rating was five, if good English was used and another language were heard by the child, as in the case where only one parent spoke *correctly*, the rating was three; if only pidgin English, two; if only a foreign language, one'" (Smith, 1939, p. 136; cited in Hakuta, 1986, p. 63; italics added). The data were reported in ethnic terms: "The average language rating was 2.5 for the Chinese, 2.0 for the Japanese, 3.0 for the Portuguese, and so forth" (Hakuta, 1986, p. 64). Because "correct" English was the target language, and thus privileged in the Smith scale, bilingualism, pidgin English (Hawaiian English Creole), and foreign languages were all assigned lower values on her scale. Moreover, as Hakuta notes, language mixing, was "a peculiarly unfortunate error, as it becomes impossible for anyone not knowing the languages to understand the speaker" (Smith, 1939, p. 176, cited in Hakuta, 1986, p. 62), which was understood to reflect negatively on the child's mental state.

It is important to follow up on Hakuta's discussion, however, to note that the misuse of school language assessment and placement policies in Hawai'i, based on a privileged view of English language proficiency, had long-term consequences many years after the days of Madorah Smith. Haas (1992), for example, concluded that English language proficiency assessment largely functioned as a surrogate for racial segregation of Hawai'i's school children at least into the 1960s (Haas, 1992; Wiley, 2013). Haas concluded that language assessment practices in Hawai'i were part of a larger set of practices of social control which he considered to be forms of *institutional racism*.

Ironically, the construct of institutional racism results from a structuralist mode of analysis that might be seen as too deterministic from a contemporary postmodernist perspective. It might, for example, be criticized for failing to focus enough on individual agency. Haas's analysis, however, and the construct of institutional racism in particular, continues to have considerable explanatory power. He detailed, for example, how biased language assessment and placement practices, which were routinely carried out by administrators and functionaries, resulted in the systematic marginalization of linguistically minoritized children of color. English language proficiency assessments—biased as they were—were used in determining school placements, which resulted in racially minoritized students'

routine assignment to segregated, lower-performing classrooms. Racial segregation was thus accomplished indirectly, through language assessments which favored a White (Haole), middle-class discourse community. Thus, racial segregation was accomplished through language assessment without any explicit focus on race. From a postmodernist perspective, these conditions did not deprive minoritized children of their agency; they may have been able to use their language creatively through performative acts of identity—at least outside the classroom—and perhaps through acts of resistance inside them. Nevertheless, through institutionally racist practices, they were systematically silenced in using their home or community languages as tools for learning.

For many students, who speak Hawai'ian English Creole, this type discrimination persists today. Although there has been a resurgence of the native Hawai'ian language, Pidgin remains stigmatized, particularly in the educational system. Meanwhile, sociolinguists specializing in language variation continue to work toward destigmatizing Pidgin through the efforts of organizations like the Charline Junko Sato Center at the University of Hawai'i[1]. Fortunately, since the days of Madorah Smith, our understanding of language variation and bilingualism has progressed, as has our understanding of language mixing, largely through work on codeswitching. Thus, even though some may see structuralism, codeswitching, and studies in language contact as now largely passé, we can continue to gain insight through the lenses of these frameworks.

Codeswitching as a Field of Inquiry Has Evolved Over Time

While it can be useful to critique large bodies of research for ideological bias or theoretical inconsistencies, it is also important to understand research within its intended contexts and foci as well as to note how fields attempt to self-correct over time before rushing to discredit them wholesale. In the case of codeswitching, as MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume) demonstrates, theoretical perspectives and research broadly falling under the category of codeswitching have changed over time and are still changing through the process of critique and empirical research. As MacSwan notes, early on "Grosjean (1985) argued persuasively that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one, reflecting what he called a *monolingual* or *fractional* view of bilingualism" (p. 4), thus rejecting a monolingualist orientation. MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume) proceeds by providing background on the history of codeswitching literature while focusing on how the field has evolved and self-corrected over time. He notes the work of early contributors, including contributors to this volume (e.g., Valdés-Fallis, 1976), who focused on what he terms "discourse strategic" codeswitching, which focused on language functions. In a subsequent, and separate focus of inquiry, MacSwan notes the work of scholars such as Myers-Scotton (1983, 1993b, 2000), who focused on social motivations for codeswitching. Over the past four decades, as MacSwan chronicles, there has been significant linguistic work on codeswitching.

MacSwan summarizes extensive research on codeswitching as "language use" and as "language structure," noting key contributions from linguists and sociolinguists made since the inception of the field.

Translanguaging Is Evolving Too

Similarly, it is also important to note that the bourgeoning field of translanguaging has been evolving, as has its theoretical constructions. In terms of its origins, several authors have noted that translanguaging was originally used to describe language use among bilinguals. For example, Tigert et al. (Chapter 3, this volume) state:

> Originally used by Cen Williams (1994, 1996) in the Welsh–English bilingual context, the term "translanguaging" referred to the planned pedagogic use of one language for input and another for output, with the aim of strengthening students' academic language skills in both languages. Baker (2011) further defined translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (p. 288).
>
> *(This volume, p. 66)*

The concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism themselves have now also became contested to the extent that they rely on the construct of named, "countable" languages (Gramling, 2016). As Valdés (Chapter 5, this volume), notes:

> In order to describe perspectives that problematize established and unquestioned conceptualizations of language itself, of multilinguals and multilingualism, and of the end goal of the language teaching and learning process, a new metalanguage has been considered necessary for the purpose of challenging existing unexamined and deeply influential perspectives.
>
> *(This volume, p. 132)*

Even now, however, much of the literature produced under translanguaging, particularly in the US, has focused on contexts involving Spanish–English speakers in transitional bilingual education programs, which ultimately aim to move students into English-only instruction over time. It is also useful to note that in most dual-language programs, where the goal is bilingualism and biliteracy, most of the US programs are Spanish–English programs. Similarly, there is some evidence that these programs often promote English over Spanish (Durán & Palmer, 2014). Spanish and English are the second and third (following Mandarin; Ethnologue, 1999) most spoken home languages (or "named" languages see Faltis, Chapter 2, this volume; or "counted" languages, if one prefers—Gramling, 2016, p. 92) in the world. Thus, both

English and Spanish carry a large degree of privilege in global contexts, as well as in academia, even though Spanish is often socially and politically subordinated in its role as the second most spoken language within the United States. García's (2009) earlier definition of translanguaging also focused on bilingualism, as she defined translanguaging as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages in order to maximize communicative potential" (García, 2009, p. 128; cited and critiqued for this emphasis by Agnihotri, 2014).

In reflecting on translanguaging as a field, MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume) characterizes it as "a broad and varied concept that includes at least three components."

> First, it is a conceptual framework which affirms a holistic view of bilingualism (Grosjean, 1985, 2010) and rejects prescriptivist dogma related to the language of bilingual communities and individuals. Second, it is a pedagogical research program, often realized as a particular point of view on bilingual instruction which rejects strict language separation policies. And third, as articulated by some translanguaging scholars very recently, it offers a perspective on "bilingual grammar" which questions the existence of discrete languages, along with complementary ideas such as and multilingualism, language rights, mother tongues, or codeswitching.
>
> *(This volume, p. 24)*

As several authors note, some theoretical points of contestation regarding the construct of language (and thereby bilingualism and codeswitching) have been raised by postmodernist scholars (e.g., Pennycook, 2006; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Their views have also influenced some translanguaging specialists' more recent thinking. While reflecting on the three broad areas of translanguaging that he identifies, MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume) points out: "This third component of translanguaging, introduced most sharply in Otheguy, García and Reid (2015), is absent from early treatments such as García (2009), where codeswitching is extensively used and discussed as one example of dynamic language use" (this volume, p. 24). From the perspective of determining the compatibility of translanguaging with codeswitching, MacSwan concludes that "it is not difficult to … readily preserve and accept the first two components of translanguaging, which relate to its underlying conceptual framework and pedagogical research program, and reject the third…" which in his view would also preclude "any meaningful discussion of community-level language varieties, second language acquisition, and much of sociolinguistics quite generally" (this volume, pp. 24–25). More significantly, he argues, "if we take seriously the view that multilingualism is a fiction [along with the construct of languages], then any discussion of multilingual education immediately becomes

incongruous" (this volume, p. 25). (We will return to this last consideration in closing thoughts on the limitations of pure critique, that is, critique for its own sake).

Is Translanguaging a New and Unique Perspective?

Faltis (Chapter 2, this volume) also provides an interesting historical perspective on efforts to combat the rigid separation of languages in instructional practice to open up spaces in the curriculum for students to draw on their full linguistic resources. He recalls the efforts of Jacobson (Jacobson et al., 1988) and his own prior efforts with Jacobson (Jacobson & Faltis, 1990), which challenged the widespread diglossic approach to bilingual pedagogy at the time. According to Faltis, the diglossic approach privileged separate languages at the expense of encouraging flexible practices used in Chincanx and Latinx bilingual communities. Faltis reviews the "New Concurrent Approach" (see Faltis, 1996; MacSwan et al., Chapter 6, this volume), which was based on the work of Jacobson (1977, 1981) and Jacobson and Faltis (1990). It was first employed in the 1980s and explicitly promoted "an extraordinary pedagogy based on community codeswitching practices, to counter the prevailing narrative of separate language bilingual practices" (Faltis, Chapter 2, this volume, p. 47). On the basis of this, Faltis (Chapter 2, this volume) argues that "both ways of thinking about multilingualism and language have a role to play as counter-narratives in bilingual education for pushing back on the diglossic, single-code language ideologies that continue to prevail in bilingual and dual-language education programs" (p. 52).

Beware the Bandwagon Effect

Because deficit theories based on monolingualist ideologies have been relatively resilient, it is useful to search for new, groundbreaking paradigms in order to transform biased and outdated theories and pedagogical approaches. As we endeavor to move forward, however, it is also necessary to be aware of a potential *bandwagon effect*, which can lead to falling into the trap of presuming that a new label represents a fundamental break with all things past. Sometimes, in a rush to embrace new views, scholars and practitioners are still seen through old lenses. To share an anecdote in this regard, some years ago, I attended a well-intended working group of language education professors and practitioners, who wanted to write a new "constructivist" and "critical pedagogy-oriented" curriculum incorporating the work of John Dewey and Paolo Freire—without attempting to reconcile the work of the two. After some discussion, they decided their first task was to attempt to write "behavioral objectives" for constructivism and critical pedagogy. I failed in an appeal to the group to confront the paradigmatic incompatibility of the task with its goal, and thus learned the lesson that even when attempting, with the best of intentions, to replace one paradigm with another, habitus often perseveres.

Along with inducing the bandwagon effect, new labels also tend to generate an assortment of related labels which fall under the same umbrella of inquiry. As Valdés (Chapter 5, this volume) notes:

> A number of scholars and researchers … have introduced a variety of new terms that they believe can draw attention to aspects of language practice to which other terms and their underlying conceptualizations have not been sensitive (e.g., *languaging, superdiversity, transidiomatic practices, codemeshing, polylanguaging*).
>
> *(This volume, p. 132)*

Practitioners, with little time for professional development, may see this proliferation of terminology as a confusing word salad of new jargon, without understanding the nuances differentiating them.

How Multilingual Is the Multilingual Turn?

Turning to the notion of multilingualism, several authors have referenced the purported "multilingual turn" (e.g., May, 2014) as well as the notion of "superdiversity," which has been a preoccupation of primarily Western scholars in recent years (e.g., Vertovec, 2007). There is reason to doubt, however, whether "superdiversity" is really new (e.g., Wiley, 2014a). Within the context of colonial and US history, society has always been diverse, although the social construction and demographic composition of that diversity has changed over time. Some scholars, such as Agnihotri (2014), who live in highly multilingual societies, are skeptical that Western scholars' increased focus on language diversity actually breaks with monolingual views of language.

As previously noted, the majority of studies in this volume, like much of the literature more broadly, have examined codeswitching and translanguaging mostly with reference to Spanish–English speakers within postcolonial, transborder, and immigrant contexts in the US. As Judit Moschkovich (Chapter 4, this volume) points out:

> One difference is that the US Latino/a population of school age children can be largely described as bilingual in Spanish [and English] or as monolingual English speakers.[2] In contrast, the majority of students (and teachers) in South African classrooms speak multiple indigenous languages at home. Another contrasting example is Pakistan, where the language of schooling is usually not spoken at home, but reserved for activities related to school or government-related activities.
>
> *(This volume, p. 90)*

MacSwan's (2017) multilingual perspective on translanguaging conceptualizes "translanguaging as a pedagogical approach that 'emphasizes the dynamic use of

multiple languages to enhance learning and make schools more welcoming environments for *multilingual* children, families and communities" (p. 191 italics added).

Nevertheless, in the United States, even as most embrace "multilingualism," based on the fact that Spanish is the second most spoken language in the US, bilingualism (usually Spanish–English bilingualism) often remains the focus of much scholarship. It is therefore important to consider classrooms around the world where minoritized students continue to be marginalized when medium of instruction policies and practices fail to acknowledge or utilize the linguistic knowledge they bring to school (Agnihotri, 2014; Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Even when it is understood that recognizing a child's linguistic resources is paramount from an educational policy and practice standpoint, things often get tricky. As is often cited, UNESCO underscored the importance of using a child's "mother tongue" (or home language) as a basis for initial literacy instruction in its 1953 report. Transitional bilingual education (TBE) and other programs that attempt to bridge from the child's purported home language to the dominant language of instruction are based on this premise. This strategy has been widely embraced in some regions of Africa and is often used, for example, in USAID-funded programs. Models often attempt to begin with the child's purported mother tongue/home language, which is used through grade three, and then transition the child to "mainstream" classes using the dominant language. Those familiar with TBE in the United States will recognize the similarities in programmatic approach with Spanish–English TBE programs. Determining "mother tongue" (in the older parlance of UNESCO) is frequently a less-than-straightforward task, as when children come to school not speaking the pedagogized varieties of either English or Spanish (see Henderson & Sayer, Chapter 9, this volume); when they are more dominant in an indigenous language but are presumed to be dominant in a more common language such as Spanish (see Martínez & Martinez, Chapter 10, this volume); or when the program ascribes a pedagogical language identity (see Palmer, Chapter 11, this volume).

"Mother tongue" can now be seen in ideological terms as a dubious construct that has been used to convince people that they live in a fictionalized ethnolinguistically homogenous nation-state (see Bonfiglio, 2010). Nevertheless, there are very practical reasons to scrutinize the construct of mother tongue beyond theoretical ones, as the case of one of my colleagues, Munene Mwaniki, who is originally from Kenya, illustrates. Mwaniki explains:

> I was born in Eastern Kenya but now [at the time of relating this story] live in South Africa. The common language in my native Kenyan region is Kimbeere. That was actually my father's tongue. However, the larger regional language—mainly because the geopolitical reasons associated with standardization and national language policies on language of education was—Kikuyu. Thus, our local Kimbeere is a minority language that is only

> about 50% mutually intelligible with Kikuyu. My initial schooling was in Kikuyu, which was considered to be my "mother tongue." In fact, my mother's tongue was Kikamba. She was a language minority in our Kimbeere-speaking community. So when I went to school, I encountered my alleged "mother tongue" Kikuyu as more or less a second language. By fourth grade (Standard 4 in the Kenyan educational system), I had to learn Swahili and English. From Standard 4 … English was the medium of instruction, with Swahili being used for Swahili lessons. It is instructive that a national-examination taken at the end of 8th grade (Standard 8) is written in English, save for the Swahili lessons. So if you ask me, what my mother tongue is, I suppose it is Kimbeere, which is not my mother's tongue.
>
> *(Cited in Wiley, 2014, pp. 23–24)*

Mwaniki would continue with his linguistic journey to eventually become an important scholar who now publishes in English. But his early schooling experiences relative to his purported "mother tongue" are telling. In terms of school-ascribed classification, he was educated in his "native language" (cf. Palmer, Chapter 11, this volume).

In many rural areas in Africa and South Asia, there is a major challenge in matching students with teachers who are dominant (or at least proficient) speakers of their students' home languages, which has led to extremely high dropout rates in these regions. Thus, years before the current emphasis on translanguaging practices, scholars such as Agnihotri (1995) demonstrated how teachers could draw on the linguistic knowledge of students, even when they did not speak any of their students' home languages.

Faltis (Chapter 2, this volume) has shown that even when children and their teachers do speak the same language, children can be excluded in classrooms. He states: "It is assumed that only when children learn to use academic varieties of language, are they able to speak those languages well" (this volume, p. 45). Thus, the notion of "academic language" (see Wiley & Rolstad, 2013) also calls for scrutiny. Under some misguided educational policies, children have been subject to segregated educations in "ESL Pullouts," where the English-mediated curriculum is simplified or "dumbed down," while their mainstreamed peers progress through academic subject matter at grade-level (Moore, 2014). Thus, when students use all of the linguistic resources they have in order to learn, they do not need to be segregated into remedial tracks in order to learn pedagogized English or other dominant languages at the expense of content learning.

The Utility of Codeswitching and Translanguaging

Despite some of the ongoing disagreements at the theoretical level about the compatibility of codeswitching and translanguaging, Faltis (Chapter 2, this volume) concludes that both the literature promoting codeswitching in the classroom and translanguaging largely are:

> de-colonizing pedagogies that bilingual teachers can and should use for promoting bilingual students' content and language learning, for leveraging bilingualism, and for valuing the language resources that bilingual children and youth bring to the classroom. The commonalities, in terms of what each contributes to promoting bilingualism, far outweigh their theoretical differences.
>
> *(This volume, p. 57; see MacSwan, 2017 for a discussion of theoretical differences)*

Similarly, in their discussion of language ideologies within the context of Chicanx and Latinx classrooms, Martínez and Martinez (Chapter 10, this volume) note the importance of both codeswitching and translanguaging perspectives, pushing back against essentializing deficit ideologies. They argue:

> The literature on codeswitching and style shifting has historically enabled us to talk back to deficit perspectives that frame Chicanx and Latinx students and their language in racist and pejorative terms. In a similar way, the emergent translanguaging literature provides us with a vocabulary for challenging the dominant language ideologies that continue to circulate in society and in the classroom. Despite different underlying assumptions, these bodies of scholarship converge in that they both afford a perspective that recognizes the richness of Chicanx and Latinx students' dynamic linguistic repertoires.
>
> *(This volume, p. 247)*

They caution that these terms should not be used interchangeably, however.

"While we acknowledge these difficulties, we wish to briefly make the case for the concurrent use of both terms" (p. 241). Furthermore,

> we feel that it is necessary to emphasize the important role that the codeswitching literature has played in challenging dominant ideologies and discourses in both research and practice over the past several decades. In fact, we feel that the scholarship on codeswitching has helped to prepare us—or prime us—to understand and embrace the translanguaging literature.
>
> *(Martínez & Martinez, this volume, ibid.)*

Postmodern views focusing on "languaging" provide useful insights into the agency that underlies language choices and production, the performance of identities, and acts of resistance. Codeswitching has helped us understand language use in social contexts by those commonly described as bilinguals or multilinguals. By noting the value of both the codeswitching and translanguaging literatures, the conclusion that Martínez and Martinez reach helps us to overcome a false dichotomy in choosing among different research traditions and foci based on the assumption that only one view can inform practice.

Some Final Thoughts on the Limitations of Pure Critique

As noted, despite many areas of agreement, much is still contested in the literature regarding long-standing constructs and terminology and the important insights gleaned through critiquing them. Through valuable critiques, monolingualist ideologies (the status quo in Madorah Smith's day) have been denormalized, as have the unquestioned goals of native-like competency for ESL and transitional bilingual education, or "balanced" bilingualism for dual-language instruction, or the "linguistic purity" intended to result from rigid language separation policies. In the arena of ideological and political critique, monolingualism, according to Gramling (2016), has come to be equated with unearned privilege: "[A]s other previously unmarked terms like Whiteness, [it] is not an embodied circumstance of the individual speaker … [but has become] … an unearned structural privilege" (p. 92). In his critique of the invention of monolingualism, and thereby language, Gramling (2016) concludes that "Monolingualism and multilingualism both derive historically from the pragmatic rationalist axiom of 'Lingualism'—namely the meaning-making world is organized by way of a countable roster of propositionally and functionally exhaustive entities called languages" (p. 92). Thus, there is power in deconstruction and pure critique as we seek to scrutinize the ideological underpinnings of constructs such as language and multilingualism.

Critique, however, may have unintended social and political consequences. In this context, note again, MacSwan (Chapter 1, this volume) has cautioned, "if we take seriously the view that multilingualism is a fiction, then any discussion of multilingual education immediately becomes incongruous" (p. 25). Or consider Pennycook's (2006) claim that if there are no languages, there are no language rights. Might this lead generations of children to wonder why they were punished for speaking what was not a language, or why their right to speak what they thought was their language was not protected? This could also be dismissed as a mere "naïve critique" of a postmodernist view (see Pennycook, 2006), but with harmful language ideologies encoded in law, a denial of language rights can have *situated consequences* for those regulated by them.

Kenneth Gergen (1994), himself a postmodernist critic in the field of psychology, has reflected on of the power of pure critique (i.e., critique for its own sake, and its implications for a community of scholars and, ultimately, for practice). Noting its power, he concludes: "There is virtually no hypothesis, body of evidence, ideological stance, literary canon, value commitment or logical edifice that cannot be dismantled, demolished or derided with the implements at hand" (*ibid.*, p. 59). Gergen was particularly concerned that the emerging body of scholarly critique would "ultimately turns to destroy itself" (*ibid.*, p. 80). He was also concerned with the tendency of pure critique to divide scholarly communities into smaller and smaller communities comprised of those only in agreement with one another. Gergen noted that critique "establishes a binary ontology, reifying the terms of disagreement, and removing other" (*ibid.*, p. 71) issues from discussion.

For those of us hoping to use theory to affect practice for the better, Gergen (1994) leaves us with the question: "[W]hat do we wish to achieve in the social world through critical deliberation, and are there superior alternatives to the contemporary critical practice?" (p. 71). In our quests for purity, let us not forget the implications of our theories and critiques for communities of practice. Both the extensive literature on codeswitching and the emerging literature on translanguaging have much to contribute to those communities.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Chritian J. Faltis, Jeff MacSwan and Katharine Glanbock for their helpful comments and suggestions on a prior draft of this chapter.

Note

1 See www.hawaii.edu/satocenter.
2 There are also Latino/a children and adults in the US who also speak an indigenous language as their first language, Spanish as a second language, and English as a third language.

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