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Sunny Man Chu Lau
Saskia Van Viegen *Editors*

Plurilingual Pedagogies

Critical and Creative Endeavors for Equitable Language in Education

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Sunny Man Chu Lau • Saskia Van Viegen
Editors

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Editors
Sunny Man Chu Lau
School of Education
Bishop's University
Sherbrooke, QC, Canada

Saskia Van Viegen
Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics
York University
Toronto, ON, Canada

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We aim for this book to be read, shared and discussed among educators of all kinds - language teachers, classroom teachers, graduate students, teacher educators and researchers. More importantly, we hope readers are moved to take on endeavours of their own to make plurilingual theories and approaches come alive in their own classrooms, to continue this collaborative process of building theory and practice that supports creative, critical language and literacy teaching and learning.

Finally, we dedicate the book to our families, especially Fil, Janan, Samuel and Marin for always being our inspiration and for their patience and support for our work that never ends…

Sunny and Saskia

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We would like to extend our sincere appreciation for the dedicated commitment and effort of the contributors to this volume - not only for the work they have done but also for writing about that work to share with us here. It is humbling to read across the chapters and recognize the combined accomplishments of so many educators working together in classrooms and communities to do language (in) education differently. Such work is neither easy nor straightforward as it is generally transgressive, to some degree, requiring persistence in collaboration, negotiation and navigation of dominant ideologies, institutional constraints and practical limitations. Mobilizing and disseminating this critical work was the inspiration for this volume, and we hope that readers share our appreciation for their endeavours. We are also grateful to the commentators, Kelleen Toohey, Jim Cummins and Li Wei for their willingness to engage with these contributions and for the thoughtful responses that encourage and challenge classroom-based research and practice to help promote linguistic inclusivity and critical learning. Finally, our sincere thanks go to Francis Hult, the Educational Linguistics Series Editor, for his belief in the importance of our work and willingness to give it a home. The volume would not be complete without the support of him and the editorial team at Springer International at every stage in the process. Working together as co-editors, we have accomplished more than we could have accomplished alone, and the whole is truly greater than the sum of its parts.

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Contributors

Avril Aitken School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada

Elvira Ruiz Aldaz Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Daniela Coelho College of Arts and Sciences, Abu Dhabi University, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates

Lorena Córdova-Hernández Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Jim Cummins Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Angelica Galante Department of Integrated Studies in Education, McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada

Ryuko Kubota Department of Language and Literacy Education, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada

Sunny Man Chu Lau School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada

Jay L. Lemke City University of New York, New York, NY, USA
Laboratory for Comparative Human Cognition (LCHC), University of California, San Diego, CA, USA

Angel M. Y. Lin Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada

Mario E. López Gopar Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Steve Marshall Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada

Danièle Moore Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC, Canada
EA 2288 (DILTEC), Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, France

Victor Vásquez Morales Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Brian North Eurocentres Foundation, Zurich, Switzerland

Yecid Ortega Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Enrica Piccardo OISE-University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
Université Grenoble-Alpes, Grenoble, France

Loretta Robinson Conseil en Éducation des Premières Nations – First Nations Education Council, Wendake, QC, Canada

Kate Seltzer Department of Language, Literacy, and Sociocultural Education, Rowan University, Glassboro, NJ, USA

William M. Sughrua Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Zhongfeng Tian Lynch School of Education and Human Development, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA

Kelleen Toohey Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC, Canada

Beatriz Patricia López Torres Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México

Saskia Van Viegen Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada

Li Wei UCL Centre for Applied Linguistics, University College London, London, UK

Yanming (Amy) Wu Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, China

Part I
Conceptual Shifts in Language Teaching and Learning

*Pluri*lingual Pedagogies: An Introduction

Sunny Man Chu Lau and Saskia Van Viegen

Abstract In this introductory chapter, we present the main goals for this edited volume on *pluri*lingual pedagogies: to critically engage with theoretical shifts marked by the 'multilingual turn' in applied linguistics and articulate complexities associated with naming and engaging the everyday language practices of bi/multilingual communities; to highlight fieldwork as methodology (ways of doing) *and* onto-epistemology (ways of being and knowing); and, to showcase pedagogical approaches and instructional and assessment strategies for teaching and learning language and/or content curriculum to students across educational settings. We unpack some of the most visible and circulated framings and perspectives related to these new developments in the field including translanguaging, plurilingualism, code-switching/code-mixing, code-meshing, dynamic bilingualism, metrolingualism, and heteroglossia to engage reflexively in dialogue with these different lenses. We employ "*pluri*linguralism" (emphasis added) as an umbrella term for these lenses so that we have a necessary, though insufficient, working term within and against that which we attempt to name. The introduction summarizes each chapter and describes the overall organization of the book, which honors the dialogic and unfinished nature of our conceptual tools by inviting scholars to give commentary on each major section of the volume.

Keywords Bilingualism · Plurilingualism · Multilingualism · Translanguaging · Language practices · Language education · Language in education · Plurilingual pedagogies

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S. M. C. Lau (✉)
School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada
e-mail: slau@ubishops.ca

S. Van Viegen
Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: saskiast@yorku.ca

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1 Introduction

As educators and researchers working with bi/multilingual students and communities, we have seen an explosion of interest in approaches to language teaching that engage purposefully with the rich linguistic repertoires of people living and working in a post-globalized world. Within this context, shaped not only by greater recognition of Indigenous languages, but also the influence of human flows, migration and transnational connection, and awareness of diversity within our local settings, we have had the privilege of working alongside teachers who have found and developed critical and creative strategies for bringing students' linguistic repertoires into the learning context. At the same time, researchers in applied linguistics have been rethinking orientations to language, arising from a growing dissatisfaction with the limitations of existing theoretical concepts. Interdisciplinarity and engagement with alterative perspectives across anthropology, sociolinguistics, sociology, psycholinguistics, education, communication studies, and others, along with the philosophical underpinnings of these fields, have broadened perspectives. The shift constitutes a general willingness and openness to engage with accumulated knowledges from contexts beyond the situatedness and limits of existing geopolitical and social boundaries, extending the edges of knowledge production past the English-dominant scholarship that has underwritten much of the canon in applied linguistics. These new lenses expand thinking and ignite debates about language and language teaching as situated deeply within sociomaterial, -cultural, -historical, -political arenas which, when placed alongside our current and past understandings, highlight how the pursuit of English language proficiency and idealized native-speakerism tends to mask other ways of thinking about language, language use and the practices of bi/multilingual people and communities.

Rethinking language and bilingualism brings us to ask, "What is the very nature of language that underlies our approach to teaching and learning?", "What is the role of the teacher?", and "What is our understanding of the student(s) before us?" These questions are not finite, but invite ongoing engagement with the changes we are seeing in our field, changes which make more apparent the different ways of thinking *about* and thinking *with* language, even different ways of thinking itself. Moreover, this shift calls to mind implications for teachers, including whether and how they should or do name the concepts that guide, underpin or label their practices.

It is with these wonderings in mind that we began this book, which endeavours to connect pedagogy with changing understandings of language and bilingualism. We decided to wade into the "maze of terminology" (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012, p. 656) that has been circulating of late, and what we happened upon were accounts that were at once personal and situated, engaging with both philosophies of language and the practices of educators. Working in partnership with teachers to put these lenses to work with children, youth and adults in their communities, the authors in this volume describe their engagements and local efforts to develop pedagogies that not only transgress sociocultural and sociopolitical boundaries, but also remake the very ground upon which we understand how language functions in unique contexts.

This effort materialized first as a panel titled "Plurilingualism-inspired Pedagogy: Creating Synergies across Languages through Creativity and Criticality" at the 2016 meeting of the American Association of Applied Linguistics (AAAL), organized by Dr. Sunny Man Chu Lau. The panel featured presentations by several of the authors included in this volume, and the insights were synthesized by Dr. Daniele Moore who served as discussant. Additional authors were invited to contribute to the collection, broadening the scope to include a wider variety of contexts. Specifically, the purposes of the book encompass three broad aims, to:

(1) Critically engage with theoretical shifts marked by the 'multilingual turn' (May, 2013) in applied linguistics and articulate the complexities associated with naming and engaging the everyday language practices of bi/multilingual communities;
(2) Highlight fieldwork as methodology (ways of doing) *and* onto-epistemology (ways of being and knowing) through which university-based researchers work alongside teachers and immerse themselves in these communities to better understand and address teaching and learning needs;
(3) Showcase pedagogical approaches and instructional and assessment strategies for teaching and learning language and/or content curriculum to students across educational settings.

Mapping theoretical terrain and showcasing critical and creative implementations of *pluri*lingual approaches, we hope teachers and educators can come to have a better understanding of how they position themselves on shifting ground and negotiate a deeper understanding of what these perspectives mean to their practice. We imagine that teachers and teacher educators who work closely with diverse students wrestle with the sociopolitical realities of language policies and ideologies on a day-to-day basis. We hear from educators who express a desire and interest in being informed about and reflective toward theoretical debates and pedagogical endeavours in other contexts, such that they may co-construct and speak back to theory.

Finally, in the spirit of critical reflection, and to honour the unfinished nature of our conceptual tools, we invited scholars to generate insight by giving commentary on the empirical cases featured in the volume. This dialogic format underscores our understanding that theories are porous and continue to evolve, particularly as they are applied in social context. Before inviting readers along this journey with us, we go deeper into the three aims of the book, to explicate why we see a need for this understanding today, for graduate students, pre-service and in-service teachers, teacher educators, researchers, and others. We then give a summary to each chapter by contributing authors and articulate the overarching and cross-cutting themes and ideas that connect the chapters together.

2 A Note on Terminology- "*Pluri*lingualism"

Surrounded by a plethora of seemingly comparable terminologies and concepts, we had a difficult time selecting terms with which to frame this book. We wondered how to refer to students and language practices, and what the use of different terms implied. Often when presenting *pluri*lingual theories to teachers, whether it is plu-

rilingualism (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018), or translanguaging (García & Li, 2014), we hear the same question over and over: How do different ways of thinking about language apply to students in real classrooms? Aware of the ideological and political constraints that teachers navigate, we noted the need for nuanced discussion of this question. The chapters contained herein do precisely this; each author applies theories of language to empirical work to critically analyze, interpret and inform ways of seeing the language practices of bi/multilingual people and communities, mindful of situated sociopolitical, historical, and philosophical underpinnings. Remaining open to different perspectives, without using a singular label, we did not want to mark, include or exclude, or restrict authors to particular lenses. Language often fails us and the naming of the terms itself can become a site of "translingual reflexivity"; terms themselves crossing, mixing, merging and diverging, in contestation and negotiation (Moore, Lau & Van Viegen, chapter "*Mise en Écho des Perspectives* on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore", this volume). Therefore, we employ "*pluri*lingualism" (emphasis added) as an umbrella term, and also in a derridean *sous-rature* sense – putting the word under erasure – (Derrida, 1976) in reflexive acknowledgement of the limits of theoretical concepts. Thus, *pluri*lingualism is taken as an insufficient but necessary term working *within* and *against* that which we attempt to name. Reading the word under erasure can reinvest the term with new meaning, highlighting the analytic lens at work and whether and how this lens corresponds with or echoes other, different or similar, terminology. Continuing this discussion throughout the book, several of the authors go on to articulate the finer points of different theories of language that are gaining in use, which we leave them to do without replicating their arguments here.

Notably, these perspectives come up against the social and material realities of named languages, and the ongoing and daily struggles with sociopolitical forces and ideological constraints. Therefore, in adopting a theoretical lens to guide empirical work with bi/multilingual students, we foreground the need for *critical* and *creative* approaches for equitable social purposes. In reflecting on what critical and creative approaches mean in promoting *pluri*lingual pedagogies, we suggest that naming and engaging with these plural or hybrid practices actively challenge inequitable power relations inherent in language hierarchies, reshape the social representations of minoritized language identities, and engage learners in agentive actions for immediate and/or sustainable social change. In our vision of critical and creative approaches, we envisage creativity in the sense that teachers/researchers actively orchestrate space to work within and against structural limits and ideological constraints to imagine and materialize pathways for alternative, dynamic approaches that skirt, go between, and disrupt binary, simplistic and mono perspectives. Rather than merely fulfil neoliberal agendas of managing diversity or enhancing individual productivity and innovation in global contexts, the ultimate goal is to fully reflect, mobilize and strengthen languages, communities, social practices and cultural identities that are often dismissed, devalued and discriminated against in mainstream classrooms.

3 Diving into Murky Waters

Unpacking some of the most visible and circulated framings and perspectives such as translanguaging and plurilingualism and other related ideas, we aim to create an entry point for engaging reflexively in dialogue with these different lenses, because, at present, these terms may appear far removed from the classroom, in both a theoretical and empirical sense. Attempting to map these understandings, we do not wish to imply linearity in progression of ideas, nor are we aiming at an exhaustive discussion of each and every concept about bilingualism and bilingual education. We are articulating those that most inform our own thinking and discussions with teachers: hence, situated and, at worst, limited. These understandings are further restricted by the traditions of our disciplinary home in applied linguistics and education, where perspectives from sociology, Indigenous studies, creole studies, linguistic anthropology and more tend to be peripheral rather than core knowledge. In what follows, we provide a broad overview of key terms and highlight some ongoing debates and issues in the field.

Viewing language learning as a complex process, the field of second language acquisition (SLA) has shown increasing interest in the articulation, adoption and adaptation of theories to describe complex and dynamic language practices and language learning processes. Studies in sociolinguistics, anthropology and ecology of communications have prompted close examination of the increasing global technologization of communication and transnational movements that set in motion multilingual and multicultural encounters as fluid, mobile, transitory, porous, and contingent to intersubjective negotiations (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). This attention marks an important shift in thinking about language as a system in the mind to thinking about language in society and how language functions as a marker of identity and participation (for recent discussions of identity and language, see for instance: Block, 2007; Darvin & Norton, 2015; Norton, 2016; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

One key contribution to this movement has been research on code-switching, emerging over 30 years of sociolinguistic/anthropological inquiry (Grosjean, 1982, 1989, 2010). **Code-switching** refers to alternation between two or more languages in communication and conversation, both inter-clausal/sentential (between clauses/sentences) and intra-clausal/sentential (within a clause/sentence) which is also sometimes called **code-mixing** (Comeau, Genesee, & Lapaquette, 2003; Lin, 1990, 2008). Applied linguists note a formerly deficit orientation implied by understandings of bilinguals' code-switching practice of mixing languages as sloppiness or a lack of care and/or mastery of both languages. Seeing code-switching negatively as interference (Weinreich, 1953) previously led to the separation of languages in academic settings for fear of cross-contamination of both languages (Jacobson & Faltis, 1990). Code-switching is now increasingly recognised as characteristic of bilingual communication, regardless of proficiency level. Researchers have demonstrated that the rule-governed and systematic nature of code-switching comprises an "agentive practice" that draws functionally on the full linguistic rep-

ertoire to overcome language barriers for communication or performance and to serve a range of strategic discourse- and identity-related purposes (Alfonzetti, 1998; Comeau et al., 2003; De Houwer, 1990; Genesee, Boivin, & Nicoladis, 1996; Grosjean, 2010; Li, 1988; Toribio, 2004; Zentella, 1997).

Linguistic landscape has emerged from another line of sociolinguistic/anthropological inquiry which has served to document bi/multilingual language in action. Highlighting the public use and display of language in communities, linguistic landscaping has provided a methodological tool to mark and normalize the dynamic yet quotidian use of multiple languages in social space. Studying language in the environment has shaped our understanding of people and society and the patterns, rules, ideologies and uses that shape the language ecologies of local, global, transnational or digital social space (Blommaert, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Gorter, 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2009). As Shohamy and Gorter (2009) write, linguistic landscapes reflect the sociopolitical context, including issues of identity, language policy and social conflict (p. 4). Moreover, this work has shown that language use in the environment both influences and reflects the status of languages and language use, emphasizing space as social, cultural and political at once. Naming language practices in globalized, multicultural locations, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) used the term **metrolingualism,** and Vertovec's term **superdiversity** was employed by Blommaert and Rampton (2011) to describe how connections between language and culture, ethnicity, or nationality are being produced, resisted, rearranged or defied arising out of increased contact, interaction and relation among diverse speakers. Pointing to the changes these multilingual spaces engender, Blommaert (2013) argues, "Old and established terms such as 'code-switching', and indeed even 'multilingualism', appear to rapidly exhaust the limit of their descriptive and explanatory power in the face of such highly complex 'blends' [of linguistic and semiotic forms]" (p. 8).

To describe the shift occurring in the fields of psycholinguistics, applied linguistics, SLA and language education, scholars identified a **multilingual turn** (see also Block, 2014; Firth & Wagner, 2007; May, 2013). This turn marked not only the emergence of new terminologies, but importantly, altogether different ways of thinking about languages beyond discrete linguistic systems. Importantly, the turn heralded the movement from **monoglossic** to **heteroglossic** understandings of language. Monoglossic ideology (García, 2009) refers to enduring perspectives on languages as separate and bounded entities. These perspectives normalize monolingualism and quantify bilingualism through dual monolingual standards; whereas a heteroglossic conceptualization of languages asserts a dynamic, permeable and composite view of bilingualism. **Heteroglossia**, originally borrowed from Bakhtin (1981) gestures to a cacophony of styles, voices and uses; embracing as common and normative the multi-discursive practices comprised by the range of languages, varieties and modalities used to perform communicative and meaning-making acts across contexts and social purposes. These concepts can be employed to mark a critical distinction between **monoglossic multilingualism** and **heteroglossic multilingualism**, the former imagining the existence of multiple distinct and separate languages in the mind, and the latter denoting a single linguistic sys-

tem functionally rendered in different, socially constructed languages. Makoni and Pennycook (2005) articulated the idea of **disinvesting language**, suggesting that languages are fundamentally inventions of social, cultural and political movements tied to colonial history and "metadiscursive regimes" (p. 137). This foundational contribution, while not without contention, helps shift the onto-epistemological basis for our present understandings of language. Offering a human-centred multilingualism that put social interaction rather than language and language systems at the centre, Makoni and Pennycook wrote, "rather than focusing on languages and their users, we would be better off focusing on the "acts of identity" involved in different interactions" (2012, p. 441). The movement from a monolingual to multilingual paradigm is not sufficient, they argued: if the concept of languages is in question, so too is their pluralization (2012, p. 442).

Concepts drawing on a heteroglossic view of multilingualism include, for example, **polylanguaging and polylingual languaging** (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), **translingualism** (Canagarajah, 2013) and **code-meshing** (Canagarajah, 2011), all refer to dynamic interactions between languages and the integrated semiotic resources in a person's communicative repertoire. Broadly, these terms foreground the understanding that communication transcends individual languages.

*3.1 Pluri*lingual *Education*

Reframing thinking about bilingualism from a heteroglossic conceptualization of language, and constructing an argument for the functional integration of languages in education and language teaching, García (2009) offers the idea of **dynamic bilingualism** to highlight the flexible language proficiency of bilinguals rather than a model of bilingual proficiency that maintains L1, L2 or additional languages as discrete. Dynamic bilingualism can be differentiated from **additive bilingualism** which has been referred to as an instructional approach that aims to help students add a second language while continuing to develop their first or home language (i.e. Cummins, 1986). Cummins points out that classroom research that has drawn on additive bilingualism (e.g., Agirdag, 2010; Canagarajah, 2006; May, 2011; Molyneux, Scull, & Aliani, 2016; Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag, 2017) has helped counter monolingual bias and challenge societal coercive power structures that marginalize minoritized students and communities. Despite these contributions, additive bilingualism has been criticized by some scholars who argue that it can inadvertently reinforce "distinct and delineable" (May, 2013, p. 8) first and second languages and their uses, as in monoglossic multilingualism. Further, what most of its critics argue against is that it does not actively disrupt notions of **academic monolingualism** (García, Bartlett, & Kleifgen, 2009), in the sense that formal schooling and evaluation continue to follow a monolingual paradigm, prioritizing academic success in the dominant language, rather than disrupting arbitrary boundaries and existing language hierarchies (ie. Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Drawing on the concept of dynamic bilingualism, García, Li, and Baker are among scholars who have theorized the concept of **translanguaging**, from originally a teaching practice of alternate language use in the classroom to promote minority language education and content learning (Williams, 1994), to its current conceptualization as a language theory of practice (Li, 2017) as well as translanguaging pedagogy (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016). Li argues that translanguaging refers to bilinguals' common *practice* and *instinct* to engage in dynamic mixing and meshing of semiotic resources for fluid transfer and re-contextualization of ways of knowing, being and acting in socially situated domains (García et al., 2009; Hornberger, 2013). He argues for active negotiation for **translanguaging spaces** in schools and classrooms whereby teachers and students can strategically mobilize and leverage these common practices for teaching and learning purposes. García and colleagues calibrate a finely delineated *translanguaging pedagogy*, which involves three interwoven strands: **translanguaging stance, design and shifts** (for details see García et al., 2017; Seltzer, chapter "Translingual Writers as Mentors in a High School "English" Classroom", this volume; Tian, chapter "Faculty First: Promoting Translanguaging in TESOL Teacher Education", this volume). Encompassing not only a posture that values students' full cultural and semiotic resources (i.e. stance), but also purposeful and intentional planning of instruction and assessment that taps into bi/multilingual students' or teachers' translanguaging practices (i.e. design), this form of translanguaging pedagogy is itself not static, but attends to unique and evolving language, cognitive and socioemotional needs of students in the learning context (i.e. shifts). Translanguaging pedagogy has been envisioned as both a *scaffold* (García & Kleyn, 2016), to utilize multilingual students' full linguistic repertoire as a temporary support for new language or content learning (see earlier classroom studies on hybrid literacy practices, e.g., Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, Alvarez, & Chiu, 1999; Manyak, 2001, 2002), and as *transformative* practice to engage hybrid language practices and identities for learning in their own right (see Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Durán & Palmer, 2014; Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015; Sayer, 2013; Worthy, Durán, Hikida, Pruitt, & Peterson, 2013).

Broadly, a translanguaging lens sees language as political ideologization, holding that bilinguals do not think in a specific language but rather select disaggregated features from an internally undifferentiated, unitary linguistic repertoire ("idiolect") in communicative acts (see Lin, Wu & Lemke, chapter "'It Takes a Village to Research a Village': Conversations Between Angel Lin and Jay Lemke on Contemporary Issues in Translanguaging", this volume; García & Otheguy, 2014; Li, 2017; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Depending on the specific communication context, topic and interactional factors, individuals confirm or disregard language boundaries imposed by socio- cultural, historical and political forces (Otheguy et al., 2015). This *strong* version of translanguaging, as García and Kleyn (2016) name it, reiterates the argument which questions the existence of discrete languages in the human mind. Thinking about languages as discrete entities has become a contentious issue in the field. As described earlier, some scholars have

raised the point that while named languages exist in the social world, the linguistic system itself comprises an undifferentiated, unitary system uniquely configured as an idiolect, or individual language (García & Otheguy, 2014; Otheguy et al., 2015). In doing so, this understanding rejects the idea of individual multilingualism and puts code-switching into question, because it fundamentally conflicts with the idea of a unitary linguistic repertoire (MacSwan, 2017). Code-switching suggests "a theoretical endorsement of the idea that what the bilingual manipulates, however masterfully, are two separate linguistic systems" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282). However, scholars who disagree with such a position argue that the rejection of discrete language categories is in no way useful in promoting equity for minoritized language learners. For example, MacSwan, through a study of code-switching and bilingual grammar, argues that the linguistic repertoire of a multilingual comprises a "single system with many shared grammatical resources but with some internal language-specific differentiation as well" (MacSwan, 2017, p. 179). This position agrees with both existence of discrete languages in the mind and the sociopolitical constructedness of languages, rather than an *either/or* proposition. Arguing from both a political and practical point of view, Lemke (Lin, Wu & Lemke, chapter "'It Takes a Village to Research a Village': Conversations Between Angel Lin and Jay Lemke on Contemporary Issues in Translanguaging", this volume) puts forward a *both/and* position, highlighting that multilinguals construct communication beyond "just meaning-making *within a single codified language system* or *as switching between different codified language systems"* (emphasis original). This understanding can help advance communities' effort to codify minoritized languages and promote linguistic diversity.

Similarly, Cummins (2017) questions the usefulness in asserting a no discrete internal language position. He argues that additive bilingualism was conceptualized to explicitly disrupt "racist societal discourses" (p. 6) by promoting multilingual resources and identities in learning target language and content while continuing to develop students' home or minoritized languages. As May (2013) argues, despite the criticisms about its inadvertent reinforcement of distinct and compartmentalized view of languages, the concept of additive bilingualism "still presents a strikingly different basis for analyzing language learning than the monolingual norms, and related dismissal and/or subtractive views of bilingualism, found within mainstream SLA" (p. 9). This perspective is significant because recognizing the existence of an internally differentiated system corresponds with overt support of children's often ignored multilingual language resources, particularly for children from minoritized communities. Erasing discrete languages ignores real socio-material effects and consequences to speakers of non-dominant or marginalized languages, a luxury afforded to a privileged few.

Plurilingualism is another theoretical perspective that shares an understanding of a composite view of language resources. The concept of plurilingualism emerged in the European context, beginning from a sociolinguistic perspective on linguistic diversity and interculturality. Plurilingual and pluricultural competence is described as:

> the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw. (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 1997/2007, p. 11)

Plurilingualism as a theory of language denotes competences across different languages, which, while uneven, are integrated, variable, flexible, and changing (Coste, 2001). Drawing on a plurality of linguistic resources, bi/multilinguals are perceived as possessing combined knowledge of multiple languages in a repertoire upon which individuals draw in situated enactments of communication (Castellotti & Moore, 2010). Offering an altogether new conceptual tool to extend and reconceptualize the notion of communicative competence, plurilingualism challenges the assumption of complete and balanced competence in both languages, critiquing the view of “two monolinguals in one person” (Grosjean, 2008). Rather, a plurilingual perspective highlights synthesis of language and cultural resources and competence, rather than just the idea of many or multiple.

Plurilingualism also highlights interculturality and the social nature of communicative competence as well as the complexity of the dynamic interactions. For instance, Candelier et al. (2012) wrote: “It is clear that communication in a context of plurality and otherness – the very purpose of plurilingual and intercultural competence – requires that participants possess, to a marked degree, a competence of adaptation which implies a movement towards that which is *other, different*” (p. 12, emphasis in original). Broadly, this understanding supports the aim of raising awareness of cultural plurality. Bi/multilinguals are linguistic and cultural mediators, who manage available resources in different communicative situations for translinguistic interactions. These movements support metalinguistic and intercultural awareness, and the development of mediation skills for building connections in a multilingual sociolinguistic landscape (Piccardo, 2017; Piccardo & North, chapter “The Dynamic Nature of Plurilingualism: Creating and Validating CEFR Descriptors for Mediation, Plurilingualism and Pluricultural Competence”, this volume).

Harnessing the paradigmatic shift of a plurilingual lens, plurilingualism has been taken up for European language policy by the Council of Europe (2001, 2018). However, movement into the realm of policy has had the effect of operationalizing a term that is otherwise conceptual, philosophical; and opening its interpretation and use to critique (for detailed discussion, see Moore, Lau, Van Viegen, chapter “*Mise en Écho des Perspectives* on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore”, this volume). While acknowledging plurilingualism as a valuable concept to challenge broader political and educational discourses that privileges a dominant language and culture, Kubota (2016) alerts us to the appropriation of the growing popularity of language plurality, fluidity and hybridity within the discourses of neoliberalism, globalization and cosmopolitanism, venerating individual plurilingualism as the new global symbolic capital, a commodity that is highly sought after in the increasingly capitalist aca-

demic culture. Given the dominance of such capitalist discourses of globalization, the potential for resistance against monolingual ideologies engendered by the multi/plural turn can be undermined (Kubota, 2014, 2016). This critique is similar to Li's (2011) suggestion that globalization has instigated a more celebratory attitude toward language and cultural diversity, which is not similarly carried toward ethnic minority languages. McNamara (2011) points out that plurilingualism is promoted in a selective and hierarchical manner in Europe with a language policy of "mother tongue plus two" (p. 434) where preferred multilingualism tends to include dominant European languages such as English, German, French and Spanish, marginalizing the bi/multilingualism of immigrant and refugee communities and minoritized regional dialects. Similarly, McNamara critiques the European plurilingual policy as promoting a European ideal of globalization, channeling the same economic mission as the OECD in emphasizing plurilingual education for "mobility and employment prospects" (p. 435).

Broadly, then, scholars (e.g., Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016) have warned against the possible neoliberal traps behind the array of different plural linguistic notions which divert our attention to an uncritical celebration of diversity, individualism, and cosmopolitanism, hence leaving linguistic and racial hierarchies and power relations unchallenged. Indeed, Moore (Moore, Lau, Van Viegen, chapter "*Mise en Écho des Perspectives* on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore", this volume) underscores the ways in which the theoretical notion of plurilingualism has travelled, taken up beyond its philosophical underpinnings. She states:

> Nowadays, plurilingualism and PPC [plurilingual and pluricultural competence] are seen as the backbone of language policies in Europe; as such they have undertaken ideological values. Whereas, originally, the new notion was developed to disrupt thinking, and to effectuate change ("[une notion] qui veut faire bouger", Coste, 2004). (this volume)

Plurilingualism is widely associated with the *Common European Framework of Reference* (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) and the *European Language Portfolio* (Little, 2005), linked to assessment criteria that have been taken up across a variety of educational and organizational contexts. However, some scholars (e.g. Gohard-Radenkovic, 1999; Zarate & Gohard-Radenkovic, 2004) argue that assessment of plurilingualism along progressive levels of competence could lose sight of the holistic nature of its original conceptualization. These tensions suggest the pedagogic application of plurilingual competence must be grounded in assessment *as* and *for* learning, rather than simply assessment *of* learning, mindful of the socio-political, −cultural and -historic dimensions of language use in particular contexts. To this end, Piccardo and North (Chapter "The Dynamic Nature of Plurilingualism: Creating and Validating CEFR Descriptors for Mediation, Plurilingualism and Pluricultural Competence", this volume; North & Piccardo, 2016) describe the development and validation of CEFR descriptors for plurilingual and pluricultural competence to reflect the present sociolinguistic landscape. Particularly, this operationalization aims to support educators to better understand the nature and relevance

of plurilingualism and cross-linguistic mediation in (language) education, and to make space for plurilingual and pluricultural competences in curricula.

Broadly, these theoretical debates are now being put to work in empirical studies that document the results of educational approaches that bring classroom interaction more in line with current sociolinguistic realities. Interwoven in *pluril*ingual pedagogies is attention to students' intercultural interactions and valorization of their linguistic resources to inform language policies and to imagine creative forms of contextualized education practice. For this edited volume, we take up the philosophical orientation of the theoretical concepts and practices that echo and promote plural and dynamic understanding of language. Rather than insist on a universal perspective or approach, these concepts provide a different onto-epistemological basis for language (in) education. We aim to distill what these theories can do in a variety of pedagogic circumstances, to honour the unique linguistic ecology of diverse classrooms and communities and reflect the present sociolinguistic landscape. Focusing on the functional aims and powerful pedagogical potential of both valorizing student's languages and using *pluri*lingual resources for learning, the ultimate goal is to promote inclusion, well-being and self-confidence in bi/multilingual learners. The chapters assembled in this volume provide evidence of this kind of practice, whereby educators and researchers are working to dismantle hegemonic discourses related to monolingualism and legitimize hybrid, dynamic forms of expression for more creative and critical communication and knowledge construction. The section that follows outlines how these principles are actualized and realized across a variety of educational settings, breathing life into an array of theoretical concepts and different ways of thinking about language in the classroom.

3.2 Book Organization

To explicate the conceptual basis for *pluri*lingual pedagogy, and to illustrate examples of *pluri*lingual pedagogy in practice, this volume comprises theoretical/conceptual and empirical contributions. **Section 1** includes theoretical chapters that engage with both the genesis of a heteroglossic understanding of language practice, and more recent efforts to make sense of this understanding for educational practice and pedagogy. These contributions dive deeper into some of the conceptual and ideological knots and take up emerging debates relating to *pluri*lingual pedagogies. Aiming to answer the question of how to put theory into and practice, Sections 2–4 showcase plurilingual pedagogies in various teaching and learning contexts. These sections offer a collection of case studies that illustrate teacher/researcher efforts in, within sociopolitical boundaries and constraints, the creative and critical adoption, adaptation, development, challenge and refinement of theories and methods to make language teaching and learning more equitable. Organized as three sections in relation to educational context and purpose – critical literacy, language and literacy teaching, and higher education – these case studies conclude with a commentary by scholars (including **Kelleen Toohey, Li Wei and Jim Cummins)** who put the work

in critical perspective within extant theories and literature. The sections are organized as follows:

Section 1, *Conceptual Shifts in Language Teaching and Learning,* features conversations across the fields of sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and education, with an aim to answer burning questions, particularly the conceptual divergences and convergences between plurilingualism and translanguaging. In chapter "*Mise en Écho des Perspectives* on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore", **Moore**, through her dialogue with **Lau** and **Van Viegen**, traces the historical and epistemological roots of the theorization of plurilingualism as well as plurilingual and pluricultural competence. She illustrates how concepts such as plurilingual and pluricultural competence, code-switching, language awareness, translanguaging, and such intersect, travel, cross-pollinate, and get transformed in myriad complex ways across time and space. Moore argues for translingual reflexivity on these concepts, considering that encounters and friction, in both dialogue and in the untranslatable, can help advance human thoughts. The chapter ends with a detailed description of the pedagogical features and principles of plurilingual and intercultural education. Chapter "'It Takes a Village to Research a Village': Conversations between Angel Lin and Jay Lemke on Contemporary Issues in Translanguaging" presents a discussion between **Lin** and **Lemk**e, synthesized by **Wu** of key ideas reflecting a three-generation thinking-in progress dialogue that aims to clarify some fundamental onto-epistemological differences between translanguaging and code-switching/mixing, and to respond to knotty questions such as the impact of blurring language boundaries on the project of minority language revitalization and the seeming contradictions between translanguaging and language immersion. Considering the complex language ecology between the individual and the community, the authors argue for an understanding of language as **languaging** and translanguaging over multiple time scales and material history of language habitus. Proposing the theoretical lens of "**translanguaging and flows**", the chapter draws attention to the interconnected flows of semiotic resources across timescales and how these resources get re-/trans-semiotized. Lin proposes a heuristic pedagogical tool**—***Multimodality-Entextualization Cycles*-- to refer to ongoing flows/cycles of utilizing and translanguaging across available languages/varieties/modalities for learning and entextualizing (Iedema, 2003) the learning in a target form of language. The cyclical process avoids the reproduction of language hierarchies and harnesses the expanded meaning-making potentials in open-ended flows.

Section 2, *Plurilingual Engagements for Critical Literacy* engages with the connection between language learning and critical literacy in bilingual and Indigenous language school contexts, seeing language as inseparable from students' texts and representations in the classroom and engaging students as active inquirers on social issues. Critical literacy is not just reserved for fluent language users; every student, regardless of language proficiency level, when given appropriate language and cultural support, is capable of complex learning and higher order thinking, capable of asking questions and challenging dominant ideas and social assumptions.

Collectively, the three chapters in this section articulate work with learners in second language classrooms that specifically counter the deficit assumption that second language learners cannot engage with critical literacy.

Aitken and Robinson's chapter examines an intergenerational project in which third graders mobilized their strong oracy in Indigenous languages to learn English and to write dual language texts with/about their grandparents in a Naskapi community. Translanguaging facilitated students' risk-taking, peer mentoring and their overall ownership in English language learning, resulting in increased metalinguistic awareness and a sense of pride in their Indigenous culture and heritage. **Lopez et al's** chapter presents an ethnographic study of three student teachers' efforts in creating and implementing a critical thematic unit on health and nutrition with a group of low SES children in Oaxaca, Mexico. Employing plurilingual and translanguaging approaches, the project not only helped decolonize English monolingual hegemony in content and language learning, but also deepened local children's critical knowledge and understanding of health issues tied to the global economy and consumption of processed food. Similarly, **Lau**'s research in Québec, Canada, focuses on the strategic collaborations between two language teachers (English and French second language) in building meaningful bridges across content and languages to facilitate students' critical understanding of race issues and promote their emergent bilingual identities. Through translanguaging and resemiotization across languages and modalities, the children were engaged in dynamic, integrated language learning that fostered conceptual clarity and coherence as well as meaningful language connections. The commentary by **Toohey** highlights how the chapters in this section demonstrate collaborative efforts by researchers and teachers to engage with critical literacy, in a practice that demonstrates deep respect for the communities from which students come. Making links to a new materialism perspective, Toohey discusses new possibilities for critical pedagogy when schools and teachers think beyond artificial borders and boundaries around thinking, expression, emotion and relations to land, others, and material objects.

Section 3, *Plurilingual Engagements for Language and Literacy*, highlights how teachers draw upon students' linguistic repertoires for teaching and learning both language and content curriculum across early years, elementary and secondary education. These cases illustrate teachers' strategies for using *pluri*lingualism as both a scaffold and a resource for building language awareness, biliteracy and academic learning. These strategies were creatively designed by teachers to meet the needs of learners in these particular contexts, while at the same time navigating and responding to state and national curriculum expectations and policies. The three chapters in this section each focus on a different level of education, from the early years through to secondary school.

The contribution by **Coelho** and **Ortega** focuses on the early years, exploring pluralistic approaches in early childhood learning contexts. Tracing the development of the Language Awareness movement and its influence on the Awakening to Languages (AtL) approach, the authors describe the application of AtL pedagogies

in preschool and primary classrooms. Highlighting teachers' experiences and perceptions, the authors share how this approach sparked children's curiosity for languages and cultural diversity, and supported children's development of communicative competence and awareness of multilingualism in society. **Van Viegen**'s chapter explores teachers' development and use of *pluri*lingual pedagogies with multilingual children at the elementary level, describing how teachers came to understand the diversity of students' linguistic repertoires, and how these language resources could be drawn upon to support language, literacy and curriculum teaching and learning. Showcasing the products of students' multilingual learning, the chapter illustrates the range of multilingual tasks and activities that teachers developed. Rather than exclude students' cultural and linguistic competences from the education context, these activities demonstrated the value of students' linguistic repertoire for learning. **Seltzer**'s contribution illustrates the integration of students' language resources into literacy activities, working with students and their teacher at the secondary level to explore and develop translingual writing strategies. Students engaged with translingual texts to examine the rhetorical moves and conventions used by multilingual writers, then applied this learning to their own writing practice. Demonstrating the application of translingual theories of writing to the classroom context, the chapter articulates the connections between language practice and social identity, and the potential to transform how multilingual language practices are viewed in schools and society. Finally, the commentary by **Cummins** discusses how the three chapters in this section demonstrate the value of knowledge generated by teachers as they creatively tapped into students' plurilingual repertoires and identities for teaching and learning. Cummins discusses the social relations that uphold the power of named languages, and provide evidence of the legitimacy of bilingual instructional strategies.

Section 4, *Plurilingual Engagements for Higher Education*, highlights how post-secondary institutions are confronting the challenges and opportunities brought about by recognizing the value of cultural and linguistic diversity. Considering that internationalism tends to be a strategic aim and policy directive in this context, the section comprises empirical research examining the impact of multilingualism and multiculturalism in higher education, and how it is shifting the landscape of disciplinary content and English for Specific Purposes (ESP) teaching and learning. Each chapter in the section focuses on a different disciplinary context, reflecting the need for a situated understanding of *pluri*lingual pedagogies at the post-secondary level.

The first chapter in this section, by **Tian**, focuses on teacher education by highlighting efforts to integrate translanguaging into course content and create translanguaging spaces in a TESOL teacher preparation program. Articulating concrete suggestions for teacher education program development, the chapter emphasizes the role of translanguaging practice for challenging and going beyond the inherent monolingual ideology embedded in sheltered English immersion approaches to using translanguaging, both to scaffold and transform language teaching and learning, and influence teachers' beliefs, perceptions and experiences with multilin-

gualism in schools. The chapter by **Galante** examines plurilingualism and teaching ESP at the post-secondary level. Although the aim of these programs is to enhance students' English language proficiency in preparation for further education and training, Galante reflects on how to animate theories of plurilingualism in the practice of English language teaching with adult learners, and articulates the basis for a paradigm shift in these programs. The chapter further addresses the specific professional and social needs of immigrant and international students, linking the transformative potential of a plurilingual pedagogy to Freire's notion of *conscientização*. **Marshall**'s chapter engages with language in the disciplinary context, elaborating faculty perceptions of and experiences with engagements of students' multilingualism as a resource for content learning across a range of disciplines. Articulating perspectives shared by faculty from Applied Science, Linguistics and English, the chapter sheds light on how faculty understand and navigate the tension between maintaining English language standards and drawing on students' multilingual resources in their teaching and assessment practice. Notably, Marshall highlights how plurilingual practices can be used to support students' academic success, albeit with a thoughtful and strategic understanding of students' learning needs. In response to these works, Li's commentary takes an autobiographical approach, retracing his personal linguistic trajectories as an educator and researcher in the field of bi/multilingualism. He draws on this narrative to show how he approaches translanguaging and plurilingualism, and highlight the importance of developing critical awareness of our own linguistic histories and socio-cultural contexts for how we shape and implement *pluri*lingual pedagogies.

Section 5: ***Future Directions for Policy and Practice,*** the concluding section of the volume reflects on current issues relating to the development and application of *pluri*lingual pedagogies, particularly assessment issues and broader debates concerning policy implications and ideological tensions. The contribution by **Piccardo** and **North** focuses attention on the development of the concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence as part of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001, 2018). The authors present plurilingualism as a holistic concept, encompassing a variety of conceptualizations at both the social and the pedagogical levels, and its connection to other concepts that traverse boundaries between languages and varieties. Emphasizing the role and development of cross-linguistic and cultural mediation, the authors present the new descriptors in the CEFR and argue for their relevance to multilingual societies. **Kubota's chapter** urges for the importance of adopting a critical stance in our engagements with the multilingual turn in the field of second language education. Particularly, she draws attention to real-world challenges and paradoxes between "multi/plural" practices and linguistic normativity prevalent in education and in wider society. While appreciating the challenge posed by *pluri*lingual approaches to dominant and normative ideology of monolingualism, she contends that the present lack of structural support for effective implementation of these approaches diminishes their transformative power. Kubota warns against associations with neo/liberal multiculturalism and argues for educators and scholars

to continue finding ways to effectuate structural changes in curriculum, high-stakes assessment, and gatekeeping policies that surround academic writing and publishing. Finally, in the concluding chapter, **Van Viegen** and **Lau** put forward a synthesis of the diverse perspectives in the volume, offering a concrete set of philosophy, principle and practice ('3 Ps') to frame *pluri*lingual pedagogies for the present era. The framework, while comprehensive, should be seen as a beginning, open to continued growth and refinement.

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Mise en Écho des Perspectives on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore

Danièle Moore, Sunny Man Chu Lau, and Saskia Van Viegen

Abstract Plurilingualism does not describe separate competences in fixed and labelled languages, but views languages as "mobile resources" within an integrated repertoire that can include translingual practice. Plurilingualism has been identified in numerous recommendations as a guiding directive for language education policies in Europe, in Canada and other places across the world. The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, and the Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to languages and cultures propose explicit referential levels and descriptors to identify and develop competences and resources across the curriculum, based on the recognition that strategic skills combine knowledge in several and across languages, and that the multilingual knowledges and literacy practices learners bring into the classroom are learning resources. Based on ongoing conversations with Dr. Danièle Moore, this chapter presents a dialogue which aims to give some historical background to the theorization of plurilingualism and plurilingual competence and the various ways these concepts relate to others in the field and contributed to challenge naturalized linguistic boundaries and reframe the education of language-minoritized learners. The chapter further discusses how conceptualizations of plurilingualism relate to understandings of translanguaging.

Keywords Plurilingualism · Linguistic repertoire · Plurilingual and pluricultural competence · Bilingual education · Translingual practice · CEFR · Multilingualism · Plurilingual pedagogy · Intercultural competence

D. Moore (✉)
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, BC, Canada

EA 2288 (DILTEC), Université Sorbonne Nouvelle - Paris 3, France
e-mail: dmoore@sfu.ca

S. M. C. Lau
School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada
e-mail: slau@ubishops.ca

S. Van Viegen
Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics,, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: saskiast@yorku.ca

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1 Introduction

Theories and concepts with explanatory power tend to take on a life of their own, often removed from the history and genesis of their beginnings. Over time, these theories and concepts can get layered over with new meaning, invested with understandings that may shift, change or mask foundational underpinnings. In this chapter, we take a deep dive into the concept of plurilingualism, in conversation with Dr. Danièle Moore, to uncover the conceptual basis for the theory of plurilingualism and surface a nuanced understanding of finer points of debate related to the term. This effort is several years in the making; beginning when, as new scholars working with bi/multilingual communities, Sunny and Saskia engaged with various frameworks and perspectives on bilingualism and bilingual education to inform and guide fieldwork and participatory action research. Putting theory to work, we used the idea of plurilingualism to direct us to appropriate empirical research strategies, and to extend the analytical and critical power of our data gathering and interpretation in the study of multilingual, multicultural schools and possibilities for education reform. We maintained research and data in ongoing conversation with our theoretical understandings, discovering that "neither data nor theory alone are adequate to the task of social explanation" (Anyon, 2008, p. 2), and requiring both to form and inform one another throughout the process of inquiry. Theory allowed us to consider the larger political and social meanings of our work in schools, situating and connecting our data within the broader social context.

Broadly, theory can be understood as an architecture of ideas, whose application helps to understand discursive and social phenomena, and provide a model of the way discourse and social systems work (Anyon, 2008). However, as theories engage with empirical data, they may require revision. With this in mind, we began a conversation about the theory of plurilingualism with Dr. Moore, which took place over multiple meetings and exchanges, both in person and through the exchange of written ideas. Finally, reading sources recommended by Dr. Moore as well as her writings, which served to inform and deepen our conversations, we grew to a greater understanding of the historical and epistemological background to the concept of plurilingualism, and how it supports and promotes language and cultural diversity in education.

This chapter is a reconstruction of these multiple conversations, and also our musings, questions, reflections and exchanges in the past 2 years. The language of these exchanges was primarily English, with strategic code-switching/code-mixing of French to better convey or communicate ideas when needed. Several of the texts exchanged were in French, with some translated into English to check comprehension and meaning. Within the chapter, we include the original French expressions used by Dr. Moore when an English translation is deemed inadequate, to ensure that the fullness of an idea is captured. We re-cast our exchanges in a more organized and coherent dialogue format with relevant citations in order to both ensure clarity of thought and academic rigor, and capture and maintain the natural and spontaneous queries, interests, connections and wonderings we had in the process of our

dialogues. More importantly, we thought the richness of the philosophical and theoretical underpinnings of plurilingualism as described and elaborated by Dr. Moore could be rendered more accessible in a question-and-answer format.

The contribution aims, on the one hand, to highlight particular milestones in the development of the theorization of plurilingualism (Castellotti & Moore, 1997) and plurilingual and pluri- /intercultural competence (Coste et al., 1997, 2009), especially in the French-speaking world in Europe. As the title for this chapter suggests, we present these conceptualizations of plurilingualism and explore how these perspectives resonate with other concepts (*mise en écho des perspectives*) now circulating widely in the field, particularly translanguaging. The chapter highlights the critical importance of synergies between theories and empirical data, to render explanatory power of both data and theory for understanding, enhancing, and rethinking language, research and teaching. Our belief in this importance is manifested throughout the entirety of this volume, creating and sustaining a constant dialogue between theory and empirical work.

The dialogue is organized according to the following three themes: (1) *Plurilingual and pluricultural competence: historical and epistemological roots*, defining plurilingual and pluricultural competence and elaborating its historical and epistemological background; (2) *The voyage of concepts: mise en écho des perspectives*, tracing how concepts travel and cross-pollinate and how terminologies render a site of translingual reflexivity; and (3) *Plurilingual and pluri−/inter-cultural education*, including the principles and goals for teaching and learning language and language in education.

2 Plurilingual and Pluricultural Competence: Historical and Epistemological Roots

(DM: Danièle Moore SL: Sunny Man Chu Lau SV: Saskia Van Viegen)

SV: *What is plurilingual and pluricultural competence and how are the two ideas of language and culture related to each other?*

DM: Before I go into the details of defining what plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC) is, let's quickly clarify how we perceive the notion of "competence". Our work traversing language and communication studies and education studies has led us to view "competence" not merely as a "system" of knowledge, capabilities or resources (which reflects more or less a static state of these elements), but rather as *situated enactments* of these elements ("*mise en œuvre située dans l'agir*"). It is a dynamic chain of action within "a process of putting resources like declarative and procedural knowledge into practice in a specific problem-solving context (Candelier & Castellotti, 2013, p. 193; Castellotti, 2002, pp. 11–12)" (Chen & Hélot, 2018, p. 170). In language education, this vision is largely

influenced by Dell Hymes' analyses and definitions of "communicative competence". As a linguistic and cultural anthropologist interested in marginalized speakers, Hymes studied the performance of communicative events of a collective nature and how daily routines could be replayed, modulated, and transformed in contextualized interaction. Hymes' understanding of language was never an idealized, abstract, and pure form of linguistic competence. The conception he retained "takes into account the interaction between competence (knowledge, ability for use), the competence of others, and the cybernetic and emergent properties of the events themselves" (Hymes, 1972, p. 283), and is "dependent upon both (tacit) *knowledge* and (ability for) *use*" (Hymes, 1972, p. 282; see also 1976). For him, linguistics was a social science, and language competence socially grounded and personal.

In his further work, Hymes returns to the limits of the then prevalent dichotomous model of competence/performance to reorder the dimensions that are important to him under the general rubric of *Ways of Speaking* and categorizes them into four interlinked key components: ways of speaking, economy of speaking, attitudes, values, and beliefs, and voice. For him, "a perspective focused on action is to be privileged because that is what allows the most global approach" (Hymes, 1984, p. 195).

> It makes it possible to employ the concept of competence congruent with its usage in the study of social life in general […] and in the field of education […] where it will perhaps have a beneficial effect. (Hymes, 1984, p. 196)

The notion of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC), which was developed from the early 1990s, bears obvious traces of Hymes's influence and of a re-reading of communicative competence through the prism of plurilingualism (Coste, De Pietro, & Moore, 2012). Aligning with Hymes' integrative, holistic view of competence, the notion of PPC focuses on how language acts or functions, which are considered as largely common and transversal, take place and assume specific meaning in a variety of cultural circumstances. It leads to a view of the competence of plurilingual speakers not as the accumulation of added language competences that rub up against each other without mixing, but rather according to much more supple, dynamic, and complex reconfigurations which, in context, enable them to circulate between different cultural-linguistic spaces. This understanding, articulated in the French publication of *Compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle* (Coste et al., 1997), was eventually translated to English in 2009 and reads as follows:

> Plurilingual and pluricultural competence refers to the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw. (Coste et al., 2009, p. 11)

SV: *What are some important features of this concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence?*

DM: PPC highlights a holistic vision of competence, viewing individuals' language and cultural resources as an integrated repertoire. One key notion is that of imbalance and non-equivalence of competence in the different languages that constitute the repertoire of the speaker/learner. Proficiency may vary according to the language and the profile of language abilities may also be different from language to language. For example, one can have excellent oral abilities in two languages but be strong in writing only in one of them while having partial comprehension of the third language with limited oral skills. Pluricultural profiles can also differ: a good example is people who display a strong sense of belonging to a particular group and culture but claim they lost their language. From an education point of view, the efforts to theorize plurilingual competence seek to highlight principles of description and learning objectives that reflect in a realistic way the communicative behaviors of speakers who "utilize the languages at their disposal for specific and varied communication needs" and for whom it is "infrequent and rarely necessary to develop equivalent competences for each language" (Coste et al., 1997, p. 26).

> The focus on authentic interactions as models of reference for the description of the components of plurilingual competence leads us to discuss several levels of complexity. Thus, PPC is defined as plural and partial, complete and unfinished, strategic and unbalanced, at the same time as it is considered as whole and unique for each speaker. (Coste et al., 2012, n.p.)

The notion of a single, composite repertoire with uneven and developing language, literacy and cultural resources and options opens up to the language learner's potential for creativity and her/his capacity for action, and the idea that individuals, as social actors, can make choices when the circumstances arise and/or permit. This also suggests that the development of PPC promotes metalinguistic awareness and even metacognitive strategies, which enables the social actor to take control of available resources to react to different communicative situations. PPC is a product of these exchanges and mediation processes, carried out in multiple forms and combinations. The social actor is capable of functioning in different languages and cultures, of acting as linguistic and cultural intermediary and mediator, and of managing and reshaping this multiple competence as they proceed along their personal paths (Coste et al., 1997, p. 129). These comprise *trans*linguistic interactions and mediation skills, i.e. the skills in making bridges and passages because PPC contributes to an enriched metalinguistic awareness. Therefore, we were also interested in interlinking sociohistorical contexts, biographies and life stories to understand and trace individuals' language learning trajectories and processes.

SL: *So the concept of PPC as first published in the French version (Coste* et al., 1997, 2009*) predates The Common European Framework of Reference for*

Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001). In fact, the first time we became aware of this was in 2016 AAAL when you served as the discussant for our panel titled Plurilingualism-inspired Pedagogy: Creating Synergies across Languages through Creativity and Criticality (Lau et al.*, 2016). We were surprised to hear about that since we were more familiar with the CEFR than the PPC document. Could you elaborate a bit more on the historical background of the theorization of the concept of plurilingualism?*

DM: The first attempt at a definition of PPC appears originally in a working paper commissioned by the Council of Europe, entitled *Compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle* and published in 1997. The English translation was not released until 2009 though. The 2009 text is a direct translation; it is situated within the conversations of the mid-90s. We only added a foreword and a complementary bibliography to the original text to explain the context of its elaboration. It was one of many studies that led to the development of a Common European Framework of Reference for language learning and teaching, which in turn influenced language policies towards the reconceptualization of language curricula in European countries. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR)* (Council of Europe, 2001) used portions of the study in profiling various abilities in languages, scales and descriptors. The 2018 CEFR Companion Volume intends to complement the original framework with updated illustrative scales and descriptors in areas such as mediation, online interaction, and plurilingual and pluricultural competence. Trim describes in the quote below the aim of the original study:

> The writers of this study make an in-depth examination of all the interdependent factors which need to be taken into account in the devising and implementation of a language policy encouraging every learner to achieve an integrating communication competency spanning a large number of languages and cultures and encompassing not only general competences at different levels, but also balanced partial competences fostering receptive skills. (Trim, Introduction to *Compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle*, 1997; 2009, p.vii)

SV: So where did the idea of PPC come from? We usually think as the PPC as a European, even French, notion. Is it?

DM: I think the first occurrence of the term itself comes from a text authored by Daniel Coste in 1994. So in a way it is French. But as Daniel Coste would be the first one to say that an idea comes from multiple influences, readings, and conversations. The phenomenon is in no way new. The novelty was to try to conceptualize language learning with the lens of plurilingualism.

Language plurality is an age-old phenomenon, as old as the earth. Just think of the Rosetta Stone, found in 1799. Its carvings date back to 196 B.C. and show the use of two languages (Egyptian and Greek) and three scripts (Hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek). If you study language and culture in medieval England (see Wogan-Browne, 2013), you can see how multivocal and multicultural it was, and how French interwove with English and

other languages. In Rabelais's (1532) *Pantagruel, Lettre de Gargantua à son fils*, an educated man was someone who could display knowledge of Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Just from these few examples, we can see that language plurality has always been present in history. But the representations and perceptions of languages have changed over time. To speak Arabic in France today conveys different values than it did in Rabelais' time. These values are always situated within socio-historical and personal narratives.

Many scholars influenced how we understand plurilingual repertoires. In North America, John Gumperz and Dell Hymes and their ethnographical stance on language use in interaction, and the emphasis they gave to the relationships between language and social contexts. Hymes' work, for example, was a response to the situated debates around the ideal native language speaker. PPC puts into question these representations and ideologies of an ideal speaker-listener and the monolingual view of the "bi-plural", and builds on Hymes' theorizations of communicative competence (see also Canale & Swain, 1979; Hymes, 1972, 1976, 1984; Moirand, 1982). The French sociolinguist Louis-Jean Calvet's body of works on language ecology (see for example Calvet, 2006; Calvet & Calvet, 2013), and other European scholars like Grosjean (1982, 1989, 2008), Grosjean and Py (1991), Lüdi and Py (1986, 2009), were decisive in how we viewed the competence of plurilinguals. I have coauthored three articles in English that explained in greater depth these various influences (Coste, De Pietro, & Moore, 2012; Marshall & Moore, 2018; Moore & Gajo, 2009). So I think it is fair to say that these ideas stem at the intersections of educational and intellectual research cultures, in different places and languages. Claire Kramsch explains this very well in her 2015 article, where she highlights how these intersections bring out a focus on a theory of practice and on the speaker and learner, rather than speech. These include increased attention to historicity, subjectivity, and reflexivity (Zarate, Lévy, & Kramsch, 2008, 2011). In the original study for the Council of Europe, this is already clear in the importance given to language trajectories, life paths, and social and individual representations of languages and learning.

> […] it is not an abstract science that studies linguistic systems like theoretical linguistics or social/functional systems which speakers and writers merely enact through speech in context. Rather, its object of study is the living process through which living, embodied speakers shape contexts through their grammars and are, in turn, shaped by them (Bateson, 1979, p. 18). It is an eminently empirical field, from which emerges a theory of the practice. […] Like any research on complex systems, the goal of applied linguistic research is twofold: (i) to observe, explain, analyze, and interpret the practice and to communicate the results of its research to practitioners; (ii) to reflect on both the practitioner's and the researcher's practice and to develop a theory of the practice that is commensurate with its object of study. (Kramsch, 2015, pp. 455–456)

Kramsch further explains that in this light, language is seen as "as a linguistic, social, cultural, political, an aesthetic, and an educational local practice" (Kramsch, 2015, p. 456).

SL: *Is there a personal reason for your long-life interest in plurilingualism?*

DM: Of course. Plurilingualism has always been an everyday reality. My family comes from the Alpine mountain region where the borders of France, Italy and Switzerland meet. My mother was born in 1920. She didn't speak French until she went to school at age 7. People where she grew up were Savoyards and spoke franco-provençal. But because franco-provençal had always been referred to as a "patois", my mother never realized that she spoke a language that had a name, franco-provençal. A language with no name is a language minoritized and delegitimized. My father spoke Italian and I only discovered that when I was 12 during a trip to Val d'Aoste to meet his side of the family. Before then, I'd never heard him speak Italian in front of us. It's like we all have an imaginary suitcase that we carry along with us and sometimes when opened, we can see the small things that have been tucked away; if kept closed, there could be traces of/in us that we never know about.

SV: *How does this translate into theory then?*

DM: The notion of PPC when first introduced was to defend a sociolinguistic view of plurilingual individuals who use two or more languages, separately or together, in different sociocultural domains, for different purposes with different people. Variation and change are key to understand these dynamics. The theory is embedded in studies of the ordinary and translingual use of several languages by plurilinguals. We wanted to emphasize that plurilingual speakers rarely have the same fluency in their language use because their needs and uses of several languages in everyday life are always very different. They are also constrained by a number of sociocultural and contextual factors. The intention was to validate these ordinary practices, and develop new theoretical and methodological frameworks embedded in the study of language in everyday life to inform language education, language policy and planning. Pennycook resumes a similar intentionality when he writes:

> In trying to develop a perspective on languages as local practices . . . we need to appreciate that language cannot be dealt with separately from speakers, histories, cultures, places, ideologies. Language questions are too important to be left to linguistics or applied linguistics if we cannot grasp their locatedness. (Pennycook, 2010, p. 6).

SL: Why "pluri-"and not "multi-" then?

DM: As we argued in Marshall and Moore (2018), "the focus on plurilingual competence allows researchers to dismantle perceptions of arbitrary boundaries within individuals' linguistic repertoires, and relates to broader issues such as individual agency, knowledge formation, and engagement" (p. 474). The traditional view of multilingual speakers was historically rooted in a monolingual assumption that such speakers develop separate mastery of multiple languages with the ultimate goal of becoming an idealized "native speaker"' in each language. Native-speakerism also gave rise to deficit-oriented views of bilinguals as having incomplete and sub-

standard competence in two or more languages. In the same vein as the scholars I mentioned earlier (such as Dabène, Grosjean, Py, Lüdi, etc.) who defended an integrated view of bi/plurilingual competence as more than the sum total of two or more (in)complete monolinguals, we aimed to recentre the focus on the combined and composite nature of one's communicative repertoire by using a new term to highlight the *synthesis* of language and cultural resources and competence, rather than just the idea of *many* or *multiple*. This paradigmatic shift moved away from views considering the 'normality' of the monolingual speaker, the separatedness of language competencies, and that some speakers are 'weaker' in some languages. The change in terminology insists on a *plurilingual posture* (Moore & Gajo, 2009) to reflect the situated and social nature of competence, and its complex and synthetic dynamics. In education, this plurilingual shift means we adopt a synthetic holistic and an asset-oriented perspective, which fosters the continuum between family, school and other contexts in language use and learning. In this view, prior and new language experiences interweave in the construction of knowledge.

> A strong version of the monolingual (or fractional) view of bilingualism is that the bilingual has (or should have) two separate and isolable language competencies; these competencies are (or should be) similar to those of the two corresponding monolinguals; therefore, the bilingual is (or should be) two monolinguals in one person. This view, which is prevalent among many researchers, educators, and bilinguals themselves, is a result of the strong monolingual bias that has been prevalent in the language sciences. (Grosjean, 1989, p. 4)

A bilingual (or holistic) view of bilingualism proposes that the bilingual is an integrated whole which cannot easily be decomposed into two separate parts. The bilingual is NOT the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic con- figuration. (Grosjean, 1989, p. 6).

SV: *Would you say that the notion of PPC is heavily influenced by ideas from sociolinguistics then?*

DM: Plurilingualism is fundamentally an interdisciplinary concept. François Grosjean we just cited is mostly regarded as a psycholinguist but he worked closely with sociolinguists like Bernard Py studying, for example, how the first languages of migrants were restructured through the contact with their new language (Grosjean & Py, 1991). They were interested in the study of speakers' flexible usage, creativity, and linguistic awareness, and how these shaped language transfers and cross-pollination, and could evolve in the creation of new linguistic forms. Depending on the lens you use and how you adjust your focus, it may shift or highlight certain aspects of different disciplines. I started my career as a sociolinguist-didactician of French as a second language, in France and Switzerland. The locations point to more prominent influences as I started as a young scholar, while the term itself suggests the interdisciplinary nature and the intersections between sociolinguistics and education (see for examples Dabène, 1990,

1994, 2003). The educational lens points to the importance of helping learners to invest in their multilingual repertoires and multiple literacies, as ways to encourage participation, develop expertise and voice, and new multilingual identities.

SL: *What is the philosophy that informs the concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence?*

DM: The French European tradition has drawn heavily on Bourdieu's work to understand language in relation to power, particularly the contexts of interactions and the roles language plays in the constitution of social capital and the (re)production of identity. His works offer great ethical implications for teaching, particularly in educational contexts involving students of minority backgrounds. Another core inspiration is Edgar Morin, a French philosopher and sociologist, whose complexity theory (*La pensée complexe*) (1990) has significantly influenced the shaping of our conceptualization of plurilingualism. To understand human beings, he argues, one has to see the human as a whole. His argument is to see the human being through complex, multidimensional and holistic ways because knowledge involves multiplex, chaotic, interactional and contextualized processes. He explains the three steps of complex thinking (see also Morin, Motta, & Ciurana, 2003):

> Première étape de la complexité : nous avons des connaissances simples qui n'aident pas à connaître les propriétés de l'ensemble. […]: la tapisserie est plus que la somme des fils qui la constituent. *Un tout est plus que la somme des parties qui la constituent.* /Deuxième étape de la complexité: le fait qu'il y a une tapisserie fait que les qualités de tel ou tel type de fils ne peuvent toutes s'exprimer pleinement. Elles sont inhibées ou virtualisées. *Le tout est alors moins que la somme des parties.* /Troisième étape: cela présente des difficultés pour notre entendement et notre structure mentale. *Le tout est à la fois plus et moins que la somme des parties.* (Morin, 1990, pp. 113–114)
>
> First step of the complexity: we have simple knowledge that does not help to know the properties of the whole. […]: the tapestry is more than the sum of the threads that constitute it. A whole is more than the sum of the parts that constitute it. /Second stage of the complexity: the fact that there is a tapestry makes that the qualities of this or that type of thread not able to express themselves fully. They are inhibited or virtualized. Everything is then less than the sum of the parts. / Third step: This presents difficulties for our understanding and our mental structure. It's all at once more and less than the sum of the parts. (Morin, 1990, pp. 113–114, our translation).

*SL: The tapestry analogy aptly points to the need for non-linear, dynamic and integrative ways of thinking and knowing about reality. To humanize science is to avoid the simplification of knowledge but to understand the object of research not separate from but rather immersed in its context with all its psychological, sociological and anthropological dimensions and variables. I can also see parallels in Hymes' (*1976*) socio-anthropological view of language. He proposes a socially constituted linguistics, arguing for ethnographic approaches to inquiry about language because language exists in "social matrices" (p. 236) (i.e., activities, institutions, and groups)*

and hence must be viewed from "the vantage point of social matrices". I think this also echoes Morin's complexity theory that we have to seek understanding through different disciplines to allow for context-rich and context-sensitive methods to enrich our ways of knowing.

DM: Yes, absolutely. Other major scholars have greatly helped shape my own thinking: Jim Cummins, or Marilyn Martin-Jones (see for examples Gajo, 2001; Moore & Gajo, 2009, pp. 150–151). François Grosjean's advocacy to adopt a wholistic view of bilingualism (1989, 2008) in research resonates with Cummins' Common Underlying Proficiency model (1984), which points to the common underlying cognitive knowledge and abilities that bi/plurilingual individuals draw on for meaning making and language performance. They both reject the idea of bilingual competence as a simple sum of two monolingual, discrete competencies but theorized bilingualism as a combined repertoire of linguistic resources. What we are interested in is not just language education but also language *in* education: how knowledge is constructed using two or three languages (see also Lüdi, 2015).

3 The Voyage of Concepts: Mise En Écho des Perspectives

SL: There is indeed much crossover among the disciplines.

DM: Not only across disciplines, but also across time and geographical locations. Concepts travel and more importantly, they cross-pollinate and get transformed. Liddicoat and Zarate (2009) make the following comment on the circulation of ideas:

> Le flux des idées ne peut être entendu comme une simple transplantation dans un autre contexte car il est assimilé par les réseaux existants d'idées, de théories, de langues à travers un processus d'adaptation, qui tient compte de l'histoire, des idées déjà en place, de la structure semiotique des débats en cours. (Liddicoat & Zarate, 2009, p. 12).
>
> [The flow of ideas cannot be heard like a simple transplantation in another context because it is assimilated by existing networks of ideas, of theories, of languages through a process of adaptation, which takes into account of the history, ideas already in place, of the semiotic structure of the ongoing debates. (Liddicoat & Zarate, 2009, p. 12, our translation)].

Concepts travel across disciplines, across time and space, and are restructured and assimilated, into the existing networks and structures of ideas. Therefore, our understanding of a certain theory or concept has to be anchored in a specific context; historical, ideological, disciplinary and cultural, in order to fully understand what it represents, what possibilities, openings or ruptures it brings forth and how it echoes with other concepts *diachronically* and *synchronically*. How a concept is named and represented in a particular discipline, at different moments of time and space, reflects a different lens, a different focus, a different way of questioning and engaging in specific aspects of the inquiry.

In other words, we need to understand how concepts mesh and intersect in unique ways both diachronically and synchronically. We also need to recognize that the international circulation of ideas is regulated to a certain extent by the human factor and, also importantly, by the political economy of the publishing industry where global dominance of English prevails. In other words, we need to acknowledge the people behind these alterative experiences, respective of their personal, sociocultural, ideological and institutional situatedness. It is also interesting to question why and how concepts travel, what pathways we can trace for a particular concept, how some ideas flourish in certain contexts, and other don't. This reflexivity is crucial to our understanding of knowledge construction.

SL: *Could you elaborate a bit more about how related concepts and ideas around plurilingualism might have taken on different pathways and converged with or diverged from each other?*

SV: *Would you say that some of the ideas proposed by these scholars echo those of translanguaging, both in terms of translanguaging as everyday language practice and as pedagogy?*

DM: There is certainly echoing, resemblances and convergences between the two concepts. The ideas around both concepts were developed in the same years, as noted in the latest Companion Volume to the *CEFR for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment* (Council of Europe, 2018): "[b]y a curious coincidence, 1996 is also the year in which the term 'translanguaging' is recorded (in relation to bilingual teaching in Wales)" (p. 28). During the same years, Louise Dabène, for example, was arguing for a flexible approach to bilingual education in France, while Cen Williams (1996) was writing about the deliberate switching of the language mode of input and output between Welsh and English to promote complex language and content learning in Wales. Many other examples could be cited. For example, the Aosta Valley was developing new immersive teaching of French and Italian in primary schools, based on tactical macro- and micro-language alternation for communicative effectiveness, attention-raising and metalinguistic awareness, and enriched conceptualization for learning (Cavalli, 2005, who for example insists on how Jim Cummins' work influenced the development of new immersive models in various parts of the world; see Cavalli et al., 1998; see also Gajo, 2001).

> In the Valdotan context, […] the concurrent allocation of the two languages is a key feature of the bilingual methodology. Concurrent language use may provide an effective means through which language and content can become successfully integrated. The careful sequencing of languages in the content areas should participate in enhanced learning and higher conceptual development, alongside linguistic development in both languages. (Moore, 2002, p. 288)

In this sense, like plurilingual approaches, translanguaging reinforces the links and interrelationships between languages for better learning (Williams et al., 1996). It is interesting to explore how similar educational ideas based on an integrated system start to develop at the same time in various locations and different languages.

SV: *In so many ways, when translanguaging was first adopted as a teaching approach, it resembled pedagogical code-switching in the classroom, even though recent scholars are now making clear its distinction from code-switching (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2017, etc.). What is your view?*

DM: Around the mid 1990's, when the concept of translanguaging originated, there had been increasing interest and studies on code-switching in the classroom (Martin-Jones, 1995), which was a result of intense conversations between sociolinguists and applied linguists and didacticians interested in multiple language usage and learning (see for example Milroy & Muysken, 1995). In 1995, the journal *Plurilinguismes* had a special issue (no. 9–10, edited by another well-known French sociolinguist, Christine Deprez) called *Les emprunts.* While the issue focused on lexical borrowings from a sociolinguistic point of view, it also included one article I co-authored with Bernard Py. The article investigated the power and positive effects of switching languages in the classroom, as tactical and symbolic moves to attract teachers' attention, maintain meaningful communication, and as a strategy to teach and learn (Moore & Py, 1995). The same year, Daniel Coste organized an international symposium on code-switching at the CRÉDIF (Centre de recherche pour l'enseignement et la diffusion du français) near Paris. Monica Heller, Georges Lüdi, André Obadia, Shana Poplack and Leo van Lier were the invited plenary speakers. Several special journal issues and other publications were published from that event (see also Castellotti, 2001, among others; Castellotti & Moore, 1997; Moore & Castellotti, 1999).

These initial works similarly advocated for the reinvestment and appropriation of the rich, complex, polyglossic, polyphonic ordinary practices of bi/plurilingual individuals for the conceptual development of language teaching in schools. García and Lin (2016) explain that the term "translanguaging" is a "more useful theory" in the sense that it better captures a fluid, dynamic and integrated vision of language, rather than code-mixing or -switching (see also Li, 2017). Yet, many of the theoretical tenets of translanguaging have similarly been put forward in the Franco-European body of work I mentioned earlier. For example, languages are perceived as social constructs (Calvet, 2006) and subject to norms historically located within particular ecological dynamics (Calvet & Calvet, 2013). Plurilingual individuals' repertoires are unique and integrated (Dabène, 1994). Plurilingual speakers navigate their multiple languages, literacies and (inter)cultural experiences in complex and creative ways (Grosjean, 1982; Lüdi & Py, 1986). These various skills and forms of knowledge are transferable and can constitute assets, resources and tools for language and subject learning (Castellotti & Moore, 1997; Gajo, 2001, 2007; Lüdi, 2015; Moore & Castellotti, 1999). From these examples, I see both concepts are upholding a very similar idea, i.e., to recognize the competence of multi−/pluri-linguals and to encourage support for their practices in the learning process. As García and Lin (2016) argue:

> Translanguaging … posits the linguistic behavior of bilinguals as being always heteroglossic (see Bailey, 2007; Bakhtin, 1981), always dynamic, responding not to two monolingualisms in one, but to one integrated linguistic system. It is precisely because translanguaging takes up this heteroglossic and dynamic perspective centered on the linguistic use of bilingual speakers themselves, rather than starting from the perspective of named languages (usually national or state languages), that it is a much more useful theory for bilingual education than code-switching. (p. 3)

SL: *What translanguaging scholars oppose is the "code" view of language (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2017). Drawing from an ecological perspective in psychology, those theorizing translanguaging argue against the code view of language that views abstract verbal patterns, morphosyntax, or lexicogrammar as divorced from "cognitive, affective, and bodily dynamics in real-time and specify the rules for mapping forms to meanings and meanings to forms" (Li, 2017, p. 17). Therefore, they reconceptualize language as not only "multilingual" but also multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource" (p. 22). They also consider language as a second-order construct, which is a product of first-order activity, i.e., languaging. This is not to deny the existence of named languages but rather to stress that that the boundaries between them are historically, politically and ideologically defined. Therefore, in this sense, translanguaging is more than just code-switching.*

DM: This is interesting. You see, code-switching in the Swiss tradition is related to "marques transcodiques" (transcodic marks), which do not only refer to the linguistic system, but encompass the entire semiotic system, treating both linguistic and other semiotic modes as a holistic, multi-semiotic system. These understandings of transcodic marks are anchored in multimodal analyses of the mobilization of linguistic and embodied resources in discourses and interaction (see for example Mondada, 2009; Mondada & Nussbaum, 2012). Both concepts serve what Jessner-Schmid and Kramsch (2015) describe as the role of multi- (or pluri-)lingualism:

> […] multilingualism serves to decenter the sources of power by contesting the discourses of purity, normality and authenticity associated with monolingualism and by giving legitimacy to more hybrid forms of expression, across codes, modes and modalities … (p. 8)

SL*:* *This reminds me of García* et al. *(2009) who put forward a pluriliteracies approach to education and language and literacy and learning. It emphasizes the integrated and hybrid nature of language practices in the twenty-first century, which involves not just "the interplay of multiple languages, scripts, discourses, dialects and registers", but also their enmeshing with "multiple modes, channels of communication, and semiotic systems" (p. 217).. The notion of pluriliteracies is to emphasize and acknowledge the agency of individuals in their transfer, resemioization and recontextualisation of knowing, thinking and being, anchored in language and literacy practices in different social and cultural contexts. In so many ways,*

this sounds so much like translanguaging and plurilanguaging. The intertextuality and interdiscursivity among these concepts is indeed fascinating.

SV: *Can you tell us more what you perceive as the strength of translanguaging as compared to plurilingualism and plurilingual competence?*

DM: Both traditions share similar ideas in the sociolinguistic and sociocultural understanding of language practice and competence and their normalization/valorization in target language and content learning. Attention is centred on languaging and learning to embrace the dynamics, variety, fluidity, intermingling, and changeability of languages and language practices. The strength of the concept of translanguaging is definitely in the affordance that English provides with the use of a gerundive: the intrinsic dynamic aspect of languag*ing*. French cannot be this concise. But I see more commonalities than differences. Both traditions strive towards a didactization of plurilingualism (Canagarajah, 2013; Candelier & Castellotti, 2013; Conteh & Meier, 2014) for the benefit of all learners.

SV: *When these understandings are taken up, materialized in policy and in practice, we might say that not only do they shift and change, but they can also become sedimented and ideologized, correct?*

DM: Yes, you see as a concept travels and is taken up by different people and institutions, it transforms. Nowadays, plurilingualism and PPC are seen as the backbone of language policies in Europe; as such they have undertaken ideological values. Whereas, originally, the new notion was developed to disrupt thinking, and to effectuate change ("[une notion] qui veut faire bouger", Coste, 2004). Today, many educators think of the *Common European Framework* and *the European Language Portfolio* (Little, 2005) as mostly an assessment tool that presents useful definitions and grids. The chosen format has been heavily criticized as too rigid and hierarchical (e.g., Gohard-Radenkovic, 1999; Zarate & Gohard-Radenkovic, 2004), hence losing the holistic nature that the original concepts intended to emphasize.

SV: *What role does translation play in terms of the voyage and mutation of concepts? Becker (*1991*) argues that to translate is to enter into another language with its own histories, sociocultural practices and being, which means it will necessarily entail some conceptual change.*

DM: You are right. Earlier I shared a quote from Liddicoat and Zarate (2009) who argue that when an idea travels to another place, it is never a simple transplantation – it involves a process of restructuring and adaptation that takes into account the history and structures of ideas that are already in place. When the concept of "compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle" was translated into English in the CEFR, it was translated as "*plurilingual and pluricultural competence*" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168) but also as "*plurilingual competence and pluricultural competence*" (p. 133), which suggests an epistemological rupture from our original idea of its holistic nature. As Zarate (2009) comments, this translation blunder was

never debated but entice important theoretical and political consequences ("une bévue de traduction, un débat enterré, mais des conséquences théoriques et politiques lourdes") (p. 26).

Similarly, the term "*acteur social*" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 129; Coste et al., 1997, p. 12) is translated into "*social agent*" in the English version of CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168), which changes the epistemological landscape of the term. The "agent" in English underscores an "individual's situated self-determination in terms of their actions and choices" (Moore & Gajo, 2009, p. 142). The French term "acteur social" is more tied to the Bourdieusian sense of social action: individuals act and interact in a creative manner within the limits of the structures (e.g., field and habitus) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 19) to change the environment (see Moore & Gajo, 2009; and Marshall & Moore, 2018, for a detailed discussion).

SL: *The two terms represent different semantic and philosophical landscapes as they evoke different socio-historically situated meanings and systems of ideas.*

DM: Exactly. When the term "plurilingualism" was translated into Chinese, one of the debates was what words could best illustrate the sense of "-ism". The literal Chinese translation is "zhu yi" (主义), i.e., "*yuyan duayaun zhu yi*" (语言多元主义). This translation, however presents two problems. First, it is phonetically too long and not so pretty, and second, the term *zhu yi* (主义) has a strong ideological and political connotation, as in commun*ism* (共产主义). Therefore, the preferred translation is "*yuyan duayaunhau* (语言多元化) (Zarate, Gohard-Radenkovic, & Rong, 2015). When the book *Précis du plurilinguisme et du pluriculturalisme* (Zarate et al., 2008) was translated into Chinese, the title became "多元语言和多元文化教育思想引论" (*duoyuan yuyan he duoyuan wenhua jiaoyu sixiang yinlun*), which literally means "Introduction to the ideas of plural languages and cultures". Here the term "思想" (*sixiang*-ideas) in Chinese suggests both ideas and reflections, which according to Professor Fu Rong 傅 荣, coordinator of the editorial project in China, is the most relevant choice. Firstly, because it refers to plurilingualism and pluriculturalism as a concept and vision on language and culture. Secondly, the two prefixes "multi-" and "pluri-" are often translated into Chinese "多 without distinction, meaning simply"many "(Pernet-Liu & Dongmei, 2015). The term " 多元" (*duoyuan) in front of both "language" and "culture"* makes the Chinese title concise, clear and easy to read and remember for Chinese readers.

SL: *The translation or transposition of ideas and concepts itself provides a site for translingual negotiations and reflexivity.*

DM: Yes, what I want to emphasize is that, on one hand, concepts travel and are carried by languages which carry within them possibilities; and on the other hand, concepts are carried by people who have their own history and they are developed in sociohistorically marked contexts. They echo with or

diverge from ideas already present in circulating discourses. It is therefore necessary for us to understand their temporalities, characteristics, and the power relations in which they are inscribed and which allow them to flourish or be ignored.

I want to share a small quote from Morin (1990): "*Les concepts voyagent et il vaut mieux qu'ils voyagent en sachant qu'ils voyagent.*" [Concepts travel and it is better to know that they travel] (p. 154). We have to always exercise our reflexivity in considering the historical, geographical and social circumstances that give rise to certain concepts and ideas, how they travel and take on different shapes because of the different socio-cultural, historical and political forces, and varied institutional and individual factors.

SL: *I can understand why this reflexivity is so important because by doing so, we avoid unnecessary enclavism and maintain an openness and reflexivity. At the end of the day, we have to ask ourselves why we are promoting certain concepts or certain pedagogical changes, for what purposes and for whom.*

4 Plurilingual and Pluri-/Inter-cultural Education

SV: *With these understandings about the genesis of the concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence, what happens when we move the discussion to education – what comprises a plurilingual and pluri−/inter-cultural approach to education?*

DM: Plurilingual and intercultural education (PIE) targets the study of the interrelations between plurilingual interactions and learning in multilingual and multicultural environments. It aims for a deep understanding of the demands of highly multicultural and multilingual contexts to inform language policy and teacher training for design of educational intervention in different classroom contexts, including second and foreign language learning, second language as medium of instruction, CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), immersion and bilingual education. The overall goal is to prepare learners and teachers to live in linguistically- and culturally-diverse societies.

SV: What are some of its fundamental tenets and principles that might guide this approach?

DM: The conceptualization of PPC is at the heart of curricular development for PIE. It draws on insights from research on plurilingualism and new understandings of competence for its theorization. Languages are viewed as, rather than separate entities in the brain, connected in multiple ways and having mutual and dynamic influence on one another. Rather than attempting to maintain learners' languages in isolation, and ignore various cultural

ways of learning, teachers need to help learners to become aware of and draw on their existing knowledge and previous experience, in and out of school, and be encouraged to transfer them to new learning contexts (Moore, 2006; see also Piccardo, 2013). By focusing on the intertwined, interwoven, and even sophisticated conceptions of language usage and competence, PIE marks a clear break from educational visions of clearly identified or identifiable languages. It poses the centrality of an integrated approach to the teaching of curricular content and languages, their mutual nourishment providing students with original sociocognitive capital and tools that can be made fruitful by relevant pedagogical actions. Candelier et al. (2012) define two major aspects that define plurilingual education: it is at the same time education *for* plurilingualism, and education *through* plurilingualism. Understanding and experiencing the diversity of languages and cultures is both an *aim* of and a *resource* for quality education, and this experiencing is empowering for all students (Beacco & Byram, 2007; Beacco & Coste, 2017).

SL: *What is the vision and goal of PIE?*

DM: PIE is considered as a *research project*, as a *social project*, and as a *value*. Its primary goal is to theorize and design teaching and learning methodologies that address: (1) the inter-relations and complementarity of languages and learning; (2) the transfer of knowledge, attitudes and skills; (3) the learner's experience as cognitive knowledge and resource; (4) the valorization of plurality, diversity and heterogeneity; and (5) critical awareness and critical engagement with language hierarchies, linguistic and cultural representations, and norms, as (6) triggers for learning.

In other words, PIE promotes the interdependence between languages, disciplinary knowledge and semiotic means (Grommes & Hu, 2014) with an aim to mobilize, build and support, in reflection and in action, transversal and metacognitive knowledge, metalinguistic awareness, language and cultural skills and know-how (Cenoz, Gorter, & May, 2017; De Angelis, Jessner, & Kresic, 2015; Garrett & Cots, 2018; Herdina & Jessner-Schmid, 2002; Jessner-Schmid, 2006; Moore, 2006).

The idea is to develop innovative curricular scenarios based on the experiences, knowledge and plural practices of the learners and their teachers, taking into account different intermeshing and crossing of language and cultural processes. Adopting a *posture* (a *value*) to promote plurilingualism as a learning asset can then be used to transform practices and social representations of language and cultures (Armand & Maraillet, 2013; Auger, 2005; Candelier et al., 2012; Candelier & Castellotti, 2013; Perregaux, de Goumoëns, Jeannot, & De Pietro, 2003; Piccardo, 2013, Piccardo & Puozzo, 2015).

SL: *Earlier you mentioned that PIE is for all for learners. So not just for and about immigrants or migrant learners. Could you elaborate on that?*

DM: Yes, PIE is for all learners. The present social and education environment is one of high mobility with mixing of populations, cultures and languages.

We see increasing efforts towards the internationalization and indigenization of studies, and the massification of education. Welcoming and accommodating diversity is therefore a priority for strategic language policy and education. PIE's overall goal is to improve the education of ALL learners in our highly multicultural and multilingual societies through innovative thinking, policy planning, and teaching practices. Of course, the specific focus on the education and academic integration of migrant populations and international students are among these priorities. In short, PIE aims to create spaces for continuities and encounters between the social, family and school spheres to embrace the growing diversity and changeability of language and language practices in the variety of contexts where learners and individuals evolve.

SV: *What are PIE's most unique features?*

DM: The originality of the concept lies in its interest in questions of plurilingualism and interculturality on different planes of decision-making, planning, development and linguistic policies at various institutional levels: *macro/above* (nation, state, region), *meso* (establishment), *micro* (the class), and *nano* (the plurilingual individual).

Special attention is paid to the *social representations* of languages. The notion of social representations came from the Moscovian social psychology (1961) to refer to people's notion of what language is and what language(s) should be spoken in what countries. Languages are socio-historically constructed abstractions (Blanchet, 2007). They exist "because (…) speakers believe in them, because they have ideas about them and images of them, ideas and images which constitute (…) representations" (Calvet, 2006, as cited in Moore & Gajo, 2009, p. 145).

5 To Continue the Conversation

In our conversations, Moore reminded us of the crucial need to adopt a *reflexive plurilingual posture* (Beacco & Coste, 2017; Castellotti, 2017; Moore & Gajo, 2009). A plurilingual posture in language education will create the conditions in schools and in broader society for individuals to become conscious of language diversity and to reflexively engage in language learning. Reflexivity will also allow us to think critically about concepts and what they mean in different contexts, how they branch off, and get transformed into and assimilated with other ideas. It is in these encounters – and in friction – that human thought can be advanced; indeed it is in the strength of dialogue and the untranslatable that new ideas are formed. Recentering theoretical debates and inquiry on bi/multilingual people and communities, these ideas sustain efforts toward a more generative, ethical, inclusive model of language teaching and learning, and the development and articulation of critical, creative approaches to language (in) education.

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‘It Takes a Village to Research a Village’: Conversations Between Angel Lin and Jay Lemke on Contemporary Issues in Translanguaging

Angel M. Y. Lin, Yanming (Amy) Wu, and Jay L. Lemke

Abstract While translanguaging perspectives have been gaining currency worldwide (e.g. García and Li, Translanguaging: language, bilingualism and education. Palgrave Macmillan, New York/London, 2014; García and Lin, Translanguaging in bilingual education. In: García O, Lin, AMY, May S (eds) Bilingual and multilingual education. Springer, Cham, pp 117–130, 2017; Nikula and Moore, Int J Biling Edu Biling 22(2):237–249, 2019), some issues remain contested, e.g. its differences from code-switching/code-mixing and the tensions between the proposal of one holistic repertoire and the existence of different languages felt by language users. To shed light on these issues, this chapter presents ongoing interview discussions between two internationally renowned experts Dr. Angel Lin and Dr. Jay Lemke proposing the perspective *translanguaging and flows* (Lemke, 2016) as another theoretical basis for deepening the theorization of translanguaging, which integrates and extends key extant theoretical strands of translanguaging, i.e., García and Li (Translanguaging: language, bilingualism and education. Palgrave Macmillan, New York/London, 2014), Li (Appl Linguist 39(1):9–30, 2018), Thibault’s (Ecological Psychology, 23(3):210–245, 2011) conceptions of first-order languaging and second-order language. The central tenet of this chapter is to move beyond an over-emphasis on static, structuralist, named and bounded language systems (a substance-based ontology) to an emphasis on dynamic *processes* happening *in and through mediums* interconnecting *across multiple timescales* (a process-based ontology) to better elucidate sense- and meaning-making practices in the real world.

A. M. Y. Lin
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada
e-mail: angellin_2018@sfu.ca

Y. (Amy) Wu (✉)
Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong SAR, China
e-mail: amywuym@yahoo.com

J. L. Lemke
City University of New York, New York, NY, USA

Laboratory for Comparative Human Cognition (LCHC), University of California, San Diego, CA, USA
e-mail: lemke.jay@gmail.com

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1 Introduction

Since García and Li's seminal book on translanguaging in 2014, translanguaging has become a hot topic not only in conferences and in research journals but also in school and educational communities (Canagarajah, 2018; García & Lin, 2017; Li, 2018; MacSwan, 2017; Nikula & Moore, 2019). Prior to Angel's exposure to translanguaging theories, she had been a researcher on classroom code-switching for 30 years (Lin, 2013). She came into contact with translanguaging theories through the work of Ofelia García, Li Wei and many fellow researchers in the field. Translanguaging came to her as a theoretical and pedagogical breakthrough: It gives her a counter-discourse and theory to further her life-long project of valuing students' familiar (home/local/community) languages and cultural resources in the L2 classroom by disrupting the status hierarchy of languages. However, in conferences, seminars, and interactions with fellow researchers, she has encountered some recurrent questions about translanguaging; e.g.:

1. 'What are the differences between translanguaging and code-switching/code-mixing or code alternation? Why invent a new term when there is already a well-established tradition of researching code-switching/alternation?'
2. 'I cannot wrap my mind around the notion that there are no boundaries among languages; that a speaker only has one holistic repertoire and there are no internal differentiations in this repertoire. It goes against my gut feeling that I am speaking different languages. How does translanguaging theory explain the fact that I do feel that I am speaking different languages?'
3. 'Translanguaging pedagogy is similar to existing pedagogical approaches that argue for the importance of valuing students' familiar linguistic and cultural resources (Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007) and sociocultural theories of *funds of knowledge* (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005); what's new about it?'
4. 'There is limiting potential of translanguaging theory to disrupt the hierarchy of languages: many of the translanguaging examples in conference presentations sound so much like previous examples of using L1 to scaffold the learning of L2, L3, etc.; the hierarchy is still there.'
5. 'Translanguaging theory argues that the language boundaries are porous and that named languages are historical, social, political, institutional constructions. This idea cannot help minoritized linguistic and cultural groups who want to revive, maintain and uphold their heritage languages and linguistic identities.'
6. 'Translanguaging theory runs contrary to the defining principle of immersion education: that L2 be used exclusively to increase students' exposure to and use

of the target language. Translanguaging theory and pedagogy has the danger of opening up 'the flood gate': teachers and students in L2 classrooms use too much L1 and never get the chance to actually use L2 for communication. This is especially worrying in situations where minority groups want to revive their endangered languages under the domination of an institutionally powerful language (e.g. English).'

In April 2016, Angel brought these and other questions on translanguaging to her long-term mentor and friend, Jay Lemke, for discussion. Jay and Angel have known each other since 1991, when Angel was doing her doctoral studies in the University of Toronto. They both belonged to the online Mind, Culture and Activity (MCA) Discussion Group. Angel still remembers that she once posted a question about some sociocultural theories in that Group and then in 5 min, she got a three-page email response from Jay. Jay has always been very supportive of young scholars who are trying to enter communities of practice in the field.

Resulting from the discussion in 2016, Angel and Jay decided to write a paper together to explore the theoretical underpinning of translanguaging. While this project is still underway, there are on-going debates in the field and the list of questions is still as relevant then as it is today. So, in April 2018, Angel visited Jay again. This time they had a chance to have a longer conversation and decided to transcribe[1] and publish the conversations in an interview format. To have a perspective from young researchers on translanguaging, Angel also invited Yanming (Amy) Wu, who has been writing up her PhD dissertation drawing on the perspectives of translanguaging, to proofread the conversation transcripts and write up thematic syntheses and reflections on the key themes emerging from the discussion. These helped to tie up the conversations into the current chapter as a piece reflecting the thinking-in-progress of three generations of researchers on this topic. In the following sections, key parts of Angel's conversations with Jay will be presented,[2] with thematic syntheses and reflections drafted by Amy and revised by Angel.

2 Theoretical Underpinning of Translanguaging

2.1 What Is the Nature of the Structure and the Ordering in Translanguaging Performances?

Angel and Jay's conversations this time begin with a discussion on the papers by MacSwan (2017) and Li (2018) on translanguaging, which Angel brought to Jay's attention several months before her visit. In the first part of the discussion on MacSwan (2017) as shown below, an important research question emerges: What is

[1] The authors want to thank Limin (Lily) Yuan, Ruohan Wang, and Haiwen (Karen) Lai for helping to transcribe these conversations in rough drafts.

[2] References mentioned in the conversations were inserted as in-text citations post hoc.

the nature of the structure and the ordering in translanguaging performances which are not as tightly structured as formal written grammars would dictate, but not so loosely structured that any mix is possible? In other words, when one translanguages, one does not follow strictly the grammatical structures and patterns prescribed by the written grammars of the languages involved; however, when one translanguages, there is, nonetheless, some patterning that can be discerned, even though it does not follow strictly the written grammars. So, what is the nature of the patterning that emerges from the dynamic translanguaging performances? This will be an interesting question for further research.

Angel: It seems to me that while MacSwan is sympathetic to the translanguaging project, he focuses on distinguishing grammars from linguistic repertoires and argues that bilinguals, like monolinguals, have a single linguistic repertoire but a richly diverse mental grammar.

Jay: Yes, I think in MacSwan's paper, one good point he made is about the question of how structurally organized is the repertoire that is being deployed by a speaker who has some multilingual competence and is using multilingual resources. He says he doesn't agree with García that it's a completely unified system, because it appears that speakers apply somewhat language-specific rules or forms of grammar or habits of speaking even to small segments within an utterance. So, whether they put an adjective before or after a noun, they would do it differently, if the noun is a Chinese noun, or is an English noun, or is a Spanish noun, or whatever. But they are not completely separate. It is not two completely separate systems that you are just moving back and forth between, but on the other hand, there is not one single completely unified system. He doesn't really say what it is. He draws a diagram, which he calls a multilingual repertory or something like that, where he has little circles of grammars that are interlinked and overlapped with another. But I think this is probably one of the most important questions for research in the field: What is the nature of the structure and the ordering in these kinds of -we don't even have a good name for them, but let's just call them- translanguaging performances? They are not as tightly structured as formal written grammars would dictate, but they are not so loosely structured that anything is possible, any mix is possible. But they are something in between. And it is important to know what is the nature of that structuring?

2.2 All Languaging Is Translanguaging: A Reconceptualization of the Monolingual Speaker, Dialect and Speech Community

In the second part of discussion on MacSwan (2017) and Li (2018), Angel and Jay talk about the traditional notion of *monolingual* speaker and they agree with MacSwan (2017) and Li (2018) that it is normal even for the so-called monolingual speakers to have looser multiplex structuring for different styles, registers, and dia-

lects. Taking this as a point of departure, they elaborate on the features of translanguaging performances in this and subsequent sections. To them, all languaging is in fact translanguaging and the traditional notions of 'a dialect' 'a speech community' will be deconstructed if we examine *the variations along the dimension of linguistic features*.

Jay: MacSwan also makes an interesting point and I think this is also similar to what Li (2018) says about multimodal competencies, grammars, which is that even the monolingual speaker has this kind of looser multiplex structure for different styles, different registers, even different dialects, and so forth. So, this is really the normal case. The normal case is that we have these more loosely structured clusterings, overlappings, so that all languaging is translanguaging in this sense. Then it is possible, I would say to some extent, artificially possible to write a more tightly integrated grammar for a single variety with many more rigidly followed rules. But I think that is to some extent artificial. I have had this discussion with Halliday in the past. We talked a little bit about dialects. I asked him, 'Clearly it makes sense in your theory to have multi-register grammars, very fundamental to the theory, what about multi-dialect grammars?' He had two sorts of responses to this. First, his father was a dialectician in England, in Yorkshire. So, he understands very well the nature of dialect, and he says, people misunderstand dialect, because they think dialect is just like a language, only more local. This is not really true. Dialect is all about geographical variation in the forms of speaking that people have. If you take any particular feature that distinguishes two dialects and you draw the dialect boundary, the isogloss of this, and then you take another feature, which also distinguishes dialects. And you draw the isogloss of that. The two isoglosses generally don't match, so that really these are fuzzy, smearing, blending, in which different features shift in different ways between 'dialects'. So, in some sense, there really is not such a thing as a dialect, there is only dialectal variation.

Angel: So dialectal variation along the dimension of features? It is like, if you have features A, B, C, D, E, for example, in Yorkshire and then you have another place, the variation on feature A would not match with the variation on feature B?

Jay: Yes, Yes.

Angel: So you cannot easily draw definitive boundaries.

Jay: Right. And also, you cannot easily say there is a single speech community. There is a single speech community for feature A, but there is not a single speech community for all 26 distinguishing features.

Angel: Right, it will be overlapping. Some might have this, some might have that.

2.3 Two Kinds of Linguistic Realities for Different Purposes

Following the above discussion on variations, Angel and Jay discuss two kinds of linguistic realities that can co-exist for different purposes: Tightly structured, homogeneous practices in institutionalized settings (e.g. examinations, job interviews, research publications) and loosely structured, mixed performances in less-policed settings (e.g. casual conversations, joking, specialist meetings indexing community solidarity). The former is the exception imposed by political, historical, socio-economic authorities, while the latter is the normal usual case in human meaning-making.

Jay: So, in some ways, I think this is also suggestive of a general theoretical principle here, which is, linguistics traditionally over-emphasizes the homogeneity of speech communities and the degree of structuring within a language variety, as idealized compared to as really spoken by different people at different times. The other thing is that Halliday felt that the research on grammar does provide evidence that this tighter degree of structuring is real. And … it is and it isn't. It is real in the sense that, for certain purposes, it can be useful to define a language variety, especially, let's say, if you have a written language variety and it's a standardized language variety and you are looking at genres or registers where the social norm is to be very careful to follow the rules.

Angel: Yes, like in an exam setting or in a job interview setting.

Jay: Or you are writing an article for publication.

Angel: Right, subscribing to the conventional norms of publication.

Jay: So, in those kinds of cases, yes, there is a very tight structuring like that. But that is the exception. That is not the normal case.

Angel: And it is an exception because of institutional constraints imposed by authorities, political, historical, socio-economic authorities.

Jay: Yes. So, if you look at the kinds of speech performances where there is less policing...

Angel: Exactly, policing or institutional constraints.

Jay: Yes, where the institutional constraints are very weak. So, for example, casual conversations among friends or family members, casual conversations among children.

Angel: Or even among colleagues in a medical setting or in a professional setting.

Jay: Right, particularly when people are joking, when people want to give a linguistic performance that says, 'We are being informal together, we are friends together. I would not say this in an official meeting but I would say it to you this way'.

Angel: Or even it's a working meeting but it's between colleagues in kind of horizontal communication. They could discuss highly specialized subject matter, but the tenor, the relationship is not that of a vertical one. It could be very specialized but still informal.

Jay: Yes, in fact, it is a very typical thing. I never wrote about this but I did give a talk once where I discussed this. There are ways in the community of theoretical physicists, which I used to belong to, in which you index your membership in the community by making jokes or by using a mixture of formal language and informal language.

Angel: Or specialist language and everyday language.

Jay: Yes, mixing them in a way that makes sense to other specialists but would not make sense to anyone else. And this indexes your membership in the community and also the addressee's membership in the community. So, we create this community solidarity. And it is a very common and standard thing, especially if you are meeting someone else in the community for the first time. In the very beginning, you are a little bit formal with each other, but then, because you are colleagues, you move to the next step of indexing this informal solidarity relationship by making these kinds of jokes, or puns, or casual violations of the strict norms of usage in the community, and in a clever way, if you can. So, there is actually a function to this.

2.4 Expanding the Notion of Translanguaging to Trans-Styling, Trans-Registering, and Trans-Featuring

In addition to highlighting translanguaging as the normal case in less-policed settings, Angel and Jay elucidate that translanguaging has definite communicative functions that cannot be produced if using only one variety, such as adding delicate meanings and enriching indexical meaning. Furthermore, the notion of translanguaging can be expanded to trans-styling, trans-registering, and trans-featuring.

Jay: So, I think that when we move away from the highly policed, institutionally constrained settings and performances to these looser, freer, more open ones, then we see the normal–again we don't really have a good word for that–the normal mixing, the normal sliding across these boundaries, which has many communicative functions. People don't do this just because it is an accident.

Angel: Or because it is sloppy or because it requires less effort.

Jay: No, they have very definite communicative functions. Like in his paper, Li (2018) has this conversation of people where they are mixing Hokkien Chinese and a couple of other 'dialects' of Chinese, some Malay and some English and so forth. I don't know enough, but just reading it, knowing a little bit about Chinese, I can guess that some of the phrases are standard phrases, conventionalized phrases, [and some are] idioms or commonplace phrases in that particular dialect. So, using them makes sense because they operate in some sense as a whole, as a unit, and also because the whole process of combining these different forms, deploying these different resources, indexes the relationship between the speakers. And I would say

that in terms of meaning, if you want to look at meaning at a very delicate level, what is being said would not have exactly the same meaning if it were all being produced in the same language variety.

Angel: Yes, I can resonate with that.

Jay: There is meaning added by doing this kind of translanguaging.

Angel: And this meaning, people would argue, is usually the tenor, the social, the interpersonal meaning, but sometimes it is more than that. It can be ideational and attitude and also textual… all three meta-functions of Halliday's theory (1978).

2.5 'Translanguaging and Flows' as a Theoretical Lens: Translanguaging as a Nexus of Dynamic Material, Social and Historical Processes Across Multiple Timescales in Complex Eco-Social Systems

After outlining some of the key features of the translanguaging phenomena, Angel and Jay deepen the discussion on translanguaging to its ontological grounding in response to the critique that the translanguaging project is just political advocacy, lacking a solid theoretical basis. They propose the perspective of *translanguaging and flows* as a theoretical basis for conceptualising translanguaging and related practical questions, which is complementary to Li's (2018) proposal and Thibault's (2011) idea of *first-order languaging* and *second-order language*. Incorporating the dimension of different timescales and the idea of individuals and semiotic artefacts as mediums (see Lemke, 2000), the perspective of flows illuminates translanguaging as a nexus of dynamic material, social and historical processes across multiple timescales in complex eco-social systems.

Angel: So here are two issues, one is a theoretical issue in terms of linguistic theory, one is a political, critical issue in terms of advocacy, in terms of breaking the hierarchies of languages, named languages, and registers like these formal academic or scientific registers and the so-called informal, everyday, not scientific, not specialist registers. So, I see that the key value in translanguaging in the political sense is to interrupt that kind of hierarchy, historically constructed, politically constructed in schools, in workplaces, in society, so I see the value of translanguaging doing that. But now, there are contemporary scholars who just think that it is a new term for old wine or a catchy, trendy term to do a good political project, 'okay, all that translanguaging is doing is this, without a solid theoretical basis'. And that I would like to dispute, based on theory, linguistic theory.

Jay: Yes, I think Li (2018) makes the beginning of a good case of this kind for theory. The main point when I was writing about translanguaging and flows (Lemke, 2016) is that another kind of theoretical basis for regarding

translanguaging as more of the normal situation is, if you adopt this *medium and flows* picture, which is very similar to Thibault's (2011). . .

Angel: First-order and second-order phenomena.

Jay: Right, so first-order languaging and second-order language (Thibault, 2011). So first-order languaging is the actual material, dynamic, temporal, material processes. It is the sounding, it is the doing of the languaging.

Angel: The real-time, moment-to-moment.

Jay: Yes, real-time, moment-to-moment, interactional. And it involves always more than just one body and certainly more than just the brain.

Angel: And the room and the artifacts.

Jay: And the interlocutors, the other people and the ambient conditions, whether it is noisy in the room or not, music is playing and so forth. So, this complex physical, dynamical phenomenon is the reality. That is the most real and also the richest, the most complicated. Everything else is a simplification or an abstraction away from that, including second-order language. But second-order language is only one way of abstracting away from that.

Angel: We can have register, we can have style.

Jay: Yes, and you can have gesture systems and so forth. But you can also have a chemical way of abstracting from this or a pure energy way of abstracting from that.

Angel: That's right! The new materialism ontology people are talking about those.

Jay: Yes. So, now if you want to think about translanguaging, I mean, this is something that comes a bit from the complex systems theory way of looking at these things, but also from the biological or ecological way of looking at things. You cannot just take one moment in time and isolate it, right? Because dynamical processes don't happen at moments of time. Dynamical processes happen through time, across time, over time, and of course, over multiple timescales. So, some of the processes happen relatively quickly, some of the processes happen over a very long time.

Angel: So, dynamic processes don't just happen at one moment. It usually must happen across different timescales.

Jay: Yes. So now think about translanguaging in this way. So, we're not saying that translanguaging is something that happens just now when you speak. It has a history to it. It has a material history in your body, in your speech habitus (Bourdieu, 1973), in your previous interactions with other people, right? With your language development processes, right? And those also are ones in the past that have connected you through flows, flows of matter, energy and information, with other people in the community, right? Then the phenomenon of translanguaging is a community phenomenon, right? If you like, it is an ecosystem phenomenon.

Angel: It is both social and material phenomena, right?

Jay: Yes. And it is not wise to regard it as a purely individual phenomenon. So now you think about the individual's history and an individual, who will at some time in the future do a translanguaging performance, must be an individual who in the past has encountered these different varieties, has

been integrated into flows, integrated into communities, in which these various resources and meanings and ways of speaking have connected you to other people, connected you to written texts, connected you to just walking around in a world, in an ecosystem. And that is all flowing through time, influencing you and influencing now the cumulative probabilities of you making different choices in the translanguaging performance of right now, as well as fitting to the current circumstances. So, when you say, well, this person has chosen this way of expressing themselves in more than one named language now, in part because they're talking to a person like this and in part because the institutional tenor is like that, and so forth. Yes, but not just then at that moment. You also have to go back and take into account the history that leads up to that moment.

Angel: Yes, that is like the Scollons' nexus analysis (2004). They talk about in any moment when you see an action, there is the historical body and the interactional order in the sense of Goffman, the interactional order in these circumstances, and the discourses in place, like at this moment, and all are intersecting.

Jay: Yes, all intersecting. And what I am saying is that particularly when thinking about translanguaging, it's important to put a little more emphasis on the history.

Angel: Yes, of the individual but in connection with the community.

Jay: The individual is just a place where the flows of the community, past and present, have passed through you. You are a medium for these flows. And so it's a nexus.

Angel: Kind of like the Foucauldian term, but he uses power.

Jay: Yes, Foucault tries to, in a sense, de-individualize power (Foucault, 1982), to say power is there in communities and institutions that flows through and may be mobilized by individuals. It's not true that a person simply has power. Putin doesn't have power just because he's Putin. He has power because he sits in a particular intersection of many flows going on in Russian society and history.

Angel: Similarly, in translanguaging, this person, this individual Jay Lemke, this individual Angel Lin, are not just two individuals, but all the different languages passing through this body, that body.

Jay: Yes, that's right. And that I think is a very profound basis for theorizing about translanguaging and many of these practical questions about it: What kinds of overlapping systems of rules or rule descriptions are most appropriate for characterizing translanguaging? Or what kinds of additional meanings exist when there is a translanguaging performance versus trying to say the same thing in monolingual performance?

Angel: Yes, monolingual, mono-register, mono-style, mono-whatever clustering or things.

Jay: Yes. So for me, this is the most basic point of our paper. That's why translanguaging and flows, why 'flows' is relevant to thinking about translanguaging.

Angel: Yes, that's a very profound ontological insight or ontological grounding.

3 Discussions on Translanguaging and Flows as a Theoretical Lens

3.1 Shifting from a Substance-Based Ontology to a Process-Based Ontology

In the following section, Jay further elaborates on the idea of *translanguaging and flows* which is inspired by his transdisciplinary experience as a physicist and social semiotician. He highlights the importance of shifting from an emphasis on static objects/entities (a substance-based ontology) to an emphasis on processes happening *in* and *through mediums* interconnecting *across multiple timescales* (a process-based ontology). The concept of heterochrony is important in this conceptualisation, which refers to interactions or interdependence between processes on different timescales.

Angel: So this complex system theory, can you tell me a bit more? Is it from the sciences?

Jay: Yes, that's from science. Let's see what's the simplest way to explain this. In many real physical and biological systems, you have a large number of interacting components, in the body, in the forest, in the jungle. In the physics way of thinking about this, you don't focus on the components interacting with each other, but you think about the processes, the flows, and the flows flow through the medium of the components of the bodily elements.

Angel: Like the blood flows through the organs, the heart.

Jay: Yes, exactly. And the nervous impulses flow through the nerves and into the muscles and all of this. So, if you want to build a theory of how these things work, you discover that the traditional theories of science have a weakness, which is that they are based on a notion of linear causation, linear causality: A causes B, B causes C, C causes D. But in these complex systems, A causes B and B causes C, but C goes back and causes A again, and then B causes D and D goes back and causes C again.

Angel: It's like a loop.

Jay: Loops, exactly. But in real systems, when you have many of these loops and some of them are increasing and some are decreasing, you get unpredictable phenomena. And these phenomena are very important in the real world, in every aspect of real world systems. And there are certain generalizations that you can make about them. One of those generalizations is that the analysis of such systems works much better if you look at processes on different timescales. This is where the timescales principle comes from (Lemke, 2000). So, think about speech, think about language.

Then the shortest timescale is a nerve firing in your brain. A lot of nerves firing in your brain add up to an impulse to your tongue and your lips to articulate a sound. The articulation of a sound takes a lot longer than the timescale for the nerve impulse. And you don't just make a sound. You make a sound as part of a stream of speech, which is again on a much longer timescale than one sound that you make. And you don't just make isolated streams of speech, you make them as part of activities that you are engaged in, which are on still longer timescales. And these different scales are not independent of each other.

Angel: No, they are kind of nested.

Jay: Yes, they are nested, but they also have little loops in them feeding back in a way. This is how you get social constraints, tenor constraints that may affect your translanguaging, that may affect your choice of how to sound your vowel.

Angel: It's kind of like the response from my conversation partner will loop back into my production of the utterances and I might change my speaking style to synchronize?

Jay: Yes. So you get heterochrony.

Angel: Like heterogeneous, hetero-?

Jay: Right. This is heterochrony. "Chrony" for time or timescale. What it means is that there are interactions or interdependence between processes on very different timescales. In many natural systems, there is a buffering, so that once you are more than two timescales different, there's very little interaction. But this is not true of human behavior. It's not true of semiotic processes. So, this is another general feature in these complex systems. So, you have different timescales, but you also have heterochronic interdependencies among timescales that are quite different.

Angel: Just give one simple example of heterochrony so that I can unpack it for my students?

Jay: A very simple one is written language. You can write something down and read it a few days later. And this process that extends over days will influence what you're doing over minutes or seconds.

Angel: Like these notes you have written down on Li's article or MacSwan's article and after a few days, you look at our draft.

Jay: Right. This is a general feature of, call them memory systems, or what I call semiotic artifacts. This is basically a material substance that can be written to, that it can be modified physically.

Angel: Inscribed.

Jay: And it persists over a longer timescale, that is, longer than the time it takes to modify it, and can then be read from again on the shorter timescale. So, in a way, it carries the longer-term process across the shorter-term processes.

Angel: The shorter-term processes will be reading aloud from these written notes.

Jay: Yes, or writing the notes in the first place.

Angel: But how do they interact?

Jay: This is actually also an interesting point of view for translanguaging. If you think historically, you think through time, you need to think about the continuities. What has stayed the same across this longer timescale? So, some of the vocabulary items, some of the meaning items and meaning relationships that have been constructed are now repeated or still present in the later event.

Angel: But maybe with slightly different meanings.

Jay: Yes, often there will be a slight difference, but there is also some continuity. You look at features, some semantic features will be the same, some will change as this happens.

Angel: Is this like Ron and Suzanne Scollon's notion of the historical body (2004), because these notes bear layers and layers of historical meaning?

Jay: But for me, what's important is to shift the emphasis, from an emphasis on objects and material bodies to an emphasis on processes happening over time.

Angel: Dynamic processes.

Jay: Yes.

Angel: Ah, that's the difference! Because there's always this fixation on objects. But from a physicist's point of view, it's process, dynamic process and the flows, through these objects, these mediums.

Jay: Right, including us, including the body.

Angel: Including these physical notes written on pieces of paper, or this cup, or this book or this fabric.

Jay: Yes. I mean all of material culture is a medium for processes taking place on and across multiple timescales.

Angel: This is a very important ontological insight to inform education processes and educational linguistic processes, because many a time, linguists including socio- linguists and educational linguists, we tend to look at these things as things, as genres, registers, styles, features, speaking styles, as things.

Jay: Yes. Every noun gets treated as if it were a thing, even when it's not a thing, but the name of a process.

Angel: The nominalization processes Michael Halliday talks about. It's freezing the process into an entity.

Jay: Which is one reason why you find people sometimes trying to stretch the grammar of English. I do this sometimes. I use participles and gerunds, the -ing forms to try to emphasize the process aspect.

Angel: It's kind of translanguag*ing* is also an example.

Jay: It is indeed, or first-order langua*ging* versus second-order langua*ge*.

Angel: That's the entity, language. Languaging is the dynamic process. So, this idea ties in well with the recent very trendy term called new materiality ontology. It is a new movement, feminist movement based on a cluster of physicist feminists like Karen Barad. So, they borrowed this idea and call it new materialism ontology.

Jay: I don't know that specific work, but I know the history of it in physics. There was in the 1960s a very famous theoretical physicist, David Bohm. He wrote a book, basically a process ontology book based in physics. And at the time it was not influential in science particularly, but many people in other fields found it very interesting. And there was a lot of efforts in the1970s; they tried to develop it and then it just kind of faded away. But it keeps coming back. I think this is a new version… But this whole notion of the process ontology, is one of the fundamental divides in the whole of western philosophy, western thought. Do you have a substance-based ontology? The ultimate reality are things, concrete things. Or do you have a process-based ontology? The ultimate reality are dynamic processes which happen in and through substantive things.

Angel: Yes, using them as mediums.

3.2 Shifting the Focus from Space to Flows: Semiotic Resources, Artefacts and (Human) Bodies as Distributed in Space Through Which Dynamic Eco-Social Processes Flow

Another current strand of theorization on translanguaging is Canagarajah (2018)'s work on translingual practice and spatial repertoires. This is also discussed in Angel and Jay's conversations this time. Jay appreciates Canagarajah's efforts in this direction, but he also pinpoints the importance of moving further to focus more on processes, that is, space as a medium for flows and how semiotic resources in space are distributed and more importantly, interconnected through dynamic processes across different timescales. This is what the perspective of translanguaging and flows is trying to offer. With such an insight, Jay also outlines several guiding questions for analysing examples of translanguaging performances.

Angel: Another very contentious concept is repertoire, like García and Li (2014) talk about the holistic repertoire of the individual. Then MacSwan (2017) differentiates between speech repertoire and mental grammars. Now there is Suresh Canagarajah, a well-respected applied linguist, he talks about translingual practices as spatial repertoire (Canagarajah, 2018). He described this postdoc scientist, a Korean American scientist in a university, how the whole team of scientists co-produced a science academic paper, and the semiotic resources are distributed over people, over lots of artefacts. So instead of talking about individual communicative repertoire or speech repertoire, or linguistic repertoire, he talks about spatialized repertoires and decenters it from an individual.

Jay: Yes, this is the same basic strategy that you find in the distributed cognition model. Spatial has been a fashionable term in the last 10 years and I can understand using it, but I am not sure that space is the right concept here.

Angel: Because it should be processes, isn’t it?

Jay: Yes, it should be processes, and it should be some notions of distribution in an environment. Or in an eco-system, and it’s not so much space as such. But you know there is this whole discussion about space and place. And for me, space is the mathematical concept. And place is the space that is filled with stuff, right? Space as a medium for flows, which, in some ways, is defined by the flows, right? My space is defined in the way by everywhere I go, haha.

Angel: The flow of you, haha.

Jay: Haha. The space that’s full of me is my place, right? But still, it’s a very good approach, a good strategy.

Angel: How do we differentiate this approach from translanguaging and flows? It seems that translanguaging and flows focuses on processes and ‘spatialized repertoires’ focuses on space and distributed semiotic resources?

Jay: Well, I suppose what Canagarajah is doing is pointing out that the resources are spatially distributed, and they are distributed around different people, places and things.

Angel: Artefacts and apps and gadgets.

Jay: Right, but the important thing for me would be how are they connected, how are they interconnected? Yes, they are distributed, but how are they brought together in functional processes with functional outcomes? Or in some other ways, if you don’t like doing it functionally. And for me the general abstract way of talking about that is the flows. There are flows of matter, energy and information, at least, the general categories.

Angel: Flows of matter, an example will be my blood circulation.

Jay: Right. Flows of energy, like the heat from the sun…

Angel: To the chlorophyll in the plants.

Jay: Or electricity going through to our houses. And there is also the flow of information, which are especially important in these contexts. But when you try to describe, how those flows interconnect with the distributed, spatially distributed resources, then you discover that the processes that connect them, are operating on more than one timescale, and then you have to understand how processes on different timescales integrate with one another, or connect with one another. And it’s at that point, I think, that you really get an understanding of what’s happening in the system.

Angel: Yes, and that’s a really good empirical question for a PhD thesis.

Jay: Yes. Take an actual example of this, what are the processes? What are the mediums through which those processes are acting and flowing? What are the timescales on which those processes are operating? And how are they integrated across different mediums and across different timescales?

Angel: In that action event?

Jay: Right, in that action event, although again, with some history. Not in one moment, but over some stretches of time.

3.3 Further Discussions on First-Order Languaging, Trans-semiotising and Multimodality

In this section, Angel briefly talks about a research example she finds resonating with the translanguaging and flows perspective and the discussion then extends to the idea of dynamic trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a) and the problems with the notion of multimodality.

Angel: My PhD student in Hong Kong, Amy, she's very much into that kind of research that you're talking about, fine-grained descriptions of the first-order languaging processes. And we can see that it's really kind of like our paper, the flow. A bilingual Cantonese-English science teacher in Hong Kong doing translanguaging to teach very complex science concepts. That's exactly what you're saying, the first-order translanguaging meaning-making processes. And it's not just verbal, he's using his body, using the science lab, using models, using everything, the blackboard, the textbook, and Cantonese and English, everything just happening so fast and flowing together. The translanguaging and flows analytical framework seems to give us more mileage in delineating the phenomena.

Jay: This is another very good point, I think, Li (2018) makes, he is saying that all communication is trans-semioticising, you may want to say, because of the multimedia, because of the gestures, because of the chalkboard, because of the textbook. We are always mixing these things together. We are always making more meaning through the ways we combine these resources than we could make with any one resource.

Angel: It's not like one plus one equals two.

Jay: Yes, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. And that operates as a single meaning unit in some registers of English.

Angel: Yes, instead of analyzing it like traditional code-switching, code-mixing research, or the teacher switching between Cantonese and English… I actually borrowed from Halliday. He came to Hong Kong some years ago. He gave a lecture in HKU and he talked about 'trans-semiotic' (Halliday, 2013). Then after that I quoted him and I coined the term 'trans-semiotising' (Lin, 2015a). Or what you just said 'trans-semioticising'.

Jay: Yes, 'trans-semioticising'. You know, Rick Iedema, I think he's also quoted by Li Wei. He had something like that,'re-semiotization' (2003), but it's not very far from re-semioticizing to trans-semioticizing.

Angel: Right, that's just one step further, trans-semiotising. Because Halliday did talk about 'trans-semiotic'. He didn't like the term 'multimodality'- In the talk he gave in the University of Hong Kong, he briefly mentioned it, but he didn't have time to explain in detail why he didn't like 'multimodality'. Maybe it's because it's too static, it is another abstraction?

Jay: I think one of the main reasons is that it is very difficult to define what a mode is in that sense. Is sound a mode? So that speech is part of this mode,

music is part of this mode, noise is part of this mode, if sound is a mode? Or if speech is a mode, such that speech and music are two different semiotic modes? So, there's a lot of arbitrariness in getting a definition for 'mode' or 'modality'. It's convenient for some purposes, but you have to be careful because you can get into a contradiction or a mistake or overgeneralization or something that way. The notion of a semiotic resource system is much easier to define more precisely. And then you can argue about whether something is or isn't a semiotic resource system, right? So, you know, is music a semiotic resource system? I think it is. Is photography a semiotic resource system? It could be. Is noise a semiotic resource system? It can become one. It's not highly institutionally structured, but at least you can argue over these things.

Angel: True. And I thought, this is a dynamic process, trans-semiotic rather than trans-modal, I don't know, 'mode' sounds a little bit static?

Jay: I think in more recent years, Halliday had adopted more of this dynamic approach. A lot of his earlier work was not so much about dynamic, I mean, because he's really used the paradigm of second-order language. I mean, he and I have had personal discussions about the dynamic model for a long, long time. And that's also where Paul Thibault got this idea from. But Halliday always felt that, he himself personally, it was not his specialty to do that. So, he accepted the value and the importance of it, but not to do it himself.

4 Responses to Major Contentions over Translanguaging

In addition to the aforementioned theoretical issues, major contentions over translanguaging are addressed in Angel and Jay's conversations.

4.1 Resistance from Political and Institutional Forces and Our Response: The Translanguaging Perspective Allows Us to Explore Other Kinds of Meaning-Making

One major source of resistance to translanguaging comes from political and institutional authorities who have vested interests in the ideologically constructed bounded language systems. In response, Angel and Jay suggest highlighting translanguaging as an exploration of other kinds of meaning-making in addition to second-order language.

Angel: I think translanguaging theory and practice has a lot to offer to the field, if people can stop thinking of translanguaging as just a political project. That's a misguided perception.

Jay: Yes, there is a lot of resistance because translanguaging in some versions undermines the claim to reality of the named language systems.

Angel: Standard language systems, national language systems.

Jay: Right. It is saying that what you're talking about [i.e., named language systems] doesn't even really exist, but is an artificially defined, socio-political and historical product.

Angel: That's right. People find it very unsettling...

Jay: Especially because so many institutional norms, so many power relationships and status relationships, and so much policing, are predicated on the existence and hierarchy of these artificial second-order language systems.

Angel: Yes, examination, IELTS, TOEFL, the whole ELT industry, language education industry and language assessment industry are predicated on the existence, the ontology of these second-order languages and registers, like academic literacy, academic language becoming another educational industry.

Jay: Yes. So, it's not easy to disrupt all of that. And I think that, from a political and practical point of view, it makes sense to not be too aggressively antagonistic. It's wiser to say, 'You are looking at one form of abstraction from the reality of first-order languaging, but there's a lot more there and we owe it to our students and we owe it to our field to explore these other kinds of meaning-making that are there, in addition to the one you are talking about.' And then I think, if it succeeds, as people come to know more about translanguaging and are able to give evidence-based descriptions and generalizations about what happens in translanguaging and translanguaging meaning-making, then there will come to be more of a balance between these. And then when someone makes an argument that is based only on the power relationships of second-order language, someone else can say, 'But equally, isn't it true that these other relationships also exist? And so, we need a compromise. You cannot have it all your own way, because you're not the only voice in town, not the only song here on the stage'.

4.2 Worries from Minoritized Groups Regarding Translanguaging and Our Response: Not **"Either-Or", But "Both-And",** *for Different Purposes*

Another contention regarding translanguaging comes from minoritized groups. They are worried that translanguaging will threaten their distinctive language and cultural identity. To this concern, Jay suggests clarifying that the translanguaging perspective is not arguing for 'either-or', but 'both-and', for different purposes, highlighting that the translanguaging perspective enables people to see meaning-making as beyond just meaning-making within a single codified language system or as switching between different codified language systems.

Angel: Another thing is, interesting though, you also have worries from minoritized groups of people who fear that if it’s trans, trans, trans, then we lose our identity.

Jay: Yes. And again, I mean this is another even better, morally better reason not to have a complete clash between these two. Not to say ‘It’s either translanguaging or it’s named language systems’. It can be both, for different purposes. Yes, indeed, if you want to codify your heritage language, that’s fine. Right? It serves a purpose for you.

Angel: For maintenance, for cultural identity.

Jay: Yes. But again you just recognize that is one way of abstracting from the actual real communication process that’s taking place.

Angel: The first-order translanguaging processes.

Jay: Right. And so that’s fine, you can do that, but you don’t want to ignore all the other things that happen here. And this I think makes, you know, makes again a very important point, which is a moral and political point, as well as a linguistic point, to the extent that there are meanings that can be made by translanguaging performances that cannot be made within single codified language systems. If you forbid people from doing anything except using single codified systems and just switching between them, right? Then you are forbidding people from making certain kinds of meaning. And that is bad.

Angel: That is against human linguistic rights, human rights.

5 Implications of the Translanguaging Perspective for Classroom Practices and Educational Policy: Keeping the Flows Going

Regarding the implications of the translanguaging perspective for classroom practices and educational policy, both Angel and Jay agree that a promising direction for developing translanguaging pedagogies that will disrupt the immersion mentality and traditional hierarchies of languages and registers will be to conceive of all communicative resources as having equal status and harness their meaning-making potentials in ongoing flows/cycles without having an end point (e.g. The Multimodalities-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC) proposed by Lin, 2010, 2015b, 2016 is such an example).

Angel: Some critics also say, ‘If you force them to speak only English, eventually they will learn how to express their meaning in English only, the target language only’.

Jay: Well, again, you know, I am not in favour of extreme positions in teaching.

Angel: Right, me neither.

Jay: Because for one thing, students are very different, any one extreme position will help some students and hurt some students. So, I believe in a variety of different approaches. So, I see nothing wrong with saying, 'Today for the next 10 minutes, we will use only English.' That's fine to me, but not every day, not all day use English only.

Angel: Right, not immersion. That ties in well with this curriculum genre that Jim Martin and David Rose propose and my adaptation of it. I call it the MEC: Multimodality-Entextualisation Cycle (Lin, 2010, 2015b, 2016). So, I have a cycle with three stages roughly. The first two stages will be like activating interest and reading and taking notes on a topic, you can translanguage, you can use all multimodalities like visuals, videos, and so forth, and then the third stage will be the Entextualisation–I borrowed this term from Rick Iedema (2003)–that you need to entextualise it in some target form of language, say English, like to make a presentation in English, or write a little summary…

Jay: Yes, and again it is very good to really have a cycle. I think one problem is sometimes people get to the target and they stop, right? I think what you need to do is to recognize the process, the flow has to continue. So now you take the paragraph or the sentence that the students wrote, and then you have, 'Let's have a discussion about this', and then you allow them again to use a wider repertoire.

Angel: Yes, great! That's also my idea of MEC, Multimodality-Entextualisation Cycle. And it is not a prescriptive cycle, but a heuristic thinking tool that teachers can use.

Jay: And this I think also has a good political dimension, because if there is one target, which is the stopping point, the end point, that is saying that is the best thing.

Angel: Right, reproduce the hierarchy of languages.

Jay: But if you keep the cycle going, then there is no stopping point, there is no best point, right?

Angel: That's right, I like this point!

Jay: Yes, because then all of the stages of the cycle are of equal value, because each one is necessary to complete the whole cycle.

Angel: That's right, thanks so much! I created this cycle without realizing this really good political point! Because some critics say, 'Oh you guys are translanguaging, you are still reproducing the hierarchy, you just use the home languages to scaffold the learning of the L2 or target language'.

Jay: That would be true, if instead of a cycle, you just have an end point.

At this point of the conversation, as Angel and Jay discuss the idea of the Multimodality-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC) without an end point as a key implication of the translanguaging perspective for classroom practices and educational policy, it would be necessary to elaborate a bit more on what is the Multimodality-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC) (Lin, 2010, 2015b, 2016) and what can be the takeaway from this discussion of "the MEC without an end point".

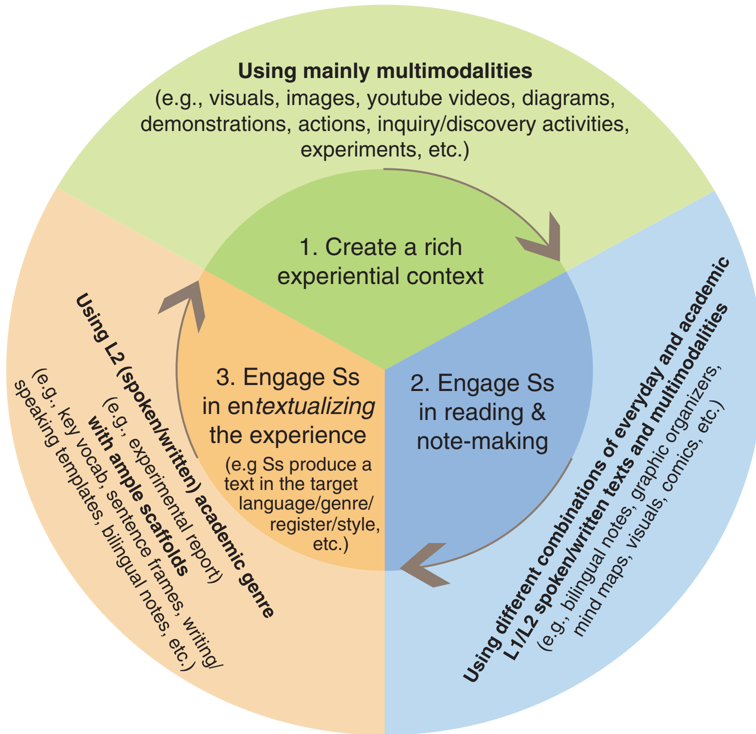

Fig. 1 The Multimodalities-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC). (Key: Ss = students). (Adapted from Lin, 2010)

We can see from Fig. 1 that the MEC is a heuristic tool for teachers and curriculum developers to plan a unit of work in plurilingual education settings. At Stages 1 and 2 of the MEC, it suggests that teachers can provide dialogic spaces for students to use all the resources in their holistic communicative repertoires to make meaning while gradually putting more emphases on reading and note-making to prepare for Stage 3 (i.e., translanguaging/trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a) through multimodalities and different combinations of everyday and academic L1/L2 spoken/written texts, e.g. visuals, actions, bilingual notes, graphic organisers, etc.) At Stage 3 of the MEC, however, some constraints can be imposed to encourage students to produce a text (spoken and/or written) in the target language/ genre/ register/ style (e.g. an experimental report) with ample scaffolds provided in this process (e.g. key vocab, sentence frames, writing/speaking templates, bilingual notes, etc.). Translanguaging/ trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a) can still be drawn on at Stage 3, but the emphasis shifts to guiding students to produce a text (spoken and/ or written) in the target language/ genre/ register/ style with scaffolds. Depending on the lesson type (e.g. content-enriched language lessons or language-enriched content subject lessons) and the proficiency levels of the students, the balance between the use of L1/ L2/ everyday/ academic/ spoken/ written/ multimodal resources at each stage may be

varied and teachers can adapt them for their own contexts. Importantly, the MEC can be reiterated in cycles or spirals so that the teaching and learning process will be ongoing without an end point and that the target language/ genre/ register/ style is not seen as superior to the students' everyday languages/ genres/ registers/ styles. Instead, the two interweave and interanimate (Bakhtin, 1981) to expand students' communicative and cultural repertoires continuously. For example, in the first round of the MEC, teachers can translanguage/trans-semiotise (Lin, 2015a) with students to co-construct a content topic in a target genre in the target language (e.g. causal explanation of transpiration). This builds up a foundation of conceptual knowledge and discursive features, which can then be scaled up in the second round of the MEC to express another similar content topic but with a bit more complex conceptual knowledge and academic discursive features (e.g. causal explanation of water absorption by roots). Teachers can reiterate such patterns of translanguaging/trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a) practices in continuous cycles with variations in one or more dimensions in each cycle (e.g. extension of conceptual knowledge and/or discursive features) according to the needs of their own teaching contexts. This is an example of how the MEC can serve as a heuristic tool to develop teaching and learning processes for expanding students' communicative and cultural repertoires without an end point (Wu, 2020). The MEC approach has now been tried out and adapted in secondary and tertiary education settings and positive feedback from students and teachers are emerging (e.g. Siu, Tong, & Pun, 2017; Wu & Lin, 2019).

6 Expanding Beyond the Traditional Focus on Structured Linguistic Systems and Some Questions for Translanguaging Research

At the end of their conversations, Angel and Jay reiterate the value of expanding beyond the traditional focus on codified linguistic systems to a translanguaging perspective and outline some questions for future research.

Angel: I think the field right now, maybe there's more heat than light because people do not really understand the profound ontological grounding of translanguaging. But I do believe, it's much more than just an advocacy project. Otherwise, it can be easily knocked down.

Jay: Yes, this is something important to understand I think from the history of science and the history of ideas: Any new theoretical proposal that opens up new areas of practical research for people tends to be adopted because people are always hungry for new research questions. And I think one of the most important things one could do in the Translanguage and Flows paper would be just to list some of these research questions for the future that come from this translanguaging approach. I mean in a sense, I think it opens up a tremendous range because most of the history of sociolinguistics has based itself on the very old-fashioned notions about language.

Angel: Like code-switching, code-mixing, for example.

Jay: Yes. They're all based on this notion that there are these very definite, highly structured codes or linguistic systems, language systems. And as we said, that's one way, that's the second-order language way, that's only one way of extracting out from the real material first-order languaging phenomenon. But there is so much more in the first-order languaging, not just things like the physical, chemical, political, ecological processes, but within language, within language studies, you know, and language learning and language development. Simply to be able to start to talk about: what kinds of meanings can be made in translanguaging performances that cannot be made in monolingual or restricted language performances? And how are those meanings made? What are the regularities that you can describe in the process of translanguaging meaning-making? And how do you describe these regularities? They are not going to be exactly the same as rules of grammar, you know, and they're not going to be exactly the same as discourse norms or genre norms. They will have a character of their own.

Angel: They're also distinctive from traditional code-mixing, code-switching research or analytical descriptions, because superficially these two traditions seem to look at similar phenomena: People mixing languages, people switching between languages. But the analytical tools, the apparatus, or methodological resources used to do the analysis are totally different.

Jay: Yes. So that I think is the point.

Angel: Yes, this clarifies a lot! Thank you so much for the discussion!

Jay: Thanks for all your work on this. It has been very stimulating to think about these issues with you.

7 Overall Synthesis and Reflections on the Conversations

From Angel and Jay's conversations above, we can see that several key principles and directions on translanguaging research have emerged in their thinking-in-progress, converging with the ideas of other key researchers in this area, but also enriching them.

First, we can see from the conversations above that the translanguaging research project is a collaborative endeavor to move the field forward beyond an over-emphasis on structuralist, named and bounded language systems and better capture and elucidate the naturally occurring sense- and meaning-making practices in the real world, which are dynamic, diverse, multilingual, multisemiotic and multisensory (see also Canagarajah, 2018; Li, 2018). Informed by Thibault (2011), the translanguaging approach explicates the latter as first-order realities and the former second-order realities (i.e., artificially defined, socio-political and historical constructs in institutionalized settings); these two kinds of realities co-exist in meaning-making but in *different ontological orders* (see also Li, 2018). The translanguaging

research project is thus developing a new theory that can better explain both realities and the relationship between the two (Lin & He, 2017). However, as Jay suggests, using the translanguaging perspective does not mean abandoning explorations for any patterns and orders, but rather we do not assume predefined structures. We adopt a reconceptualised view of structures as looser, more porous, blending, emergent, fluid, dynamic, complex, temporally connected, and materially mediated to guide our analyses and focus more on how structures and boundaries are produced, crossed, transcended or transformed through participants' moment-to-moment interactions (Li, April 13, 2018, personal communication).

Second, in relation to the first point, the translanguaging perspective broadens the scope of communicative repertoire and challenges traditional binaries and hierarchies, leading to transformative pedagogical implications. Specifically, the translanguaging perspective concepualises all communicative semiotic resources (i.e., the named languages, L1, L2, etc., visuals, actions, material, spatial resources, etc.), different styles, registers, genres as having equal value, blending, shaping, and inter-illuminating each other in the moment-to-moment unfolding of activities, together forming a continuous holistic meaning-making process to make kinds of meaning that would be otherwise impossible if using only one variety or semiotic means. This concepualisation also opens up possibilities to explore a wide range of trans-phenomena such as trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a), trans-registering, trans-featuring.

Particularly, in translanguaging theorisation, the traditional hierarchies and binaries of privileging L2 versus L1 and local languages, languages versus multimodalities (as supplementary context), academic registers versus everyday registers are disrupted and transcended (see also Li, 2018). This disruption has transformative pedagogical implications: Trapped in hierarchies and binaries, the latter (i.e., L1, local languages, multimodalities, everyday registers) are traditionally conceived as mainly having scaffolding value for achieving mastery of the former (i.e., L2, standardized languages, academic registers). This then reproduces the hierarchies (albeit unintentionally for some), as the notion of scaffolding has been critiqued by some scholars as having a similar modernist tendency in which differences must be overcome for uniformity and control (see Matusov, 2011 for a discussion of the irreconcilable differences between Vygotsky and Bakhtin). However, as illuminated by Jay and Angel's dialogue, adopting the translanguaging perspective will help craft out pedagogical designs that conceive of and harness all communicative resources as having equal meaning-making potential in cycles without an end point (e.g. the Multimodalities-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC) proposed by Lin, 2010, 2015a, 2016). Thus, in such translanguaging pedagogies, communications are always open for (re)negotiation and interanimation (Bakhtin, 1981) without hierarchies and students' holistic communicative and cultural repertoires can be continuously expanding.

Third, Jay and Angel propose the perspective of translanguaging and flows as a theoretical basis for concepualising translanguaging. This perspective is complementary to the theorizations of many other researchers in the current literature such as Thibault (2011), Li (2018) and Canagarajah (2018), but it gives more emphasis

on processes, mediums and timescales in exploring translanguaging, which is inspired by Jay's transdisciplinary experience as a physicist and social semiotician.

Jay and Angel's conversations illuminate translanguaging as a nexus of dynamic material and social, historical processes across multiple timescales and as an eco-social community phenomenon. In particular, Jay highlights the importance of shifting from an emphasis on static objects/ entities (a substance-based ontology) to an emphasis on dynamic *processes* happening *in* and *through mediums* and inter-connecting *across multiple timescales* (i.e., the concept of heterochrony) (a process-based ontology) and flows is a way of concepualising processes, mediums, timescales and the way they are coordinated and integrated. In his article on timescales principle, Lemke (2000) expresses these ideas succinctly:

> Each scale of organization in an ecosocial system is an integration of faster, more local processes (i.e., activities, practices, doings, happenings) into longer-timescale, more global or extended networks…it is the circulation through the network of semiotic artifacts (i.e., books, buildings, bodies) that enables coordination between processes on radically different timescales. (p. 275)

In line with the above quote, Jay's concepualisation of flows as elucidated in the conversations is underpinned by a process-based ontology emphasizing dynamic processes: It is not just thinking in terms of the "verb+ing" form, but also situating dynamic processes in connection with mediums (i.e., all material culture, resources distributed in space, including humans and semiotic artefacts, are mediums in and through which processes take place), as well as in connection with timescales; i.e., there are shorter-timescale processes (faster, more local) and longer-timescale processes (slower, more global), and shorter-timescale processes are coordinated and integrated into longer-timescale processes through circulating through mediums. Thus, from the perspective of flows, exploring translanguaging performances would be guided by the questions outlined by Jay:"What are the processes? What are the mediums through which these processes are acting and flowing? What are the timescales on which these processes are operating? And how are the processes integrated across different mediums and across different timescales?"

The perspective of translanguaging and flows thus offers two additional nuances of the translanguaging concept to the field, in addition to the three highlighted by Li (2018) (i.e., transcending, transformative, transdisciplinary): (i) '*trans*languaging' denoting communicative interactions as dynamic flows across multiple timescales through circulating through mediums (semiotic resources); (ii) 'trans*languaging*' emphasizing dynamic processes, i.e., a process-based ontology, which involves not just thinking in terms of the "verb+ing" form, but also examining how dynamic processes are integrated across different mediums and multiple timescales.

For younger researchers studying on translanguaging like myself (Amy), Angel and Jay's conversations are very enlightening. The perspective of translanguaging and flows sheds great light on my fine-grained classroom discourse analysis of senior secondary science lessons in Hong Kong, where teachers oftentimes draw on a wide range of communicative resources in teaching, including L1 Cantonese, L2 English and multisemiotic means (Wu, 2020). For example, in the science lesson on

transpiration I observed (Wu & Lin, 2019), the teacher participant often engaged students by discussing their daily life experiences similar to the scientific phenomena in focus in their familiar everyday L1 Cantonese style, while simultaneously deploying scientific terms in L2 English and multi-semiotic means to index the scientific contents (e.g. gesturing and drawing on the blackboard the water pathway of transpiration and the corresponding scientific terms of the mechanisms involved in L2 English in a cell diagram while simultaneously talking in everyday L1 Cantonese style about students' daily life experience of "no water-then get water" as an analogy to the scientific process). Explicit teaching of L2 English scientific expressions often immediately followed such whole-body sense-making led by L1 Cantonese. Such a phenomenon, if viewed from the traditional perspective, would probably be described as code-switching or using L1 everyday language to scaffold L2 scientific language development. However, adopting the perspective of translanguaging/trans-semiotising and flows (Lemke, 2016; Lin, 2015a), we can see that the use of the so-called L1 in these instances cannot be abstracted as a linguistic code (from traditional concepualisation); what is happening is in fact translanguaging, trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a), trans-registering and trans-featuring happening simultaneously (i.e., L1 everyday language interanimating and interweaving with L2 scientific language and semiotic resources indexing scientific contents). Through the intricate entanglement of familiar Cantonese language features, visuals, gestures, body movement and scientific English language features, a multi-semiotic world and history that is embodied in the students' daily life is evoked and repositioned (e.g. students' daily life experience, logic and series of embodied actions of 'no water– then get water' is like the process and mechanisms of water travelling from the roots to the leaf surface). Students' everyday life world is seamlessly interanimating and interweaving with the scientific world in continuity so that their communicative and cultural repertoires keep expanding continuously. A single holistic meaning unit is enacted through the teacher's translanguaging, trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a), trans-registering and trans-featuring, though we may identify post hoc the so-called multilingual, multisemiotic and register feature elements and their relationships for second-order analytic purposes to explore the patterning. Notably, all these elements are indispensable in meaning making and they are the mediums through which we can identify the dynamic processes happening across multiple timescales, forming a holistic nexus.

8 Coda

In the above conversations, Angel tried to pick Jay's brain on a number of issues in contemporary discussion on translanguaging. While Angel and Jay are working on their paper manuscript *Translanguaging and Flows*, publishing these conversations in interview format helps to shed light on contentious issues resolving around translanguaging in a timely manner and document how a new theory (and story) for translanguaging is being built up collaboratively.

To close this chapter while keeping the dialogue on translanguaging ongoing, we would like to outline a list of important research questions for researchers in the field to consider:

1. What is the nature of the structuring and the ordering in languaging and translanguaging performances? They are not as tightly structured as formal written grammars would dictate, but they are not so loosely structured that any mix is possible. They are something in between.
2. If translanguaging performances can be concepualised as including complex performances of trans-semiotising (Lin, 2015a), trans-registering, trans-styling, or trans-featuring even by 'monolinguals', how would you explore and describe the characteristics, structuring and patterning, and meanings of these complex dynamic performances? What would be the methodological approaches to move the field forward? What insights could the perspective of translanguaging and flows offer?
3. If the Multimodalities-Entextualisation Cycle (MEC) (Lin, 2010, 2015a, 2016) is conceived as cycles without end points, what can some of the pedagogical practices look like and what can be the impact of these practices?

As the saying goes, 'It takes a village to research a village', it would be great to have different parties (e.g. researchers across different disciplines and generations, policy makers, teachers, students and parents), voices, and viewpoints (Lemke, 2000) co-contributing to the discussion and research on translanguaging.

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Part II
Plurilingual Engagements for Critical Literacy

“Walking in Two Worlds” in the Plurilingual Classroom: Learning from the Case of an Intergenerational Project

Avril Aitken and Loretta Robinson

Abstract This chapter considers the importance of plurilingual pedagogies to First Nations through the case of a remote community school in Canada, where students enter Kindergarten with a strong oral use of the Indigenous language, Naskapi. Using the example of a Grade 3 intergenerational project involving grandparents, the authors illustrate how teachers created spaces for translanguaging and employed critical literacy approaches as students produced identity texts in multiple languages. Over the course of the project students began to take ownership of their learning of English; they experimented with ideas, took risks, engaged in peer mentoring and showed signs of developing metalinguistic awareness. As they began to create their own strategies for learning English, they revealed a confidence and resourcefulness that countered broader deficit discourses in the school. With the project, the teachers disrupted the predominance of monolingual practices, fostered teacher and community collaboration, and drew attention to how language, culture, power and identity intersect in the school setting. While projects such as the one described in this chapter may not lead to immediate changes in how Indigenous language is characterized by all within the school, it brings diverse stakeholders together to observe, discuss and celebrate what can be accomplished when students' plurilingualism is centered.

Keywords Critical literacy · Translanguaging · Indigenous language revitalization · Plurilingualism · Dual language identity texts · Naskapi language

A. Aitken (✉)
School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada
e-mail: aaitken@ubishops.ca

L. Robinson
Conseil en Éducation des Premières Nations – First Nations Education Council, Wendake, QC, Canada
e-mail: lrobinson@cepn-fnec.com

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1 Introduction

> The whole community is a classroom every day. There needs to be an understanding [that] whatever you bring into the classroom must connect or come from the community.
>
> – Member of the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach, commenting on what teachers need to appreciate, when teaching Naskapi children (Aitken & Robinson, 2017)
>
> We need to make progress on the revitalization and the recovery of our original languages, our Indigenous languages, the languages that define our nationhood, they shape our thoughts and ideas, they are connected to ceremonies; ceremony – language, language – ceremony. They describe our relationship to the world and our worldview. Everything around us, how we see each other, everything that is sacred. Our young people walk in both worlds…You need both to walk in balance.
>
> – National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Perry Bellegarde commenting on the Canadian Government announcement in 2016 of an Indigenous Languages Act (Pedwell & Kirkup, 2016)

The significance of language for First Nations peoples' cultural identity is central to the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008), as the health of Indigenous languages is linked with spiritual, social, and emotional well-being for individuals and communities (Battiste, 2002, 2013; Deer, 2011; Guèvremont & Kohen, 2012; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). With speakers of Indigenous languages in Canada declining (Guèvremont & Kohen, 2012), there is an increasingly urgent need for actions that support members of a speech community in all aspects of daily life, through policy and practice (Little Bear, 2009; Penfield & Tucker, 2011). This chapter considers the importance of plurilingual pedagogies to First Nations communities through the case of a remote community school in Canada, where students enter Kindergarten with a strong oral use of the Indigenous language, Naskapi.

The metaphor of "two worlds" has long been used to capture the space and differences between knowledge systems of Indigenous peoples and institutionally supported, Euro-dominant, normative ways of knowing and being (Styres, Zinga, Bennett, & Bomberry, 2010). While the binary division focuses on the gap, the expression of "walking" in the two worlds has been taken up by Indigenous authors and researchers to capture the lived experiences of negotiating that gap (Brass, 1987; Polite, 2014). The use of the metaphor for education has been challenged by some, who suggest that it does not reveal the complexities of meaning-making that Indigenous people experience in classrooms (Henze & Vanett, 1993). This chapter provides insights into Indigenous students' meaning-making processes, when English becomes the medium of instruction, and underlines the significance of plurilingual pedagogies for learners' identities. We draw on observations of translanguaging in a classroom where plurilingualism is honoured and where critical literacy practices and identity texts are used (Cummins, 2005; Cummins et al., 2005; García & Li, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Montero, Bice-Zaugg, Marsh, & Cummins, 2013).

As researchers and educators, we bring a shared commitment to supporting practices and policies that ensure schools contribute to student success, community

autonomy and the essential place of Indigenous languages in the classroom. Loretta Robinson is a member of the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach who *walks in both worlds;* Avril Aitken is a Euro-Canadian settler, who has collaborated with the Naskapi Nation for 35 years, the first 16 of which were spent teaching in the community. In the years since Avril's departure, she has documented the ways the school-based team has attempted to use a participatory approach to shape changes to Naskapi language policy and practice and has served as a critical friend, participating in dialogue virtually or through several yearly trips.

We might say that our shared journey began at the point when Avril first arrived as a novice teacher, soon after Loretta's birth. Since that point, many experiences have followed, including a period in the mid-2000s when we were both at the School of Education of Bishop's University. The Grandparents literacy project described in this chapter began to unfold after Loretta graduated from Bishop's and returned to Kawawachikamach to teach Grade 3. The move brought the two of us together once more. Avril was working with a small teacher team on questions about writing practices, through modelling the process of classroom inquiry (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988; Shagoury & Power, 2012). Loretta joined the team and as Avril was only present in the community several times a year, Loretta took over team meetings. While the purpose of that small project was to increase teachers' understanding of students' writing when English is first introduced to Naskapi speakers as a medium of instruction, a more global goal was achieved. That is, the team members became accustomed to the practice of using systemic inquiry to address classroom-based questions. The Grandparents literacy project, which is at the heart of this chapter, is rooted in efforts to use a systemic and structured action research approach to better understand the impact of plurilingual practices for Naskapi students (Jaipal & Figg, 2011; Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988; Nussbaum, 2017; Zeichner, 2002). It was one piece of the larger puzzle (and ongoing project) of how a small team within a school might create an environment where an Indigenous language might flourish.

2 Language Policy and the Struggle to Secure the Place of Indigenous Languages in Schools

The 1970s *Project for the Amerindianization of Schools* was Québec's first large scale policy-based effort to act according to UNESCO's 1953 affirmation for the use of Indigenous languages as a medium of instruction (Burnaby, MacKenzie, & Salt, 1999). The project was initiated by the provincial office of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, following the publication of the National Indian Brotherhood's (NIB/AFN) seminal 1972 text, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (Burnaby, 1997). The NIB document argued for the imperative of Indigenous autonomy in education. More recently, the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2008) has reaffirmed that "Indigenous peoples have the right to revitalize, use, develop and transmit to future generations their languages, oral traditions, histories, philosophies, writing systems and literatures" (p. 7). While the use of

an Indigenous language has been increasingly recognized as a basic right, the reality for many Indigenous peoples is that this goal continues to be compromised through the effects of colonization, hegemonic power, and related policies (Kawharu, 2014). In Canada, forced residential schooling for Indigenous children[1] is a vivid example of assimilationist policy with tragic ongoing effects, which include language loss (Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) is not the first to call on the Canadian Government to provide equitable resources and support to First Nations schools for the promotion of Indigenous knowledge and teaching (Ball, 2007; Battiste, 2002, 2011; Deer, 2011; TRC, 2015). Such calls highlight Indigenous languages, worldviews, teachings, values and experiences, "all of which," as Battiste (2002) notes, "have been systematically excluded from educational institutions" (p. 4). This exclusion is influenced by the absence of legislation to protect Indigenous languages, despite Canadian laws and policies on multiculturalism and bilingualism (Galley, 2012).

In Haque and Patrick's (2015) analysis of language policies in Canada, the authors illustrate the damaging impact of colonialism and point to the gap between legal protections for English and French and Indigenous language policies. They argue that Canada's positions on bilingualism and biculturalism "have come to be constitutive of structural and institutional racism" (p. 29). While some hope has accompanied the announcement of an Indigenous Language Act – recently made by the Canadian Prime Minister, Justin Trudeau (Pedwell & Kirkup, 2016), as Hornberger (1998) explains, legal and policy changes must be followed up with financial and institutional support. Further, if funding is made available, and if success measures are linked to such funding, the measures must be defined by Indigenous peoples, not by others (Haque & Patrick, 2015). In the meantime, Indigenous communities in Canada (and abroad) will continue to use creativity, ingenuity, innovation and fierce determination to preserve and revive their Indigenous languages (Deer, 2011; McIvor, 2009).

2.1 An Example of Small Scale Local Determination

Determination is evident in the efforts of the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach (NNK) to preserve their language and foster Naskapi literacy. The remote community, Kawawachikamach, located in north-eastern, subarctic Québec, is where just under 700 of the approximately 1000 registered members of the Naskapi Nation live (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2015; Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikmach, n.d.). The principal language is Naskapi, which is spoken by all Naskapis, but less

[1] For over 100 years, until 1996, the Canadian Government maintained residential schools for Indigenous students to solve what the government called the "Indian problem." Children were forcibly taken, often at a critically young age, to live in custodial institutions. Residential schooling was the "central element" (TRC, 2015, pp. 1) of systemic legal processes that focused on "dispossession and dismantling of Aboriginal societies" (TRC, 2015, pp. 258).

frequently written. Notably, the most fluent and capable readers are the Naskapi elders “who learned to read it in the context of family, church and traditional life” (Jancewicz, 2013, p. 2). English is also used by organizations in the community, and many Naskapis speak French and Innu, the latter of which is the language of the Innu Nation of Matimekush-Lac John, who live nearby. Naskapis preserve many aspects of their traditional way of life and culture and seek to sustain it, while engaging in economic development (Klinck et al., 2016). As a result of the World Wide Web and satellite access to television, movies and social media, English has an increasing presence in the lives of Naskapi students who live in Kawawachikamach, which is not accessible by road.

The community school, Jimmy Sandy Memorial (JSMS), is under the jurisdiction of the Central Québec School Board (CQSB), located in Québec City, approximately 1000 km south of Kawawachikamach. The CQSB involvement in school operations is a provision of the *North-Eastern Québec Agreement* (NEQA) (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978), which arose from the contemporary land claim in which the NNK was involved. The school serves approximately 250 students from pre-kindergarten up to Secondary 5 (Grade 11). At JSMS, a Naskapi medium of instruction program became a reality in 1997 with the initiation of the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project (Aitken & McKenzie, 2010).

At the time of the project’s inception, students began English pre-kindergarten with little or no familiarity with the language of instruction; 30-minute blocks of Naskapi language classes were offered approximately four times weekly to students in the primary grades, beginning in Grade 1. An informal analysis of students’ Naskapi literacy, classroom practices, and community language use in 1996 showed that students often worked with isolated word lists and were not expected to use writing to communicate personally meaningful messages and ideas. The written language was rarely used in the community for personal communication; most visible uses of the written language were connected with translation of scriptures or government documents. Given that students were not expected to learn to read and write fluently, their inability to recognize the syllabic sound-symbol system after many hours of Naskapi classes was not a concern to many (Aitken, 2010, March). Since the inception of the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project in 1997, a school-based team has collaborated with community members, organizations and Elders to implement a Naskapi-only program for the first four years of schooling, and has promoted language and culture classes in upper elementary and secondary.

> Early on, the school-based team drew inspiration from the 1972 position of the National Indian Brotherhood (National Indian Brotherhood/Assembly of First Nations):
>
> It is generally accepted that pre-school and primary school classes should be taught in the language of the community. Transition to English or French as a second language should be introduced only after the child has a strong grasp of his own language. (p. 15)

Literature on Indigenous language and education at the time of the inception of the Naskapi-only project was also fundamental to the shape of desired changes in school practice (Barman, Hebert, & McCaskill, 1986; Burnaby, 1982, 1985, 1996; Clarke & MacKenzie, 1980; Cummins, 1986, 1989, 1993; Wright & Taylor, 1995). Initial goals included acknowledging the fundamental importance of language to student

identity and school success; increasing the place and use of Naskapi language in the school; understanding approaches to literacy learning given the distinct features of the languages spoken in the school; and better reflecting the community context, concerns and desires. Over the years, efforts have included material creation, piloting and adaptation; experiments with technology for learning; archiving digital evidence of Elders and community practices; supporting teachers; and other acts of advocacy. These initiatives are carried out through small-scale structured inquiries.

A degree of local control of curriculum is one of the provisions of the NEQA (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1978). Notably, the passing of the Cree-Naskapi Act in 1984 provided for an even greater degree of autonomous governance and self-direction than is achievable by most other First Nations (Isaac, 1991). However, there are policies in place in the school that appear to diminish the potential of autonomy. One example is the required Management and Educational Success Agreement (MESA), detailed in Québec's Education Act. Until recently, MESAs were compulsory for Québec school boards, and given that JSMS falls under the jurisdiction of the Central Québec School Board, a school-produced MESA has been viewed by school administrators as an obligation. A MESA was expected to show how an individual school's local targets for student success will align with the school board's objectives and strategic plan, as well as the goals of the Ministère de l'Éducation et Enseignement Supérieur (MEES, 2017). The framework for MESAs explicitly centers success and achievement in the two languages of a bilingual Canada. With the hegemonic power of language policies at play (Haque & Patrick, 2015), the dominant languages are favoured, which diminishes opportunities to discuss the place of Indigenous language in the school (Aitken & McKenzie, 2010; Fyn, 2015; Robinson, 2015, 2017). In taking a look at the key documents, we noted that one goal of CQSB's 2013–2017 Strategic Plan to is improve "the mastery of English Language Arts and the quality of French" (Central Québec School Board, 2013, p.11); further, we noted the absence of any references to the distinct nature of the Naskapi community. Given these conditions, it is not surprising that *Naskapi language literacy* is not mentioned in the JSMS MESA (JSMS, 2013), despite its prominent place in the early years, and despite its impact on further literacy learning in the other languages in the school (Cummins, 2000, 2005). This omission and the mismatch between the school policies and the work of Naskapi teachers in the early grades are described in more detail elsewhere (Robinson, 2017).

2.2 A Word on the Language

It is worth noting some of what makes the Naskapi language distinct from English. Naskapi began as an oral tradition and while it can be written using the Roman alphabet, a syllabic orthography is used for all efforts to preserve and standardize the language (Jancewicz, MacKenzie, Guanish, & Nabinicaboo, 2002; Jancewicz, 2013; MacKenzie & Jancewicz, 1994). Thus, students are introduced to syllabic orthography in the early years and any texts used in the school are produced using

ᓇᔅᑲᐱ ᐃᔪᐤ ᐃᔨᒧᐅᓐ ᐊᐃᓯ ᒥᓯᓇᐃᒐᓄᐅᒡ

Naskapi Syllabic Chart

i *ii*	ᐃ	*u* *uu*	ᐅ	*a* *aa*	ᐊ						
wi *wii*	ᐧᐃ			*wa* *waa*	ᐧᐋ	*w*	ᐤ				
pi *pii*	ᐱ	*pu* *puu*	ᐳ	*pa* *paa*	ᐸ	*p*	ᑉ	*pwaa*	ᐧᐹ		
ti *tii*	ᑎ	*tu* *tuu*	ᑐ	*ta* *taa*	ᑕ	*t*	ᑦ	*twaa*	ᐧᑕ		
ki *kii*	ᑭ	*ku* *kuu*	ᑯ	*ka* *kaa*	ᑲ	*k*	ᒃ	*kwaa*	ᐧᑲ	*kw*	ᒄ
chi *chii*	ᒋ	*chu* *chuu*	ᒍ	*cha* *chaa*	ᒐ	*ch*	ᒡ	*chwaa*	ᐧᒐ		
mi *mii*	ᒥ	*mu* *muu*	ᒧ	*ma* *maa*	ᒪ	*m*	ᒻ	*mwaa*	ᐧᒪ		
ni *nii*	ᓂ	*nu* *nuu*	ᓄ	*na* *naa*	ᓇ	*n*	ᓐ	*nwaa*	ᐧᓈ		
si *sii*	ᓯ	*su* *suu*	ᓱ	*sa* *saa*	ᓴ	*s*	ᔅ	*swaa*	ᐧᓴ		
yi *yii*	ᔨ	*yu* *yuu*	ᔪ	*ya* *yaa*	ᔭ	*y*	ᔾ	*ywaa*	ᐧᔭ		

Other Symbols:

Long and short vowels are not distinguished in written Naskapi.

The symbol ᔅ followed by ᐧᐸ ᐧᑕ ᐧᑲ or ᐧᒐ can be written as contractions, thus: *spwaa* ᔅᐧᐸ *stwaa* ᔅᐧᑕ *skwaa* ᔅᐧᑲ and *schwaa* ᔅᐧᒐ.

Pre-aspirated “soft” *k* may be written with a single dot, as in: *hki* ᐧᑭ *hku* ᐧᑯ *hkaa* ᐧᑲ.

X is the symbol for *Christ*. English-style punctuation is used except for the full stop or *period*, which is ᙮

Although the following sounds do not exist in Naskapi, these characters are often found when spelling proper names or places:

li *lii*	ᓕ	*lu* *luu*	ᓗ	*la* *laa*	ᓚ	*l*	ᓪ
ri *rii*	ᕆ	*ru* *ruu*	ᕈ	*ra* *raa*	ᕋ	*r*	ᕐ

3

Fig. 1 Naskapi syllabic chart (Reproduced from http://resources.atlas-ling.ca)

syllabics (See Fig. 1). An additional difference, as Jancewicz (2013) explains, is that the classification system familiar to English and French speakers does not apply. Unlike English, which strings words together, a Naskapi word has a core semantic meaning that can be modified through additions or changes to the core (Jancewicz, 2013). The result is that one word may be long and may express a set of ideas, for example, "iiyuupaakwaasikiniihchaaw [she/he makes bannock]" (Algonquian Linguistic Atlas, 2016). In considering the significance of this, a community member commented,

> One word in Naskapi has a large description, but [if] you want to say it in English, you must use the exact description for everything…We know what it means in Naskapi…but with that one word. That's what I noticed when we were taught for that one word, [but] in English you can say it in many ways [using many interchangeable words]. (Aitken & Robinson, 2017)

Community members have spoken of the challenges for their children, who are students at the school. One commented, "When you ask the student to elaborate, for example to write in English, the students will say 'No, that's it.'" (Aitken & Robinson, 2017). In a context where language policy privileges English, and where many of the non-Naskapi teachers stay for short periods of time without showing curiosity about the language, it is not unusual to hear teachers interpret this phenomenon though a deficit lens, as a problem of student ability. Equally, it is not unusual for questions and comments about the value of the use of Naskapi for the first years of schooling to go unchallenged in the school (Robinson, 2017).

3 The Context of the Case: Grade 3

The focus of the initial planning for the Naskapi language curriculum initiative was to develop a program that would build a solid foundation of the primary language, foster use of the foundation for acquisition of the new language, and support proficiency in both (Cummins, 1989, 1993). The intent was that Naskapi be the medium for 5 years, that is, in the two pre-school years as well as Grades 1 to 3. Further, it was expected that in the sixth year (Grade 4), Naskapi would be used for between 35% and 50% of the instruction (Aitken & McKenzie, 2010). However, in the reality of progressive implementation, the years of Naskapi medium were reduced to four, to be followed by a monolingual, English Grade 3. These adjustments to the plan took place despite the project team's recommendations to school administration. The changes were attributed to organizational issues related to the challenges of resource development, parent concern and the availability of teachers.

Notably, around the same time, an extra year of English instruction was added at the elementary level, such that students would have 2 years to complete the Grade 3 provincial curriculum requirements. The expressed goal was that by the end of the second year, Grade 3E (E for Enrichment), students would have had successful experiences of reading, writing and speaking in English, while working with the content of the provincial curriculum over the extended period. Despite the hopeful

use of the term enriching, this model inadvertently constructs students as different from peers elsewhere around the province, and casts them as somewhat deficient and needing more time to catch up (García, 2009). Additionally, the common use of the expressions "transitional year" and "bridging" to describe Grade 3 also reinforces the idea that Naskapi will be replaced by English, which will serve as the academic language and the means to success (Willans, 2013).

It is also significant is that efforts to ensure that Naskapi language is taught at the secondary level have been routinely stalled (Aitken & McKenzie, 2010). The result is that English has predominated in Grade 3 and has been followed by monolingual, English-only classes with limited hours given to Naskapi language each week. Thus, while the original desire of the team was to put in place a maintenance model, conditions are such that a transitional model persists. Thus, the languages are treated as autonomous systems and subtractive bilingualism prevails in the school (García, 2014; García & Sylvan, 2011; Willans, 2013).

It is worth noting that Innu students from a nearby Nation choose to attend the Naskapi school and arrive fluent in their own language, Innu, and possibly French. This gestures to the value and potential of "adopting plurilingualism as the [school's] foundational philosophy" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 609); yet, there is a lack of interest among most school staff in the work of the team promoting Naskapi (Aitken & McKenzie, 2010). Further, policies like the MESA underscore that English language and literacy is the first priority in the school. In relation to this, staff are more likely to describe the languages spoken using a sorting hierarchy, such as first, second, third and fourth languages. Each appears to be viewed as distinct, with little discussion about literacies as practices that cross languages. With an emphasis on distinct monolingual programs within the school, the significant shift in instruction from early years Naskapi to English instruction in Grade 3 has not drawn much attention. Until Loretta was hired, the school administration chose to hire monolingual Anglophones to teach the *transitional* year group (Aitken, 2007, June). With no mentorship in place, the Grade 3 teacher would be required to independently figure out how to draw on students' existing linguistic resources, while also supporting English acquisition. In a situation such as this, with many questions unanswered, teacher-driven systemic inquiry holds much potential (Nussbaum, 2017). In the section that follows we look closely at Loretta's reflections on the context. We then describe the collaborative classroom-based inquiry, through which she designed and implemented a project that drew on plurilingual pedagogies.

4 Walking in Two Worlds: A Teacher's Reflections on Changing Perspectives Through Plurilingual Pedagogies

Despite her knowledge of the community, when Loretta began teaching at JSMS in the fall of 2008, she felt inadequately prepared to teach English Language Learners (ELLs). Like many teachers, she knew little about how students in these situations

learn, harboured misconceptions, and held false presumptions of how best to meet their needs (Pettit, 2011; Samway & McKeon, 2007). Loretta found herself on her own to cope with the challenges and find solutions. She noted that the school had plenty of resources that valued learning the dominant language, and originally had no plans to create spaces for Naskapi or Innu interactions in her class. She believed that for students to be proficient in English, she would need to expose them to English, only. This position was supported by colleagues' talk about monolingual approaches. Additionally, she heard experienced teachers devaluing the language, with comments such as, "Students are not at level"; "They will continue to fall behind if we don't introduce English earlier"; "They struggle"; "They do not do well on exams because they do not have the academic language to do exams". This reinforced her belief that using Naskapi language in the classroom was a disadvantage to students' learning.

During the first year, Loretta felt a lot of pressure to bring students to proficiency levels, based on systems and programs that were in place, school board consultant demands about what to use, and instructional policies that were dominated by monolingual instructional principles (Cummins, 2005). When seeking guidance from school administrators, Loretta was referred to the Québec Education Program, was reminded of what students needed to know by the end of Grade 3, and was given a kindergarten program designed to teach phonemic awareness. With all the systems and programs in place, she felt she little say in what or how she was supposed to teach the students. Her concerns began to mount.

With no mentorship for what was known as the transitional year, Loretta found it difficult to engage in meaningful dialogue with colleagues about the particular needs of her students. This was exacerbated by what she saw as a two-world divide in the school. As Naskapi, she experienced this rift in several ways. There was a lack of collaboration among the teachers along linguistic lines, and non-Naskapi teachers appeared disengaged or disinterested in what was happening in the other sectors of the school or community. She came to see this as a lack of shared responsibility for student success within the school.

Loretta followed the accepted practice of privileging an English immersion approach; nonetheless, she listened intensively to the on-going conversations between students in both Naskapi and English. She began seeing an active community of learners experimenting and using different language strategies with both Naskapi and English during literacy-focused work. Students would ask each other questions for clarification or for translation of certain words to make meaning. She found that after explaining a learning task in English using different strategies such as hand gestures and visuals, students would collaboratively reiterate the instructions in Naskapi, or would ask peers to provide clarification in their language. While Loretta was not yet in a position to name what she was seeing as translanguaging, she understood its significance for the students as learners. That is, she was witnessing students "making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 1). Hornberger and Link (2012) describe translanguaging as a "development of any of the three intersecting continua of first language-to-second language (L1-L2), oral-to-written,

and receptive-to-productive language and literacy skills, uses, and practices" (p. 267). It is through observing such development that Loretta began to reflect on what was happening when students were attempting to write in English, and wondered about the role their Naskapi and Innu languages played in these tasks (Samway, 2006). Loretta could also see that encouraging students to use all their language resources as they generated ideas and encouraging them to put their thoughts down on paper in either language, had a major impact on their success as writers (Velasco & García, 2014). White, Hailemariam, and Ogbay (2013) underline the importance of students' use of their "linguistic capital" and opportunities to help "find ways of bridging the gap between that capital and the language priorities of instruction in mainstream school" (p. 642). Loretta was intent on creating those opportunities, and like the teachers in Fielding's (2016) study, she was recognizing the significant value of her own linguistic repertoire in doing so.

Once Loretta was well established in the school, with several years of listening, observing and experimenting carried out, she decided to approach the non-Naskapi colleague teaching the subsequent grade to design a literacy project. She hoped it would draw on the strength of the students' families, involve both languages, and speak to the heart of Naskapi culture. The project that the two colleagues created was entitled *Grandparents: What Makes Grandparents Special?* They chose this topic because they believed that students would have a lot to share and would be able to make personal connections in the writing process. Loretta knew intimately the important role grandparents play in the lives of the students; within Naskapi culture, these elders are the teachers of traditional and Indigenous ways of life. Loretta believed that the Grandparents project would put students in a position to create texts that decentered the monolingual, Euro-dominant narratives so actively promoted in the school. The students' meaning making would center their relationships with Elders, people whose language, experiences and ideas were largely excluded from the formal educational context. This would contribute to a kind of transformation through learning that is associated with a practice of critical literacy (Lau, 2012). That is, the young students would see how they – individually and collectively – would be shaping what and how they learned in school, subverting both the monolingual bias and the deficit perspectives of ELLs. In what follows, we present the features of the project designed by Loretta and her colleague.

5 Grandparents: What Makes Grandparents Special?

Grandparents are seen as the knowledge keepers of the Naskapi and Innu languages, traditions and cultures. They are at the heart of the essential question of the project designed by the two teachers: *What makes grandparents special*? Pedagogically, the project centered Cummins' (2005) concept of identity texts, which he describes as "products that can be written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic, or multimodal combinations which are positive statements that students make about themselves" (p. 40). Over the course of several weeks, as students sought to answer the essential

question and were inspired by different stories in Naskapi and English about grandparents, they produced their own identity texts. They wrote about ideas that were important and relevant to them, composing personal narratives, letters, responses to text, and poetry. As Cummins et al. (2005) suggests, the identity texts allow the students' cultural knowledge and language abilities to be resources for their academic engagement. For example, one student wrote a personal narrative of his grandmother showing him how to make his very own traditional mittens. Another wrote about a camping trip with his grandfather out on the tundra. In each piece, the student gave a clear portrait of his or her experience. Molyneux, Scull, and Aliani (2016) underline that cultural knowledge and interests support the development of new knowledge and transformative learning. In the cases of these and other students, the writing showed new evidence of important qualities: focused ideas, details, and rich use of vocabulary related to culture.

Schmidt and McDaid (2015) define the plurilingual speaker "as a social actor who develops a repertoire made up of various languages and varieties of languages and different forms of knowledge" (p. 474). Throughout the project, each student worked toward production of an individual scrapbook of writing in Naskapi and English that represented the student's view of what makes one's grandparents special. Students' final products were presented at a Tea Time event where grandparents were invited to listen to students reading their own texts. In considering schools that promote monolingual practices and allocate specific hours to languages through scheduling of discrete blocks of time, Willans' (2013) comments about plurilingualism are instructive: "There are plenty of opportunities to foster a plurilingual environment of teaching and learning without stipulating exactly which languages should be learnt under which conditions" (p. 564). Such was the approach taken on a daily basis throughout the Grade 3 project on grandparents. For example, while learners engaged in discussions of the different readings early in the project, their ideas were added to a dual-language word wall (See Fig. 2). Students were invited – depending on their levels of risk taking – to use the different languages simultaneously for the writing stages: brainstorming, drafting, revising/editing, rewriting and publishing. Daily feedback was provided to students and they were encouraged to do collaborative editing, either in Naskapi, Innu or English, depending on their comfort level.

Fundamental to what was realized in the classroom were learners' funds of knowledge – the rich resources of their lives outside of school (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Students had more to share with a familiar topic at the center of their work, leaving the teachers to focus on the quality of the ideas they had versus the amount they could put on paper. The Grade 3 s appeared to be taking ownership of their learning of English; they experimented with ideas, took new risks, mentored peers – revealing a confidence and resourcefulness that countered broader deficit discourses in the school (Cummins, 2005; Lau, 2012; Samway, 2006). They also appeared to increase their metalinguistic awareness, which allowed them to create their own strategies for learning English (Reyes, 2006). While daily successes were celebrated, the significance of the Grandparents project became most apparent when the final products were presented at the Tea

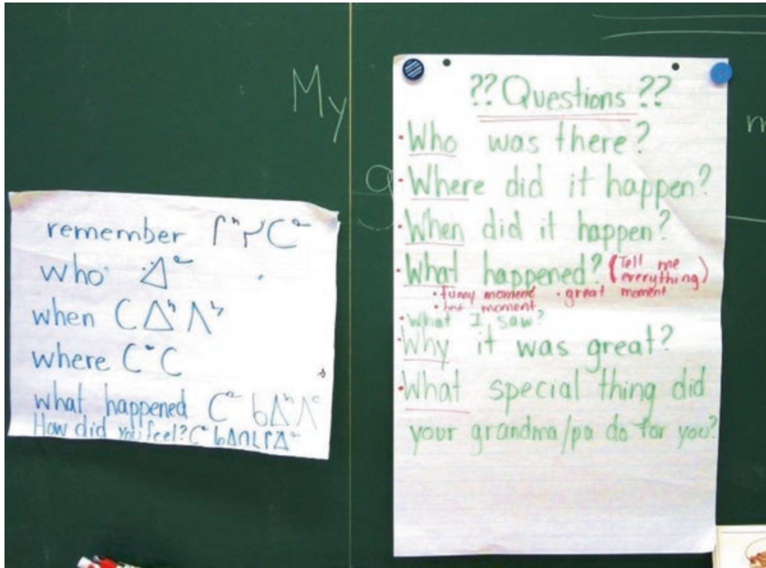

Fig. 2 Dual language word-wall example

Fig. 3 "To Grandma. I love you so much." student scrapbook

Time (See Fig. 3). Students' identities were being affirmed and there were increases in their confidence to engage in subsequent language and literacy activities.

The event illustrates Prasad's (2015) point that "dual-language identity text work provides an important occasion for teachers and wider audience members to

affirm and validate the cultural and linguistic resources" (p. 501). The grandparents of the Grade 3 students heard and witnessed their grandchildren expressing thoughts in multiple languages in what would previously have been viewed as the "English" classroom setting. Inviting them to participate in this way served to acknowledge their importance in their grandchildren's language and literacy development. Additionally, and from a critical perspective, the Tea Time event served to disrupt what had previously been a monolingual activity. That is, parents would be invited to a celebration that would focus uniquely on showcasing English language literacy. The new form of Tea Time honoured and capitalized on the plurilingual strengths of the students, who would be "accustomed to using multiple linguistic resources to negotiate meaning from an early age outside the classroom" (Willans, 2013, p. 563). In considering Luke's (2009) work about modern schooling and the production of subjectivities, Lin (2013) comments that while plurilingual practices develop plurilingual competencies, it is more importantly "also about creating and affirming plurilingual identities and subjectivities" (p. 540). Grandparents' and students' comments highlighted the significance of the affirmation that was widely felt.

This affirmation was experienced not only by the students and grandparents, but by Loretta as well, who commented on the significance of the experience for her as a teacher and a member of the community. It reinforced her appreciation of her own linguistic resources (Fielding, 2016) and underlined that Naskapi language, culture, and traditions, which are so vibrant, have a place in the classroom – and must be acknowledged by all teachers, regardless of the language they use for instruction and regardless of their own awareness of other languages used by students (Willans, 2013). Notably, the collaborator on the Grandparents project – who was teaching students in the subsequent grade – was neither local, nor a speaker of Naskapi, nor fluent in a language other than English. Yet, by privileging all languages in the class and valuing students' plurilingual identities and resources, the collaborating teacher had an opportunity to see that there are insights about language learning not necessarily within her grasp (Ellis, 2013). Additionally, she would have been able to witness the importance of her students' funds of knowledge (González et al., 2005; Moll et al., 1992), which may not have otherwise been recognized within the school. Opportunities like this may lead non-Indigenous teachers to begin their own journey of walking in two worlds.

Ellis (2013) draws attention to the important differences between monolingual and plurilingual teachers' perceptions of language learning. She underlines that plurilingual teachers' awareness of translanguaging and insights about their own strategies as language learners are important resources; Loretta's experience reinforces this point. We would argue that teachers who are community members and Naskapi speakers have particular privilege into students' experiences as language learners. Nonetheless, a lesson to be gleaned from this case is that valuing plurilingualism could be a foundational philosophy (Piccardo, 2014) taken up by all teachers in the school, regardless of their linguistic histories.

6 Conclusions and Implication

While the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach continues to have a strong oral use of their language, it is possible to see the impact that English instruction and English media presence have on the students' interest in their language. Against this backdrop, the Grandparents project provides insight into how students who enter the school system with foundational knowledge of their primary language can be effectively taught, guided and supported to acquire literacy skills in the medium of instruction, while continuing to value the Indigenous language. Prasad (2015) has identified five principles that support students' plurilingualism. They include viewing all learners as evolving, collaborating within and outside of the school, appreciating and structuring opportunities for creativity in academic work, planning strategically for the full use of learners' "communicative repertoires" (p. 511), and engaging students in inquiry, such that they development metalinguistic awareness and become strategic language users. Similarly, a framework proposed by Molyneux et al. (2016) includes four integrated elements, among which are "Pedagogy" and "Transfer," both of which highlight the importance of a student centered, empowering approach. Notably, the latter researchers also include the importance of positive construction of "Identity" and "Capital: where linguistic and cultural diversity is affirmed and contributes to an equitable social context that supports classroom and school cohesion" (p. 356). We believe that among the features of the Grandparents project, centering students' identity and linguistic and cultural diversity were the most significant, as the Tea Time event highlighted.

Over the course of the project, it was possible to observe the crucial role of translanguaging, identity texts and critical literacy on the development of writing skills. The project revealed that using Naskapi, English and other languages simultaneously is fundamental in shaping how students view themselves as writers. For example, the reluctance to write in English that was initially evident was diminished; within the class, students began sharing their own writing strategies; and some took on the role of closely mentoring others. These examples underline, as White et al. (2013) indicate, that the gap between language capital and the language priorities of a school can be bridged. Through such pedagogies, students can be engaged in transforming the conditions for their own literacy learning and success. Nonetheless, while the two teachers viewed the learners as evolving plurilinguals and set up conditions for relevant and personal creative expression, they did not explicitly target the development of metalinguistic awareness and cross language transfer. As researchers have indicated, such strategic awareness and transfer are essential for learners (Abiria, Early, & Kendrick, 2013; Molyneux et al., 2016; Prasad, 2015).

Loretta was hopeful that the project would have an impact on pedagogical practices across the school; however, the small scale of the inquiry and the prevailing culture of monolingual approaches influenced the reach of the work. We both, in our different capacities at the time, were lobbying the administration for professional learning experiences for all teachers in language pedagogies that acknowledged the students' languages "as part of the whole rather than as separate entities" (Anderson,

2011, p. 138). Yet, we were unable to move forward with the discussion, given what were seen to be priorities, such as learning how to apply school board approved classroom practices. These included assessing students using leveled readers and implementing literacy centers. Nonetheless, the Grandparents project was a key motivator for Loretta to complete a graduate degree. While she initially considered looking at plurilingual practices, her focus changed after she sought work elsewhere and began periodically consulting at JSMS. As she worked with Naskapi teachers on effective classroom practices, she became concerned by how dispirited they were. As a result, she chose to inquire into their perceptions of language policy and practice in the school (Robinson, 2017). In sharing the outcomes of her study, she has begun a dialogue with leaders in the community, which has put her in a position to begin to work with policy makers around school practices. She may eventually, through a very different entry point, be able to promote the kinds of pedagogical changes that she looked into through the Grandparents project.

Plurilingual initiatives such as Loretta's have educational importance for many Indigenous people who are doing everything in their power to maintain and restore their languages. With much effort needed to reverse the institutionally-driven forces undermining Indigenous language rights (Haque & Patrick, 2015; TRC, 2015), honouring plurilingualism holds much promise. As this chapter proposes, creating spaces for translanguaging, employing critical literacy approaches and using identity texts are actions that can disrupt predominant practices, foster teacher and community collaboration, and draw attention to how language, culture, power and identity intersect in the school setting. Projects such as the one described above may not lead to immediate changes in how Indigenous language is characterized by all within the school; however, such projects bring the diverse stakeholders together to observe, discuss and celebrate what can be accomplished when students' plurilingual resources are centered.

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A Critical Thematic Unit in a Teaching Praxicum: Health Issues and Plurilingualism in the "English" Classroom

Mario E. López Gopar, William M. Sughrua, Lorena Córdova-Hernández, Beatriz Patricia López Torres, Elvira Ruiz Aldaz, and Victor Vásquez Morales

Abstract This chapter presents the results of an ethnographic study conducted at a community library in the city of Oaxaca, Mexico. In this library, three Mexican student teachers conducted their teaching praxicum, working with low-socio-economic-status children aged 3–12 years old. In order to highlight the importance of Mexico's rich linguistic and cultural diversity, one part of the praxicum was to develop and conduct a critical thematic unit (López-Gopar, Engl Lang Teach J 68(3): 310–320, 2014; Decolonizing primary English language teaching. Multilingual Matters, Bristol, 2016) centered on health issues using a plurilingual approach.

This critical thematic unit, as carried out by the three student teachers at the community library in Oaxaca, is the focus of the ethnographic study presented in this chapter. First, we provide the ethnographic portraits of the three student teachers followed by a brief description of the critical thematic unit. Second and based on the iterative analysis of the student teachers' ethnographic diaries, children's work samples and ethnographic field notes, we discuss three emergent themes: (a) community and children's social problems driving the language curriculum; (b) challenges faced by student teachers in a plurilingual class; and (c) issues in teaching a critical thematic unit on health issues.

Keywords Critical thematic units · Mexico · ELT · Critical classroom praxicum · Equity

M. E. López Gopar (✉) · W. M. Sughrua · L. Córdova-Hernández
B. P. L. Torres · E. R. Aldaz · V. V. Morales
Facultad de Idiomas, Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca, Oaxaca, México
e-mail: lopezmario9@gmail.com

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1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on an action research study following critical ethnography and undertaken by teacher educators and student teachers in primary school-level English language education at a community library in the urban city of Oaxaca, Mexico. To see the relevance of this study, one would first need to briefly contextualize Mexico in linguistic terms. Historically, Mexico has been a multilingual society (Heath, 1972; Maynez, 2003). In rural areas, plurilingual practices are quotidian although ever since the Spaniards invaded Mexico, the Spanish language, and more recently the English language, have hegemonically invaded urban centres and become part of the linguistic ideologies shared by most Mexicans (Clemente & Higgins, 2008). For centuries now, in Indigenous communities throughout Mexico, people have been *languaging* by using their Indigenous language with people who speak a variant of their Indigenous language or a totally different Indigenous language, with people who speak Spanish or English only, and with Indigenous people who travel between the Mexican and American border (López-Gopar, Javier Reyes, & Lambert Gómez, 2014). In Mexican urban centres, however, a common preconception seems that all Mexicans speak Spanish only and that all Mexicans should learn English. Within this linguistic ideology prevail the numerous Indigenous languages of Mexico, including the sixteen officially recognized Indigenous languages in the state of Oaxaca (amongst the more than one hundred Indigenous languages believed to exist in the state). These Indigenous languages are often pejoratively referred to as "dialects." One reason for this discriminatory "dialect" status is that Indigenous languages and their speakers are often regarded as backward and inferior, which has been a legacy of coloniality as discussed below (Mignolo, 2000a). Speaking a 'dialect' is considered a custom of Indians, associated with an inferior identity" (Barabas & Bartolomé, 1999, p. 164, quotations in original; my translation). Mexico has historically struggled within education settings due to an educational system that mandates Spanish as the classroom language, which in turn has resulted in Indigenous peoples being perceived as low-achieving and unintelligent.

Along with alienating Indigenous languages, the English language has made its way into elementary school classrooms in urban centers in Mexico. The most recent national educational reform, that of 2015, has mandated the inclusion of English as a required subject in the public primary school curriculum; and currently these English courses are being piloted on a small scale in representative schools around the country, including Oaxaca. Notwithstanding this federal government initiative, the "parents' committees" of various public elementary schools in Oaxaca informally contract teachers to give extracurricular English classes "after hours" at the schools. This inclusion of primary English language teaching (PELT), whether by government initiative or the local school committees, has not been problematized, and the contents of the classes are often disconnected from children's lives and social realities (López-Gopar, Núñez Méndez, Montes

Medina, & Cantera Martínez, 2009). In these classes, English is sold as the language that will "open doors" and will guarantee a "brighter future" (Sayer, 2015). Indeed, it has been argued that "English is embedded within local economies of desire and the ways in which the demand for English is part of a larger picture of images of change, modernization, access and longing" (Pennycook, 2016, p. 29). In order to resist these language ideologies that portray English as a desirable and modern language, rendering Indigenous languages as inferior and undesired, teacher educators in Mexico have attempted to decolonize PELT, by way of raising awareness among children and "English" student teachers about the importance of recognizing and valuing Mexican peoples' plurilingual repertoires as well as challenging ideologies that position English over Indigenous languages and cultures (López-Gopar, 2016).

This has been the goal of the ongoing critical-ethnographic-action-research project (CEAR Project) involving student teachers in their final year of studies in the B. A. program in teaching languages at *Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca* (UABJO), the public state university located in the city of Oaxaca. The objective of the CEAR Project is to move beyond being "just English teachers" in order to become "language educators" (López-Gopar, Stakhnevich, León García, & Morales Santiago, 2006). Furthermore, in the CEAR Project, the student teachers have engaged children in classes that address real social issues in multiple languages (English, Spanish, and Indigenous languages) while negotiating affirming identities for teachers, students and consequently their family members (López-Gopar, Núñez-Méndez, Sughrua, & Clemente, 2013; López-Gopar et al., 2014). As an example of Mexican teacher educators' and English student-teachers' decolonizing PELT attempts within the overall CEAR Project, this chapter focuses on one particular critical-ethnographic-action-research study resulting in a critical thematic unit on health issues and conducted at a community library in the urban city of Oaxaca, Mexico. The conclusion is that classroom practices aiming for social equity should start at a personal and local level while addressing the trends and issues of the language classroom at a global level.

2 Context of the Study

Oaxaca, the geographic location of this research project, is the most culturally and linguistically diverse state of Mexico. As mentioned above, only sixteen of the approximately 100 Indigenous languages of Oaxaca have been officially recognized by the Mexican government. This discrepancy between the low number of recognized Indigenous languages and the high number of extant Indigenous languages reflects a lack of understanding how Oaxacan Indigenous people *language* in the approximately one hundred Indigenous languages throughout the state. These languages have little power to declare that they should be regarded as having the same status and legitimacy as other languages such as Spanish and English. This situation becomes exacerbated in urban centers where the Spanish language has shamed

Indigenous language practices and pushed them into private spaces (Maldonado Alvarado, 2002). For example, Indigenous languages become delegitimized and publicly shamed by the Spanish language in the sense that Spanish occupies virtually all of the public space (e.g., store advertisements, road signs, etc.). When Spanish does give way and allow very minimal public space to another language (e.g., in restaurant menus), the benefactor is almost always English and hardly ever, if ever, an Indigenous language.

Indigenous peoples' low levels of power in Oaxacan society are connected to education and economics. In terms of education, Indigenous peoples' alphabetic illiteracy rate is more than triple the national rate. In addition, Indigenous peoples' level of schooling is 4.5 years lower than the national average (Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía [INEGI], 2006). According to the last state census, 17% of this group has received no schooling and 20.6% have not completed elementary school. Only 20% go onto high school and higher education (INEGI, 2006). This situation reflects the evident violation of the right of Indigenous peoples to receive mother tongue instruction (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Dunbar, 2010) or well-structured bilingual programs. Indigenous children in schools encounter not only weak academic programs but also precarious situations. Indeed, Poy Solano (2017) reports that one in every five schools in Indigenous communities lacks basic services such as potable water, electricity, and classrooms where academic materials can be safely stored.

Most Mexican people face financial struggles. Almost half of the wealth in Mexico is possessed by a very small percentage of the population (0.02%). Indeed, González Amador (2013) reports that Mexico is the country with the widest gap between rich and poor people among the countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). Eighty percent of the population is considered poor or vulnerable (Olivares Alonso, 2013). In Oaxaca, Indigenous peoples struggle financially, more so than the rest of the population. Many Indigenous families survive on the minimum wage of US $4.00 for 8 h of work (Enciso & Camacho, 2013), and 76% of Indigenous children and young adults in Oaxaca live in poverty and suffer from malnutrition (Enciso, 2013). These low levels of education and financial status have resulted in mainstream or mestizo people viewing Indigenous people as inferior. Indeed, the word Mixe (an Indigenous ethnic group and language) is used in urban centers as an insult among Spanish-speaking teenagers. *"No seas Mixe"* ("Don't be Mixe") is equated with "Do not be stupid." Hence, Elvira, one of the student teachers in this project whose Indigenous ethnic group and language is Mixe, had to struggle with this discrimination when moving to the city.

Financial problems and the emergence of transnational food companies have resulted in health issues among Mexican children. Historically, the Mexican food diet revolved around corn and beans as staple foods. Various food items such as *tortillas* and *tamales* and drinks such as *atole* are prepared with corn. Lately, however, Mexican children have started consuming sodas such as Coca Cola and instant noodles among other junk food. This has become a national health crisis. Juárez (2016) reports that Mexico is the number one country in the world with child obe-

sity according to the Pan-American Health Organization. She claims that "natural meals are being replaced by processed and ultra processed [ones]" (n.p.; our translation). Consequently, the cases of Type 2 diabetes have increased among Mexican children, affecting primarily children between ages nine to 14 and more recently children as young as 5 years old (Cruz Martínez, 2016). The low consumption of nutritious meals or in many cases lack of food, has resulted in malnutrition in children both in rural and urban centers (Díaz, 2011). Also, approximately 1.5 million Mexican children, 5 years old or younger, are affected by chronic malnutrition (Enciso, 2015). These social problems among Mexican children have a direct negative impact on their education and well-being (Poy Solano, 2014).

Surrounded by these language ideologies and social problems is the urban neighborhood Candiani, located three kilometers outside of the Oaxaca city centre. Back in the 1970s, Candiani was founded by Indigenous and mestizo migrants relocating to the city from the countryside. It soon became one of the very first low socio-economic-status (SES) neighborhoods outside the city centre, and in its early days, it was home to the municipal garbage dump. Currently, Candiani remains inhabited mostly by the low-SES families who moved to this undesired neighborhood in the 1970s and 1980s. However, due to its geographical proximity to downtown Oaxaca, Candiani has become the internationalized area of the city, as within its parameters one can find transnational retail outlets such as McDonalds, Burger King, KFC, Sam's Club, Home Depot, Office Depot, automobile dealerships, and department stores.

Candiani is home to BIBLOCA, the community multilingual library where three Mexican student teachers from the B. A. program at UABJO (Elvira, Betty and Vico) conducted their teaching "praxicum," a term that is synonymous to "practicum" while adding a critical and collaborative layer (cf., López-Gopar, Jiménez Morales, & Delgado Jiménez, 2014). In their praxicum at BIBLOCA, Elvira, Betty and Vico worked with low SES-status children aged 3–12 years old in a classroom setting which included a critical thematic unit on health issues. See Fig. 1 below.

The library BIBLOCA was founded by the first author of this chapter, Mario, and his family in 2002. Mario, whose family moved to Candiani in 1979, grew up in the neighborhood. BIBLOCA has received the support of Canadian and American benefactors who have donated English books as well as funds to purchase books and materials in Spanish and Indigenous languages. The library is run by student teachers like Elvira, Betty and Vico who offer free after-school language classes in English, Spanish, and Indigenous languages to low-SES children mostly from Candiani. BIBLOCA has four main objectives: (a) to develop critical literacy; (b) to foster Indigenous languages; (c) to teach English critically; and (d) to offer future English teachers the opportunity to work with children. BIBLOCA has used the allure of the English language to attract children and parents who want to add English to their linguistic repertoire. Within this setting, and following the CEAR project, student teachers like Elvira, Betty and Vico attempt to decolonize PELT in order to achieve the objectives of BIBLOCA which involve resisting the hegemony of the English language.

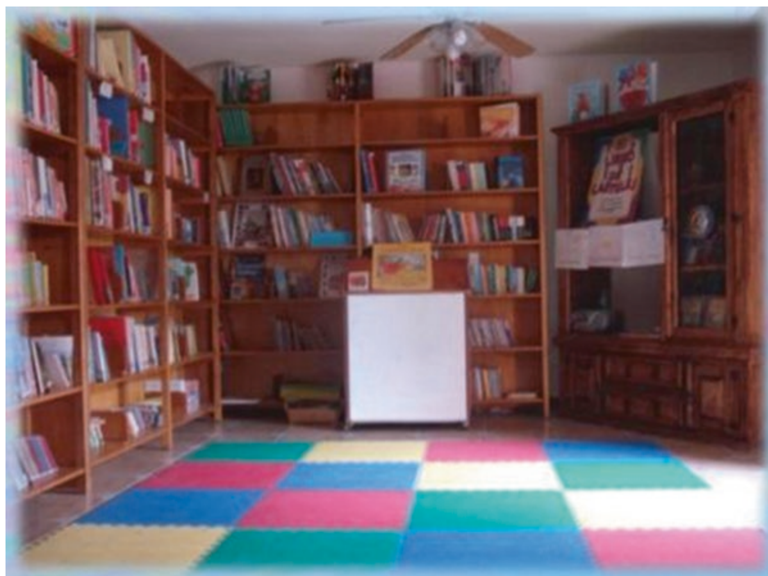

Fig. 1 One of the rooms of BIBLOCA, a community multilingual library

3 Decolonizing PELT Through the CEAR Project

The main purpose of the CEAR Project is to decolonize primary English language teaching (PELT). Decolonization, in this regard, involves challenging the apparent world phenomenon that associates English with "progress" and neoliberal practices that sell English as the "modern" language to master in order to obtain its alleged benefits (Pennycook, 2016; Sayer, 2015). Within such a discourse, Indigenous and 'minoritized' languages are identified with primitivism (Ferreiro, 1997; Maldonado Alvarado, 2002). Since 2007, the CEAR Project has been conducted as a university-based initiative that brings together teacher educators in collaboration with student teachers of the English language. Under the supervision of the teacher educators, the student teachers conduct their teaching praxicum in different urban and semi-urban schools, community centers, and also BIBLOCA, the focus of this chapter.

The English language in Mexico is part of the modernity/coloniality discourse as well as the colonial difference construct that emerges from this discourse. According to Mignolo (2000a, 2000b, 2009), colonial difference is the discourse of coloniality that equates otherness with inferiority, disability and backwardness vis-à-vis "modern" languages such as English. Resisting the modernity/coloniality discourse and the colonial difference is usually referred to as decolonization (Mignolo, 2007, 2009). On decolonizing PELT, López-Gopar (2016) states: "Since PELT is part and parcel of coloniality, it is important to decolonize it in order to move away from discourses that position their learners as needy and expecting to be saved by the English language" (p. 10).

Decolonizing PELT is an ideological stance that uses "the English language classroom as a space in which all the actors' identities … are renegotiated in order to value the different ways of being, speaking and knowing … and to transgress the inferiority imposed by coloniality" (López-Gopar, 2016, p. 10). Decolonizing PELT, therefore, involves using English in favor of othered languages and their speakers. This act of translanguaging or plurilingualism, though, goes well beyond using multiple languages. The "trans" refers to how teachers and students not only move in and out of different language practices (García, 2009), but how they also transgress the discourses behind imposed languages and cultures as they bring their ways of knowing, culturing and speaking to the forefront. Transgressing means speaking and acting back against negative identities imposed by others (e.g. Mixe as being equated with a lack of intelligence). Transgressing also involves problematizing the "neutral" contents of the language classroom as well as making room for important and real issues faced by teachers and students. Transgressive language classes must be situated in the material lives of teachers and students, who should be regarded as legitimate authors of languages, literacies and theories, and whose difference should be regarded as an asset rather than an impediment.

Decolonizing PELT relies on critical thematic units as a pedagogical approach. Focusing on teaching English to children, thematic units are widely accepted in syllabus design (Bourke, 2006; Brewster, 1991; Cameron, 2001; Holderness, 1991; Shameen, 2007). These authors concur that three goals can be achieved by using thematic units to teach English: (a) English can be viewed as the medium of instruction; (b) curriculum content can be taught; and (c) materials for the thematic unit can be created by teachers and students. López-Gopar (2016) contends that the critical aspect missing in thematic units is that children's lives and realities are usually not taken into consideration and that the content seems to be unimportant. He argues that "the critical aspect of the thematic unit relies on the material lives of students, their colonial difference and our aim to transgress that difference (their identities) and to transform their material lives" (2016, p. 15; parentheses in original). Critical thematic units incorporate identity texts, which are "the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher" (Cummins & Early, 2011, p. 3). In critical thematic units, identity texts are also transgressions of the colonial difference and possible solutions to their social problems. Finally, in critical thematic units, English is not the main goal; rather, the goal is the promotion and validation of the full linguistic repertoire brought into the classroom by student teachers and children. In other words, all the languages available in the classroom become the "medium" of instruction and the speakers of those languages are recognized and valued. This results in the negotiation of affirming identities. In a later section, we briefly describe the critical thematic unit developed by Elvira, Betty and Vico.

The CEAR Project's methodology is a fusion of critical ethnography and critical action research (López-Gopar et al., 2014). The teacher educators work with the students for three semesters. In the first semester, through critical ethnography (Anderson, 1989), the teacher educators and student teachers get to know the community and children's lives before starting the student teachers' praxicum. In most

cases, the student teachers spend a semester in these communities in order to develop critical thematic units pertinent to the context. In the second and their semester, the critical action research component of the CEAR project is the actual student teachers' praxicum, in which the role of "teacher" and "learner" is not fixed since student teachers are there not only to teach but also to learn from the children. The student teachers work with two different groups of children, one group every semester. The student teachers' praxicum with each group of students lasts usually 4 months, and the student teachers meet with the children for 3 h every week. The student teachers conduct their classes in pairs or in trios. If they work in pairs, one student teacher teaches the class and the other assists her, observes and collects data. In their work as a trio, two student teachers teach the class and the other person observes and collects data. Throughout the course, they take turns with these different roles.

In the CEAR project, the data are collected and analyzed before and during the student teachers' praxicum. Before the praxicum, five data sets are collected: ethnographic field notes; photos of the community; interviews with community members; informal conversations with parents, teachers and children; and autobiographies written by the student teachers and focused on their childhood so as to resituate themselves at the children's age. During the praxicum, further data are collected by the student teachers in six forms: diaries or journal entries related to all of the classes; audio-recordings of most of the classes; video-recordings of significant parts of the classes; photographs of class activities; photographs or scanned copies of course materials; and photographs or scanned copies of the children's work samples. Further, during the praxicum, the data are analyzed by the teacher educators and the student teachers in order to identify emerging themes and adjust the praxicum accordingly. For this, the data are analyzed in a recursive and reiterative manner throughout the praxicum by way of weekly meetings. These meetings discuss the classes already given, plan for upcoming classes, and connect the praxicum with the general context of Oaxaca; and from this three-part discussion, the emergent themes begin to be articulated by the student teachers along with the teacher educators. In the next section, we present the critical thematic unit developed by student teachers Elvira, Betty and Vico for the children attending the BIBLOCA children's library in the Candiani neighborhood of Oaxaca.

4 A Critical Thematic Unit

The critical thematic unit designed by Elvira, Betty and Vico was directed to their three different groups at BIBLOCA, which they co-taught in the form of a trio as explained above: a K1 – K3 group with children ranging from three to 6 years old; a Grade 1 – Grade 3 group with children from 7 to 9 years old; and a Grade 4 – Grade 6 group with children from 10 to 12 years old. Based on their critical ethnographic study of the community before they started the praxicum, Elvira, Betty and Vico discovered that the national trend of children not eating healthy food (Cruz

Martínez, 2016; Díaz, 2011; Juárez, 2016) was apparent in Candiani. Consequently, in a journal entry, Betty wrote that the topic for the critical thematic unit should be related to the children's daily life such as that of "health."

Anchoring the linguistic goals within the more urgent and meaningful social objectives (López-Gopar, 2016), Elvira, Betty and Vico set out to accomplish five objectives during their teaching praxicum. In their lesson planning, they wrote these objectives to be shared with the children in Mixe, Spanish, and English during their praxicum: (1) "Having a good health helps me to have a better development"; (2) "Staying clean helps me to be healthy"; (3) "Eating healthy helps me to grow and be well"; (4) "By doing physical activity, I take care of my body"; and (5) "Having a peaceful life with myself and others helps me to have a happy life."

As evident in these objectives, the student teachers' critical thematic unit went beyond "teaching languages" and focused on the material lives of the children. Similarly, teacher educators in Latin America also focus on the children's realities and communities. In Colombia, by using a community-based pedagogy, Rincón and Clavijo-Olarte (2016) teach English by engaging "students in rich schooling experiences as a way to reconcile the curriculum with the real life of students within their communities" (p. 68). The premise, then, is that English can be used to discuss critical issues in children's lives.

One way to raise these critical issues during the praxicum of the CEAR Project was for the student teachers to co-create identity texts with the children. Indeed, all the materials used in the classes were co-created by the student teachers and the children. As a result, the children became authors of flashcards, posters, and board games. The student teachers also aimed to co-create three main identity texts with their classes to showcase students' plurilingual performance. With the younger children, Elvira, Betty and Vico co-created a "parchment" filled with the healthy food drawings, which were part of Oaxacan families' typical diet and children's lives. By having the young children work on coloring carrots and tracing the name of "carrots" in three languages, the student teachers engaged the children in topics significant to their wellbeing. The student teachers also added information to the children's drawing regarding the health benefits these meals bring. With the second group, the student teachers created a lunch box filled with healthy items (Fig. 2). Each item had information in the three languages, such as "I eat chicken to grow strong" and "*N'jëkxëtsy zanahorias para ver mejor*" ("I like to eat carrots to see better"; using both Mixe and Spanish). On the back side of the items included in their lunch box, the children drew the body parts these meals helped most. Finally, the third group prepared a presentation of different plates "considering fruits, vegetables, legumes and meats that children have previously learned in Mixe." While presenting, the older children engaged with scientific terms while being allowed to use their full plurilingual repertoire with sentences such as "The xëjk (beans) gives iron to my body." The co-creation of these identities texts between the student teachers and children support Stille and Prasad's claim that "[i]magination, curiosity, and the growth of students' critical consciousness … can be developed as students learn to read and produce culturally relevant, plurilingual multimodal texts" (2015, p. 620).

Fig. 2 Our healthy lunch box

In this critical thematic unit, vocabulary and grammatical structures worked towards meeting the social goals the student teachers set out to accomplish while creating metalinguistic awareness. The vocabulary came from the children's lives and the community. After conducting the critical ethnographic study, the student teachers felt confident that their emic perspective as Oaxacans coincided with the realities of the neighborhood where they were conducting their praxicum. Elvira shared with the children vocabulary in Mixe and English such as "*Tsa'am* = Banana; *Xëjk* = Beans; *Koon* = Tomato." She also made the children aware that Mixe speakers use certain words in Spanish in the Mixe language to name foods such as apple and rice. The student teachers explained that the same phenomenon occur in most languages by showing that English-speaking people use *tortillas* and *tamales* as well. The grammatical structures were presented as language patterns with which the children were encouraged to translanguage "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire" (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 14). The children brought together their L1 knowledge and the newly introduced languages (English and Mixe). For instance, in one course material, the students, completing a sentence beginning with "I like the …" in Spanish, filled in the blank with vocabulary in Mixe: "*Me gusta el/la* ______ [fruit or vegetable in Mixe]." In another material, the students, completing a sentence beginning with the word "avocado" in Mixe, filled in the blank with a descriptive adjective in English: "*El kutsy'm* (avocado) is ________ [a word in English describing how the avocado tastes].

Having flexibility in the language allowed children to fully participate in the classes from day one, rather than postponing their participation until they would have a control over the particular linguistic aspects. In other CEAR Projects (López-Gopar et al., 2013, 2014), the children have also fully participated in class activities by using their plurilingual abilities; and as such, they have been able to consciously present themselves as intelligent individuals and as contributors to their family's economic and social stability. In Canada as well, Cummins and Early (2011) led

different case studies in which teachers had a welcoming approach to their students' full linguistic repertoire. Cummins and Early conclude that it is possible for minority students, usually viewed as deficient, to perform their "identity as intelligent, imaginative and linguistically talented" (2011, p. 4). Similarly, Lau, Juby-Smith, and Desbiens (2016) developed a curriculum in which students "came to appreciate the importance of dynamic bi- and multilingualism … and most importantly "bec[a] me critical bilingual users to enact social change" (p. 121) as they read children's literature in English and French to build their critical understanding of social justice issues in a bilingual way. In addition, Stille and Prasad (2015) argue that classrooms moving away from an English-only policy and valuing students' bi/multilingual repertoires "give a larger purpose to language teaching and learning … [and] highlight openings and agentive social movements" (p. 619). The students' performance as intelligent and talented agents of social change goes hand in hand with decolonizing PELT and hence challenging the colonial difference.

Indeed, the colonial difference became transgressed by the student teachers' critical thematic unit. Elvira, the Mixe and "inferior person" (as wrongly and discriminatively perceived by others) had the right to share the eating habits and ways of knowing that she and her Mixe community enact in order to stay healthy. She also shared with the children how Mixe speakers borrow words from other languages. For Elvira, being Mixe in the BIBLOCA classroom spoke back to the "Do not be Mixe" insult that lingered within the mainstream groups who have not had the pleasure to have a Mixe teacher. Teaching Mixe to Spanish speakers, therefore, challenged the colonial difference (Mignolo, 2000a, 2000b, 2009) that places Mixe speakers as inferior. Along similar lines, Woodley and Brown (2016) who teach multilingual classes in New York argue: "All students deserve to hear what their classmates [and or teachers] have to say about how they use languages. This can help to dispel stereotypes or negative perspectives about multilingualism and others' translanguaging" (p. 96). These stereotypes, such as Mixe discriminatorily being associated with being unintelligent, are challenged through the "subjectification of languages" (López-Gopar, 2016). In other words, the children in Elvira's class were interacting not with an abstract concept of the Mixe language, but with a real "flesh and bone" person who embodied the Mixe language; and so the children seemed to care about Elvira as a Mixe person much more than the Mixe language itself. In critical thematic units, consequently, language learning is not neutral and is not the main objective. Rather, language learning is the conduit to address significant social problems and to transgress stereotypes and discriminatory practices that position certain languages and peoples as better than others. This, in turn, leads to the appreciation and valuing of people who are minoritized.

Not only did this critical thematic unit make room for the negotiation of affirming identities and the appreciation of others, but it also rendered academic and social engagement. By way of the plurilingual activities concerning health, Elvira, Betty and Vico brought into the classroom other academic subjects such as Geography, Natural and Social Science, and Physical Education. For instance, in Geography, Elvira, Betty and Vico made the children aware of where different fruits grow in the state of Oaxaca. They also discussed how local fruits, which may not look as

"perfect" as imported ones, are in fact more nutritious. In science discussions, they addressed how to perfect fruit without the use of pesticides, as it occurs in local Oaxacan communities. These discussions about geography and science led to the larger issue of how Oaxacans need to appreciate their local farmers, who come to the city markets to sell their produce and who are unfortunately regarded as inferior and many times dismissed. Often these discussions occurred in Spanish, so that children could fully participate. Similarly, Stille (2016) argues: "Inviting students to bring the full range of their cultural and linguistic resources and diverse histories into the educational context potentially creates conditions for students to invest themselves into classroom activities" (p. 494). The student teachers at BIBLOCA also used different teaching strategies to engage the children in the topic of their critical thematic unit.

The children thus became interested in health issues. "At the beginning," the student teachers wrote in their diary, "it was a little difficult to get the children's attention, because they listened about 'healthy food' or 'physical activity' and they didn't feel interested in these topics." However, by using "songs, games, flash cards, [and] different group dynamics," the student-teachers were able to hold the children's attention and thus "teach" the children about "how important it is that they take care about themselves, about their bodies, their eating habits, and how this will help them in the future." Consequently, the student teachers' praxicum experience shows that critical thematic units are not at odds with strategies recommended to teach languages to children such as games and music (Khan, 1991; Reilly & Ward, 1997; Rixon, 1991). The praxicum, however, also demonstrates that the critical component must be present if we want to bring real issues into the classroom and make room for both teachers' and children's plurilingual performances, which in turn will result in the negotiation of affirming identities for everyone. Along this line, the next section presents the challenges and positive experiences had by student teachers Elvira, Betty and Vico during their praxicum.

5 Challenges and Positive Experiences While Teaching a Critical Thematic Unit

One challenge that the student teachers faced was stage fright and classroom management issues. In her journal, Betty reflected on her fear of being a teacher: "In my first class at BIBLOCA, I was very nervous because I had never worked with kids. Also, I was the Mixe teacher and that day I had two continuous classes, with the youngest students from BIBLOCA." Likewise, Vico expressed nervousness, in his case about keeping order in the classroom during those situations when a "student crosses the line, when behavior starts to affect the concentration of the class." Like Vico, Elvira was worried about classroom management. She wrote in her journal that after the first classes, she "could only remember few names" of the group, which made her "feel nervous" as she "wanted to get the attention of the students …

who were making noise." As Betty, Vico and Elvira indicate, classroom management is certainly a big challenge for student teachers, especially when working with children. Student teachers can seek advice on classroom management (e.g. Reilly & Ward, 1997; Scott & Ytreberg, 1998; Vale & Feunteun, 1995). However, as the student teachers at BIBLIOCA express, "with real students and a real class, everything changes" (Betty) and "[it is] a big learning process" (Vico).

The student teachers also faced challenges in creating appropriate activities for the children studying at the BIBLIOCA library. In his journal, Vico wrote that he "had to develop the ability to create games and songs" for the kindergarten students; and he noted that some of the children seemed to "feel like 'older children' and we had to treat them in that way." Perhaps because of the individual needs of the children within the same group, as Vico noted, Elvira realized that it "was a little difficult … to be conscious of everything that happened in class" and that although she "tried hard to put attention to all … students," she would nevertheless "miss things about the children." Despite such challenges, the student teachers had positive experiences related to their self-growth as teachers with a clear agenda of social inclusiveness and plurilingualism.

One positive experience was gaining confidence and security. Elvira noted in her journal: "The nervousness I used to feel before every class has slowly gone…. Mainly, I used to sweat a little and my heart used to beat with an uncommon pace. I nowadays feel more relaxed before my classes start." Likewise, Betty recalled: "[A]s happens with many things in life, practice gives … security and confidence, and that happened with my classes. I changed the fear I felt the first day and I converted it into joy and motivation." Like Betty, Vico wrote about joy. In his case, this joy resulted from the rapport he had with his students. He described how his students, though children, saw him not only as a teacher but also "as one more classmate," which led him to "learn more about their interests, hobbies and feelings." He then concluded: "School is the child's second home, so it is no coincidence that they feel you are part of their family. When you achieve getting the trust and love of your students, then you know you are doing a good job."

Vico's affirmation about feeling trustworthy and loved speaks directly to the personal relationships the student teachers developed in the classroom at the BIBLOCA library. As classes went by, the student teachers went from anxiety to confidence and then to the feeling of joy in their roles as teachers. This led not only to affirming identities for both the student teachers and the children (Cummins, 2001), but also to more academic engagement and social change.

Viewing social transformation as a positive experience, the student teachers commented on the changes they noticed in the children as they conducted their critical thematic unit. These changes on the part of the children involved a feeling of pride in their home life notwithstanding their apparent awareness of their low socioeconomic status. This is suggested by Elvira:

> At the beginning of the classes, the children seemed a little shy of sharing things about themselves or their family. Since our topic was about good health, we talked about things we should do to be healthy … [and] they eventually started to share things about their lives in what they usually did or ate…. For example, some of them said that they eat typical and

> not expensive food like beans or *nopales* [cactus]. We thought that this happened when the children found out that we all are much alike, and that there is nothing to be shy about themselves or ourselves.

Also, apparently inferring this metaphor of healthy food for a wholesome and prideful family life regardless of social class, Betty noticed changes in the children's perspectives:

> Our thematic unit was focused on healthy habits. Step by step, class by class, we saw a huge change in the children's point of view. They started to tell us the types of food they ate, like the type of beans or the vegetable soup their grandmas cooked for them during the weekend. It was very nice to feel that all the hard work we did designing the critical thematic unit had good results; and, we were making a positive change in children's mentality.

6 Conclusions and Pedagogical Implications

Elvira's above comment succinctly summarizes decolonization: "[T]here is nothing to be shy about … ourselves." Throughout their praxicum, the student teachers challenged the colonial difference. They spoke back to discourses that present certain languages and cultures as better than others, rendering them as shameful. In the health-related critical thematic unit carried out during their praxicum, the student teachers negotiated affirming identities for themselves as teachers who can act on social issues by valuing children's languages, ways of being, and traditional eating habits. Changing "children's mentality" is not about imposing our views as to how things should be, but about taking responsibility for the social problems occurring in the contexts in which teaching praxica are conducted. Filling our language classes with "neutral" content is far more problematic than taking a stance on social issues. As shown by the praxicum carried out by Elvira, Betty and Vico, three student teachers from the final year of the B. A. program in the teaching of languages at *Universidad Autónoma Benito Juárez de Oaxaca*, it is possible to use critical thematic units for the purpose of decolonizing PELT. Critical social issues can and should be addressed with children, especially if those issues negatively impact the children's lives, as is the case with the issue of health in Mexico. In addition, decolonizing PELT and plurilingualism should be about valuing difference and reconceptualizing the discriminatory adjective "inferior" as simply "different." On a more practical level, and as a general pedagogical implication, the student teachers' praxicum at BIBLOCA demonstrates that English language classroom materials should be selected, adapted or designed and class activities conducted in such a manner as to counteract oppressive ideologies and to highlight the importance of the rich linguistic and cultural diversity present in the students' local context, even though such a stance may include resistance to the hegemony of the English language. Another pedagogical implication, along affective lines, is that English teachers need not feel overly stressed in their felt obligation to decolonize PELT. This act of decolonization, as shown in this chapter, is to transform the context, not in a grandiose way, but in small instances that can be catalytic for bigger changes and affirmation of people's

identities within specific moments in time. One such small step toward decolonization was experienced by student teacher Vico, who wrote in his journal: "I believe that as teachers we have to ensure the kids don't lose their imagination. Every kid and every person sees the world in a different way and nobody is wrong or right, it is just different."

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Translanguaging for Critical Bi-Literacy: English and French Teachers' Collaboration in Transgressive Pedagogy

Sunny Man Chu Lau

Abstract Based on the framework of plurilingualism and pluriliteracies, this chapter showcases two teachers' collaborative efforts in creating a dynamic bilingual environment in their Grades 4–6 multiage classroom in a Québec English elementary. Through strategic cross- language and curricular connections between English Language Arts and French Second Language, the two teachers read children's stories with their students in the two languages on topics connected to social justice and equity to promote students' critical biliteracy development and to foster an appreciation for cultural and linguistic diversity. Elaborating on some important plurilingual practices, this chapter explores particularly the teachers' and the children's creative use of translanguaging and resemiotization from one lingual and/or modal way of meaning-making to another in their collaborative critical inquiry into the topic of racism and slavery. These hybrid literacy practices facilitated and reconfigured their collective and individual knowledge construction, as well as their instantiation of critical biliteracy learning and identity negotiation. The study demonstrates new possibilities for dynamic and integrated plurilingual learning that goes beyond surface language functions to meaningful cross-language connections, conceptual coherence and clarity as well as depth of understanding.

Keywords Critical literacy · Translanguaging · Resemiotization · Plurilingualism · Bilingual education · English language arts · French second language · Language and literacy

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to showcase how two elementary school teachers, Mrs. Smith and Madame Desbiens, created a flexible bi/plurilingual environment in their Grades 4–6 multiage classroom through strategic cross- language and curricular connections between English and French to promote students' critical biliteracy

S. M. C. Lau (✉)
School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada
e-mail: slau@ubishops.ca

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development and to foster an appreciation for cultural and linguistic diversity. Reading English and French children's literature that was connected to social justice and equity, students leveraged their entire semiolinguistic repertoire for collaborative critical inquiry of issues such as poverty, homelessness and racial discrimination. These hybrid literacy practices offer new possibilities for a more integrated, dynamic and fluid approach to language learning that goes beyond surface language functions to meaningful cross-language connections, conceptual coherence and clarity as well as depth of understanding. This chapter aims to explore some important plurilingual practices, particularly, the creative and critical resemiotization of multi-lingual and multimodal resources by both the teachers and the children in their collaborative critical inquiry of social issues and complex language learning that most would think beyond their young age. It points to the educational potential of plurilingual pedagogies and translanguaging spaces to challenge academic monolingualism which delegitimizes minority students' use their plurilingual resources in knowledge construction and language performance and has for so long normalized a deficit language learner identity. The study also transgresses the linguistic boundaries set by ideologies and histories which compartmentalize and hierarchize languages, particularly the English and French solitudes[1] in Québec and in Canada.

2 Plurilingualism—Fluid Mutuality of Languages

Recent research on bilingualism articulates a more dynamic and permeable view of language learning, highlighting a heteroglossic notion of languages, treating them as a coherent whole, rather than separate, as they interact in complex, fluid and integrated ways in learning and in use (Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Canagarajah, 2011b; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Lin, 2017; García & Sylvan, 2011). Some scholars (cf. Flores & Rosa, 2015) challenge the notion of *additive bilingualism*—learning a second language while continuing to maintain and develop one's first language (Cummins, 2001)—as having inadvertently reinforced first and second language distinctions and delegitimizing students' multilingual practices for learning; what Flores and Rosa call the imposition of "raciolinguistic ideolologies" (2015). Responding to the argument, Cummins (2017) reiterates that additive bilingualism aims to promote instruction that valorizes students' multilingual repertoires and leverages fluid transfer across languages for conceptual clarity and understanding. To make explicit such dynamism, Cummins endorses the term *active bilingualism* to underscore the complex intersections of languages as well as the political stance against raciolinguistic ideologies that minoritized immigrant or plurilingual learners. The perspective of dynamic bilingualism resonates with Cook's concept of

[1] The term "two solitudes" originated from a novel written by the Canadian author, Hugh MacClennan (1945) and is now widely used to mean the deep-seated tension between the French and English communities.

multicompetence (1995), the interconnected knowledge and resources of more than one language as an entirety within a single mind. He postulates that the very presence of more than one language changes all languages in the individual: "Neither of the two languages of a bilingual can be expected to resemble that of a native monolingual" (p. 12). He has lately modified the concept to extend its psychological construct of the mind to the sociological construct of the community, i.e., *multicompetence* as "the total system for all languages in a single mind or community and their inter-relationships" (2016, p. 7). All languages together form "an ecosystem of mutual interdependence" (ibid) not just within a single mind but also within communities which function through multiple languages.

These recent theoretical articulations all denote that bi/plurilinguals are more than the sum of their parts and they possess and utilize different linguistic features in their entire repertoire to attain certain communicative functions at different moments in time and in different social contexts. *Plurilingualism* as proposed by the Council of Europe (2000) shares a similar view on the fluid mutuality of languages—languages are not learned in isolation and have reciprocal influences in their learning and in use. Plurilinguals draw on their repertoire of languages and language varieties as "a complex or even composite competence" rather than a "superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences" (Council of Europe, 2007, p. 8). Plurilingual pedagogies adopt a dynamic and integrated approach to study languages, aiming to promote more meaningful, complex learning as flexible and strategic use of linguistic and cultural resources is encouraged. This approach also helps foster a respect for the cultural values and identities embodied in languages. Translanguaging (García & Li, 2014), a hybrid but purposeful and strategic use of languages in the classroom for meaning-making, is regarded as one important plurilingual pedagogies (despite their historic and paradigmatic differences) to which I will now turn.

3 Transgressive Translanguaging: Resemiotization of Critical Learning

Translanguaging, first coined by Cen Williams and Dafydd Whittall from a Welsh word "trawsiethu", refers to a pedagogical practice of switching languages in the same lesson (e.g., teacher reads a book in one language and students answer or write in another) (Baker, 2011). The concept was further developed and theorized by García (2009) and other scholars such as Li (García & Li, 2014; Li, 2011), Hornberger and Link (2012), and García and Lin (2017). Translanguaging refers to a systematic interconnected use of two (or more) languages for construction of meaning among interactants, as a discursive practice common among bi/plurilinguals and as a dynamic classroom pedagogy. It is built on the concept of *languaging* which posits language as an ongoing process (verb), as opposed to a mere product (noun), which mediates and gives shape to our thoughts and experiences as they are

articulated and negotiated through language itself (Swain & Lapkin, 2011). Language is a mediator, rather than a mere conveyor, of thoughts through which we form, transform, create, remember, talk and write about our thoughts and ideas within sociohistorical and sociocultural contexts which give meaning, value and frameworks for the thinking. The dynamic language-thought reciprocity is well captured by Vygotsky (1986) who says, "[t]hought is not merely expressed in words; it comes into existence through them" (p. 218). Translanguaging in this sense refers to the agentive practice of bi/plurlilinguals to flexibly "soft assemble" (García, 2009) features from their multiple languages to (trans)form and (re)mediate meaning and social positionings in different communicative and learning situations. Jørgensen (2008) uses the term *polylingual languaging* (p. 169) to refer a similar concept whereby individuals often with their uneven competence in multiple languages strategically employ linguistic features from these languages to realize specific communicative intentions. Linguistic features at the levels of morphology, syntax and pronunciation are drawn on and integrated based on particular semantic content or structural characteristics. Translanguaging in this sense is more than code-switching (alternating from one set of linguistic features to another) as it involves a more fluid and dynamic mixing of elements from multiple languages to achieve communicative goals without adherence to the boundaries of named languages as code-switching does (Otheguy et al., 2015). Particularly, it articulates an explicit political stance against academic monolingualism as an act of social justice to fight for the rights of the minoritized students in using their multiple languages as a legitimate means of meaning-making (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). Translanguaging has shown to facilitate a deeper and fuller understanding of content knowledge, development of the weaker language (Esquinca, Araujo, & de la Piedra, 2014; Hopewell, 2013; Sayer, 2013). It also allows bi/plurilinguals to achieve a range of sociolinguistic functions such as negotiation of social positionings, playful resistance against certain cultural and linguistic norms, and/or signification of a certain social or situated identity or group membership (Li, 2011, 2014).

Translanguaging is also about interconnections and intersections with and among languages and modalities. Communication has always been multimodal in nature (Leung, 2014), even in print-based reading and writing considering the use of space, colour, visual marks, font or style and images (Jewitt, 2005). Multimodal ways of meaning-making have existed for centuries in some communities but have been dismissed as irrelevant under the hegemony of lingualism (Block, 2014)—giving preference to verbal literacy-- and the autonomous view of literacy (Street, 2012) (see López-Gopar, 2007 for an example of Mexican Indigenous people's use of codices on Triqui garment as multiple represenational and communication mode). Technological advancements in communications have prompted increasing recognition in the importance and affordances of multiple literacies for different ways of meaning-making. The interconnection and enmeshing of language and other semiotic modes have been labelled differently by scholars such as *plurilingual and pluriliteracies practices* (García, Bartlett, & Kleifgen, 2009) or *code-meshing* (Canagarajah, 2011a). They all attend to the dynamic interplay between and among multiple languages, scripts, dialects, and registers as well as the multiple modes and

semiotic systems of communication (e.g., Childs, 2016; Velasco & García, 2014). Translanguaging using plurilingual and pluriliterate resources involves processes of *resemiotization* whereby one discourse or semiotic resource is transformed into another mode or a mixture of modes in space and time, mobilizing and rendering transformed ways of knowing, being and acting (García & Li, 2014; Iedema, 2001, 2003). Research in communication studies supports such an understanding of meaning production as a process of continuous moments of *fixing* and *framing* to make and remake signs from semiolinguistic as well as embodied resources (e.g., gestures, voice, facial expressions) to instantiate re-contextualized knowledge and meaning (Kress, 2010).

The purpose of this chapter is to trace some key resemiotization process in the translanguaging practices in this French-English multiage classroom as they read children's stories in alternate languages. In particular, important themes and implications are drawn about how the hybridity and fluidity of the assemblage of lingual and modal resources support young learners in complex, critical inquiry of social issues and their construction of bilingual identities and academic competence.

4 Research Context and Methodology

The two collaborating teachers in this research, Mrs. Smith and Madame Desbiens, worked in an English elementary school in a small town in Eastern Québec, Canada. Public schools in Québec were de-confessionalized and reorganised into Francophone and Anglophone school boards in 1998 (McGlynn, Lamarre, Laperrière, & Montgomery, 2009). The introduction of *The Charter of the French Language* in 1977 made French the official language of the province and required immigrant children to attend French schools, all confirming the increasing sociopolitical importance of the French language (Oakes & Warren, 2007). Increasingly, Anglophone parents, though having the English language right to send their children to English-medium schools, choose to send their children to French schools. This shift has led to the drastic dwindling of the size and number of English schools. In order to bolster student retention, many English school districts deliver a range of immersion or enriched programs in French that offer more French instruction time than that required by the Ministry (Lamarre, 2008). The participating school for the present study, for example, offered 30 minutes over the normal requirement in daily French second language (FSL) instruction (a total of 90 minutes, same as English Language Arts-ELA) and an extra 45 minutes per week of Music/Visual Arts in French. However, Smith and Desbiens were the only two language teachers in the school who attempted cross-language collaborations; inter-disciplinary collaboration between French and English teachers is rare in Québec where language separation is still the norm (see Horst, White, & Bell, 2010).

Before this federal government-funded research project, both teachers had attempted some form of cross-curricular collaboration before participating in a two-year pilot study with Sunny to formally inquire into the educational potential in

promoting students' critical biliteracy development through year-long social justice themes. Encouraged by the results and eager to engage students in critical work in upper grades, we obtained a research grant to continue our inquiry into the ways in which strategic curricular collaborations helped build meaningful bridges across content and languages deepened students' critical understanding of social issues and promote their (emergent) bilingual identities of competence. The two teachers also seek approval from the school board to co-teach a Grade 4–6 multiage class, which was well received and granted with support. Before September of that school year, part of the wall separating two classrooms was taken down to create a wide open passage between the two rooms. The conjoined classroom now had a big carpet area on one side (perfect for whole-class reading and discussion activities) and big round tables on the other designated for group/desk work. The breaking down of the classroom wall did not only mark the removal of the physical and timetable boundaries that hindered their cross-curricular collaborations, but also, more importantly, signaled a beginning of a general willingness at a broader level to recognize the interconnectedness of language resources in bi/plurlilingual minds.

There were 47 student participants and the language environment at home and in the broader community was somewhat bilingual. 43 students filled in a year-end questionnaire and among them, 21 reported speaking English only to both parents (49%), 16 used both English and French with *either* parent (37%), 4 had *both* bilingual parents (9.3%), and 2 had both Francophone parents (4.7%). Around 40% of the students reported using both English and French with their siblings and their extended families while about 26% of them spoke the two languages with friends at school and outside school. Only 3 students mentioned using a language other than English and French (i.e., Spanish, German & Dutch) to communicate with siblings, extended family or friends outside school.

Mrs. Smith, the ELA teacher, had almost 20 years' teaching experience while Madame Desbiens had less than 10 but both were passionate about language teaching, particularly social justice education. Both believed linking the two languages would allow students to make meaningful connections to explore more complex topics and deepen their understanding. We adopted a *collaborative action research* methodology to create a synergy between research and practice for dialogic theory building and knowledge co-construction (Lather, 1986; Park, 2006). Using classroom ethnography (Bloome, 2012), we collected different sets of qualitative data, including detailed fieldnotes, class video-recordings (around 20 h), an end-of-year student questionnaire, teachers and focal students' interviews (pre and post) and student work samples. There were 9 focal students; three from each grade level who represented a high, average and low bilingual proficiency level based on the two teachers' initial assessment and class observation. The teachers and I met every other month to review ongoing data in light of the literature and theories we studied and reflected on together as a learning community. We focused particularly on students' written reading responses as a reference to their emerging critical understanding of social issues discussed orally in class and their development of academic competence in both languages, which in turn informed our ongoing co-development of instructional strategies to meet students' evolving learning needs.

To examine the plurilingual and pluriliterate translanguaging practices, I adopted Li's (2011) *Moment Analysis* in examining individuals' spontaneous momentary actions and performances as their draw on their semiolinguistic repertoires to translanguage in creative and critical ways to index meaning and positioning within the local and wider contexts. The focus of such an analysis is to seek not primarily patterns but rather critical moments in naturally occurring interactions whereby spontaneous and impromptu plurilingual and pluriliterate practices and performances occur. While Li's study (2011) included both data from observations and participants' reflections on their metalanguaging performances, the analysis of this study was based mainly on observations and recordings of class interactions as well as work samples, although interview data from teachers and students' reflections on their global translanguaging experiences but not on specific lessons was included.

5 Translanguaging for Literature-Based Critical Inquiry

To anchor language learning in meaningful social issues, the two teachers employed a literature-based curriculum, reading stories in French and English to promote students' biliteracy skills as well as their critical and reflective stance (Lewison, Leland, & Harste, 2008) on issues such as discrimination, racism, and poverty, all related to the chosen year-long theme of *Respect for Diversity*. Both teachers were bilingual, although Desbiens might be more comfortable in using English (since she taught the class Math in English) than Smith in French. They adhered to their respective language most of the time to provide a language model for students. When studying an English text, Mrs. Smith would lead the class discussion in English (and vice versa when a French story was read) while Madame Desbiens worked alongside to pose further questions and comments in French to deepen the dialogues, which would excite students' responses in French and/or a mixture of both languages. Since most students were stronger in English, we usually studied the English story first to discuss and clarify important concepts and provide a background of the topic on which students could build and develop a nuanced understanding when they read the French story on a similar topic but at a lower language level. To facilitate students' interdisciplinary connections and discussions, we also put up a research wall, a concept similar to Vasquez's (2004) *audit trail*, to post artefacts and photos of class activities as a visual trail of their collaborative learning experience. Similarly, a big concept map was posted on another wall to show visibly how the stories under study were interconnected in terms of their themes and main messages (see Lau, Juby-Smith, & Desbiens, 2016). In this chapter, I focus on a series of lessons on two story books about racism and slavery that they studied back to back: *The Other Side* (Woodson, 2001) and *Libre: le long voyage d'Henri- une histoire vraie* (Levine, 2008) to examine some important translanguaging practices adopted in class discussions and in a student's written work, in particular, how the processes of resemiotization from one lingual and/or modal way of meaning-making to another facilitated and reconfigured their collective as well as individual knowledge construction and instantiation of critical biliteracy learning and identity negotiation.

5.1 Critical Bilingual Reading of the Visual and Textual Narratives

Both *The Other Side* (Woodson, 2001) and *Libre* (Levine, 2008) are illustrated picture books. *The Other Side* is about an African-American girl, Clover, who notices a free-spirited white girl, Annie, one summer day on the other side of the fence that segregates the town. Both are eager to strike up a friendship despite the warning from their mothers not to go over the fence. They eventually sit *on* the fence, turning what is originally a barrier into a perch where they spend the summer peacefully together. *Libre*, on the other hand, is based on a true story in nineteenth century United States about a slave, Henry Brown, who with the help of his friend James and a white abolitionist, Mr. Smith, successfully mails himself to Philadelphia to escape the slavery system. The two books were chosen as it coincided with the Black History Month and students had been reading related books about Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, for example, in their own literature circles.

Mrs. Smith started *The Other Side* by inviting students to make inferences about the story based on the illustration on the cover, drawing their attention to the meaning constructed by the visual narrative in conjunction and juxtaposition with the title. Visual analysis had been a common practice in this class for English and French texts they read as it allowed students' pluriliterate ways of meaning-making and platforms for discussions and reflections (Mallan, 1999). The cover illustration shows a black girl in the foreground sitting on a tire-swing while a white girl is in the background up on the side of a fence that stretches across the page. When Mrs. Smith asked the class what the story was about, Lanely (all student names are pseudonyms) was the first one to suggest that it was about "segregation", and she explained, "because it's a little black girl on this side and on the other side it's a fence to split them, and it is white girl on the other side." Mike agreed, adding that the two girls were "separate like in two different parts of the world". And April conjectured that the two girls would go over the fence and do something together.

Students' pre-reading predictions, drawing on their reading from the literature circle and the visual positionings of the black and white girls and the symbol of a fence on the cover, collaboratively recontextualized their meanings within a specific sociohistorical period to make inferences about the relationship of the two girls and to situate them within a broader social context where segregation was practiced, even before they had started reading the book.

As they started reading the story, one question brought up was whether the two girls reacted in the same way to the rule of not climbing over the fence and why. It is Annie, the white girl who first introduces herself to Clover and suggests that "a fence like this was made to sit on". And it takes Clover a while before she feels brave to do so. Here is an excerpt of the class discussion on this matter:

Smith: … Do you think it's leading to something? She [Clover] said that she feels brave and she feels free. Calvin?

Calvin: Maybe she will go over the fence because she has more confidence in herself because before she was like scared of the other side…

[…]

Desbiens: Moi, j'aime beaucoup la question de Mrs. Smith et on ne lui a pas vraiment répondu. La petite fille noire, la page juste avant, elle dit qu'elle se sent brave et courageuse et elle est allée proche de la clôture. Avant elle se tenait où?

(I really like Mrs. Smith's question that we haven't really addressed yet. The little black girl in the previous page, she says she feels brave that day and got close to the fence. Where was she before?)

Students: Plus loin. *(Very far away.)*

Desbiens: Elle était très loin, dans sa maison ou dans l'arbre. La petite fille blanche depuis de début de l'histoire où est-ce qu'elle est? *(She was far away, in her house or in the wood. Where is the little white girl since the beginning of the story?)*

Students: Proche. *(Near.)*

Desbiens: Elle est proche de la clôture ou même sur la clôture. Est-ce que vous voyez une différence entre les deux petites filles?

(She is close to the fence or even on the fence? Do you see a difference between the two girls?)

Smith: Amy?

Amy: Well, it looks like the white girl is a little more brave. She is like braver than the darker girl. Because she is always close to the fence or on the top of the fence, but the darker girl is always hidden.

Desbiens: Qu'est-ce que tu penses qui fait ça? […] Qu'est-ce que tu penses qui peut faire ça? D'où est-ce que tu penses que ça peut venir? Laure? *(Who do you think does that? Who do you think can do that? Where do you think this could come from?)*

Laure: Well, maybe like the white girl went over, it wouldn't matter as much as the black girl.

Smith: Why?

Desbiens: Je pense que tu as compris quelque chose d'important. (*I think you have understood something important.)*

Lily: It was against the black people.

Desbiens: La ségrégation, la séparation c'était pour protéger qui contre qui?

(*The segregation, the separation, it was to protect whom against whom?)*

Lily: The white people because they didn't want the black people in their world.

Desbiens: Ok, alors c'est important de comprendre ça aussi pour comprendre les points de vue…(*Ok, so it's important to understand that as well in order to comprehend the points of view…)*

Here is another example of how students' multi- lingual and modal resources were solicited to foster a more layered and critical understanding of the two main characters. There are references in the text itself that indicate Annie, the white girl, who often climbs up on the side of the fence or stays close to it. But in some of those instances, it doesn't mention where Clover is. For example, in the second spread of the book (which has the same image as the book cover), the text mentions that Annie climbed up on the fence each morning, but nothing is said about Clover. However, it is from the illustrations that we see Clover being far away from Annie on the other side of the fence. Further, on the third spread, the text indicates that Clover is playing jump rope with her friends and Annie asks if she can join them. Again, there is no specific mentioning of where these two parties are in the text but the illustration fills in the gaps: Annie is shown up on the side of the fence while Clover and her friends, farther away on the other side, stopped playing the game to respond to Annie's invitation. The explicit textual remarks of Annie's closeness to the fence together with Clover's visual distance from it in the illustrations point to the apparent

difference between the two girls' reactions to this social boundary reinforced by their parents. In the excerpt above, Mme Desbiens asked students if they noticed the difference and if so what it implied. Amy took it to mean an indication of Annie's brave character and by contrast, Clover's timidity. Prompting students to go beyond the surface, Mme Desbiens reminded students to not overlook who Annie is and what has enabled her to act the way she does. Laure answered that it might not have mattered as much for a white girl to cross over the fence as compared to a black girl. Laure's response was followed by a question from Mrs. Smith and a comment from Mme Desbiens, both served to prompt Laure (and other students) to view the characters' actions from a broader sociopolitical lens and to connect their observations to the important concepts (i.e., segregation or racism) they had been learning. While Mrs. Smith posed the simple question "Why?" in English to Laure (and other students), Mme Desbiens prompted a more elaborate answer by reassuring that Laure was on the right track. Lily then jumped in to add in English that the fence was built to set boundaries against the blacks. Mme Desbiens then re-voiced Lily's answer in a more formal, academic way using terms that share similar cognates in English, for example "la ségrégation" "la séparation", and "protéger". She also wrapped up this discussion by reminding students the importance of grounding the character analysis in the broader sociopolitical environment and viewing from multiple perspectives (i.e., Why do Annie and Clover act differently towards the warning and whose protection is the fence really for?).

The above excerpt shows how the two teachers collaborated fluidly, helping each other to further a discussion point and to incite more critical analyses of the character behaviours and their sociopolitical implications. The teachers engaged in a *collaborative dual language brokering* and *recasting* (rather than direct translation) to scaffold students' meaning-driven discussions. Students too responded flexibly in French or English to jointly make meaning based on their reading of the textual and visual narratives that the teacher solicited in furthering their critical understanding of inequitable situations faced by the two different characters.

5.2 *Resemiotization of Class Talk and Visual Concept Maps in Written Reading Responses*

After the class discussions on *The Other Side*, Mrs. Smith started a big concept map on the board, bringing together key ideas that had been explored and debated about the characters, illustrations, use of symbols in the book. She started the process and then asked students to finish the rest of the map individually on their own, which was revisited and further synthesized in the next class. Based on the collective web, students then wrote their individual reading responses. The recursive process not only allowed them multiple opportunities to revisit and reorganize pertinent ideas but also to collaboratively reconstruct meaning using a different mode. Figure 1 shows a mind map drawn by Ike, a Grade 6 student, based on the collective effort of the class:

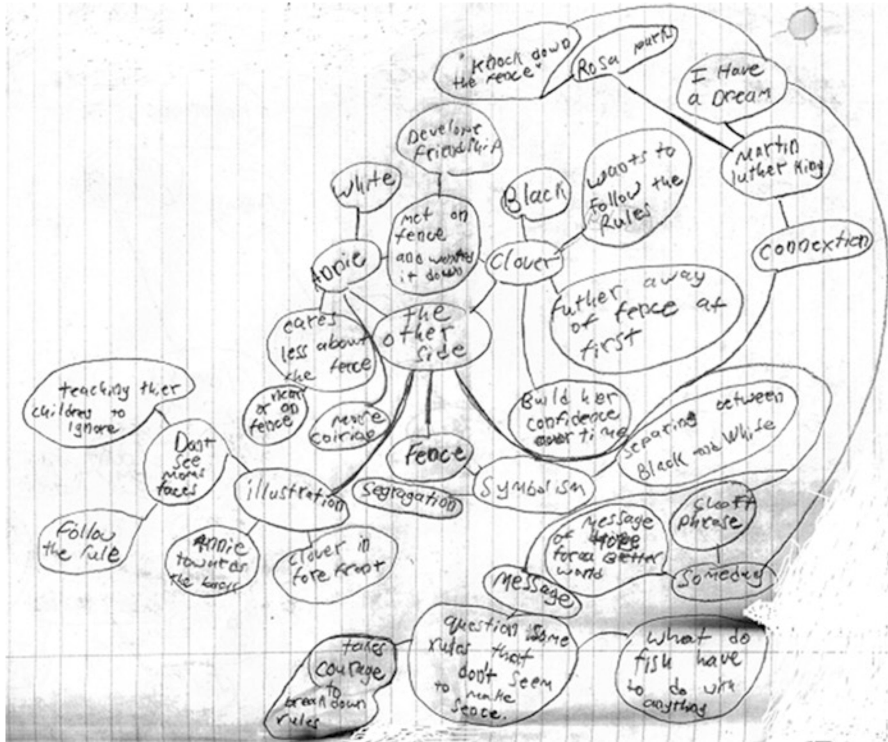
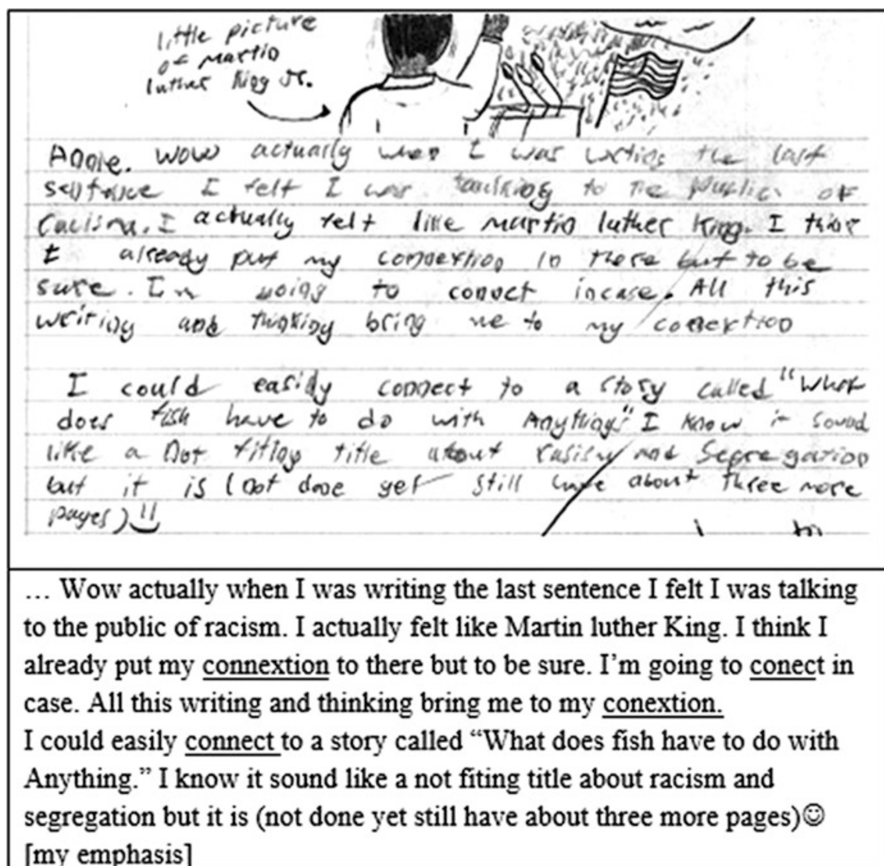


Fig. 1 Ike's mind map for *The Other Side*

The mind map shows the relationships of the key aspects in the story: characters (Annie and Clover), the use of symbolism (i.e., the fence) and illustrations, the main message as well as the meaningful connections made with other texts. Ike's reading response was 3-page long, the longest he had written so far, which had included almost all the ideas shown in the diagram with some personal connections of his own not found in the map. Ike's parents took him to see the movie *Selma* which happened to be playing during the time they were doing this unit on racism. The excerpt below is a small passage taken from his work (original spelling and punctuation kept):

> …So this lead me to what the author was trying to tell us. Its okay to question some rules/laws that don't make sense and thats separating two deferent kinds of people or putting people in deferent groups. and to have a better world. I guess Martin luther King had tons of guts to do the marches and protest and even with the Missisipy state police whacking them to almost death. So we need to be like Martin luther King and Rosa Parks and all the other people that stop racism and have lots of courage and break the chains of segregation and Hatred between each other and also ignorance and the murders between "whites" and "blacks". So lets be friends like Clover and Annie….

After commenting on symbolic meaning of the fence and some illustrations, Ike made a textual and personal connection to the stories of Martin Luther King (MLK)



… Wow actually when I was writing the last sentence I felt I was talking to the public of racism. I actually felt like Martin luther King. I think I already put my connextion to there but to be sure. I'm going to conect in case. All this writing and thinking bring me to my conextion.
I could easily connect to a story called "What does fish have to do with Anything." I know it sound like a not fiting title about racism and segregation but it is (not done yet still have about three more pages)☺
[my emphasis]

Fig. 2 Ike's reading response (last page)

and Rosa Parks he read in the literature circle in articulating the main theme of the book: the importance of stopping racism, segregation and hatred. Of great interest is what follows on the next page of his response.

Figure 2 shows Ike's original writing (and drawing) and the typed-up paragraphs on that page. Ike's work is highly interesting on many levels. First of all, Ike started with a side comment, saying, *"Wow actually when I was writing the last sentence I felt I was talking to the public of racism. I actually felt like Martin luther King*." This aside, departing from the academic discourse of a reading response, is the author's sudden realization of his momentarily inhabitation of the role of MLK and his channeling of the social leader's voice and beliefs. The drawing he did on the top of page, however, reveals something more—it shows us the *relationship* between MLK and the audience, which is not pointed out in the writing. In the foreground is a close-up of the back of the main participant (presum-

ably MLK himself), showing a point of view from behind him, which offers a wide *depth of field* (Janks, 2010, p. 90) that allows us to see the relationship between this participant in the foreground and the others in the background. The main participant's right hand is up in the air in front of a lectern with three microphones, suggesting that he is addressing the public which is represented by some erratic strokes in the background, indicating a dynamic (rather than static) crowd, most probably cheering and getting excited by the speech. Both the *compositional* (how the visual elements are organized spatially) and the *representational structures* (what's happening between the objects and participants) (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006) are showing the salience of the impact of the speaker on the audience. The fact that the point of view is from behind the speaker positions the reader as an observer. The small caption on the side of the drawing specifying that it is a picture of MLK creates a more distant *interpersonal* relationship. Ike positions himself (and the reader) as an observer, observing MLK (or even better, observing himself performing the role of MLK) and his impact on the audience, just as he is writing about noticing himself becoming MLK, with the visual adding much salience to his powerful influence on the crowd. What follows this meta-reference to MLK is that Ike reverted back to himself as a student. And even though what he has done so far is an excellent job making text-to-text, text-to-self and text-to-world connections (Trehearne, 2006), he was worried that these connections weren't explicit enough. He wrote, "I'm going to connect [just] in case." What he did in the last paragraph is a public display of his academic competence demanded by this specific task and genre of writing: "I could easily connect to a story called 'What does fish have to do with Anything'. I know it sounds like a not fiting title about racism and segregation but it is." Unfortunately, he didn't have time to finish but at the end he added one sentence in parenthesis indicating that he had more to write and left a smiling emoji at the very end.

In this small excerpt of Ike's writing, we see how he creatively leveraged his semiolinguistic repertoire, acquired both outside and inside class, to construct meaning and perform identities he negotiated for himself along the process. The oral discussions and the recursive ways of organizing and reconfiguring meanings in multiple ways through collective and individual mind maps enabled him to synthesize the ideas not only in a very effective way but also with depth of understanding toward the importance of peace and justice. His enthusiasm and critical knowledge of the subject matter is shown by his meta-reflections of his momentary embodiment of MLK's spirit and belief, which is echoed by the compositions and point of view of the picture he drew, most probably a remediation based on images of MLK seen in the media (e.g., *Selma*, the movie). Ike also responded to the academic demands of response writing by overtly performing the task of making textual and social connections in the last paragraph. Although this might show his inexperience in weaving textual and personal connections in a more organic manner with his analysis, the extent of his genuine interest in the topic could be seen in the last aside when he wrote: "not done yet still have about three more pages", and ended it with a smiling emoji.

5.3 Translanguaging Critical Understanding – From English to French Literary Discussions

Connecting students' learning in English to French, the class went on to Libre (Levine, 2008), a true story about Henry Brown who escaped slavery by mailing himself to Philadelphia in a box, with the help from his friend James and a white abolitionist, Mr. Smith. To provide students with the sociohistorical background and embed FSL learning in an organic way in critical reading lessons, Mme Desbiens started a pre-reading activity about the rights of a slave: asking students to decide in groups whether a slave had the right to perform certain social activities, such as "connaître sa date de naissance" (to know his date of birth); "choisir quand aller travailler" (to choose when to work); "avoir des enfants" (to have children), "faire une erreur" (to make a mistake"), etc. We found some students having difficulty in grasping the life of slaves in the Nineteenth Century American South and processing the idea of their not having the freedom to do some of these simple day-to-day activities. Below is an excerpt of the discussion when students were trying to understand the consequences for a slave in making mistakes:

George : Ben c'est parce que les maîtres, ils n'aimaient pas les erreurs à cause que… ben c'est que du…gaspille mon temps!

(Well, it's because the masters, they did not like mistakes because … well … it's like … waste my time!)

Desbiens: […] c'est parce que s'ils faisaient une erreur, il y avait des conséquences très très grave. Mais c'est ça. Maintenant de nos jours rendu en 2015, ça n'a plus aucun sens dans notre tête, mais tant mieux.

([…] *it is because if they made a mistake there were very very serious consequences. But that's it. Now in 2015, it makes no sense in our mind, but still.)*

John: Then …. they would get killed?

Desbiens: Exactement, John. Et il en a eu des centaines et des centaines d'esclaves qui ont été tué parce qu'ils ont fait des erreurs. Ok?

(Exactly, John. And there were hundreds and hundreds of slaves who were killed because they made mistakes. OK?)

Smith: It didn't make sense, John! You are right!

Desbiens: C'est tout à fait illogique et tout à fait insensé. (*It is completely illogical and utterly insane.)*

In the excerpt above, George, explained in French to his fellow classmates why slaves were not allowed to make mistakes since the masters would not like to have their time wasted due to mistakes. Mme Desbiens added that it was a practice quite difficult to fathom in present day. John, still puzzled, raised a question about a possible consequence in English, wondering if mistakes would cause slaves their lives. Mme Desbiens and Mrs. Smith again collaboratively used the two languages to help John process the insensible behaviours done by one human being to another within the context of slavery, which was beyond anyone's comprehension. The connected usage of the two languages in a meaning-focused discussions facilitated knowledge building in a composite and coherent rather than a fragmented manner. With the fluid bilingual practices, English- or French-dominant students like George and John could equally participate in critical discussions and in grappling with such an important human rights issue.

For *Libre*, apart from understanding what slavery and racism meant, we would really like to foster students' critical ability to consider different perspectives and move away from a binary mind set. One important character in this story is Mr. Smith, an abolitionist, without whose help, Henry would not have been able to escape slavery. A large part of the class discussions were about the main characters such as Henry and Mr. Smith and their personality shone through their choices. We repeated almost the same process we did with *The Other Side*—class discussions followed by a mind map done individually and then collectively as a class, except this time Desbiens encouraged students to use different colours for the mind map to further facilitate their organization and retrieval of ideas. Figure 3 shows Ike's mind map and below are two paragraphs from his reading response, with arrows showing which part of the mind map they each refer to.

(The slaves don't have human rights, not liberty and certainly not choices. The slaves like Henri don't have the choice of jobs and they were not paid and the slaves were not treated correctly, and that's why Henir escaped to the north. Not all whites are okay with slavery like Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith did not agree with the slavery. He helped Henri to ecape to the North.)

Fig. 3 Ike's mind map and two paragraphs from his French reading response

Ike's French writing in general reflects an early *conventional stage* (DeVries, 2015) that most patterned words were spelt correctly but phonetic spelling was used for advanced words. He used code-switching when he did not know a certain word in French, a strategy the teachers encouraged so as not to deter any fluid expression of ideas due to a gap in vocabulary knowledge. The words "cerntenly [certainly]", "treated" and "escape" in this excerpt were circled by the student, so that he could look them up and revise later accordingly. The objective was to get students focused on their fluid articulation of ideas and not mere language accuracy.

Apart from code-switching, we also find Ike's creative employment of translanguaging skills, especially in the second paragraph which is about Mr. Smith who did not agree with slavery and had offered help to Henry to make his escape possible. In this paragraph, Ike creatively used the adjective "correct" ("correcte"- feminine) as a main *verb* in the verb phrase "son était corrected". "Correct(e)" is commonly used in everyday colloquial Québecois French to describe that something agreeable, sufficient, or appropriate. Here Ike synthesized an important idea discussed in class that not all White people were discriminatory. Ike creatively turned the adjective "correct" into a verb and used it in a past passive form. In French, the passive is formed by *être* with the main verb in past participle. The past passive form is "avoir *été* + past participle" and is appropriately used here, albeit the phonetic spelling:

Ike's sentence (with phonetic spelling)	Conventional form
Pas tout les blanc son etait corrected.	*Pas tous les blancs ont été correctés.*

Notice that the word, "correctés" above is underlined because this verb does not exist in French (the verb "correct" in French is "corriger"). It is an invented word by Ike, with the auxiliary verb "avoir etre" conforming to the French past passive structure followed by the past participle ending '~ed" taken from English. By using the word "correct" as a verb here suggests a process of change in opinion, i.e., not all white people had come to agree with slavery. Compare this invented usage to its normal use as an adjective, as shown in Ike's second sentence in that excerpt: "M. Smith etais [etait] pas correct de esclavage." Using it as an adjective would suggest a more factual and static sense, while in contrast, as a verb, it suggests an ongoing change. Ike looking at the whole issue of slavery from the vantage point of the present time, especially after he had read MLK and Rosa Parks, he knew that change was to happen and that there would be more white people who were to become supporters of the abolitionist movement. Ike's resemiotizing of the adjective-turned-verb "correct(e)" and the creative phonetic and invented spellings reflect not only his creativity but also determination to overcome his developing knowledge in French vocabulary and orthography to articulate and (re)construct some rich meaning that goes beyond the boundaries of the languages, thereby negotiating for himself an academically competent and socially conscious individual. The last paragraph of his reading response reads like this:

> Martin luther King etait courageux et brave comme Henri et aussi Rosa Parks, le "Other Side" est connecté parce que les enfant a role pour arreté la segreation et esclavage.
> (Marin Luther King was courageous and brave like Henry and also Rosa Parks. The Other Side is connected because the children have the role to stop the segregation and slavery.)

In this last paragraph, apart from the creative use of translanguaging (e.g., "le Other Side" as in "*The Other Side*" and "est connecté" in present passive as in "one can connect this story to *The Other Side*"), Ike conveys some effective textual connections and a powerful message – that he found Henri courageous and brave just like MLK and Rosa Parks and that he can also connect the story to *The Other Side*, the English story the class just read, to point out the role of children in stopping segregation and slavery. It is evident that Ike was able to make meaningful links and transference of knowledge gained in the bilingual discussions of the English text into the critical reading of the French text, and through another series of individual and collective mind-mapping and synthesizing, he was able to remediate and re-construct his knowledge through creative code-switching and meshing and present it in writing in an effective and academic way. Without the translanguaging space, students' writing like Ike's would have been dismissed as inaccurate and their ideas be misunderstood and misrecognised as worthless.

6 Conclusions and Implications

Using (2011) *Moment Analysis* (Li, 2011), this chapter has shown some important translanguaging practices adopted in this multiage bilingual classroom and how the translanguage space has allowed students like Ike to mobilize his repertoire of languages and multimodal resources to engage in complex language tasks and social inquiry about racism.

Mrs. Smith and Mme Desbiens' focus on building students' critical visual literacy in reading children's literature afforded pluriliterate ways of meaning-making in both languages. The teachers' co-presence in the classroom and careful orchestration of the extended class discussions interchangeably in English and French helped not only create bridges between the two language subjects but also helped foster deep critical understanding of social diversity. Although adhering mostly to their respective language to provide a language model for students, both teachers strategically used the two languages in *brokering* and *recasting* discussions to facilitate students' articulation of ideas and to scaffold the meaning-driven discussions. Their step-by-step guidance in engaging students in exploring the broader social implications of character action and choices demonstrates that young and inexperienced language learners are more than capable in critical and complex learning.

The use of the mind map with differentiated colours offered a valuable visual aid to synthesize, clarify and concretize the ideas generated collaboratively by the

whole class, which in turn assisted students' writing of the reading responses. The visual modality helped the class reconstruct meaning derived from their oral inquiry, which was then resemiotized into an organised written reading response as a meaningful academic exercise.

Ike's creativity and criticality were well captured in his reflections of his learning from reading *The Other Side*. His writing with the corresponding graphic of Martin Luther King demonstrates his resourceful ability to mobilize his semiolinguistic repertoire, acquired from inside and outside of class, to convey his critical understanding of social discrimination as well as to perform an identity of a capable language user and a change agent. The safe and inclusive translanguaging space that Mrs. Smith and Mme Desbiens collaboratively created in this multiage classroom also allowed Ike to feel secure to take risks to "soft assemble" features from languages and multimodalities to articulate his developing critical literacy. His skilful languaging practices as shown in the adjective-turned-verb "correct(e)", the use of code-switching/meshing, and the phonetic and invented spellings allowed him to articulate and demonstrate his understanding despite of his developing French proficiency. A classroom steeped in academic monolingualism would have prevented him from attempting to express his ideas in ways that defy language boundaries and teachers of such classrooms would have dismissed his work as sloppy, inaccurate and sub-standard. However, careful examination of his momentary translanguaging practices has shown creative indexation of critical meaning through resourceful employment of his semiolinguistic repertoires. No doubt, precision and accuracy are important; however an additional language classroom focusing solely on mechanical accuracies and standards will have missed a great opportunity to recognise Ike's learning and to choose the right strategies in advancing his understanding and language mastery.

Focusing on the writing samples from one particular student participant, this chapter does not aim to argue for the generalizability of the research but rather for the educational possibilities that plurilingual approaches offer. When language is taught in a connected and integrated manner, deeper understanding occurs (Hopewell, 2013; Sayer, 2013). The fluid translanguaging space in Mrs. Smith and Mme Desbiens' conjoined classroom opened up possibilities for students to draw on their bi/ plurilingual and pluriliterate resources to make sense of their learning and to negotiate for themselves an identity of an academically competent and socially conscious individual. The study points to the need to rethink the theory and practice regarding bi/plurilinguals and to negotiate an inclusive translanguaging environment conducive to complex language and literacy learning anchored in socially meaningful topics. As much as the wall between the two classrooms was taken down to defy physical boundaries for cross-language and -curricular collaborations, educators and teachers need to transgress the arbitrary constraints posed by academic monolingualism and lingualism in order to valorize and mobilize students' multiple language and modal resources for knowledge construction. It is imperative to recognize students' creativity and resourcefulness in their momentary plurilingual and pluriliterate practices to construct, reconfigure, and demonstrate their knowledge.

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Dialogue/Response—Response to plurilingual engagements for critical literacy

Kelleen Toohey

> *The whole community is a classroom every day. There needs to be an understanding [that] whatever you bring into the classroom must connect or come from the community.*
>
> –Members of the Naskapi Nation of Kawawachikamach, commenting on what teachers need to appreciate when teaching Naskapi children (Aitken & Robinson, 2017; this volume)

This quote opens the chapter in this volume by Aitken and Robinson and underlines the importance of communities to educational settings and practices. While the settings of and projects in the three chapters in this section vary, I think they all display deep respect for the communities from which their students come, as well as for community practices, resources and problems. Aitken and Robinson's research describes a school in northern Québec; López Gopar, Sughrua, Córdova-Hernández, López Torres, Ruiz Aldaz and Vásquez Morales describe a project in a community library in Oaxaca, Mexico; and Lau describes a collaborative project in a school in eastern Québec.

The first two chapters describe educational projects that aim at valorizing Indigenous languages and cultures. Focusing on the plurilingual strengths of Naskapi students, Aitken and Robinson cite Willans (2013) who observed that children in many communities are familiar with negotiating multiple linguistic resources outside the classroom. These chapters describe how people in communities use multiple linguistic resources: in the northern Québec community, people use Naskapi, Innu, French and English, and in the Oaxacan community, several distinct Indigenous languages are used in combination with Spanish and English. Scollon and Scollon (1979) described several decades ago how a Cree-speaking man in Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, trapped with his Chipewyan-speaking brother-in-law in the

K. Toohey
Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada
e-mail: toohey@sfu.ca

winters, speaking Chipewyan,[1] how he traded his furs in English at the store, and visited sometimes a monolingual French-speaking priest in his community. This man spoke Cree as a native speaker, and rudimentary Chipewyan, English and French, but his plurilingual competence meant he was able to interact with more people in his community than could, perhaps, a teacher at the school who spoke standard, educated English. Plurilingualism has been evident in many communities for a long time, and much recent language and literacy education work recently also focuses on how people use other communicative resources (their bodies, movement, clothing, objects in the environment, drawings, and so on). Schools, however, seem interested solely in how students negotiate usually one or two standard and prestigious language(s) and predominantly printed language. The regarded-as-unremarkable plurilingualism and multimodality of communities as people go about their daily activities, interacting with others who have varying degrees of experience with particular communicative means, contrasts sharply with the monolingualism (or elite bilingualism) and monomodality of the school.

Another school anomaly is the focus on individual expertise. Like these authors, Heath (1983) almost 40 years ago described the sociality of literacy in communities where not everyone is expected to be individually and independently conversant (competent/fluent/literate) with all genres of language use; rather, together with other people and other things, people make meaning as they go about their lives. In school, by contrast, the expectation is that (for example) a nine-year-old is able to read, write, speak and understand particular 'leveled' text, on her/his own, with topics about which their teachers (or curriculum developers) know something but which may be completely unfamiliar to the students. While these papers do not comment on individual testing or ranking, such evaluations provide the backdrop to much contemporary educational work and educational anxiety. The northern Québec school district in Aitken and Robinson's chapter, for example, wants to improve "'the mastery of English Language Arts and the quality of French' (CQSB, 2013, p. 11)" (Aitken & Robinson, this volume). The mastery and quality they reference here is, we might surmise, individual and not collective expertise.

Why do schools restrict communicative means/modes, privilege written standard languages above all, and require independent performance? The new materialism literature that is currently of great interest to my colleagues and me would locate the origin of these ways of thinking in the Western European tradition of dualism, such that brains and bodies, thinking and doing, men and women, nature and culture, are regarded as separate and of different (hierarchical) value, with the corollary understanding that some humans are more separate than others from nature, physicality, and material objects (Smythe et al., 2017). Such thinking aligns with the hierarchizing of cultures, nations and individuals: Foucault (1972) reminded us of the origins of Western European institutional practices of ranking, and how schools parallel capitalist economic and political systems in arranging that some continue to be rewarded by current arrangements more than others. López Gopar and colleagues

[1] Chipewyan and Cree are not closely related languages.

(this volume) show how the historical (and continuing) colonization of Mexican Indigenous peoples, has led to their position in the nation as different, Other, and inferior, and their languages as 'dialects', unimportant, and inhibiting technical, cultural and epistemological modernization. They also point to continuing global colonization not only in Mexico such that it is believed that adopting English is the way to fiscal progress and cultural advancement. The Oaxaca project took the disruption of language hierarchies as one of its central objectives. I see the Naskapi project aiming at much the same thing as students wrote and talked about their grandparents' lives in at least two languages and two scripts, and in so doing "subverting both the monolingual bias and the deficit perspective of [English language learners]" (Aitken & Robinson, this volume).

The third chapter in this section deals with the teaching of French and English in an English school in Québec. While French is usually regarded as a prestigious world language, it has not always been seen so in Canada, and the recognition and revitalization of French has historically been the focus of a great deal of educational and political conflict. As in many other places, English has sometimes been seen in Québec as a predator language, and French as in need of protection and sequestration. This has led to the situation Lau describes where even in an English school that attempts to give each language its due and that professes to be 'bilingual', collaboration between French and English teachers is very uncommon and the distinctiveness of each language is emphasized. The teachers who collaborated with Lau engage in plurilingual teaching practices that, like the two chapters describing projects with Indigenous students, aim to bring to students' attention the benefits of using all the language and literacy resources available to them. The approach helps students see that important narratives are written in French and in English about complex social problems, and while not much is written in this chapter about the specifics of French-English tensions in Québec, or this particular community, the students live in a bilingual province in which "flexible and strategic use of linguistic and cultural resources" (Lau, this volume) will be to their advantage. I see this chapter as also describing a disruptive project, in offering "new possibilities for dynamic and integrated language learning that goes beyond surface language functions to meaningful cross-language connections, conceptual coherence and clarity as well as depth of understanding" (Lau, this volume). This chapter also shows what tensions might remain even when schools recognize the importance of more than one language, and when the boundaries between languages can be weakened.

These chapters are presented together in a section entitled "Plurilingual Engagements for Critical Literacy". As discussed above, they concern places where languages, teachers and students have varying degrees of social power, and various experiences of being subject to power and sometimes violence. Luke's (2004) explanation of two ways of understanding the critical is helpful in understanding how both in Indigenous communities, and in communities in which official languages and cultures are dominant, pedagogy that aims at criticality is possible. Luke saw the critical on the one hand as an "intellectual, deconstructive, textual and cognitive analytic task" and on the other hand, as "a form of embodied political anger, alienation and alterity" (p. 26). Whether by asking new questions of text, and decon-

structing the workings of power in text, or by experiencing first hand the alienating and unjust workings of power and learning to name such injustice, students can, as Luke put it, "call up for scrutiny, whether through embodied action or discourse practice, the rules of exchange within a social field (p. 26). Aitken and Robinson describe critical pedagogy in which students were encouraged to engage with the knowledge and linguistic practices of their Elders, and to recognize the wealth of the Naskapi resources in their community. López Gopar and colleagues, also describe critical pedagogy in which real issues are addressed, in this case, poor nutrition caused by a shift from consumption of traditional staple Mexican foods to the junk food of transnational food companies. Using Mixe names, along with Spanish and English names of traditional healthy foods allowed the teachers and the students to discuss how more healthy food choices might be made.

This example of valorizing cultural and linguistic practices that have been subordinated is surely important and laudable, just as it is important that English-speaking children in Québec understand not only the violence of slavery but also the fact that anglophone and francophone authors present thought-provoking narratives about exclusion, domination and possible ways to resist them. I have also been persuaded that some of the new materialist literature that attempts to complicate the notion of individual human agency or choice, will be helpful in seeing new possibilities in critical pedagogy. In a comment on the "productive power of food", Bennett (2010) writes:

> [O]nce ingested, once, that is, food coacts with the hand that places it in one's mouth, with the metabolic agencies of intestines, pancreas, kidneys, with cultural practices of physical exercise, and so on, food can generate new human tissue. In the case of some foods, say potato chips, it seems appropriate to regard the hand's actions as only quasi- or semi- intentional, for the chips themselves seem to call forth, or provoke and stoke the manual labor. To eat chips is to enter an assemblage in which the I is not necessarily the most decisive operator. (p. 40)

The new materialist concept of 'assemblage' upsets notions of causality, so that the specific inclusions of fats and salts in multinationally-marketed food might be recognized as operators in activity, alongside humans who make food choices.

Founder of the Reggio Emilia approach to early childhood education, Loris Malaguzzi wrote:

> The child has/a hundred languages/… but they steal ninety-nine. The school and the culture/separate the head from the body./They tell the child:/ to think without hands/to do without head/to listen and not to speak/to understand without joy… (in Edwards, Gandini, & Forman, 1998, p. 3).

Resisting these separations, as do new materialists, Reggio Emilia early childhood educators "encourage [young children] to explore their environment and express themselves through all of their available 'expressive, communicative, and cognitive languages'" (p. 7). In such environments, children are encouraged to symbolically represent their learning through painting, music, dance, sculpture, dramatic play (the "hundred languages of children") and to work collectively to engage with problems (learn). In the examples given in this section's chapters, we also see

action toward recognizing, valorizing and utilizing more than the standard language(s) of school, print-literacy and individual learning and evaluation. These are examples of politically activist educational settings and practices, and they point out ways that educators can engage in linguistic and cultural activism for more nearly equitable educational outcomes. López-Gopar and colleagues write: "[L] anguage learning is the conduit to address significant social problems and to transgress stereotypes and discriminatory practices that position certain languages and peoples as better than others" (this volume). Together, these three papers accomplish such aims and provide hopeful and helpful examples of teachers making a difference with the communities in which they teach.

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Part III
Plurilingual Engagements for Language and Literacy

Pluralistic Approaches in Early Language Education: Shifting Paradigms in Language Didactics

Daniela Coelho and Yecid Ortega

Abstract When the *Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches* (FREPA) was created by the Council of Europe and the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML), new possibilities, methodologies and approaches to language learning emerged. Pluralistic approaches sustain the idea that many languages and cultures should be included in the teaching and learning process, regardless of the subject. They support that previous linguistic and cultural knowledge is welcome in any learning setting and in particular in the language classroom. Drawing on FREPA as our framework, we consider pluralistic approaches in early language education, particularly *Awakening to Languages* (AtL). Exploring the potentialities of this approach in early language education, we elaborate on two plurilingual projects carried out in different early childhood learning contexts and discuss the significance of including and recognizing AtL approaches in kindergarten and primary school *curricula* as an integrative didactic approach that promotes plurilingualism and pluriculturalism, global and transversal competences, respect for otherness, and the development of other languages. Given the recent trend toward a more inclusive, pluralistic and eclectic approach to learning languages, our chapter seeks to sensitize the educational community at large to the importance of fostering a learning environment that optimizes relations between languages while challenging linguistic silos.

Keywords Plurilingualism · FREPA · Awakening to languages · Bilingual education · Early language education

D. Coelho (✉)
College of Arts and Sciences, Abu Dhabi University, Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates
e-mail: Daniela.coelho@adu.ac.ae

Y. Ortega
University of Toronto – OISE, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: yecid.ortega@mail.utoronto.ca

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1 Introduction

Awakening to Languages (AtL) (or *Éveil aux Langues* in French) (Candelier & Dabène, 2003) is one of the four main pluralistic approaches to languages and cultures proposed in the *Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches* (FREPA) document published in the mid-2000s by the Council of Europe (Candelier et al., 2012). This didactic approach is mainly used to expose children to various languages that are not necessarily their home language or the language of instruction in schools. Although there are significant examples of how these approaches are being used in Europe (see Edilic's website: https://www.edilic.org) to foster linguistic and cultural diversity, pluralistic approaches, such as those illustrated in the present volume, are not very common outside European borders, despite the increasing interest of teachers around the world in employing them.

In this chapter, drawing on our use of AtL approaches in different contexts, we seek to contribute insights on plurilingual and pluricultural pedagogies in language education in early childhood. Elaborating on the use of AtL in two projects developed in four countries: Portugal, Colombia, Canada and the United States, we provide examples of how these approaches have sparked children's curiosity for languages and cultural diversity, particularly promoting children's communicative skills and phonological awareness, and teachers' interest in the inclusion of plural languages and cultures in kindergarten and primary language programs. Additionally, we explore the lack of official recognition of pluralistic approaches in the countries where our studies were developed, despite emerging research evidence that demonstrates the value of plurilingual approaches in language education. Our studies point to the need for change in language education policy that acknowledges the affordances of plurilingual and pluricultural repertoires in early language education. We suggest that exposing children to diverse languages and cultures at an early age allows them to grow in the cultural understanding and communicative competence required to thrive in an increasingly multilingual and multicultural world.

2 Plurilingualism and Pluralistic Approaches: The Potentialities of Awakening to Languages in Childhood Language Education

In 2007, the Council of Europe identified four approaches that favored the development of a plurilingual and pluricultural competence. They were called pluralistic approaches and proposed the optimization of relations between languages and cultures in order to build an authentic plurilingual competence (Candelier & Schröder-Sura, 2015). The four pluralistic approaches are: *Intercultural Approach*, *Awakening to Languages (AtL)*, *Intercomprehension*, and *Integrated Didactic Approach.* They are all detailed in the Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches (CARAP/FREPA), published by EMCL (Candelier et al., 2012).

The studies elaborated in this paper are informed by the AtL approach, which aims to include more than one language and culture in the teaching/learning process and foster a learning environment where all languages and cultures are welcome and used as resources for learning. AtL was first developed in the *Evlang* and *Jaling* programs (Candelier, 1998, 2003; European Centre for Modern Languages, n.d.-a, n.d.-b; Gómez & Rivera, 2000) which were associated with the Language Awareness movement in the United Kingdom (Candelier, 1999). This movement supported students in learning foreign languages by inviting them to use home languages and other languages present in the classroom to highlight bridges across these languages (Hawkins, 1991).

In brief, adopting an AtL approach presupposes "sensitizing learners to language diversity through the manipulation and contact with oral and written texts in different languages, and, through language as an object, mak[ing] learners aware of cultural diversity" (Armand, Dagenais, & Nicollin, 2008, p. 49). This approach acknowledges that preschool and school age children come to school with a diverse linguistic background, and all languages are welcomed into the classroom right from the beginning of school education. This inclusion sends the message that all languages are valued, respected, and can be used as a resource for learning throughout the learners' school career. Further, AtL normalizes the linguistic diversity that surrounds students at school and in society at large. For example, researchers in Slovenia have documented how teachers help students observe certain features of various languages, and then compare and discuss their similarities and differences (Fidler, 2006). In Portugal, Lourenço's (2013) study shows positive impact of AtL on young children's phonological awareness and openness to diverse cultures and how integrating plural approaches:

> can support a global and integrated education, which caters for diversity, promotes positive attitudes towards otherness, and ensures the development of metalinguistic skills, essential for a lifelong learning of languages and an active participation in multilingual and multicultural societies. (n.p.)

Similarly, research with Tunisian children exposing them to foreign languages and cultures examined how this exposure promoted and reinforced a sense of openness to diversity (Ben Maad, 2016). These examples illustrate how AtL allows contact with languages that are not intended to be taught at schools (Candelier, 2003), helping to foster a culture of understanding and learning about diverse cultures and languages. Supporting critical exposure to languages and cultures, AtL allows for reflection on language learning strategies, promotion of informed cultural awareness (Castellotti & Moore, 2010), and development of plurilingual competence. Finally, AtL anchors language education in "humanist values, which are built on access to citizenship, openness to diversity and otherness, the contextualization of knowledge, and a focus on pupils as social actors" (Castellotti & Moore, 2010, p. 7).

In some contexts, for example, Portugal, France, Austria, Switzerland, Finland, and Québec, there has been increasing interest in plurilingual approaches in school settings. In the United States, some schools are teaching Arabic, Chinese,

French, Greek and Spanish using a *Foreign Language Exploratory/Experience* (FLEX) or a *Foreign Languages in the Elementary School* (FLES) approach (American Councils for International Education, 2017; Curtain & Pesola, 1994; Lipton, 1988; Pufahl & Rhodes, 2011). These approaches give students an introduction to a variety of foreign languages to familiarize students with the notion that thoughts can be expressed in another language. Although this is not an explicit AtL approach, it may spark children's curiosity to explore languages and cultures. Similarly, Mehisto, Marsh, and Frigols (2008) describe an approach called "language showers" which refers to exposing children between 30 min to an hour per day to the target language. These language showers are not intended for children to learn the foreign language fully, but rather to familiarize students with multilingualism in society. Also, children in daycare or preschool can be exposed to "language sprinkles" (Ortega, 2017), a form of early language immersion for 10 min of the school day.

A good example of language showers can be reading a book in a foreign language during lunch break, singing a song while walking to the playground or a more structured class once a week in which students are involved in learning specific vocabulary, songs, and stories. These shorter language showers help children to get acquainted with additional languages and cultures and promote positive attitudes towards and familiarity with sounds and structures of other languages. Despite the potential of these methods, curriculum policy documents in few countries formally refer to plurilingual pedagogies, Finland being the only country that has put forward a new curriculum based on FREPA at the national level (Candelier & Lõrincz, 2016).

In the section that follows, we will draw upon data gathered in two projects. First, a detailed case study conducted in Portugal, and second, a survey of educators in the U.S., Canada, and Colombia. We report key findings from these two studies and discuss the insights these findings can offer to AtL and language teaching and learning. Specifically, these data highlight the opportunity for a paradigm shift in early language education that fosters plurilingual and pluricultural learning through AtL.

2.1 Awakening to Languages in Research Projects in Portugal

Currently, Portuguese curriculum introduces foreign language learning in Grade 3, usually English. In Grade 5, students can choose to either continue studying English or opt for another language, generally either French or Spanish. An additional foreign language is introduced in Grade 7, usually French or Spanish, depending on what students have chosen in Grade 5. Although mandated by curriculum policy, these languages are generally taught as language silos; without intentional promotion of plurilingual competence. At the preschool level, foreign language teaching is recommended but not mandatory (European Commission, 2013; Portuguese Ministry of Education, 2001).

To further understand the uses of AtL in the Portuguese context, this section reports findings from one of the author's doctoral research (Coelho, 2015) in a Portuguese kindergarten. The project implemented AtL to understand whether and how this approach supported children's development of communicative competence, particularly in syntax, which is under-examined in language awareness related approaches with children (Svalberg, 2016).

After selecting a control group and an experimental group, Coelho engaged the experimental group in the exploration of other languages and cultures through multilingual activities and games. Apart from the children's communicative competence, this study also aimed to bring a wider range of languages and cultures into the kindergarten classroom. Despite the Portuguese Ministry of Education's (1997) long-established goal to expose kindergarteners to a variety of cultures through meaningful activities, including contact with other languages, English tends to dominate this engagement. For this reason, the project specifically sought to broaden the scope of languages used for multilingual activities and games, including French, Italian, Spanish, German, Mandarin, Arabic, and Afrikaans in addition to Portuguese and English.

Coelho (2015) created multilingual activities which were introduced in specific AtL sessions. These activities were based on those used in studies (Sim-Sim, Silva, & Nunes, 2008) designed to promote children's oral language development and syntax in Portuguese. The activities included watching movies, listening to songs and stories, tongue twisters, retelling stories, playing board games, card games and movement games, and describing pictures. All the activities aimed to have children talk and express themselves as much as possible, using whichever language(s) they preferred, while engaged in the multilingual activities. Even though their first language was Portuguese, there were many occasions when the children chose to express themselves using both Portuguese and another foreign language that emerged during the games and activities (e.g.: 'Elas têm o dog' or 'É um monkey' – a mix of Portuguese and English retrieved from the transcripts of the sessions). The role of the teacher/researcher was to foster curiosity for other languages and to respond to the children's readiness to learn words in other languages, while at the same time creating a conducive environment where the children could use and play with language as they liked and for as long as they liked.

While engaged with the multilingual games, the children's involvement with the activities was continuously monitored by the researcher, using the *Leuven Involvement Scale* (Laevers, 1994), which has five levels that are attributed to each child based on nine signs of engagement: concentration, energy, complexity, facial expression, persistence, precision, reaction time, verbal expressions, and satisfaction. The scale was developed based on the assumption that an involved child is a child who is learning from the activity she/he is engaged with. The higher the level of involvement, the more influence the activities could potentially have on the children's development (Laevers, 2011). To determine the levels of involvement for each child, the researcher observed the children during a chosen period of time (e.g. 15 min.) in 2-min episodes, registered the level of involvement (5 being the highest and 1 the lowest) for each episode, and finally calculated the average level of

involvement over all episodes. These episodes were also video recorded and transcribed for later analysis. For the purposes of the present study, this scale assumes that multilingual activities engender high levels of engagement, hence potentially greater possibilities for linguistic and communicative development.

Before and after the implementation of the AtL activities, both the control group and the experimental group were administered a language test with emphasis on syntax proficiency in Portuguese. The language test was adapted from Sim-Sim's (2004) child oral language test created for Portuguese speaking children. It consisted of three syntax-oriented sub-tests, each one focusing on different language skills: oral comprehension (with the test *Understanding Complex Structures*), oral production (with the test *Sentence Completion*) and oral interaction (with the test *Describe the Picture*). Further, participating kindergarten teachers wrote a language report for each child, based on daily observations, to provide qualitative information on children's oral comprehension, interaction and production based on their sentence structure and complexity.

Although the development of the children's oral language could be attributed to their participation in their ongoing kindergarten programming, results of the language test suggested that some differences could be related to the use of AtL activities over the 4-month period. In particular, the test highlighted growth in children's syntactical communicative competence during that period, with the experimental group having slightly more positive results in oral comprehension. Triangulating these data with the high levels of involvement shown by the involvement scale in each AtL session suggests that the multilingual activities and games met the children's language development needs and interests, prompting progress in their communicative skills. Therefore, apart from their high levels of involvement and clear satisfaction in exploring different languages and cultures, the children in the experimental group also appeared to encounter linguistic benefits. Coelho (2015) concluded

> that Awakening to Languages activities can create an opportunity to practise and develop preschool children's linguistic skills. The IP [intervention plan] activities combined with other language activities worked in the KG [kindergarten] classroom with the guidance of the KG teacher can represent one more opportunity to develop language, in its many aspects. (n.p.)

Analysis of transcribed qualitative data collected from recorded episodes AtL sessions focused on the children's verbal exchanges. These data showed the children's openness to other languages and cultures and an apparent willingness to learn more about others. For instance, the children comfortably used foreign language words in their speech, code-switched and responded in a different language when asked questions in Portuguese. The children also expressed a desire to learn more new words and learn about new cultures (Coelho, 2015). The strength of this study is its focus on student experiences with AtL approaches.

In the section that follows, we explore teacher perceptions of these approaches, looking at data drawn from a multi-site exploratory study in Colombia, the USA and Canada.

2.2 Awakening to Languages in Colombia, the USA, and Canada

The second project describes a survey on teachers' perceptions and use of plurilingual approaches in teaching additional languages to children from kindergarten to Grade 3 in schools in Colombia, the USA, and Canada. Conceived as a multi-site exploratory study, based on the author's recent work in these contexts, this project invited foreign language teachers in three private language institutes to respond to a survey on their language teaching practices, particularly on how and what they do to spark children's curiosity to languages and cultures.

In these educational contexts, while second language instruction may be introduced in elementary school, foreign language teaching is not officially included in early years education (See for instance, Illinois Early Learning and Development, 2013; Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2013; Ministry of Education – Ontario, 2012). Beyond bilingual education or immersion programs (Spanish/English in the US and Colombia, and French/English in Canada), parents seeking additional language instruction for their children in heritage or foreign languages (e.g., German in the U.S., Chinese in Canada, or Portuguese in Colombia) must enrol their children in private, informal or non-formal programs. Similar to Portugal, some of these programs are perceived as elite and can be very expensive, limiting equitable access to multilingual teaching and learning.

In terms of language pedagogy, the Ontario curriculum valorises linguistic diversity, suggesting that schools: "appreciate the value of learning a second or additional language, […] understand the importance of valuing language diversity and of learning another language for personal, professional, and social reasons" (Ministry of Education – Ontario, 2012, p. 6). In the US, although specific pedagogies for foreign languages in the early years are not described, for children not born in the US, their home language is used as a resource for learning English: "It is the medium that fosters their earliest and most enduring relationships, their initial ideas about how the world works, and their emerging sense of self and identity." (Illinois Early Learning and Development, 2013, p. 89). Similarly, discourses in Colombian curriculum policy promote the benefits of learning of multiple languages:

> El Proyecto de Fortalecimiento al Desarrollo de Competencias en Lenguas Extranjeras, […] busca garantizar que los estudiantes colombianos desarrollen mejores competencias comunicativas en una lengua extranjera […] para convertirse luego en ciudadanos que logren insertarse mejor en un mundo globalizado (Ministerio de Educación Nacional, 2013, n.p.). [The program for the reinforcement and development of foreign languages seeks to guarantee Colombian students the gain of communicative competence in one foreign language…to become citizens that better adapt to a globalized word.]

To support educators in meeting the aims of these policies, educators need to know more about pluralistic approaches, such as AtL, so that they are equipped to engage with languages in their classrooms.

Table 1 shows the three private language schools that were selected as sites for this study in Colombia, the USA, and Canada. These sites were selected based on

Table 1 Language institutions (pseudonyms) and locations

Country	City	Institution	Language programs
Canada	Southern Ontario City	MK school	French, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Mandarin.
USA	Midwest City	SL school	Spanish, French, Italian, German, Mandarin, and Arabic.
Colombia	Central City	IL school	English, French, and Portuguese.

convenience sampling, each site comprising a school where the author had personal and professional connections. In particular, administrators at these institutions were keen to explore and understand pluralistic approaches to language teaching.

MK school has operated for 8 years, offering co- and extra- curricular foreign language programs for children at various public schools in Ontario, Canada. SL school in a Midwest city in the USA, operating for 20 years, offers language instruction to children in afterschool programs. IL school is a new language school founded in 2015 in central Colombia that offers afterschool and weekend programs. Each of the three institutions provides foreign language instruction to children from kindergarten to Grade 3. The foreign languages provided vary depending on local needs and priorities (see Table 1).

The research design included a teacher survey (Creswell, 2015) about approaches to foreign language teaching, which was conducted in spring, 2015. In particular, the survey items included open-ended questions that addressed teacher beliefs, teaching experiences, curriculum design, instructional strategies, and teacher perceptions of student engagement. Data were gathered from 13 teachers across the three locations: 3 in Colombia; 7 in USA; and, 3 in Canada. Using the lens of plurilingualism, the data were analyzed to explore the extent to which the teachers' perceptions of their practices aligned with an AtL approach.

Regarding teacher beliefs, all participants expressed that the main goal of their language instruction was to foster a new generation of future plurilingual global citizens. The teachers reported that sparking children's curiosity about languages at an early age was important for children's academic and professional futures. This belief aligns with AtL approaches which advocate for the teaching of languages that are not necessarily the home language or the language of instruction in schools, which can serve as a platform for understanding cultures and supporting children's language learning career (Candelier, 2003).

Participating teachers reported their language background and educational experience. These backgrounds varied; most were required to have some related teaching credentials or experience. While specific credentials were not a mandatory requirement, some teachers had a Bachelor's degree in education with a specialization in foreign language instruction, and others had a Master's degree. Most of the teachers were not so-called native speakers of the languages they taught. Nonetheless, the data suggest that they considered themselves cultural ambassadors for the languages they taught, capable of motivating children to learn and promoting linguistic and cultural awareness. This aspect of their pride in being the language and cultural

ambassadors was particularly pertinent in light of the different hiring policies found among the three schools -- the MK and SL schools in Canada and the USA marketed the teaching staff as native speakers while only IL in Colombia advertised their classes as being taught by "proficient speakers" but not "native speakers" of the languages taught. Broadly, these data suggest that teachers are capable of challenging the traditional idea of the one and only qualified person to teach languages by setting "us free from the 'purity model' of an idealized unrealistic native speaker" (Piccardo, 2017, p. 9).

The data also testify to the teachers' belief that fostering cultural and linguistic awareness is just as important as engaging students in formal language learning, which is one of the features of the AtL approach (Candelier et al., 2012). This belief is illustrated by the teachers' approach to curriculum design, using a play-based interactive model for exploring languages and cultures. The model was characterized by engaging students in activities to maximize children's exploration of languages in different situations and activities, such as presentations, games, drama sketches and songs. These approaches resembled those of AtL suggested by FREPA and have been articulated in other research (Coelho, 2015; Fisher, 1992; Hewes, 2006; Hurwitz, 2003).

In their approach to curriculum instructional planning, teachers reported that they designed the scope and sequence according to children's developmental stages: (1) infants/toddlers (ages 0–3), focusing on songs, rhymes and chants; (2) children aged 3–6, focusing on thematic vocabulary (at the doctor's, circus time, Olympics, etc.); and (3) children aged 6 and above, focusing on linguistic features in reading and writing through songs and rhymes. Teachers described their instructional strategies as including both a communicative approach and a total physical response (TPR) approach, with an emphasis on modelling and interaction in foreign language instruction (Asher, 2000; Richards & Rogers, 2001). For instance, teachers frequently engaged students in playing popular children's games using a foreign language. To illustrate, one teacher in the MK school in Canada used the "*Simon Says*" game to engage students through instructions and actions in Mandarin, and another teacher used the "*Duck, Duck, Goose*" game to teach days of the week in French. Similarly, chants and songs comprised another strategy for engaging children with foreign languages. Teachers in the SL school in the U.S. reported using a combination of traditional songs from the target language and/or translations of traditional English songs into the target languages. For example, in the Spanish class, the teacher used a Latin American traditional song called *Los Pollitos Dicen* (*Little Chickens Say*), but also used a Spanish version of *Old McDonald Had a Farm*. Also, the song *Die Räder am Bus (Wheels on the Bus)* was adapted to teach means of transportation in German. The other Mandarin, Portuguese and French teachers noticed how successful this approach was to engage preschoolers in singing and dancing that they adopted a similar approach.

Grade 1 and 2 teachers in the SL school described creating activities that prompted discussions and reflections on cultural differences to promote cultural awareness. For example, in the Spanish class, students played games about how to say fruits in different variations of Latin American Spanish (strawberry – *fresa* in

Colombia and *frutilla* in Argentina) and in the French class, the teacher explained different types of cheese (*Camembert, Brie de Meaux, Roquefort*). Another way teachers explored cultural difference was utilizing realia, for example, French train tickets for dramatic play about a French train stations and commuting or Chinese menus to enact visits to a restaurant or learning about different types of food.

Teachers from the three schools reported a high level of perceived engagement and motivation among the children, which they attributed to the various instructional strategies mentioned above. Further, teachers reported that parents shared positive comments about their children's response towards these activities. For instance, parents commented that their children seemed to be happy every time they went to class as they sang songs and interacted with other children. One teacher recalled, "One of the parents told me that her daughter is singing songs in Portuguese in the car. She said, 'We sing all the time.'" (Portuguese teacher in Canada); and another said, "After the French class, one mom called me to say that her daughter is speaking French to the dog, I laughed so much" (a French teacher in Canada). Overall, teachers described their impression that the children had a positive affect toward these strategies, emphasizing a growing curiosity toward exploring new languages and cultures.

These perceptions are much like those reported by Candelier et al. (2004) about the responses of teachers, students and parents to the AtL activities that were part of the *Ja-Ling* programme[1]: "Awakening to languages encourages the development of positive attitudes in the pupils towards other languages and cultures […] this approach encourages in pupils new attitudes towards speakers of other languages [and] trigger[s] pupils' curiosity for and interest in learning languages" (Candelier et al., 2004, p. 142). Similarly, teachers' reported instructional strategies and curriculum planning and design mirror those promoted through an AtL approach, sharing the similar goals to spark the children's engagement with languages and cultures as well as to foster interest in, respect for, and openness to diversity, thereby stimulating plurilingual and pluricultural awareness (Candelier, 2008). All teacher participants considered these goals among the responsibilities and aspirations of being language teachers, promoting cultural plurality and language awareness, and fostering a future generation of global citizens (Candelier et al., 2004).

3 Discussion and Implications

Insights from the two projects described here highlight the diversity of approaches that educators employed to bring plurilingual pedagogies into their early years and primary level classrooms. Importantly, educators were purposeful and creative in designing curriculum and instructional strategies to meet both the developmental and language teaching and learning needs of young children. Observing a range of

[1] The project "Ja-Ling" ("Janua Linguarum", "The Gateway to Languages" following the title of a work by Comenius) aims at more widespread dissemination and curricular insertion of activities promoting linguistic and cultural education in their diversity: http://jaling.ecml.at/

classes and gathering teachers' perceptions, we were able to gather evidence, unique to these particular contexts, that teachers were implementing approaches that aligned with an AtL model. Further, analysis of these data show how teachers were capable of integrating multiple languages in a variety of classroom activities, fostering children's openness to multilingualism and cultural diversity.

Coelho's study in Portugal demonstrates that AtL activities promoted children's genuine curiosity about other languages and cultures while enhancing their oral comprehension and syntactic competence in oral interaction and production. These potential outcomes suggest that an AtL approach, while supporting language awareness, may also be effective for language development in general. Ortega's study, with teachers in Canada, the U.S. and Colombia, shows that teachers use AtL-oriented activities to support student engagement with and interest in multiple foreign languages. Teachers' use of these tasks seemed to promote positive changes in their students' understanding of languages and culture, highlighting the potential for using AtL as a tool for intercultural education.

By adopting AtL approaches, particularly with young children, educators give "renewed recognition of children's usages and experiences, multiply perspectives and viewpoints and thus help develop their aptitudes for critical reflection" (Castellotti & Moore, 2010, p. 13). These approaches encourage students to engage with and utilize their full linguistic repertoire, transfer linguistic knowledge and competences from one language and culture to others, and bring their voices to the classroom (Castellotti & Moore, 2010; Garton & Kubota, 2015; Giselbrecht, 2009). Similar to related research, the results of the studies discussed in this chapter provide a rationale for AtL to be considered a legitimate approach to language teaching and learning in the early years. In general, an AtL approach aligns with the multilingual turn in TESOL (May, 2014), and comprises a plurilingual pedagogy that affords a more integrated and inclusive way of learning languages, rather than the rigid linguistic silos that tend to exclude other languages during instructional time. Nonetheless, an AtL approach has not yet been widely adopted in the educational context (Candelier & Lõrincz, 2016). While teachers may follow an AtL-like approach in their practice, it tends not to be explicitly referenced in curriculum policy documents. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, AtL is not referred to in policy documents in Colombia, the USA, Canada, and Portugal.

Despite the positive effects on children's language competence, phonological awareness and interest in exploring different languages and cultures as shown in the two projects described in this chapter, foreign language instruction tends to be envisioned from a monolingual paradigm, without attending to the multilingual social context or children's plurilingual identities. Moreover, parents or communities interested in exposing their children to languages beyond official second languages or heritage languages often need to enroll their children in private language schools. This practice tends to create a linguistic hierarchy in second or foreign language teaching and learning, wherein so-called *elite* languages are privileged by their inclusion in school-based language instruction (De Mejía, 2002). The fact that foreign languages are offered in private schools points to the structural imbalance of access to plurilingual education and resources, privileging the middle and upper

class families who can afford to send their children to private language schools (similar to the MK school described previously in this chapter). Ultimately, it seems that fostering language awareness and multilingualism is a task for parents and for those teachers or administrators who bring additional languages into their classroom and schools voluntarily.

To assist teachers in developing instructional strategies like those highlighted by these studies, teachers need opportunities for professional learning about the nature of multilingualism and about why and how to incorporate plurilingual pedagogies in their classrooms. While it is clear that these teachers were creating and implementing these strategies on their own, based on their response to perceived needs of their students, teacher training and professional learning should underscore the theoretical and empirical basis for their work, helping teachers to understand the rationale for their choices and supporting their ability to advocate for these shifts to parents and to administrators. Teachers can play an important role in a potential sustained application and development of AtL approaches in schools. In a case study conducted in the Portuguese context, Lourenço, Andrade, and Sá (2017) concluded that "teachers [already] acknowledge the relevance of language awareness in the education of more engaged and respectful citizens; however, they feel insecure and unprepared to include it in their teaching practice and in their professional knowledge" (p. 1). Therefore teacher training and professional learning needs to support teachers who already recognize, yet feel unprepared to articulate, the benefits of plurilingual pedagogies such as AtL, and incorporate them in their teaching practices. In Portugal, some universities, namely the University of Aveiro, have included curricular units that incorporate plurilingualism in the teacher training components of their bachelor and master's degrees as a way of preparing teachers to use and apply some of the principles of plurilingual education in their future classrooms. Rather than only linguistic aspects of languages (vocabulary, grammar, phonetics, etc.), language teachers need deep understanding of plurilingual development and practices of individuals and communities as well as the sociocultural and sociopolitical dimensions of language.

Lourenço (2017) suggests three guidelines to improve teacher training, which can support these aims. First, it would be essential to include a local and global perspective (i.e. "glocal") in every content of the teacher training curricula. Second, multiple educational experiences that place teachers in the position of contact with other cultures themselves, inside and outside the school, should be incorporated in the curricula. Finally, ongoing in-service training that encourages action research should be supported in order to foster reflection on linguistic diversity and its relationship to student learning in the classroom. Lourenço argues that these guidelines can develop "worldminded teachers" (Merryfield, Lo, & Kasai, 2008, as cited in Lourenço, 2017), ready to face and respond to diverse classrooms, and educate for alterity.

Overall, these shifts require synthesis of knowledge across research, practice and policy, channeling this knowledge to governments and schools so that the benefits of plural approaches can become recognized teaching/learning pedagogies (Candelier & Lõrincz, 2016). The practical implementation of pluralistic education in schools requires more than just recognition in curriculum policy, it depends upon the combined efforts of different entities and demands some sort of educational

reform (Giselbrecht, 2009) which may represent a significant challenge in early language and cultural education.

4 Conclusion

Globalisation and migration have changed the linguistic and cultural landscape of many countries. They are now characterized as displaying "extreme linguistic complexity" (Garton & Kubota, 2015, p. 418) and facing a variety of linguistic and cultural repertoires. Taylor (2014, as cited in Garton & Kubota, 2015) stated that the citizen of today lives in *superdiverse* communities. Given this superdiversity, it is inevitable to consider how diverse backgrounds could be incorporated into education in an effort to show respect for the learners' repertoires and to allow them to emerge in learning situations as a valid fund of knowledge.

However, despite the great efforts of language education scholars and policymakers, the official recognition from educational authorities as well as the practical incorporation of pluralistic approaches into school curricula is still far from becoming a reality. The integration of plurilingual approaches, such as AtL, in schools, and in preschools in particular, would mean children would be able to engage in a variety of cultural and linguistic activities that not only respect their own linguistic and cultural background but also expose them to diversity in general, helping them become better informed and respectful citizens of the world.

Nevertheless, inspiring a shift in language and cultural education toward plurilingual approaches in preschool curricula requires great efforts from different entities that may not be ready for such a change. It is, therefore, extremely important to take real action that goes beyond research projects in research centres. Establishing open dialogues with educational authorities, governments, educators, and even parents is paramount to educating individuals about the validity of plurilingual approaches. It is time to move from theory to practice and start involving learners as well. Scholars and academic institutions dedicated to the study of pluralistic approaches need to listen to learners more. Besides a shift in early language education, there seems to be a need for a shift in the focus of the studies on plurilingual pedagogies developed by academics. By listening more to the superdiverse voices of learners, we will gain insight into their experiences in order to change and shape those of future learners.

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Remaking the Ground on which they Stand: Plurilingual Approaches Across the Curriculum

Saskia Van Viegen

Abstract Drawing on perspectives in critical applied linguistics, this chapter highlights how teachers in a multilingual, multicultural elementary school located in Ontario, Canada, integrated plurilingual pedagogies into literacy and curriculum learning activities. The purpose of the partnership was to support English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers in implementing pedagogic strategies for engaging emergent bi/multilingual students in literacy activities. Teachers incorporated students' linguistic repertoires into teaching and learning tasks, as both a scaffold and a resource for ongoing learning and literacy engagement. Broadly, these efforts highlighted the value of multilingualism and the role that students' linguistic repertoire can play in language learning and biliteracy development: scaffolding new learning; promoting metalinguistic awareness; developing biliteracy; and valorizing students' cultural and linguistic identities. The chapter articulates key strategies that might comprise a plurilingual approach to pedagogy, offering an expansive view of students' linguistic capabilities and inviting students' translanguaging practices into the learning context.

Keywords Translanguaging · Elementary education · Children · Multilingualism · ESL · Social studies · Digital literacies

1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight how teachers in a multilingual, multicultural elementary school located in Ontario, Canada, integrated plurilingual pedagogies into literacy and curriculum learning activities. Specifically, teachers aimed to incorporate students' linguistic repertoires into teaching and learning tasks, as both a scaffold and a resource for ongoing learning and literacy engagement. The prov-

S. Van Viegen (✉)
Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: saskiast@yorku.ca

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ince of Ontario is highly multilingual and multicultural. For example, among the 2.1 million students in the province of Ontario, over 25% are identified as English language learners. Some schools, particularly in urban areas, have a majority of students who speak languages other than English or French at home. Within this context, educators are developing expertise in addressing the teaching and learning needs of a multilingual student population. Significant research in both the Ontario context and other jurisdictions highlights the positive contributions that multilingualism can bring to education, raising critical questions about the limitations of excluding the full range of students' linguistic repertoires from the classroom.

Engaging with the linguistic and cultural resources present in Ontario classrooms and communities, the purpose of this study was to explore what might comprise a plurilingual approach to pedagogy that offers a more expansive view of students' linguistic capabilities and that invites students' translanguaging practices into the learning context. Ministries of Education and school districts across Canada have enhanced the services and programs provided for newcomer students, including policies for newcomer student orientation, language assessment, differentiated instruction, assessment and reporting processes, and curriculum for a wide variety of English as a Second (ESL) and English for Literacy Development (ELD) classes (See for instance Ontario Ministry of Education, 2007a, 2007b). These policy changes and their implementation go a long way toward building capacity to meet the needs of students who are learning English at school. However, embedded within a monolingual, monocultural paradigm, these policies and related practices tend to emphasize an English-speaking norm, potentially excluding the cultural and linguistic competences possessed by the actual population of learners in our communities.

Recent student data from both the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) and the Vancouver School District shows that while some newcomer students perform as well or better than Canadian-born English-speaking students, some newcomer and second-generation students perform below their same-age peers and are more at risk of disappearing from academic subject courses and leaving school early (Coelho, 2003; see also Gunderson, D'Silva, & Odo, 2012; McAndrew et al., 2009; Toohey & Derwing, 2008; Watt & Roessingh, 2001). These circumstances raise significant concerns about equity, inclusion, and social justice for these learners, their families, and our communities, which provided a rationale and motivation for this project.

2 Engaging with the Multilingual Turn

Against the backdrop of critical scholarship in applied linguistics, powerful discursive conceptualizations of language, diversity, and social difference have shaped approaches to addressing the language learning needs of immigrant students. As Makoni and Pennycook (2005, 2007) have argued, the concept of multilingualism only superficially overcomes monolingual perspectives: "discourses of multilingualism reinforce the ways of thinking about language that we need to get beyond"

(Pennycook, 2010, p. 12). Education has tended not to acknowledge or respond to recent epistemological shifts in applied linguistics that have contributed to the "multilingual turn" (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2013) in the field. Educators working in classrooms that are richly multilingual and multicultural have much to gain from these understandings, to inform a culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy that both supports students who are in the process of learning the language of instruction while learning content curriculum, and that develops every student's language awareness and intercultural abilities.

As the content of this volume illustrates, research in applied linguistics has highlighted the value of multilingualism and the role that students' linguistic repertoires can play as resources for language learning and biliteracy development: scaffolding new learning; promoting metalinguistic awareness; developing biliteracy; and valorizing students' cultural and linguistic identities (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Sierens & Van Avermaet, 2014; Van Der Wildt, Van Avermaet, & Van Houtte, 2017). Recent research highlights the multiple ways in which students' linguistic repertoires can serve as resources for content curriculum learning (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Dagenais, Walsh, Armand, & Maraillet, 2008; García, Bartlett, & Kleifgen, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2004; Stille & Cummins, 2013). This body of research demonstrates that instruction that draws on students' cultural and linguistic skills and abilities, which comprise students' "funds of knowledge" (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992), supports academic achievement, affirms students' identities, and promotes connections between home and school communities. Related to this work, literacy researchers have articulated the value in understanding students' out of school literacies so that teachers can build upon these literacy practices in school (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Heath, 1983; Hull & Schultz, 2002; Hull & Nelson, 2005; Marsh, 2006; Pahl & Rowsell, 2006). For instance, Jiménez, Smith, and Teague (2009) suggested that "minority students are more likely to make progress in school when teachers understand and incorporate their home and community literacy practices as opposed to attempting to simply impose school-like practice (e.g., book reading)" (p. 18). Understanding language and multilingualism through these lenses can fundamentally change approaches to language teaching and learning. Importantly, these perspectives provide educators with a rationale for drawing upon other languages in the classroom, not simply to scaffold English language learning, but to transform learning such that students can use their full linguistic resources without being restricted by institutional or policy-driven limitations on language use.

Naming what bilingual individuals do with their linguistic resources, new terms and concepts encompass the epistemological shift of the multilingual turn, moving from monoglossic to heteroglossic multilingualism. Broadly, a heteroglossic perspective positions multilingualism as the norm and emphasizes the complex and dynamic language practices of multilingual speakers, characterized by a "multiplicity of multilingual discourses" (García, 2009, p. 53) as users draw upon their linguistic repertoire in unique and complex ways to interact and communicate with others. Recently, some scholars use the term translanguaging to describe the lan-

guage practices of multilingual speakers (Baker, 2011; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). Translanguaging refers to the hybrid uses of language as individuals make meaning, communicate, and engage in bilingual worlds (García & Kleifgen, 2010, p. 45), emphasizing the dynamic and functional integration of bilingual language practices. Translanguaging encompasses the greater choices and wider range of expression available through the use and integration of diverse linguistic and cultural knowledge. Similarly, the term plurilingual has emerged out of sociological perspectives in the European context, referring to:

> …the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures. This is not seen as the superposition or juxtaposition of distinct competences, but rather as the existence of a complex or even composite competence on which the social actor may draw. (Coste et al., 2009, p. 11)

The notion of plurilingualism makes space for practices and values that are not equivalent or even homologous in different languages, but that are integrated, variable, flexible, and changing (Coste, 2001, p. 15). Each of these languages may have different functions; and drawing upon these collective proficiencies, individuals assemble and use their language knowledge to produce the communication they need (Beacco & Byram, 2002). Underlying the perspective of plurilingualism is the notion of difference. Describing plurilingualism in A Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches to Languages and Cultures for the Council of Europe, Candelier et al. (2012) wrote: “It is clear that communication in a context of plurality and otherness – the very purpose of plurilingual and intercultural competence – requires that participants possess, to a marked degree, a competence of adaptation which implies a movement towards that which is other, different” (p. 12). From this perspective, recognition of and respect for linguistic and cultural pluralism entails not just acknowledgement of the multiplicity of languages and cultures, but also understanding that:

> …multilingualism and multiculturalism cannot consist in simply placing different communities side by side. The two phenomena are a product of exchange and mediation processes carried out in multiple forms and combinations, through the medium of actors who themselves have a foot in several languages and cultures. Talking about plurilingual and pluricultural competence therefore means taking an interest in the communicative competence of social actors capable of functioning in different languages and cultures, of acting as linguistic and cultural intermediaries and mediators, and of managing and reshaping this multiple competence as they proceed along their personal paths. (Coste et al., 2009, p. 9)

Sociolinguists use the term “linguistic repertoire” to describe all of the language resources upon which individuals can draw, attempting to dispense with a priori assumptions about the links between language and community of origin or upbringing. As Blommaert and Rampton (2012) write, linguistic repertoire refers to:

> …individuals’ very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers and genres, which are picked up (and maybe then partially forgotten) within biographical trajectories that develop in actual histories and topographies. (p. 4)

Not all the resources in an individual's linguistic repertoire have the same value or range of operation. However, all of a person's linguistic resources are likely to be useful to them in some way. From this perspective, the traditional notion of language competence seems narrow and absolute in its assumptions about ability and alignment with a given way of speaking (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012, p. 5). Linguistic repertoires are not fixed or static, but dynamic and evolving along with the ever broadening of personal, academic, and language learning experiences; a collection of life-long skills and abilities which develop according to ongoing interaction with and experience of different cultures as a result of occupational, geographic, and family movements and changing personal interests (Coste et al., 2009, p. 13). As such, these repertoires are temporal and unfinished, ever expanding and incomplete.

The mobility of the present social condition affords an escalation of language practices and resources, and an accompanying escalation of social norms (Blommaert, 2013). Blommaert notes that with the escalation of normative systems that accompanies growing diversity and rapid technological change, individuals and communities adapt to and work with an expanding number of normative systems. The dynamics of these norms mean that linguistic repertoires continue to expand as people learn, negotiate, and move with and through systems and mobilities of power. For this project, understanding linguistic repertoires as dynamic, developed through a variety of trajectories, and involving diverse linguistic abilities that can change over time and based on social circumstances suggests that these repertoires are developed with and in dynamic, negotiated subjectivities and the symbolic and material dimensions of social life.

These shifts in understanding language, identity, and language use have implications for language and education. Conceiving of language as a social practice considers more than the role of language in context, it opens to the contingency and interactivity of context and relations in the production of language. Grounded in and emergent from social acts done in a particular time and space, language is a product of the embodied, contextualized, and political social practices that bring it about (Pennycook, 2010, p. 124). From this perspective, linguistic repertoires and identifications can be seen as products of social practices.

Taking a critical approach to what these practices look like in schools, Cummins (1996, 2001) has highlighted the influence of societal power relations in classroom interactions, particularly in the education of bilingual students. Cummins suggested that within a social context of unequal power relations, classroom interactions are never neutral, but located on a continuum ranging between the reinforcement of coercive relations of power and the promotion of collaborative relations of power. He explained that when students see their language, culture, and community reflected in and respected by school, this positively affects their engagement with learning. By contrast, when students perceive their language, culture or identity to be devalued or ignored at school, they are less likely to engage. Articulating this reciprocal relationship, Cummins (1996) wrote:

> The more students learn, the more their academic self-concept grows, and the more academically engaged they become. However, students will be reluctant to invest their identities in the learning process if they feel their teachers do not like them, respect them, and appreciate their experiences and talents. In the past, students from marginalized social groups have seldom felt this sense of affirmation and respect for language and culture from their teachers. Consequently their intellectual and personal talents rarely found expression in the classroom. (p. 126)

Cummins has presented several pedagogical frameworks and strategies to guide teachers in actively challenging conditions of inequity for bilingual students (i.e. Cummins, 2001, 2007, 2009; Cummins & Early, 2011). These approaches are based on the idea that identity plays a central role in the language learning processes. For instance, Norton and Toohey (2002) write, "Language learning engages the identities of learners because language itself is not only a linguistic system of signs and symbols; it is also a complex social practice in which the value and meaning ascribed to an utterance are determined in part by the value and meaning ascribed to the person who speaks" (p. 115). When students see their language, culture, and community reflected in and respected by school, this positively affects their engagement with learning, determining "who they are in their teacher's eyes and who they are capable of becoming" (Cummins, 2001). Working with the idea that classrooms interactions can therefore either constrain or enable students' identity constructions and learning, these theoretical perspectives provided the foundation for the fieldwork in this project.

3 Research Context and Methodology

The project was embedded within a school-university research partnership in a large urban school district in Canada. The purpose of the partnership was to support English as a Second Language (ESL) teachers in implementing pedagogical strategies for engaging emergent bi/multilingual students in literacy activities. To meet the objectives of the partnership, I, as part of a team of university-based researchers, worked collaboratively with teachers and students to assist them in using digital technology for teaching and learning activities, and to encourage students to recognize and draw upon their linguistic repertoires and cultural knowledge as resources for learning. The research component of the study documented students' perceptions and feelings about the process of getting engaged with literacy in this way, and teachers' observations about the effects of the project on students' self-efficacy and literacy accomplishments. We anticipated that the project would enhance the students' engagement with literacy, and generate positive feelings towards using students' home language(s) and technology for literacy activities in the classroom. Underlying the approach to the work was the idea that insight into effective forms of pedagogy will be gained only by means of equitable collaboration with teachers and students. Involving research as critical praxis (Lather, 2007), this approach to inquiry begins with interest in and collaborative action toward addressing challenges

or problems faced by a group or community. Critical praxis is based on the idea that experience is open to change, and that individuals and communities possess the capacity to produce change. A fundamental aspect praxis-oriented scholarly research is that it is constituted within a relationship of mutual trust with people and communities, developing understandings through involvement with, not for, people to address issues and challenges relevant to their lives (Freire, 1970).

The research design started from a basic initial plan that evolved as I entered the field and began to work with and get to know the teachers and students. Together, we determined the goals of our collaboration and created pedagogic activities based on our collective needs and interests. I used ethnographic methods to guide this research. However, the imperative of doing school-based ethnographic work meant that I was not just a researcher, but a 'doer' in the classrooms (Gallagher, 2008). Gallagher (2007) calls this approach a porous methodology that is driven by the explicit and immediate needs of the field (p. 55). My presence in the classrooms week after week, and my need to talk to teachers and students, meant that I had to involve myself in the routines and work of classroom life. The teachers and I created a plan and timeline for the pedagogic and research activities, and we shared these plans with the students. We also invited the students to contribute their thoughts and ideas to these plans, talking to the students about university-based research. Overall, data sources included researcher field notes, audio- and video-recorded observations and interviews, multimodal artifacts of student work, digital photographs, and survey data. These dimensions of the research process aimed to bridge the traditional university/school divide (Denos, Toohey, Neilson, & Waterstone, 2009) and create a dialectic between theory and practice (Freire, 2006). Moreover, the collaborative involvement of the teachers and students grounded the research findings in the practice of education and the experiences of the teachers, students, and I in their school.

The fieldwork took place over three school terms with one third grade class, two fourth grade classes, and two fifth grade classes. Every new term involved a different teaching context, different students, and different pedagogic activities. Each collaboration built upon what was learned in the last, entailing a cumulative progression and refinement of our processes and understandings. The school board delivery model for supporting early-stage English Language Learners was to integrate the students into their mainstream class for half of the school day, and to withdraw the students into self-contained ESL or ELD classes for the other half of the school day. Students at higher levels of English language proficiency received support in their classrooms from an ESL teacher who visited the class once or twice per week for approximately 30–45 min at a time.

The school had no clear language policy, and teachers were on their own to understand and experiment with ways to draw upon students' linguistic repertoires in the classroom. Working together, the teachers and I co-constructed pedagogic practices for incorporating students' linguistic repertoires into teaching and learning activities (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). To guide this work, we used Cummins' (2011) Literacy Engagement framework. The Literacy Engagement framework suggests that in order to teach emergent bilingual students effectively, teachers need to

maximize students' opportunities to become actively engaged with reading and writing: "Literacy engagement will be enhanced when (a) students' ability to understand and use academic language is supported through specific instructional strategies, (b) their prior experience and current knowledge are activated, (c) their identities are affirmed, and (d) their knowledge of, and control over, language is extended across the curriculum" (Cummins, Early, & Stille, 2011, p. 35).

4 Rich Linguistic Repertoires, Broadened Resources for Learning

Like other research examining the nature of plurilingual competence, I found that students' language knowledge had developed through "family experience and learning, history and contacts between generations, travel, expatriation, emigration, and more generally belonging to a multilingual and multicultural environment or moving from one environment to another, but also through reading, and through the media" (Coste et al., 2009, p. 32). Understanding students' linguistic repertoires as developed through a variety of trajectories and involving diverse linguistic abilities that can change over time and based on social circumstances (Blommaert & Rampton, 2012), students' language practices were developed with and in their dynamic, negotiated subjectivities. Moreover, students' diverse experiences and backgrounds meant that associating language with particular speech communities was insufficient to reflect the diversity of their linguistic knowledge. The teachers and I needed to get to know students to learn the whole range of their language practices and experiences. School information about students' language profiles was not sufficiently rich to capture the full extent of students' language skills and abilities or their home language context. Reflecting the experiences and the circumstances of their lives, students' linguistic capabilities varied across languages and language skill areas (oral communication, reading and writing). Most of the students spoke fluently in one or two languages, and had partial oral fluency in one or two other languages in addition to English, particularly students from rural areas where the local language was different from the language in education or official national or provincial languages in their home country. Asra's[1] information about her language knowledge reflects this complexity:

Asra: I know Urdu, a little bit of Arabic. I know Urdu, English, Arabic, and just one or two words in Pashto. And that's it.
Saskia: Fantastic. And I bet you are learning French now too.
Asra: I will start next year.
Saskia: Which languages can you read and write in?

[1]All student and teacher names have been changed to pseudonyms to protect privacy and confidentiality.

> Asra: I can write in Urdu, only if I see someone write the word first, or if they tell me the spelling. Or some words, I know how to write by myself. And I can read a little bit in Urdu. I can read Arabic and I can read English.
>
> Saskia: Oh, you can read Arabic. And you learned that in school?
>
> Asra: I have Arabic classes now after school. My mom has a friend, Zoha's mom, and I go to her house and I do Arabic. My mom said that we are thinking of going back to Saudi Arabia. When we go to Pakistan, my father will work there. If we like it, after we return to Canada, we might go back to Saudi Arabia to live. We are going to live at my cousin's house [in Pakistan], and you need to know Urdu too, so I am practicing.

Each student had a unique language profile, and even students from the same cultural background had different linguistic repertoires (i.e. Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). Similarly, students' language capabilities differed from those of other members of their families. For instance, the following quote from Hisham, a third grade student, illustrates:

> I speak Urdu and English. When I first came to Canada, I couldn't speak English. My little brother speaks only English, [he was] born in Canada. I spoke Urdu when I was four or three. When I was two I only knew car, Spiderman, and my name in Urdu. I speak Urdu now when I go home and talk to my parents and my friends. I don't know how to read Urdu, because I have never studied Urdu, I haven't been to Pakistan for a long time. I came to Canada when I was 3, then when I was 6, I went back to Pakistan, and in Grade 2, when I was 7, I went there again.

Newcomer students hadn't yet absorbed the dominant perspective that they don't really "know" all the languages that they thought, because they could not communicate meaning in each of these languages; it might be more accurate to say that they knew "about" some of these languages (Blommaert, 2013). For example, I asked Monira about the languages that she spoke. "I know lots of languages," she said. "Dari, Pashto, Urdu, English, Hungarian, French, Spanish. I know lots of languages!" Monira's response was typical of many students that I spoke with. Each student proudly listed at least three languages that he or she knew, and often five or six. The students' lists were part biographical, part indexical, both real and imagined at once. Responding perhaps to the recent expansion of experience in their lives; their developing English language abilities, their encounters with children from countries that they had never heard of before, the French class that the students had just begun, the students were discovering what linguistic diversity meant in their school and community context. The list of languages that the students provided reflected their experience of this diversity, their curiosity and interest in the languages that they were encountering, and the words they were learning from their teachers and their friends.

As the students developed their English language knowledge, particularly academic vocabulary, it became apparent that the students knew some concepts only in English. As the language of instruction, English was the language in which students developed curricular concepts and academic literacy skills. For instance, one teacher shared, "for a lot of them [the students] it's the English only that they make [curricular] connections with. It seems that English is where they are making the connection and not so much the first language." For instance, working with Sorosh, who spoke Dari and English, it quickly became apparent that his curricular concepts were

being developed only in English. Sorosh had been to school in Afghanistan up to second grade. I invited Sorosh to write some of the science vocabulary words in Dari language. Sorosh was able to write 'life' and 'earth' in Dari, which are higher frequency vocabulary words. However, Sorosh was unable to write the words 'atmosphere' and 'needs', he couldn't identify these concepts in Dari but he was in the process of learning them in English.

Students' experiences from different global locations shaped their situated understandings of conceptual knowledge and highlighted the inadequacy of binary understandings of particular curriculum concepts. For instance, we found that the definition of urban and rural communities in the school textbooks bore little reality to some students' lived experience. Students asked whether Kabul, the capital city of Afghanistan, would be classified as either an urban or rural community since it had some unpaved roads and few high-rise buildings. A discussion about community needs and wants revealed different understandings about energy use. Talking about electricity, students from rural areas in Central Asia described that electricity was only available for particular hours in their home communities, and often went off several times a day. The students shared that they liked to "go for walks in the fresh air" when there was no electricity, particularly because they couldn't watch television when the electricity was off. Discussing pets as either a community want or a community need, some students argued that dogs were a need rather than a want, as dogs were critical to protecting farm animals from predators. Finally, one student struggled with understanding the idea that government sets rules for communities. The student thought only village leaders made community decisions. These differences highlighted the situated nature of conceptual knowledge. Moreover, these differences pointed to the opportunities available for teachers to draw upon students' cultural perspectives and experiences to develop rich, nuanced, and globalized understandings of curricular concepts.

When I first started working at the school, one of the teachers said, "A few of them [the students] do speak their first language constantly in class and I am trying to get them to shift over to English." The teacher's comment was not surprising, as neither the school nor the school district explicitly supported the use of students' linguistic repertoires for curriculum learning. Although the school district gathered information from families about students' first language, it did not articulate a pedagogic rationale for using students' linguistic repertoires in the classroom. The implicit message to teachers was that students' linguistic repertoires were peripheral to school-based learning. As a result, students' linguistic repertoires were treated with "benign neglect" (Stille & Cummins, 2013). At the beginning of the project, I observed that students moved easily between the languages that they spoke, using English in class and switching language during recess and after being dismissed from school. As students poured out of the school building, their voices grew louder and their laughter and play was interspersed with shouts and calls to their parents, siblings, or friends in both English and their home languages. Seldom were these same lively voices heard using their home languages in school. For instance, one teacher noted, "This was the first time I gave them [the students] free

reign over their first language to use it in class on the projects and everybody refused!"

Separating students' linguistic resources, perhaps inadvertently, potentially constructs students' home language as irrelevant for academic learning (Gutiérrez, Zepeda, & Castro, 2010). Students seemed to pick up on the construction of their home language as unnecessary for school learning. Students' comments about their language use indicated divides between home and school language use:

Saskia: Do you ever use your [home] language at school?
Bashir: Yes.
Hussein: Sometimes.
Akash: When some people know our language.
Saskia: But I hear most kids speak in English.
Hussein: Yes, but sometimes when I am walking home with friends I use my language.
Saskia: What is your language?
Akash: Gujarati.
Bashir: Urdu - I speak Urdu with my brother when we go home together.
Similarly, Hassam explained that he was unwilling to use his home language for school activities:
Hassam: Talk to anyone at school, [I speak Arabic with] only my friends who speak Arabic.
Saskia: Why?
Hassam: Because I don't know. My mum said to the police, "I don't let my son talk to anyone at school who doesn't speak my language."
Saskia: Do you know why she said that?
Hassam: [Shakes head no] I was only one year old.
…
Saskia: Are you sure that maybe your parents wouldn't like you to speak Arabic [at school]? They might want you to now.
Hassam: No.

Though moving between languages according to different contexts constitutes normal translanguaging practice, this distribution points to the assumptions about normativity that underlie the practice of separating home languages from the educational context. As García (2009) writes, "Given the changing ways in which languages now function and in which people translanguage, complete compartmentalization between languages of instruction may not always be appropriate" (p. 79). One of the teacher's comments echoed this perspective:

> "It's a little bit counter-intuitive using a language that excludes most people. So it seems illogical to speak in Urdu when out of a class of 20 there might be only 8 kids who understand you. But I think that the benefit of it [is] people speak other languages all around the world; it's the global perspective thing. We hear different languages, so why shouldn't the classroom reflect the world? The answer is yes, it should reflect the world; all the different languages. Even if it doesn't transmit actual meaning the meta message is everybody's important."

5 Designing Plurilingual Tasks and Engaging Translanguaging Practices

Building on our learning about students' rich linguistic and conceptual knowledge, the teachers and I decided to encourage students to use the full range of their language resources for culminating curricular tasks, including PowerPoint presentations about social studies topics, and short personal stories. Many students first wrote texts in English, then translated them into their first or home languages. This aspect of the project extended our work beyond the classroom as the students collaborated with their families to work on their translations. Apart from the identity-affirming nature of this work, the activity raised students' meta-linguistic awareness. Parents, aunts, uncles, and siblings assisted in this task, helping students with translating and selecting words and spelling them correctly. When students returned to school with the work translated, we spent time as a class discussing who had helped them and how they had worked together with their families. The images in Fig. 1 show sample slides from students' PowerPoint presentations from each class.

The teachers planned a class presentation to showcase this work, inviting families and school administrators to attend. All presentations were bilingual, written in both English and the students' home languages, except for two. Two students' families were unable to help them with writing in their home languages, and because the teachers and I did not speak the languages, the students only felt comfortable writing in English.

Our ability to encourage students to use additional languages in the classroom met with differing levels of success at each phase of the project, and we reflected on what we had learned at each phase to improve upon the next time. The first time that the teachers and I encouraged students to create dual-language presentations, most of the students did use both English and their home language to write. However, when the students presented their work orally in front of parents and school administrators, many of them chose to deliver their presentations only in English,

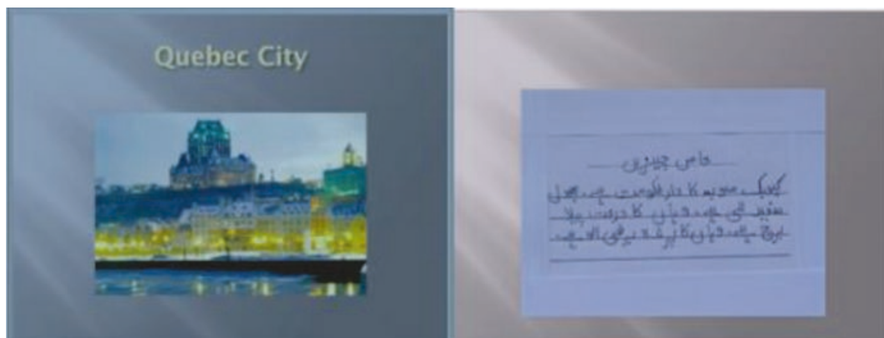

Fig. 1 Sample slides from student presentations in English and in Urdu

preferring instead just to show the slides that were written in their home languages. Mrs. Gopal discussed the students' choices:

> I really loved that he [Hossein] spoke in his first language. Unfortunately, nobody else did; I was disappointed by that. I didn't think all of them would, but I thought Ibrahim might and Jayani might, because Jayani's got both languages down pretty good. So I thought she would be willing to do both languages. And Ibrahim, until actually the moment he got up to present, he told me he was going to do it in a second language. But I guess he just chickened out! But it was very nice that Hossein did; I think he was more comfortable in his first language rather than English giving the presentation. When he took off to give that [first language] part of it, he looked relaxed; as opposed to the other part of it when he was giving the English, he was tense.

From this experience, the teachers and I learned that incorporating students' home languages is not just a technical activity. We needed to actively challenge the devaluation of students' identities and home languages in the classroom. The following school term, the teachers and I endeavored to more explicitly incorporate students' funds of knowledge into everyday classroom practice. Hornberger (2002) has theorized that students' language use is embedded within a range of intersecting language and literacy practices that exist along a "continua of biliteracy" according to different levels of support for bilingual language use. Hornberger suggests that a change at one point in the continua will result in change along other dimensions of the continua, reconfiguring opportunities for bilingual language use and reshaping the language ecology of the classroom. Drawing on this idea, the teachers and I sought to move our existing practices along the continua, and to add additional practices and supports. We incorporated far more strategies than we had previously used, including: asking students to speak in their home language in class, translating new vocabulary words into students' home languages, talking about students' feelings and perceptions about learning a new language, encouraging students to work with same language peers during class activities so that students could choose to speak in either English or their home language during curriculum learning, using students' home languages for pre-writing activities, having students bring in artifacts from home, and reading dual-language books in class. After making these changes, Mrs. Gopal reflected how they compared with our work the previous term with the fourth and fifth grade ESL/ELD classes:

> I think it helped make more connection to what they are doing. I think they felt good to be able to use both languages, to just be themselves. When they got up yesterday and they were talking, [like] I can say this in English or whatever, Pashto, Bulgarian, Spanish, whatever. They did excellent. This is what I wanted last year in a way with using two languages. But I could not get it. Last year, I don't know if they [could have] gone beyond [what we did in class] using their first language. I mean they [the students] knew it, they knew their first language. But not going beyond, not using in it in a public sense.

Mrs. Gopal shared her perception that the students seemed to be more willing to use their home language(s) because home languages were included purposefully as part of instructional strategies from the first day of school. For instance, Khadija came to the school in the middle of our project, wherein she experienced from her first day of class the integration of her home language into the learning environment:

> We caught them early. I think maybe from now these kids would do both languages. For example, Khadija, she got to use something she already learned. That was good. That was kind of reinforcing to build some of her words over again. You know she's got what those words mean. But particularly with her, I am finding she is just like jumping in her language. I mean she is doing translation from Dari now. Obviously, she understood everything I am saying. Whatever is going on the class, she is able to translate back in her language, which totally amazes me.

From these experiences, the teachers and I determined that we had a long way to go to encourage students to tap into the full range of their linguistic repertoire in the classroom on a regular basis, and to counter the separation or "two solitudes" between home and school language use (Cummins, 2008). The students seemed to know that the school is an English-only zone, and that the other language(s) that they speak should be put aside when it comes time to learn. The teachers and I discussed that we can't just say, 'today we're using home languages now'. The language ecology of the classroom must "move acceptable practice away from language separation" (Lewis et al., 2012, p. 659). We wondered if the students in the Newcomer class used their home languages more readily because they had recently arrived and perhaps hadn't yet absorbed the dominant perspective that their home language doesn't belong.

In most cases, neither the teachers nor I spoke students' home languages, and we were unable to develop students' knowledge of their home languages in school. Responsibility for this development fell on parents' shoulders. Parents played an important role in supporting us to use home languages for curriculum learning by assisting their children to read and write in their home language. In the ESL/ELD and Newcomer classes, the teachers promoted this idea by encouraging students to ask their family members to help them. The need for this strategy provided evidence that teachers alone cannot provide the language and social experiences that are representative of multilingual communities; students need interactions with others who, "enrich this learning context as they embody, construct, reflect, and re-create the social communities from which language emerges" (Martin–Beltrán, 2010, p. 272). One student's description of his dual language writing process was typical, "I did some of it. My mom did some of it, the hard words". Another student reported, "My mom didn't know some words, so we called her cousin and she helped." Some students faced challenges getting help to write their projects in their home language. For instance, Malia, a student in the Newcomer class, shared, "I wanted to [write it in Pashto], but there was no time." She explained that her mother was busy with her little sister who was sick, and her father had to work a lot when she was preparing her project. Similarly, after seeing the presentations of all the students in the Newcomer class, Samira's father went to Mrs. Gopal to apologize for not having done more to help Samira with writing in her home language. Mrs. Gopal said, "He said, 'if I knew what this project was going to be, I would help her more. I had no time to help because I am always working.'" In the third grade class, we discussed with the students how we could use their home languages for writing up their research on communities. Brainstorming how we could get assistance with other

languages, one student suggested, "If we want to use our language we can ask our parents and other family members."

Arising from this work, the children recognized the value of their parents' bilingual and biliterate capabilities to the school. Students expressed their enthusiasm and enjoyment for learning new vocabulary and improving their ability to read and write in their home languages. They showed pride in their work by sharing or emailing their work with their parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins. These behaviours seemed to support students' self-efficacy and interest in maintaining their home language skills. This evidence suggests that families play a critical role in home language maintenance, positioning them as valuable to learning and education. Parents or caregivers are children's first teachers, and their partnership in maintaining and developing children's home language skills is needed. When school activities facilitate this assistance, children's bilingual resources are given space to grow, and family language practices are valued. Furthermore, engaging parents in this way challenged dominant practices wherein parents who didn't speak the school language tended not to play a significant role in the school.

Using students' home languages for writing activities assisted students to develop new vocabulary in their home language. For instance, one student said, "It was interesting, to learn new words in our languages. First we learned the words, and then put it into sentences." Moreover, students often assisted one another to learn new vocabulary in their home language without the help of the teacher or me. As one student observed, "It's really neat to speak it [my home language] at school, because other kids at school can learn it too." These examples illustrate how teachers might connect students' home languages with curriculum learning, promoting the development of conceptual and subject-area knowledge in students' home language(s), what Cummins (2008) has called teaching for cross-linguistic transfer. Encouraging students to tap into their plurilingual resources also promoted the development of language awareness among students in the class. Not only did students learn new words in their own language, they learned that these concepts existed in other languages.

Rather than seeing students as two monolinguals in one body (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), translanguaging can be seen as having pedagogic legitimacy. Students used their home languages and translanguaging to develop vocabulary and conceptual knowledge, generate ideas, write, and support collaborative learning processes. In the ESL/ELD classes, the teachers also asked students to use their home languages to interpret and translate words for other students at earlier stages of English learning. Students often used translanguaging as they communicated the teachers' instructions or curricular concepts to one another. Evidence from students' classwork and artifacts suggests that translanguaging was a tool for mediation, supporting thinking processes and helping students to make and negotiate meaning with their peers as they tried to understand concepts or solve learning problems. Further, students gained language awareness as they analyzed language differences and selected appropriate word choices. As García (2009) writes, translanguaging is "a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups" (p. 307).

Students had the opportunity to develop meta-linguistic awareness of how to use their linguistic repertoires to support learning, particularly for concept development and pre-writing strategies. This opportunity can be illustrated by Khadija's story writing process. Khadija was a student in the fourth grade Newcomer class. She came to the class halfway through the first term of school from Kabul, Afghanistan. Khadija spoke Dari and Afghani Pashto when she came to the school, and was silent during all English-medium whole-class activities. One other student in the class spoke Dari, and Khadija stuck close to this new friend. During small group or individual work, her new friend translated instructions into Dari and helped Khadija to understand what was happening in the class. Including Khadija in our story-writing activities, I asked the class what we should do to get Khadija started. Eagerly, the students suggested that she write her story entirely in Pahsto, and they said that they were willing to explain to Khadija what to do. So, Khadija set about making her story, working hard to catch up to her classmates who were already 2 weeks ahead of her. In just 2 days, her draft and illustrations were nearly complete. With detailed drawings and neat script, Khadija soon filled ten pages of her storybook. Figure 2 shows a sample page from Khadija's story.

Throughout this activity, Khadija's teachers provided encouragement for her progress, showing their expectation that she could do the work, and supporting her same-language peers in helping her. The teachers used Khadija's story to scaffold her English language acquisition, assisting her to add labels to her illustrations in English such as "He is my father" which can be seen in Fig. 2 Translating or creating labels can be used to scaffold translanguaging practice for emergent bilinguals, though it may emphasize that one language is preferred academically (Lewis et al., 2012).

The content of Khadija's text described religious traditions important to Khadija's family. She drew intricate borders around several pages in her story, which are details that signify and embellish important texts in Afghanistan. Because Khadija spoke no English when she made this story, her teachers were unable to communicate with her about what to include in her story. Instead, the activity and expectations were interpreted and translated to Khadija through her peers who had also come from Afghanistan. The students provided her with suggestions and examples of what to write and draw. Khadija's story contained many cultural and religious symbols, far more than other students in the class. This difference might reflect the students' conceptualization of what constitutes appropriate content for a text of this topic, which appeared to be a broad and culturally relevant conception.

Writing a story almost entirely in Pashto, Khadija's story was quantitatively longer than it would have been in English but, more importantly, it was qualitatively much richer and more representative of her experience than text she could have written in English at this time. The teachers reflected that encouraging Khadija to write her story in her first language promoted her literacy engagement and participation in the classroom. The teachers also decided that they were able to assess this activity as part of their understanding of Khadija's literacy development, although this was contrary to their initial expectations of the activity, in which students were to write a dual language (L1 + English) version of their text.

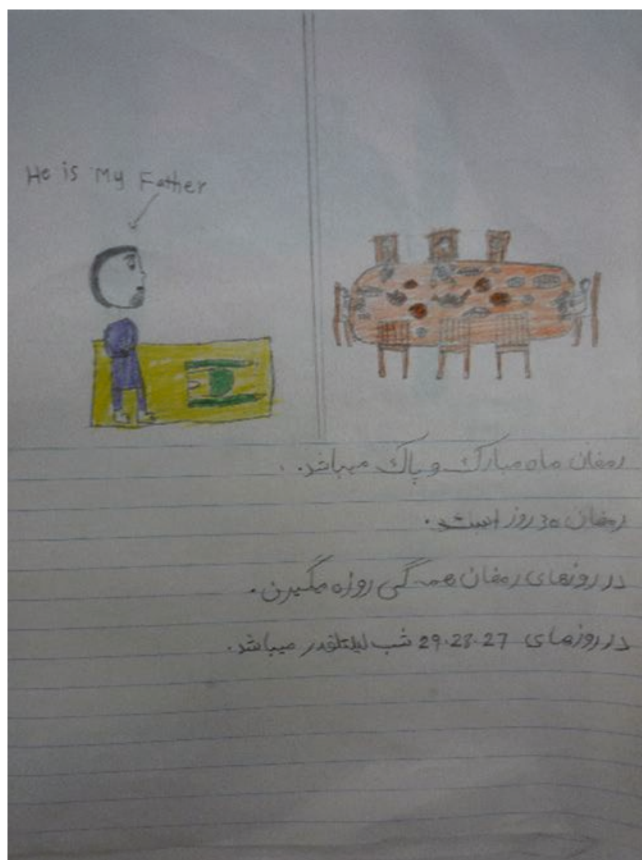

Fig. 2 Sample page from Khadija's story called My Home Country, written in Dari with English labels

Translanguaging practices have the potential to bridge the traditional divide between home and school languages. As the project progressed, students began using different languages in the classroom not only to scaffold learning, but also for culminating curriculum tasks such as written work, digital media productions, and public presentations. With teacher encouragement, students created new norms for language use in the context of curriculum learning. We could not predict whether and how students would use their home languages. The kinds of language use that the teachers and I observed were unique to individual learners, who switched between and mixed languages across forms and domains according to their capabilities, interests, and motivations. As Hornberger and Swinehart (2012) point out, these kinds of flexible language practices focus attention on the agency of individuals who determine how to use their linguistic resources to communicate with multilingual audiences. Importantly, these practices constituted a dynamic bilingualism

(García, 2009) wherein students bridged the separation of home and school language use.

To support these practices, teachers created opportunities for students to play with their language use. The students came up with their own solutions for resisting ideas how languages should be used in school, experimenting with ways to draw upon the multiple languages that they knew. This experimentation resulted in a hybrid use of language that was not always limited by boundedness between languages, which is illustrated in the following example. Rifat, a boy in the third grade class, worked with a classmate, Hassam, to research and write a PowerPoint presentation called Traditional Foods in India and Turkey. Hassam prepared his part of the presentation only in English, and Rifat chose to prepare his part of the presentation in Turkish and English. Rifat reported that he could speak English, Kurdish, and Turkish, but he had only learned to write in English because he had come to Canada before first grade. Rifat was unable to get help from other students or family members to write his presentation in Turkish, so he worked by himself to sound out the Turkish words that he wanted to say, transcribing them phonetically. Figure 3 shows a sample slide from Rifat's presentation in Turkish.

Rifat said, "I am going to read it in English, but I will write in Turkish. I will look at the word in English, and then if I know it I will say it." In this way Rifat wrote his entire presentation in Turkish and English, demonstrating the functional integration of his linguistic capacities. Rifat delivered his presentation orally in both languages when we practiced the presentation and did the presentation for another third grade class. However, when the students did their presentations in the school library for parents and school administrators, Rifat delivered his presentation only in English. When I asked him about this choice, he said, "When we did the presentation in Turkish in the library, I couldn't do it, I couldn't read the Turkish. I felt shy and there were butterflies in my stomach." In another example, Asad, a boy in the fourth grade Newcomer class, prepared his language experience story called My Journey to Canada in English and Urdu. When it came time to present his story, Asad asked if

Fig. 3 Sample slide from Rifat's presentation about Traditional Foods in India and Turkey in English and Turkish

he could present the story in English and in Pashto. Asad wanted to feature all the languages that he felt confident using, and though he could not write in Pashto, he wanted to incorporate his Pashto oral language abilities into his presentation. These examples illustrate that the students influenced and shaped the flexible language practices in the classroom (Baker, 2011). The explicit acknowledgement and incorporation of these practices sent the message to students that they had an advantage by being multilingual, and their linguistic knowledge and flexibility was an asset to learning. As Li (2011) writes, “The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, beliefs and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and makes it into a lived experience” (p. 1223). Allowing and supporting students to express themselves using the full range of their linguistic repertoire created a teaching and learning context that validated the students’ language practices, and affirmed their plurilingual identities as legitimate and appropriate in the classroom context.

6 Conclusions and Implications

Lack of engagement with students’ home languages and the maintenance of an English-only language ecology send a powerful message to students that their home languages do not constitute acceptable school-based language practices. When operating from this perspective, schools have a narrow understanding of students’ repertoires of practice, and disregard language knowledge as a resource for teaching and learning (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003).

Inclusive education is defined by UNESCO as “based on the right of all learners to a quality education that meets basic learning needs and enriches lives...The ultimate goal of inclusive quality education is to end all forms of discrimination and foster social cohesion” (www.unesco.org/en/inclusive-education). To me, inclusive education needs to go further than these aims to address the power relations that pattern across and within global locations and ensure the value and maintenance of difference in multilingual, multicultural societies. The notions of plurilingual and “culturally sustaining pedagogies” (Paris, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 1995) can potentially support and develop the plurality of languages, literacies, and cultural practices that students bring with them to school, particularly for students from minoritized or non-dominant social backgrounds. Moreover, these approaches to pedagogy can assist teachers to make use of and build on students’ linguistic repertoires to support their language development, literacy, and learning in English-medium schools. These purposes of plurilingual and culturally sustaining pedagogies are critical to support all students in developing plurilingual and intercultural competence.

Importantly, applying current theoretical perspectives from critical applied linguistics to current issues and challenges in education may help to move language

teaching from a technical or instrumental activity, solely for ESL teachers, toward a fundamentally humanistic endeavor for all educators. For instance, inviting students' translanguaging practice into the classroom has the potential to bridge the traditional divide between home and school languages. As illustrated by the cases described here, educators and students can use home languages and translanguaging to develop vocabulary and conceptual knowledge, generate ideas, and support writing processes. Students can also engage in translanguaging to work collaboratively or communicate classroom instructions or curricular concepts to their peers, negotiate meaning and solve learning problems. Educators can invite students to use their home languages to interpret and translate words for other students at earlier stages of English learning. García (2009) writes, translanguaging is "a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups" (p. 307). Rather than separate languages into L1 and L2, translanguaging entails dynamic language interactions that go both between and beyond different linguistic structures and systems to create language practices that are unique to individuals' personal histories, experiences, and environments. Translanguaging is thus a creative and critical language practice that is fluid, context-dependent, and personally meaningful.

As the cases described here suggest, migration has had a significant impact on some schools, enriching them with a more culturally and linguistically diverse student body. These circumstances have created complex teaching and learning needs, which teachers must address to ensure that students for whom English is an additional language have the opportunity to achieve academic success on an equal basis with their peers whose first language is English. Educators working in classrooms that are richly multilingual and multicultural have much to gain from current perspectives in critical applied linguistics, including the concepts of dynamic bilingualism, plurilingualism and translanguaging. These concepts may support educators to develop and support culturally relevant and responsive pedagogies that both attend to the language needs of students who are in the process of learning the language of instruction while learning content curriculum, and develop all students' critical language awareness and intercultural competence.

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Translingual Writers as Mentors in a High School "English" Classroom

Kate Seltzer

Abstract This chapter describes an author study that took place in a secondary English Language Arts classroom in New York City. The author study was organized around translingual writers, or those who integrate different language practices in their work, and asked students to read not only for the content of the writing, but for the linguistic and rhetorical choices the authors made. After reading these translingual mentor texts, students were tasked with writing college essays that expressed their new understandings about language. Like their translingual mentors, students were invited to write their essays in ways that integrated their different language practices. Throughout this translingual author study, students brought to their readings their sophisticated understandings of language, resulting in rich conversations, connections, and debates. This chapter draws on excerpts of students' classroom talk as well as from two students' college essays and metalinguistic talk about their own writing to illustrate how the use of translingual mentors can bring to the surface the linguistic expertise, creativity and criticality (Li W, J Pragmat 43(5):1222–1235, 2011) that language minoritized students already have, but are often obscured in the English classroom.

Keywords Translanguaging · English education · Code-meshing · Writing · Literacy · Classroom-based research

1 Introduction

This chapter describes an author study that took place in a secondary English Language Arts classroom in New York City. The author study took place within a larger project, during which I co-designed a year-long curriculum with an 11th grade English teacher, Ms. Winter[1] that put language itself at the center of students'

[1] All names of participants and the school site are pseudonyms.

K. Seltzer (✉)
Department of Language, Literacy, and Sociocultural Education, Rowan University, Glassboro, NJ, USA
e-mail: seltzerk@rowan.edu

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inquiry. Over the course of the year, students engaged with multimodal texts –articles, blog posts, speeches, podcasts, video clips, spoken word performances, and fiction – that inherently challenged the very language ideologies that have shaped the "English" classroom in U.S. schools. The author study was organized around those I refer to as translingual writers and asked students to read not only for the content of the writing, but for the linguistic and rhetorical choices the authors made in their work. After reading these translingual mentor texts, students were tasked with writing college essays that expressed their new understandings about language. Like their translingual mentors, students were invited to write their essays in ways that integrated their different language practices.

Over the course of the year, students revealed the depth of their understandings about language and its role in shaping their experiences and identities. They could clearly articulate how their language practices were viewed by both the school and larger society, and how those perceptions often marginalized them and portrayed them as deficient. Students' articulations of these realities stood in stark contrast to such portrayals. On the contrary, they were striking examples of what Rymes (2014) calls citizen sociolinguists, keen observers of how language works in everyday interaction, within power structures, and across relationships. Students brought those understandings of language to their readings of the translingual mentor texts, resulting in rich conversations, connections, and debates. Their readings of those texts and the writing that emerged out of the author study unit undermine the deficit views of language minoritized students' language and literacy practices so commonplace in U.S. schools.

In this chapter, I highlight examples of students' readings of translingual texts, focusing on how those texts brought to the surface the kinds of understandings not often voiced in the English classroom. I also explore students' shifting mindset about the writing process and use their classroom talk and samples of their college essay writing to demonstrate how the use of translingual mentor texts modeled for them the kind of writing and metalinguistic thinking that they took with them into their own essays. Lastly, I look closely at two different students' college essays and their talk about those essays, demonstrating the impact of translingual mentors on their writing choices. I end with several implications for educators who wish to take up a critical translingual approach to the writing process as well as further thinking that emerged from this project.

2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Language Ideologies in U.S. "English" Classrooms

In her discussion of what she terms "standard language ideologies," Lippi-Green (1997) writes, "the educational system may not be the beginning, but it is the heart of the standardization process" (p. 65). Historically, schools have worked alongside

other institutions to proliferate the subordination of certain language practices and the standardization of others, both through overtly oppressive language policies, such as those that have outlawed bilingual education (Crawford, 2000; Darder & Uriarte, 2012; Gándara, 2000; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, & Asato, 2000; Uriarte, Tung, Lavan, & Diez, 2010) and the use of Ebonics in schools (Perry & Delpit, 1998; Rickford, 2006; Smitherman, 1999), as well as more subtle tactics, often couched in "common sense" practices such as teaching "academic language" (Flores, 2015, October 1). These policies and practices naturalize the idea that (a) "standard", "academic" language exists, and (b) it is objectively better than all other languages.

U.S. schools, and English classrooms in particular, maintain that they are tasked with "immers[ing] students in the standard language/variety of English" (Rickford, 1998, p. 160). Though this appeal could be spun as democratic, its true intention is the maintenance of existing power structures and the continued cover-up of inequality. As Lippi-Green (1997) puts it, "the process of standardization and language subordination is concerned not so much with an overall homogeneity of language, but with excluding only *certain* types of language and variation, those linked to social differences which make us uncomfortable" (p. 121). Thus, discomfort with certain speakers' language practices (which is actually discomfort with the speakers themselves) has led to their mischaracterization and trivialization as well as the marginalization of their proponents and speakers, a process that has had subtractive (Valenzuela, 2010) effects on the education of bilingual students and students of color.

Drawing attention to the connections between language and power in the classroom is one way of resisting these ideologies of standardization and countering what Bakhtin (1981) refers to as the centripetal forces that obscure the multivoiced, dialogic, *heteroglossic* nature of language. To resist these forces, English classrooms can highlight the inherent heteroglossia of all speech and texts, illustrating that "languages do not exclude each other, but rather intersect with each other in many different ways" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291). Teachers can reimagine the English classroom as a contact zone that, as Pratt (1991) puts it, has its very own "literate arts," such as "transculturation, critique, collaboration, bilingualism, mediation, parody, denunciation, imaginary dialogue, [and] vernacular expression" (Pratt, 1991, p. 37). Fostering these arts in the English classroom can center students' translanguaging (García, 2009; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; García & Li, 2014), their dynamic, fluid language practices that do not necessary align with monoglossic norms and rules. If the classroom can leverage this translanguaging, students have the opportunity to draw on their linguistic strengths and create texts in ways that are both creative and critical (Li, 2011).

Many scholars have highlighted the strengths that linguistically and culturally diverse students bring to the literacy classroom and to the writing process, in particular. Smitherman (1993) and Ball (1995), for example, illustrate the success of students who employ African American discourse styles in their school writing. Other scholars (Martínez, Orellana, Pacheco, & Carbone, 2008; Orellana, 2009; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008) have shown how bi/multilingual students' translation skills, while often undervalued in school, can serve as bridges to successful school

writing. In addition to the academic benefits of drawing on students' diverse language practices, inviting students' voices into the writing process has important implications for their identity development. To explore this concept further, I turn to the work of Gloria Anzaldúa, one of the translingual mentors that students read and discussed in Ms. Winter's classroom.

Articulating a Translingual Sensibility Through Writing At the heart of Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) writing is a call for a new consciousness, one that transgresses man-made, colonial borders and appropriates old forms of languaging into representations of a new, hybrid existence. She writes that her language, which she calls Chicano Spanish, "is a border tongue which developed naturally. Change, *evolución, enriquecimiento de palabras nuevas por invención o adopción* have created variants of Chicano Spanish, *un nuevo lenguaje. Un lenguaje que corresponde a un modo de vivir.* Chicano Spanish is not incorrect, it is a living language" (italics in original, p. 77). Anzaldúa writes that to live as a Chicana – one who lives on or near physical borders and occupies two worlds – one must language in a way that combines two lived experiences.

To write, as Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) puts it, "from both shores at once" (p. 101), is one of the literate arts of the contact zone. This kind of multivocality her writing, however, is seldom modeled or taught in the English classroom. As such, students are rarely invited to explore what I term a *translingual sensibility* – a positionality that emerges from their experiences living on "two shores" and integrating the "disparate threads" of language and culture in their lives – through the writing process. Teaching students to read, analyze, and create translingual texts opens the door to the kind of work that can "help to develop empowered identities and help students cope with fear, alienation, and other negative outcomes associated with being a member of a marginalized group in society" (Morrell, 2008, p. 170). In other words, adopting a translingual writing process could enable students, like Anzaldúa and other translingual writers, to draw on different elements of their linguistic repertoires in order to articulate their identities and experiences as language minoritized people.

2.2 Shifts in Approaches to Teaching Writing

At every level of formal education, and most certainly at the secondary level, writing is viewed as a skill that students must hone, and evidence of competence is required for students to pass standardized exams and graduate. Despite its use as a medium for assessment in school contexts, writing has also long been a mode of resistance, critique, and appropriation. As Morrell (2003) puts it, writing is not only "something that begets…superior grades in courses or entrance into rewarding careers. Writing can be about re-making and re-articulating reality" (p. 7). It is through this conceptualization of writing as a practice that can grant them access to different audiences, venues, and opportunities that students can learn to *resist from within* (Canagarajah, 2011) in ways that challenge those very audiences, venues, and opportunities.

In the field of composition, some scholars have put forth such an approach to writing. In their discussion of what they term translingual writing, Horner and his colleagues (2011) identify “language differences and fluidities as resources to be preserved, developed and utilized” (p. 304). Horner et al. see writing not as a vehicle for perpetuating “standards,” but as a way of challenging the mythology of standard language. They write, “By addressing how language norms are actually heterogeneous, fluid, and negotiable, a translingual approach pushes back against demands that writers must conform to fixed, uniform standards” (p. 305). By teaching standards in writing as “historical, variable, and negotiable” (p. 311), educators engage in a disinvention of such standards and release students’ translingual voices.

Canagarajah (2011, 2015) advocates for taking up a “translingual orientation” through an approach to writing he terms *code-meshing*, a way that students can bring together various features of their linguistic repertoires for rhetorical effect. Because translanguaging in writing is more heavily monitored in the school context than “spontaneous speech acts,” students must be taught to “develop a critical awareness of the choices that are rhetorically more effective” (2011, p. 402). Like Horner et al., Canagarajah views code-meshing as one way of “shifting the emphasis from sharedness to diversity, grammar to practices, and cognition to embodiment” (Canagarajah, 2015, p. 420). Young (2009), too, argues for such a shift towards code-meshing, particularly for students of color whose language practices are marginalized and devalued in school settings. Rather than teach writing through the lens of “code-switching,” which is not only unrealistic, but also unfairly segregates students’ language practices, code-meshing can teach students of color “to become more effective communicators by doing what we all do best, what comes naturally: blending, merging, meshing dialects” (Young, 2009, p. 72).

Michael-Luna and Canagarajah (2007) outline several pedagogical strategies that make space for this kind of approach to writing, from the inclusion of multilingual texts to the explicit modeling of oral and written code-meshing. These strategies can assist teachers in “modeling the ways to ‘bend’ the rules…inside the academic discourse being taught, so that student voice and agency has a place alongside the conventional norms and values” (p. 71). When the author study explored in this chapter exposed students to writers like Anzaldúa, for example, they saw the kind of rule-bending that not only challenges monoglossic norms and values but also makes for a riveting reading experience. Such translingual authors became students’ mentors, providing examples of what it could look and sound like to tell stories and represent experiences in ways that push and transgress linguistic boundaries.

3 Methodology

The ethnographic study from which this chapter emerges took place in Ms. Winter’s English Language Arts classrooms at South Bronx High School (SBHS), a small school in a borough of New York City, over the course of the 2015–2016 academic year. Ms. Winter taught 16–18 year old 11th grade students from a variety of lan-

guage backgrounds. Though most students were Spanish-speaking, the majority of whom hailed from the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, there were also students who spoke Arabic, Albanian, French, and a variety of West African languages. In this section, I lay out the methodological design of the project as well as the instructional approach that emerged from my work with Ms. Winter: what I have called a critical translingual approach (Seltzer, 2017; Seltzer & de los Ríos, 2018). I also describe in more detail one unit from the year-long curriculum that Ms. Winter and I designed: an author study that featured writers who both take up translanguaging in their writing and who write and talk metalinguistically about their writing choices.

This ethnographic classroom study was organized around two interrelated research questions: (1) How do linguistically diverse high school students and their teacher respond to the implementation of a critical translingual English curriculum?, and (2) What does participation in a critical translingual English curriculum bring up about students' identities and ideologies in relation to language? To address these questions, I took on the role of participant-observer, collaboratively planning the curriculum with Ms. Winter and then watching and listening as students interacted with, questioned, critiqued, and expanded the lessons and activities we planned. I collected data from a number of sources, including field notes on classroom observations, audio recordings of teacher-facilitated whole-class discussions and students' small-group conversations, semi-structured interviews with both the teacher and a small group of students, and documents such as teacher-created lesson plans and student-created texts.

3.1 Developing a Critical Translingual Approach

My relationship with Ms. Winter, as well as with SBHS, began long before this project did. I met Ms. Winter when we were both English Language Arts teachers at the school nearly 10 years before I returned for this research project. After I left the school as a teacher, Ms. Winter and I stayed in touch and reconnected again in 2014 when SBHS partnered with the City University of New York-New York State Initiative for Emergent Bilinguals (CUNY-NYSIEB) project, which works to improve the educational experiences of students labeled English Language Learners (for more on the CUNY-NYSIEB project, see García & Kleyn, 2016). In my role as research assistant on this project, I worked closely with Ms. Winter and saw her interest in using translanguaging strategies with her students as well as her willingness to be reflective about her own practice. Because of our positive experience working together through CUNY-NYSIEB, I asked Ms. Winter to work with me on a new project that would take the translanguaging work she had done and extend it. Rather than use translanguaging strategies simply as scaffolds for her students labeled "English Language Learners," we would create a holistic translanguaging pedagogy (García et al., 2017) that made space for *all* students – those across the spectrum of bilingualism and those traditionally viewed as "monolin-

gual” – to draw on their full linguistic repertoire in the English classroom. Because of the school’s past participation in the CUNY-NYSIEB project and Ms. Winter’s strong reputation as an effective teacher at the school, the principal was accepting and supportive of the project.

Our work together began the summer before the 2015–2016 school year. Ms. Winter and I started by reading scholarly texts across several fields, from bilingual education to sociocultural theory to literacy studies. As we read and discussed the different texts, we focused on connections between what we read and what we envisioned for the curriculum. Over the course of a few weeks, we sketched out the year’s instructional units, such as an exploration of the intersections of language with identity and power as well as an author study unit that would center the writings of authors who took up translanguaging. We also thought about the concepts and vocabulary we wanted students to interrogate, such as “standard language,” “first” and “second” language, and even “English” itself. As we fleshed out our ideas, Ms. Winter and I began sharing other readings and resources – from novels and poems to multimodal texts such as music, film clips, sketch comedy, blogs, podcasts, and social media – that we believed would help students see, hear, and think about language from a variety of perspectives.

In the 9 months that followed, from September 2015 to June 2016, I continued to co-plan with Ms. Winter and to observe as she and her students collaboratively shaped what I term a *critical translingual approach*. Rooted in traditions of critical literacy (Morrell, 2008; Shor, 1999) as well as post-structural understandings of language as social practice, rather than bounded and autonomous systems (Bakhtin, 1981; García, 2009; García & Li, 2014; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), this approach to instruction shifts the emphasis from “English” to “Language Arts” (Martinez, 2012). This shift meant engaging with the work of translingual writers and artists and making space for students’ rich language practices and sophisticated understandings of language that they already bring with them, but are so often devalued in schools. This emphasis on “language arts,” and specifically the “literate arts of the contact zone,” was particularly important in the unit of study I focus on in this chapter – an author study of translingual writers.

3.2 A Critical Translingual Author Study

To plan the author study unit, Ms. Winter I began by compiling a list of writers who took up translanguaging in their writing. Some of these authors were those that we, ourselves, had read and enjoyed, and others came through recommendations from colleagues and friends. After reading through the works of these writers, we chose five who not only integrated different language practices in their writing but also wrote about and discussed in interviews language itself: Gloria Anzaldúa, Junot Díaz, Gustavo Pérez Firmat, Amy Tan, and Alice Walker. We then organized students into five groups and assigned each group one of these writers, telling students that they would be reading these authors not only to appreciate their storytelling and

ideas, but to observe and discuss *how* they use language to tell those stories and express those ideas.

The 5-week unit asked students to read excerpts of the writers' work for different ideas, from analyzing their language choices and relationship with their audience to reading about any censorship and push-back that the writers received on their work. In addition to choosing representative excerpts from the writers' novels, poems, and other writing, we also located articles, radio and television interviews, and speeches in which the writers talked about language. Thus, students learned about the writers' uses of language as well as how they thought about language and how their choices revealed elements of their identities and their positionality as writers of color whose language practices are often marginalized. To engage students in analysis of the texts, we designed different literacy activities around the writers' work. Students made posters that tracked the authors' language choices, designed role plays that asked them to take on the "character" of different writers and engage in conversation with different audiences, and wrote their own poetry where they made linguistic choices that represented their relationships to their language practices. Lastly, we designed a culminating writing assignment that invited students to write personal reflections in the genre of a college entrance essay that purposefully integrated their different language practices.

4 Findings

4.1 Reading Translingual Texts: Translingual Sensibilities Brought to the Surface

During the author study unit, one group of students read the Chinese-American author Amy Tan's essay, "Mother Tongue" (1990). In this piece, Tan reflects on the "different Englishes" (p. 7) she uses in her life, particularly the English she uses with her mother. She revisits moments from her childhood when her mother's English caused others to look down upon her or fail to take her seriously, and chronicles her own journey from shame in her mother's English to pride, noting that her ultimate goal when writing her acclaimed novel *The Joy Luck Club* was, "to capture what language ability tests can never reveal – [my mother's] intent, her passion, her imagery, the rhythms of her speech, and the nature of her thoughts" (p. 8). In her essay, as well as in her novels, Tan writes using the Englishes of her childhood, and when the class analyzed the piece, students discussed both its content and Tan's linguistic choices.

As they read the essay, students noted that Tan used the word "broken" to describe how others perceived her mother's English. They had strong reactions to the word, with some who agreed that certain ways of using language were, in fact, "broken" and others who resisted the word and disliked its negative connotation. Because of the rich conversations that emerged around "broken English", Ms. Winter and I

designed a week-long inquiry into the phrase for the whole class. One lesson featured the spoken word poem, "3 Ways to Speak English," by Jamila Lysicott (2014). In the poem, Lysicott, like Tan, discusses her English practices and uses the word "broken" to describe her own English. However, at the root of its "brokenness," she says, are forces of colonialism that "raped away" her language along with her history. She writes that her English is "broken" so that "the profusing gashes can remind us/That our current state is not a mystery." After they watched Lysicott's powerful performance, students further discussed "broken English." In her small group, one student, Jacqui, shared her strong reaction to the phrase, which she said couldn't be true because "there's no right way to speak English" (Classroom transcript, 11/24/15). She went on to say:

> [Lysicott is] speaking a different English, I speak a different English. The way you speak English is different. Everyone [looking at Kate] – I could say *your* English is broken. (Classroom transcript with field notes, 11/24/15)

The end of Jacqui's comment reveals her resistance to stigmas of "brokenness" or, as Rosa (2016) puts it, "languagelessness," placed upon certain speakers. By telling me – the person in the group whose English practices are typically heard as "standard" – that *my* English could be considered broken, Jacqui resists those ideologies that hierarchize English practices like mine over Tan's mother's, Lysicott's or her own. Through their use of different Englishes and their metalinguistic reflectiveness, these translingual mentor texts pushed students like Jacqui to think deeply about the language ideologies that shape our "hearing" of speakers like her and me (Flores & Rosa, 2015), and brought to the surface an element of her translingual sensibility that resisted the idea that "standard" or "proper" forms of language should be ranked above all others.

In another author study group, students read the work of Gloria Anzaldúa, who writes in English and Spanish to express her uniquely Chicana, borderlands existence. As students read an excerpt from her seminal volume, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, they discussed why Anzaldúa calls the language of Chicano people a "secret language". When I asked students why certain groups of people might need secret languages, a typically reticent student named Alfredo – who happened to be one of the few students of Mexican descent in the class – uncharacteristically jumped into the conversation, sharing:

> I know why. Because we can't identify with the truly Mexican, nor can we identify with the truly American. I get it. (Classroom transcript, 4/13/16)

In this strong identification with Anzaldúa's words, Alfredo expresses an understanding of what Anzaldúa terms a mestiza consciousness, a "consciousness of duality" (p.59) that cannot fit neatly into dichotomous categories. Alfredo's adamant expression of understanding that those in the borderlands must use a secret language to express a uniquely translingual identity is evidence of his own experiences and identity. In reading a translingual mentor like Anzaldúa, Alfredo engaged with a sophisticated text and articulated his highly personal reading of that text in ways that deepened the whole group's understanding of both Anzaldúa's medium and her message.

4.2 Learning from Translingual Mentors: Shifting Mindsets About Writing

As students read the work of authors like Amy Tan and Gloria Anzaldúa, they not only discussed the content of their writing but the writing itself. How did these writers use language? How did their writing challenge the kind of writing students usually encountered in school? How did these writers accommodate – or purposefully *not* accommodate – their audience, who may or may not have the same language practices as they did? These kinds of questions not only channeled students' translingual sensibilities into their understanding of rhetoric (a skill that features heavily on the state-mandated standardized test that students in Ms. Winter's class took that year), but also pushed them to think about their own writing and their choices as writers.

The culminating project for the year, which came directly after students' author studies, invited students to demonstrate their new understandings about language as well as their different language practices in their writing. Ms. Winter and I chose the genre of the college entrance essay as a final project for several reasons. First, for those students who wished to attend college, the essay was a "real world" piece of writing. We thought this might motivate students and connect their writing choices to an authentic task. Second, the college essay, more so than genres like poetry, memoir, or other "creative" writing, is a heavily scrutinized piece of "academic" writing. By their very nature, these essays are meant to speak for the applicant and set that applicant apart from his or her peers. As such, students must walk the difficult line of representing themselves as unique candidates who would enrich the college community *and* meeting the discursive expectations of their readers, whose task is to rank and judge them.

When we first introduced the author study and college essay project, many students were skeptical about integrating different language practices into their writing. Despite their natural tendencies to blend, integrate, and mix their language practices fluidly in their speech, some were seemingly unprepared or even unwilling to do so in their writing. For example, in a discussion about the project, I started a conversation with a group of students about what might happen if they did incorporate words in other languages or different Englishes into their college essays. Jessie responded:

> Jessie: Instant zero. I don't think they'd accept that. If they don't accept it in high school, they're not going to in college.
> Kelsi: But it's about you, so wouldn't it be like –.
> Jessie: They don't care about you. (Classroom transcript, 3/14/16)

Similarly, Celi anticipated that including Spanish in her college essay might not have a beneficial effect:

> They would be confused. Cause like, if you jump from one language to another they will be like, you're first in English, then you jump to Spanish, what are you doing? (Classroom transcript, 3/17/16)

Students' use of the pronoun "they" speaks to the ambiguous and yet fully personified reader or set of readers that would judge students' college essays. For Jessie, the idea that "they" would have any interest in her different language practices was laughable. Not only would "they" – like her high school teachers – fail to accept this kind of writing; "they" do not even care about who students like Jessie and Kelsi are. For Celi, the audience she refers to as "they" is clearly not made up of speakers like her. The perceived audience would be confused by the kind of translanguaging that for Celi and her peers was commonplace and easily comprehensible.

Despite this initial skepticism, through the course of the author study, with its simultaneous focus on both translingual writers' reflections on their own language practices and their integration of those different language practices into their writing, students began to shift their mindsets about the use of translanguaging in writing. For example, after a group of students read an excerpt from *The Color Purple* by Alice Walker as well as an interview with Walker about her choices in creating the main character's voice, I asked how students had reacted to Walker's use of African American Vernacular English (the term Ms. Winter chose to introduce and use with students):

Marie: I feel like I reacted – I mean, like, normal. Cause, you know, we know. AAVE is not something new to us.
Tanisha: No, we were like, "whaaaat?" [laughing]
Kate: But is it new in writing?
Marie: In the writing, yeah.
Tanisha: That's why I say it *is* a surprise to us. Because we would read and be like, "wait, hold up, did I read that wrong?" But that was how she wrote it. Like, even though we're familiar with this way of talking, it was unusual to see it in writing.
Kate: Did it feel authentic?
Marie & Tanisha: Yes.
Naomi: Yeah. Cause she's using her own language. So it's her.
(Classroom transcript, April 20, 2016)

In this conversation, students grappled with their own shifting awareness about the use of different language practices such as AAVE in writing. Though Marie at first notes that Alice Walker's use of AAVE in her writing was "normal" because it was "not something new to us," Tanisha shared that in fact they were surprised by it and didn't always know how to read it. Though AAVE might have been "nothing new" to students in speech, the students agreed that it was not something they were used to encountering in writing. At the end of the conversation, all the students agreed that Walker's use of AAVE in her writing felt "authentic," because, as Naomi put it, it is her "own language," and thus "it's her." In this conversation, as in many conversations that occurred during the author study, students made connections between writing choices and the authors' choices about self-representation and identity. After the author study concluded and students completed the culminating project, I observed in their writing that, like their translingual mentors, students were making similar calculations about representation and choices about language in their writing.

4.3 Making Choices in the Translingual Writing Process: Learning from Student Writers

Adapting the writing process so that it hones students' ability to translanguage and to articulate their translingual writing choices could be considered part of what (Flores, 2016, March 25) refers to as building *linguistic architecture*. He writes that the process of linguistic exploration "would support language-minoritized students in becoming language architects who are able to apply the knowledge that they gained through their critical inquiry to design language on their own terms and for their own purposes" (Blog post, "What if we treated language-minoritized children like gifted sociolinguists?"). According to Wikipedia's description, architecture includes:

> planning and designing form, space and ambience to reflect functional, technical, social, environmental and aesthetic considerations. It requires the creative manipulation and coordination of materials and technology, and of light and shadow. Often, conflicting requirements must be resolved. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Architecture)

Students' college essays and metalinguistic talk about those essays reveal such "creative manipulation and coordination" as well as the ways that they resolved "conflicting requirements" in the process of translingual writing. In students' choices – to include parts of themselves or not; to bring in one of their language practices or another and why or why not; to take risks or not; to consider an audience or not – we hear decisions made by sophisticated writers.

I now turn to two student writers whose college essays and talk about those essays not only reveal the depth and purposefulness of their writing but also the conflicts that many language minoritized writers must grapple with when thinking about audience, the "they" that Jessie and Celi were afraid would not listen to or understand them or their language practices. I draw on Lucia and Amir's college essays as well as excerpts from semi-structured interviews I conducted with them. Using their essays as stimulus for recall, I asked them to talk about their writing choices. In Lucia, we see a writer who took linguistic risks, fluidly incorporating her Spanish and English practices into her writing and making choices that reveal her understanding of how such translanguaging might be perceived by her audience. In Amir, we see a similar understanding of his readers, but also see his different way of encountering those readers: by choosing *not* to integrate certain elements of his linguistic repertoire into his essay.

Lucia: "I never wrote in Spanish and English at the same time" Lucia was a strong writer and her work throughout the school year evidenced thoughtfulness, care, and a willingness to take rhetorical risks. Her college essay reflected on her identity as a bilingual, bicultural Dominican-American, and her talk about her essay revealed her simultaneous enthusiasm for and cautiousness about this new kind of writing. When I first read Lucia's college essay I was struck by the fluidity with which she wrote in both English and Spanish. For example, she writes (Fig. 1).

Then my father chuckled and said "Americanos, ustedes Son Americanos". He interrupted the debat I was obviously winning "No Somos Americanos" I replied. My father told us we were Americanos because we speak to much Ingles. I grew up with both Ingles y Español. I have spanish speaking parents but in a country that dominatly speaks Ingles. Yo necesitaba aprender Ingles y Español because I spoke in Ingles outside 1) Americanos = Americans 6) necesitaba = needed to 2) Ingles = English 3) y = and 7) aprender = learn. 4) Español = spanish 5) yo = I	Then my father chuckled and said, "Americanos, ustedes son Americanos." He interrupted the debate I was obviously winning. "No somos Americanos!" I replied. My father told us we were Americanos because we speak too much Ingles. I grew up with both Ingles y Español. I have Spanish speaking parents but in a country that dominantly speaks Ingles. Yo necesitaba aprender Ingles y Español because I spoke in Ingles outside [and Spanish inside.]

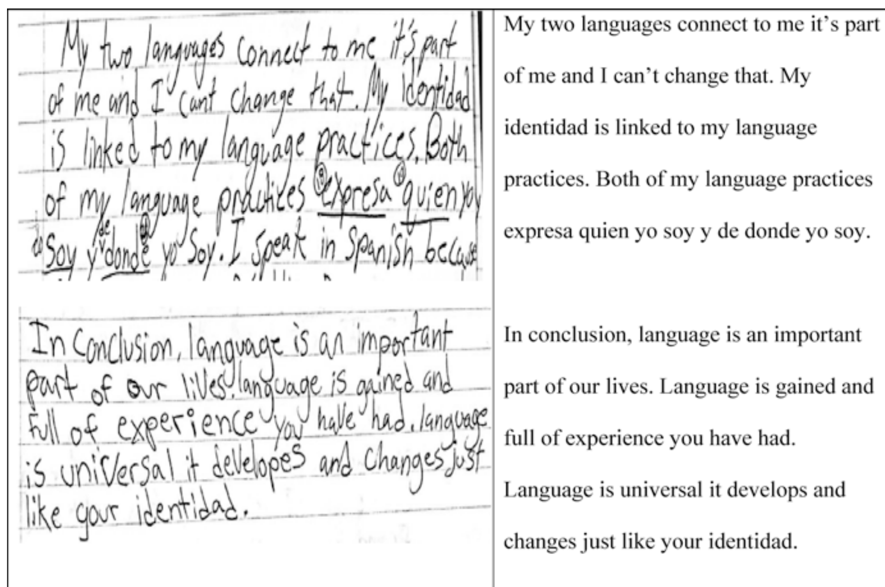
Fig. 1 Lucia's translingual English and Spanish writing

Lucia's essay goes on to talk about how her Spanish-speaking family and the English-language television she watched led her to "mix" her languages into "Spanglish," something her family did not like. She writes, "Hearing comments like 'learn more Spanish' and 'ustedes son Americanos' made me think that Español and Ingles have a complicated relationship," and goes on to expand upon that relationship as well as her own relationship to the two languages. Citing the Cuban poet Gustavo Pérez Firmat, whom she read in her author study group, she writes, "I agree with Firmat's quote that when yo hablo en uno de los dos languages one seems to interrupt the other. It is just something that happens."

Lucia's fluid use of English and Spanish in her college essay highlights her experience living within two languages. She explicitly links this linguistic experience to her identity in these two excerpts of her essay (Fig. 2).

Though other bi/multilingual students chose to include languages other than English in short bits of dialogue, Lucia did so extensively throughout her essay. She also, unlike other students, included footnotes at the bottom of her essay with translations of the words she used in Spanish. When I interviewed Lucia, I asked about her choice to integrate English and Spanish the way that she did:

Lucia: I guess I did it without warning. Cause [during peer editing], somebody said "you have to, like, tell me when you're gonna speak in Spanish and English." So I was like, I'm not gonna do that, put a whole entire essay in Spanish and English, so I was like,



My two languages connect to me it's part of me and I can't change that. My identidad is linked to my language practices. Both of my language practices expresa quien yo soy y de donde yo soy.

In conclusion, language is an important part of our lives. Language is gained and full of experience you have had. Language is universal it develops and changes just like your identidad.

Fig. 2 Lucia's reflections on her linguistic experiences

> maybe I'll just, like, translate? Do little footnotes on the bottom? With lines, so like Americanos/Americans, ingles/English…
>
> Kate: And what made you decide to do it that way?
>
> Lucia: I don't know. It would change the style if it was like all the words – there's so much Spanish, it'd look, like, bad. (Interview, 6/7/16)

Because Lucia's essay was a translanguaged piece of writing, it would have been difficult for her to translate all the Spanish words within the text itself. As she put it, it would've changed the style of the piece and simply "looked bad." Lucia's use of footnote translations might also point to her feeling that wholly unmarked translingual practices would not be accepted in an entrance essay for a U.S. university. By leaving her Spanish unmarked in the body of her essay but including translations in footnotes, Lucia seems to have made a compromise: she was able to write in a fluid, bilingual style that still accommodated readers who (a) might not understand Spanish and (b) might negatively judge her for her translanguaging.

Writing in this way was a different experience for Lucia. As she said in our interview, "I never wrote in Spanish and English at the same time." As such, she figured out a way to ensure that the language she used would be representative of her bilingual voice:

> I would like sound sentences out to see if, like, it fits in, the Spanish with the English. Like, when I speak Spanish some English comes out and when I speak English some Spanish comes out, so…yeah, sound it out to see how I hear it. (Interview, 6/7/16)

Lucia's talk reveals the purposefulness and care she brought to her essay writing. The integration of her language choices not only helped represent her "identidad,"

but also seems to have been a linguistic challenge she enjoyed taking on. Lucia’s talk about her linguistic choices also reveals the savvy that she brings to the writing process. When I asked her about her choice to include Spanish but not her other language practices, she said:

> I feel like maybe [Spanish] might slide because you remind them that you have two languages. Some people aren’t aware of – that slang can be two languages. They think that slang is just uneducated and, uh, two languages is…you’re multilingual. (Interview, 6/7/16)

This consideration of her audience also extended to her choice of whether to submit this essay to an actual college. In his discussion of writers who take up code-meshing, Canagarajah (2011) highlights their strategy of recontextualizing, or “gauging the congeniality of the context for code-meshing and shaping ecology to favor one’s multilingual practices” (p. 404). When I asked Lucia if she would submit this essay to a college, it was clear that she had engaged in this process of recontextualizing, and would make a decision based in part on who might read it:

> Lucia: Like, I have to look at the college and see if it’s, like, diverse in people.
> Kate: And when you say diverse in people, you mean you would look and see, like, what the student body is like at the school?
> Lucia: Yes. Yeah. Because maybe they might understand some of it.
> (Interview, 6/7/16)

Though writing in a fluid, bilingual style aligns with her “identidad,” her choices – from including footnotes, to playing up her bilingualism but leaving out “slang,” to gauging the diversity of a potential college – illustrate the kind of complex considerations writers must make when taking a translingual approach, especially in a genre that by its nature is used to rank and judge.

Amir: “I wouldn’t give them my identity” Amir’s essay explored the fact that, though he is a self-described “Arabic person” (his family was from Yemen), he does not speak Arabic. He wrote that although he does not speak Arabic, he has other language practices such as “AAVE” and “standard English.” However, Amir’s essay describes how his language practices put him on the receiving end of judgment from his family (Fig. 3).

Amir ends his essay with the idea that the connections between language and identity should go beyond “nationality” (Fig. 4).

When talking to Amir about his essay, I asked him if being from Yemen was part of his identity. He responded that it was, because,

> Our culture is different. The way we speak, the way we dress, it’s different than Americans. (Interview, 6/7/16)

Alongside his identification with Yemen was also an identification with the Bronx and the language practices that characterize his community. He shared that he “spoke a little Spanish” and used “AAVE all day” with the customers at his family’s store (which he referred to as a bodega, using the Spanish word that is ubiquitous among New Yorkers) and with his friends.

When I asked Amir if he would submit this essay to a college, he replied that he wouldn’t. When I asked why, he said:

of Arabic. Many people talk to me in Arabic and When I tell them I don't understand arabic they laugh at me. For example my uncle was having A Conversation With me on my language practices and was telling me that I need to learn Arabic because it is my Cantry's language and my nationality. And Also they make fun of me When I call my Family members "Nigga or yo".	Many people talk to me in Arabic and when I tell them I don't understand Arabic they laugh at me. For example, my uncle was having a conversation with me on my language practices and was telling me that I need to learn Arabic because it is my country's language and my nationality. And also they make fun of me when I call my family members "nigga" or "yo."

Fig. 3 Amir's reflections on his language practices

In Conclusion Your identity does not have to do with your language practices. You can be born to A Certain language practices and you could also learn A Certain language practice. However there are many people that have diffrent language practices or do not Speak there national language. You also learn Certain language practices based on the People you hang out with or A Certain Area you live in I live in the Bronx, NY So I Speak A lot of Slang and AAVE.	In conclusion your identity does not have to do with your language practices. You can be born to a certain language practice and you could also learn a certain language practice. However there are many people that have different language practices or do not speak their national language. You can also learn certain language practices based on the people you hang out with or a certain area you live in. I live in the Bronx, NY so I speak a lot of slang and AAVE.

Fig. 4 Amir's reflections on his linguistic identity

Amir: Cause if I was to submit it, I wouldn't talk about my identity like that. I wouldn't give them my identity. I wouldn't use some words. Like some words in AAVE? Yeah, I wouldn't take a risk. I'd try to write standard English.

Kate: And when you say you wouldn't give them your identity –.

Amir: Yeah. I don't wanna talk about myself. About my background and stuff. I feel like… they don't need to know that stuff. It depends, if they're asking me about my…it depends on the topic.

Kate: So if the topic were specifically about your background or your identity, maybe you would share it?

Amir: Yeah, I'd share it but in a different type of way. Like I'd tell them the good things from my background and keep the bad things. (Interview, 6/7/16)

Amir's use of the words "give" and "keep" might reveal a desire to hold parts of himself close, away from the watchful eyes and ears of an audience. Including language practices like AAVE would mean giving readers of his college essay access to parts of himself that he'd rather not share. Similarly, if he *were* to share things about his identity or background, he'd do so in a "different way," keeping the "bad things" out of his essay. Though he did not give more information about what "bad things" he was referring to, what is clear is that there were elements of Amir's story (his background, experiences, feelings, etc.) that he considered off limits in "academic" writing. For Amir, taking the less risky approach of writing in "standard English" was a way to avoid "giving them" his identity.

5 Discussion and Further Thinking

Throughout the year of instruction, Ms. Winter and I chose texts and designed literacy activities around those texts that we hoped would bring students' existing linguistic expertise to the surface of the English classroom. By centering writers who purposefully use language in ways that push boundaries and themselves reflect on language in ways that resonated with the students, we saw students use their translingual sensibilities to engage in sophisticated and innovative readings of those texts. Similarly, when students took the lessons they learned from these mentors into their own writing, we read in their work and heard them talk through the kinds of conflicts and considerations that marginalized writers and artists often face when it comes to their audience, the anonymous "they" who will encounter their work.

A limitation of this work, of course, is that it was Ms. Winter and I who chose the texts. Though students did share with us translingual writers and artists whom they enjoyed and learned from, a further consideration might be the ways in which educators can make space for students themselves to provide the mentors and mentor texts. The Internet is full of writers, musicians, social media influencers and entertainers who are engaged in nuanced linguistic observation and performance – the kind of "citizen sociolinguistics" (Rymes, 2014) that we encourage in students – who are not on our radar as educators. Further, students themselves are constantly engaged in the production of boundary-pushing texts – whether they are acknowledged or valued as such in school or not – and could serve as powerful mentors for translingual writing in the classroom. As Paris (2011) puts it, by looking at the ways that language minoritized youth inscribe "ethnic, linguistic, local and transnational affiliations on clothing, binders, backpacks, public spaces, rap lyrics, and electronic

media" (p. 126), educators can expand their students' and their own definitions of texts and literacies. This expansion of whom we define as "mentors" is also an important step in destabilizing the hierarchies – linguistic and otherwise – that are woven into the fabric of the English classroom.

Lastly, an important implication of this work is the importance of *process*. In students' translingual author studies, they not only read the work of those authors but also read interviews and personal essays by those authors in which they reflected on the linguistic choices they made in their writing. In these metalinguistic reflections, the writers spoke about their relationship with their audience, their approach to criticism and even censorship, and the links between their writing and their identities as translingual, transnational people. In reading about their authors' process in addition to their actual written products, students were privy to the thinking behind the rhetorical choices these writers made. Thus, one implication for this work in English classrooms is that educators can incorporate a new set of mentor texts into the writing process: writers' interviews, television and radio appearances, and talks that delve into their metalinguistic process and thinking about audience. This choice could have the dual benefit of providing students with models of the kind of thinking that goes into translingual writing and giving them authentic opportunities to discuss audience and authors' purpose, literacy practices often tested on standardized exams.

In keeping with this emphasis on *process* is the importance of explicitly inviting students' own metalinguistic talk into the writing process. Asking students to talk through their linguistic choices, to discuss how they might have translanguaged in their writing (even if the piece is rendered in one named language), and to explain their choices in relationships to their audience shifts the writing process from a disconnected, product-driven school task to an authentic, meaningful practice. The combination of the use of translingual mentor texts and the opportunity for students to talk metalinguistically about their own writing invites students into a community of translingual writers and makes space for them to integrate elements of that community into their identities.

As we heard in Lucia and Amir's talk about their essays and in the essays themselves, while students can and do draw on their translingual sensibilities and practices in their writing, they do so in ways that enable them to tell the stories they want to tell. By reimagining the classroom writing process, educators can make space for students to integrate their translingual practices into their writing on their own terms in ways that affirm their identities. Though we can set up safe havens (Canagarajah, 1997) for students to voice a translingual sensibility, their linguistic choices – especially in heavily monitored "academic" writing – will reflect those elements of their identities and lived experiences that *they* choose to bring to the surface, not those that will subject them to further marginalization.

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Dialogue/Response—Engaging translanguaging pedagogies in language classrooms

Jim Cummins

The three chapters in this section, focused on plurilingual engagements for language and literacy classrooms, strongly reinforce the overall theme that infuses this important and stimulating book, namely, emergent bilingual students' knowledge of multiple languages represents a significant resource for learning that can be mobilized by teachers as a powerful pedagogical tool[1]. The three chapters span the grade levels. Coelho and Ortega document the effects of a pedagogical focus on *awakening to language* (*éveil aux langues*) in the preschool and primary grades of elementary school, Van Viegen highlights the ways in which older elementary school students' identity and academic engagement are enhanced by translanguaging instructional practices, and Seltzer documents the powerful learning and insights about language that high school students develop as a result of reading and discussing the work of translingual writers who integrate different language practices in their work.

The three chapters provide rich descriptions of classroom practice inspired by recently emerging theoretical constructs such as *awakening to language*, the *Framework of Reference for Pluralistic Approaches (FREPA)*, plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogies, the multilingual turn, and translanguaging. These instructional approaches are explicitly identified as incorporating a critical or transformative orientation to pedagogy that challenges deficit perspectives in regard to students' language practices. When schools open up the instructional space to include students' home languages and encourage translanguaging, they simultaneously repudiate the coercive power relations operating in schools and the wider society that marginalize the intellectual accomplishments and linguistic talents of individual students and their communities.

[1] In this chapter, I am using the terms 'plurilingual pedagogies' and 'multilingual pedagogies' interchangeably.

J. Cummins
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: jcummins320@gmail.com

Each chapter also engages in a dialogue between theory, research, and instructional practice that advances our understanding of both language learning and academic development. However, the organization of each chapter might give the impression that theory is implicitly prioritized over instructional innovation. Discussion of existing research and emerging theoretical constructs precedes and frames the documentation of classroom practice. Although this is likely not the intention of the authors, the chapters might be read as suggesting that new theoretical insights advanced by university researchers inspire educators to broaden their instructional practices rather than instructional practices being equally likely to stimulate the expansion of theory. Van Viegen expresses this implicit orientation as follows: "Educators working in classrooms that are richly multilingual and multicultural have much to gain from current perspectives in critical applied linguistics, including the concepts of dynamic bilingualism, plurilingualism and translanguaging."

This statement is clearly valid and not in any way problematic. But I would add that in this area (as well as other spheres of education), the knowledge generated by educators through their instructional practice has acted as a catalyst for the generation and expansion of theory. For example, rich translanguaging instructional practices were happening in schools long before constructs such as translanguaging or plurilingual pedagogies were proposed (e.g., Chow & Cummins, 2003; Defazio, 1997; Lucas & Katz, 1994). Educators such as Patricia Chow in Thornwood Public School near Toronto demonstrated that it was not only feasible but instructionally powerful for emergent bilingual students as young as Grade 1 to create and 'publish' dual language books in multiple languages (http://schools.peelschools.org/1363/DualLanguage/Documents/index.htm). Although this instructional innovation emerged in the context of a research project involving extended dialogues between educators and researchers (Schecter & Cummins, 2003), the specific instructional initiative and the creation of the dual language showcase website were teacher-generated. In other words, *teachers* generated the essential insight that students' multilingual abilities could be mobilized in the service of learning even when teachers didn't speak most of the languages of their students. This insight was extended and elaborated in dialogue with researchers, but the critical point is that practice initially generated theory rather than theory generating practice.

Positioning educators as knowledge-generators highlights additional ways in which theoretical insights can be generated and evaluated. Specifically, the evaluation of any theoretical construct or framework should include a classroom 'reality check'. I outlined this perspective as follows (Cummins, 2009):

> The relationship between theory and practice is two-way and ongoing: practice generates theory which, in turn, acts as a catalyst for new directions in practice, which then informs theory, and so on. Theory and practice are infused within each other. Theoretical claims or frameworks that integrate these claims are not valid or invalid, true or false; rather, they should be judged by criteria of adequacy and usefulness. Adequacy refers to the extent to which the claims or categories embedded in the framework are consistent with the empirical data and provide a coherent and comprehensive account of the data. Usefulness refers to the extent to which the framework can be used effectively by its intended audience to implement the educational policies and practices it implies or prescribes. (p. 4)

To illustrate how these criteria for evaluating theoretical constructs might operate, we can analyze the extent to which the construct of 'translanguaging' is adequate and useful. As a descriptor of language use among bilingual and multilingual individuals, it clearly not only captures the living reality of language use in multilingual contexts but also legitimizes these linguistic practices. Translanguaging pedagogy, viewed as largely equivalent to plurilingual pedagogy or what I termed 'bilingual instructional strategies' (Cummins, 2007), is strongly supported by extensive empirical research showing the cognitive and linguistic benefits of bilingual literacy development and the increased academic engagement of students who are enabled to use their multilingual repertoires within the classroom. As illustrated by the three chapters in this section, translanguaging pedagogy enables teachers to implement instructional practices that are widely acknowledged as effective such as scaffolding instruction, connecting to students' lives, affirming their identities, and enhancing their metalinguistic awareness.

Although the construct of translanguaging, in principle, passes this assessment with flying colours, some other constructs that have been associated with it do not fare as well. In particular three theoretical constructs, expressed here as propositions, are highly problematic from the perspective of both empirical adequacy and instructional usefulness:

- Languages do not exist;
- Academic language does not exist;
- Notions such as additive bilingualism, code-switching, and teaching for cross-lingual transfer are illegitimate because they reflect monoglossic orientations to language.

Do Languages Exist?

Makoni and Pennycook's (2007, p. 2) claim that "languages do not exist as real entities in the world" and Pennycook's (2006, p. 67) claim that the existence of languages is a pernicious myth were incorporated by García and colleagues into their theorizing of the construct of translanguaging (e.g., García, 2009; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). They argue that the linguistic system is totally integrated and we should talk about languaging and translanguaging to reflect the fact that 'language' is a social practice rather than a set of structures and functions associated with specific named languages. In addition to rejecting the legitimacy of all named languages, they dismiss notions such as 'home language' and 'school language' and L1 and L2.

The problematic nature of these claims is immediately obvious in light of the fact (illustrated in this book) that it is impossible to engage in any discussion of language education without making reference to realities such as English-only programs, Spanish/English bilingual programs, language dictionaries, etc. It is simply logically incoherent and empirically unsupported to make a blanket statement that "languages don't exist". I expressed this perspective as follows (Cummins, 2017a):

> Carried to its logical conclusion, the critique of the construct of 'language' would mean that it would be illegitimate for a child to express an utterance such as "My home language is English but my school language is French". It would also be illegitimate for web sites such as *Ethnologue* (www.ethnologue.com) to refer to and provide information about the 7,106 languages and dialects that humanity has generated. One could also not talk about Spanish-English (and other) bilingual programs since these languages do not exist. To claim that languages exist as social constructions but have no legitimacy 'in reality' raises the issue of what is 'reality' and what is a 'social construction'. (p. 414)

To what extent does the proposition that languages don't exist meet the criterion of instructional usefulness? I believe that the vast majority of educators would find the claim absurd. Languages are clearly social constructions with arbitrary and fluid boundaries, but they generate an immense material and symbolic reality (e.g., dictionaries, school curricula, wars, profits for corporations that teach and test languages, personal identities such as 'French teacher' etc.). With respect to consequential validity, how could we even discuss with teachers the importance of incorporating students' home languages into the life of schools when we are simultaneously telling them that these home languages don't exist? How could Van Viegen and Seltzer have conducted the insightful interviews and focus groups with students they document in this book without engaging in talk about specific languages? How would students have reacted if Van Viegen or Seltzer had told them that the multiple languages they speak don't exist?

In short, the theoretical proposition that languages don't exist is conceptually incoherent and pedagogically unhelpful. As I pointed out (Cummins, 2017a, 2017b), it is entirely possible to reconcile the construct of translanguaging, which highlights the integrated conceptual/linguistic system through which plurilingual individuals process and use language, with the social reality of different languages, understood as historical, cultural, and ideological constructs that have material consequences and determine social action (e.g., language planning, bilingual programs, etc.).

Does Academic Language Exist?

In framing her research study of translingual writers as mentors, Seltzer draws on the claims of Flores and Rosa (2015) who along with other researchers (e.g., Valdés, 2004) have challenged the legitimacy of the construct of 'academic language'. Flores and Rosa conflate the constructs of 'standard language' and 'academic language' and argue that both are embedded in a discourse of appropriateness that reflects "racialized ideological perceptions rather than objective linguistic categories" (p. 152). They also argue that the distinction between linguistic practices that are appropriate for academic and social uses is spurious.

Flores and Rosa's rejection of the construct of academic language is reflected in their critique of pedagogical approaches that focus explicitly on expanding students' expertise in understanding and using academic language. For example, they critique Olsen's (2010) description of students labeled 'long-term English learners'

as having high functioning social language, weak academic language and significant gaps in reading and writing skills. According to Flores and Rosa (2015), Olsen depicts long-term English learners as "deficient in the academic language that is appropriate for a school context and necessary for academic success" (p. 157). Also seen as problematic are Olsen's (2010) pedagogical recommendations that instruction for these students should focus "on powerful oral language, explicit literacy development, instruction in the academic uses of English, high quality writing, extensive reading of relevant texts, and emphasis on academic language and complex vocabulary" (p. 33). Flores and Rosa summarize their critique by characterizing Olsen's pedagogical recommendations as "squarely focused on molding [long-term English learners] into white speaking subjects who have mastered the empirical linguistic practices deemed appropriate for a school context" (p. 157).

In equating standard language with academic language and implying that there is no empirically credible distinction between the language people use in everyday social interactions and the language students encounter in academic contexts, Flores and Rosa ignore a huge amount of research evidence pointing to characteristics of written/academic language (e.g., textbooks, novels, newspapers) that differ significantly from the language we typically use in interpersonal face-to-face social interactions (e.g., Biber, 1986; Fillmore & Fillmore, 2012; Massaro, 2015). Bailey (2007), for example, notes that differences between social and academic language lie in "the relative frequency of complex grammatical structures, specialized vocabulary, and uncommon language functions" (p. 9). In other words, Flores and Rosa's claim is totally unsubstantiated by empirical research and they make no attempt to invoke empirical research in support of their claim. It is simply asserted as fact.

In addition to failing to meet the criterion of empirical adequacy, Flores and Rosa's rejection of the construct of academic language raises some significant questions for teachers. What is implied instructionally by their claim that raciolinguistic ideologies and discourses of appropriateness permeate the construct of academic language and attempts to develop minoritized students' knowledge of academic language? Are they implying that the writings of Rudolfo Anaya, Gloria Anzaldúa, Frederick Douglass, and Toni Morrison, among many others, are infused with raciolinguistic ideologies? If the academic registers used by these authors are innocent of raciolinguistic ideologies, then which academic registers, if any, are permeated by raciolingistic ideologies? What are the criteria for deciding whether a textbook, novel, or article is innocent or guilty in this regard? Are educators of color who promote their students' acquisition of academic registers also afflicted with raciolinguistic ideologies? In rejecting Olsen's (2010) pedagogical suggestions outlined above, are Flores and Rosa suggesting that teachers of minoritized students should *not* encourage the development of powerful oral language, high quality writing, and extensive reading of relevant texts (such as those utilized in Seltzer's project)?

In short, two-way dialogue with educators in relation to the pedagogical claims advanced by Flores and Rosa (2015) might have led to clarifications in the underlying theoretical constructs and insights that are useful in advancing instructional effectiveness.

Are the Constructs of 'Additive Bilingualism', 'Code-Switching', and Teaching for Cross-Lingual Transfer Illegitimate?

MacSwan (2017) has critiqued the argument advanced by García and colleagues (e.g., García, 2009; Otheguy et al., 2015) that the construct of code-switching is illegitimate because it "constitutes a theoretical endorsement of the idea that what the bilingual manipulates, however masterfully, are two separate linguistic systems" (Otheguy et al., 2015, p. 282). He points out that this characterization of code-switching research is merely asserted "and not tied to an actual analysis of theoretical proposals in the literature, nor are any actual relevant citations provided" (p. 179).

A similar point was made by Cummins (2017a, 2017b) in relation to García's assertion that the construct of 'additive bilingualism' reflects a monoglossic orientation to bilingualism and multilingualism. This claim is simply asserted without reference to any empirical research. Cummins (2017b) reviewed the work of numerous significant scholars in the field who endorsed the construct of additive bilingualism while simultaneously affirming dynamic conceptions of bilingualism/multilingualism and the integrated nature of bilingual/multilingual cognitive functioning. In other words, there is no empirical justification for characterizing notions of additive bilingualism and teaching for cross-linguistic transfer as reflecting a 'two solitudes' or monoglossic orientation to bilingualism/multilingualism. Cummins (2017b) suggested that it might be advisable to substitute the term 'active bilingualism' for 'additive bilingualism' in order to avoid continued mischaracterization of the construct.

In addition to dispensing with notions such as 'home language' and 'school language', García (2009) rejects the legitimacy of teaching that explicitly promotes transfer of knowledge and skills across languages. This is logical because if languages don't exist, then it is meaningless to talk about transfer from one language to another or teaching for cross-lingual transfer.

To what extent does this conception of bilingualism contribute to effective instructional practice in either English-medium or bilingual education programs? I believe that many teachers would find the arguments that languages don't exist 'in reality' and that teaching for cross-linguistic transfer is illegitimate both confusing and unhelpful in guiding their classroom instruction. If we shed the notion of teaching for transfer, how should teachers in a Spanish/English bilingual program conceptualize what they are doing when they highlight the similarities between *encontrar* and *encounter*, or when they remind students about the similarities between Spanish and English in conventions for paragraph formation?

In short, the rejection of constructs such as additive bilingualism, code-switching, and teaching for cross-linguistic transfer fails to meet criteria of either empirical adequacy or pedagogical usefulness. As acknowledged by Makoni and Pennycook (2007), the theoretical premises that gave rise to these problematic implications carry far-reaching implications. If languages don't exist, then neither do "language

rights, mother tongues, multilingualism or code-switching (p. 22). MacSwan (2017) adds to this list by noting that, according to this perspective, we can also throw out any consideration of second language acquisition and much of the entire field of sociolinguistics. He suggests that characterizing code-switching as monoglossic "is not only factually incorrect, but taken seriously, it would undermine critical research support for a view of bilingualism as a linguistic talent rather than a worrisome deficit" (p. 190). Exactly the same point can be made in relation to the characterization of additive bilingualism and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer as monoglossic in orientation.

Conclusion

In reflecting on the dialogue between theory, research, and instructional practice illustrated in the three papers in this section, I have suggested that genuine collaboration requires that educators in schools be positioned as knowledge-generators on an equal basis with university-based researchers. Furthermore, the dialogue between educators and researchers and, more abstractly between theoretical constructs and pedagogical practice, should include critical consideration of the consequential validity of theoretical ideas. In other words, we should examine the instructional consequences of implementing specific theoretical ideas or propositions. In this regard, the general theoretical construct of translanguaging and the myriad of other terms that address the same reality are both empirically adequate and instructionally useful in contributing to effective instructional practice. However, aligning the construct of translanguaging with the empirically dubious and counter-intuitive claim that languages don't exist undermines both the credibility and pedagogical usefulness of the construct. Similarly, the empirically unsupported conflation of 'academic language' with 'standard language' proposed by Flores and Rosa (2015) resulted in their rejection of literacy instructional practices articulated by Olsen (2010) that the vast majority of socially committed teachers would find both enlightened and progressive. In both these instances, collaborative dialogue with educators focused on assessing the consequential validity of theoretical propositions might have resulted in refinements that would have rendered the constructs more credible and useful.

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Part IV
Plurilingual Engagements for Higher Education

Faculty First: Promoting Translanguaging in TESOL Teacher Education

Zhongfeng Tian

Abstract Translanguaging has been recently identified as a promising pedagogy that could better serve emergent bilinguals in the U.S. by incorporating their full linguistic repertoires in academic learning. Therefore, it is important to promote translanguaging in teacher education and such change should start with faculty. This qualitative case study examines how one teacher educator (Elizabeth) and her students engaged with translanguaging in a TESOL teacher preparation course. Findings reveal that Elizabeth not only integrated translanguaging as a course content, but also created translanguaging spaces in her classroom. She realized that the social justice agenda of translanguaging resonated with her teaching philosophy and pushed her to be more critical of the dominant structure. Moreover, the students developed a translanguaging stance during the course and utilized a variety of strategies to implement translanguaging in their teaching. This chapter ends with suggestions for future teacher education program development.

Keywords Translanguaging · TESOL · Teacher education · Emergent bilinguals · Bi/multilingualism · Culturally sustaining pedagogy · Social justice

1 Introduction

In today's superdiverse world (Blommaert, 2010), U.S. schools have greater numbers of immigrant youth who bring to classrooms a wide range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Paradoxically, educational spaces for the development of bi/multilingualism have shrunk dramatically due to language policies that place emphasis on high-stakes testing and English-only mandates, which promote reductive literacy practices with instructional focus on teaching a narrow range of basic skills and standard American English only (Gutiérrez, 2001). Such one-size-fits-all

Z. Tian (✉)
Lynch School of Education and Human Development, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA
e-mail: tianza@bc.edu

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language policies and approaches deny the heterogeneity that exists among children, especially emergent bilinguals,[1] and effectively erase their rich cultural and linguistic resources (García & Kleifgen, 2018; Molle, Sato, Boals, & Hedgspeth, 2015). To counteract this trend, *translanguaging* pedagogy (García, 2009; García & Li, 2014) represents an emerging attempt to foster culturally sustaining contexts of learning (Paris, 2012; Paris & Alim, 2017) wherein students' full language repertoires are valued and leveraged to meet academic challenges. Translanguaging pedagogy holds the promise of "liberating the voices of language minoritized students" (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 200) and "enabling a more socially just and equitable education for bilingual students" (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 17). To follow through on this promise requires caring and competent teachers who understand what comprises a translanguaging pedagogy, and who are capable of its implementation to better serve emergent bilinguals in their classrooms. Nevertheless, most teachers do not receive adequate training or have little knowledge in this area. More crucially, as Kleyn (2016a) argues, "before teacher candidates can become equipped to enact translanguaging pedagogies, their education professors must at least have a baseline understanding of dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging so that they can be included in all courses that address equity, literacies, and methodology" (p. 211). The purpose of this chapter is to explore how such change might begin by engaging teacher education faculty and supporting them to teach pre-service teachers about translanguaging pedagogy.

To facilitate systematic change and education reform, teacher educators are on the front lines of promoting translanguaging for pre-service teachers to better address the learning needs of emergent bilinguals. However, there are few studies that examine how teacher education faculty engage with translanguaging as a new approach to their own teaching. This study was pursued to investigate one professor, Elizabeth's initiative of integrating translanguaging into one of her teacher preparation courses called *TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) Practice*.

The course *TESOL Practice* was originally designed as a practicum where teacher candidates would learn and apply Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) techniques for working with emergent bilinguals. SEI requires teachers to use clear, direct, simple English and a wide range of scaffolding strategies (Short & Echevarria, 1999) to make content area instruction more accessible to learners while developing their language proficiency (Faltis, 1992; Fritzen, 2011; Genesee, 1999; Short, 1991). While widely adopted and implemented across school districts in the state of Massachusetts where this study conducted, this approach fails to recognize bi/multilingualism as a resource and tends to reinforce an English-only space which limits the use of students' multilingual language resources and cultural funds of knowl-

[1] "Emergent bilinguals" are traditionally referred as "English Language Learners" or "English Learners" (e.g., in language policy documents) with a deficit orientation, focusing only on their learning process or absence of English. To emphasize the potential of these students to become bilingual and biliterate during schooling, I refer to them as "emergent bilinguals" from an asset-based orientation (García & Kleyn, 2016).

edge. By contrast, translanguaging pedagogy incorporates students' home language practices strategically into classrooms, and cultivate a heterogeneous, inclusive educational space where emergent bilinguals are encouraged to draw upon their entire cultural and linguistic repertoires in meaning-making activities (García & Li, 2014). Thus, SEI represents an assimilationist ideology to promote standardized English; translanguaging reflects an asset-based perspective to support language and content learning while challenging the dominance of English. It was with this aim anchored in a social justice commitment that Elizabeth took the initiative to integrate translanguaging into her course.

Through exploring Elisabeth's use of translanguaging pedagogy in one teacher education course and her students' subsequent engagement with translanguaging theories, this chapter contributes to the empirical basis for how teacher education faculty and teacher candidates can take up translanguaging, shedding light on the opportunities and challenges of translanguaging in teacher education, and offering suggestions on how translanguaging could be better embedded into teacher education curriculum to prepare future teachers to work more effectively with emergent bilinguals. The chapter begins by reviewing related literature on translanguaging, its philosophical principles and pedagogical applications in K-12 education and teacher education. Elaborating on the educational potential of translanguaging in teacher education, I present a collaborative research study with a teacher educator and pre-service teacher candidates, describing and analysing their engagement with translanguaging theory and practices. Finally, these findings will be discussed in relation to their practical implications for future teacher education program development.

2 Related Literature

2.1 Translanguaging as Theory and Pedagogy

García's (2009) notion of *translanguaging* focuses on the "*multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to *make sense of their bilingual worlds*" (p.45, original emphasis). This perspective provides researchers and educators with theoretical and pedagogical approaches to reconceptualize how we think of languages and how we can better educate emergent bilinguals in plurilingual and multicultural educational contexts. As theory, translanguaging interrogates the duality of bilingualism and suggests that emergent bilinguals' language repertoires should be seen as comprising a single, dynamic semio-linguistic system and not separate, bounded languages. Through this lens, bilingual speakers/writers are seen as making meaning using the totality of their linguistic resources, from which they strategically select language features that are employed and adapted to suit the sociolinguistic purposes of the context (García & Li, 2014). Bilinguals are therefore always in a fluid state of *becoming* in which "language practices are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual and multimodal terrain of the communicative act" (García, 2014, p. 109).

Different from understanding bi/multilingualism as comprising separate, bounded linguistic systems (for example, English and Spanish or English and Mandarin), translanguaging starts from the view of a unitary linguistic system, with bilinguals having a linguistic repertoire of combined features that are socially defined according to named language categories (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Thus, this study sees translanguaging as shifting epistemological understandings of bilinguals' language practices: bilingual speakers do not "switch" (as in code-switching) between two separate, autonomous named languages, but select or inhibit (or not) different features in their unitary repertoire in response to the locally situated task (García, 2014). The "trans-" prefix further indicates that the bilinguals' languaging in fact goes beyond the conventions of socially constructed named languages and encompasses multisensory and multimodal forms of communication to make meaning (García & Li, 2014).

As pedagogy, translanguaging starts from the lips and minds of children themselves as it treats emergent bilinguals as resourceful agents with full semio-linguistic repertoires and competence to navigate appropriately within various communicative situations (García & Kleifgen, 2018). It aims to leverage all the features of children's repertoires and incorporate learners' familiar cultural and language practices in academic learning. At the same time, translanguaging acknowledges the social reality of mastering "standardized" ways of using named languages (e.g., the external state standards) and therefore the teachers in a translanguaging classroom also show students "when, where, and why to use some features of their repertoire and not others, enabling them to also perform according to the social norms of named languages as used in schools" (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 15). Translanguaging pedagogy values and supports translanguaging practices as the norm in bilingual communities, and expands students' linguistic repertoires to include new "academic" features so they may successfully navigate different contexts of school-based literacies and subject-matter knowledge.

Specifically, García, Johnson, and Seltzer (2017) identify three interwoven strands of translanguaging pedagogy: they claim that in order to implement translanguaging in instruction, a teacher must: (1) develop translanguaging *stance* – they believe the value of bilingualism in content and language learning and position language-minoritized children as legitimate users of language; (2) plan translanguaging *design* – they purposefully and strategically create heteroglossic, inclusive educational spaces (such as appropriating multilingual materials and grouping students according to home languages) where students are encouraged to use their complete communicative repertoires to engage in learning; and (3) be ready for translanguaging *shifts* – they must be flexible and willing to deviate and change their lessons to respond to the needs of children who are at different points of the bilingual continuum. These interrelated strands work together "to advance social justice and to ensure that bilingual learners are educated for success and not just to conform to monolingual norms" (García & Kleifgen, 2018, p. 81).

2.2 Translanguaging Pedagogy in U.S. Classrooms

A growing body of research has shown the educational potential of translanguaging pedagogy in various U.S. K-12 classrooms – English-medium mainstream classrooms (e.g., Ebe & Chapman-Santiago, 2016; Woodley & Brown, 2016), transitional bilingual education classrooms (e.g., Cioè-Peña & Collins, 2016; Kleyn, 2016b; Sayer, 2013; Seltzer & Collins, 2016), and dual-language bilingual education classrooms (e.g., Espinosa & Herrera, 2016; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). Translanguaging pedagogy has been demonstrated as a scaffold to contribute to both content and language development for emergent bilinguals in mainstream classrooms, and to support bilingualism and biliteracy development in bilingual education contexts.

Specifically, by utilizing translanguaging pedagogical strategies in English-medium classrooms, such as providing translations on handouts, grouping students based on their same home languages, and employing multilingual and multimodal resources, teachers can provide multiple points of access to engage learners' entire semio-linguistic repertoires to participate and interact with content, materials, and peers. These adaptations make content area teaching and learning more accessible and comprehensible for bilingual learners to promote their performance in language and content learning (see more at García & Kleyn, 2016). Likewise, despite strict language allocation policies in some bilingual education programs (e.g., one teacher/one language c.f. Gort & Sembiante, 2015), partner teachers can cross diglossic boundaries strategically to perform translanguaging practices such as bilingual recasting, translation, and language brokering. Such flexible bilingual pedagogy affords bilingual learners opportunities to experiment with hybrid language forms/uses to buttress their meaning making while engaging them in academic discourse, and to increase critical metalinguistic awareness for developing bilingualism and biliteracy (see more in the special issue by Gort, 2015, 2018).

Translanguaging pedagogy is more than a scaffold; it has also been thought to potentially transform English-medium and bilingual education. Adopting translanguaging in mainstream education means that the language practices of all students are legitimized and leveraged as a resource for learning at all times (García & Kleifgen, 2018). This shift in the language use of the classroom challenges the hegemonic status of standard English to include bilingual learners' minoritized voices in meeting academic challenges. For example, Ebe and Chapman-Santiago (2016) demonstrated that the use of culturally relevant texts incorporating translanguaging as a literary device in a mainstream English Language Arts (ELA) class allowed the students to make strong connections to their cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge, enabling students to bring their whole selves into the classroom. In bilingual education contexts, translanguaging pedagogy validates students'

hybrid language uses and identities in their own right and develops both teacher and student agency. Sayer (2013), Palmer et al. (2014), and Mateus and Palmer (2017) have found that by creating spaces in which the teachers and students translanguaged among a mix of standard and vernacular English and Spanish, students developed agency to become critical and creative language users, and their bilingual identities were recognized, validated, and promoted. Further, by allowing, valuing, and mirroring students' voices and linguistic choices, teachers also became agentive social actors in challenging traditional language isolation policies in bilingual program settings.

In sum, by integrating bilingualism as an instructional resource, translanguaging pedagogy encourages emergent bilinguals to use their full semiotic meaning-making repertoires actively to acquire, understand, and demonstrate knowledge. It holds the potential of creating a culturally sustaining context of learning (Paris, 2012) which "supports young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence" (p. 95). By empowering bilingual students, protecting their language rights, and affirming their identities, translanguaging pedagogy ultimately aims to transform schooling in ways that advance a social justice agenda: "the language practices of minoritized speakers cease to be an excuse to deny access to rich educational experiences and instead are leveraged to educate deeply and justly (García & Kleifgen, 2018, p. 81).

2.3 Translanguaging in U.S. Teacher Education

Presently, two empirical studies have examined the potential of translanguaging in U.S. teacher education. Musanti and Rodríguez (2017) explored translanguaging practices that occurred in a Spanish-English bilingual teacher preparation program, with a particular focus on bilingual teachers' academic writing. They found through translanguaging practices, bilingual teachers developed creativity in leveraging their full linguistic repertoire to produce meaningful content, and seemed to develop a stance that defied the monolingual tradition that tends to prevail in bilingual teacher preparation. Flores and Aneja (2017) introduced translanguaging as a framework in a TESOL teacher education course and asked participating pre-service teachers to develop a project that enacted the new understanding of language practice associated with translanguaging. They revealed that many non-native English teachers developed more positive conceptualizations of their own identities as multilingual teachers, and created pedagogical approaches built on students' home languages in ways that challenge dominant language ideologies. These studies point to the transformative potential of translanguaging in supporting teachers' multilingual identities and in cultivating teachers' agentic disposition to counteract monolingual bias in language education.

3 Methodology

Building upon these findings, this study explores how translanguaging can be integrated into teacher education curriculum to facilitate systematic change in teacher education programs. The study operates from the perspective that pre-service teacher education should comprise opportunities for teacher candidates to engage in translanguaging practices during teacher education courses in order to warrant potential uptake and implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in their own classrooms. To this end, this qualitative case study was pursued to highlight how one teacher educator and her students engaged with translanguaging in a TESOL teacher preparation course. A case study design permits the investigation of "a phenomenon within its real-life context" (Yin, 2003, p. 13) and is particularly useful for its rich description and heuristic value to illustrate the complexities of a situation (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). In this case, I focused my inquiry in one undergraduate-level course titled *TESOL Practice* to unpack one professor and her students' process of engaging with translanguaging. This study was guided by two overarching research questions:

1. How does one teacher educator, Elizabeth, make sense of and integrate translanguaging in her course?
2. How do the students make sense of and integrate translanguaging into their teaching practices?

3.1 Context

This study took place at a city university located in Massachusetts. The previous education policies in the state required all teachers to be certified in Sheltered English Immersion (SEI) to work with English Learners (ELs). The goals of SEI are to develop subject matter knowledge, academic skills, and English proficiency simultaneously. In all sheltered English classes, teachers deliver language-rich, grade-level content area instruction in English in a manner that is comprehensible to learners. However, SEI utilizes English as the *only* valid mode of instruction, which excludes the rich sociocultural and linguistic experiences that all children can bring to learning tasks. This approach can be seen as subtractive bilingualism, which adds an additional language without attending to support or maintenance of students' first or home language(s) (Valenzuela, 2010), an underlying assimilationist ideology.

In order to obtain licensure to teach in Massachusetts, all teacher candidates, regardless of their content area, must have an SEI certification. This certification can be obtained through an SEI course within a teacher preparation program or by passing a licensing test on the principles and practices of SEI. Within this context, a TESOL Certification program was developed in 2017 at this university to equip teacher candidates with SEI theory and practice. Given that this university had no

specific Education department, the program was housed under the Education Studies Program in the Sociology Department and therefore open to any undergraduate students interested in working with or obtaining a certification for teaching ELs.

I came to know Elizabeth through my network and involvement with local teacher educators. As a White female from a middle-class family, Elizabeth self-identified as monolingual English speaker with some knowledge in Spanish. She had obtained a doctoral degree from a university in Massachusetts, and had received training in SEI and taught teacher education courses based on SEI. At the time of the project, Elizabeth was a professor and director of the teacher education program, and had been working at the university for 7 years with prior teaching experience in ESL/EFL both in the U.S. and overseas. Her research interests included English as a Second Language (ESL), teacher education, urban education, and teachers' engagement with research.

Her interest in translanguaging started after our first encounter in January 2017. With a strong belief in the educational potential of translanguaging and an ultimate goal of teaching for social justice, Elizabeth collaborated with me to modify/re-design the courses of the TESOL Certificate program, including the *TESOL Practice* course which provided the context for this study. During our initial meetings in January 2017, I shared with her the aims of my doctoral work and research on translanguaging. Elizabeth was keen to learn about translanguaging; unlike the state's SEI model, she felt that translanguaging connected with her goal of teaching for social justice, particularly its valorization of students' full linguistic repertoires. With these aims in mind, together we embarked on a collaborative project with the goal of promoting translanguaging in the TESOL Certificate program; each of us acting as knowledge brokers to mutually inform and reinforce one another's understanding of research and practice. The project involved meeting regularly on an ongoing basis to exchange ideas relating to translanguaging and to discuss ways to modify the current SEI curriculum.

Notably, the state legislature was reviewing its approach to teaching ELs at this time, and in June 2017, the MA House of Representatives approved a bill that eliminated "one size fits all" teaching for ELs, because the SEI-only policy had failed to account for differing needs of ELs and caused higher dropout rates. The new bill, H.3736 "*An Act Relative to Language Opportunity for Our Kids*" aimed to differentiate instruction for ELs in Massachusetts schools. The bill provided school districts with greater room to maneuver, allowing flexibility to adopt and adapt instructional approaches to better serve the state's culturally and linguistically diverse learners. Aware of this significant change in Massachusetts education policy, Elizabeth determined that the time was right to explore way to shift the TESOL Certificate program from teaching the English-only SEI approach to teaching a translanguaging approach, providing motivation to integrate translanguaging into her teacher preparation courses.

The course under examination, *TESOL Practice* was one of three required courses for the TESOL certificate program. The course was offered in Spring 2018, and as a practicum course, it was designed to provide teacher candidates with both weekly seminars (90 min in length) to explore theory and fieldwork (30 h) to develop and apply pedagogic content knowledge, put theory into practice, and help teacher

candidates to create a Teaching and Service Portfolio. Eight undergraduate students enrolled in the course *TESOL Practice* and seven of them, four female and three male (aged 19–22), agreed to participate in the study. Notably, participating students had cultural and linguistic backgrounds that were different from traditional (predominately White, monolingual female) demographics in the state's teacher preparation programs. Among the participants, there were four self-identified monolingual and three bilingual students who spoke English in addition to Spanish, Pashto, or Portuguese. Five students were seniors and two were juniors, majoring in different subject areas, including sociology, psychology, fine arts, history, and Spanish. Although all participants had limited teaching experience and basic knowledge in English teaching and learning, many of them expressed enthusiasm about education and aspired to becoming a teacher. Overall, participating students' diverse background provided a valuable opportunity for us to explore their unique response to and engagement with translanguaging.

3.2 Research Activities and Data Analysis

Multiple sources of data were collected to provide rich, in-depth understanding about the teacher educator and students' engagement with translanguaging. Specifically, I attended each weekly seminar (fourteen 90-min sessions) as participant observer, video-recorded the classes, and took detailed field notes. I conducted three open-ended interviews (25–35 min each) with Elizabeth at the beginning, during and after the course to gather her perceptions about and experiences with implementing a translanguaging approach. A student focus group interview (20 min) was conducted at the end of the semester to gather perceptual data about students' experiences of and reflections on translanguaging in the course. Finally, artifacts were collected throughout the semester, including Elizabeth's teaching materials and teaching journal and teacher candidates' lesson plans, written reflections and portfolios, to provide further insight into their understanding of translanguaging and implementation strategies.

Using a grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), data analysis was an iterative and recursive process with all the data read separately using a method of constant comparison. First, examining classroom videos and comparing them against the field notes, open coding was used to mark instances that highlighted the teacher educator's and students' sense-making and integration of translanguaging, and these data were triangulated with participants' perceptions to provide insights into their understandings and teaching practices. Secondary analysis involved axial coding to organize and collapse open codes into broader categories and patterns. In the final phase of analysis, theoretical memos were drafted for each major category to elucidate a grounded description of how the teacher educator and teacher candidates engaged with translanguaging both theoretically and practically. Participant member checks were conducted following completion of analysis to ensure reliability.

4 Findings

4.1 Integrating Translanguaging into TESOL Preparation

Elizabeth integrated translanguaging into the course on *TESOL Practice* in multiple ways. She not only introduced translanguaging as part of the course content, but also created translanguaging spaces in her classroom to support teacher candidates in experiencing and using translanguaging practices. Further, she offered teacher candidates the opportunities to apply translanguaging pedagogy throughout their lesson design, mock teaching and fieldwork experiences. Below,

Teaching About Translanguaging Before the course started, Elizabeth revisited the terminology used throughout the syllabus and changed the terms that reflected a monolingual bias (for example, changing "English learners" to "emergent bilinguals" or "bilingual learners"). During the course, she introduced the students the framework of translanguaging to deepen their understanding in various ways. The book *The Translanguaging Classroom: Leveraging Student Bilingualism for Learning* (García et al., 2017) was selected as the core text, including topics on what translanguaging is, why translanguaging is needed, and how to create and implement translanguaging lessons with appropriate assessments for emergent bilinguals in K-12 classrooms. To further familiarize the students with translanguaging, students watched a video lecture by Dr. Ofelia García, participated in class discussions on translanguaging, and wrote reflections on translanguaging related topics, including a Philosophy of Language Statement for their teaching portfolio to articulate and demonstrate their knowledge of language and the role of translanguaging in their instructional practice. Alongside this work, Elizabeth continued to introduce SEI strategies; however, she invited teacher candidates to reflect critically upon them (i.e., comparing SEI and translanguaging approaches). Given that the students had only limited teaching experience, Elizabeth taught some basic knowledge about TESOL (e.g., pedagogical grammar) and curriculum design (e.g, backwards design, universal design for learning). Finally, taking a critical sociocultural approach, Elizabeth engaged teacher candidates in regular conversations about the connections among language, culture, and power to develop a political understanding of TESOL and how translanguaging might be used as a pedagogical approach to educate language learners in more just and socially meaningful ways.

Creating Translanguaging Spaces To reinforce teacher candidates' learning about translanguaging, Elizabeth intentionally created translanguaging spaces to engage students in translanguaging. This practice comprised a form of modelling for teacher candidates how to integrate translanguaging practices into their classrooms. For instance, Elizabeth modeled translingual writing opportunities through journaling tasks, wherein students could reflect, in any language they felt comfortable, on course concepts and activities; she invited teacher candidates to share and teach each other routine communications in their home languages such as welcomes

and greetings; and, in student-led demonstration lessons, bilingual teacher candidates were invited to teach their home languages to the class.

Although these simple moves might not have been seen as transformative in inverting language hierarchies, Elizabeth aimed to, through modeling in her own practice, push back the monolingual (English) ideologies and instruction in higher education settings. She intentionally cultivated students' language awareness, interculturalism, and openness to cultural and linguistic diversity (e.g., by hearing a variety of languages circulating in the classroom, monolingual students might become comfortable and start to develop multilingualism appreciation). Moreover, modelling gave teacher candidates examples to use in their own instructional practice.

Providing Opportunities to Enact Translanguaging Elizabeth asked the students to implement translanguaging pedagogy in their lesson plans, mock lesson demonstrations, and practice teaching. Building on teacher candidates developing translanguaging stance, and their new experiences of translanguaging in teacher education, Elizabeth engaged her class in the enactment of translanguaging design and shifts in their practice teaching. Teacher candidates were from a variety of disciplinary backgrounds, and were also required to develop lesson plans in their specialized content areas. Specifically, the task involved integrating both content and language learning objectives, and incorporating translanguaging strategies as a scaffold and resource for emergent bilingual students. Elizabeth provided teacher candidates with a translanguaging lesson plan template, and each teacher candidate was required to present a 10-min mock lesson demonstration, followed by a whole-class debriefing for feedback on its strengths, and on improving translanguaging strategies in particular. Finally, for their practicum, teacher candidates were asked to write a final reflection paper on the opportunities and challenges of implementing translanguaging strategies in their respective placement contexts.

In summary, Elizabeth provided the students with ample opportunities to engage with translanguaging. She taught about translanguaging and modeled translanguaging spaces in the classroom. Teacher candidates also enacted translanguaging in their practice teaching activities. Through these three dimensions, Elizabeth worked to equip the students with necessary knowledge and skills to achieve the goal of teaching ESL for social justice.

4.2 Teacher Identity and Translanguaging

Along with documenting the changes in Elizabeth's practice, I gained insight into her perceptions of and reflections on developing a nuanced understanding of translanguaging through analysis of our interviews and her teaching journal. In general, Elizabeth identified congruence between her teaching philosophy and the concept of translanguaging. Learning about translanguaging provided her with a theoretical

lens and rationale for critiquing the monolingual paradigm that dominated the teacher education program's approach to language education, shedding light on the tensions between the SEI model and translanguaging pedagogy.

Congruence with Teaching Philosophy As an ESL teacher educator, Elizabeth aimed to provide a more just, equitable education for emergent bilingual students. Her philosophy comprised a belief in the significant role of schema in teaching and learning, and she used a critical sociocultural approach in her previous courses to develop students' understanding of the role of language plays in the "dynamic and dialogic power relationships between the social and individual, the global and the local, the institutional and the everyday" (Lewis & Moje, 2003, p. 1992). Elizabeth shared:

> Schema is my buzzword; it means funds of knowledge … that's a big concept that I want to pass on to my students that every single person has a different perspective and experiences the world in slightly different ways. I think the notion of translanguaging allowing students to bring their linguistic repertoires to the classroom, very much resonates with what I have talked about for years in terms of valuing students' funds of knowledge, and their schema, and that being a building block of learning in any classroom.

Translanguaging as pedagogy, which values and mobilizes students' cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge, echoed Elizabeth's attention to schema. Both emphasize building upon what students already have (i.e., existing sociocultural and linguistic knowledge, and their familiar experiences) in teaching and learning. In this sense, translanguaging helped furnish Elizabeth's understanding of schema with a sociocultural layer, incorporating students' personal histories, accumulated knowledge, and cultural identities into the contributions of background knowledge to learning.

A translanguaging perspective resonated with Elizabeth's conceptualization of language and multilingualism in education. She expressed in her first interview:

> I feel like translanguaging is a more comprehensive view of language; it really makes more sense to me than keeping languages just as separate entities or like boxes, things.
>
> This notion that there is a commonality between all languages, theoretically, makes a lot more sense to me.

Translanguaging offers a holistic and fluid understanding of language, which aligned with Elizabeth's exception to the monoglossic view of languages as static, separate or compartmentalized. It captures dynamic language practices of everyday communication between bi/multilinguals, thereby challenging the arbitrary boundaries between socially constructed languages. She further connected a translanguaging theory of language to teaching for social justice:

> I've always sort of viewed my ESL world as more practice, I mean, there are theories of language acquisition, etc., but I never really connected to my understanding of how teaching can be for justice. I've always sort of feel like social justice was on one side, and teaching ESL on the other … I rarely ever see much connection between them.
>
> But through translanguaging, I feel like it's very much bringing both of those interests of mine together.

Elizabeth stated that she had viewed language teaching and social justice as two separate interests; however, the critical component embedded in translanguaging pedagogy bridged the gap between these interests in its potential to foster a more equitable and culturally sustaining approach to ESL teaching. Further, translanguaging provided her with concrete theoretical and pedagogical frameworks to name her teaching orientation and pedagogy and to guide her future teaching practices. In our final interview, Elizabeth said, "[Translanguaging] just supports all of the fundamental beliefs I have about learning, theoretically and also pedagogically … it feels like I've found an overarching theory or approach for everything that I've always done." Nonetheless, with these new understanding, Elizabeth felt there was still room for developing and refining translanguaging learning tasks for teacher candidates.

Adopting a Critically Reflexive Stance In addition to the resonance with her teaching philosophy, making sense of translanguaging pushed Elizabeth to reflect upon dominant structures more critically. By "dominant structure", she meant two things: the power of monolingualism or standard English in the U.S., and the dominant power held by professors/teachers in a classroom. As expressed in her second interview,

> [I]t makes me question my own power and dominance even more, especially since I am not a bilingual speaker, I mean I have, I can speak other languages but I don't feel like I'm bilingual speaker of any languages. I think it really impresses on me like the skills and the assets of bilingualism, multilingualism that I don't have, which makes me even like more humble as a teacher. It makes me … I'm so not the expert here.

As translanguaging theory disrupts monolingual ideology and legitimizes all linguistic varieties/performances, it provided Elizabeth with a rationale to resist the dominant power of standard English. Thinking about her own language background, as a monolingual English-speaking faculty member, she wondered the extent to which monolingual instructors were capable of translanguaging pedagogy in and for teacher education; meaning, how might they legitimately promote translanguaging when they themselves are monolingual. The following quote illustrates:

> [Translanguaging] made me realize where I have resistance to it and where I do things the same old way I've always done things. But there is awareness I need to do it differently. So I need to in my classroom bring in more languages than I do, everybody's, I think I worked very hard on bringing in people's identities and cultural things, but I am not, I could've even do more with that … Translanguaging makes me see where I am unwilling to move out of my comfort. My comfort is not in other languages. But I need to figure out how to do that because I'm asking the students to do that.

Recognizing that translanguaging pedagogy flourishes in a learning community where teachers position themselves as co-learners and treat students as resourceful agents (not deficient, non-native speakers), Elizabeth understood the importance to create spaces for student agency and engagements with critical and creative learning opportunities. She noted that bi/multilingual students bring rich assets or funds of knowledge into the classroom, which invited her to be "more humble as a teacher"

and to recognise that "[she's] not the expert here". To Elizabeth, modeling translanguaging comprised a critical step along this path, part of an effort to debunk the notion that monolingual teachers cannot promote or enact translanguaging. While endeavouring to break down the walls of English-only spaces by incorporating different cultural and linguistic resources, Elizabeth noted that she harboured some reservations towards opening the class to other languages, and that her position as professor reinforced the power and dominance of English. She admitted that it would take time and effort to come out of her comfort zone to truly realize the creation of a translanguaging space in her classroom.

Possibilities for Translanguaging in English Immersion As a teacher educator trained in and practicing SEI strategies for years, Elizabeth identified challenges and opportunities in aligning translanguaging with the English immersion approach:

> My pedagogical home is not sheltered English immersion anymore, although I was there. Translanguaging is where I would like to live, as my home, but it is not the comfortable home. I think I definitely would not throw out sheltered English instruction because I think a lot of strategies are [still valuable] … it is just not allowing the language piece to come in, and that's where I defer. So that's where I would say like I don't think [SEI's] the best approach. I do think that translanguaging is a better approach, because from my only experiences, I cannot imagine learning another language without using language tools they have.

As the quote illustrates, Elizabeth did not completely discard SEI strategies, as she still believed in their value for scaffolding instruction to support emergent bilingual learners. However, she noticed that the SEI approach tends to reinforce an English-only educational space by prohibiting or limiting the use of students' home languages, whereas a translanguaging approach should purposefully leverage the role of home languages in and for academic learning. Elizabeth stated that translanguaging can be a pedagogy orientated towards "respect for humanity and for people" in that it recognizes that learners use the extant tools (schema) they have to learn. Hence, to Elizabeth, translanguaging pedagogy provided a more "realistic and respectful way to learn by allowing people to use what they have to learn." Elizabeth felt she was now akin to a translanguaging *stance* as she believed in the utilization of students' full linguistic repertoire to promote a more equitable approach to emergent bilinguals' learning.

Despite this shift, she felt that some instructional strategies offered in the SEI program were still relevant. She noted, "I think I'm still doing the same design with the exception of making sure there is acknowledgement and inclusion of other languages and cultures. And I've always done it culturally; I just never did it linguistically." Elizabeth further expressed that she wanted to figure out how to modify SEI strategies to make them more culturally and linguistically sustaining. These efforts, however, were met with some challenges, as she expressed in her final interview:

> I'm trying to figure out translanguaging while also trying to figure out how to fit in everything that students might need to be actually able to stand at the front of the classroom. I'm still concerned that if they were going to take for example the ESL teacher test, the MTEL, I don't know that if they would pass that because we haven't really done all of the language approach theories that are probably on the test …

Given the program expectation to educate teacher candidates about foundational theories and teaching methods, Elizabeth juggled to find a balance between covering all the necessary content (e.g., the test content) and integrating translanguaging pedagogies. She noted that these dual aims comprised the next step in her ongoing development.

4.3 Developing Understanding of Translanguaging in Teacher Candidates

Teacher candidates' engagement with the translanguaging-oriented perspectives, materials and activities in the *TESOL Practicum* course promoted their understanding of translanguaging theory and pedagogy. Analysis of class activities and interactions, coursework, and focus group data highlights how monolingual and bilingual teacher candidates understood translanguaging theory from different entry points and how they came to adopt a translanguaging stance in their understanding of language, culture and power and in their pedagogy.

Different Entry Points to Understand Translanguaging Theory The TESOL course foregrounded how a translanguaging perspective offered an altogether different epistemological understanding of language than what the teacher candidates had presumed prior to starting the program. Notably, those with bilingual language backgrounds seemed to connect translanguaging to their own everyday use of language, receptive to a new concept to describe their linguistic repertoires. In one classroom discussion, when Elizabeth asked the students to reflect on translanguaging theory after watching the video lecture given by Dr. García, two bilingual teacher candidates found the notion of having a unitary linguistic system to be a good explanation of their daily communicative practices; both expressed the same idea that "sometimes you don't even realize you're speaking a language which is not English, like 'Spanglish' as a whole". Bilinguals may not feel that they "switch" between languages in their minds, but social realities render their use of linguistic features as either English or Spanish. Monolingual teacher candidates seemed to understand translanguaging from a different perspective, though similarly connecting their life experiences with the theory. One monolingual student, Lauren,[2] whose family was from the United Kingdom, talked about how she translanguaged between different Englishes – British and American English – using different accents and words when travelling. Another monolingual student, Mary pointed out the regional dialects within American English, which she experienced with friends from various states who used different words to express things. Discussing translanguaging across languages, language varieties and dialects, both bilingual and monolingual teacher candidates found entry points to a translanguaging perspective and developed an understanding of the concept through their unique lived experiences. The

[2] All student names are pseudonyms.

teacher candidates' insights aligned with recent, expansive definitions of translanguaging (e.g., Rymes, 2018, April 27), which is not exclusive to bi/multilingual speakers. Of particular interest was the awareness shown in the monolingual teacher candidates about the blurry boundaries between English varieties, dialects and accents, pointing to the limitations of understanding of monolingualism. Does monolingualism really exist because even for monolinguals, they select different linguistic features or various modes to "translanguage" between regional dialects and standard English under different contexts to maximize their communicative potential with different audiences. Such understanding prompts the students to realize how translanguaging is naturally occurring in both "monolingual" and multilingual people's lives.

Adopting a Critical Translanguaging Pedagogy Analysis of teacher candidates' teaching portfolios, in-class lesson demonstrations, and focus group data highlighted the strategies they employed to integrate translanguaging into their practice teaching, as well as their experiences and perceptions about using a translanguaging approach. As part of their coursework, teacher candidates designed and taught lessons in their disciplinary content areas. These lessons were delivered during their practicum assignments with K-12 learners in local schools. Nearly all took emergent bilinguals' needs into consideration and utilized a range of specific strategies to implement translanguaging pedagogy in their teaching and lesson plans.

Providing Translations In Tom's Chinese history lesson, he provided a vocabulary sheet listing all the key terms in both English and students' home languages to scaffold their understanding of history concept. In Jack's poetry lesson, he provided English translation to a Spanish poem, highlighting shared cognates in the two languages to facilitate understanding of the poem as well as metalanguage awareness. In Lauren's ESL lesson, she allowed students to use bilingual dictionaries to understand unfamiliar words.

Using Multimodality Highlighting the principles of Universal Design for Learning, specifically the need to use multiple means of expression and representation, Elizabeth encouraged the teacher candidates to incorporate multimodality in their lesson planning and teaching practice. In Tom's Chinese history lesson, he used pictures/visuals with keywords in students' home languages to deepen their understanding of the historical background. In Gina's art lesson on abstract art and Georgia O'Keeffe, she allowed students to emulate their paintings based on O'Keeffe artistic style in order to embody the experience of creating American Modernist art. In Sama's science lesson on the water cycle, she asked students to illustrate the cycle and label the different stages using multiple languages.

Grouping Students Based on Home Languages Teacher candidates utilized grouping strategies that allowed emergent bilinguals to use their home languages in discussion. In Lauren's ESL lesson on adjectives, using same-language groups, students discussed and compared the use of adjectives in their home languages,

examining specifically their position in a sentence. Similarly, in Sama's science lesson, students talked about their experiences and observations of water cycle in their shared home language.

Incorporating Students' Funds of Knowledge With Elizabeth's emphasis on "schema" or funds of knowledge, Mary invited her social studies students to compare the health system in the U.S. to that in their home country. In Sama's water cycle lessons, when mentioning rain as one of the water sources, she asked students to share their various experiences of rainy seasons in places they had lived.

Reflecting on their practice teaching experiences, teacher candidates reported their perception that the incorporation of minoritized children's experiences and voices seemed to motivate these children's active participation in class as well as interest and agency in learning. Broadly, teacher candidates agreed that translanguaging offered a rationale for moving beyond a monolingual English approach. They perceived that translanguaging pedagogy could better serve emergent bilinguals by valuing bi/multilingualism as a resource and challenge existing language hierarchies in U.S. schools. As one teacher candidate articulated, "I believe that the concept of translanguaging, rather than sheltered English immersion, creates an even playing field for all students to communicate effectively and efficiently with one another."

Teacher candidates also made sense of the merits/benefits of translanguaging pedagogy in relation to language, culture, and power. For instance, in the focus group interview, Lauren mentioned that "Translanguaging makes students' experiences valid, and knowing that their language and culture is appreciated and accepted, and allowing them to use that to their advantage while trying to learn a new language." She saw the potential of translanguaging in validating students' various sociocultural experiences and affirming their language and culture identity so that learners could fully develop their agency in academic learning. Sama also endorsed translanguaging because "[it] incorporates other children from different cultures … to help educate children who only know one language or don't know much about other culture. It allows everyone to see different sides of the world …" Translanguaging here could help all the students, especially monolingual/monocultural children, widen their horizon and learn from their bilingual peers. Tom further related translanguaging to power because it "breaks down the idea that studying in the United States, English is the best; being bilingual as a child is often seen as a disadvantage." To him, translanguaging challenges the dominant power of English in the U.S. society and promotes the view of bilingualism as assets, not problems.

Broadly, as these excerpts illustrate, teacher candidates demonstrated development of a translanguaging stance, recognizing the value of bi/multilingual funds of knowledge as a resource for teaching and learning. They deepened critical understanding of English teaching, and raised awareness of the potential transformative power of translanguaging pedagogy in countering monoglossic approaches in language education and promoting social justice for emergent bilinguals.

Concerns About Implementing Translanguaging Pedagogy Although all of the teacher candidates seemed to embrace translanguaging pedagogy, they identified some potential challenges. In particular, they noted the constraints of macro-level language policies. Although Massachusetts had just reversed the SEI-only policy, teacher candidates noted that not all states allowed for bilingual education, circumstances that could limit the extent to which schools might embrace bilingualism and translanguaging approaches. Expressing a critical understanding of U.S. language policy, one student noted: "People wouldn't want to lose that power… [they may think] if we don't have English, then what do we have?" Importantly, teacher candidates drew connections between English-only policy mandates and the interest in maintaining privilege and power of dominant groups in the United States (i.e., White, monolingual speakers). They articulated how fear of losing privilege and power could manifest as resistance to translanguaging pedagogy, possibly limiting its use. Further, teacher candidates identified limitations at the school- and classroom-level. For instance, Mary mentioned reluctance to change, stating: "[some] teachers don't want to change; they don't want to learn anything new." Sama echoed this comment and pointed out that monolingual teachers may get scared or confused about translanguaging because they may still think, "I don't know this language. How am I supposed to incorporate it?"

5 Discussion

This qualitative case study chronicles how one teacher educator and her teacher candidates negotiated and integrated translanguaging practices in a TESOL teacher preparation course. As a TESOL teacher educator believing in teaching for social justice, Elizabeth found that a translanguaging stance resonated with her teaching philosophy and shifted her practice from teaching only about sheltered English immersion (i.e. SEI) approaches to teaching about bi/multilingualism and translanguaging pedagogy. Embracing a translanguaging theory of language provided her with critical theoretical understandings and tools to examine and improve her teaching practices. She not only gave teacher candidates ample opportunities to reflect upon and implement translanguaging pedagogy, but also orchestrated translanguaging spaces to bring bi/multilingual language practices into the classroom. Though she struggled with these changes, they nonetheless comprised a significant step in her challenging English monolingualism in ESL teacher education. I argue for the importance of supporting teacher education faculty to experiment with translanguaging in their classrooms, like Elizabeth did, and to critically interrogate the ideology and inequitable nature of monolingual approaches in both teacher education and K-12 education.

Learning about translanguaging developed teacher candidates' awareness and appreciation of bi/multilingualism as a resource for learning. It provided a critical lens to examine the dominance of English and the structural constraints of language policy in the U.S. education system. Continued and sustained critical engagements

with classroom-, school- and macro-level analysis of language policies and practices together with their effects on students can potentially foster teacher candidates' agentive identities in counteracting the influence of monolingual English ideologies in teaching and learning, and provide a more supportive and humanizing learning environment for emergent bilinguals.

Teacher candidates in this study developed a translanguaging stance and used a variety of pedagogic strategies (e.g., providing translations and using multimodality) to engage emergent bilinguals in translanguaging in the classroom. While teacher candidates experienced translanguaging in action, this opportunity came about through mandated course work and explicit support from their teacher educator. A question remains as to whether teacher candidates would feel capable of and interested in integrating translanguaging strategies into their instructional practice on their own as in-service teachers. Whether they use translanguaging pedagogy as scaffold for emergent bilinguals or to transform their approach to ESL and related area education more broadly, teacher candidates need to further develop their pedagogical content knowledge and skills in differentiating translanguaging practices in situated contexts to cultivate culturally and linguistically sustaining classrooms.

6 Conclusion and Implications

This case study provides an empirical basis for how one teacher educator and preservice teachers engaged with translanguaging in a TESOL teacher preparation course. It carries implications for how translanguaging can potentially be embedded into teacher education curriculum and professional learning to support pre- and inservice teachers to work more effectively with emergent bilinguals. Reflecting on the strategies highlighted in this chapter, Elizabeth's initiative can inform the development of a viable, comprehensive framework to incorporate translanguaging into teacher education courses. Overall, the integration should include three interrelated dimensions informed by García et al.'s (2017) framework for translanguaging pedagogy: teaching about translanguaging, modeling translanguaging, and practicing translanguaging:

1. *Teaching about translanguaging* can provide teacher candidates with multimodal resources (e.g., texts, videos) and various tasks (e.g., group discussion, written reflections) to engage with translanguaging as theory and pedagogy. This dimension can support teacher candidates to develop understandings of what translanguaging is and how it can be implemented in different contexts. Another key aspect of teaching about translanguaging is to develop students' critical socio-political understanding of language, culture, and power to understand translanguaging as both an educational and political act with social justice agenda;
2. *Modeling translanguaging* should provide teacher candidates with opportunities to experience fluid language practices. Sample activities include journaling,

linguistic landscape study (e.g., ask students to do community walks to observe and document multilinguals' translanguaging practices), and multilingual text creation (e.g., ask students to design a multilingual poster or write a translingual text). These activities aim to develop students' understanding and appreciation of bilingualism as a normal social reality;

3. *Practicing translanguaging* should require teacher candidates to incorporate translanguaging strategies in their lesson plans, in-class lesson demonstrations, and/or teaching practica. It is through their embodied experience that they gain a deepened understanding of translanguaging design and shifts in action and further debunk the myth that monolinguals cannot enact translanguaging. Teacher candidates can also be encouraged to critically reflect on these implementation experiences and discuss the challenges of implementing these strategies in monolingual English teaching and learning contexts at both local and national levels.

Given that this study only focuses on one monolingual teacher educator from the TESOL field, future research should examine how teacher education faculty of other content areas engage with translanguaging and how teacher educators with diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds take up translanguaging. Due to the uniqueness of the pre-service teacher participants in this study, future studies might probe into the impact of translanguaging on teacher candidates at a broader level, particularly their identities and language ideologies. Ultimately, it is imperative for teacher education programs to explore the potential of translanguaging as an approach for all faculty and teacher candidates across the disciplines to prepare for the sociopolitical realities of culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms and communities.

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Plurilingualism and TESOL in Two Canadian Post-secondary Institutions: Towards Context-Specific Perspectives

Angelica Galante

Abstract Growing attention to the concept of plurilingualism in the field of Teaching English for Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) has prompted discussions about the theory and its application to practice. While plurilingualism values the knowledge of both languages and cultures, the cultural dimension—despite its importance— needs more exploration in TESOL. Equally important have been discussions about the feasibility of implementing plurilingual pedagogies in non-European countries. In TESOL, monolingual practices that follow "English-only" approaches still seem to prevail in many contexts, including Canada—an officially bilingual country. These discussions are necessary so that practical applications that ultimately benefit students' language and cultural learning can be put forth. This chapter includes a critical reflection of my own TESOL practice in the Canadian higher education context. First, I discuss a theoretical shift in TESOL pedagogy by introducing plurilingualism along with a critical perspective. Drawing from the theory, I then explain how it can be translated into practice by reflecting on two case studies: one with new immigrants and one with international students. Finally, I examine implications in both case studies. The chapter concludes by positing that a critical perspective, one that is context-specific, is key for pluriligualism in language teaching, including TESOL.

Keywords Plurilingualism · TESOL · Applied Linguistics · Translanguaging · Conscientização · Linguistic repertoire · Agency

1 Introduction

Language education and applied linguistics have seen a shift from monolingual to multi/plurilingual instruction in recent years (see overview in Conteh & Meier, 2014; Kubota, 2016). There has been growing research documenting the use of pedagogies that embrace linguistic and cultural diversity in different language class-

A. Galante (✉)
Department of Integrated Studies in Education, McGill University, Montreal, QC, Canada
e-mail: angelica.galante@mcgill.ca

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rooms, such as French (Gajo & Steffen, 2015; Moore & Gajo, 2009), German (Krumm & Jenkins, 2001), and Arabic-Hebrew bilingual classrooms (Schwartz & Asli, 2014), among others. In the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), the monolingual model still prevails, requiring students to conform to one language and one culture, as if plurality were not integral to their identity and daily language use. Recently, however, plurilingual instruction has slowly been gaining attention in TESOL (Taylor & Snoddon, 2013), contributing to a shift towards pedagogy that is culturally and linguistically inclusive.

2 Plurilingualism in TESOL

In my participation in conferences in applied linguistics and TESOL (Teaching English as a second language—TESL— and Teaching English as a foreign language— TEFL— included), I noticed that while TESOL instructors might recognize the value of students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the implementation of plurilingual strategies remains a challenge (Ellis, 2013). Languages other than English are seldom explored or used as scaffold to facilitate new language learning. This is possibly a result of the historical dominance of the monolingual and monocultural instructional model in TESOL (Cook, 1999, 2016; Cummins, 2007, 2009), coupled with a lack of teacher preparation to address linguistically diverse classrooms (Abiria, Early, & Kendrick, 2013; Ellis, 2013; Galante, 2015). Adding to these challenges are political pressures in some contexts where English has a dominant status and is considered the language of the elite, leaving teachers fearful of implementing plurilingual strategies in the classroom.

In Canada, many college and university language programs require that instructors be certified prior to teaching English as a second/additional/foreign language. Some of these certificates are international, national and/or state/provincial.[1] These programs offer professional training and development of linguistic skills (reading, writing, listening and speaking), however, the curriculum generally does not address linguistically and culturally inclusive pedagogies, hence perpetuating monolingual ideologies.

While plurilingual language practices have been integral to many societies, such as South Asian (Canagarajah, 2009) and African (Abiria et al., 2013) since precolonial times, plurilingual approaches to instruction have gained traction in lan-

[1] For instance: CELTA, Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, is an internationally recognized pre-service teaching certificate; ICELT, In-Service Certificate in English Language Teaching, is an internationally recognized in-service teaching certificate; DELTA, Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages, is an internationally recognized certificate for experienced teachers; TESL Canada, Teachers of English as a Second Language - Canada, provides national certification standards for teachers of English as a Second Language; TESL Ontario, Teachers of English as a Second Language Association of Ontario, provides provincial (Ontario) certification for teachers of adults who speak English as a Second Language.

guage education with the introduction of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001) and recently with its Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2018) which includes descriptors for plurilingual and pluricultural competence. The CEFR has been pivotal in driving the implementation of plurilingual instruction in many countries around the world (Galante, 2018a), with the potential of being implemented in teacher education programs.

For the purposes of this paper, I see plurilinguals as individuals who access their personal linguistic repertoire and use it for communication and new language learning. Like many TESOL instructors, I have witnessed my students use languages other than English when speaking with other students, answering the phone or texting. This competence includes languages they already know (e.g., L1 and English) and others they wish to develop, even if partially. For example, in my experience as a TESOL instructor in classrooms with students from different linguistic backgrounds, I have noted that students naturally learn a few words or expressions in the languages spoken by their classmates.

Recent studies in brain research put forth the idea that multiple languages are activated and accessible even when only one language is being used; that is, activation of languages occurs in parallel (Green & Abutalebi, 2013; Green & Li, 2014; Kroll, Bobb, & Wodniecka, 2006; Kroll, Bogulski, & McClain, 2012). When plurilinguals are reading, speaking, listening and writing in one language only, the knowledge of other languages is not switched off. For example, an individual who is proficient in both English and French will (unconsciously) have French activated when reading English-only texts. Similarly, this parallel activation takes place in phonological representation (Jared, Cormier, Levy, & Wade-Woolley, 2012); for example, when reading interlingual homophones such as *oui* (/wi/) in French and we (/wi/) in English, both languages are activated, despite different orthographic representations. Interconnectivity of languages shown in brain research underscores the potential for an approach to TESOL instruction that aligns with plurilingualism.

Importantly, to be considered plurilingual, students do not need to be proficient in all of the languages that make up their linguistic repertoire. Even those who consider themselves monolinguals are probably unaware that they are in fact plurilingual, as knowledge of multiple languages, dialects and registers contributes to an individual's plurilingual linguistic repertoire. Moreover, not all of these languages are equally developed and proficiency levels may vary (Council of Europe, 2001; Moore & Gajo, 2009). This unevenness is not a deficiency; rather, it links the languages as one repertoire accessible to individuals, instead of being separate or isolated. Further, linguistic repertoires refer not only to past experiences with languages, but also to future engagements at social, historical and biographical levels, and with both cognitive and emotional dimensions (Busch, 2015). Broadly, these repertoires are complex, non-linear, embedded in individuals and dependent on their life trajectory, contributing to a unique plurilingual experience.

Following from this understanding, a core aim of a plurilingual approach to instruction is to enrich students' linguistic repertoires. Students already have a rich

linguistic repertoire, and as noted by Cummins (2015), these linguistic resources are often treated with benign neglect but cannot be simply overlooked. Instead of assuming that students are *tabula rasa* by teaching with a monolingual approach, TESOL instructors can harness language learners' entire linguistic repertoire to develop English and support students' agency as plurilingual learners.

3 Plurilingual Agency and *Conscientização*

Drawing on the conceptualization of agency as "learners' capacity to make choices and change themselves and/or the environment" (Yashima, 2013, p. 5), plurilingual instruction can encourage students to exert agency in their linguistic choices when they wish or need to (Grommes & Hu, 2014; Piccardo, 2013). Given that each person has a unique plurilingual blueprint, this agency may be exerted in different ways. For example, students can make comparisons across languages for grammatical, pragmatic and phonological learning; use bilingual dictionaries for learning new vocabulary words; and read about the same topic in different languages to enhance understanding of the subject matter (Piccardo & Galante, 2018). Students can also translanguage for purposeful meanings (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015): they can alternate languages depending on the person with whom they are talking, insert a word from another language in a conversation for a concept that does not exist in the language of exchange, and even use grammatical morphemes of one language in another for creative representations (Green & Li, 2014). Similarly, when it comes to culture, students may adapt their behaviours and customs according to those with whom they interact. Simply put, plurilingual learners naturally and effortlessly exert agency over their repertoire on a daily basis, including in the classroom; thus, it is crucial that TESOL instructors not only allow students' agency to be explored but encourage it to be further developed.

Students' sense of agency can be advanced by the process of *conscientização*. *Conscientização*, or in English, conscientization, is a critical term introduced by Brazilian educator and activist Freire (2011), which inculcates the need for individuals to be aware of their actions in relation to social and historical context, political structure and power relations. *Conscientização* involves a process of critical analysis of the gains, losses, and consequences of these actions, and the use of this analysis for personal and community decision-making. A critical approach of this kind is not new in TESOL (Benesch, 1993; Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016; Morgan, 1998; Pennycook, 1999), thus engaging with plurilingualism in TESOL similarly needs to address political and social pressures (Marshall & Moore, 2018).

Conscientização in TESOL is important for both students and instructors. To start, it is not an accident that individuals register in English language programs as opposed to other languages. This is a result of the global power English has and its dominance in academia and the global market (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Importantly, TESOL instructors can initiate the process of *conscientização* by reflecting on their own linguistic repertoire and the extent to which it has been shaped by global forces.

For example, reflecting back on my own experience through the process of *conscientização* allows me to analyze affordances and barriers to educational and professional domains. After years of experience in TESOL in Brazil, I moved to Canada to pursue graduate studies as an international student. Despite having worked as an English instructor for years and having previously obtained successful scores in five proficiency English language tests (Michigan, TOEFL, and Cambridge's FCE, CAE, IELTS), one more additional test was required if I wanted to gain admission to higher education. There is a financial cost for these tests, and often for English language classes as well, thus only those who can afford to take these classes and tests are able to achieve and demonstrate proficiency in English. These practices highlight the gatekeeping devices that limit access to education for international students.

My identity as an international student shifted when I decided to apply for Canadian immigration, which required that I take one more English proficiency test. As a new immigrant, I had to learn about the credential assessments required by the federal and provincial governments in order to join the workforce in the new country. Many immigrants who arrive in Canada hope to immediately find a job but most positions typically require a degree equivalent to those issued by Canadian institutions, limiting access to employment. In 2011 alone, the unemployment rate of very recent immigrants to Canada was 13.6% compared to 5.5% among Canadian-born individuals (Statistics Canada, 2012a). Reflecting on these real-life circumstances enabled me to see how I was positioned as an international student and an immigrant, among other aspects of my identity. This awareness of multiplicity of identities (Norton, 2016) along with the processes of *conscientização* (Freire, 2011) are important when teaching through a plurilingual lens as language learners need and deserve to know how to both overcome and challenge barriers to access education, employment, immigration, and citizenship.

Bringing *conscientização* to the classroom, TESOL instructors can enhance students' plurilingual agency in different ways. One example is to promote knowledge of policy documents and laws of the country where students are taking their language education to examine the extent to which their agency can and should be exerted. In Canada, the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (Canada, 1982), the *Canadian Multicultural Act* (Canada, 1985), and the *Guide to Creating an Inclusive Workplace* (Canadian Human Rights Commission, 2006) are important documents that instructors can explore with students to develop understanding of their rights as Canadian residents, in case they are confronted with xenophobic, racist or discriminatory behaviours. When students know about their linguistic and cultural rights, they can feel empowered to challenge monolingual practices, whether at school, in the community or in the workplace. Such critical explorations will help inform and even prompt future actions such as challenging societal norms.

Some considerations of the local context are needed in engaging with plurilingual agency and *conscientização* in plurilingual instruction (Galante, 2018a; Piccardo, 2018), as practices will vary depending on a range of factors including societal and local pressures. For example, in English classrooms in Brazil, students typically speak Portuguese as an L1 and exposure to English outside the classroom is limited. In this context, TESOL instructors might want to maximize their stu-

dents' exposure to English in the classroom. Limiting the use of the L1 in the classroom does not mean students cannot draw on their linguistic and cultural resources to make sense of English and related cultures. In fact, because of the dominance of American and British cultural representations in ELT in Brazil (Galante, 2015, 2018b), plurilingualism adds an important dimension to understandings of cultural diversity, particularly considering many Brazilians use English in interactions with other non-native speakers of English. Taken together, engaging with plurilingualism in TESOL requires criticality that addresses both political and social forces at global and local levels.

4 Plurilingualism in Canadian Higher Education

In this section, I provide a reflection on my efforts to construct plurilingual practices with immigrants and international students in two teaching contexts in Canada. I present these reflections as two case studies, one in a college and the other in a university, both located in the province of Ontario which is an English-speaking province with a multilingual and multicultural landscape (Statistics Canada, 2012b). Through a plurilingual lens, I developed classroom tasks that connected language and culture, included metalinguistic and cross-cultural reflections, and critically examined language status, language varieties, behaviours, values, and relations of power. Students in the first case study comprised internationally-trained immigrants in a Canadian college enrolled in a course aimed to enhance language and cultural knowledge in the workplace. Students in the second case study were conditionally admitted international students in a Canadian university enrolled in a course to promote language skills and awareness of multiculturalism in Canada.

4.1 Case Study 1: Internationally-Trained Immigrants in a Canadian College

When internationally-trained professionals are unable to find employment in Ontario, they often seek support from employment agencies, settlement organizations, and educational institutions. One option is to upgrade language skills through government-funded occupation-specific language training (OSLT) programs which focus on English for specific purposes (ESP) in the areas of business, health sciences, child and youth work, technology, and construction trades. These programs are often 180 h in length, and available at no cost to newcomers who have recently received their permanent residency or immigrant status in Canada. OSLT programs help students "develop a strong understanding of typical workplace communication and socio-cultural dimensions within their sector and occupation" (OSLT, n.d.). Typically, these programs include practice of face-to-face and online communica-

tion with employers and clients, effective presentations in the workplace, and work meetings. As a former OSLT instructor in the area of accounting and finance, I learned that the curriculum was designed after extensive consultation with faculty from college and employers. OSLT instructors are usually trained in language education, but not in students' specific employment sectors. While instructors are expected to bring language expertise and general knowledge of workplace culture in Ontario to the classroom, students equally contribute their knowledge and expertise from work experience in their sector and from their previous workplace culture.

TESOL instructors teaching the OSLT program need understanding of and sensitivity to the challenges faced by this unique group of students as they seek to adapt to life in a new country. While OSLT students typically report that their main motivations to immigrate to Canada include better employment conditions, and educational and living opportunities for themselves and their families compared to their countries of origin. Upon arrival in Canada, however, their perceptions often change. Factors that influence new immigrant's social and economic integration in Canada include educational levels, recognition of foreign credentials, and access to social networks (Statistics Canada, 2012a). An immediate challenge to finding employment is that internationally-trained professionals' qualifications are not typically considered equivalent to qualifications from Canadian institutions. Another issue is that when immigrants find employment, they tend to be overeducated for the position and receive lower salaries compared to Canadian-born workers (Wald & Fang, 2008).

Students in the OSLT program are often highly educated, with undergraduate, graduate, and even doctoral degrees that need to be assessed for equivalency or supplemented with additional courses. The students in my OSLT class were professionals in accounting and finance who had made previous attempts to find employment in Canada, all unsuccessfully. They had lived in Canada for approximately a year and had immigrated from different countries: China, Mexico, Colombia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Korea, and Thailand. The lack of access to employment contributed to students' resettlement-related financial anxieties, and was the main reason they enrolled in the OSLT program.

In addition to educational qualifications, a frequent requirement in the Canadian workplace is for general employability skills, of which my students were aware but did not necessarily understand in terms of their practical applications. The OSLT curriculum was designed precisely to include the practical component of these skills and students developed them through classroom practices such as discussions, role-plays and problem-solving scenarios. For example, they learned strategies to communicate with clients, chair a work-related meeting, and deliver oral presentations, among others. Given that the OSLT aims to prepare students to integrate into Canadian workplaces, which are multicultural in nature, strategies included cultural awareness and sensitivity. In this respect, the OSLT curriculum is congruent with the notion of agency and *conscientização* in creatively and critically addressing social, cultural and political dimensions of plurilingualism in society.

While a political perspective was not explicit in the curriculum, I found that exploring both student and instructor linguistic repertoires (Busch, 2012, 2015) and questions related to motivations, power, and access were helpful to understand stu-

dents' particular backgrounds, experiences and challenges. Some critical discussion questions I posed at the start of the course were:

- *What motivated you to come to Canada?*
- *What challenges/barriers related to finding employment have you faced so far?*
- *Why do you think this was the case?*
- *Which languages do you speak?*
- *How comfortable would you feel speaking these languages in the Canadian workplace?*

This discussion was first held in small groups, where students were free to speak using languages they shared (e.g., a Colombian student and a Mexican student speaking in Spanish). From my observations, students seemed to be surprised that the use of their own languages in this discussion was allowed in the classroom, possibly because of monolingual ideologies that are typically prevalent in educational environments, and/or due to a social climate in which English dominates. After this initial discussion, students reported their ideas back to the whole class using English so all participants could be included in the conversation. During this time, I observed that my students felt free to translanguage and often switched between English and other languages —typically their L1— to voice anxieties related to issues such as lack of employment in Canada, existing power relations in mainstream Canadian culture and shifts in their identities, including their insecurities, uncertainties, and apprehensions. I also shared my own experiences as an immigrant in Canada, which were similar to my students' experiences, to foster mutual trust. Issues relating to identity can arise as students' languages and cultures engage with changes in time and place (Norton, 2016), which can trigger positive and/or negative emotions (Busch, 2015).

The entire OSLT curriculum was delivered with a specific aim to foster plurilingual agency and *conscientização*. For example, in learning how to write a resume for a Canadian audience, students first discussed the information necessary to include in a resume in their country of origin: in some countries, for example, resume include a headshot photo of the applicant, information about marital status and date of birth, all information deemed necessary in some contexts, which is typically not the case in Canada. In comparing and contrasting these expectations as cultural practices, students explored values, beliefs and cultural assumptions about the workplace in both their countries of origin and Canadian society. Comparing students' own linguistic and cultural practices to those typical of Canada allowed for important reflections of how cultural and linguistic assumptions differ and, most importantly, how behaviours are context-specific and reflective of the social values and beliefs held by different social communities. Furthermore, the discussions enhanced students' knowledge of their rights as Canadian residents and workers so they could exert their agency and avoid or challenge workplaces that may not respect their rights.

From my observations, many of my students had gone through a major shift in their identity: from that of a somewhat established professional life in their countries of origin to that of an unemployed immigrant. Students shared that being

unable to join the workforce in Canada was a major barrier that prevented them from integrating into the new culture. Along with the impact on students' socioeconomic status, this concern seemed to bring about feelings of distress, resentment, loneliness and sometimes hopelessness. Some students contemplated whether immigrating to Canada had been a mistake given their lack of access to professional opportunities. However, the students were invested in making changes to better their own future possibilities, and they recognized the value of the Canadian government's support for resettlement, such as the OSLT program. Working with a concept of identity that encompasses understanding of possible futures (Norton, 2013), I wanted to enable my students to project their identities with positive future possibilities. Specifically, we explored critically how dominant discourses can play a gatekeeping role that makes it difficult for some immigrants to access jobs in Canada. Next, I taught cultural and linguistic strategies to help students overcome these barriers, focusing on the specific context of accounting in Ontario, Canada, to maximize students' knowledge of and access to the job market in their field. All this provided them with a unique opportunity to strengthen their plurilingual agency, and imagine possibilities for their future.

Through these activities, students came to reject notions of deficit. From a plurilingual lens, they repositioned themselves as capable plurilingual social agents. They recognised and found ways to address employment barriers, and openly engaged with their anxieties, frustrations, successes and aspirations. Instructors cannot change these dominant discourses alone but can raise students' awareness about (in)equity and their position in society and the workplace so they can exert their agency (Marshall & Moore, 2018).

4.2 Case Study 2: International Students in a Canadian University

Many international students in Canadian universities, especially the ones in the early stages of their studies, often seek to develop their academic language and intercultural understanding. Some universities offer credit or non-credit bearing language courses to international students who have met the minimum language requirements for admission (e.g., TOEFL, IELTS), but who wish to further develop their language proficiency. I taught this type of course, called *Canadian Language and Culture* (CLC), at a university in Ontario. CLC was a 78 h course for first-year undergraduate international humanities students aiming to foster understanding of academic culture as well as linguistic and cultural diversity in Canada. The international students in my class were all from China, with the exception of one student from South Korea. As an instructor, I received a course pack with relevant readings proposed by program administrators. The course pack included articles on topics such as language and communication, multiculturalism, economic and social issues, identity, and belonging, topics which could easily be engaged through a plurilingual

approach. The CLC course included graded assignments in areas such as essay writing and oral presentations. For most (if not all) of my students, it was the first time they wrote an academic essay or delivered an oral presentation following guidelines from a Canadian university, which were somewhat different from guidelines in their countries of origin.

Academic writing encompasses specific textual features and discourses that tend to differ from other genres, such as narrative writing or essays in high stakes language tests such as TOEFL and IELTS. Given that the students had not attended high school in Canada, they tended to be unfamiliar with citation practices and styles such as APA and MLA. It was not uncommon for me to hear other instructors make comments such as "Chinese students plagiarize," a discriminatory assertion that might have bearings on cultural bias and lack of understanding of other educational contexts. Further, such comments gesture to the monolingual and monocultural assumptions that underlie understandings of academic integrity. From a plurilingual lens, instructors might engage in metalinguistic and cultural analysis to help students learn APA or MLA citational practices and what academic integrity in a Canadian institution means. Thus, prior to assigning an essay, discussions about what it means to write an essay in a Canadian university need to take place. For example, I started the CLC course by exploring academic integrity guidelines of the university and asking students whether such expectations were similar in their country of origin, which initiated the development of cross-cultural understandings. In addition to these discussions, I asked students to bring essays written in their own languages to class for a comparative analysis, at several levels: topic sentences, paragraph organization, in-text and reference citation, etc. Through the analysis of differences and similarities with language use, such as metaphorical language and transition words, my students gained understandings of academic essay writing in their new context. Critical discussions about the power these guidelines exert, and how they can be gatekeepers to academic success, were also explored.

Students were also required to deliver two presentations as components of their overall grade, but most of them were unfamiliar with what constitutes a successful academic presentation in the new context. Through a plurilingual lens, I first explored students' own understandings of oral presentations in China, South Korea and other countries students had been to, so they could use this knowledge to transfer to the Canadian setting. The following discussion questions were used to initiate this cross-cultural and metalinguistic awareness:

- *What is the importance of body language (e.g., eye contact) in academic presentations in China, South Korea, or other countries? How does it differ in Canada?*
- *To what extent do presenters engage the audience in academic presentations in China, South Korea, and other countries? Would this be similar in Canada?*
- *How is content organized in academic presentations in China, Korea and other countries? How does this compare to Canada?*

Given that there are no universal guidelines to academic presentations, similar discussions following a plurilingual lens need to be context-specific. The context in itself can have many layers: the country (Canada), the university, humanities pro-

grams, and the CLC course. In this way, students were also being *conscientized* that expectations for academic presentations would vary among disciplines. Thus, while some broad guidelines as to what constitutes a successful presentation were provided, these were not seen as definitive. Furthermore, they were *conscientized* that professors in different courses within the same university might have different expectations, award grades differently, provide clear rubrics (or no rubrics) and constructive feedback (or no feedback), among others. This was particularly necessary to prepare students with not only expectations about different courses but also to require accountability from instructors when it came to assignments and clear guidelines.

Some presentations included topics related to the course readings, which despite being mostly about Canadian culture, included other cultural knowledge as part of the plurilingual reflection. For example, in a presentation about Residential Schools in Canada, a grievous period in Canadian history when Indigenous peoples were forced to linguistically and culturally assimilate to Eurocentric-Canadian religious culture, students raised important questions. Questions related to reasons why these historical events occurred, what it meant for Indigenous people at the time, how it has affected Indigenous people's social, economic and mental health conditions, and what role the government and religious authorities played. In addition, cross-cultural comparisons to similar historical events in other countries were explored (e.g., assimilation of Indigenous peoples in South America). These comparisons were sometimes done during or after the presentation.

One last example that included *conscientização* related to the expectation of student participation in higher education. Class participation in Canadian universities is typically integral to the evaluation system but many international students are unaware of what constitutes successful participation. The students in the CLC course shared that higher education in their countries of origin were mostly teacher-oriented and required students to listen to lectures attentively and take notes, that is, they were rarely expected to make oral comments or ask questions during class time. Canadian universities, on the other hand, are typically student-oriented and require that students actively participate in class by engaging in oral discussions, asking questions and voicing their opinions. This mismatch between teacher- and student-oriented approaches has been well documented and indicates that learners from a Confucian Heritage Culture (CHC) can face disadvantages in class participation compared to Canadians or students from other cultural backgrounds (see Wong, 2004 for overview). The process of *conscientização* enabled students to understand how cultural practices can be interpreted in the academic context, particularly among instructors who operate in a monolingual/monocultural manner.

Bearing in the mind the different cultural expectations of student roles in class discussion, I purposely introduced in the CLC course a variety of opportunities to foster and evaluate student participation, including both online and face-to-face interactions, and both one-on-one and group discussions. For example, on day one of the program, students quietly listened to me and avoided engaging actively in oral discussions. To encourage student participation, first, I posed questions and asked students to write down their opinions and how they related to the text they had read

for that class. Second, I asked them to sit in small groups and share similarities and differences among their answers. Third, I asked one person from each group to be the spokesperson and report their group's idea to the whole class. This process became a routine until students felt comfortable participating in group discussions. In addition, students were invited to use languages other than English for participation in all activities, whether face-to-face, online, written, oral, group discussions; and their multilingual contributions were equally valued. Importantly, these practices valorised students' whole linguistic repertoire rather than only English. *Conscientizing* students that this practice was specific to the CLC course was also important, especially given that in other courses, instructors might have different views of what successful participation meant. My students were also encouraged to ask other instructors about how participation was evaluated so they could exert their agency by following or challenging the requirements.

Taken together, while cross-cultural and cross-linguistic awareness is integral to plurilingualism, it is important that TESOL instructors be sensitive to linguistic and cultural differences without dogmatically dictating what students must or must not do. In addition, considering the varieties that exist within the same culture, it is crucial that some flexibility and relativity be included in discussions related to culture. All in all, the CLC course was delivered through a plurilingual lens, which allowed students to use their plurilingual agency to make mindful decisions about their language use and academic needs (Norton, 2013). In this case, students learned the cultural and linguistic expectations of Canadian universities and how to exercise their plurilingual agency to ensure access to academic cultural norms, which in turn could facilitate their academic success.

5 Discussion

This chapter presented two case studies in adult learning contexts in Ontario, Canada. Despite the same geographical location, students' demographics, language and cultural backgrounds, as well as needs differed, requiring different approaches for applying a plurilingual lens. One implication that deserves special consideration is the use of languages other than English in the classroom. In the first case study, the OSLT students shared languages other than English to allow for discussions in those languages. By contrast, in the second case study, all but one student in the CLC course shared the same language background. Although this student could use materials in Korean and speak about his language and culture, his contributions were in English when participating in group discussions. At the end of the CLC course, the student reported that he felt validated for having been given the opportunity to share his cultural and linguistic knowledge with others, despite being the only Korean student in class. Thus, while multiple languages can be used in a plurilingual class, TESOL instructors need to take their students' languages into account.

Students' levels of target language proficiency are another consideration. In both case studies, students had advanced levels of English (CEFR B2/C1 levels), and my

choice to include multiple languages in our English class did not seem to interfere with their English learning. In both classes, the use of other languages was not only possible but welcomed by students. Although the majority of classroom interactions were in English, students used other languages to articulate and negotiate meaning when needed. Further, because Ontario is an English-speaking province, opportunities for using and practicing English were not limited to the classroom. However, in EFL learning contexts where English is not the main language spoken, students' only opportunity to use English is in the classroom, thus teachers may opt not to include other languages in the classroom. Simply put, plurilingual pedagogies need to be carefully considered as context-specific (Piccardo, 2018) and might differ in levels of implementation.

TESOL instructors may feel pressure from administrators to teach from a monolingual approach, particularly since textbooks and pedagogical materials tend to be only English. Admittedly, these barriers can be a hindrance, but instructors can encourage students to make use of their linguistic repertoire for metalinguistic and cross-cultural awareness and to challenge monolingual standards. Students can also bring materials in other languages to class so cross-language comparisons can be made. In the case studies reported here, students used their plurilingual repertoire during the process of learning the target language and culture, even though the product of their work was delivered in English. Institutional demands required assignments such as essays, presentations, and resume to be written in English; however, the learning activities were plurilingual. Overall, the crucial principle in plurilingual instruction is that students be provided with opportunities to use their plurilingual repertoire and to exercise their agency to make mindful decisions about when and how to use other languages.

6 Conclusion and Implications for Future Directions for TESOL

This chapter examined theoretical underpinnings of plurilingualism along with discussions of linguistic repertoire, plurilingual agency and *conscientização*. It presented two case studies showing different possible ways of engaging with these perspectives in teaching adult learners. The cases illustrate that students were engaged in plurilingual practices with different linguistic and cultural dimensions: the OSLT focusing on workplace communication and the CLC focusing on academic literacy. A critical examination of the power relations of English vis-à-vis other languages allowed for an understanding of how societal structures— including the labour market and higher education institutions— can act as gatekeepers. The case studies show that both new immigrants to Canada and international students gained linguistic and cultural knowledge to increase their chances of success in their respective context. Students in both case studies were *conscientized* that despite Canada's multicultural nature, Canadian society operates from a monolingual lens.

Understanding this context is important for students to be *conscientized* and encouraged to analyze the extent to which their plurilingual agency can be exerted.

At the multi/plurilingual turn in TESOL, instructors may still find it challenging to implement plurilingual approaches to instruction, most likely due to the historical prevalence of monolingualism in TESOL; yet, criticizing instructors for their lack of knowledge of alternatives is unproductive; rather, in addition to professional development aimed at teaching linguistic features (reading, speaking, etc.), instructors would benefit from teacher preparation that addresses linguistic and cultural diversity as well as plurilingual instruction in pre-service and in-service programs. This learning should also address how a plurilingual lens can be infused in present curriculum. Insights drawn from the plurilingual practices described here can variably be applied to other educational settings, depending on course content, institutional and student expectations, educational policies, social context, and language status.

Taken together, through a critical plurilingual lens, TESOL instructors can move away from notions of deficit, which have permeated monolingual ideologies in TESOL, to further students' understandings of languages and cultures. Ultimately, in times of increasing diversity, monolingual ideologies in TESOL are incompatible with reality. With a plurilingual turn, one that is critical and context-specific, other languages and cultures can be valued, congruently representing a phenomenon that is already natural among many language users. Simply put, TESOL through a plurilingual lens acknowledges that students are not *tabula rasa* but rather asserts their identity as agents of their own plurilingualism.

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Applying Plurilingual Pedagogy in First-Year Canadian Higher Education: From Generic to Scientific Academic Literacy

Steve Marshall

Abstract In this chapter, I analyze data from a one-year ethnographic study of plurilingualism as an asset for learning across the disciplines at West Coast University in Metro Vancouver, Canada. I discuss the extent to which the concepts of plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogy fit into multiple contexts at the university, and look for factors that allow for or negate the embracing of languages other than English as tools for learning. I begin by reviewing data from previous studies I have carried out in which I analyzed the multi/plurilingual practices of students taking first-year academic literacy courses at institutions in the city, illustrating students' rich and varied uses of multiple languages in and around their learning. I then consider the applicability of key aspects of plurilingual pedagogy – most notably, the embracing of multiple languages as assets for learning – in three Applied Sciences classes, one technical and two focused on writing. I found that when the learning context changed, in particular the content and purpose of courses, so too did the applicability of plurilingual pedagogy. I conclude by suggesting that advocates of plurilingual practices in education need to respect differences, tread carefully, avoid idealization, and look for nuanced representations of plurilingualism in their collaborations with colleagues across the disciplines as they aim to help students to succeed academically.

Keywords Plurilingualism · Higher education · Canada · Academic literacy · Disciplinary literacies · Applied sciences

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S. Marshall (✉)
Faculty of Education, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC, Canada
e-mail: stevem@sfu.ca

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1 Introduction

West Coast University (WCU) is a medium-sized university located in the Greater Vancouver area (Metro Vancouver), a metropolitan area characterized by considerable linguistic diversity. According to the latest census (Statistics Canada, 2016), around half of the city's population use a language other than English or French (Canada's official languages) at home and in their daily lives, the main immigrant languages being Chinese (Cantonese and Mandarin), Punjabi, Tagalog, Korean, and Farsi. Moreover, in several areas of Metro Vancouver over 86% of the population speak immigrant languages (Statistics Canada, 2011), and in some cases, one specific immigrant language may dominate in an area, for example, Chinese languages in Richmond and Punjabi in parts of Surrey. As a result of the large numbers and concentration of speakers of immigrant languages across the city, it is normal for people to use languages other than English in many settings in the city, including the city's post-secondary institutions.

WCU is a case in point, in many respects a living laboratory for the study of plurilingualism – where many students engage in plurilingual practices by switching and mixing languages in and outside of their classrooms, where many classes are made up of large numbers of students who speak and write English as an additional language. A key distinction, of course, between students speaking English as an additional language as they go about their daily lives across the city and using English as an additional language at the university is the fact that, at university, the English in question is *academic English* and the "language stakes" are continually high. Admittedly, for all students beginning their higher education careers, whatever their linguistic background, learning academic English is challenging (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1994). For students whose dominant language is not English, it can be a much bigger step to use academic English and engage in successful academic communication across the disciplines than it would be, say, to use conversational English to buy a coffee.

In such a linguistically-diverse university as WCU, where traditionally pedagogy has targeted an idealized native speaker of English, students and instructors from all cultural and linguistic backgrounds face a number of challenges related to teaching and learning across the disciplines. Firstly, first-year students are required to adapt to the new learning cultures of higher education; and as part of WCU's comprehensive curriculum, students must adapt their learning and practices across several different disciplines. During their first year, students may find themselves taking courses in Academic Literacy, Economics, Philosophy, and Japanese as they begin to find their place and future specialization in the academy. Their learning, therefore, may involve shifting from engaging with generic knowledge about academic communication in an academic literacy class to engaging with detailed discipline-specific knowledge as they take their first steps to becoming an expert in a field. Equally, students have to negotiate a range of institutional identities and expectations ascribed to them on the courses they take: remedial, deficit identities on generic academic literacy courses; the identity of a non-expert learner in courses

they are required to take outside of their chosen disciplines; and emerging expert learner in courses of their chosen discipline or subject in which they aim to major. As they negotiate this complex range of identities during their first year of study, as novice learners, they have little power to exert within the powerful structures and discourses of the university. Institutional constraint usually outweighs free will. Of interest in this chapter, therefore, are two questions: How do the concepts of plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogy fit into this complex picture of multiple contexts? What factors allow for or negate the embracing of languages other than English as tools for learning in these different contexts?

In this chapter, I review data from earlier studies and present selected data from a one-year, qualitative study of plurilingual teaching and learning practices across the disciplines at West Coast University, specifically interviews with three instructors teaching Faculty of Applied Sciences first-year courses, in which they describe the issues and challenges they face when it comes to teaching in linguistically diverse classes. I highlight key differences that educators should consider when it comes to employing plurilingual pedagogical approaches at generic foundational academic literacy level and in scientific writing within the discipline of Applied Sciences.

2 Plurilingualism

Perhaps the key impetus in the so-called "plurilingual turn" in applied linguistics came with the publication of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) in 2001, in which the concept *plurilingualism* was presented as an overarching, holistic concept, which over the past two decades has been analyzed and applied at many social and the pedagogical levels (Piccardo and North, this volume), and as phenomenon, analytic lens, and pedagogy (Marshall & Moore, 2018).

2.1 Plurilingualism as Phenomenon, Lens, and Pedagogy

As a phenomenon, plurilingualism can be used as a term to describe interactions involving multiple languages, in which interlocutors may switch and mix languages purposefully and/or creatively without necessarily being completely fluent in one or all of the languages involved. In this regard, there is little difference between the terms "plurilingual" and "multilingual" when they are used – not in a traditional sense with reference to languages as separate, parallel, autonomous systems spoken and written with complete competency, but rather when referring to languages as hybrid, fluid, and varying in degrees of competency within and between languages (Auer, 2007; Gajo, 2014; García, 2009; Grosjean, 1984, 2015; Lüdi & Py, 1982/2013; Marshall & Moore, 2013). When employing plurilingualism as an analytic lens, this view of languages closely inter-relates with context, for example, (inter)cultural

practices, social opportunities and constraints, and individuals' social trajectories and life paths (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 1997, 2009). In this sense, we never stop learning our languages. As stated by Lüdi and Py (2009),

> A language competence will never be "reached": it develops throughout life. Its development is characterised by the diversity and complexity of the contexts in which it is mobilised by the specialisation of the resources used, and by the increasingly demanding expectations it engenders. (p. 157)

Plurilingualism as a lens thus carries a strong focus on individuals' repertoires and agency in different languages, with a socially situated individual, or social actor, who at times is constrained by context while other times being able to exercise freer agency and creativity. Educators who view their classrooms and own practice through a plurilingual lens would accordingly exercise their agency in their classes in ways that open up spaces for multiple languages and cultures as useful tools for effective learning, as assets rather than a hindrance to learning (Lin, 2013). In short, effective plurilingual pedagogy requires agentive teachers who open up learning spaces so that their students can exercise their own agency and plurilingual competence.

2.2 Plurilingualism and Academic Literacy in Higher Education: Examples from Metro Vancouver

The relationship between plurilingualism and academic literacy has been the focus of several studies of higher education institutions in Metro Vancouver in which I have participated as a researcher. In studies by Marshall, Hayashi, and Yeung (2012) and Lee and Marshall (2012), the multilingual practices of undergraduate students taking a first-year academic literacy course were analyzed in terms of how students used languages, with a focus on their formal and less formal literacy practices. In both studies, participants' practices were interpreted as mainly reproducing but at times challenging powerful monolingualist discourses, that is, discourses and practices that reproduce monolingualism as a norm within the respective institutions. In a later study (Marshall & Moore, 2013), we analyzed how plurilingual university students taking a generic first-year academic literacy course used languages such as Mandarin and Korean "in and around their learning, " namely, when working together on collaborative tasks in class, and when communicating digitally with fellow students before and after class. We illustrated how one Mandarin-speaking participant, Jessie, combined languages, scripts, emoticons, and images in and around her learning. In Fig. 1, Jessie is messaging her classmates on Weico Sina, a Chinese equivalent of Twitter:

Fig. 1 Jessie's communication on Weico – "around learning". (Reproduced from Marshall & Moore, 2013)

We analyzed plurilingual practices such as those seen in Fig. 1 in terms of students creatively playing with social and linguistic norms (Lüdi & Py, 2009), communicating via new forms of meaning making (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000), translanguaging (García, 2009; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012; Li & Zhu, 2013), and code-meshing (Canagarajah, 2011). In the same study, we also analyzed the in-class language practices of two Mandarin-speaking students, Yi and Ivan, as they worked collaboratively on a task requiring them to improve the style of sentences in a textbook activity.

In our analysis of Fig. 2, we concluded that students exercised their plurilingual competence in their academic literacy classes from *process* to *product:* exercising their plurilingual competence through the use of languages other than English in the process of producing a final assessed product in academic English. We also found that students' reasons for using other languages were complex. While Yi and Ivan had established an interpersonal norm that resulted in their using Mandarin in class with ease, they used only English with other Mandarin speakers in the class, perhaps due to a lack of intimacy or friendship with others. Another key factor in their choice, we suggested, was the fact that they were in a classroom environment where the instructor had normalized and welcomed such plurilingual practices.

In a later study, Marshall and Moore (2018), we presented an example of plurilingual pedagogy in action in our discussion of what we see as a number of misconceptions and critiques of plurilingual approaches in educational contexts. In Fig. 3, Ah Yeon, a Korean student taking a first-year academic writing course, writes in the genre of a text message on an acetate sheet, with two students whose main language was English, illustrating the slippery slope logical fallacy through the discussion of the legalization of marijuana.

In the follow-up interview with Ah Yeon, she described the meaning of her Korean section of the text as follows: "people who did drugs eventually will do

Y: *Humm,* 对。呵，不是。是 *simple sentence structure*。*[Hum, you are right. Ah, no, you are not right. Actually, that's a simple sentence structure.]*

I: 这个吗？… *a simple structure,* 这个不是重复性地写得特别多，是那种意思嘛。就是这句话。这个里头，是 *simple words* 嘛。还是….? *[Do you mean this one? Ah, a simple structure. Doesn't this mean that, this was repetitively written a lot, right? See, in this sentence, these are simple words. Or …?]*

Y: 不是 *simple word*。是 *simple sentence structure.* 就是全都用的谁来取代的。是取代的。*[No, that's not simple words but simple sentence structure. All are substituted with what?]*

I: *Firstly, therefore, however,* 这种的？*[For example, by firstly, therefore, however?]*

Fig. 2 Yi and Ivan mixing English and Mandarin – "in learning"

Fig. 3 Ah Yeon's plurilingual text message. (Reproduced from Marshall & Moore, 2018)

drugs even though the law forbids them to do drugs so it, it'll going to be end up same consequence" (Marshall & Moore, 2018, pp. 11–12). Ah Yeon emphasized the importance of the teacher creating an encouraging environment for such practices: in other words, the key role of teacher agency in plurilingual education. Of additional note, moreover, is the fact that with this plurilingual text in which languages, scripts, abbreviations, and emoticons are mixed, its three authors successfully illustrate the key concepts involved in the slippery slope logical fallacy about which they are writing. Thus, we claimed that the "content" of the task (showing understanding of a specific logical fallacy) was successfully explained through the plurilingual text. In other words, plurilingual pedagogy worked, above and beyond raising language awareness, serving as a tool for successful engagement with the course content.

The examples above provide an illustration of students' varied plurilingual practices as they take academic literacy/writing courses during their first year in a higher education institution in Metro Vancouver. Students creatively mix languages, scripts, symbols, abbreviations, and emoticons in their digital messages with fellow students; they find spaces to use languages other than English to discuss course content with some classmates while using only English with others; and on occasions, they may take a risk and write a plurilingual text to present their understanding of academic content to their peers. In all cases, they exercise their plurilingual competence as socially situated actors – around their learning, and in the process of learning. However, when it comes to the final essay, presentation, or exam paper through which they will be assessed, competence in academic English takes precedence – without it, success is not possible. Of interest in this chapter, therefore, is

what happens to teachers' agency and students' plurilingualism when students shift from a generic academic literacy course to specialist first-year courses across the disciplines that require a mastery of disciplinary knowledge and expression of that knowledge through different modes of assessment? Is their plurilingualism embraced or negated? To begin to find answers to this question, I present selected findings from a broader study that looked at the extent to which students and instructors conceptualized plurilingualism as an asset for learning across the disciplines at West Coast University.

3 The Study

I present selected data from a one-year ethnographic study of plurilingualism as an asset for learning across the disciplines in higher education. In the study, two data sets were collected, coded, and analyzed: from courses delivered in English where students were taught and assessed in English, and from a small cohort of students who had chosen to take their university studies in French. The main focus of the study was to look for answers to the following three questions:

- How does plurilingualism find representation as an asset for learning across the disciplines at the university?
- What challenges do students and instructors face in linguistically-diverse classes?
- How do instructors respond and adapt their teaching in classes that are characterized by high levels of linguistic diversity?

Data were collected in classes in the Faculty of Arts and Faculty of Applied Sciences by a plurilingual team of two investigators and six research assistants, who between them spoke English, French, Mandarin, Japanese, Spanish, Vietnamese, and Cantonese. The data gathered included approximately 40 h of classroom observations carried out over a six-month period during which researchers took field-notes, approximately 5 h of recordings of students' interactions while they carried out collaborative tasks in two classes, semi-structured interviews with 23 students and seven instructors in total, and analysis of students' writing samples. It was explained to student and instructor participants that the names of individuals, courses, and faculties may be changed to maintain confidentiality in any dissemination of the data.

Seven instructors agreed to participate, five from courses taught in English and two from courses taught in French. Research assistants then visited their classes on numerous occasions, observing and recording interactions, getting to know the students, and arranging interviews. Interviews took place at a time and place of mutual convenience for students, instructors, and members of the research team. In this chapter, I present selected data from interviews with three instructors teaching first-year Applied Sciences courses. The three instructors selected are not representative of the instructor interviewees as a whole. However, the issues they raise provide valuable insight into the applicability of applying plurilingual pedagogy in Applied

Sciences courses, most notably how these courses differ from the generic academic literacy courses I researched in earlier studies, and how they differed from each other – within the same discipline.

In the interviews, the instructors were asked questions about the following: the languages they speak; their understandings of the terms *multilingual* and *plurilingual*; the use of different languages in their classes; their pedagogical response to linguistic diversity; and their professional identities.

4 Findings and Discussions

I have selected excerpts from the three instructors who were teaching courses in linguistically-diverse Faculty of Applied Sciences first-year classes: Raj, Simon, and Mani.

4.1 Raj: TECH100

Raj was teaching a first-year course TECH100, a pre-requisite technical course for students going onto to different first year programs in the faculty. An interview with the two principal investigators and one project collaborator from the university took place in a lab class in which approximately 40 students were working individually at computer stations on a technical project. Raj began by explaining the technical nature of the course and where academic communication fitted into the course:

Raj: Technical skills are the main parameter by which we judge them, but there is a communication element in there because they have to explain to me how, what they did, how they did.

One feature of note in Raj's class was the fact that the main product by which the students were being assessed was not an essay or presentation; instead, they had to go through the processes of building a fully functional electronic circuit board, as illustrated in Fig. 4.

Nonetheless, as stated by Raj, students had to be able to communicate orally the process of making the assessed object during the process of construction. Competence in academic English, therefore, was an essential component to passing the course.

Another notable feature was that students were working individually at computer workstations with occasional but limited sideways chatter with the students either side. Raj explained that collaborative projects had ended a few years previously:

Raj: Earlier, we had mentioned that students can collaborate with each other … and what we noticed was at the end, only a few people worked [laugh], and the rest outsourced them, like, I will buy your dinner, why don't you finish this for me …

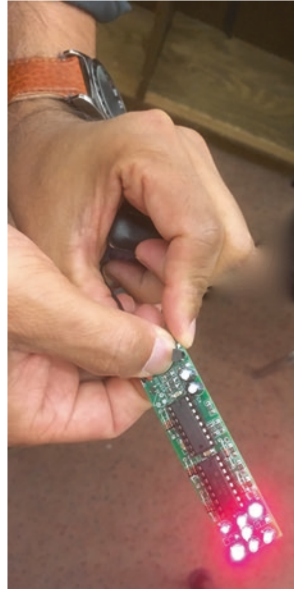

Fig. 4 Circuit Board Assessed in TECH 100

and that started to show up later, because when these students were interviewed by the companies, the companies say "oh you have done this, why don't I hire you for this job?" but they found that the students cannot do it. So we had to change that, so in the last 2 years, we said "no, you guys cannot collaborate with each other."

Group work, collaboration, or a lack of it were central themes during the interview, and preparing students for the workplace was underlying much of Raj's conversation about his course and its role.

The class was made up of students from a range of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. According to Raj, the main languages other than English that students in the class spoke were Mandarin, Korean, Farsi, and Punjabi. He explained that students in the class tended to sit together in groups with students from the same language backgrounds as it gives them a sense of comfort:

Raj: What I'm noticing is invariably the people with the same language skills, they kind of come together, and they would be the buddies, and then they would work together. Maybe later I will show you, the students have to finish a project, so they have to build an electronic die, which produces a number randomly between 1 and 6, that's the project … Yeah, because they feel much comfortable talking to them in their own mother tongue.

In terms of one of the tenets of plurilingual pedagogy, embracing the use of languages other than English (in this case) in classes, Raj went on to present an interesting balancing act of acceptance and discouragement "for their own good." First,

he told us about his response to groups of students in his class speaking different languages among themselves:

Raj: I heard people talking in different languages, I go and tell them "in English in English" … Actually, I am discouraging them from dealing with anything other than English. I tell them, "look, you talk to each other in English, somehow try to communicate" but I think the moment there's nobody looking over their shoulder, then all of that disappears and they feel more comfortable talking in Korean, Punjabi, or Chinese.

Raj's attitude may at first glance seem old-fashioned and far from "plurilingual-friendly"; he explained clearly his rationale for discouraging use of other languages in class, and once again preparation for the workplace was a key reason:

Raj: I always tell them okay here's fine, but don't expect this in a company, ok, so they will not tolerate this. Many times when people are unable to communicate in English, and they are expecting their own language buddy to help them, I tell them, "look, it's okay here, because in university setting, it's quite forgiving, but outside world might not be, so you have to be very careful". So I think I am kind of using this like a mild weapon, giving them encouragement, "ok, it's ok for you to use your own language, but this may not work outside."

Raj shows a "cruel to be kind" attitude: His "speak English" mild weapon is used for what he believes to be the demanding work environment that he is preparing his students for in future work placements and jobs. His opinion, however, may perhaps be based on the view that all of the students speaking languages other than English in his class are doing so not only for comfort but also due to a lack of English language competence. In other words, they need to immerse themselves by practising as much English as possible to improve their English. This assumption is at times an erroneous one at WCU when instructors apply it in a general sense to their plurilingual students who choose to communicate in a language other than English in their classes. Such students who seem to be in need of more immersion may in fact be Canadian-born, or have done many years of schooling in Canada and may in fact be fluent speakers of English using another language for solidarity with other speakers or to help them understand course content. That is not to say, however, that instructors do not face teaching students whose lack of receptive and/or productive English language competence leads to communication breakdown. In the following excerpts, Raj talks about students with whom he has experienced a breakdown in communication, and his use of plurilingual teaching assistants as a means of supporting them:

Raj: There are a few students that only the TA can help, I am unable to talk to them, I am unable to help them … That's where I am now facing, that I have to give them a critical instruction, and if they are not able to understand English, then that's where the communication breaks down, so fortunately, our TAs are able to help them out, but if the TAs are unable to, if I am unable to speak their language, then I think that would be a big bottleneck.

It came as rather a surprise to the three of us interviewing Raj that, in fact, and despite his stated English only stance, Raj was actually at the forefront of plurilingual pedagogy in other aspects. He told us he employs TAs who speak the most represented languages in his classes, namely, Mandarin, Korean, and Farsi, to use specifically as intermediaries, mediating with students who may be struggling on linguistic grounds (see Piccardo and North's discussion in chapter "The Dynamic Nature of Plurilingualism: Creating and Validating CEFR Descriptors for Mediation, Plurilingualism and Pluricultural Competence" of mediation as a CEFR descriptor). He also showed considerable empathy for students who were struggling:

Raj: He tried to say something, but I couldn't understand, then I asked one of the TAs to go talk to him, finally he wasn't sure whether he got the mark for the project … I feel very sorry for them, very sorry for them, and I think, he was sweating, was sweating, so I could feel inside, like he's in agony but I'm unable to help him … So the only way I could help him was ask the TA who can speak Chinese to go and tell him "look, don't worry, everything is fine, the mark will be uploaded later."

To sum up the excerpts from the interview with Raj in terms of the three research questions, as an instructor Raj attempts to mould plurilingual practices and representations in his class around an English framing – in the best interests of the students. He does this by telling students to use English, a language they will need to succeed professionally. He describes problems of students struggling to cope and understand assessment processes as well as his inability to understand or help certain students in some situations. His response is a pragmatic one, maintaining an English-dominant classroom environment while simultaneously providing students with plurilingual TAs.

The root of the problem for Raj is an institutional one: "Many of my colleagues, they are telling me that's because we are relaxing the English language requirement, so it's a university problem (laughter)." I will return to this point in the conclusion of this section.

4.2 Mani and Simon: SCI Writing 100

Mani and Simon were interviewed in departmental offices by the two principal investigators and the same project collaborator who interviewed Raj. Both taught large lecture classes with 200–300 students in attendance, and regularly supervised between six and eight teaching assistants who ran labs after each lecture. SCI Writing 100 is a first-year introductory course in scientific writing that all students in the faculty had to take and pass as a graduation requirement. Sixty percent of the course assessment was through writing tasks that focus primarily on writing processes and rhetoric (including expository writing, a persuasive paper, design labs) and to a lesser extent on grammar, punctuation, and style. As stated by Mani: "If there's a missing article or two, it's not the end of the world, and so the grammar

portion is 10 percent of the final paper." Presentations and a poster conference made up the remainder of the assessment. Effective written and oral communication skills were, therefore, essential for students to do well on the course.

Mani was very positive about embracing cultural and linguistic difference in his classes and opening up spaces for students to use other languages. He explained how he saw plurilingualism as an asset for his students in class and in the future workplace:

Mani: Our field is very global, so the chances that these students speaking another language will be speaking that language in a job, let's say it's probably quite high, so in some ways it [plurilingualism] can be an asset.

At the same time, Mani recognized that the end goal was always a text or other mode of assessment in academic English:

Mani: It's a weird tension where I think it's fine if students use other languages to help each other in the lab, but when there are these official modes of communication when it comes to evaluation, that becomes English, so if they give an oral presentation that's going to be in English, if they're writing a report is going to be in English.

When asked if he would ask students to use only English in his classes, in a way similar to that which had been described by Raj, Mani said no:

Mani: I wouldn't want to do that in their first year... because I think a lot of first year is about reducing anxiety and helping with transition. … I'd rather educate them and say you know you may want to try communicating in English every so often because this is what I think the benefits are, but forcing them I don't know, it's too.

As was the case with Raj above, one problematic area for Simon employing plurilingual approaches in his classes was collaborative group work:

Simon: Occasionally in the upper level courses, people choose their own team, particularly with the project course, and in that project course they will often go and choose groups based on cultural preferences. So I have people that are, you see them working on the projects in the labs and so on, and they're talking away in whatever language, Farsi I guess is one and certainly Korean was another and Cantonese, but the documentation that I'm teaching is all in English so at the end they have to translate it over.

Simon also expressed concerns about students when asked if he thought students used other languages too much in his classes and whether embracing plurilingual pedagogy would be beneficial to students in their future:

Simon: I think it's helpful to them at first. I think if you are happy talking in a particular language or if you are communicating with a language you are familiar with, that works. How employers might feel about that in a corporate type of environment, I don't know. … Now employers may prefer that everything will be

in English. We are requiring them to produce project documents in English, and everybody has to keep their own individual technical journal, professional journal, and they have to, it's got to be written in English, because I will read it.

Mani and Simon highlight above one of many tensions that lie behind critical-pragmatic (Benesch, 2001) approaches employed by many educators involved in the teaching of academic literacy: between embracing practices that help plurilingual students feel respected and that can assist learning, and preparing them for the harsher realities of the outside world of employment; between the realities of assessment that requires adhering to the hegemonic norms of academic English, and the disempowering nature of such practices by institutions that are all too happy to accept inflated tuition fees from international students. Mani goes on to allude to the latter as follows:

Mani: I feel very sad for those students, because I think they become the sort of cash cow for the university, and they're seen as a pay cheque... and I think the tension is if you're, if you see students bringing in money, to sort of keep the university afloat, how many resources will you actually put onto supporting them? (Reproduced from Marshall & Marr, 2018)

One factor, therefore, underlying Mani's practice and his response to increasing linguistic diversity in his classes is the marketization of higher education accompanied by a shift away from pedagogical values that involves the replacement of cooperative ethic with competitive business models (Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2013). Students are bringing cultural and linguistic diversity to our classrooms but at a cost – a cost to them (in the case of international students at WCU, quadruple tuition fees for undergraduate courses), and a cost to fair, equitable, and rigorous teaching and learning (See Flores, 2013; Kubota, 2016; Marshall & Moore, 2018 for further discussion of neoliberalism, market values, and plurilingualism). The market (differentiated tuition and the workplace) was thus in the background in our discussions with Applied Sciences instructors about academic communication and the extent to which languages other than English had a valuable place in their classes.

Once again, returning to the research questions guiding this chapter, what parallels and distinctions can be drawn between the interview data in which Raj discusses a technically-oriented course that assessed students through their ability to construct a viably functioning circuit board, and the Applied Sciences courses of Mani and Simon, where assessment was via a range of spoken and written products in academic English?

Firstly, both Mani and Simon were very conscious of students' best interests and needs, and neither explicitly told students to use English in their classes when they heard them communicating in other languages. Mani explicitly stated that he would not force students to use English in class. Secondly, Raj had highlighted the tension between giving students encouragement to use their own language and the fact that it may not serve them well in the outside world of work. Offering a different take, Mani expressed his view that plurilingualism can be an asset in the global workplace that students would be moving into: "[T]he chances that these students speak-

ing another language will be speaking that language in a job, let's say it's probably quite high, so in some ways it [plurilingualism] can be an asset." Thirdly, rather than a tension between the classroom and the outside world, as expressed by Raj, Mani described a tension between accepting students' use of different languages in the lab while all of the assessment is going to be in English. And in discussing the root of the problems he faced in classes with regard to linguistic diversity, Raj focused on a perceived underlying root cause: "Because we are relaxing the English language requirement, so it's a university problem." Mani also highlighted an underlying cause and tension in his work: "I think the tension is if you're, if you see students bringing in money, to sort of keep the university afloat, how many resources will you actually put onto supporting them?" To sum up, in the technical science class and the writing for science class, different configurations of similar tensions were described.

5 Conclusion

In the introduction, I posed two questions framing this chapter: How do the concepts of plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogy fit into this complex picture of multiple contexts? What factors allow for or negate the embracing of languages other than English as tools for learning in these different contexts?

To begin to answer these questions, let us envisage plurilingual pedagogy as a kaleidoscope of many lenses, each representing different contexts. A turn clockwise or counter-clockwise, from generic to disciplinary, or from technical to writing-focused (as in this study), brings different contextual factors to the fore. These factors constrain individuals' plurilingual agency in some contexts and encourage it in others. Contextual factors such as (inter)cultural practices, social opportunities and constraints, and individuals' social trajectories and life paths (Coste et al., 1997, 2009) are widely regarded as key defining features of plurilingualism, precisely because individuals' plurilingual repertoires and agency in different languages are produced by a *socially situated individual*, or *social actor*, at times constrained by context while other times able to exercise freer agency and creativity. When context, or the learning situation, in higher education changes, so too does the applicability of plurilingual pedagogy.

In the data analyzed above, two key contextual factors affecting the applicability of plurilingual pedagogy in linguistically-diverse classes were [i] the shift from generic to disciplinary academic literacy, and [ii] the magnetic pull of the English-language workplace, moulding practices in the Applied Sciences, thus constraining individuals' plurilingual practices.

The interview data suggested that the contexts of a "plurilingual fit" in first-year Applied Sciences classes differ considerably from those of a generic first-year academic literacy course. By illustrating through previous research a range of creative, instrumental, agentive plurilingual interactions and texts, I showed a context in which plurilingual pedagogies formed a good fit: classes where instructors encour-

aged students to make use of their plurilingual resources to learn content and negotiate the process of constructing an assessed text in academic English. In the Applied Sciences classes, I highlighted complex shared tensions that were represented in different ways in a technical course and a writing-focused course.

In the contexts of Applied Sciences courses aiming to produce professionally competent working scientists, plurilingualism was not viewed solely as an asset rather than a hindrance as stated by Lin (2013); it was both asset and hindrance. For example, it was perceived as a potential hindrance for certain students in terms of their chances to succeed academically and professionally in an imagined future. It was also construed as an asset *and* hindrance: in collaborative group work, and in the use of plurilingual teaching assistant as mediators – in a class where the same instructor asked students to use English rather than other languages for their own good. Thus, plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogy were reconfigured and moulded in context.

Two factors that I would suggest play a role in these reconfigurations, especially the more constrained representation of students' plurilingual resources are "content" and "purpose." While the *content* of the generic academic literacy courses was general principles of academic communication to be applied across the disciplines, in the Applied Sciences courses, the content was discipline-specific, that is, scientific. As a result, there was less proximity between language and content. The purposes of the courses also differ greatly. The generic academic literacy courses aim to prepare students to become successful writers in the disciplines while the Applied Sciences courses aim more to prepare students to become successful students en route to becoming successful professionals. As a result, the workplace was ever present in the background of the three interviewees' as they discussed their practice. While the language goal of the academic literacy courses was to achieve a level of academic English that would be adequate to write successfully across the disciplines, the ultimate language goal of the Applied Sciences courses was to achieve a level to function effectively as a professional.

What I take from comparing the plurilingual students and approaches I researched in the first-year academic literacy classes with the disciplinary literacies of first-year Applied Sciences is the following. First, generic academic literacy classes tend to be made up exclusively, or at least mainly, of students who speak and write English as an additional language. In the classes where I collected the data summarized above, the number of students whose first or dominant language was not English ranged from around 90 to 100%. In this sense, there was always a critical mass of speakers of the dominant languages other than English on campus, increasing the likelihood and desirability for collaborative study in those languages among peers. Moreover, in such an environment, the scope for supplementing teaching with language awareness activities and discussions about languages was much greater – as language (namely, competence in academic English) was the content. It would be an easy error to idealize plurilingual pedagogies in such an environment and uncritically advocate their replication across the disciplines. As was seen in the interviews with Raj, Mani, and Simon, such a replication to their disciplinary context might be destined to fail. In a class where students' main goal (the content) is to construct a

functioning circuit board, and where students work mainly on their own, activities about language awareness, translingual communication around collaborative tasks, translingual text production, or other creative applications of plurilingual pedagogy would find little space, even in contexts where students bring their own plurilingualism to the learning process. Put simply, the content is too far removed from the language; the context is too different. That is not to say that plurilingualism and plurilingual approaches are incompatible in such contexts. In fact, all three interviewees showed how they adapted their teaching in different ways, accommodating to different languages in their classes, to help students with their learning. Although students' plurilingualism was negated to some extent by the disciplinary context, the instructors were agentive in embracing the aspects of plurilingual pedagogy that fitted their ideologies and helped students to succeed.

I will conclude by stating, therefore, that as educators and advocates of plurilingual practices in education, we need to tread carefully, avoid idealization, look for nuanced representations of plurilingualism in our collaborations with our colleagues across the disciplines, and respect difference in context, while keeping our focus firmly on assisting students to succeed academically.

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Dialogue/Response—Engaging translanguaging pedagogies in higher education

Li Wei

The three chapters in this section address a range of key issues of plurilingualism in tertiary education in the US (Tian) and Canada (Galante and Marshall), including the role of the teacher educator, their own experiences and ideologies towards plurilingualism, and the importance of context in which plurilingual pedagogies are practised, the objective of plurilingual pedagogy and indeed, the purpose of bilingual education in general. Tian's chapter examines how one teacher educator and her students engaged with translanguaging in a TESOL teacher preparation course. He is absolutely right in emphasizing the significance of teacher trainers' and university professors' setting an example, literally practicing what they profess, and showing the students how it works. Galante reflects on her own efforts to construct plurilingual practices with international students in two teaching contexts in Canada. Drawing on her extensive experience as a TESOL professional in Brazil and as an international student in Canada, she engaged her students in a process of critical analysis of the gains, losses, and consequences of plurilingual pedagogy. She uses the term *conscientização* by the Brazilian educator and activist Freire (2011) to describe the need for individuals to be aware of their actions in relation to social and historical context, political structure and power relations. Marshall, on the other hand, focuses on the extent to which the concepts of plurilingualism and plurilingual pedagogy fit into multiple contexts in higher education. He argues that when the learning context changes, in particular when the content and purpose of the courses change, so too does the applicability of plurilingual pedagogy. He urges us to respect differences, avoid idealization, and look for nuanced representations of plurilingualism in collaborations with colleagues across the disciplines in order to help students to succeed academically.

W. Li
UCL Institute of Education, University College London, London, UK
e-mail: li.wei@ucl.ac.uk

I have learned a great deal from reading the three chapters, which also prompted me to reflect on my own trajectory as a language educator and a researcher in the field of bilingualism and multilingualism in relation to how I approach plurilingualism and translanguaging in language teaching and learning. I grew up in the turbulent years of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China (1965–1976), as it was known, and had little formal schooling until I was lucky enough to be admitted into the only place in China – the Beijing Foreign Languages School at Bai Dui Zi - where teenagers were able to learn foreign languages directly from foreigners who spoke those languages as their first language. At this school, the languages that were taught – English (my major), Japanese, Russian, German, Spanish, Arabic, etc. - were mainly languages of the enemies, but the content of the language classes was very much Chinese - quotations from Chairman Mao and translated revolutionary texts. There was never any doubt that the purpose of learning English was to be able to express 'Chinese thoughts' and 'Chinese ideas' through English, not learning to live and think the 'English way'. Since the foreigners who taught in this school were largely communist sympathisers or people who married Chinese nationals, learning English the Chinese way was not an issue of concern for them either. There was no insistence from anyone on speaking English only in the school. Yet the standard of foreign language teaching in this particular school was universally acknowledged, and the school became the college of foreign languages in a leading teacher training university in Beijing in the 1980s. We became bilinguals, capable of articulating our 'Chinese thoughts' in a foreign language and in a way that foreign L1 speakers did not regard as too alien, at least not in form.

After Mao died, China continued to have political upheavals until the beginning of the 1990s. I taught English in schools for 3 years and went onto to read English at Beijing Normal University. The textbooks for the English degree program at the university were all written by Chinese professors, with a few novels by British and American authors as part of 'extensive reading'. I never experienced an English-only pedagogy. Yes, there was talk about using English only in the English classes, in schools and universities; but it was widely deemed unrealistic, as there were not enough teachers who could speak English at a level that could sustain a whole class. The content that was taught did not lend itself too well to an English-only pedagogy either.

I left China in the mid-1980s. I was recruited to teach Chinese to students of politics at Newcastle University in the north east of England. One of the primary reasons for having me in particular was that I could do so in English. A monolingual Chinese teacher was not deemed appropriate. And I taught Chinese for 2 years, in English. There was no mention of the need to have a Chinese-only policy in the Chinese classes. I also attended French and Japanese classes in my spare time and the teaching was all in English.

Things, however, took a rather drastic turn in China in the 1990s. The desire for faster economic development and more international recognition, coupled with new global geopolitics, meant that the need to teach and learn English was intense: English classes were oversubscribed all over China; English corners sprang up in public spaces in Chinese cities. Imported English language textbooks and other

reading material occupied much shelf space in libraries and in bookstores. The general attitudes toward English also changed. It was not the language of the enemy any more, but the language of globalization, and globalization is a good thing for China. I saw posters in Chinese universities, saying, in red, *No Pain No Gain No Chinese*, urging students to practise their English.

In the UK, I stopped teaching Chinese after 2 years, started my PhD in Speech and Language Sciences, and began to be involved in adult ESOL and English language classes for immigrants and the increasing number of international students. There seemed to be a perception that the key barrier to economic and academic success of these people was lack of good English proficiency, and to improve their English, input must be maximised by restricting the use of their L1. In mainstream schools, the philosophy was to mainstream new arrivals and children with home languages other than English who had little opportunity to use English before they start school in the name of 'equality' rather than equity. Support for bilingual teaching assistants was withdrawn from the school budget. And speaking English was also held as a sign of cultural integration in the British society. Indeed, English is still (mis)taken as the language of integration by most politicians in Britain and in the media discourse. The monolingual, English-only ideology dominates much of school pedagogy and social policy. Comparing this practice with what is happening in modern foreign language classrooms in schools and universities in Britain where the teaching is mostly done in English, I often wonder: why is it OK to teach French, German or Chinese in British schools and universities in English, but apparently not OK to allow the immigrant and ethnic minority learners to learn English through their L1?

Since the 1990s, there has been an extraordinary growth in English Medium Instruction (EMI) right across the globe, with what seems to be an unquestioning belief that immersion in an English-only environment was the best way to learn English. As I visit teacher training programs in the UK, the US, Australia, China, Singapore, Kazakhstan and elsewhere, where most of the teachers are bilingual or multilingual, and where the students these trainee teachers will teach are also bilingual or multilingual, I am really surprised at the extent monolingual English-only philosophy is dominating policy and practice. It is against this background and with the experiences I have in China, the UK and elsewhere that I got myself into translanguaging as an alternative, critical pedagogy.

It needs to be reminded that the purpose of learning another language is not to become a monolingual, 'native' speaker of that language – that is an impossibility for the second/foreign language learner by definition. The purpose is to become bilingual or multilingual. English language education, or indeed any language education program, should first and foremost provide an environment in which the learner can become bilingual or multilingual. But translanguaging pedagogy goes a step further than simply allowing the use of multiple languages in teaching and learning; it deliberately and conscientiously breaks the boundaries that are imposed on participants in the process of knowledge construction by named languages, by schools and education systems, by cultural traditions, and by policies and ideologies. Translanguaging pedagogy seeks to redress the power dynamics between the

conventional separation between the teacher and the learner and see them as co-participants who collaborate to construct knowledge for all of them rather than passing knowledge from one to the other. It sees the boundaries between named languages as political as well as linguistic, and seeks to raise critical awareness of the histories and ideological dimensions of languages and language practices. It encourages the questioning of any norms, conventions and accepted wisdom.

Of course, the translanguaging approach accepts the existence of the power differential between the teacher and the learner in the existing educational systems, but urges both to challenge the conventional power structure and to treat everyone with the respect and equity they deserve. A key first step here is to raise the critical awareness amongst teachers and teacher trainers, as Tian and Galante urge us to do, of their own multilingual background, their own learning trajectories and their own attitudes toward plurilingualism and plurilingual practices. The vast majority of the teachers and teacher trainers are bilingual and multilingual, and may well have bicultural and multicultural experiences. They can be encouraged to reflect upon their own learning trajectories and experiences and on the politics of plurilingualism in the community in which they themselves live and work. In this regard, I question the appropriateness for anyone who regards themselves as monolingual to be a language teacher. Only when the teacher and the teacher trainer has the critical awareness of the histories and politics of plurilingualism and of their own experiences and attitudes can they begin to adopt a translanguaging approach in their professional practice, and be courageous enough to encourage and empower those who have been cast in a learner's role to play an active part as co-participants in the process of knowledge construction through dynamic plurilingual practices.

Part of the critical awareness that needs to be raised amongst teachers and teacher trainers is the context-sensitivity of specific language practices. In communities whose languages are endangered or oppressed, insisting on using these particular languages only in certain contexts or on specific occasions is in fact translanguaging as it disturbs the hegemony of imposing and intruding languages. Likewise, in minoritized language revitalization programmes, promoting one particular named language is legitimate, as in the Welsh language revitalization schools where the idea of translanguaging first emerged (Williams, 1996). In the same spirit, Marshall's proposal to support certain groups of students to succeed academically through strategic and nuanced use of their plurilingualism is important as this language use enables both faculty and students to break achievement barriers that are created by the institutional systems. Of course the measure of academic success is also a crucial issue. Learners may well be able to demonstrate faster and better achievements through a different medium and through languages other than the school one if the system allows it. Much more attention needs to be paid to how to assess bilingual and multilingual learners equitably. Research evidence from psychology and cognitive science that Galante refers to in her chapter shows that the ability to switch between languages and integrate elements from different linguistic systems in a coherent structure is an extremely important skill that provides the foundation of the so-called 'bilingual advantage'. Translanguaging promotes the idea of using lan-

guage switching and mixing as a benchmark of a bilingual language user's multicompetence which needs to be fed into assessment regimes.

Plurilingual and translanguaging approaches to language pedagogy also have the potential to help prevent register loss. With the rapid spread of English medium instruction (EMI), especially in Asia, register loss has become a real concern. I visited an EMI programme in a Chinese university a couple of years ago where students of business management were purportedly taught in English only. The textbooks were all in English, mostly imported from America. The contents were primarily about business systems in the West and management theories and models that have been developed on the basis of business practices in the West. The coursework was also done in English. When I spoke to some of the students, they did claim that their English was better than those who were doing their degrees in Chinese; at least they felt more confident in discussing management theories in English. However, when I asked about the business systems and management issues in China, they appeared to know very little and many claimed they didn't even know how to talk about some of the issues in Chinese. I have also seen similar situations in other countries in Asia where entire degrees in computer sciences, biology, electronic engineering and other disciplines are taught in English. Textbooks in the national and local languages in these subjects were no longer being produced. The long term consequences of such policy and practice may be serious, and require awareness in order to be addressed.

As the chapters in this section show, there are many practical challenges in implementing and promoting plurilingual and translanguaging pedagogies. The most often cited ones include time constraints, assessment regimes and testing requirements, the apparent need to maximize input, and linguistic diversity amongst the learners in the same class and its implications for equal opportunities. In my view, though, none of these challenges are insurmountable. As the old saying goes, where there's a will, there's a way. Given the dominant structures of education systems in most parts of the world today, the teacher plays a crucial role as we have discussed. The teacher's willingness to learn from students and their readiness to hear learners' voices and bring their experiences – both the learners and their own – into the classroom are essential first steps towards a critical engagement with plurilingualism and translanguaging. And critical engagement means not accepting the status quo or what the system tells us to do. Translanguaging urges us to go beyond the boundaries and restrictions created by the existing structures and systems and to transform them. That to me is what critical engagement is about.

I have indulged myself in this commentary with a rather long narrative of my own experiences. I felt it was necessary because we come into our chosen fields with our own trajectories which inform our perspectives. The translanguaging and plurilingual pedagogies come from specific socio-cultural contexts. As Marshall says, we need to respect differences and avoid idealization, and that to me is a crucial part of the critical awareness that we must develop in ourselves as well as the people we train and teach.

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Part V
Future Directions for Policy and Practice

The Dynamic Nature of Plurilingualism: Creating and Validating CEFR Descriptors for Mediation, Plurilingualism and Pluricultural Competence

Enrica Piccardo and Brian North

Abstract Plurilingual/pluricultural competence, introduced in the Common European Framework of Reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment (CEFR) (Council of Europe, Common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2001) from its first drafts in 1996 and supported by Coste, Moore, and Zarate (Compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle: Vers un cadre européen commun de référence pour l'enseignement et l'apprentissage des langues vivantes. Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 1997) encompasses a variety of conceptualisations and operationalisations both at the social and the pedagogical levels that have been developed over the last 20 years. The chapter discusses the way scientific evidence validates the claims about plurilingualism that the CEFR makes, describing further development of the concepts of plurilingual and pluricultural competence and their associated 'pluralistic approaches,' together with some current pedagogic applications of these related notions. Finally, the chapter presents one project in particular: the development, validation and calibration of new CEFR descriptors for mediation across languages and cultures and for aspects of plurilingual and pluricultural competence associated with increasing language proficiency level. The descriptors were developed in a large-scale 3-year Council of Europe project involving over 1200 informants from over 50 countries in cyclical phases of development, empirical validation and consultation.

Keywords Plurilingualism · Mediation · Plurilingual competence · Pluricultural competence · CEFR · Descriptors

E. Piccardo (✉)
OISE-University of Toronto, Toronto, ON, Canada

Université Grenoble-Alpes, Grenoble, France
e-mail: enrica.piccardo@utoronto.ca

B. North
Eurocentres Foundation, Zurich, Switzerland
e-mail: bjnorth@eurocentres.com

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1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the notion of plurilingual/pluricultural competence, introduced in the Common European Framework of Reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 1996, 2001). After introducing the concept of plurilingualism and the way that it is presented in the CEFR, the chapter further discusses the main tenets of plurilingualism in relation to the many related terms that have emerged in recent years and briefly describes the further development of the concepts of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (Marshall & Moore, 2016; Moore, Lau, & Van Viegen, chapter "*Mise en Écho des Perspectives* on Plurilingual Competence and Pluralistic Pedagogies: A Conversation with Danièle Moore", this volume). The chapter moves then to presenting the development, validation and calibration of new CEFR descriptors for mediation across languages and cultures and for aspects of plurilingual and pluricultural competence associated with increasing language proficiency (North & Piccardo, 2016a). These 27 new descriptor scales were developed in a large-scale 3-year Council of Europe project and have now been published online in a CEFR Companion Volume, to complement the 50 existing scales in the CEFR's multidimensional scheme. This update highlights these innovative aspects of the CEFR that have become critically relevant in the light of the increasingly diverse sociological landscape.

2 Plurilingualism: A Habitus Shift

Plurilingualism has characterized our living together as human beings for thousands of years. It is endemic in the Indian subcontinent (Canagarajah, 2009; Canagarajah & Liynage, 2012), where languages blend into one another and where "[t]here is constant interaction between language groups, and they overlap, interpenetrate, and mesh in fascinating ways" (Canagarajah, 2009, p. 9) – even in the same speech situation. Such phenomena are also documented in Africa, South America and Polynesia (Canagarajah, 2009). In addition, in Indian cities different social groups perform different functions. In such a context, it would be almost impossible to function if one remained monolingual. This type of social structure in cities was common in the Babylonian, Hittite, Assyrian, and Persian empires, as it was throughout antiquity in the Mediterranean basin. It even lasted in central Europe until the twentieth century, with the Austrian Empire pursuing a plurilingual language policy from the early eighteenth century (Dacrema, 2012; Piccardo, 2017).

Throughout history, people have also generally been able to understand their geographical neighbours. Europe, for example, has been plurilingual for most of its history (Krumm, 2003) with language varieties forming continua in the different directions of the compass, each village being able to understand their neighbouring villages, despite significant linguistic differences (Wright, 2000, 2001). Even today, provided Europeans converse in their regional dialects, they can often communicate

with their neighbours across what are considered linguistic as well as national frontiers (Backus et al., 2013, p. 195). Other cultural customs also play a role in favouring plurilingualism: bride swapping between neighbouring tribes is one of the oldest human practices. In some parts of Africa, it is still considered incestuous to marry someone who has the same first language. Bak (2017, January) gives an example from the Mandara Mountains in Cameroon, in which tradition demands that the suitor woo the bride in *her* language, rather than using either (a) the local lingua franca or (b) the language common to the boy's father and the girl's mother, which the two young people also both speak. In addition, in many civilisations, educated people have been expected to speak a couple of international languages on top of the language of the geographical neighbour. In the European context, plurilingualism among educated people was linked to several socio-cultural traditions like the grand tour to Mediterranean countries in search of classical cultures and languages, and the scholars and church representatives who travelled around sharing their knowledge with colleagues and students. These phenomena continued until the mid-twentieth century, with cultured people expected to know Latin and some ancient Greek in addition to French. Finally, certain communities were especially plurilingual, such as the Jewish community spread across Europe and North Africa that had always been mobile for historical and sociological reasons, including unfortunately constant persecution.

This natural coexistence of languages was weakened by the rise of nationalism, which intensified from the early nineteenth century to the Second World War and caused the emergence of a pervasive *monolingualer habitus* (Gogolin, 1994). With this shift in mentality, the intermingling and cross-nurturing of languages and cultures has been seen increasingly as a problem rather than an asset. Focusing on languages as discrete entities, rather than seeing them as the assemblies of varieties and registers that they really are, causes us to underestimate the extent to which many monolinguals use plurilingual practices. In fact, languages are complex, flexible, dynamic "polysystems" (Wandruszka, 1979, p. 39): open systems constantly subject to internally and externally caused change. Each individual has a linguistic profile which modulates itself according to contexts, interlocutors, communicative aims, and also to the specific emotions of the language user, his/her awareness of semantic implications, metaphorical connotations, paralinguistic features, etc. "No matter how monolingual we consider ourselves to be, we are fundamentally plurilingual, albeit unconsciously so. No matter how *standard* and *pure* we consider each language, it is inevitable that all languages are ensembles of different elements in a dynamic and constantly changing relationship" (Piccardo, 2013, p. 605).

Nowadays, demographic developments are starting to recreate in major cities in the Western world the linguistic diversity of bygone ages. For example, in the last London census, people defined as white indigenous British made up only 45% of the population (BBC News online, 2012) whilst in Toronto 42.8% of the inhabitants now speak a language other than English or French at home (Statistics Canada, 2016). In such conditions, it is again time to consider plurilingualism as normal rather than out of the ordinary. Inevitably, the recognition of plurilingualism as a

normality rather than an exception of interest only to specialists entails important consequences for theory and linguistic research. As Lüdi and Py (2009) argue:

> … a linguistics must be developed in which plurilingual linguistic repertoires are the norm, at both individual and social levels, a linguistics in which the choice of a language or an appropriate variety is necessarily part of a model of language in action, a linguistics which necessarily includes the management of plurilingualism – early as well as late – in all language-treating models. Stated otherwise, any theory of language would have – to be useful – to take account of plurilingual repertoires and the way in which plurilingual speakers exploit their resources in different forms of bilingual speech. (p. 163)

This requires an understanding of the underpinning of plurilingualism from scholars as well as solid support for practitioners and policy makers. Thus, a brief overview of the development of the concept is in order.

3 The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR): Paving the Way for Plurilingualism

The end of the 1990s saw the emergence of the term *plurilingualism* in language education alongside the related notion of *translanguaging* (Williams, 1996). The concept of plurilingualism appeared in the second draft of the CEFR (Council of Europe, 1996), and was further elaborated in a CEFR-related study (Coste, Moore, & Zarate, 1997). Unfortunately, as Moore and Gajo (2009) point out, this work has been largely ignored in the discussions of bilingualism, multilingualism and translanguaging in the English-speaking world. In fact, the term plurilingualism has an even longer history (Orioles, 2004), being first introduced in linguistics in the 1950s and then developed by De Mauro (1977, p. 87) who considered it to be “a permanent condition of the human species and thus of all human society” (our translation).

The CEFR is an international reference framework developed to help provide transparency and coherence in curriculum development and to stimulate reflection on current practice in language education (Council of Europe, 2007; North, 2014). It provides a common metalanguage of *common reference points* – six expandable proficiency levels – and a *descriptive scheme* that outlines the communicative language activities, linguistic and general competences, and communicative strategies involved in different tasks that language users accomplish (Hulstijn, 2011; Huver & Springer, 2011; Little, 2006), showing their interdependence and synergies. The backbone of this multidimensional representation of language proficiency and use is the set of descriptor scales (50 in 2001) for many aspects of the scheme, recognising the multidimensional and contextualised nature of both language learning needs and the individual profiles of proficiency attained to meet them (Hulstijn, 2011; Krumm, 2007; Little, 2006, 2007; North, 2014; Piccardo, 2012). The CEFR states that the fact that scales are provided for such a variety of aspects “is of particular

importance when considering the development of plurilingual and pluricultural competences" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 133).

In a context in which our globalised societies are becoming more complex, unstructured and 'liquid" (Baumann, 2007) as they are increasingly faced with a plurality of languages and cultures (Bärenfänger & Tschirner, 2008; Byrnes, 2007a, b), the CEFR aims to promote valorisation of the plurilingual profiles of learners with an immigrant background. The sophistication of its descriptive scheme laid the foundations for a paradigm shift in language education away from a linear concept of language learning, seeing the learner as a future speaker/hearer of a new code (four skills model: Lado, 1961) towards a view of a user/learner as a *social agent* engaged in the necessarily complex process of meaning (co)construction in interaction and mediation, in addition to the more traditional reception and production (the four skills). This has supported a shift towards greater consideration of interaction in curricula, teaching and examinations, with even cross-linguistic mediation appearing in national curricula and examinations in at least Switzerland, Austria, Germany and Greece. However, no descriptors for mediation or plurilingual/pluricultural competence were provided in the 2001 CEFR. Developing these descriptors was one focus of the project described briefly later in the chapter that produced the CEFR Companion Volume (Council of Europe, 2018).

Plurilingualism is a rich notion with specific implications for language education, which has not always been entirely understood. This oversight has contributed to a proliferation of terms in the field. As Marshall and Moore (2016) point out, there are a number of misconceptions regarding plurilingualism and its relationship to some of the other current buzzwords for traversing the boundaries between languages and varieties, all of which postdate plurilingualism itself. But before discussing other terms, let us first look at the way in which the concept of plurilingualism is presented in the CEFR.

4 Plurilingualism in the CEFR

In the CEFR, plurilingualism is clearly distinguished from multilingualism, which is "the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4 par. 1.3) and is presented as an *unbalanced and changing or transitory competence*, in which capacities in one language or variety may be very different in nature to those in another. Partial competences in different languages, the ability to function at a certain level in some activities or domains of use but at a very different level in others, are presented as being of great value as a stepping-stone to further development, rather than as a form of semilingualism (Martin-Jones & Romaine, 1985; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). As Coste puts it: "The plurilingualism sought is not that of an exceptional polyglot but rather that of ordinary individuals with a varied linguistic capital in which partial competences have their place. What is expected is not maximum proficiency but a range of language skills and receptiveness to cultural diversity" (Coste, 2014, p. 22).

Table 1 Characteristics of Plurilingualism

Characteristics of Plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4–6)	Other terms
(a) switch from one language or dialect (or variety) to another;	code-switching/code alternation/ flexible bilingualism/ translanguaging
(b) express oneself in one language (or dialect, or variety) and understand a person speaking another;	lingua receptiva/ intercomprehension
(c) call upon the knowledge of a number of languages (or dialects, or varieties) to make sense of a text;	translanguaging as pedagogic scaffolding in a language class/ intercomprehension
(d) recognise words from a common international store in a new guise;	intercomprehension
(e) mediate between individuals with no common language (or dialect, or variety), even with only a slight knowledge oneself;	cross-linguistic mediation
(f) bring the whole of one's linguistic equipment into play, experimenting with alternative forms of expression in different languages or dialects, exploiting paralinguistics (mime, gesture, facial expression, etc.) and radically simplifying their use of language.	translanguaging/code crossing/ code mixing/meshing/ polylingualism/metrolingualism

In the following section, the main characteristics of the way plurilingualism is introduced in the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001, pp. 4–6) are related to some of the many other terms that have recently been introduced to describe the process of traversing the boundaries between language varieties. All the points in Table 1 were addressed during the project to develop CEFR descriptors for plurilingual and pluricultural competence.

Plurilingualism, according to the CEFR, is the ability to call flexibly upon a holistic, integrated, inter-related, uneven, plurilinguistic repertory in which all linguistic abilities have a place, and which the user/learner mobilises to do what is described in Table 1.

In this section, we explain the relationship between plurilingualism and the points in the list above.

(a) Switching from One Language or Dialect (or Variety) to Another

Code-switching (Gumperz, 1982; Lüdi & Py, 1986/2003; MacSwan, 2014) and *code-alternation* (Androutsopoulos, 2006; Auer, 1995) are normally used to describe different ways of changing back and forth between languages within the same utterance. King and Chetty (2014, p. 40) claim that code-switching "happens anytime two languages or two varieties of the same language are used in the same social space," adding that in Cape Town it is an everyday occurrence on TV, in stores, on corners and in the classroom. They document a teacher in Cape Town effectively using code-switching (from English to Xhosa) for both classroom management and content elaboration, but denying that she did it. They cite Polio and Duff (1994) who document the same phenomenon with British foreign language

teachers, concluding that the teachers' lack of awareness of what they are doing makes it difficult to define code-switching as a strategy. García (2009), on the other hand, distinguishes such unconscious code-switching from *responsible code-switching* used as a scaffolding strategy. Creese and Blackledge (2010), working in schools in the UK set up to teach immigrants their heritage language, document code-switching by the teacher in the process of clarifying instructions for a task, and by the learners whilst carrying out the task in pairs. They suggest that "the bilingual participants in the classroom are also using their bilingualism as a style resource (Androutsopoulos, 2007) for identity performance to peers. Thus, their bilingualism in the classroom is not so much about which languages but which voices are engaged in identity performance" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 110). This identity aspect is strengthened by the way a teacher, whilst telling a story in English, flexibly sustains a sub-text dialogue with individuals in Mandarin, tolerating some playful naughtiness in the process, and thus fully engaging the learners (p. 112). Wei discusses similar pushing of boundaries and use of code-switching as a "symbolic resource of contestation and struggle against institutional ideologies" (Wei, 2011, p. 381). He points out that learning how to use plurilingual resources creatively but appropriately is also the basis of developing criticality.

However, alternating between codes can also be used systematically in a multilingual classroom as a means of facilitating understanding of a text that is difficult for the learners. King and Chetty (2014) cite history teachers saying a key statement in English, followed by mediating expansion, clarification and explanation in Cantonese, with the final statement in English (2014, p. 47). This repetition of longer utterances in a different language as a scaffolding technique echoes the first examples of *translanguaging* given by Williams (1996). Lewis, Jones, and Baker (2012) describe three types of such scaffolding techniques: systematically repeating content in another language to the whole class to ensure all have understood; selective explanation to some learners in another language (their mother tongue), and translation of subject-specific terminology (p. 659). Such linguistic mediation can be a very fruitful technique for a multilingual classroom, particularly with learners at lower proficiency levels. It is particularly appropriate in the context of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning): learning subject matter through the medium of an additional language. García (2009, p. 303) describes a variant she calls *co-languaging*: the delivery of the same (recorded) content in two different languages simultaneously, with some learners choosing to switch between language versions.

(b) Expressing Oneself in One Language and Understanding Another

Lingua receptiva is a traditional practice is some multilingual European countries like Switzerland as it was in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Rindler-Schjerve & Vetter, 2007). In Switzerland, everyone has the right to use their mother tongue in meetings at a national level, and there is no interpretation. Such a receptive *partial competence* is much recommended in the CEFR and there are currently attempts to revive and extend this practice (ten Thije, Gooskens, Daems, Cornips, & Smits, 2016). Rehbein, ten Thije, and Verschik (2012) state that the practice is a further

development of the concept of *intercomprehension*, explained below. It is a useful technique particularly as it puts the two (or more) languages on the same level and helps to develop receptive skills without calling on the more challenging productive ones. Thus, it pursues a major goal of the CEFR closely linked to plurilingualism, that of developing partial competences.

Intercomprehension, mentioned here and in (c) and (d), aligns with Lingua Receptiva as it encourages the acquisition of a receptive capacity in languages similar to a language one speaks. The suggestion is to turn the fact that, for example, Italians understand Spaniards quite well, and vice versa, into a pedagogic philosophy. There have been several projects seeking to encourage the practice in secondary schools (e.g. Vetter, 2012), particularly among Romance languages (Carrasco Perea, 2010; Degache, 2003). The MIRIADI project (https://www.miriadi.net), for example, has developed an extensive set of descriptors for learners and trainee teachers (Matesanz del Barrio, 2015). One clear aspect of intercomprehension is to use all linguistic resources to make sense of a text, (c below), exploiting internationalisms (d below) and cognates in the process.

(c) Calling upon the Knowledge of a Number of Languages to Make Sense of a Text

Drawing upon multiple languages to work on a text is quite a common activity in our globalized world. This form of translanguaging is a pillar of *intercomprehension.* García (2009) describes variations, for example, talking about a text in English in one's first language, having a supplementary text in one's first language in addition to the text in English; web research in one's first language instead of or as well as in English, and drafting a piece in the first language to then later carefully produce it in English. In addition, in relation to collaborative group work, one can imagine written input in one or two languages with group discussion in another, or group discussion in one language of how to produce a product (e.g. a poster, a blog) in another. In discussing such *translanguaging pedagogy* in the Welsh context, Lewis et al. (2012) describe the following with learners who had a reasonable level in two languages:

> Pupils work independently and usually choose how to complete the translanguaging activity, for example, gathering information from the internet in English, discussing the content in English and Welsh, and completing the written work in Welsh. Another option would be to gather information in English, discuss the content in Welsh, and complete the written work in English. (p. 665)

One pair (one English speaker, one Welsh-speaker) did internet research in English but made their poster and gave their presentation in Welsh. They said that they did this to avoid just copying the text they found. In other words, they "processed the English information by giving their presentation in Welsh" (p. 666).

(d) Recognising Words from a Common International Store in a New Guise

With globalization, the presence of international words is becoming prominent and this feature is used in *intercomprehension* to facilitate understanding of the gist of texts in unknown languages. Understanding the pivotal role of words belonging

to an international store facilitates a shift towards a positive attitude in decoding text, realizing that everyday texts normally share elements, both linguistic and cultural, in spite of language differences.

(e) Mediating Between Individuals with No Common Language

Cross-linguistic mediation is seen by the CEFR as part of the everyday life of ordinary people, rather than a specialism reserved for professionals (Piccardo, 2012): "Mediating language activities – (re)processing an existing text – occupy an important place in the normal linguistic functioning of our societies" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 14). They involve "mak[ing] communication possible between persons who are unable, *for whatever reason* to communicate with each other directly" (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 14, emphasis added). It may thus take the form of acting as an intermediary between two speakers or it may mean reporting the content of a spoken or written text. This may be within a language, variety or register, or across languages, varieties or registers.

Backus et al. (2013) point out that cross-linguistic mediation has become even more frequent with increasing diversity. They cite an extensive series of studies that have concluded that ordinary people, even children:

> …can in fact achieve successful understanding in these situations, despite sometimes limited linguistic resources. They have been observed to apply, where necessary, the same productive communication strategies known from learner language research and also found in the use of the modes described above, including the creation of nonce words, borrowing and code-switching where possible, and by engaging in intensive negotiations of meaning with the other interlocutors. They have also been found to openly intervene in the course of the on-going interaction to prevent or solve disturbances and failures of communication and to help interlocutors achieve their goals. (p.203)

Recognition of the cultural and metalinguistic value of such activities has led to the introduction of CEFR-related cross-linguistic mediation into the curricula of several European countries including Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Italy and Greece. In addition, mediation tasks are now being introduced into some national examinations.

As the CEFR recognises, language is not the only reason why people cannot understand one another. The difficulty may be caused by different perspectives or expectations, different interpretation of behaviour, of rights and obligations. A process of cross-linguistic mediation is thus also a process of cultural mediation. In the teaching of modern languages, this aspect is rarely dealt with sufficiently, despite numerous theoretical studies on the subject (e.g., Brown, 2007; Byram, 2008; Levy & Zarate, 2003; Zarate, Gohard-Radenkovic, Lussier, & Penz, 2004). We will expand on the notion of mediation later and give a brief description of the study which produced the new CEFR descriptors that help underline the crucial role of mediation in the development of plurilingual and pluricultural competences.

(f) Bringing the Whole of One's Linguistic Equipment into Play, Experimenting with Alternative Forms

Different writers have invented a myriad of expressions to describe the creativity, flexibility, dynamism and shapelessness of freely plurilingual behaviour. Otheguy,

García, and Reid (2015) suggest that plurilinguals have each a linguistically integrated idiolect that they experiment with as the whim takes them, ignoring conventional boundaries as they translanguage, particularly in a circle of family or friends. This reflects King and Chetty's (2014) comments about code-switching in Cape Town mentioned above, but also reflects the linguistic behaviour of the globalised metrolinguals discussed by Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), the polylanguaging street talk described by Jørgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen, and Møller (2011), as well as the code crossing among urban youth of different ethnic backgrounds documented by Rampton (1995). In a pedagogic context, Canagarajah (2011) uses the term *code-meshing* to describe using more than one language in a written text. In a professional context, Berthoud, Grin, and Lüdi (2012) have investigated different kinds of plurilingual behaviour in workplaces and educational institutions. One very practical scene Lüdi (2014) describes is the relaxed, flexible behaviour of a Swiss railway ticket clerk helping a Brazilian passenger, without knowledge of Portuguese, by improvising with his limited French, Italian and Spanish, as the two negotiated a transaction. As Lüdi says, both sides exploited their common script for the transaction and the intercomprehension possibilities of Romance languages. At the end, referring to the rough and ready nature of the discourse, the clerk turned to the researcher and said: "es goht mit hand und füess aberes goht (it works with hands and feet, but it works)" (Lüdi, 2014, p. 129).

We have explained all these characteristics of plurilingualism foregrounded in the CEFR to underline the broad, all-encompassing nature of this concept, which aims to capture the elusive, complex and multifaceted nature of human (co)construction of meaning. In doing this we have also shown how plurilingualism goes hand in hand with the notion of mediation and positions itself at the interface of the linguistic, cultural and social dimensions. Let us now investigate the creative and critical nature of plurilingualism.

5 Plurilingualism: Shuttling Between and Shaping Languages, Cultures and Identities

The salient characteristics of plurilingualism that we have outlined in the previous section show that the plurilingual view is integrationist: "Communication is the co-construction of meaning in context – not the transfer of information across a gap" (Orman, 2013, p. 91). There is no 'faxing' of thoughts from one mind to another. By contrast, discourse is "subject to open-ended creative interpretation, the exact nature of which will be a product of its unique contextualisation by whichever individual is doing the interpreting" (p. 98). In fact, the reality is that "one learns to understand other people's behaviour and intentions through the acquisition of culturally-contextualised narrative scripts in childhood" (Gallagher & Hutto, 2008, p. 34). As anticipated by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Hoijer, 1954), the structure of a language affects the ways in which speakers of that language conceptualize the world

and influences their cognitive processes. As researchers in linguistic relativity (Athanasiopoulos, 2011; Niemeier & Dirven, 2000) show, the relationship between language and culture is deeper than is usually admitted and confronts us with core questions like "how the world is represented in the mind of bilinguals with languages that have contrasting lexical and grammatical categories" (Athanasiopoulos, 2016, p. 361). The interface between cognition, language and culture is the object of an increasing interest. As Gallagher (2009) points out, the mind, body and environment (i.e. culture) make up a complex dynamic system. The CEFR recognises this fact: the concept of plurilingual and pluricultural competence is presented as a joint competence. Without the shared script for a railway ticket transaction and credit card machine, and without the striving for alignment, the speakers in Lüdi's example would have had a lot more difficulty negotiating their transaction.

Plurilingual speakers employ ad hoc strategies, to "engage with the social context, and responsively orchestrate the contextual cues for alignment" (Canagarajah, 2009, p. 17). In fact, "language learning involves an alignment of one's language resources to the needs of a situation" (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 94), alignment being "the means by which human actors dynamically adapt to—that is, flexibly depend on, integrate with, and construct—the ever-changing mind-body-world environments posited by socio-cognitive theory" (Atkinson, Churchill, Nishino, & Okada, 2007, p. 171). Now, as Canagarajah (2007) aptly points out, this alignment also happens in the case of individuals speaking English as a lingua franca (ELF) and we can say that aligning one's language resources to the needs of a situation happens also in a monolingual situation. However, monolinguals are generally not very successful in this alignment; they show a lack of negotiation skills and attitudes (Higgins, 2003), as they generally lack the attitude of creative experimentation and risk-taking that plurilingual individuals show (Piccardo, 2017). In multilingual communities, where the everyday use of multiple languages is the norm:

> … linguistic pluralism has to be actively negotiated to construct meaning. In these communities, meaning and intelligibility are intersubjective. The participants in an interaction produce meaning and accomplish their communicative objectives in relation to their purposes and interests. In this sense, meaning is socially constructed, not pre-given. Meaning does not reside in the language; it is produced in practice. (Canagarajah, 2007, p. 95)

We need to be cautious, though, about concluding that all individuals with multiple languages are automatically more effective at navigating diversity and building on their linguistic and cultural repertoire. The core distinction between multilingualism and plurilingualism made by the CEFR is crucial here: plurilingualism adds to mere multilingualism the critical and creative dimension that is key in enhancing conceptual, communicational and cultural awareness. Lüdi's example comes from Switzerland, a country with four official languages, many dialects spoken in all domains of life, and a strong tradition of foreign language teaching. It is a context that values plurilingualism. This is not the case in many other contexts, where a stigma is attached to any form of code-switching and code-mixing, and where languages are still kept strictly separate.

However, in certain contexts, the reality of increasingly diverse societies and classrooms challenges this orthodoxy of purity and separation and has initiated research on the use of multiple languages by user/learners (Creese & Blackledge, 2015). Canagarajah (2011) presents an Arab speaker who chooses to *codemesh*, sometimes using her Arabic and French "voices" in a written task otherwise carried out in English, gradually building up her audience's ability to interpret her codes. She appropriates and plays creatively with the English language, for example saying "storms of thoughts stampede to be considered and mentioned" and justifies this figurative usage to the researcher (2011, p. 407). In an article on plurilingualism, Marshall and Moore (2016) cite a not dissimilar example in which a Korean is encouraged by her English-speaking and English/French bilingual interlocutors to use her Korean voice in a group writing task. Other scholars report research on translanguaging in the teaching of minority languages (e.g. Lewis et al., 2012), in bilingual programmes set up to help immigrant children to learn oracy and literacy in their first language, before transferring these skills to the dominant language (e.g. García & Sylvan, 2011) or in complementary Saturday schools where students learn their heritage language (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Wei, 2011). In a comparative study of such schools, Creese and Blackledge (2011) report "flexible bilingualism of participants as they make use of a range of linguistic resources" (p. 1206) with examples of "young people discursively negotiating paths for themselves" (p. 1206) rather than sticking to "the standard language of the home country" (p. 1206). Canagarajah summarises these practices as follows: "By focusing on the activity at hand, multilinguals make grammar and vocabulary subservient to the objectives of communication" (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 412).

The scholars cited above share an attitude strikingly different from any traditional vision of language learning and linguistic competence, which insisted on separation of languages. One of Otsuji and Pennycook's (2010) subjects claims: "when I recall a particular conversation, it is often the case that I can't remember in which language it was spoken" (p. 243). The current authors, who communicate with each other in a mixture of Italian, French, English, and some German can report a similar experience. García (2009) talks of "a dynamic model of bilingualism that captures the complexity of bilingualism and multimodalities [and that] has much to do with the concept of plurilingualism that has been advanced in the European context" (p. 71). However, it is noticeable that many of the studies on translanguaging focus on classes where an important number of students share the same language of origin. Such contexts are interesting research fields, but they tend to be the sociological and linguistic exception rather than the rule; a more typical big city school nowadays may have twenty or more heritage languages present. On the other hand, in many non-English-speaking countries, children learn two additional languages, on top of the language of schooling, which may well also not be their first language. Plurilingualism offers a term applicable to all these different contexts and actions, able to encompass and value the implications and assets of translanguaging and of other forms of linguistic cross-fertilisation and to situate them within an overarching frame. Plurilingualism stresses a constant movement from one language to the other, from one partial competence to the other, embracing

dialects ("es goht"), paralinguistics and different forms of linguistic creativity and *métissage* in a process of flexible construction, dynamic development and mediation.

> Plurilingualism is a unique, overarching notion, implying a subtle but profound shift in perspective, both horizontally, toward the use of multiple languages, and vertically, toward valuing even the most partial knowledge of a language (and other para- and extralinguistic resources) as tools for facilitating communication. (Piccardo & Capron Puozzo, 2015, p. 319)

Plurilingualism is a deep concept that requires the use of multiple lenses at the same time to be understood:

- The psychocognitive lens, as the plurilingual brain is increasingly considered as a complex and distinct system (Bialystok, 2001; Perani et al., 2003), where languages are constantly active and competing with each other.
- The sociocultural lens, to investigate language acquisition as occurring in the social sphere and being intrinsically linked to social interaction and mediation between individuals (Lantolf, 2011).
- The pedagogical lens that enables and fosters a new vision of language teaching methodology (Corcoll López & González-Davies, 2016; García, 2009; Piccardo, 2017).

Thus, the real-time interaction of Lüdi's (2014) example, is just the tip of the iceberg. Plurilanguaging, "a dynamic, never-ending process to make meaning using different linguistic and semiotic resources" (Piccardo, 2017), is a multidimensional and complex process that brings together: (i) a cyclical process of exploring and constructing; (ii) an agentic process of selecting and (self)organizing; (iii) a process of dealing with chaos; (iv) an awareness-raising process that enhances perception; (v) an empowering process in relation to norms (Piccardo, 2017). Learners and users allow themselves to plurilanguage only inasmuch as they – and the society – perceive it as a positive endeavour, to the extent that they understand the cognitive advantage of doing it, and provided that they experience it as a linguistic and cultural liberating process.

Plurilanguaging in fact needs space and nurturing to develop. The plurilingual vision requires the adoption of three key principles from the policy level to the classroom lesson:

- Language education should be seen in conjunction with the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity.
- Language in the curriculum should be viewed holistically, the individual curricula for different languages coordinated and an emphasis placed on the development of an integrated repertoire with transversal competences.
- Learning experience in relation to other languages should be recognised and built on, rather than starting each time as if it was from scratch.

Since the CEFR was published, the conceptualisation of plurilingual and intercultural education has thus been further developed by several scholars connected with the Council of Europe (Beacco & Byram, 2007; Beacco et al., 2015; Candelier et al.,

2012; Coste, 2010, 2014; Lüdi & Py, 2009; Piccardo, 2013, 2017). Plurilingualism is being consciously integrated into language policies in countries such as Austria, Spain, French-speaking Switzerland (Daryai-Hansen et al., 2015) and German-speaking Switzerland (Bertschy, Egli Cuenat, & Stotz, 2015), while, similar plurilingual pedagogies are carried out in bilingual and multilingual international schools in New York for language and content integration (García & Sylvan, 2011).

6 Updating the CEFR: Mediation and Plurilingual/Pluricultural Competence

The activity that comes first to mid when one talks of plurilingualism is cross-linguistic mediation. However, the concept of mediation embraces a lot more than the mere transfer of information across a language gap. One makes sense of things through language, whilst mediating the mental processes involved in the completion of a task (Piccardo, 2012). In language education itself, mediation has been referred to as a process that allows overcoming separation between individuals and culture/society" (Engeström, 1999), as "socialization into communities of practice" (Kramsch, 2002, p. 6) and as "an emergent dynamic process of shared meaning, which creates and transforms itself through interactions of individuals with their environment" (Aden, 2012, p. 275). The CEFR emphasises the two key notions of co-construction of meaning in interaction and constant movement between the individual and social level in language learning (Piccardo, 2012). Both these concepts are central in the socio-cultural view of learning (Lantolf, 2011; Schneuwly, 2008) in which mediation is a key concept.

The plurilingual vision of the CEFR, which requires learners to be seen as *social agents,* goes beyond utilitarian language use and gives value to language and cultural diversity. Multiple languages and cultures require the integrated linguistic, cultural and social mediation that the CEFR foregrounds (Piccardo, 2012). As Zarate (2003) points out, mediation is crucial for welcoming newcomers, for resolving conflicts and tensions and for providing "third areas as alternatives to linguistic and cultural confrontation. In this plural area difference is pinpointed, negotiated and adapted." (p. 95). Here Zarate echoes Kramsch's (1993) notions of a third space and symbolic competence. In discussing the concept of third space, Kramsch (2009) states that "[u]nderstanding someone from another culture requires an effort of translation from one perspective to the other, that manages to keep both in the same field of vision" (p. 237). The symbolic competence that comes from the familiarity with several languages has a subtle and deep value, offering individuals a wealth of possibilities with which to navigate the linguistic and cultural diversity of the contexts they come into contact with. In the plurilingual vision, learners allow themselves to venture along different paths that are polycentric and multidirectional. This ability to navigate different spaces and discourses is an essential aspect of mediation.

In view of the crucial role of plurilingual/pluricultural competence and mediation in the context of the linguistic and cultural diversity in today's schools, the

Council of Europe's Education Department, therefore decided to further develop these concepts introduced in the CEFR by providing new descriptor scales to complement those for other parts of the CEFR descriptive scheme. The product, a CEFR Companion Volume with new descriptors (Council of Europe, 2018), is one of several projects aiming to address the increased diversity in education. As we know, all paradigm shifts in education require support both at the level of conceptualisation and in terms of practical tools. The new descriptors are intended to facilitate the implementation of mediation and plurilingual/pluricultural competence, and further promote the concept of the *action-oriented approach*, which is the real world-oriented, task-based, agentic, pedagogic approach proposed by the CEFR (Council of Europe, 2001; Piccardo & North, 2019).

The first part of the project to develop these descriptors for mediation and plurilingualism was an extensive review of relevant literature and instruments in the intertwined fields of plurilingualism and translanguaging, cross-linguistic mediation, pedagogic mediation and scaffolding, cultural mediation and intercultural competence, as well as social mediation (managing tensions and conflict). Space does not permit a detailed account of the development and validation processes, for which readers are referred to North and Piccardo (2016b). The approach taken in 2014–2016 replicated the one adopted for the development of the original CEFR illustrative descriptors (North, 2000; North & Schneider, 1998) with a mixed methods (Creswell, 2003), type 1 developmental design (Richey & Klein, 2005) comprising phases of initial development, qualitative validation and quantitative validation, including scaling to the CEFR levels with Rasch rating scale analysis using the program Winsteps (Linacre, 2015). For each of the validation phases, descriptors were distributed in a series of 20–30 overlapping questionnaires. In addition, there was an extra, i.e. fourth, validation phase just for plurilingual/pluricultural competence, in which 62 'experts' and 267 'veterans' from previous phases of the project took part.

- ***Qualitative validation:*** (137 institutes; 990 respondents). The task in a face-to-face workshop organised at each participating institute was (a) to identify the intended category of descriptors; (b) to rate them for clarity, for pedagogical usefulness and for relevance to real world language use; and (c) to suggest improvements to the wording – or suggest dropping descriptors.
- ***Quantitative validation I:*** (189 institutions; 1294 respondents). In a second set of face-to-face workshops, participants judged the CEFR level of descriptors presented. Two complementary standard-setting methods were adopted: (a) collation of raw ratings to percentages, and (b) Rasch rating scale analysis using the program Winsteps (Linacre, 2015) and anchored to the CEFR scale.
- ***Quantitative validation II:*** (3503 respondents). The online survey task was a replication of the task used to calibrate the original CEFR illustrative descriptors (North, 2000; North & Schneider, 1998). Respondents were asked to think about a person that they knew very well (this could be someone else or themselves), and to answer the following question: *Could you, or the person concerned, do what is described in the descriptor?* with responses again analysed with Winsteps and anchored to the CEFR scale.

Three rounds of consultation then took place in which over 600 people gave their views. All the proposed descriptor scales were considered 'helpful' or 'very helpful' by some 80% or more of the respondents. Very helpful suggestions were made about the formulation of individual descriptors, about descriptors that were redundant, and about the titles of the scales. Piloting took place in around 70 contexts and further exploration with implementation is planned for 2018–19. The full list of new descriptor scales is given in Table 2. Titles for groups of scales are given in italic; the names of actual scales are in normal print.

Table 3 gives a selection of descriptors for Level B1+ (the middle of the scale) from some of the descriptor scales listed:

Table 2 Categories for descriptor scales for different aspects of mediation and related activities

Mediation
Overall mediation
Mediating a text
Relaying specific information in speech
Relaying specific information in writing
Explaining data (e.g. in graphs, diagrams, charts etc.) in speech
Explaining data (e.g. in graphs, diagrams, charts etc.) in writing
Processing text in speech
Processing text in writing
Note-taking (lectures, seminars, meetings, etc.)
Expressing a personal response to creative texts (including literature)
Analysis and criticism of creative texts (including literature)
Mediating concepts
Collaborative work within a group
Facilitating collaborative interaction with peers
Collaborating to construct meaning
Organising work
Managing interaction
Encouraging conceptual talk
Mediating communication
Facilitating pluricultural space
Acting as intermediary in informal situations (with friends and colleagues)
Facing delicate situations and disagreements
Mediation Strategies
Strategies to explain a new concept
Linking to previous knowledge
Adapting language
Breaking down complicated information
Strategies to simplify a text
Amplifying a dense text
Streamlining a text

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

Online interaction
Online conversation and discussion
Goal-oriented online transactions and collaboration
Plurilingual and pluricultural competence
Building on pluricultural repertoire
Plurilingual comprehension
Building on plurilingual repertoire

Table 3 Selected descriptors for B1+

Mediating a text	
Explaining data	*Can interpret and describe (in Language B) detailed information in diagrams in their fields of interest (with text in Language A), even though lexical gaps may cause hesitation or imprecise formulation.*
Processing text	*Can summarise (in Language B) a short narrative or article, a talk, discussion, interview or documentary (in Language A) and answer further questions about details.*
Mediating concepts –collaborative group work	
Facilitating collaborative interaction with peers	*Can collaborate in simple, shared tasks and work towards a common goal in a group by asking and answering straightforward questions.*
Encouraging conceptual talk	*Can ask questions to invite people to clarify their reasoning.*
Mediating communication	
Facilitating pluricultural space	*Can support an intercultural exchange using a limited repertoire to introduce people from different cultures and to ask and answer questions, showing awareness that some questions may be perceived differently in the cultures concerned.*
Acting as intermediary in informal situations (with friends and colleagues)	*Can communicate in (Language B) the main sense of what is said in (Language A) on subjects of personal interest, whilst following important politeness conventions, provided that the interlocutors articulate clearly in standard language and that they can ask for clarification and pause to plan how to* express things.
Mediation Strategies	
Linking to previous knowledge	*Can explain how something works by providing examples which draw upon people's everyday* experiences.
Streamlining a text	*Can identify and mark (e.g. underline, highlight etc.) the essential information in a straightforward, informational text, in order to pass this information on to someone else.*
Plurilingual	
Plurilingual comprehension	*Can deduce the message of a text (in Language A) by exploiting what they have understood from texts on the same theme written in (in Language B, C, etc.) (e.g. news in brief, museum brochure, online reviews).*
Building on plurilingual repertoire	*Can exploit creatively their limited repertoire in different languages for everyday contexts, in order to cope with an unexpected situation.*

7 Conclusions

The core perspective of the CEFR is that of encouraging and valuing the dynamic and collaborative nature of user/learners' plurilingual trajectories. We hope that the results of this project will enable CEFR users to better understand the nature and relevance of plurilingualism and cross-linguistic mediation in (language) education. We believe that the provision of illustrative descriptors will be a stimulus to language educators to consider the forms in which mediation through language takes place in their context, the categories of mediation that appear relevant, and the place of plurilingual and pluricultural competences in their curricula.

With the concept of the language user/learner as a social agent (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 9) exploiting their general competences and their plurilingual and pluricultural competence to fulfil tasks, we can see a double movement: from a socially oriented dimension to an individually oriented one. This includes the psycho/neurological aspect, and moves from a paradigm of addition (of vocabulary, languages) to one of synergic and flexible use of skills and knowledge. This reconceptualization includes "multiplicity and recurrence at all levels, quasi as a fractal, where the whole contains all parts and every part contains the image of the whole" (Piccardo, 2014, p. 189).

However, as stated earlier, the simple existence of a wealth of languages (multilingualism) is not a guarantee that policymakers and educators are implementing plurilingualism. Firstly, plurilingualism requires initiative and agency from the learners, who need to acquire a more autonomous perspective and explore the synergies offered by their entire linguistic repertoire. Secondly, there are societal obstacles. Hybridity, mixing and syncretism continue to be regarded with suspicion. The misconception of the brain as a vessel with a fixed capacity, rather than an organ that develops with use, in still widespread. Society at large still tends to believe, as Baker (1988) noted, that "a facility in two languages reduces the amount of room or power available for other intellectual pursuits" (p. 10), especially for children. What the CEFR advocates is not therefore a straightforward change: it is a real paradigm shift. Adopting such a perspective is not an easy step: it implies a deep change both at the level of the individual and at the level of the society.

We hope, however, that by providing descriptors for plurilingual and pluricultural competence and different forms of mediation suitable for different language levels, we can potentially offer curriculum developers a starting point for integrating concrete aims at the different levels of their language curriculum. It is interesting to note that a section containing descriptors in this area has already been included in new curriculum documents for Switzerland. Other curriculum developers may be encouraged to integrate the plurilingual/pluricultural and mediation dimensions in addition to the communicative dimension if they are provided with all the materials for adaptation in the same source: the CEFR illustrative descriptors.

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Promoting and Problematizing Multi/Plural Approaches in Language Pedagogy

Ryuko Kubota

Abstract Today's increased scholarly attention to linguistic multiplicity, plurality, and hybridity for educating learners of English as an additional language is represented by notions of translanguaging and plurilingualism. However, without critical awareness of power and neoliberal complicity of diversity, this liberal orientation may not solve aggravating real-world problems that undermine human and linguistic diversity. This chapter critically examines both possibilities and potential problems of translanguaging and plurilingualism with a focus on writing in an additional language. Through critically examining (1) discrepancies between the multi/plural ideal and real-world challenges, (2) paradoxes of reality and ideology contained in multi/plural linguistic practices and linguistic normativity, and (3) ideological synergy with liberal multiculturalism and neoliberal multiculturalism, I will advocate critical engagement in multi/plural approaches with a vision of transforming not only the conceptualization of language but also structural barriers and language ideologies in relation to race, class, nationality, and other social identities.

Keywords Academic writing · Code-meshing · Code-switching · Critical multiculturalism · Critical realist pedagogy · Diversity · Language ideologies · Liberal multiculturalism · Neoliberal multiculturalism · Plurilingualism · Race · Second language writing · Translanguaging

1 Introduction

Recently, there has been an increased discussion of language and literacy education from perspectives of multiplicity, plurality, and hybridity. This trend can be called the multilingual turn (May, 2013), the dynamic turn (Flores, 2013), or the multi/plural turn (Kubota, 2016). The trend is observed especially in reference to educat-

R. Kubota (✉)
Department of Language and Literacy Education, Faculty of Education, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC, Canada
e-mail: ryuko.kubota@ubc.ca

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ing learners of English as an additional language (EAL) in English dominant countries. This orientation is welcome as it challenges the persistent ideology of monolingualism, normativity, and essentialism. However, without sufficient critique of power, its liberal orientation may not solve aggravating real-world problems that undermine the diversity of language, culture, and people. The multi/plural trend in our field is also complicit with the neoliberal valorization of diversity as well as the neoliberal competitive culture in which multi/plural perspectives are propagated.

In this chapter, I will critically examine both possibilities and potential problems of multi/plural approaches to language and education by focusing on translanguaging and plurilingualism as examples. I will also pay attention to issues of writing in an additional language, since writing is closely linked to academic achievement for all ages. My critical examinations will be focused on the following three issues: (1) discrepancies between the multi/plural ideal and real-world challenges, (2) paradoxes of reality and ideology contained in multi/plural linguistic practices and linguistic normativity, and (3) ideological synergy with liberal multiculturalism and neoliberal multiculturalism. The chapter concludes with a recommendation for critical engagement in multi/plural approaches. I will begin my discussion by describing the multi/plural trend as seen in applied language studies and language education.

2 Multi/Plural Approaches to Language Studies

The recent focus on plurality and multiplicity in language and literacy education is part of the increased scholarly attention to multilingualism, observed as societal linguistic diversity, and plurilingualism, conceptualized as individual linguistic repertoire (Council of Europe, 2001). The multi/plural turn in language and literacy studies can be discussed in terms of observable linguistic phenomena and pedagogical approaches.

As a sociolinguistic reality, the multi/plural trend can be described in relation to superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), which signifies the mobility, complexity, and unpredictability observed especially in large cities. Superdiversity is shaped by globalization as well as regional instabilities and conflicts, which have increased human movement across national borders. It is reflected in linguistic landscapes, multimodal interactions, and multiple, hybrid, and truncated language repertoires—partial but quite functional linguistic competence (Blommaert, 2010). The advancement of technology including mobile devices has also facilitated multilingual and multimodal engagement.

The multi/plural trend is also observed in pedagogical discussions. Of many scholarly terms, two concepts are especially relevant to language and literacy pedagogies: translanguaging and plurilingualism. In what follows, I will review these related concepts.

2.1 Translanguaging

Translanguaging has been promoted as a useful pedagogical tool for emergent bilinguals—culturally and linguistically minoritized students (de los Rios & Seltzer, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). This approach has been discussed in the contexts of teaching college English writing and second language writing as well (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur, 2011; Lee, 2018; You, 2016). In translanguaging, languages are no longer viewed as bounded categories distinguishable from each other as traditionally conceptualized in theoretical linguistics; rather, their boundaries are blurred and permeable. This view indicates that bi/multilingual people draw on their available linguistic resources to express themselves depending on diverse contexts and communicative purposes, rather than being restricted to use separate languages. Otheguy et al. (2015) discuss how this view of language is analogous to ethnic or national cuisine. Identifying whether a certain cuisine is American, French, or Cuban is not dependent on a fixed collection of authentic ingredients or recipes per se. Instead, it consists of a variety of ways of preparing dishes with the cook's sense of cultural/national affiliation. What is regarded as typical ethnic cuisine is a culturally and politically defined category. Likewise, a named national language is defined by the national/cultural affiliation of the language users, rather than the fixed definition of lexical or grammatical features. Thus, like cooking ethnic meals, translanguaging means "*using one's idiolect, that is, one's linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language labels or boundaries*" (p. 297, italics in the original).

The conceptual framework of translanguaging is illustrated in García and Kleyn (2016, p. 13). A traditional model of bilingualism views one's bilingual competence in L1 and L2 as two separate sets of abilities illustrated by two boxes, whereas the linguistic interdependence hypothesis proposed by Cummins (2000) rejects this view and instead conceptualizes the surface features of L1 and L2, which appear separate, to be nonetheless connected by common underlying proficiency. This is represented by two separate boxes joined by another box at the bottom. The traditional understanding of code-switching is based on the traditional model of bilingualism and views the switching to occur between two separate languages. By contrast, translanguaging rejects the view of language competence as being contained within fixed traditionally defined linguistic boundaries. Instead, various linguistic features are drawn on as resources to express one's unique linguistic self. This is illustrated by one long rectangle containing many linguistic features. In writing, code-meshing rather than code-switching characterizes how writers shuttle between different available linguistic resources rather than switching back and forth between bounded linguistic categories (Canagarajah, 2013).

2.2 Plurilingualism

The conceptual principle of translanguaging largely overlaps with plurilingualism. Plurilingualism is promoted in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe, 2001), which offers renewed conceptualizations of teaching various modern languages. Plurilingualism can be contrasted with more commonly used term, multilingualism. Multilingualism describes the situation where multiple languages, as traditionally defined, co-exist in a given society. By contrast, plurilingualism refers to individual communicative competence that draws on one's entire linguistic knowledge, experience, and ability, rather than a sum of competencies in separate standardized linguistic systems traditionally called *languages* in the school curriculum. The plurilingual view of language reconceptualizes the aim of language education as the following:

> It is no longer seen as simply to achieve "mastery" of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the "ideal native speaker" as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 3).

Since the boundaries between languages are more permeable and *softer* in plurilingual view of language, individuals acquire their unique linguistic competence in the form of individual linguistic repertoire (Cenoz & Gorter, 2013). The implementation and implications of plurilingualism in language education have also been discussed (Taylor & Snoddon, 2013). Similar to translanguaging, plurilingualism encourages students to deploy multiple linguistic resources for self-expression and enhanced learning.

2.3 Related Concepts and Pedagogical Implementations

Underlying principles of both translanguaging and plurilingualism are compatible with, or at least related to, recent scholarly discussions that problematize traditional norms and assumptions about language and language pedagogies. In rethinking the concept of language, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) proposed *disinvention* to shed light on the historical, political, and academic *invention* of languages and our understanding of language. Their view questions how language has been conceptualized in terms of uniformity, homogeneity, and boundedness—notions reified by discrete rules and conventions.

Blurred linguistic boundaries question the normative view of language, language use, and literacy practices. In traditional language studies, language as a system reflects the idealized native speaker norm that language learners are to emulate and strive to acquire. However, this acquisition endeavor does not always bring a successful outcome; instead, students often end up becoming perpetual L2 learners. Conversely, Cook (2005) proposed the term *L2 user* to underscore the unique competence—*multicompetence*—possessed by those who manipulate more than one

language. Cook argues that multilinguals are cognitively different from monolingual speakers. By reconceptualizing language learners in this way, nonnative learners and teachers, who have often been viewed as inferior to native speakers, are given positive attributes.

In general, the multi/plural perspective provides plurilingual subjects and multilingual realities with a positive and unique significance. This alternative meaning is generated through challenging monolingual ideology, which perpetuates unequal relations of power between native speakers and nonnative speakers as well as between dominant groups (e.g., historical colonizers) and subordinate groups (e.g., historically colonized, enslaved, and underprivileged peoples) in many societies.

Pedagogically, the multi/plural perspective questions the ways language has traditionally been taught. The assumptions underlying conventional pedagogy are inconsistent with the new perspective that linguistic boundaries are not fixed but permeable and that shuttling between linguistic codes is normal. In language classrooms, teachers have often assumed that the target language should be taught monolingually (e.g., English-only) with a maximum amount of exposure as early as possible. However, the perspectives of translanguaging and plurilingualism oppose these assumptions in two different ways.

First, learners' L1 is viewed as an integral part of their plurilingual repertoire and it should be valued, developed, and capitalized upon in learning an additional language. Many cases of translanguaging and plurilingualism are reported in research studies especially in the context of teaching English as an additional language or bilingual/immersion education in primary and secondary school around the world. In such content-based instruction, or content and language integrated learning, students are encouraged to or they indeed shuttle between different linguistic codes in expressing themselves orally and in writing as well as in learning vocabulary (e.g., Blackledge & Creese, 2010; de los Rios & Seltzer, 2017; Lin, 2013; Marshall & Moore, 2018; Smith, Pacheco, & Almeida, 2017; Stille & Cummins, 2013; Velasco & García, 2014).

Second, both translanguaging and plurilingualism question the traditional pedagogy that expects language learners to acquire the full range of a fixed linguistic system—from phonology to morphology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics in normative forms. The new direction problematizes the assumption underlying many language textbooks, curricula, and tests that language acquisition should follow a linear progression eventually leading to a full command of the language similar to the competence of an ideal native speaker. In translingualism and plurilingualism, the goal of language study is to develop one's linguistic repertoire to understand a broad range of information and interact with diverse people. Learners are encouraged to use individually available linguistic resources to engage in meaningful communication orally and in writing. These views are not entirely inconsistent with the concepts of English as a lingua franca (ELF) and world Englishes (WE), which shed light on the multiplicity of linguistic forms and practices in English. Language learners are no longer expected to communicate only with standardized target language speakers (although, high-stakes written communication tends to impose a certain standard). Thus, actual communication in English, or in any other world

languages, cannot be described by a fixed set of rules reflecting the standardized language use of the ideal native speaker.

However, compared to many scholarly publications illustrating creative examples of plurilingual and translingual practices, existing language textbooks, curricula, or tests seem less open to these practices. Even CEFR, while promoting plurilingualism along with intercultural competence, uses a fixed set of common reference levels ranging from A1 (basic user) to C2 (proficient user) which contains references to *interaction with native speakers* in its descriptors. As McNamara (2011) points out, these levels are calibrated against scores of existing standardized English language tests, such as Cambridge Assessment English, ILETS, and TOEFL, making the linguistic constructs in CEFR more fixed rather than fluid.

In fact, assessment is a major obstacle for promoting translanguaging or any other multi/plural approaches including WE and ELF (Kubota, 2018). Precisely, even with extensive discussions of multi/plural perspectives, which challenge the traditional way of assessing linguistic performance against a fixed norm, there has been little exploration of how linguistic output should be assessed. Focusing on translanguaging in college writing, Lee (2018) points out a lack of scholarly discussion on how assessment can and should be conducted. A strategy that he uses is to let the students choose how much they want their writing to be evaluated against standardized academic English norm. Relying on individual students' autonomy and mutual negotiation would work in classroom assessment. However, this will still not address the challenge of wide scale standardized assessment.

The challenge of assessment exemplifies a gap between plurality in scholarly discussions and singularity imposed by real-world practices. Although it is vitally important for scholars and educators to affirm and promote diversity of language, people, and culture, it is also necessary to scrutinize the gap between scholarly knowledge and real-world conditions. At the same time, we need to explore effective ways to truly transform the reality that reproduces unequal relations of power between the privileged and the marginalized.

3 Problematizing the Multi/Plural Approaches

Language assessment reviewed above is one of many challenges in promoting diversity in language education. To further address problems, I will focus on the following areas: (1) discrepancies between the multi/plural ideal and the real-world challenges—in primary secondary, and higher education; (2) paradoxes of reality and ideology as seen in multi/plural practices and linguistic normativity; and (3) ideological underpinnings of the multi/plural approaches—synergies with liberal multiculturalism and neoliberal multiculturalism.

3.1 Discrepancies Between the Multi/Plural Ideal and Real-World Challenges

As mentioned in the beginning, the multi/plural perspectives certainly reflect increased linguistic and cultural diversity in contemporary society. Yet, monolingualism also persists as a powerful ideology as observed in the following four examples.[1]

Example One: Radio Report on Hate Crime "Hate crime against Latinos increase in California" (Hinojosa, 2018, July 15)

> A man in California insults a family for listening to Spanish music while celebrating on July 4. A man in Chicago berates a woman for wearing a shirt with the flag of Puerto Rico on it. … A woman in a park scolds a Los Angeles Times reporter for speaking Spanish to her daughter—and so many more. According to a Department of Justice report, for just the state of California, Latinos and Hispanics are increasingly the subject of hate crimes with a more than 50 percent increase from 2016.

This report draws a parallel between the rise of hate crime against Latinx people in the United States and President Trump's rhetoric used to support immigration crackdown, by citing his view that immigration is a "very negative thing" caused by a change in *culture*. The report interprets *culture* in this instance as referring to White European Christian culture.

Example Two: 2015 U.S. Presidential Election Campaign "Republican candidates spar over Spanish on the campaign trail" (Berenson, 2015, September 17)

> Frontrunner Donald Trump was asked about a comment earlier this month in which he argued that former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush should "set the example" by speaking English while in the United States.
>
> "We have a country, where, to assimilate, you have to speak English," he responded. "We've had many people over the years, for many, many years, saying the same thing. This is a country where we speak English, not Spanish."

In response, Bush countered by saying that if a school child asked him a question in Spanish, he would respond in Spanish to show respect.

Example Three: Incidents in Vancouver, Canada Another example comes from a classroom discussion in an EAL teacher preparation course which I recently taught in Vancouver, Canada. In discussing the importance of valuing EAL students' mother tongue, one Asian undergraduate student shared her experience: She and her mother were waiting for a city bus in Vancouver and talking in Chinese. Suddenly, another person at the bus stop said to them, "This is Canada. Speak English!" Apparently, this was not an isolated incident for the majority of the class members who were East Asian. This class then engaged in a collaborative writing

[1] More media examples of linguistic discrimination can be found in Steven Talmy's blog: http://blogs.ubc.ca/conditionalrelevance/?page_id=148

project. In the project, each group created a skit based on an interview assignment, in which individual students elicited a lay person's beliefs about second language acquisition. Here is an excerpt from a skit created by one of the groups:

(John, Annie, and Peter pay their fee and come onto the bus. Peter and Annie are teaching Jane how to speak Mandarin.)

Annie: 你好, 我叫 Annie. (Hi, I am Annie.)
Peter: 你是哪国人? (Where are you from?)
John: 我是韩国人. (I'm Korean.)
Annie: 很好, 你的中文说得很好. (Great, your Chinese is excellent.)
Passenger: Hey guys, I don't mean to be rude, but I think you should be speaking English, since you're here in Canada?
John: Excuse me?
Passenger: Oh so you do speak English?! I'm just saying, when you're privileged to live here, you should be speaking the language that's spoken the most.
Peter: Um, first off I respect your opinion but honestly I think we have right to express ourselves freely. Canada is a multicultural country that accepts every language.

Example Four: Interviews with Lay People on Code-Mixing In the interview assignment mentioned above, one of the questions each student asked their interviewee was whether or not mixing languages would be good for learning a language effectively. I have assigned this project many times in my teaching at my current university.[2] Typically, the responses that students receive are mixed—some respondents do not think it causes any problem, whereas others think it is a bad habit. While the opinions are divided, the fact that some lay people do not approve code-switching/mixing indicates that monolingual thinking is still prevalent.

Problematizing the Multi/Plural Perspectives in EAL Teacher Education From translingual and plurilingual perspectives, the monolingual ideology observed in the above examples can be challenged. However, as a language teacher educator, I find it difficult to introduce these multi/plural perspectives to my students. The class mentioned above is part of our TEAL certificate program designed to prepare both ESL and EFL teachers, many of whom have had no background in applied linguistics. As an instructor of this course that focuses on language acquisition and learning, I struggle to engage the class in an extended discussion of translanguaging or plurilingualism because of a gap between the powerful monolingual, monocultural, and white supremacist ideology, as evident in the above examples, and renewed perspectives that question fixed categorical boundaries between languages and valorize fluidity and contingency. Certainly, proponents of translanguaging and plurilingualism do not deny the existence of named national languages as social, historical, and political inventions (Otheguy et al., 2015). They argue that what needs to be

[2] I adopted the idea from my colleague, Steven Talmy.

critiqued is how the hegemonic power of a nation state defines the legitimacy of monolithic standardized linguistic forms and practices.

However, our field has already been problematizing and resisting the power of standardized language and native speakers, as seen in the scholarship on WE, ELF, and nonnative English-speaking teachers (NNESTs). Proponents of bilingual education have also been advocating for the importance of developing EALs' mother tongue for social, cognitive, and personal benefit (Baker & Wright, 2017; Crawford, 2004; Cummins, 2000; Lin & Man, 2009). Cummins (2007) questioned the pedagogical separation of L1 and L2 in immersion programs by critiquing this practice as being based on the "two solitudes" assumption and advocated for using translation effectively and writing identity texts in both L1 and L2.

Even before these scholarly discussions emerged, monolingual teaching in schools had been challenged during the U.S. civil rights movement in the 1960s when bilingual education was made legally available. Around the same time, Canada became a bilingual state and instituted the official multicultural policy. Despite these legal and political shifts, monolingual ideology pervades public discourse, amplifying recent rightwing attacks on bilingualism, multilingualism, and multiculturalism as seen in some of the examples presented earlier.

This means that lay people, including many of my students enrolling in our TEAL certificate program for the first time, are still exposed to the normative ideology of monolingualism, even though it may not reflect their own experience. In interacting with them as well as a broader audience, I find it much easier to introduce notions such as WE, ELF, and NNESTs along with code-mixing and code-switching, and to explore limitations of each approach or concept. Limitations include homogenizing each of the national varieties of English in WE (Bruthiaux, 2003); reifying the concept of ELF as something that exists (O'Regan, 2014); focusing only on *English* as a global lingua franca (Jenkins, 2015); essentializing NNESTs (Faez, 2011); NNESTs' self-marginalization and their complicity with the dominant norm (Kumaravadivelu, 2016); and negotiating between learners' code-switching and classroom management. As teacher educators, we can certain problematize the conventional understanding of language as a bounded unit, but prioritizing fluidity, blurriness, and hybridity might be conceptually counterproductive, since the problem shown in some of the examples is the complete erasure of languages beyond a boundary. It seems that the first step should be to recognize all languages in their own right before addressing the fuzziness of the boundary.

It is also unclear how the renewed understanding of language in translanguaging or plurilingualism can be implemented in the classroom. In fact, reviewing a number of studies cited earlier, one would notice that many spoken or written examples are code-mixing or code-switching. These practices can be conceptualized differently—that is, code-switching signifies switching between bounded linguistic systems, whereas code-meshing refers to drawing on individual linguistic repertoire without presuming named languages separated by fixed boundaries. However, it is unclear how translanguaging or plurilingualism is different from simple code-switching when we examine actual texts. For instance, a study by Lau, Juby-

Smith, and Desbiens (2017) is unique in that it drew on critical literacy and examined how Grade 4–6 students in a multiage class in Québec, Canada, raised critical awareness on social issues such as homelessness via deploying both English and French. Yet, it is still not clear if this transformative learning was enabled by the new understanding of language or simply by the opportunities for bilingual expressions of meaning. These observations imply that the current popularity of the multi/plural terminology serves the interest of scholars more than that of teachers and learners.

Problematizing the Multi/Plural Perspectives in Academic Writing in Higher Education In primary and secondary education, translanguaging and plurilingualism serve to encourage students to employ their available linguistic repertoire and to validate their linguistic and cultural identity. In higher education, advocacy for translingualism, including questioning the monolingual approach to teaching writing and valuing students' mother tongues, has been advanced especially in the field of writing studies in recent years (Canagarajah, 2013; see Gevers, 2018 for an overview of discussions on translingualism in L2 writing; Horner, Lu, & Matsuda, 2010; Horner et al., 2011). The trend not only aims to respect students' linguistic diversity and their right to their own language, as seen in the resolution "Students' right to their own language" adopted at the 1974 Conference on the College Composition and Communication, but also to actively seek integration of diverse linguistic repertoires in writing. From a slightly different perspective, You (2016) extended the idea of translingualism and proposed *transliteracy* in *cosmopolitan English*—a competence to be developed by both native and nonnative English users to mutually cross linguistic and cultural borders with translingual and transcultural sensitivities.

However, some L2 writing scholars have raised concerns about the actual implementation of translanguaging in academic English writing for L2 writers. Besides the composition studies' conflation of translingual writing with L2 writing (Atkinson et al., 2015), there is a concern about a possible deemphasis on the need for multilingual students to develop their ability to manipulate dominant and privileged discourse conventions (Ruecker, 2014; Tardy, 2016). This echoes a concern previously raised by Delpit (1995) about minoritized students in the U.S. schools who were being taught in the whole language approach, which promoted free self-expression while deemphasizing explicit teaching of linguistic forms and literacy conventions. Specifically, Delpit cautioned further marginalization of racially and socioeconomically minoritized students who are likely to benefit more from explicit teaching.

Another concern is professional development for writing instructors. Unlike primary and secondary education, college writing instructors are not necessarily required to receive training in writing instruction. Ferris (2014) raises a question of how these instructors can actually implement translingual approaches without any concrete pedagogical frameworks offered by the scholars advocating translingualism.

These concerns indicate a gap between what is envisioned and what the real world demands or constrains. Significantly, even though scholars promote translanguaging, they themselves rarely practice it in their own academic writing. In fact, following established conventions is expected in most high-stakes academic texts, or "scholarly artifacts that lead to publications (e.g., peer-reviewed journal articles,

book chapters, books) or are vetted for professional activities or achievements (e.g., grant, or conference proposals)" (Heng Hartse & Kubota, 2014, p. 72). These conventions include not only mechanics but also lexicogrammatical expressions and discourse features, such as cohesion, coherence, and organization. Thus, what we observe in high-stakes writing is a persistent demand for meeting established expectations rather than using translingual practices.

There are of course some exceptions. Established authors may intentionally code-switch in order to express resistance or creativity. Gloria Anzaldúa, a Chicana queer feminist writer and activist freely switches back and forth between English and Spanish in her writing. In an interview, she commented,

> They (young Chicana audience) saw that I was code-switching, which is what a lot of Chicanas were doing in real life as well, and for the first time after reading that book (i.e., *Borderlands/La frontera*) they seem to realize, "Oh, my way of writing and speaking is okay (Anzaldúa, 2012, p. 271).

This clearly demonstrates how code-switching as a rhetorical tool serves to validate the young Chicana generation's identity and self-esteem. Nonetheless, code-switching in high-stakes writing is rarely observed. This is largely due to audience expectations; writers are predisposed to make their meaning transparent to their readers in a common language.

Proponents of the translingual approach nonetheless may argue that translanguaging embodies one's unique linguistic repertoire and is practiced by everyone regardless of their linguistic backgrounds (Bawarshi, 2016). In fact, if we view linguistic practices as equivalent to idiolects (i.e., individual unique use of language—Otheguy et al., 2015), we can say that texts produced by individual writers are all unique due to their distinct linguistic repertoires.

However, this raises a problem of "flattening language differences," which "elides the recognition that we don't all differ from said standard in the same way" (Gilyard, 2016, p. 286). This critique points to the ideologically *liberal* nature of translanguaging. In fact, Matsuda (2014, p. 482) described the recent popularity of discussing translanguaging in writing studies in the United States as a "fascination for 'alien writing'" and critiqued the display of multilingual texts for an audience as "linguistic tourism." These discussions demonstrate how the discourse of translanguaging parallels liberal multiculturalism, which will be elaborated later. Next, I will extend the discussion on the gap between the multi/plural ideal and real-world challenges by exploring the paradoxical relation between reality and ideology.

3.2 Paradoxes of Reality and Ideology: Multi/Plural Practices and Linguistic Normativity

As mentioned above, high-stakes academic writing typically requires writers to follow a set of established linguistic, textual, and discursive conventions within certain disciplines and genres, characterized by fixity and homogeneity. This apparently

contradicts increased linguistic diversity in globalized society, as seen in linguistic landscapes, translanguaging on social media, and code-switching in everyday interactions among ordinary people (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015). However, when we closely examine these perceived realities, we can also identify contradictions.

Expectations in high-stakes academic writing appear to indicate that language use should always conform to established conventions and thus deviations from the norm reflect deficiency. However, a close examination of the normativity of high-stakes academic writing reveals that, except for obvious deviations, there is little consensus on the acceptability of lexicogrammatical features. For instance, Heng Hartse (2015) asked both native and nonnative teachers of English to identify unacceptable features in seven English essays written by Chinese university students and found that, of all the chunks marked as unacceptable by the teachers, less than 2.5% of them were identified by 50% of the teachers as unacceptable, whereas 48% of the chunks were marked as unacceptable by only one of the 46 teachers. This low level of agreement indicates an arbitrary and contextual nature of what is judged to be an error. The arbitrariness of (in)correctness was also demonstrated by J. M. Williams (1981). In writing this peer-reviewed academic article, Williams deliberately inserted 100 errors. Nonetheless, the paper was obviously accepted and published.

Conversely, in translingualism and plurilingualism, linguistic boundaries are viewed as fluid and language use is understood as hybrid, dynamic, and flexible. Although such characteristics are observed in everyday linguistic practices on social media and in other informal communication, they are inconsistent with our experience of high-stakes academic writing, in which code-switching rarely happens, as already discussed earlier. Moreover, academics in our field, especially multilingual international scholars, are not encouraged to write and publish in their L1. I have heard comments from many L2 English scholars that they are unable to write academically in their L1 (anymore) since they have been trained to write in academic English only. Even when L2 English writers have academically published in their L1, their publications may not be recognized in graduate school admissions or job applications in Anglophone countries. If multi/plural approaches are promoted for minoritized students, shouldn't we model and try to develop and value our own academic biliteracy? One might argue that translanguaging and plurilingualism do not expect bi/multilingual users to display a complete range of linguistic ability. Nonetheless, if scholars had initial academic literacy in their mother tongue but did not simultaneously developed it in the process of acquiring academic literacy in English, wouldn't it be a case of subtractive bi/multilingualism?

The problem obviously comes from the perceived importance of English as a global language. In many non-Anglophone countries, scholars are increasingly compelled to publish in English for scholarly, institutional, and even monetary recognition. Unfortunately, many multilingual scholars, who could otherwise make significant contributions to knowledge mobilization outside of the Anglophone world, are confined to monolingual academic output in English (Kubota, 2016).

These observations indicate the importance of a dialectic understanding of normativity and plurality. Specifically, both the fixity of linguistic normativity and

the fluidity of trans/plurilingualism can be understood as both reality and ideology. Furthermore, these paradoxes require us to pay attention not only to theorizing language and language use but also structural conditions that exist in the material world. Advocating for critical realist pedagogy in college composition for social change, which resonates with *critical multiculturalism* discussed later, Judd (2005) states:

> changing how we think about things is vital to changing how we do things, but while this is a necessary component of social change, it is not sufficient, in and of itself, to realize genuine social change. Because such an approach ignores social structures. … Some changes can be made within existing structures; other changes, however, may require the removal of certain structures and/or the creation of new ones (p. 74).

Conceptualizing language and linguistic practice in new ways is certainly worth our intellectual effort. A pedagogical emphasis on mother tongue use will boost students' self-esteem. However, unless we transform structural barriers, very little will change. These barriers include curriculum and materials, high-stakes assessment, academic gatekeeping policies including thesis writing or publications, and English-only or standardized-language-only academic expectations in general.

3.3 Ideological Synergy with Liberal Multiculturalism and Neoliberal Multiculturalism

The perspectives of translanguaging and plurilingualism invite scholars and teachers to promote linguistic diversity in the classroom and beyond. Similarly, the concept of multiculturalism, which has been recognized as a vehicle for promoting unity and democracy, values cultural diversity. Furthermore, as global capitalism advances, valuing and managing diversity has become an inevitable task for neoliberal institutions. However, multiculturalism in different forms tends to treat diversity in a superficial way, overlooking power hierarchies that produce and sustain institutional racism, sexism, linguicism, and other injustices. These different forms of multiculturalism will be discussed below.

Liberal Multiculturalism The most common approach to multiculturalism has been *liberal multiculturalism*, which is akin to *cultural tourism* (Derman-Sparks, 1998) as observed in a superficial celebration of cultural difference or the four Fs—food, fashion, festival, and folkdance—without much attention paid to underlying inequalities (Nieto, 1995; Sleeter, 1996). In addition, liberal multiculturalism is characterized by a paradoxical approach to emphasizing (superficial) difference while simultaneously stressing human commonalities, which leads to producing cultural essentialism, stereotypes, and a difference-blind vision of human conditions. This echoes the "flattening of language differences" problematized by Gilyard (2016, p. 284) in his discussion of translingualism. Furthermore, in evading explicit examinations of unequal relations of power among groups distinguished by gender, race, class, language, sexuality, religion, nationality, and so on, liberal multicultur-

alism tends to legitimate the existing relations of power, uncritically accepting assimilation, domination, and marginalization (Kubota, 2004, 2015). Although the translingual and plurilingual approaches are founded on well-meaning opposition to monolingual ideology that harms minoritized language users or restricts enhanced communication among people from diverse backgrounds, these approaches may only rub the surface of diversity without addressing the root cause of inequalities.

Neoliberal Multiculturalism Liberal multiculturalism, characterized by its fascination and celebration of cultural and human difference, shares some features with neoliberal orientation toward cultural difference or *neoliberal multiculturalism* (Kymlicka, 2013). Global expansion of capital based on the principle of a free-market economy has increased the need for institutions and corporations to valorize all sorts of diversity. This is exemplified by the emphasis on *diversity management* within multinational corporations—an inevitable consequence of human mobility with which the corporate world must cope (Park, 2013). That is, many corporations have to effectively manage all kinds of diversity—gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion, and sexuality—among workers and clients in order to prevail in global business. Thus, neoliberal multiculturalism arises from pragmatic needs for respecting differences, mutual understanding, and intercultural communication for the purpose of economic growth. Flores (2013) points out that a major principle of plurilingualism promoted in Europe stems from neoliberal ideology, as Europe houses a large economic and political union that promotes free trade and human mobility. Neoliberal multiculturalism aims to manage and correct inequalities that prevent the free flow of capital, but does not problematize existing inequalities that fall outside of its economic scope—instead, the gaps are relegated to individual accountability.

Rather than achieving social justice and equity by ensuring state support and interventions, neoliberal principles and policies based on competition and individual accountability have actually widened economic gaps among people and nations. Universities are following suit by branding, internationalizing, and boosting their rankings, while reducing instructional costs. Scholars are under pressure to publish as many articles and books as possible in English on topics including translanguaging and plurilingualism (Kubota, 2016). The popularity of translanguaging is situated in this neoliberal institutional trend.

Critical Multiculturalism Compared to liberal and neoliberal multiculturalism, *critical multiculturalism* not only respects difference but also problematizes difference by asking questions such as: How are differences historically, socially, politically, discursively, and ideologically shaped and stabilized? What are the consequences? How are these differences experienced by different groups and diverse members of those groups? In asking these questions, critical multiculturalism explicitly engages learners in discussions of racism, sexism, linguicism, homophobia, Islamophobia, xenophobia, colonialism, and other injustices that injure minoritized people in institutions and the broader society. The aim is to raise critical awareness through dialogues and problem posing to reflect on one's lived

experiences, name problems, and explore alternative visions and actions for human liberation (Freire, 1998).

In applying this critical multicultural vision to translanguaging and plurilingualism, it would become essential to affirm the language, identity, and expressions of minoritized learners. Thus, encouraging them to express their own voice and showcase their linguistic identity would be a first step. However, staying at this stage may not necessarily address deep structural issues that causes and perpetuates injustices listed above. There is no fixed pedagogical formula for addressing hidden issues; rather, through exercising hyper-self-reflexivity, teachers can be encouraged to examine privilege, marginalization, and discursive construction of our knowledge, and to foster critical openness to alternative views and ideas, without imposing certain views (Kubota, 2014). Just as code-meshing for Anzaldúa, for example, has not only personal but also decolonial significance for Chicana women, learners can reflect on the multiple layers of plurilingual and translingual practices and their underlying ideologies.

This also indicates that validation of linguistic difference alone would not lead to linguistic justice. The ways people judge linguistic quality are influenced by the perceived race, ethnicity, and nationality of the language user (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Kang & Rubin, 2009; Kubota & Lin, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2016), which also index nonnative speakerness in many cases. Challenging the intersection between individual and institutional racism and linguistic discrimination requires us to go beyond individual free expression with code-meshing. It is necessary to raise mainstream people's awareness of their privilege vis-à-vis marginalized populations and invite them to explore how the status quo can be transformed.

4 Toward Critical Engagement in Multi/Plural Approaches

Multi/Plural pedagogical approaches value learners' mother tongue and promote linguistic diversity. While this perspective is essential for the well-being of individual learners and societies that they live in, the celebration of linguistic difference and learner agency alone would not lead to fundamental social change; rather it may only lead to mono/multilingual teachers' and students' superficial appreciation of difference through a fascination for exotic symbols. Furthermore, it would benefit the researchers themselves, including myself, who publish and present about the topic to build a competitive edge in neoliberal academic structures (Kubota, 2016). To contribute to actual social change, translanguaging and plurilingualism need to find a closer synergy with critical multiculturalism, by exploring deeper questions of linguistic and cultural inequalities in relation to colonialism, imperialism, capitalism, and associated language ideologies.

The concrete examples presented in this chapter indicated a gap between the theoretical ideal (plurality) and social realities (singularity). Yet, each of these categories contain contradictions, encouraging us to explore problems in a more com-

plex and dialectic manner. In searching for pedagogical approaches that promote equity and freedom for all learners from diverse backgrounds, I propose integrating key useful principles from different approaches: the liberal approach to respecting for difference; the postmodern valorization of fluidity, flexibility, and hybridity; and the critical drive to transform oppressive structures in the material world through hyper-self-reflection and action. In doing so, we need to address aggravating inequalities and injuries in human experiences that are ignored or even propagated. Promoting plurilingualism and translanguaging should be situated in our awareness of the troubling conditions that exist in many parts of the world, where more walls are being built between national borders, certain groups are prohibited to travel freely, and many people are afraid to speak their own language for fear of assault or deportation. While these oppressive events are happening, many of us are free to travel to international conferences to promote multi/plural ideals.

One recent news article strikes a chord. Due to the recent tightening of immigration policies in the United States, Canada has been encountering an increased number of *irregular* asylum seekers at unofficial points of entry. In her article, Loreto (2018, July 20) challenges the right-wing discourse that elevates the situation into a "crisis." In her criticism, she compares the small number of asylum claimants—14,310—processed during the first half of 2018, compared to a total of 62,000 refugees resettled in Canada during 2016, and moreover, the snowbird Canadian population of 500,000, who own property in Florida, USA. When we talk about translanguaging and plurilingualism, do we mainly think of these asylum seekers who live with fear of being sent back to the United States and subsequently to their home country, refugees who have been resettled in Canada and struggle to establish a sustainable livelihood, white female working-class Anglophone Canadians struggling to make ends meet, economic immigrants from wealthy backgrounds, or members of snowbird families? Furthermore, when so many incidents of raciolinguistic hatred are happening in our community, isn't it more important to recognize all languages as valid, legitimate and essential for human rights and humanity, rather than trying to make linguistic boundaries blurred and fuzzy? There are no right or wrong answers, but as ethically responsible educators, we need to continue to engage with difficult questions.

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Philosophy, Principle and Practice – '3Ps' to Implement *Pluri*lingual Pedagogies

Saskia Van Viegen and Sunny Man Chu Lau

Abstract In this final chapter of the book, we articulate our approach to implementing *pluri*lingual pedagogies in the classroom, namely the philosophical stance, core principles and pedagogic practices that educators can use to guide curriculum and teaching with bi/multilingual students. These '3Ps' comprise: philosophy, or the onto-epistemology of language; principle, meaning the standpoint that guides teacher action; and, practice, which refers to the multitude of instructional strategies that can be enacted in the classroom. Based on the key ideas articulated by contributors to this volume, this organizing framework can be used to observe, plan and reflect on *pluri*lingual pedagogies in action, and adapted and differentiated according to the diversity and particularity of educational contexts. The chapter begins with a synthesis of findings by other applied linguistics and education researchers, highlighting common approaches, issues and challenges that have been identified in the extant literature. Addressing key concerns raised by educators in their implementation of *pluri*lingual pedagogies, the chapter presents practical insights and concrete suggestions. The chapter concludes by suggesting that *pluri*lingual pedagogies can remake what counts as curriculum and instruction, challenging inequities relating to the sociolinguistic context of contemporary classrooms and communities.

Keywords Bilingualism · Plurilingualism · Multilingualism · Translanguaging · Language education · Language in education · Plurilingual pedagogies · Teacher education

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S. Van Viegen (✉)
Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University, Toronto, ON, Canada
e-mail: saskiast@yorku.ca

S. M. C. Lau
School of Education, Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, QC, Canada
e-mail: slau@ubishops.ca

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1 Literature Review of Existing Pedagogical Frameworks

Engaging with contemporary theories of language addressed in this edited volume, several scholars have put forth pedagogic frameworks or principles to guide educators in teaching through a heteroglossic, multilingual lens. These ways of teaching counter the monoglossic monolingual approaches that have tended to dominate both language education and language in education, as well as educational policies. Efforts arising out of work with practicing teachers in particular have been useful in highlighting strategies, issues and challenges in developing and implementing pedagogic responses to the shift in understandings of language. While we set out to review all of the approaches that had been developed in the recent past, we soon noted the overwhelming number of studies that articulate some aspect of teaching through a heteroglossic multilingual lens – across early years, K-12 education and adult learning in various educational settings. Given this exhaustive list, we decided to highlight just a few contributions that articulate specific frameworks and strategies to guide instruction, recognizing we are most familiar with studies published in the English literature (centred in the Global North), which definitely is by no means comprehensive; but suggests a need for awareness and understanding of related ontologies and approaches from different sociocultural and linguistic contexts, particularly work with/in Indigenous and minoritized languages and from the Global South.

For instance, several Canadian researchers, collaborating with ESL teachers and students from immigrant and refugee backgrounds in Canada, have articulated frameworks to support language and literacy engagement, identity investment and socio-material relations (see for instance Armand & Dagenais, 2012; Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012; Cummins & Early, 2011, 2014; Dagenais, Smythe, & Toohey, forthcoming; Darvin & Norton, 2014; Lau, 2013; Lotherington, 2013; Marshall & Toohey, 2010; Naqvi, McKeough, Thorne, & Pfitscher, 2013; Stille & Cummins, 2013; Toohey, 2000). In the European context, empirical studies from several contexts (see for instance Cenoz & Gorter, 2017; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Hélot, Frijns, Van Gorp, & Sierens, 2018; Little, Leung, & Van Avermaet, 2013; Martin-Jones & Saxena, 2003; Van Avermaet, Slembrouck, Van Gorp, Sierens, & Maryns, 2018) document practices of teachers working in linguistically heterogeneous classrooms, highlighting efforts to valorize children's cultural and linguistic backgrounds. For instance, Van Avermaet et al. (2018) propose a multilingual social interaction model as an alternative to language learning, to draw upon students' language resources as didactic capital and capital for functional, multilingual learning (FML). Working in the United States, particularly with Spanish-English bilingual children and youth, scholars (García, 2012; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; see also work by Bunch, Kibler, & Pimentel, 2012; Canagarajah, 2013; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Kanno & Harklau, 2012; Sembiante, 2016; Torres-Guzmán, 2007; Valdés, 2005) have developed a translanguaging pedagogy and specific strategies to leverage students' bilingualism for learning (see Seltzer, chapter "Translingual Writers as Mentors in a High School "English"

Classroom”, this volume; Tian, chapter “Faculty First: Promoting Translanguaging in TESOL Teacher Education”, this volume for details of the pedagogical model). More broadly, consolidating findings from a range of research studies in different contexts, Choi and Ollerhead (2018) define teaching through a *pluri*lingual stance, articulating beliefs, understandings and purposes related to this stance in the classroom. Documenting translanguaging practices in content and language integrated classrooms, Lin (2016) articulates a heuristic tool, the multimodalities-entextualization-cycle (MEC), to describe cycles of translanguaging across semiotic resources and modes for meaning-making, which are then entextualized in the target language. Overall, this rich body of empirical research highlights the extent to which heteroglossic multilingual approaches to language and education are being taken up across diverse contexts. Moreover, these studies offer educators a situated understanding of *pluri*lingual pedagogies and how they materialize in different settings. Beyond broad generalizations, the research articulates nuanced and context-specific strengths, issues and challenges suited to an understanding of the unique linguistic ecology of particular communities, spaces and learning environments. It is, therefore, of great importance to recognise that there is no one-size-fits-all framework for *pluri*lingual pedagogy; rather, instructional approaches need to be contextualized, fine-tuned, and reshaped on an ongoing basis to address the unique and evolving needs of each classroom and student population.

2 Philosophy, Principle and Practice – ‘3Ps’ of *Pluri*lingual Pedagogy

Looking across the chapters in this edited volume, it is possible to make some generalizations, broadly, of the practices and strategies adopted and adapted by the educators featured herein to apply theory to language (in) education. To assist educators to organize and frame these understandings, we present an organizing framework to synthesize the key ideas articulated by contributors to the chapters in this volume. These ideas are distilled into three core dimensions, as a heuristic for educators: **philosophy**, **principle** and **practice**, or **3Ps of *pluri*lingual pedagogy**. While by no means exclusive or all-encompassing, these dimensions provide an entry point for educators to apply *pluri*lingual pedagogy in their classrooms and offer an analytic frame for research:

Philosophy refers to onto-epistemology of language: what language is (ontology) and how educators come to know about languages (epistemology). It encompasses the various heteroglossic theories and concepts that have been developed to explain our understanding of language and language in society, including the terms elucidated by the authors in this volume, such as plurilingualism, translanguaging, code-switching and code-mixing, dynamic bilingualism, and translingualism. **Principle** describes the standpoint or posture that drives our actions, the orientation or motivation that guides classroom decisions and policies. It refers to our attitudes

and intentions, and how we see our capabilities and our role as educators in the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity as well as social equity and care. It comprises beliefs about teachers and teaching, students and learning that make up the very principles that guide practice. **Practice** implies action, comprising the multitude of instructional strategies that we enact in the classroom through curriculum, lesson planning, teaching and learning tasks, and assessment and evaluation activities based on the language demands of curriculum learning and the linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge students bring into the classroom. This dimension is most connected to teachers themselves, actualizing philosophy and principle in cycles of concrete action and reflection. Below, we provide a detailed list of key ideas in each core dimension:

Philosophy **– Theory of Language and Bi/Multilingualism**
Understand (*savoir*) linguistic repertoires as unitary, fluid, dynamic and evolving, such as:

- Multilingualism as heteroglossic
- Communication as functional use of linguistic repertoire according to interlocutors, purposes, and domains
- Language(s) as social construction, serving particular social functions and material dimensions (e.g., native-speakerism, language hierarchies, accentism, etc.)
- Language and literacy practices as situated in unique linguistic ecologies
- Language as social practice tied to identity, culture and power relations
- Language policy as multilingual, across micro- (individual, family), meso- (classroom, school), and macro-levels (district, state, nation)

Principles **– Posture and Stance**
Develop attitudes and beliefs (*savoir-être*) that value multilingualism as an asset in society and in education, including:

- Valorize students' cultural and linguistic repertoires, family language practices and funds of knowledge
- Understand relations among social representations/discourses of cultural communities, from which students' languages, identities and affiliations are shaped, contested and negotiated
- Recognize sociocultural, historic and political context of language use in students' communities
- Believe in teachers, students, families and community members as mediators of language and culture, and agents of change and education reform
- Interrupt deficit-oriented discourses of minoritized bi/multilingual students and communities and challenge monolingual ideologies
- Identify and navigate tensions between dominant and marginalized languages (e.g. dominance of English in print and digital worlds, home language maintenance, access to dominant/standard languages/varieties)

Practice – **Strategies and Approaches**
Act and implement (*savoir-faire*) strategies and approaches in education and instructional practice, for instance:

- Foster teacher-as-researcher identity for sociolinguistic analysis of classroom, school and community dynamics
- Engage in cycles of reflective practice for iterative development and refinement of *pluri*lingual pedagogies
- Engage students' communicative repertoire in class as didactic capital, cognitive scaffold and socioemotional support
- Connect translanguaging practices strategically and purposefully with class activities
- Use emergent curriculum design, open to shifts and movements in response to language flows and needs
- Promote communicative competence and flexibility across languages and modes to communicate powerfully
- Support students to be sociolinguists and linguistic ethnographers, developing language awareness, metalinguistic awareness, interest and curiosity
- Promote critical understanding how language, with other modalities, constructs and instantiates meaning and context
- Engage students in socially meaningful, higher-order, critical and complex learning about and through language to participate in knowledge construction and social action and disrupt linguistic hierarchies and inequitable power relations

With this framework in mind, we turn to some key questions and issues often raised by educators as they endeavour to put theory into practice. Although we hope our responses to these questions may be useful, these responses should not stand in for the professional judgement of educators in response to knowledge developed within the unique, situated contexts of their own classrooms and communities. The questions are articulated from the perspective of teachers, based on actual conversations we have had with those working in the field and at the chalkface with students in multilingual, multicultural schools and communities.

1. Where do I start to bring these ideas into my practice?

The fundamental argument of this volume is that the monolingual, monocultural assumptions that tend to dominate education are predicated on a narrow perspective of the purposes of education and the resources available for teaching and learning available in our communities. These assumptions are challenged once teachers deepen understanding of students and what they CAN do, rather than focusing on what they cannot do. Recognizing that dominant, monolingual social norms and societal discourses have shaped how education systems perceive and understand students and their needs, a first step in bringing these ideas into practice involves working to undo the limitations of long-held, traditional views. As assumptions shift, teachers may change how they choose to support students, and seek different approaches. By way of illustration, the contributions to this volume demonstrate how educators in various settings and circumstances have found or developed

critical, creative ways to integrate students' communicative repertoire and translanguaging practice into education, generating learning opportunities and recognizing and building upon the rich linguistic ecology of the classroom to support the development of every student's language awareness, plurilingual competence, and intercultural disposition.

2. **How does changing my approach connect with the way I see myself as a teacher?**

Discovering and developing new approaches involves changing how the role of the teacher is viewed – from a role of delivering curriculum and implementing pedagogic strategies to a role of generating curriculum and building pedagogic theories. This shift not only recognizes the expertise and wisdom of teachers working in the field, it also acknowledges teachers' value in the production of local, contextualized responses and approaches to student learning and development (Comber, 2013; Timperley & Alton-Lee, 2008). This production of knowledge can be organic; however, it can also involve a systematic, purposeful effort to inquire, reflect and learn from classroom experience. Like traditional notions of scientific inquiry, this effort comprises a methodological process for posing questions and gathering and analysing data. More specifically, in classroom-based, teacher-driven inquiry, the purpose is to integrate research and practice through a recursive process of thinking and doing, action and reflection, wherein teachers generate evidence upon which critically informed decisions, strategies and initiatives can be cultivated, shared and acted upon. Teacher-researchers, positioned as an integral part of the research community, bring insights and expertise to understandings of scholarly research, as they respond, speak back, inform, shape, build, and go beyond current and developing theories on language and language education.

Engaging in an inquiry process, teachers can gather evidence and make interpretations of who their students are and what and how they are learning. Reflecting on and analyzing these interpretations, teachers can deepen understanding of the social representations/discourses of their students' languages and communities, their bi/multilingual learning processes, their home language resources, and possibilities for cultivating pedagogic use of translanguaging practices in school. For instance, from a sociolinguistic lens, teachers can begin by documenting a linguistic ethnography of the students in their classroom (ie. Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012). Teachers can identify the languages students speak, understand their funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Marshall & Toohey, 2010), and learn about students' home and family language and literacy practices, particularly those that may not be recognized by schools. In gathering these data, teachers can identify family and community members who are allies in supporting and broadening students' use of their communicative repertoires for learning and in school. These allies – families, community members – can be particularly useful when teachers themselves do not speak the same language(s) of students, acting as cultural informants and language brokers, helping to develop, implement and sustain *pluri*lingual pedagogies, and to challenge linguistic hierarchies and the dominance of monolingual norms.

3. How do these understandings affect the way I see my students?

The dynamic nature of students’ linguistic repertoire suggests that students’ plurilingual identities and affiliations are always under construction: open, shifting, and emergent in everyday activities, and shaped by and within the practices and pedagogies of the classroom. As plurilingual social actors, students choose how to use their linguistic resources depending on personal and social needs, interests and motivations, and according to particular situations, circumstances and conditions. Consistent with the idea that students’ identities or identifications are neither fixed nor static, *pluri*lingual pedagogies accommodate dynamic, fluid understandings of not only language use but also language learners. This framing highlights agentive subjectivities and the possibilities that exist for teachers and students to negotiate available social positions and practices.

In bilingual education and education more generally, a great variety of pedagogic activities to engage with students’ diverse linguistic identities have been developed and written about by educators and researchers, for instance those documented by the chapters in this book. These teaching and learning activities can address mandated curriculum expectations and also help students re-cover, valorize and perform their desired or imagined identities and sociocultural affiliations. Notably, teachers don’t need to do this work for students; rather, provide the space for students to become researchers themselves. As student sociolinguists and linguistic ethnographers, students can reflect on their personal identifications, experiences and beliefs about bi/multilingualism and language in society.

For instance, teachers can lead students to create bi/multilingual and/or dual language **identity texts** (Cummins & Early, 2014) which are products of students’ creative works that reflect their identities in a positive light. Documented examples of multimodal identity texts include: **language portraits** (Prasad, 2014), **persona poems** (Cahnmann, 2006) such as name stories, migration stories, and ‘I am from’ poems, and author studies of bi/multilingual writers (Ada & Campoy, 2004); students can create reflective **linguistic autobiographies**, personal literacy histories, or language learning histories to reflect on their experiences (Busch, 2006). Teachers can also involve students, families and community members in creating **multilingual texts** (e.g. Aitken & Robinson, chapter ““Walking in Two Worlds” in the Plurilingual Classroom: Learning from the Case of an Intergenerational Project”, this volume and Seltzer, chapter “Translingual Writers as Mentors in a High School “English” Classroom”, this volume).

4. How can I understand students and their needs when I don’t know how to communicate in their language(s)?

Teachers play an important, agentive role in creating a context for students to bring multiple languages into the classroom, whether or not they know or speak the language(s) of their students. Applying a systematic approach to research about their students and their needs, teachers can select ‘marker students’ for whom they can monitor and gather information through pedagogical documentation (Rinaldi, 2004) of student learning. Pedagogical documentation includes observations, notes,

audio and/or video recordings, and reflections on student and teacher conferences and conversations, classroom activities, and artefacts of student work. The documentation can then be analysed and interpreted to identify students' strengths and needs, supporting assessment *as* and *for* learning, and to guide next steps for promoting students' growth and development.

For understanding bi/multilingual products and processes, teachers can tap into the pool of cultural and linguistic resources in the classroom, school and community for assistance. Moreover, for students at earlier stages of using the language of instruction, who may not be able to talk to teachers about the meaning of their bi/multilingual work, teachers can involve a peer or language buddy, pairing students who share the same language to help, mediate or translate for them. Teachers can make inferences and use their professional judgement as they reflect on and assess emergent bi/multilingual learners' needs and progress.

5. **Understanding students' linguistic repertoires and practices, how do I develop instructional approaches for my classroom?**

Based the insights gleaned from observing and reflecting on students' needs, multilingual instructional strategies can be designed and developed to meet a variety of instructional goals. Multiple and complex processes underlie every aspect of learning and literacy development in education; teachers constantly navigate between teaching for discrete skill development versus more holistic approaches, top-down versus bottom-up models of instruction, student-driven versus teacher-led inquiry, test-based or prescribed versus emergent curriculum. These binaries and routes are not either/or; they are perhaps more like a continuum or a complex network of multiple points. Navigating this complexity, teachers may be working on their own or as part of a collaborative team; they may have varied levels of support or professional learning opportunities. To suggest that every teacher comes to this task with the same background, experience and professional goal would be a naive and misguided assumption; instead, we recognize that every teacher is on their own journey, perhaps a narrow road or one that is expansive and inclusive. Nonetheless, we believe every teacher-as-researcher can draw their own the map of the possibilities and potentials for *pluri*lingual pedagogies and design, craft and orchestrate the strategies, activities and tasks that best suit their particular point on the journey, building and relying on their professional judgement to make purposeful decisions and meet the learning needs of their students. Highlighting particular approaches, we do not imply a prescriptive model; rather, the strategies, tasks and activities shared here can be connected to the various teaching and learning goals that educators take up in their particular context.

Building **functional** linguistic knowledge and developing **metalinguistic awareness** can be an entry point into engaging with students' communicative repertoires. These aims can involve intentional teaching of how language constructs and enacts meaning in context, highlighting lexciogrammatic (vocabulary, grammar) and discourse semantic features to support and foster knowledge about linguistic choices and language use. These understandings can support students to reflect on and identify differences and similarities between languages and their cultural nuances to

construct meaning that meets the contextual demands. **Language awareness** can be fostered through observation and development of interest in languages, and asking questions based on these observations and interests. Promoting this learning can be a collective exercise for the whole class, positioning students and the teacher as linguistic ethnographers. Teachers can engage students in **translingual writing** processes by inviting them to use their L1 to make meaning and generate ideas for writing in the target language. Alternatively, students can **entextualise meaning** from one modality to another, for example from reading to writing, from talking to writing, from concept maps to paragraphs, from videos to captioned drawings. Students can also use translingual writing for the final products, mixing and crossing between languages for strategic purposes to enhance meaning and/or to create special literary or aesthetic effects as in bi/multilingual poems or narratives (Cahnmann, 2006; García & Kleyn, 2016; Seltzer, chapter "Translingual Writers as Mentors in a High School "English" Classroom", this volume).

Strategies to guide functional linguistic learning in general can be extended to development of multilingual **metalinguistic awareness** in any subject area. For example, each time a new concept is introduced, teachers can invite students to connect the new concept with other words in their linguistic repertoire, and discuss cultural and linguistic similarities and differences associated with the representation and meaning in different contexts and with different speakers. Focusing on the etymology of vocabulary, students can discover prefixes, suffixes, root words, and shared cognates with other languages. Teachers can also invite students to compare and contrast word orders and syntactic elements and structures across languages as well as differences in alphabetic and non-alphabetic scripts and directionality of print. Because teachers may not know all the languages of their students, these approaches recognize students' linguistic expertise, positioning them as talented, knowledgeable bi/multilinguals who can teach others in the class. Depending on the age and stage of learners, sample classroom activities can include creating and posting multilingual word walls and anchor charts, recording new words on a table or matrix to show meanings and definitions, and posting multilingual signs throughout the school.

6. **What other *pluri*lingual or translanguaging instructional possibilities can I create for language and content learning?**

As the contributions to this volume illustrate in rich detail, at the core of *pluri*lingual pedagogies is the idea that teachers can draw on students' communicative resources as both a scaffold and a resource, for a variety of purposes across grade levels, disciplines and curriculum subject areas. These purposes can comprise teaching for development and transfer of literacy skills, conceptual knowledge, and academic and discipline-specific reading and writing processes. Broadly, the ultimate goal is to affirm students' evolving identities as plurilingual social actors and demonstrate to them that school is a context where their funds of knowledge are a welcome and needed contribution to learning and to the school community.

*Pluri*lingual or translanguaging instructional possibilities are not limited to translating or code-switching. Teachers can provide opportunities for processing

meaning in ways that access student's entire linguistic repertoire. Organizing students into same- and different-language **groupings** enables students to work in and through multiple languages at different times. To scaffold **reading comprehension**, teachers can pre-teach key vocabulary or conceptual knowledge with multimodal resources and invite students to make meaning of content, text features, text type, genre, voice and style using their multi-lingual and -cultural knowledge to activate prior knowledge and contextualize the text and subject matter. According to the level of their students, teachers can use **modelling** and **think-aloud** to make visible bi/multilingual thinking processes as they engage with text, and invite students to use the full range of their linguistic repertoire to discuss and analyze questions, prompts, understandings, applications, and authentic examples of new concepts. Intentional teaching of discipline-specific reading strategies is key to students' mastery of writing as they become increasingly conscious of and strategic in mobilizing discourse for different communicative purposes.

These instructional strategies, though useful, might not be sufficient in and of themselves to transform classrooms into *pluri*lingual spaces of learning; students' engagements with plurilingualism in school are mediated by the discourses, affects, and practices present in the classroom and school. These strategies should not be viewed as technical or instrumental; rather, they can be effective to the extent that they are embedded within a learning context that values and valorizes students' plurilingual identities, home languages and cultures, and the funds of knowledge that students bring with them to school.

7. **How can we decide when students can use their home language in class? When is too much?**

This question is one that comes up a lot with teachers, recognizing that each learning environment comprises unique contextual needs and requirements. Considering these particularities is essential to making appropriate pedagogical decisions about when, how much and for what purposes different languages and translanguaging practices are leveraged for teaching and learning; the critical issue, however, is that these decisions are made strategically and purposefully, not haphazard or anything-goes. For instance, teachers need to consider the amount of opportunity for target language input and practice, the differences among foreign or international language teaching, heritage language instruction, second or additional language learning, and immersion or bilingual education contexts. Moreover, students' migration trajectories and educational backgrounds are relevant, including whether or not students have had access for formal education and the kinds of language and literacy practices they have developed. The guiding principle for teachers is to carefully consider cognitive, social and affective learning needs in their respective teaching and learning contexts.

8. **Is there enough time in a language class to do justice to bi/multilingual language practices?**

Quantifying, measuring and prescribing the amount of bi/multilingual language practice in class is hardly possible, let alone desirable. Every effort is a drop in the

bucket, enhancing students' confidence, building their self-efficacy, and supporting their willingness to risk bringing their full linguistic identities to the classroom. Importantly, creating translanguaging or plurilingual spaces helps legitimize student access to plurality of linguistic and cultural resources; both teacher-directed, intentional translanguaging activities, and student-directed, spontaneous translanguaging practice (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017) can be welcome in the classroom. While student-directed translanguaging cannot be prescribed by the teacher, these opportunities are certainly mediated by the kind of learning environment the teacher has created. If students feel like their language practices are welcome as legitimate contributions to the classroom community they can potentially use these practices without being limited by institutional norms, policies or discourses. The hope is that students may freely engage and develop their plurilingual competence, navigate and negotiate constraints, and find and create communicative practices in effective ways. Importantly, these processes fall within an **assessment for learning** paradigm, wherein teaching and learning is embedded in an ongoing process of **formative assessment,** to understand students' current level of development and identify next steps to stretch and enhance their capabilities for the next level of development.

Working with and in an iterative spiral, teachers can continually reflect on and enhance the development of this *pluri*lingual pedagogy, refining and building on their learning about students' bi/multilingual capacities and capabilities to strike a balance between providing scaffolds and promoting risk-taking. These approaches are not time-limited, they extend – horizontally and vertically – across curricula and across disciplines, comprising transversal competence, conceptual knowledge, learning skills and critical literacy.

9. Won't other students feel excluded if they don't share the same languages? And how do I ensure that students are staying on task when speaking other languages in class?

Responding to these concerns requires teachers to look for evidence of engagement beyond the linguistic dimension. In every class, students are not always on task 100% of the time, no matter what language they are using – an engaged classroom involves interactions and relations in which teachers and students are actively talking, laughing, affirming one another, supporting friendships and mediating disputes, seeking out meaning making, and discussing with peers outside of and within their involvement in learning tasks. When students are doing these activities in additional languages, which may seem like talking out of turn or getting off task, it can be recognized that this interaction can happen in any language and need not be labelled as negative.

Teachers can create opportunities for **metacognitive strategy use** for students to **self-regulate** and **-monitor** learning through tasks which include progressive stages whereby students report and/or reflect on progress and challenges at different times, ensure they are on task, and understand their progress toward learning goals. Students can be assigned and learn to assume different roles in group learning tasks, for example, posing questions, building on peer ideas, synthesizing group opinions, etc.

10. How does this plurilingual approach connect to teaching for social justice?

Inspired by critical pedagogy, *pluri*lingual pedagogies are intentionally political and social-justice oriented, aiming to improve educational opportunities and develop literacies that support students to "read the word and the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987). Unlike the idea of education as cultural reproduction, a technical approach to transmitting knowledge to students, education based in *pluri*lingual pedagogies sees students as intellectuals, cultural producers, and civic agents, and views education as a site of social change and process of moving toward greater consciousness and humanity.

Central to this understanding is the belief that students are capable of understanding the causes and effects of their social circumstances, such as the power relations that might uphold and/or marginalize particular linguistic practices. Students have their own experiences of these relations, which shape their understanding of how language and bi/multilingualism work in schools and society. As knowledge producers and experts of their own experience, students are capable of connecting these understandings to broader social issues at stake in their communities, including the representations, engagements, and/or silencing of languages and cultures. As sociolinguists or linguistic ethnographers themselves, students can identify, investigate, analyze, and act upon issues and challenges that are relevant to their lives. They can produce knowledge about themselves outside of the gaze of dominant perspectives, and find transformative possibilities for self-representation. However, these capabilities may need to be fostered and orchestrated through teacher effort, requiring a balance between teacher facilitation and **learner autonomy**.

One way for students to be sociolinguistic researchers or linguistic ethnographers and participate in knowledge production is to turn language into the subject of research/inquiry. Engaging specifically with digital and multimodal means of production (Kendrick, 2016), students can document **linguistic landscapes** of their community (Dagenais, Moore, & Sabatier, 2013), to understand why a certain language practice is preferred or dismissed in the wider community. Linguistic landscaping captures, through digital images of public language use, the different social representations of language. This work makes visible how social and cultural communities marginalize or privilege certain groups, and can also shed light on what might be done to disrupt such inequity. Students can also engage in bi/multilingual **inquiry-** or **project-based learning**, in which they explore and conduct research on a social topic that triggers their interest and curiosity (Lau, chapter "Translanguaging for Critical Bi-Literacy: English and French Teachers' Collaboration in Transgressive Pedagogy", this volume). Students can also use visual methods for representing the findings and learning, for instance through **photovoice** or **photo essays** (Mitchell, Moletsane, Stuart, Buthelezi, & de Lange, 2005), digital filmmaking (Stille, 2011; Toohey, Dagenais, & Schulze, 2012), or different forms of visual and performing

arts (Gardner, 2017; Ntelioglou, 2015; Ntelioglou, Fannin, Montanera, & Cummins, 2014)

11. What if my principal and/or parents don't support the use of plural languages in class? How can I respond to their concerns?

This concern is common among teachers, particularly since administrators and parents can be key allies in supporting *pluri*lingual pedagogies. Importantly, these approaches build upon a significant body of both theoretical advances and empirical research documenting the most effective means of teaching and supporting bi/multilingual students and student learning. Thus, a *pluri*lingual approach is supported by research evidence, which teachers can use to substantiate their pedagogical choices. Moreover, teachers can refine and contextualize this evidence with insights gathered through their own efforts to collect data and conduct systematic research with their students, documenting student learning and interpreting effects of implementing instructional strategies, tasks and activities that draw on students' linguistic repertoire and translanguaging practice.

Teachers can talk to administrators and families to discuss how teaching and learning connects with students' lives to draw upon the full range of students' cultural, linguistic, and representational resources. Through these connections, student engagement can potentially be accelerated and increased, fostering investment and supporting students in achieving a high level of accomplishment. This process may occur in reciprocal relation: students can see their cultural and linguistic identities reflected positively in learning and in the school environment, which in turn may deepen their further engagement and achievement. Many researchers in applied linguistics argue that students perform at a higher level, are more engaged with learning, and feel more confident and efficacious when teaching and learning connects with their experiences and funds of knowledge; teachers may reach the same conclusions in analyzing data from their classrooms, which can further strengthen the rationale for their critical and creative *pluri*lingual engagement with students.

Despite the growing acknowledgement of the value of bi/multilingualism to education, teachers still have to navigate the challenge of using concepts that have emerged out of traditional epistemologies in SLA research and TESOL teaching methods. For instance, curriculum usually mandates what students need to learn at each grade level; however, teachers often have flexibility to determine *how* they teach this curriculum. Pedagogy needs not be a uniform, routine, or reductive approach. Infusing the traditional approaches with a *pluri*lingual lens can reinvigorate teaching by emphasizing creativity and curiosity, the growth of students' critical consciousness and engagement. These capacities can be developed as students become comfortable using their full linguistic repertoires in the classroom, to engage with tasks and participate in learning communities that reflect the contemporary social context.

3 The Last Word

Understanding language as a social practice, imbricated in a web of social contexts, power relations, and interactions that are constructed out of both material and discursive conditions, *pluri*lingual pedagogies in the classroom can potentially re/make what counts as curriculum and knowledge. Based on these aims, teachers can create contexts of empowerment that support students to recognize, care about, and participate in activities that challenge injustices – starting with the marginalization and exclusion of home languages and bi/multilingual practices in multilingual schools. Such efforts cannot be mistaken for simply using *pluri*lingual pedagogies as a scaffold for teaching the dominant language, and therefore reifying existing linguistic hierarchies; rather, these efforts should comprise an attempt to re-think the kinds of language practices deemed legitimate for meaning making, knowledge production and learning in schools.

The tension between these aims, the **access paradox** (Janks, 2004), denotes the struggle in education between helping students master linguistic codes of power while maintaining and sustaining minoritized languages. We believe that both access and critique underlie *pluri*lingual pedagogies, meaning enabling minoritized students' access to the language of dominance should be done alongside a problematization of its dominant status (Janks, 2010; Lau, 2019). Both access and critique should be held in tension to disrupt further socio- economic and -political marginalization of minoritized groups and to legitimise and valorise hybrid identities and language use. These aims articulate the social justice purposes of *pluri*lingual pedagogies and their pursuant vision for equitable and humanizing education.

*Pluri*lingual pedagogies communicate to students that who they are and what they know matter not only to the classroom, but also to society in general. Regarding students as agentive, critical and creative thinking beings means that the learning process can be shaped by their sensibilities and motivations, their creative imaginations and experiences. Taken together, these efforts can materialize students' developing hopes, pride, confidence and identities as potential—unfinished and in process, not locked into finalized constructions. Thinking of students' identifications as a process of *becoming* rather than a unitary or unchanging identity, condition, or circumstance emphasizes both the continuity and transformation of social life and social actors. Within this frame of movement and unfolding, *pluri*lingual pedagogies do not entail a prescriptive solution or approach; rather they underscore the need to develop deep, **thick description** (Geertz, 2008) and understandings, relationships, and reciprocity with people and communities, to refuse to flatten students' lives and experiences, and to engage individually and collectively across difference. Notably, this effort can serve as a catalyst for shifting attitudes, perspectives, and beliefs about language in education. Becoming researchers of their own classrooms, teachers need not be limited by curriculum in understanding learning goals, who their students are, what they are capable of, and what they can do to open space for critical and creative *pluri*lingual pedagogies. We suggest that teachers need to experience this shift for themselves, otherwise the strategies stay on the page and

remain other people's theories. If you are still reading, the next step is to close the book, and refocus on your students, your classroom, and your community, to identify one or two activities that can make a difference. The contributions to this volume show how educators have created small cracks and openings within prescribed curriculum and learning environments, which they have widened over time. These *pluri*lingual spaces and efforts cumulatively encourage students' diverse linguistic repertoires and identities to surface and be put to use as fuel to rekindle sparks of curiosity into vibrant fire of creative and critical learning.

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