

## ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: EXPLORING INSTRUCTIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES IN A NEWLY-FORMED TRANSLANGUAGING DUAL- LANGUAGE SCHOOL

Lijuan Shi, Doctor of philosophy, 2022

Dissertation directed by: Professor Kellie Rolstad  
Department of Teaching Learning Policy and Leadership

Translanguaging pedagogy disrupts linguistic inequalities and creates transformative spaces for emergent bilingual students in dual language education (DLE) programs to leverage and expand students' full linguistic repertoires. Guided by translanguaging theory and positioning theory, this case study presents an analysis of the opportunities and the challenges of implementing translanguaging pedagogy in a co-teaching Chinese-English dual language Pre-K school in China. Using the entire school as a case, this investigation is based on data from videos and field notes of class observations, interviews of teachers, school leaders and parents, audio recording of school meetings, and school documents. The study focuses on two main factors: First, how translanguaging pedagogy was implemented in the school including the individual or coordinated translanguaging practices of 34 Chinese and English teachers and the challenges they encountered; second, the institutional factors including teachers' institutional positionality and the understanding of translanguaging among stakeholders (teachers, administrative leaders, and parents), which all influence the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

The findings provide a rounded view of how the school's translanguaging policy provided opportunities for teachers to legitimately navigate between two languages in teacher-student interactions and teachers' co-teaching practices. Teachers employed various translanguaging strategies to construct three translanguaging components (translanguaging bridges, translanguaging assessments, and translanguaging showcases) through which emergent bilingual students' full linguistic repertoire were validated and developed. The school's child-initiated play pedagogy and stakeholders' strong translanguaging stance supported the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. The findings also reveal that the legitimizing position of translanguaging pedagogy did not eliminate all the challenges teachers encountered. These challenges stemmed from teachers' insufficient experience of practicing translanguaging and their limited skills in translanguaging co-teaching design. Discrepancies between the institutional positions and co-teaching assignments, between language equivalency inside and outside the classroom, and between different stakeholders' expectations created hindrances for the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

This study adds to the growing research on translanguaging in early childhood education, as well as offering useful translanguaging strategies and examples for language teachers at Pre-K schools. This study explores the ideological boundary between two languages and reflects the core of translanguaging theory, which resonates with anti-bias education and conceptualizes the sociolinguistic reality and symbolic competence of emergent bilingual students. This study also provides insights about what kind of administrative and peripheral support is needed for

translanguaging to occur and what obstacles may hinder teachers' translanguaging practices in this specific DLE program. The findings can inform other schools to overcome challenges and enact an anti-bias and dynamic bilingual education based on the acknowledgment of the full linguistic capital students bring to the classroom.

**EXPLORING INSTRUCTIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL OPPORTUNITIES  
AND CHALLENGES IN A NEWLY-FORMED  
TRANSLANGUAGING DUAL- LANGUAGE SCHOOL**

by

Lijuan Shi

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Advisory Committee:  
Professor Kellie Rolstad, Chair  
Professor Jeff MacSwan  
Professor Melinda Martin-Beltrán  
Professor Jennifer Turner  
Professor Minglang Zhou

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## DEDICATION

To my beloved husband! We are one in Him!

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first would like to thank all my family members: my mom, my sister, and my nephews, who unconditionally supported me and cheered for me over the past few years. 特别谢谢妈妈和姐姐对我的爱！姐姐，你是我的榜样！

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### **Setting the Stage: Background of the Research Problem**

Early models of bilingual education were established in the US only after hard-won recognition of the civil rights of children whose first language was not English (Crawford, 1991). Struggles continued within schools and in academia over the theories and practices that best account for and support bilingual children, and bilingual programs from across a wide spectrum were implemented (Baker & Wright, 2021). At one end of the spectrum, transitional programs used as little of the children's first language (L1) as was necessary in order to transition children into all-English instruction as quickly as possible (Baker & Wright, 2021; Crawford, 1991). These transitional programs, while better than English-only programs, resulted in children's gradual learning of English, but provided very limited access to subject matter that they could understand, and often led to the loss of L1 proficiency over time (Genesee, 1999). At the other end of the spectrum, developmental programs sought to develop children's oral and written proficiency in both the L1 and English; these programs recognized that language learning takes several years, and that children can continue learning subject matter through the L1 while increasing proficiency in English (Baker & Wright, 2021; Genesee, 1999). Transitional programs were found to be more successful than English-only programs, but that was not always enough to convince policymakers that these programs were warranted (Crawford, 1991).

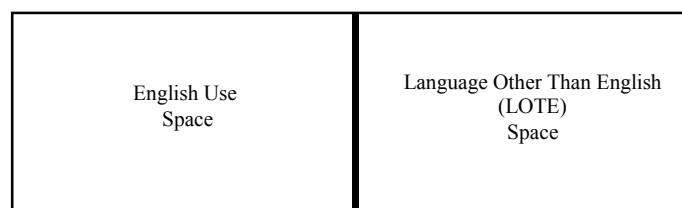
The developmental bilingual model, however, was significantly more effective than English-only instruction (Baker & Wright, 2021; Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass, 2005). Developmental programs featured substantial mixing of the two languages in instruction; for example, one of the most prevalent and popular lesson formats used in bilingual classrooms was

Preview-View-Review, also called Preview Review (Gonzales & Lezama, 1974). In this lesson format, for example, a group of children and their teacher might discuss what they know about dinosaurs in Spanish, then read a book about dinosaurs in English, and then review in Spanish what they had learned from the reading. In another lesson, they might talk about math concepts in English, engage those concepts in a Spanish-language math assignment, and then discuss in English the challenges they had faced in the lessons and how they solved them.

In their meta-analysis comparing English-only instruction to transitional and to developmental bilingual education, Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass (2005) found that developmental bilingual education programs, which purposefully include L1 maintenance and development, were far more effective than both transitional programs and English-only programs; in addition to students outcomes of far greater bilingualism and biliteracy, the more students' first language was incorporated in their educational program, the higher their overall achievement scores were in all subject areas (Rolstad et al., 2005). A version of developmental bilingual education that incorporates students from two language populations and focuses on bilingualism and biliteracy for both groups is called dual language education (DLE). DLE is modeled after Canadian immersion programs, and seeks to add another language to all students' first language (L1) while providing excellent subject matter instruction; the goal of DLE programs is to develop "bilingual skills, academic excellence, and positive cross-cultural and personal competency attitudes for both groups of students" by combining native English speakers and native speakers of the non-English language in classrooms (Lindholm-Leary, 2001, p. 30).

In a typical DLE program, instruction in the two languages is deliberately and systematically separated by time of day, day of the week, alternating weeks, or by subject areas. Language instruction is often provided by two teachers, each teacher using only one of the

languages for instruction. Moreover, in DLE classrooms, only standard features of English and of the non-English language are legitimized. As shown in Figure 1, in a DLE classroom, the two language teachers are asked to speak their designated language consistently as if they are monolingual speakers of each target language (TL). Students are also constantly reminded to stick to one language at any given time. Students' bilingualism is built through separately teaching the so-called standard registers of each language (see figure 1). The rationale behind the strict language separation policy is that students will better develop each of their languages if they are forced to hear and produce one language at a time (Palmer, 2009), and the non-English TLs in DLE programs will be protected from English domination (Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014)



*Figure 1:* Traditional language allocation policy of DLE programs. Reprinted from “Reframing language allocation policy in dual language bilingual education” by M. Sánchez, O. García, and C. Solorza , 2018, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 41, p. 41.

While students in bilingual education programs worldwide have become increasingly multilingual, bilingual education unfortunately came under intense attack in the US, especially around the end of the 20th century (Crawford, 1991; Ovando, 2003; Sánchez, García, & Solorza, 2018). The political backlash against this increasing multilingualism resulted in the prohibition of bilingual programs in California (Proposition 227), Arizona (Proposition 203), two states with large Spanish-speaking populations, as well as in Massachusetts (Question 2). Despite studies showing the effectiveness of bilingual education, especially the developmental models (e.g., Rolstad, Mahoney & Glass, 2005; MacSwan, Thompson, Rolstad, McAlister & Lobo, 2017), the

word “bilingual” had become a “B” word politically (Crawford, 2007) and was subsequently erased from every single federal education office and project name (García, 2014).

At the same time, dual language education (DLE) programs began to gain popularity worldwide. Because many bilingual education programs had focused on helping language-minoritized students to move or transition into the mainstream, the transitional and subtractive nature of some bilingual education models was criticized by researchers (Medina & Escamilla, 1992; Ramirez, 1992; Rolstad et al., 2005). While scholars found DLE programs to be more effective than transitional programs (e.g., Collier, 1995; Collier & Thomas, 2004; Thomas & Collier, 2003; Ramirez, 1992; Rolstad, et al. 2005), the language separation policies of these programs have recently come under scrutiny. The critique points out that the language separation policy is mainly based on three different perspectives: monolingual ideologies of bilingualism, negative views of using L1 in L2 classrooms, and concerns about codeswitching.

### ***Monolingual Ideologies of Bilingualism***

Monolingual ideologies can be discerned by how people understand and describe bilingualism and how they define what it means to be bilingual. Traditionally, many researchers believed that languages are stored within distinct systems in the brain (Cook, 2001), which led to the assumption that bilinguals have two separate and isolated language systems and competencies. This monolingual perspective also fostered the idea that “the bilingual is (or should be) two monolinguals in one person” (Grosjean, 1989, p. 4). In other words, the ideal and true (or balanced) bilingual was seen as someone who is equally fluent in two languages. Under that model, bilinguals should be tested and assessed according to two monolingual standards (Grosjean, 1985).



In the context of second and foreign language teaching, the monolingual view of bilingualism has created a pedagogy that over-emphasizes the use of the TL exclusively (Parada & Turnbull, 2018). In the case of DLE programs, the monolingual view of bilingualism has become axiomatic; the two languages should be kept rigidly separate because the aim of DLE is to develop double monolingualism, with native speakers of each language constituting the idealized target models (Auer, 2007; Scott, 2010).

The development of DLE programs was also affected by Cummins' (1979) influential interdependence hypothesis. Cummins posited that there is a common underlying proficiency (CUP) between the languages of bilinguals that can transfer from one language to another. In other words, the academic knowledge that students learn, no matter the language of instruction, constitutes students' knowledge base. Although Cummins' hypothesis did not advocate language separation in instruction, it was used by educators to legitimize language compartmentalization (García & Kleyn, 2016). Educators argued that, based on Cummins' hypothesis, instructional time spent through one language impacts the development of the other, and that what students learn through one language does not need to be taught in another language. Based on this interpretation, DL programs are frequently designed to add a second language to students' first and keep them separate in the classroom by subject, lesson, teacher, or time (half day or whole day) (Howard et.al., 2005; Lindholm-Leary, 2001), because keeping two languages separate can avoid inefficiencies in translation and duplication (Bahamonde, 1999). Cummins (2008) criticized this interpretation of CUP as being grounded in the *two solitudes assumption*<sup>1</sup>, which "has minimal research basis" (p. 65).

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<sup>1</sup> The two-solitudes assumption argues for a rigid separation of languages within bilingual or immersion programs (Cummins, 2007).

To contest the compartmentalization of languages, Cummins proposed a transfer theory, which posits that the cognitive and linguistic knowledge of the L1 can be transferred to and play a role in the development of competence in the L2 (Cummins, 1979). Cummins (2008) further asserts five types of transfer from students' L1 to their L2: 1. transfer of conceptual elements; 2. transfer of metacognitive and metalinguistic strategies; 3. transfer of pragmatic aspects of language use; 4. transfer of specific linguistic elements; and 5. transfer of phonological awareness. Multiple empirical studies align with Cummins' transfer theory (e.g., Czikó, 1976; Greaney, 1977; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; Swain, Lapkin & Barik, 1976). These studies support the interdependent and intertwined relationship between L1 and L2 and the inseparable nature of L1 and L2. Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), for example, investigated the interdependence between skills in Finnish (L1) and in Swedish (L2) among Finnish students. They found that those Finnish students whose L1 skills were already developed to the abstract level "reach a better level in the mastery of Swedish-language concepts in quite a short time than those who moved before or at the start of school, and before long surpass even the migrant children who were born in Sweden" (p.76).

Contesting the monolingual view of bilingualism, Grosjean (1989) proposes a holistic view of bilingualism, through which "the bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals; rather, he or she has a unique and specific linguistic configuration" (p. 3). From the holistic view of bilingualism, Grosjean uses an analogy to describe the bilingual as a high hurdler, who blends two types of competencies: jumping and sprinting. Although a high hurdler meets neither level of competency as a jumper or a sprinter, a high hurdler can attain the highest levels of world competition with her unique skill. Similarly, the bilingual is an integrated whole, who is rarely equally fluent in the two languages. In this light of multilingual constructs,

language knowledge standards including teaching and learning assumptions were in need of a reconceptualization (Cook, 2001). Cook (2005) critically appraises the ‘monolingual myth’ and calls for recognition of the concept of multicompetence – “the knowledge of two or more languages in one mind” (p. 48). Cummins (2008), too, suggests that if we free ourselves from monolingual ideologies, “a wide variety of opportunities arise for teaching bilingual students by means of bilingual instructional strategies that acknowledge the reality of, and strongly promote, cross-language transfer” (p. 65).

MacSwan and Rolstad (2005) draw on the idea of modularity from cognitive neuroscience as a theory that accounts for transfer, in which *transfer* is used metaphorically to explain cross-linguistic access to content knowledge. They suggest that the accessibility of information across languages is effortless, not because content knowledge is literally *transferred* (or *moved*) from one language to another, but because content knowledge is not linguistically tethered. MacSwan and Rolstad (2005) conclude that learning content in an L1 facilitates learning outcomes in an L2, providing support for bilingual instructional models.

### ***Negative Views of Using L1 in the L2 Classroom***

The second underlying rationale of language separation policy is concerned with the negative perception and evaluation of using L1 in the classroom. Despite a growing body of empirical evidence demonstrating the value of the systematic and functional use of L1 for L2 development (e.g., Alegría de la Colina & García Mayo, 2009; Figueredo, 2006; Cenoz, 2009; Källkvist, 2013; Krashen, Rolstad & MacSwan, 2012; Laupenmühlen, 2012; Littlewood & Yu, 2009; Moore, 2013; Turnbull & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009; Salmona Madriñan, 2014 ), a negative view of using L1 for L2 development still persists today because intuitively one might assume that a person learns another language better by using it frequently and by avoiding the use of one’s native language. Yu (2001) points out that the pedagogical reflection of a TL only policy is

the Direct Method, which was developed as a response to the Grammar-Translation method. The Direct Method seeks to immerse the learner in the same way as when a first language is learned, emphasizing “the avoidance of translation [in] all situations” (Yu, 2001, p. 176). The idea is that L2 learners did not have another language when they learned their L1 and so there should not be another language when they learn the L2 (Cook, 2001). Similar to the Direct Method, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), a dominant L2 and FL teaching methodology throughout the late 20th century, also tends to discourage, or actively exclude, the use of learners’ L1, favoring the exclusive use of the TL (Cummins, 2007; de la Campa & Nassaji, 2009). This exclusion is fundamentally rooted in the notion of the native speaker as the idealized target or language learner model, even though it is an “impossible and unnecessary goal for learners to approximate” (Prada & Turnbull, 2018, p. 11).

The negative view of L1 is reflected in three pedagogical practices. First, using L1 is seen as equivalent to a grammar-translation approach (Lin, 2015), which is typically considered as a bad teaching approach. Instead, good teaching is equated with exclusive or nearly exclusive target language use (Lourie, 2010). The second pedagogical practice casting a negative light on L1 use is related to the “maximum input hypothesis” (Krashen, 1982, 1996), which argues for providing the maximum amount of L2 input to facilitate L2 development. Under this approach, L2 instruction should be carried out exclusively in the TL without using L2 learners’ L1. The third practice undermining the use of the L1 is based on school administrators’ concern that “irresponsible” teachers might be overusing L1 to the detriment of students’ L2 learning (Lin, 2015). Specifically, teachers who may not be highly fluent in L2 may tend to give students the “green light” to use their L1 for teachers’ own convenience, which results in a decline in the use of TL by both teachers and students (Turnbull, 2001).

People who hold a negative view of using the L1 in the classroom have often assumed that the two languages should occupy separate instructional (and cognitive) spaces (Cummins, 2007). However, this view has been challenged by many studies which have positioned the L1 as a meaningful component in the L2 learning process. For example, Krashen (1996), who proposed the input hypothesis, clarified that bilingual education provides the conceptual and meaningful context for the effective use of L2 input. Krashen (1996) used empirical evidence to show that students' miscues or errors are evidence of the similar underlying process of reading in different languages, suggesting that students' L1 is the best medium for children's language and literacy development. These studies have called for a hybrid approach rather than monolingual exclusivity. This hybrid approach perceives "L1 as a resource, an asset rather than an impediment, an invaluable knowledge base that learners bring to the language-learning experience, which should be utilized rather than ignored" (Lourie, 2010, p. 352). Cummins (2008) and Figueredo (2006) similarly argue that students should be guided to use the known to chart the unknown. In other words, a student's linguistic and cultural background should be used as a valuable resource for learning. Cook (2005) argues that language-learning approaches should abide by norms that recognize the learners' existing knowledge in the first language, thereby creating an authentic, interactive L1 and TL teaching mode using code-switching strategies. Similarly, Blyth (1995) emphasized that the "no L1 policy" contradicts and ignores the realities of the L2 language classroom as a multilingual speech community, where each of the languages—the TL and L1—serve a different function and need to be recognized as doing so.

### ***Concerns about Codeswitching***

In codeswitching research, codeswitching refers to the alternation or mixing of two or more languages in a single social context of speech production (Grosjean, 1982; Kharkhurin &

Wei, 2015; MacSwan 2016, 2020 MacSwan & Faltis, 2020). In popular use, as well as in research in Composition Studies, the term codeswitching is sometimes used to describe the shifts between speaking African American language, or other socially-stigmatized language, and the dominant, standard English variety; this use of the term codeswitching refers to decisions about which language is deemed “appropriate” for different social contexts (Baugh, 1983). Following codeswitching research, codeswitching in this study refers to when speakers alternate languages within a single social situation, with the switches occurring either mid-sentence or between sentences, a linguistic phenomenon that is frequently observed among fluent bilinguals.

Unfortunately, as an outcome of language contact, codeswitching has historically been seen by many lay people and scholars as a manifestation of either language interference or bilingual deficiency. The language interference stance is rooted in monolingual ideologies, according to which the two languages should remain autonomous and separate at all times. On this view, the interaction of two languages is mistakenly considered to be a result of language interference or careless speech (Grosjean, 1989). Some scholars have observed that codeswitching occurs when bilingual people are upset, tired or distracted; thus, they have argued, codeswitching is a result of language interference (Crystal, 1987). Another prevailing negative view of codeswitching is bilingual deficiency, meaning that bilinguals are unable to express themselves in one language, so they use another language as a crutch to compensate (Zentella, 1997). Zentella argues that people tend to think that “a bilingual who is stumped in one language can keep on speaking by depending on a translated synonym as a stand-in” (p. 98). Crutch-like switching has long been considered as learners’ main motivation for codeswitching by teachers, educators, and scholars. The deficit view of codeswitching not only stigmatizes such language contact phenomenon, it

also encourages an approach where only one language can be used at a time, a notion that basically leads to the language separation policy in DLE.

Classroom observations reveal that there is a wide discrepancy between official recommendations and actual observed or reported practice in classrooms (Littlewood & Yu, 2011). Regardless of the language policy of schools, teachers and students seem to switch between L1 and L2 on a regular basis. Lucas and Katz (1994) reported that even in English-only U.S. classrooms, the language alternation among bilingual students “is so compelling that it emerges even when policies and assumptions mitigate against it” (p. 558).

Concerned about the negative view of codeswitching, scholars began to analyze the linguistic mechanisms of codeswitching in the 1970s. Blom and Gumperz (1972) refuted the notion of codeswitching as an incidental and casual speech practice caused by insufficient language competence. Their study showed that codeswitching occurs in systematic and predictable ways. Poplack (1980) extended the analysis, arguing that codeswitching is a rule-governed linguistic phenomenon and “does not violate a syntactic rule of either language” (p. 586). MacSwan (2021) emphasizes that codeswitching is evidence of linguistic knowledge, not of a linguistic deficit. This statement is consistent with or supported by many other scholars (e.g., Lipski, 1978; MacSwan, 1999, 2000, 2016, 2020; Joshi, 1985). Apart from the consensus regarding the linguistic mechanism of codeswitching, scholarship on codeswitching also debunks the prevailing deficit perception by providing empirical evidence of the motivations, patterns, and functions of codeswitching practice. For example, drawing on data from class observations, Martinez (2010) found that although codeswitching may sometimes serve participant-related functions such as replacing a missing word, this kind of crutch-like codeswitching accounts only for about 2 percent of the practice.

Zentella (1997) and Reyes (2004) further posit a developmental pattern of codeswitching, having found that older bilingual children with better English (L2) competence switched more frequently than younger bilinguals with lower English proficiency levels. Studies also show that bilinguals codeswitch for a variety of communicative functions such as stylistic purposes and situational demands, which have nothing to do with language deficiency (e.g., Fitts, 2009; Fuller, 2009; Heller, 1996; Gort, 2012; Martínez, 2010; Moschkovich, 2007; Palmer, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Shin, 2005). Kharkhurin and Wei (2015) further argue that “habitual code-switchers demonstrated greater innovative capacity than their non-habitual counterparts” (p. 153). Inspired by these theoretical and empirical studies, the field of language education has gradually shifted from viewing codeswitching as a taboo to considering it as a valuable resource for language development, language creation and identity affirmation.

The policy of strict language separation, which is grounded in monolingual ideologies of bilingualism and the concern about using L1 and codeswitching in the classroom, finds little basis in research. Reyes (2001) asserts that unnatural separation will not allow natural bilingual language development and will hinder the development of either language. Hornberger (2005) argues that teachers should make space in classroom literacy practices for language varieties and hybrid language practices to allow a better inclusion of students’ voices in the curriculum, pedagogy, and social relations of schooling. This is because, as Fitts (2006) argues, the language separation policy or “parallel monolingualism” will not be able to suppress students’ tendencies to explore the connections between the two languages. Fitts (2009) also proposes that dual language programs should build a third space, where students’ linguistic and cultural backgrounds and experiences can merge with official discourses to inform the curricula and enrich learning.



More and more applied linguists in both bilingual and foreign language education are critical of educational programs that strictly separate and isolate languages (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, Cummins, 2007 B. Turnbull, 2016). As the sociolinguistic, geopolitical, and technological terrain has shifted, García (2009) has called for a dynamic bilingualism to contest the monolingual ideologies grounded in DLE programs, which traditionally have declined to make use of students' complex and dynamic bilingual practices, focusing instead on language separation and competitive language development (Prada & Turnbull, 2018).

### **Dynamic Bilingualism and Translanguaging: Countering the Dual**

To capture the communicative complexity of the 21st century, García (2009a; 2009b; 2014) proposes recursive bilingualism and dynamic bilingualism. Recursive bilingualism refers to the complex nature of the bilingualism of ethnolinguistic groups who have undergone substantial language shift as they attempt language revitalization. The bilingual individuals often move back and forth along a bilingual continuum of the ancestral language practices and their reconstituted functions. In contrast dynamic bilingualism refers to “language practices that are multiple and ever adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act” (García, 2009a, p. 144). Dynamic bilingualism shows that hybrid language practices conducted by bilinguals are not a linear process. It reflects a heteroglossic and dynamic communicative pattern as an inter-cultural and inter-linguistic action. Bilinguals in different communities of practice use two or multiple languages to varying degrees for various communicative purposes.

García's (2009a) dynamic bilingualism contributes to the field by reconceptualizing language pedagogy amidst an increasing linguistic complexity within a heterogeneous world. In the past decade, this advocacy has drawn much attention of scholars in bilingual education; researchers in education have responded to this call. More and more education programs have taken a dynamic view on bilingualism, which “has resulted in the uptake of the term

translanguaging” (García & Li Wei, 2014, p. 62). As a theoretical lens, translanguaging – “the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire without regard to watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages” (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, p. 281) – defines the fluid language use of bilinguals as a natural and normative behavior. It focuses on what bilingual speakers, both teachers and students, do with languages to make sense of their bilingual worlds, both inside and outside school (García, 2009a). The growing popularity of the term translanguaging has more and more impact on language pedagogy and on the public understanding of bilingualism, countering the duality imposed through separation of languages in DLE programs (García & Kleifgen, 2010; García, 2014; Sánchez et.al., 2018). This is because, in contrast to the underlying rationale of strict language separation policy in DLE programs, translanguaging stems from the position that bilinguals develop a unitary linguistic competence. The language practices of bilinguals are inherently dynamic (García, 2009a). A stricter adherence to translanguaging theory would have DLE programs reconceptualizing language allocation policy to “more coherently reflect the dynamic nature of bilingualism and reclaim the criticality of bilingual education and its social justice purpose” (Sánchez et, al., 2018, p. 37).

### **Statement of the Research Problem**

In the last two decades, a new perspective in language education studies has emerged which has shifted the focus from a cognitive to a social perspective (Block, 2007; Canagarajah, 2007). In what is known as the *social turn*, researchers in language education turned to conducting research within contextual and interactional dimensions. The *social turn* has moved the field “that was dominated by cognitive and mentalist perspectives and which encouraged deficit views of language learners” towards incorporating socio-historical perspectives in research (Semiante, 2016, p. 51). However, the field of language education, even when

promoting bilingualism and plurilingualism through encompassing language learners' sociocultural backgrounds, is still influenced by a monolingual and monopolistic bias, which makes distinctions between native and non-native speakers, first and second language acquisition, and subjects' competences and multiple language skills (May, 2013). Concerned about the importance of acknowledging a bi/multilingual speaker's entire language repertoire and semiotic system, Conteh and Meier (2014) and May (2015) have called for a *multilingual turn*, which conceptualizes a continuum between "becoming multilingual" and "being multilingual" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2015; Kramersch, 2012; May, 2014; Ortega, 2014). Research on becoming multilingual focuses on scaffolding to learn a target language and using elements from the L1, codeswitching, or translation as a resource. Research emphasizing *being multilingual* mainly focuses on developing multilingual identities and natural communication inside and outside of the classroom (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015).

This paradigm shift has provided scholars in language education with new approaches and perspectives to critically analyze common practices and assumptions that guide language teaching and research to make sense of multilingualism (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). The renewed conceptualization of multilingualism counters the ideology of language purity and language separation by taking into consideration the interception, merging, and sharing of linguistic and other semiotic resources in communicative situations. Following this approach, Cenoz and Gorter (2011) propose a perspective called Focus on Multilingualism (FoM) to emphasize the combination of three distinct elements: (1) the multilingual speaker; (2) the linguistic repertoire as a whole; and (3) the social context. The combination of the three components offers a framework to capture how multilingual speakers employ their complete linguistic system to create meaning in various social contexts. It also provides a philosophical foundation that

legitimizes translanguaging as a potentially theoretical and analytical tool, and a transformative class practice to enact and implement the multilingual turn (Prada & Turnbull, 2018). Prada and Turnbull (2018) argue that through articulating multilingual education philosophy and praxis, translanguaging connects linguistic practices, promotes sociolinguistic equity, leverages bilingual students' full bilingualism, and allows them to express their bilingual identities. Cenoz (2017) postulates that the inclusion of translanguaging practices lies at the center of the multilingual turn.

While more and more studies focus on the value of translanguaging practices (see, for example, Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015, 2020; Leonet, Cenoz & Gorter, 2020; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Celic & Seltzer, 2013; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Kleifgen, 2020; Gort, 2017; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Li, 2017; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017; Poza, 2016), empirical studies have also documented how translanguaging pedagogies are being used successfully in DLE (for example, Esquinca, Araujo, & De La Piedra, 2014; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015; Palmer et al., 2014; Bauer, Colomer & Wiemelt, 2020; Du, 2021). Despite the growing theoretical and empirical evidence which highlights the transformative nature of translanguaging pedagogy, the majority of DLE programs are still operating with a dual mindset (Sánchez et al., 2018). In the aforementioned studies, teachers who have tried translanguaging pedagogy often think “they are violating venerable principles and often having to close their classroom doors so that school officials do not view the translanguaging that is present” (Sánchez et al., 2018, p. 42). The reality is that unless the language allocation policy is reframed, translanguaging will always be occasional, and DLE programs cannot become “true dual language bilingual programs (DLBE) that are attentive to dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging and that work for emergent

bilingual learners along all points of the bilingual continuum, especially for language-minoritized students” (Sánchez et, al., 2018, p. 39).

While individual teachers’ translanguaging practices are important, it is also essential to use translanguaging theory to transform institutions. It is necessary to repurpose institutional power to contest hegemonic language ideologies and language purity, and provide an anti-bias education for bilingual students, especially students whose first language is not English. However, there have been very few schools or DLE programs which have opened their doors to make translanguaging their legitimate pedagogy. Thus, very few studies have been able to explore the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy on an institutional level and how all stakeholders (teachers, school leaders, and parents) respond to translanguaging. After all, in addition to teachers, “school administrators should also have what García, Johnson and Seltzer (2017) have called a translanguaging stance, firmly believing that all students’ language practices work together, not separately, and are legitimate resources for their learning” (Sánchez et al., 2018, p. 43). Therefore it is of vital interest to the field to explore what factors within an institution and among institutional stakeholders support or hinder the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy as it may take more than teachers’ knowledge and beliefs about translanguaging to successfully transform a DLE program.

### **Purpose of the Study**

A vision of translanguaging pedagogy can be transformative for DLE programs as the ‘duality’ in DLE becomes more and more flexible in an increasingly linguistically-diverse world. The purpose of this study is to add to the empirical understanding of the *multilingual turn* and to provide the insights regarding what teaching and administrative actions are needed for schools to break away from language separation policy and shift to a translanguaging allocation language

policy, which provides students opportunities to learn languages and space to practice translanguaging (see detailed description of translanguaging allocation policy in chapter two). In the case of the current research, the school being studied has officially embraced translanguaging as the guiding theory and pedagogical practice for its co-teaching DLE program. Therefore, students' hybrid language practices are encouraged, and language separation is discouraged.

The goal of this study is two-fold. First, previous studies of translanguaging pedagogy have primarily focused on what teachers do to successfully implement translanguaging pedagogy because one of the purposes of these studies has been to demonstrate what translanguaging can achieve in the classroom. Many studies have attributed monolingual practices in the classroom to restrictions on language use. However, one cannot automatically assume that the reverse is true, i.e., that teachers who are free from language restriction will always implement and practice translanguaging pedagogy successfully. In reality, even when there are no administrative language restrictions, challenges may still arise when teachers try to balance the goal of helping students “become bilingual” and acknowledging that they are “being bilingual”. This case study was conducted at a DLE program where translanguaging pedagogy is the school's legitimate pedagogy. Against this backdrop, this study explored how the language teachers leverage translanguaging pedagogy when they have the freedom to employ the full linguistic repertoires of all teachers and students in the classroom. This examination includes how teachers navigated between two languages to support meaning making for bilingual students and reflect the dynamic reality of bilingualism and the challenges teachers encountered in this translanguaging space.

Second, the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy does not solely rely on teachers' knowledge, beliefs, and skills of translanguaging, because teachers are both agentic and dependent vis-à-vis institutional power. Therefore, it is important to understand how power

dynamics may affect teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. Moreover, other stakeholders such as administrative leaders and parents, who are usually absent in the classroom, may play important roles in the adoption and implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. The investigation of influential factors among central and peripheral stakeholders within an institution can help us understand what it takes for an institution to have a *translanguaging stance* and fulfill the goal of helping students to become, and legitimately be, bilinguals at the same time.

With these goals in mind, I investigated how language teachers worked independently and collaboratively to implement translanguaging pedagogy in a translanguaging co-teaching DLE program and the nature of the factors within the institution that supported or hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

### **Significance of the Study**

Parada and Turnbull (2018) state, “the multilingual turn (and with it, translanguaging) can only begin to take root as the normative paradigm not only in research but in education when teachers and students normalize the use of diverse repertoires in the language classroom” (p. 17). In other words, DLE settings, curriculum and instruction must be free from constraints of language normativity and be able to use translanguaging to scaffold instruction and provide a space of transformation (Sánchez et al., 2018). Without these changes, present DLE programs will never “be more than a ‘boutique’ program for very few” (p. 49). Therefore, it seems paramount to liberate schools and programs from the traditional view of multilingualism (based on a monolingual ideal). However, while an increasing number of studies provide theoretical support for translanguaging pedagogy, the majority of this research only examines either a single teacher's teaching or data from one classroom alone instead of examining the dynamics of an

entire school or program. Also, these recent studies about translanguaging pedagogy have mainly investigated examples of translanguaging moments in the classroom to illustrate its transformative nature. However, it is also important to analyze challenges teachers encounter when implementing translanguaging pedagogy as these challenges may hinder or subvert the successful implementation of translanguaging. These challenges may be caused either by the teacher's superficial understanding of translanguaging theory, misuse of translanguaging skills, or other factors that relate to teachers' institutional positionality.

This study reveals how teachers acted when they were given freedom to teach in a translanguaging Pre-K classroom and how sometimes they struggled with translanguaging abilities in order to successfully navigate contact zones. In addition, research thus far has mainly examined translanguaging pedagogy within K-12 settings, especially middle and high schools (e.g., Garza & Arreguín-Anderson, 2018; Somerville & Faltis, 2019). Given the fact that children in preschool are at a prime age to begin the process of second language acquisition, it is important to understand how translanguaging pedagogy can help young children in early year settings to develop bilingualism.

Moreover, very few studies have gone beyond analyzing how translanguaging is being practiced in an individual classroom, in order to analyze how a school, as an institutional organization and power agent, implements translanguaging pedagogy. Neglecting the organizational and institutional context may be a gross oversight because there are many factors (besides the teacher and teaching skills) within the institution that may affect the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. In order to ensure that the "ideologies underlying the translanguaging perspective permeate language arts curricula and, in the process, promote the value of diverse experiences during the early stages of language education" (Parada & Turnbull,



2018, p. 17), a more holistic view and approach is required. This is to better understand how translanguaging can be implemented within an institution and what kind of administrative and peripheral support may be needed for the *multilingual turn* to occur in a specific DLE program.

This study was conducted at a unique DLE setting, where the school has transitioned from an English only approach to a translanguaging dual language approach. The school policy explicitly requires teachers to break from language separation and to implement translanguaging pedagogy. This case study provided empirical evidence of a variety of factors within an institution impacting the permeation of a translanguaging perspective. In addition, this research outlined how these factors supported or hindered teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. The data offers valuable insights for the development of multilingual(ly aware) schools or programs, especially with a focus on young language learners. Further, this study connects translanguaging pedagogy with positioning theory. This connection reveals that pedagogical practice in the classroom is not only an individual performance, but also a socially constructed act with is associated with an on-going positioning within an institution. The positioning practices shapes both teachers' belief in translanguaging and how they enact their beliefs in the classroom.

## CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The goal of this study is to explore how language teachers in a concurrent DLE program strategically practice translanguaging. This endeavor includes the identification of the various factors (institutional and stakeholder concerns) affecting the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. I draw upon translanguaging and positioning theory for this study to explain both the strategic practices and the challenges to implementing translanguaging. This chapter aims to provide a comprehensive literature review, which seeks to identify work that has been conducted in the areas of translanguaging and co-teaching practices in bilingual education and positioning theory. I divide the literature review into three sections. I first provide an overview of translanguaging, including its origin, development, theory, pedagogy and hurdles to implementing translanguaging. In the second section, I outline a co-teaching approach with a focus on its benefits and challenges in bilingual education. Finally, in the third section, I introduce the foundations, the models, and the empirical studies of positioning theory in educational settings to better explicate the social and institutional dynamics that impact the translanguaging practice.

### **Section 1. Translanguaging: History, Theory and Practice**

Translanguaging first described a pedagogical practice, but the meaning of the term has evolved through scholarly work. Today, translanguaging has become a wide-ranging concept covering multiple research areas as it is being conceptualized as linguistic practice, theory, pedagogy, and as a political act. This study's main research focus is on translanguaging pedagogy. Research has shown how translanguaging pedagogy can facilitate students' learning and develop their bilingualism; what is lacking is a thorough examination of the challenges to its implementation, which is one of the main goals of this study. In this section I will survey the

various streams in translanguaging research pertinent to this study. I will start with the introduction of translanguaging theory including its origin, expansion and critiques. Then I move on to examine the literature on translanguaging pedagogy, discussing its function, strategies, and challenges.

### ***The Origins of Translanguaging***

The notion of translanguaging is rooted in the Welsh term *transieithu* coined by Cen Williams in his 1994 unpublished thesis, titled *An Evaluation of Teaching and Learning Methods in the Context of Bilingual Secondary Education*. He used the term to describe the alternative and alternating use of Welsh and English in a single classroom setting. Following a conversation between Cen Williams and Colin Baker, Colin Baker translated "trawsieithu" from Welsh into English as "translanguaging" (Lewis, Jones, Baker, 2012).

It is vital to note that the origin of the term translanguaging was based on a changing conceptualization of bilingualism over time, which no longer considered the switching and mixing of codes as "mental confusion" (Saer, 1922, 1923). Since the 1960s, an increasing number of scholars have found positive effects associated with bilingualism in communication, cognition, curriculum, and employment (e.g. Peal & Lambert, 1962). These studies contributed to the co-existence of Welsh and English in the classroom in Wales by highlighting the advantages of bilinguals and flourishing bilingual programs. "By the 1980s, the idea of Welsh and English as holistic, additive, and advantageous was beginning, allowing the idea of translanguaging to emerge" (Lewis. et. al., 2013, p. 642). Williams' translanguaging pedagogy differed from other bilingual classrooms in Welsh, where students are asked to use Welsh in one situation, classroom space, and time, and to use English in another. Cen William's (1994) translanguaging notion provided Welsh students with opportunities to recast knowledge they

received in one language in the other language, in the same class with the same teacher. For example, students might be asked to discuss in Welsh and write in English or read in English and write in Welsh (Baker, 2001). At the time, the translanguaging practices proposed by Williams “were exceptions to the common practices of separating languages strictly” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 12). Of course, in many other bilingual classroom programs in the US and elsewhere, mixing languages in lessons was commonplace, as in the Preview-View-Review format described above (Gonzales & Lezama, 1974). The term translanguaging captured the beneficial nature of the pedagogical uses of language mixing, and would go on to capture the attention and imaginations of many educators and researchers around the world (Baker & Wright, 2021).

What Williams and his colleagues practiced can be perceived as the starting point of translanguaging as a pedagogical theory. As noted above in its original conceptualization and practice, translanguaging referred to a pedagogy that deepens students’ use of Welsh and English. According to Williams, “translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g., English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g., Welsh)” (Williams, 1996, p. 64). The concept emphasizes the students’ use of two languages and what they are able to achieve by using both languages (Williams, 2003). According to Williams, translanguaging practices can be initiated and engineered by both teachers and bilingual students.

In addition to its original use, translanguaging was seen as a strategy for developing balanced bilingual students through using their stronger language to develop the weaker language (Williams, 2003). In other words, Williams conceptualized translanguaging as a pedagogy “more appropriate for students who have a reasonably good grasp of both languages and may not be valuable in a classroom when children are in the early stages of learning and

developing their second language” (Lewis et al., 2016, p. 644). Williams (2003) also differentiated the function of translanguaging pedagogy with respect to different cultural settings:

It should be emphasized that the aim [of translanguaging pedagogy] in Wales is to strengthen and to use both languages to a high level in order to develop balanced and confident bilingual pupils.... The aim in the USA is different because there, the priority in education is to acquire the second language, English. (Williams, 2003, p. 47)

As discussed above, this perception of bilingual education in the US as transitional-only is not entirely accurate, but the political backlash against all models of bilingual education contributed to a decrease in both developmental and transitional programs in the U.S. (Crawford, 1991).

### ***Expanding Translanguaging: Geographically and Conceptually***

Translanguaging has been promoted in Welsh education circles since the 1980s. In the beginning, it was a bilingual teaching pedagogy operating only in the classroom. At the turn of the 21st century, the term translanguaging was popularized and extended by many scholars across the globe to develop its conceptualization (e.g. Baker, 2001, 2006, 2011; García, 2009a; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García and Kleyn, 2016; Li, 2011; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Gort & Sembiente, 2015; Lin, 2015; Lin & Lo, 2017; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lewis et al., 2012, 2016; MacSwan, 2017, 2020; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Palmer et al, 2014; Sayer, 2013). In fact, “as the dialogue continues, the concept itself has undergone some changes” (García & Lin, 2017, p. 5). In particular, translanguaging has been expanded and generalized from being a pedagogical practice in the classroom to be a legitimate and normal language practice in all contexts of a bilingual’s life. The thinking about the nature of translanguaging has gone beyond being an alternation of two linguistic structures towards a notion of multi-competence and the capacity of

linguistic creativity. Most recently, translanguaging has been further conceptualized as language theory and educational policy.

1. Translanguaging goes beyond pedagogical practice in the classroom.

Translanguaging was first conceptualized as a pedagogical practice in the classroom, which requires students to alternate input and output language for the purpose of learning language and content. The extended conceptualization of translanguaging perceives the translanguaging practice as dynamic and fluid behavior for mediating mental processes of bilinguals, such as the understanding, interacting, and communicating of everyday realities at home, at school, and on the street. García (2009a) posits translanguaging as “multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds” (p. 45). It describes the process by which bilingual children perform bilingually in multimodal ways. In other words, scholars reconceptualized translanguaging as a phenomenon that occurs in all contexts of a bilingual’s life and everyday cognitive processing within and outside classrooms. Baker (2011) suggested that when bilinguals spontaneously use two languages, they engage in the process of meaning making, shaping experiences, and gaining knowledge and understanding. Moreover, Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that translanguaging allows bilinguals to use whatever language, signs and forms they have at their disposal to connect with one another without boundaries of nation, territory, and social group. Translanguaging practices thus serve to engage audiences, keep conversations moving, and establish identity positions (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). It is a conceptualization that “is centered not on the languages, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable” (García, 2009a, p. 44).

## 2. Translanguaging goes beyond the alternation of linguistic structures

García (2009a) conceptualizes translanguaging as an umbrella term that covers multilingual practices, which have traditionally been described as codeswitching, code-mixing, crossing, etc. Later scholarly work shows that bilinguals perform translanguaging not only through multiple discursive practices, but also in multimodal ways. Wei (2011) argues that “translanguaging is both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them” (p. 1223). Wei describes how wide ranging translanguaging can be as it includes the “full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships” (p. 1223). Creese and Blackledge (2010) add to the definition and conceptualization of the term. They suggest that as bilingual speakers engage in flexible bilingualism, the boundaries between languages become permeable. In their study, participants used the combination of both - languages and multiple modalities - to keep a specific task moving forward. They state, “each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is in the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed” (p. 108).

In addition, Wei (2001) asserts that the act of translanguaging is transformative in nature. It creates a social space where multilinguals bring together their personal history, experience, attitudes, beliefs, and cognitive and physical capacity to create meaning and a new living experience. He proposes the notion of a *translanguaging space*, which is “interactionally created by the individual through strategic use of the social resources, including linguistic resources, that are available to them” (p. 1234). For Wei, translanguaging space is not just a space for the co-

existence of different languages, identities, and values, it also generates new identities, values, and practices. Translanguaging space is a stage for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging. Wei also argues that translanguaging space or “multilingualism by the very nature of the phenomenon is a rich source of creativity and criticality” (p.1223). Creativity is the ability to push and break “the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging” (p. 1223) and to choose between following or flouting existing rules. Criticality refers to the ability with which bilinguals appropriately and systematically choose available resources to inform views of social and linguistic phenomena, and to express those views through reasoned responses to specific situations.

### 3. Translanguaging as a theoretical framework

Given the various definitions and conceptualizations, Canagarajah (2011) suggests that the field needs to theorize translanguaging practices and develop a taxonomy of translanguaging strategies. In response to this call, García and Lin (2016) suggest that translanguaging is not solely a linguistic practice but also a linguistic theory. Many scholars have contributed to the gradual and systematic formation of translanguaging theory (e.g. Hornberger & Link, 2012; García & Wei, 2014; García & Lin, 2016; García & Kleyn, 2016; MacSwan, 2017, 2020; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015; Wei, 2017).

Hornberger and Link (2012) were among the first to connect translanguaging to the “continua of biliteracy” (Hornberger, 2004), which demonstrates “the multiple and complex interrelationships between bilingualism and literacy and the importance of the contexts, media, and content through which biliteracy develops” (Hornberger, 2004, p. 156). Hornberger and Link (2012) claim that bilinguals’ learning can be maximized when they are allowed to draw from all



their language skills. Hornberger and Link's work conceptualized translanguaging as a theoretical framework guiding bilingual education. This framework offers a way for bilingual students to use diverse aspects of Hornberger's "continua of biliteracy." Published in 2014, García and Wei's short but comprehensive book on translanguaging further develops a theory of translanguaging. The book invites readers to dismiss old conceptions of language, language education, and bilingualism. It points out that bilingualism has very little to do with language as discrete entity and much more to do with languaging.

Similarly, Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) aim to overturn the conceptualization of bilinguals as having two discrete languages. They argue that a national language is not defined on the basis of essential or natural traits and as such all languages are socially constructed and are social entities. Based on this notion, a bilingual individual has a unitary linguistic system uniquely configured as an idiolect, which is "a person's own unique, personal language, the person's mental grammar that emerges in interaction with other speakers and enables the person's use of language" (p. 289). García and Kleyn (2016) continue this line of argument by comparing the model of translanguaging with the traditional model of bilingualism, e.g. Cummins's (1979) model of interdependence and a model of codeswitching. They conclude that translanguaging theory disrupts the traditional ways of bilingual education, in which the national languages are still seen as discrete systems. Translanguaging theory for instance does not refer to the addition or subtraction of a separate set of language features. A classroom rooted in translanguaging theory, on the contrary, acknowledges students' linguistic features and practices as a unitary linguistic system, regardless of how each linguistic feature is socially named. Translanguaging is thus "the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually

national and state) languages” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 281). García and Kleyn (2016) argue that translanguaging theory is transformative for bilingual education. This is because students can use their full language repertoires to make meaning, gain knowledge, and shape experience; for teachers, they can become co-learners (Wei, 2014). Co-learning is being deemed to have a significant effect on identity development for both teachers and students because it is based on the belief that all knowledge is valued (Brantmeier, 2005).

García and Kleyn (2016) posit that “translanguaging theory has the potential to transform not only the education landscape, but also our social landscape that is increasingly becoming more inequitable” (p. 29). Similarly, Flores (2014) emphasizes “that translanguaging is a political act” (n.p.). As such, translanguaging may actually be understood as much more than a pedagogy within the field of bilingual education. After all, translanguaging has been used as a much larger construct akin to a linguistic theory and educational policy, which shapes fundamental notions of learning, teacher-student interaction, and all fundamental factors for knowledge and identity creation (eg., García, 2017; García & Lin, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Gort & Sembiante, 2015; Lin, 2015; Li & Zhu, 2013; Lin & Lo, 2017; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015; Madiba, 2014; Palmer et al, 2014; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Probyn, 2015; Sayer, 2013).

### ***The Multilingual Perspective of Translanguaging***

Translanguaging theory is deeply influenced by and built upon a postmodern (or postcolonial) notion of language theory and policy. This approach argues that “languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements” (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005, p. 2). Consistent with this point of view, García and her colleagues claim that a bilingual who is said to speak “named languages” such as English and Spanish only has one

unitary linguistic system because named languages only “have material and social reality, but not linguistic reality” (García & Kleyn, 2016, p. 14). Rooted in this postmodern view of language, translanguaging theory places each student’s unitary linguistic system, and not any named language, at the center of bilingual education.

Based on the notion of a unitary language system, García and colleagues claim that translanguaging is epistemologically different from codeswitching (García & Kleyn, 2016; García & Lin, 2017; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; Otheguy, García & Reid.; 2015). They argue that translanguaging theory deconstructs the notion of socio-political named languages; translanguaging is concerned with notions of effective communication and function, rather than aspects of form and language production. Codeswitching, on the other hand, still “constitutes a theoretical endorsement of the idea that what the bilingual manipulates, however masterfully, are two separate linguistic systems” (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, p. 283). García and Kleyn (2016) assert that codeswitching endorses what Del Valle (2000) calls *a monoglossic ideology of bilingualism*, which is claimed to give rise to social injustice. Otheguy et al., (2015) also stress that research using translanguaging as an analytical lens should avoid drifting toward the conceptual terrain of codeswitching.

Codeswitching is the alternation and mixing of different languages in the same episode of speech production. Although a common assumption of codeswitching is a crutch-like switching between two codes (Zentella, 1997), which could suggest that emergent bilinguals codeswitch because they are at a loss for words, research has shown the opposite. For example, Martinez’ (2010) study of emergent bilingual students’ use of codeswitching through 240 hours of class observations found that crutch-like codeswitching occurred in less than 2 percent of utterances. Instead, bilingual students used codeswitching to (1) clarify and/or reiterate utterances; (2) quote

and report speech; (3) joke and/or tease; (4) index solidarity and intimacy; (5) shift voices for different audiences; and (6) communicate subtle nuances of meaning. In a similar vein, Reyes (2008) examines codeswitching patterns in speech practices of immigrant Spanish-speaking children, concluding that older children whose English (second language) is better than that of the younger children, codeswitched more frequently and deployed a wider variety of codeswitching functions than younger children. Research findings also indicate that older children codeswitch when they feel that elements of the other language convey the meaning of the intended idea more accurately (Halmari & Smith, 1994; Zentella, 1997). These studies “challenge the negative view that codeswitching by children who are learning two languages is due to lack of proficiency, and instead support the view that it is used as a strategy to extend their communicative competence during interaction” (Reyes, 2008, p. 77). In addition, linguists argue that codeswitching is not simply a mixing of two or more languages; codeswitching employs a sophisticated rule-governed language mechanism. Similar to studies focusing on translanguaging, studies exploring codeswitching functions propose a positive view of hybrid language practice and advocate holistic bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982). In fact, in practice, both the term translanguaging and codeswitching refer to and support the same bilingual practices in classrooms.

MacSwan (2016) compares and analyzes three perspectives regarding the nature of individual multilingualism: The Unitary Model, the Dual Competence Model, and the Integrated Multilingual Model (see figure 2). Drawing on studies focusing on codeswitching from the past three decades, MacSwan (2017) concludes that codeswitching is a sophisticated rule-governed language mechanism (Joshi, 1985; Lipski, 1978; MacSwan, 1999, 2016; Poplack 1980) and is used as a strategy to extend multilinguals’ communicative competence during interaction (Reyes,

2008). These findings have challenged strict language separation policies and have long advocated a positive view of hybrid language practice and holistic bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982). Codeswitching scholars view language mixing the way artists view color mixing; green emerging from a mixture of blue and yellow, but blue and yellow pigments do not disappear in green.

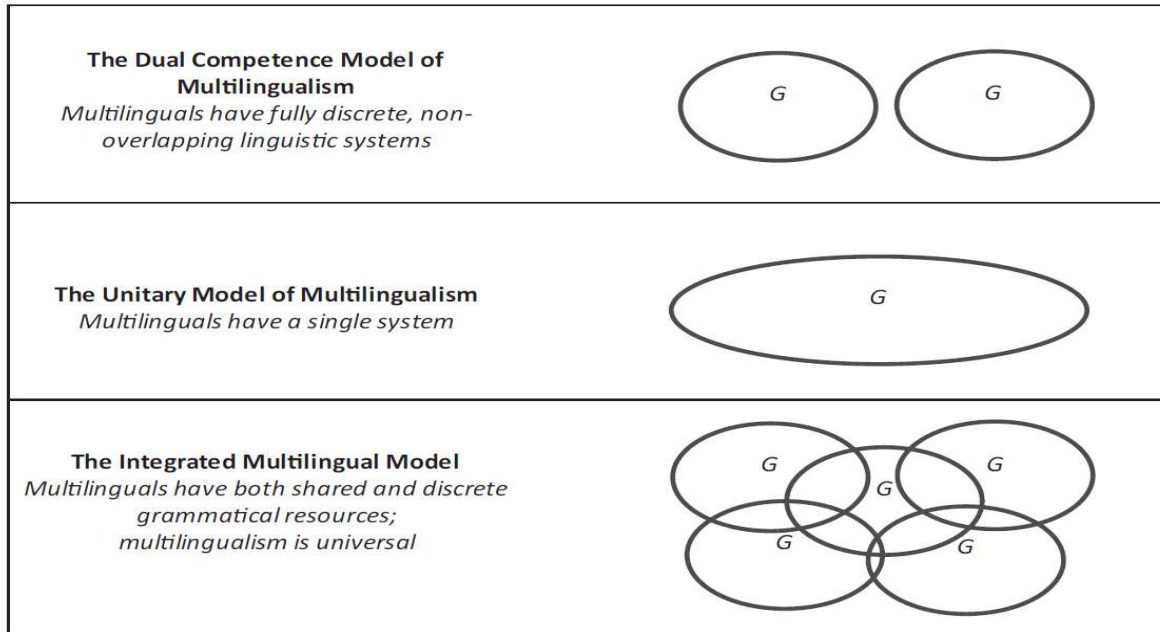


Figure 2: Three views of multilingualism. Reprinted from J. MacSwan, 2017, *American Educational Research Journal*, 54(1), p. 180

Concerned with this Unitary Model of Multilingualism, MacSwan (2017) calls for a multilingual perspective of translanguaging supporting “an integrated model of multilingualism” which posits that multilinguals have both shared and discrete linguistic subsystems. This multilingual perspective of translanguaging does not equate “linguistic communities” with politically sanctioned languages, but does recognize individual linguistic diversity within the singularity of a bilingual’s broader linguistic repertoire. MacSwan’s (2017) multilingual perspective of translanguaging preserves the concepts of linguistic community and linguistic

diversity while emphasizing that multilinguals, like everyone else, have a singular but richly “diverse linguistic repertoire consisting of multiple social languages” (p. 188).

The multilingual perspective of translanguaging resolves the contradiction by disconnecting the belief in the existence of discrete language systems from the linguistic phenomena such as language rights and language equality. MacSwan (2017) points out that “the existence of these phenomena depends not on whether named languages are political constructs but on whether we may reasonably speak of discrete speech communities by any name or for any purpose” (p. 177). Based on the multilingual perspective of translanguaging, teaching students a language is a neutral educational action, which is not, and should not by any means be, associated with standard language ideology. Also, since every bilingual or multilingual individual has multiple intertwined linguistic systems corresponding to different speech communities, teachers should free students from any language restriction and separation, and strategically help students to critically select one language from their linguistic repertoire for the purpose of learning and communication, depending on the student’s analysis of any given context. The multilingual perspective of translanguaging also helps to conceptually mitigate the tension between two differing versions of translanguaging, which I will introduce in the next session.

### ***Two Versions of Translanguaging and Translanguaging Language Allocation Policy***

As more and more scholars focus on and have adopted the term translanguaging, different stances on translanguaging have emerged. In particular, a tension between two theoretical positions on translanguaging has arisen: a strong version and a weak version of translanguaging. According to García and Lin (2017), “a strong version of translanguaging is the theory that bilingual people do not speak languages, but rather, they use their repertoire of linguistic features selectively” (p. 10). A strong version of translanguaging can transform the language hierarchies

and invert the power positions of socio-political named languages in schools. The goal of a strong version of translanguaging is to leverage and extend the linguistic repertoire that bilingual children already have through interactions with others and with texts that use multiple language features. On the other hand, a weak version of translanguaging is “the one that supports national and state language boundaries and yet calls for softening these boundaries” (García & Lin, 2017, p. 10). A weak version of translanguaging also uses a child’s full language repertoire, but only as a temporary scaffold for acquiring a new language. Instead of focusing on the value and development of bilingual students’ evolving linguistic repertoire, educators and teachers who hold a weak version of translanguaging normally express positive attitude towards hybrid language practices yet believe the goal of bilingualism lies in the mastery of one or two of the named languages. In other words, according to García and Lin (2017), and García and Kleyn (2016), the strong version of translanguaging focuses on the bilingual or multilingual students’ languaging without concern for learning a language, whereas the weak version of translanguaging concerns the mastery of languages.

García and Lin (2016) state that although a strong version of translanguaging is supported as a linguistic theory, bilingual education should respond to the socio-political constructed notion of language, and help bilingual students to develop their ability to master and use the features of the “named languages” in order to succeed academically and socially. This is because named national and state languages have real and material consequences for bilingual students. Therefore, it appears most sensible to combine the strong and weak versions of translanguaging. The role of the strong version of translanguaging is to provide bilingual students a fairer and more just education environment. The weak version of translanguaging, on the other hand, offers teachers and students an avenue to allocate separate spaces for a named language. However,

there are challenges for combining the two versions of translanguaging (García & Lin, 2017). The challenges arise primarily from a lack of pedagogical guidance regulating the allocation of separate spaces for teaching each named language (weak version of translanguaging) without suppressing different linguistic features of students' repertoire and promoting state-sanctioned named languages with reference to socio-politically identified speech communities (strong version of translanguaging).

Sánchez, García and Solorza (2018) advocate for the creation of a translanguaging language allocation policy to overcome the challenges of the combination of the two translanguaging versions and guide bilingual education programs, especially when moving a DLE program to a translanguaging model. They argue that a translanguaging language allocation policy enables “teachers to legitimately provide students with translanguaging affordances” and “empowers all students to meaningfully participate in classroom instruction, regardless of their types of language performances and learning abilities” (p. 42). As figure 3 demonstrates, the Sánchez et al. (2018) translanguaging allocation policy has three components: (1) Translanguaging documentation; (2) translanguaging rings; (3) translanguaging transformation.

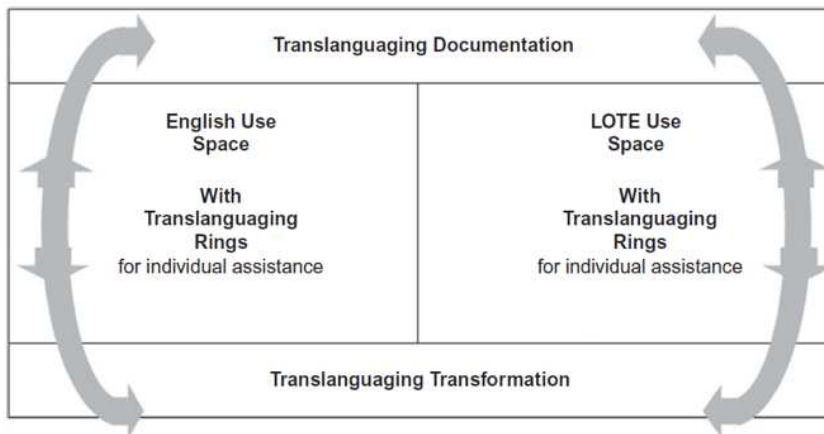


Figure 3: Components of a translanguaging allocation policy for DLBE. Reprinted from Reframing language allocation policy in dual language bilingual education, by M. T. Sánchez, O. García, & C. Solorza, 2018, *Bilingual Research Journal*, 41(1), p. 43. \*LOTE: Lang



Translanguaging documentation is an important step to assessing and validating students' dynamic ways of languaging. In contrast to the assessment applied in DLE programs, where language learners do not have all possible opportunities to show what they truly know due to their limited linguistic ability in one language, translanguaging documentation emphasizes that teachers assess learners' language performance holistically. It connects all the information about how students use language for communicative and academic purposes, what students know, and whether students can express concepts using only one language. Sánchez et al. (2018) conclude that translanguaging documentation is an authentic assessment which allows students to use their full linguistic repertoire to demonstrate their bilingual skills and academic knowledge.

Translanguaging rings are the ways of temporary scaffolding instruction for emergent bilinguals "until they have acquired new features that expand their repertoire to the necessary level, and until they gain confidence leveraging their own translanguaging to perform with whatever linguistic features they do have in their repertoire" (p. 46). The underlying conceptualization of translanguaging rings is based on an understanding that bilinguals are never balanced and their proficiency in each of the instructional languages is different; thus, it is important for teachers to consider each individual's current level and independent capacity of each language. Translanguaging rings include the use of bilingual instructional material, technological assistance, collaboration with peers, and small groups that can offer translanguaging support. Translanguaging rings enable students to engage in tasks that go beyond their capability in the instructional language and expand bilingual students' learning opportunities.

Translanguaging transformation is a planned and strategic space for teachers to bring two languages together, through which bilingual students not only can use their full linguistic

repertoire fluidly but also become language creators. Translanguaging transformation is similar to the concept of translanguaging space promoted by Wei (2011), which validates students' bilingual identity and develops their metalinguistic awareness and creativity. In a translanguaging transformation space, students can be who they truly are. More importantly, translanguaging transformation helps teachers and students to challenge linguistic hierarchy that, for instance, positions English as a superior language to other languages, or elevates school language as more important than the language at home.

Sánchez et al. (2018) argue that translanguaging allocation policy is essential to DLBE programs, as these programs involve these essential elements:

Translanguaging Documentation to assess the student's entire language repertoire,  
Translanguaging Rings to give emergent bilingual students the assistance needed to learn,  
and Translanguaging Transformation to give students the freedom to perform creatively  
and critically and to go beyond the language normativity of schools (p. 49).

The three components work together to bridge the tensions of the weak and strong version of translanguaging, by addressing the importance of learning a socially named language and acknowledging the unitary language system of bilingual students. Sánchez et al. (2018) argue that it is time to reframe the language allocation policy of DLE programs and advocate for a policy that more coherently reflects the dynamic bilingualism of learners. In each DLE classroom, a teacher is then able to recognize, validate, and develop students' full linguistic repertoire through translanguaging pedagogy.

### ***Translanguaging Pedagogy***

García (2017) argues that education for bilingualism or multilingualism must abide by the primary principle that any form of good education should follow, which starts from recognizing students' strengths, and valuing who students are and what they practice in their own families and communities. In other words, bilingual education pedagogy must reflect and use the various

linguistic practices and histories that students bring to the classroom. Especially in classrooms of language minorities, and particularly in those where students are emergent bilinguals, it is important for teachers to realize that language teaching cannot be separated from students' linguistic practices in their communities and families. Research has shown that learning a language cannot be achieved by simply taking in linguistic forms (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008). Learning a language is a result of “the constant adaptation of their [learners] linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 185). It is through the negotiation between external context and the selection of internal linguistic resources that students are able to try out ideas and actions, and to socially construct their learning and language practices (Vygotsky, 1978). Thus, a constructivist bilingual pedagogy must release students from restrictions on any of the linguistic features of their entire linguistic repertoire. Teachers should be able to potentialize and facilitate students' meaning-making practices, in which multiple languages and multimodal resources may be utilized by students.

Translanguaging pedagogy can fulfill these educational principles for bilingualism or multilingualism, because it “puts back the emphasis on educating the child bilingually, not just on teaching languages” (García, 2017, p. 258), and focuses on the deployment of students' full linguistic repertoire. Translanguaging pedagogy offers “the possibility of producing integrated knowledge, deep understandings and coherent identifications” (García, 2009, p. 116). Moreover, a translanguaging pedagogy creates a transglossic space for students to draw on their full linguistic repertoire to “read texts in different languages as they think, discuss, interact with, and produce written texts, sometimes in one language” (García et al., 2017, p. 28).

In the recent past, an increasing number of studies began to focus on the conceptualization and implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in various kind of programs (e.g., Ascenzi-Moreno, 2018; Bieri, 2018; Espinosa, Herrera & Montoya; 2016; Hamman, 2018; García, 2017; García & Lin, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Gort & Sembiente, 2015; Lin, 2015; Li & Zhu, 2013; Lin & Lo, 2017; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012; Laman, 2014; Madiba, 2014; Martínez, Hikida & Durán, 2015; Probyn, 2015; Pontier & Gort, 2016; Palmer et al, 2014; Poza, 2018; Sayer, 2013). These studies draw data from various classroom resources within settings ranging from kindergarten to university. Overall, the studies focus on two major trends: 1) explanations and descriptions of how teachers enact translanguaging for emergent bilingual students in content teaching or language arts classrooms; and 2) analysis of the functions of teachers and bilingual students' hybrid discursive practices in the learning process within a transglossic space. These studies provide the field with valuable insights regarding strategies that teachers can use to implement translanguaging pedagogy, but also offer a better understanding of the impact on students' learning and identity performance.

#### 1. The ways that teachers enact translanguaging pedagogy

Translanguaging pedagogy takes thoughtful and effective planning, because only going with the flow of the students' translanguaging is not enough. The planning has to penetrate both instruction and assessment. Therefore, a teacher who takes up a translanguaging pedagogy does not only need to have a translanguaging stance, she also needs to build a translanguaging design and make translanguaging shifts (García & Kleyn, 2016). Research shows at least four overarching strategies that teachers use in a translanguaging pedagogy, as outlined below.

##### *1.1 Teachers become co-learners of students' L1*

Wei (2014) advocates that teachers should take on a new role as co-learners with students. Teachers can come to know and learn from their students' linguistic and cultural

heritages. García et al. (2017) also emphasize that unless the teacher sees herself as a co-learner and is able to learn from the children about language and cultural practices and their understandings of the world, a translanguaging space cannot be created. García, Seltzer, and Witt (2018) provide evidence of how the teacher of a secondary classroom (consisting of students who speak 15 different home languages) leverages students' linguistic repertoire. To disrupt the English-only hegemony of the classroom, the teacher in this study took up a translanguaging stance and became a co-learner with the students. This translanguaging pedagogical practice resulted in students' deep engagement in learning.

### *1.2 Teachers model translanguaging*

Several studies show how teachers purposefully model authentic bilingual practices to provide support for students' language development by explaining linguistic forms, introducing new words, elaborating, and summarizing content (Conteh, 2007; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Gort & Sembiente, 2015; Martin, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Creese, 2006; Sayer, 2013). This bilingual modeling is normally practiced in forms such as code-switching, translation, and bilingual recasting (Creese & Blackledge, 2011; Gort & Sembiente, 2015). Sayer's (2013) study describes how teachers in a second-grade classroom in a transitional bilingual education program move fluidly between not only Spanish and English, but between the standard and vernacular varieties of these languages to create discursive spaces. In this free transglossic space, the teacher's modeling of translanguaging enables students to engage with the social meanings that stem from their backgrounds as bilingual Latinos.

### *1.3 Teachers implement collaborative group work*

The locus of control over language practices in a translanguaging classroom lies with the students (White, Hailemariam, & Ogbay, 2013). This is because for bilingual or multilingual students, translanguaging is a natural and, as such, a normative behavior. When students talk to

each other, they go back and forth between the various language features in order to communicate with their peers without necessarily signaling which language has a legitimate role in the classroom. Students can learn from each other through the flow of communication. Teachers can use group work to create such co-constructive learning opportunities for students. During the meaning-making process, students who work in a group “have the opportunity to make full use of their linguistic capital, and be helped to find ways of bridging the gap between that capital and the language priorities of instruction in mainstream school and indeed of society as a whole” (White et al., 2013, p. 642). Ebe and Chapman-Santiago (2016), for example, adopt a dialogical pedagogy in a writing course, where students shift their roles between readers and writers. Through discussions using translanguaging, students were able to freely express their thoughts about a poem they had to read. The small group discussions in English and their home languages allowed them to think through the various elements that made the poem a free verse narrative. Translanguaging is used to first help the thinking and later the writing process. In a similar vein, Kleyn and Yau (2016) observed how students used translanguaging in small groups to deepen their understanding of an English-only script text. The authors argue that the in-depth comprehension of the text only took place through the validation and use of students’ full linguistic repertoire.

#### *1.4 Teachers adopt a translanguaging perspective in assessment*

Taking on a translanguaging perspective in assessment is an important part of translanguaging pedagogy. Instead of assessing how well they speak, read, or write a socially named language, assessment guided by translanguaging is based on a holistic understanding of who bilingual students are and what they can do using the full features of their linguistic repertoires on classrooms tasks. Teachers who assess students’ general linguistic performance (e.g., to explain, compare, and persuade) and language specific performance (students’ exclusive

use of features of a language) through a translanguaging design follow a dynamic translanguaging progression in the classroom (García et al., 2017). Teachers who assess students from a translanguaging perspective can use bilingual students' profiles (García et al., 2017) to allow students to do self-assessment and peer group assessment (Ebe & Chapman-Santiago, 2016), or adapt formative reading assessments for emergent bilinguals by making space for their students' multilingual language practices (Ascenzi-Moreno, 2018).

## 2. The functions of teacher and student translanguaging practices in a classroom

Translanguaging serves multiple functions in classrooms within bilingual education. It is first a descriptive label that captures the fluid nature of bilingual students' hybrid language practices. It is also a theoretical framework that researchers use to portray the multifaceted ways of children's bilingualism as not merely a form of monolingualism times two (García, 2009; Grosjean, 1982). Moreover, it is also an analytical tool that researchers can utilize to explore the impact of hybrid language practices on students' academic learning and identity performance or affirmation (Sayer, 2013). Finally, it is a pedagogical practice that enriches students' dynamic bilingualism and contests hegemonic language ideologies. Studies focusing on translanguaging in the classroom either draw data from teachers' translanguaging practices or explore hybrid language practices in students' speech or within student-teacher interaction. When reviewing the literature about the function of translanguaging, I included studies focusing on all kinds of hybrid language practices in the classroom (e.g. codeswitching) and categorized these functions of translanguaging practices into the following three themes.

### *2.1 Translanguaging, a pedagogical scaffolding for content learning*

Translanguaging has been used in various ways during teacher-student or student-student interactions to scaffold emergent bilingual students' understanding of instruction or content. Some studies revealed that teachers used codeswitching or other hybrid language practices to

check for understanding; provide clarification, correction, and new information; or to ensure that all students understand instruction (e.g., Arthur & Martin, 2006; Canagarajah, 1995; Conteh, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Jaffe, 2007; Kang, 2008; Lin, 2006; Malik, 2010; Martin et al., 2006; Probyn, 2009; Reyes, 2008; Setati, Adler, & Bapoo, 2002). Other studies found that hybrid language practices in student-student interactions also offer increased linguistic and conceptual understanding (Bieri, 2018; Esquinca, Araujo & de la Piedra, 2014; Garza & Arreguín-Anderson, 2018; Gort, 2012; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012; Martin-Beltrán, 2009; Martínez, 2010; Reyes, 2004; Palmer, 2009; Poza, 2018). Student translanguaging is important for their learning, because successful learning depends on “guidance through interaction in the context of shared experience” (Rose & Martin, 2012, p. 58). Martin-Beltrán (2009), for example, shows how the interplay of two languages as academic tools serves as a means for recognizing students’ expertise and distinct linguistic funds of knowledge to enhance their conceptual understanding.

Translanguaging can also be seen as a dynamic activity that maintains the flow of teacher-student interactions and moves specific tasks forward (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Lin & He, 2017), which in turn facilitates learning, because learning can be maximized when classroom conversations and meaning-making processes are not interrupted. This can be achieved only when students and teachers are allowed to freely use all the linguistic features in their full linguistic repertoire. Lin and He’s (2017) study describes continuous flows of interconnections between two languages, and teacher and students through translanguaging in a CLIL classroom. Lin and He (2017) conclude that, when permitted and properly guided, the dynamic activity of translanguaging “not only is natural but also can be helpful” (p. 241).



## *2.2 Translanguaging, a pedagogy to enhance bilingualism and biliteracy*

As pointed out above, translanguaging offers a way for bilingual students to fully use all of their existing linguistic and literacy skills in order to develop diverse aspects of what Hornberger calls the “continua of biliteracy” (Hornberger, 2002). Teachers can use translanguaging pedagogy to enact students’ bilingual practices without constraining and inhibiting them from using their linguistic funds of knowledge. Translanguaging pedagogy allows teachers to be aware of and make use of what students and their families can do with language and literacy and help students to connect home language and literacy practice with school-specific language (García et al., 2017). Some studies have shown that in a classroom where translanguaging is implemented, the conversations between teachers and students can reflect the complex and dynamic way bilinguals talk in community language and school language (García & Kano, 2014; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Martin et al., 2006; Sayer, 2013). Students are encouraged to use the language in which they are most comfortable without responding to any named languages (Gort & Pontier, 2013; Lee et al., 2008; Martin et al., 2006), to develop writing skills by drawing upon their full linguistic repertoire (Alvarez, 2014; Ascenzi-Moreno & Espinosa, 2018; Espinosa & Herrera, 2016; Kibler, 2010; Laman, 2014; Velasco & García, 2014), and to engage in making sense of their bilingual world as a result of enacting biliteracy and bilingualism (Creese, 2004; Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2011; Kang, 2008; Probyn, 2009; García & Kano, 2014; Sayer, 2013; Turnbull, 2019).

## *2.3 Translanguaging, a pedagogy to contest hegemonic language ideologies and affirm bilingual identity*

García and Kleyn (2016) emphasize that translanguaging is a political act. As such, translanguaging pedagogy can help teachers and students transcend boundaries of named languages, and allow them to develop a more complex understanding of sociopolitical challenges

that immigrant students and families face (Flores & García, 2013). It also can provide a platform for teachers and students to voice “counter-hegemonic language ideologies” (Martínez, 2013, p. 285).

Based on Blommaert and Varis’ (2013) notion of “identity repertoire” (p. 157), identity is not merely emblematic through the contingencies of social life, it is also psychological, and performative. In other words, the way in which bilingual students deploy their linguistic repertoire is one of the emblems of their social and linguistic identity. Therefore, language pedagogy must reflect and fulfill bilingual students’ desire of identity affirmation to contest the language ideologies that favor dominant languages. Several studies have addressed this important function of translanguaging pedagogy for identity performance (Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Gort & Sembiane, 2015; Kasula, 2016; Lin & He, 2017; Li & Zhu, 2013; O’Connor & Crawford, 2015; Langman, 2014; Sayer, 2013). Sayer (2013) summarizes a main function of translanguaging for bilingual identities:

Pedagogies based on language separation often marginalize vernaculars and do not reflect or take advantage of the sociolinguistic reality and symbolic competence of emergent bilingual students. Instead, educators should understand the nature of, endorse, and strategically use the children’s home language by envisioning bilingual practices as translanguaging (p. 85).

### ***Challenges of Implementing Translanguaging Pedagogy in a Classroom***

A translanguaging classroom that endorses dynamic bilingualism is built upon the interaction and connection of teachers’ pedagogy and students’ linguistic performances. Through the dynamic flow created by translanguaging space, students’ linguistic performance informs and shifts teachers’ instruction and assessment, which in turn affect students’ linguistic development.

To ensure the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, the dynamic nature of students' bilingualism must be center stage. However, a successful translanguaging pedagogy can only be achieved through teachers' thoughtful, effective planning and doing (García et al., 2017).

Teachers' attitudes toward hybrid language practices (by teachers and students) also play an important role in their teaching pedagogy and can structure their assessments. Therefore, all the factors that are involved in the process of teachers' pedagogical planning and practice, their perspective of translanguaging theory, and their navigation of the language separation policy can impact the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in a classroom.

Studies have explored possible factors that create challenges for establishing translanguaging pedagogy and enacting dynamic bilingualism in classrooms. One of the factors explored in many studies is teacher language ideology including attitude towards translanguaging. Language ideologies, according to Kroskrity (2004), are a set of "beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds" (p. 498). Studies have shown the relationship between teachers' language ideologies and their teaching practice as well as the impact on students' language practices (e.g., Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, & Tsokalidou, 2015; Gort & Sembiente, 2015; Huang, 2018; Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015; Pacheco, Kang & Hurd, 2019; Palmer, 2011; Pan & Block, 2011; Paulsrud & Rosén, 2019; Yavuz, 2012). Teachers' belief in translanguaging in the classroom can challenge deficit ideologies of students' L1, break psychological barriers and build a low anxiety atmosphere for learning, which in turn, can create a broader repertoire for both teachers and learners (Bauer, Presiado & Colomer, 2017; Yavuz, 2012). In contrast, teachers who hold a language purism ideology or a restricted view of students' multilingual and multicultural competencies would perceive codeswitching and language brokering as hindrances for language development and content learning. Gkaintartzi,

Kiliari and Tsokalidou's (2015) study show that teachers who hold such views suggest that the integration of students' L1 should not be excluded but that it should only take place after the regular school schedule. Another challenge related to language ideology is that teachers' discursive consciousness of translanguaging may not reflect their teaching actions. For example, Martínez et al., (2015) describe the inconsistency between teachers' stated belief in dynamic bilingualism and their pedagogical actions in the classroom. Their study reveals that, on the one hand, teachers verbally confirm their belief of dynamic bilingualism, but on the other hand, their practice echoes the ideology of linguistic purism that emphasizes language separation. Similarly, Nambisan's (2014) study examines 19 English language teachers' attitudes and practices of translanguaging in the state of Iowa, and found that there was a division between the attitudes and practices of the English teachers regarding translanguaging. Her study shows that although the majority of the participants conceptualized translanguaging as an important approach when teaching minority students, only a small portion of them actually implemented translanguaging pedagogy in the classroom.

The gap between teachers' attitudes and practices may be due to actual school policies and a deeply ingrained institutional belief in older notions of bilingualism. Palmer (2011), for example, shows an existing tension between teachers' positive orientations toward bilingualism and the restrictive influences from the institutional language separation policy when teachers talk about their students, about their classrooms, and about their own decision-making. Strict language separation policies or language purism beliefs, in some schools, constrain teachers' use of translanguaging in pedagogy, and can make teachers feel guilty if they use students' L1 in the classroom (Lin, 2015).

Personal and individual factors of teachers can also challenge the implementation process of dynamic bilingualism via translanguaging pedagogy. First, bilingual teachers' personal bilingual experiences and practices can shape their language ideologies causing them to encourage or discourage students to invest in bilingual identities (Gort & Sembiante, 2015). If bilingual teachers have, for instance, been subjected to negative comments on their hybrid language practices, they may be reluctant to open up a space for students' translanguaging practices. Second, teachers may not feel pedagogically equipped for using translanguaging strategically and thoughtfully. As "policymakers" in the classroom, teachers are crucial agents to directly influence students' experiences and learning (Menken & García, 2010). If teachers do not have the necessary translanguaging pedagogical skills, it is difficult to create a dynamic learning environment where students can be bilingual (using their full linguistic repertoire) and become bilingual (learning a language other than their L1) at the same time (Palmer & Martínez, 2013). Canagarajah (2011) argues that there might be "a place for error or mistake in translanguaging" (p. 9). In other words, teachers' translanguaging practices may not always be suitable to students' bilingual development. For example, Creese and Blackledge (2011) and also Gort and Sembiante (2015) acknowledge that translation is a useful tool to not only recognize students' full linguistic repertoires, it also serves as a scaffolding for students' learning. However, this does not imply that teachers should translate everything into students' L1 without a strategic plan. In recent years, a number of scholars have stressed the importance of providing professional translanguaging pedagogy training. Such training has equipped teachers with a firm translanguaging stance and effective translanguaging skills.

In addition, challenges can also come from teachers' limited bilingual skills (Bahamonde, 1999). Although there are some instructional activities documented by Lucas and Katz (1994)

that do not require teachers to know the students' L1, teachers' own linguistic capability may limit their understanding of students' hybrid language practices (White et al., 2013).

Despite the challenges, translanguaging pedagogy serves important functions in bilingual education. Bahamonde (1999) suggests that the problems and challenges that exist in current bilingual models can at least be partly addressed by strategies used from other educational disciplines. For example, an innovative co-teaching approach, which is widely used in special education, can potentially be applied in bilingual programs, especially DLE programs, to overcome the aforementioned challenges and address students' linguistic and cultural diversity. In the following section, I will introduce the co-teaching approach and its various models in bilingual education.

## **Section 2: Co-Teaching and Its Advantages**

Originally, the co-teaching approach was created for use in special education to support teacher collaboration between a subject matter teacher and a special education provider. According to Cook and Friend (1995), "co-teaching occurs when two or more professionals jointly deliver substantive instruction to a diverse, or blended, group of students in a single physical space" (p. 1). Based on this definition, at least two teachers contribute different types of expertise and strengths to the class while sharing responsibilities such as instruction, monitoring, and performance (Walther-Thomas, 1997).

The evidence underlining the advantages for co-teaching suggests that it clearly is a beneficial service-delivery model for students receiving special education in an inclusive classroom (Arxé, Comallonga, Sala & Galera, 2020; Bahamonde, 1999; Cook & Friend, 1995; Friend & Cook, 1996; Grady, Sears, Stone & Biagetti, 2020; Guise, Habib, Thiessen & Robbins, 2017; Honigsfeld & Dove, 2016; Jurkowski & Müller, 2018; Nevin, Villa & Thousand, 2009; Scruggs, Mastropieri & McDuffie, 2007; Walther-Thomas, 1997). The main advantage of co-

teaching is that this approach allows differentiated instruction, in which students' individual talents or needs can be given special attention. There are more opportunities for individual or small group support because two or more teachers are present in the classroom. Moreover, co-teaching enriches the diversity in the classroom, where co-teachers bring different personalities, linguistic capability, teaching styles and voices (Buckley, 2000). Co-teaching can also provide instructional continuity for students. Students who have special needs, regardless of whether these are subject or language related, do not need to leave the classroom in order to receive supplemental or remedial instruction, because their needs can be addressed through at least one of the teachers in a co-teaching unit (Friend & Cook, 1996). This arrangement also diminishes the stigma associated with students who need to go into separate settings to receive supplementary instruction or other services. Beyond the benefits co-teaching provides for students, the co-teaching model also offers teachers growing opportunities to learn from each other and help each other to keep up with the knowledge and skills needed to meet instructional goals of an increasingly diverse student population (Friend, Cook, Hurley-Chamberlain & Shamberger, 2010).

Although co-teaching is predominately used for students with special needs, Bahamonde (1999) suggests that co-teaching “seems to offer bilingual programs a next evolutionary step by maximizing the skills of two types of teachers collaborating for the benefit of students” (p. 12). Bahamonde made this suggestion based on Stanovich's (1996) premise of co-teaching being a more inclusive and less restrictive educational approach. Overall, it is important to note that co-teaching ensures ongoing student classroom participation (Walther-Thomas, Bryant, & Land, 1996) and its students' diversity should be understood as an asset instead of a constraint to instruction. In a co-taught classroom, students' differences in learning style, language

background, and language ability can be fully integrated and employed within a single classroom setting.

### ***The Benefit of Implementing Co-Teaching in Bilingual Education***

Research has outlined some particular benefits of the co-teaching approach in programs that involves language learners. These programs include DLE classroom, English Language Learner (ELL) classroom and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classroom (e.g., Bahamonde & Friend, 1999; Dove & Honigsfeld, 2017; Honigsfeld & Dove, 2008; Martin-Beltrán & Percy, 2014, Percy, Martin-Beltrán, Silverman & Nunn, 2015; Pointer, 2014; Thousand, Villa & Nevin, 2006; Vatalaro, 2015; Wexler et al., 2018). These studies have shown that the co-teaching approach is beneficial for both students and teachers. In the following section I highlight four of these benefits.

#### 1. Improving students' cross-cultural relationships

Traditionally, programs for ELL students follow a pull-out model, where ELL students are removed from general education classrooms for separate English instruction in order to help them achieve academic success in English. This pull-out model diminishes ELL students' contact time and opportunities to make friends with others from various backgrounds (Kilman, 2009). Studies focusing on the implementation of co-teaching in bilingual education show that, in the US context, ELL students do not need to be pulled out of the classroom and isolated from English speaking students, because co-teaching allows two language teachers to be present in the classroom at the same time (Vatalaro, 2015). Co-teaching also allows a balanced mix in a classroom of ELLs and English only students. As a result, the two language groups of students can learn the language from their counterpart and develop stronger cross-cultural relationships (Cazabon, Lambert & Hall, 1992).



## 2. Improving students' content and language learning

Co-teaching offers a smaller student-teacher ratio (Murawski & Hughes, 2009), which in turn frees teachers to be more available for students, especially for students who are learning another language (Wassell, Hawrylak, & LaVan, 2010). According to Wassell et al. (2010), teacher availability promotes student learning by providing students a greater sense of comfort, support, and acceptance.

Another benefit of co-teaching concerns language use in the classroom. A co-teaching unit is composed of two bilingual teachers or one monolingual teacher and a bilingual teacher. Regardless of the type of co-teaching model, two languages will be spoken by the paired teachers in the classroom. The presence of two languages can create a safe and encouraging classroom environment for language learners, mitigating students' affective filters (sense of fear and anxiety) (Curran, 2003). The teacher who speaks the students' home language can provide students emotional and academic support in their learning process. Also, co-teaching can offer more individual support for students, which leads to more effectively completed assignments and classwork (Jang, Nguyen & Yang, 2010). Carless and Walker's (2006) study also shows that, in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting, co-teaching of a native speaking English teacher and a local teacher "provided a higher degree of support for students and hence a better opportunity for successful task completion" (p. 470). A co-taught class is also more motivated than non-collaboratively taught classes. Thousand et al. (2006) found that the collaboration between native teachers/assistants with content teachers in the same class increases the quantity and quality of the language support necessary in conditions where exposure to the language is limited.

A similar positive impact on students learning through co-teaching has been observed in CLIL classrooms, dual language classrooms, and other educational settings. Mendez, García and

Vázquez (2012) for example, found that collaboration among teachers, particularly between language assistants and content teachers, with the subsequent use of two languages in the same classroom, contributes to students' learning of content and also supports the development of language skills and language awareness. Pardy (2004) shows that students reported positive effects of one teacher speaking one language in small group instruction within a dual language classroom, where a German speaking teacher and the classroom teacher taught together simultaneously. Pontier (2014) describes the positive impact of two language teachers' coordinated practice on students' meaning making processes in a DLE classroom. In a readers' and writers' workshop, provided by classroom and English as a Second language (ESL) teachers, the paired co-teachers used their expertise to ensure that students could learn uninterruptedly. The co-teaching approach allows English language learners to be successful by acquiring academic and social language from one of the teachers in the classroom (Portocarrero & Bergin, 1997).

### 3. Increasing minority language exposure can boost students' self-esteem

Research supports the idea that it is important for students, especially for ELL students, to hear their first language spoken by the teacher in the classroom. With the presence of a teacher of the target language and a teacher who speaks students' L1, all students, regardless of whether English is their first language, can feel their language is recognized and appreciated in a co-taught classroom. In addition, the teacher who speaks students' L1 can enrich the curriculum by integrating students' home language and native cultures (Bahamonde, 1999). Consequently, the teacher can create a culturally and linguistically inclusive learning environment, resulting in increased students' self-esteem. For example, Portocarrero and Bergin (1997) find that by using the co-teaching model, the English language learners were no longer isolated in a pull-out

program and were able to work under the same expectations as their English-speaking classmates, which led to an increase in their self-esteem.

#### 4. Developing teachers' critical language awareness

The co-teaching approach benefits not only student learning, it also provides teachers opportunities to develop their Critical Language Awareness (CLA) (Fairclough, 1992) and to counter language purism. Language is profoundly related to students' academic performance at school. As classrooms become more linguistically and ethnically complex in the US (Ball, 2009), teachers need to perceive students' linguistic background as an asset, which can be used in language and content teaching practice (Hornberger, 2004). Moreover, teachers' understanding of student language and its relationship with social power, on which teachers frequently make judgments and educational decisions, can have a great impact on teaching effectiveness and social justice. Thus, it is vital that teachers develop a sound perspective of CLA. CLA highlights how language conventions and language practices are "invested with power relations and ideological processes which people are often unaware of" (p. 7). So, teachers should teach in a way that recognizes and engages the multilingualism and multiculturalism in students' lives and in society. A critical view of language and multilingualism also helps teachers to "engage all students in developing a consciousness of language as social practice and a voicing of their own multilingual experiences" (García, 2017, p. 268).

The co-teaching approach can address this important area and improve teachers' CLA through the collaborative work of two paired teachers, who may have a different cultural and linguistic background and bring multicultural perspectives to teaching (Garcia, 1992). Teachers can learn from their counterparts when they are making lesson plans, discussing the curriculum, delivering instruction, and reflecting on their teaching. Also, in a culturally and linguistically

blended co-taught classroom, monolingual teachers who might not otherwise have contact with language-minority students have opportunities to positively interact with ELLs and learn from them (Bahamonde, 1999).

### ***Models of the Co-Teaching Approach in Bilingual Education***

Friend et al. (2010), Morocco and Aguilar (2002), Hepner and Newman (2010), and Weiss and Lloyd (2002) have introduced six models for co-teaching. All of these models can be used in a bilingual classroom, regardless of whether it is in a DLE setting or an ELL setting. The six models are: one-teach/one-observe, one-teach/one-assist, station teaching, parallel teaching, alternative teaching, and team teaching. One-teach/one-observe refers to a model where one teacher is responsible for teaching while the other one observes and monitors the whole class to ensure the class is going well. One-teach/one-assist is similar to the first model but differs in the responsibilities of the teacher who is not teaching. The assistant teacher should provide unobtrusive assistance to students as needed. Station teaching is a way that teachers provide individual support at various stations that are created. Parallel teaching means that with the whole class divided into two groups, two teachers teach the same information simultaneously to a different group. Alternative teaching is similar to parallel teaching, but the difference between them is that one teacher works with a larger group of students while the other teacher focuses on a smaller group for specialized instruction. Team teaching is both teachers delivering the same instruction collaboratively and simultaneously, and both teachers are equally involved in learning activities.

In this section, I highlight the potential of the co-teaching approach for promoting dynamic bilingualism in the classroom and teacher professional learning by blending the expertise of the teachers (i.e. speaking different languages, teaching varying subjects etc.). The rationale of adopting co-teaching in bilingual education is “more services can be delivered to

more students using more inclusive strategies” (Bahamonde, 1999, p. 21). Overall, the literature shows that co-teaching has a unique advantage over other approaches that bring multilingualism and multi-perspective into the classroom. As Bahamonde (1999) emphasizes:

Co-teaching holds great promise for improving the quality of education that both ELLS and English-proficient students receive. It also offers the opportunity for professional development for both bilingual and monolingual teachers. Not to further explore this exciting option would be an educational tragedy. To facilitate its growth would truly represent a significant step to an educational system for the next century, one that embraces diversity and fosters professional collaboration (p. 21).

Bahamonde’s statement addresses the potential of co-teaching in bilingual education, and also reflects possible challenges embedded in this approach. One challenge may come from the educational and cultural differences between the members of a co-teaching pair. To make co-teaching effective, the teachers need to share common knowledge about language acquisition and bilingual education in order to work collaboratively for the purpose of developing students’ language skills. Nevertheless, at some schools, especially at international schools, a co-teaching unit usually consists of a local teacher and an expat teacher, who are from different cultural and educational backgrounds. In such a setting, there may be a high level of knowledge incommensurability between the local and the expat teacher. Therefore, before co-teaching can be effectively implemented, White and White (1992) recommend teacher training centering on changing preconceived beliefs and the structure of a co-taught classroom. This type of training can offer great potential for teacher professional learning and professional development.

Besides paired teachers’ cultural and language differences, Friend (2008) identifies another three critical issues that must be addressed when implementing co-teaching in bilingual education: arranging time for co-planning, and building positive working relationships between co-teaching partners, clarifying roles and responsibilities. Similarly, Beninghof and Leensvaart (2016) and Kwon (2018) point out that all teachers of a paired unit in a co-teaching program

need to define their roles clearly in order to carry out effective instruction. However, some teachers struggle with “sharing instructional time, releasing control, and seeing the value of their co-teachers (Beninghof & Leensvaart, 2016, p. 72). Norton (2013) found that co-teachers are confused about their roles due to the lack of a professional development program. In other words, the effectiveness of a co-teaching approach may be affected by how teachers position themselves and how they are positioned by their collaborators, but perhaps more importantly, by their institution or school. In fact, Adams, Tomlan, Cessna, and Friend (1995) argue that of all the challenges related to co-teaching in bilingual education, administrative support and management can be the most critical determinant of the success or failure of a co-teaching approach.

As this study focuses on the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy at an international co-teaching DLE program, it is important to take into consideration how each teacher of a co-teaching pair views their rights, duties, and responsibilities, and how dynamic positioning practices affect their translanguaging practices in the classroom. By drawing upon positioning theory, I aim to show how various stakeholders at a school are affecting teachers’ translanguaging pedagogical practices.

### **Section 3: Positioning Theory**

#### ***Foundations of Positioning Theory***

Positioning theory is ‘the study of local moral orders as ever shifting patterns of mutual and contestable rights and obligations of speaking and acting’ (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 1). Traditionally, cognitive psychology explains a phenomenon by drawing on hypotheses about formal rules of reasonings and meanings that people discern in the action of others and their own. Positioning theory opens up a new dimension to the process of cognition, which is to

include concepts and principles from the local moral domain. These concepts and principles usually involve rights and duties. In the traditional paradigm, roles are used as static tools to understand social interaction emphasizing the personal and situation-external factors as determinants of the enactment of the role. According to Henriksen (2008), one distinct feature that separates roles from positions is that roles are given through structures that are predetermined before and beyond the particular interaction, whereas positions “are continuously negotiated in the particular here and now social interaction” (p. 5). Although roles provide a cluster of premade positions, positions have to be re-negotiated over and over again within social interactions. Therefore, a key issue in distinguishing role theory and positioning theory is the latter’s “emphasis on the element of negotiation in social interaction; rather than seeing it as a mere extrapolation of structural representations” (Henriksen, 2008, p. 42).

People’s beliefs in rights and duties influence identity formation and designation through the means of the self and other positioning that underline stories of experience (Harré, et.al., 2009; Harré & Moghaddam, 2003). These rights and duties are negotiated, accepted or disputed within social interactions, specifically through discursive interactions (Davies and Harré 1990). Thus, the most basic medium through which positioning occurs is discourse. As people engage in conversations, they consciously and/or subconsciously position themselves, their interlocutors, and others outside the conversation based on the local moral domain in the storyline. Therefore, the mutually determining triad of positions, storylines, and social force behind acts or speech—all of which are dynamic and evanescent—forms the core of positioning theory (see figure 4).

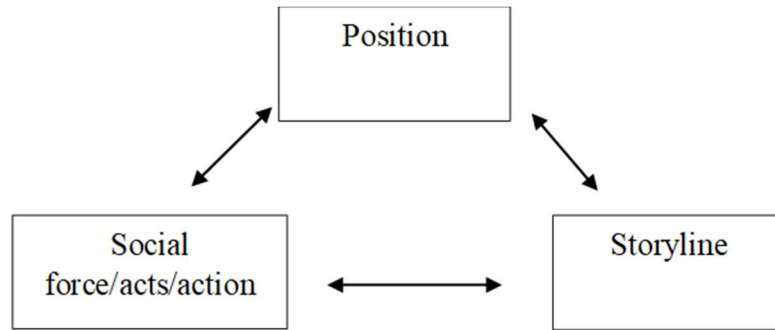


Figure 4: Positioning triad. Van Langenhove and Harré (1999, p. 18).

The first aspect of the triadic relationship is a position being assigned and adopted by the participants with respect to their rights and duties. Harré, Moghaddam, Cairnie, Rothbart and Sabat (2009) describe rights and duties as “shorthand terms for clusters of moral (normative) presuppositions which people believe or are told or slip into and to which they are momentarily bound in what they say and do” (p. 9). Positions are therefore clusters of beliefs about how rights and duties are allocated in the course of personal interactions in which these beliefs are concretely realized. The storyline of conversation is the second aspect, which is the context or situational contingencies in which positioning practices occur. Storylines also include the history and background of the interlocutors or members of an ongoing interaction. In other words, the storyline serves as a platform and clues of availability for people to conduct their speaking of positions. The third aspect is speech acts, which are the actual utterances of the interlocutors with their illocutionary and perlocutionary effects. A speech act must be a social phenomenon and a social consequence of social action. Therefore, a speech act occurs only when it has social significance to a given situation by providing meaning to the unfolding conversation (Harré & Moghaddam 2003).

How a conversation unfolds depends on the interplay between positions, storyline, and speech acts in the “Positioning Triangle” (Harré & Moghaddam 2003, p. 5). The absence of



certain positions affects the occurrence of certain speech acts that include the position (self-positioning) and positions of the other speakers (other-positioning) with a chance of changing the ongoing storyline. A change of the storyline affects the initial social force of a speech act and therefore alters the direction of the conversation. The dynamic nature of positioning theory distinguishes it from other static role-based theories in understanding and explaining situational behavior and self and identity.

#### Modes of Positioning

Harré and Van Langenhove (1999) define and describe two modes of positioning: *interactive* and *reflexive*. *Interactive positioning* is also called other-positioning, which is the act of one person discursively positioning another. It is done by individuals or groups in discourses to limit or extend what can be logically said or done. *Interactive positioning* enables people to position others in particular ways, which may limit or extend what others can do or say (Adams & Harré, 2001) and what speaking forms and actions they can apply (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999).

*Reflexive positioning* is self-positioning, which is defined as “the way people locate themselves and others within an essentially moral space by using several categories and storylines” (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999, p. 22). Davies and Harré (1990) claim that people view the world and themselves from a certain position. Guided by individuals’ self-positioning, people manifest the ways in which they think about their roles, rights and duties in a given context through various discursive practices. For example, Yoon (2008) concludes that teachers define their roles and duties through stating beliefs about their relevant world, which in turn, changes their teaching attitude and interactive patterns with students. *Reflexive positions* are ever changing and shifting because people’s life stories are not fixed but dynamic (Tan &

Moghaddam, 1999). Self-positioning and other-positioning can be either intentional or unintentional.

This is also a first-, second-, and third-order positioning. First order is an initial positioning in any conversation. It is usually tacit as people do not intentionally position themselves or others. Second-order positioning happens when people engage in repositioning by a questioning and/or rejection of the first-order positioning. It is an act of agency, and is, therefore, always intentional. According to Harré and van Langenhove (1999), "...when the first order positioning is not taken for granted by one of the persons involved in the discussion" (p. 22), second-order positioning leads people to either claim a right or a duty to challenge the initial first-order positioning, or to deny and refuse someone's rights in first-order positioning. Third-order positioning takes place in "retrospective discussion of previous acts of positioning" (Deppermann, 2015, p. 373). It usually happens outside of the original interaction, but it always involves at least one of the interlocutors in the original conversation.

#### Positioning Theory in Empirical Education Research

Although positioning theory originated as a conceptual and analytical tool outside of education research, social science researchers have adopted positioning theory to explain various interactions in educational settings (e.g., Bullough & Draper, 2004; Davies & Hunt, 1994; Dennen, 2007, 2011; Herbel-Eisenmann, Wagner, Johnson, Suh, & Figueras, 2015; McVee, Brock, & Glazier, 2011; Murchu & Conway, 2017; Rainville & Jones, 2008; Tran & Nguyen, 2015). In these studies, positioning theory provides a theoretical framework to explain the success, failure, or conflict in teacher-teacher and teacher-student relationships. For example, Bullough and Draper (2004) use positioning theory to explain the failure of a mentoring triad composed of a public-school teacher-mentor, university mathematics supervisor, and an intern teacher. Rainville and Jones (2008) use the analysis of positioning in interactions between

teachers and coaches to reveal that the construct of power is always present in social interactions and never static.

Positioning theory has also been used to demonstrate that identity construction in classrooms is complex and multi-layered (e.g., Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Reeves, 2009; Skog & Andersson, 2015; Whitsed & Volet, 2001; Whitsed & Volet, 2013). Whitsed and Volet (2001) employ positioning theory to explore the identity formation of foreign adjunct English language teachers in the Japanese university system. Reeves (2009) draws on positioning theory and the concept of investment, analyzing the case of a secondary English teacher who negotiated his teacher identity in relation to English language learners. Her study demonstrates how a participant-teacher positioned himself “as a good and effective teacher to prepare ELL and all students for society” (p. 38) yet refusing to make linguistic accommodations for ELLs. In a similar study, Kayi-Aydar (2015) shows that three pre-service teachers’ professional identities were shaped mostly in relation to ELLs and the mentor teachers. This study further suggests that “agency, identity, and positioning are intertwined in complex ways, influencing each other” (p. 101). Skog and Andersson (2015) conclude that in order to understand the process of developing a teachers’ identity, we must take into consideration power relations and subject positioning in social settings.

Positioning theory is also widely used in bilingual education to explore how positioning influences student learning (e.g. Abdi, 2011; Arkoudis, 2006; Barkhui & zen, 2009; Barkhuizen & Wette, 2008; De Costa, 2011; Faez, 2012; Kim & Viesca, 2016; Martin-Beltrán, 2010, 2013) Miller, 2000; Reeves, 2009; Trent, 2012; Vitanova, 2016). These studies have shown two kinds of effects of positioning practices. On the one hand, students who are learning another language other than their L1 bring diverse language and cultural backgrounds into the classrooms.

Therefore, not only students' reflexive positioning but teachers' intentional or unintentional responses to students' linguistic repertoires and learning needs are also crucial for student participation. On the other hand, teachers' reflexive positioning also plays an important role in students' learning. For example, Yoon (2008) describes how three teachers assigned various positions to themselves in their classrooms and how this positioning closely influenced their teaching approach and interactive patterns with ELLs. Based on positioning theory, Yoon's (2008) study shows that the teacher who sees herself as a teacher for all children invites the ELLs' active participation by assuming full responsibility for their learning. By contrast, the other two teachers "with a narrow notion of their roles limited their teaching approaches for their ELLs" (p. 515).

### **Summary**

This chapter provided an overview of the theory and implications of translanguaging, co-teaching approaches, and positioning theory. While the theoretical ground of translanguaging theory is well-developed and well-accepted, there remains a lack of structured translanguaging strategies and explicit translanguaging pedagogy for teachers (Canagarajah, 2011). In order to help teachers to implement translanguaging pedagogy, as addressed in chapter one, it is important to study what teachers do when they are free from language separation policies and what challenges they encounter which may lead to misuse of translanguaging strategies. In this way, we can learn from the mistakes and help the field advance to a translanguaging stance of multilingualism in a more effective and rigorous way. More importantly, given the fact that a translanguaging classroom is extremely complex and interactional due to the rich language and cultural capital and the language ideologies students and teachers bring in, I believe it is necessary to marry teachers' translanguaging pedagogy with positioning theory. This is because

a teacher's pedagogical practice in the classroom is not an individual performance, rather it is a socially constructed act. The on-going positioning within social interactions inside and outside classrooms shapes not only a teacher's identity and belief in translanguaging, but also how she realizes her belief in the classroom.

## **Research Questions**

Based on the literature discussed above, MacSwan's (2017) multilingual perspective of translanguaging and positioning theory, I developed two research questions for this dissertation:

1. How do language teachers navigate the complexities of implementing translanguaging pedagogy in a translanguaging co-teaching DLE program?
  - a. How do language teachers work independently and how do they work collaboratively?
  - b. What challenges do teachers encounter when implementing translanguaging pedagogy?
2. What are the factors within an institution that support or hinder teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy?
  - a. How does administrative leaders', parents', and teachers' understanding of translanguaging affect the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy?
  - b. How do teachers' institutional positions and their self-positioning practices affect the employment of translanguaging pedagogy?

Using qualitative methods, which will be delineated in Chapter 3, I have conducted a case study at a DLE school in China. The purpose of this study is not to evaluate the teachers' translanguaging skills; rather, in order to investigate what factors within the school influence teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, it is important to first capture a snapshot of teachers' translanguaging practices in the classroom.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS**

This research employed case study methodology to 1) add to the existing body of literature focusing on translanguaging pedagogy in early childhood language education; and 2) explore the factors within an institution that affect the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. In the following pages of this chapter the specific methods of this research proposal are outlined in detail. The first section of this chapter provides the rationale for qualitative case study as an ideal approach to address the research questions. The second section describes the case selection rationale and the introduction of the research setting and participants. The third section explicates the data sources, procedures for data collection, and analysis procedure. The fourth section addresses issues of validity. The chapter concludes with a discussion of ethical considerations in conducting this research.

### **Case Study Methods**

Qualitative research seeks to explore and construct the inner experience of participants and to determine how meanings are formed in and through culture by connecting with participants on a human level (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Case study, as one of many qualitative research methods, has been particularly noted for its affordance of detailed descriptions of events (Yin, 1994; Merriam, 1998) because it is “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon such as a program, an institution, a person, a process, or a social unit” (Merriam, 1998, p. xiii).

Case studies are seen as especially useful to describe and explore a complex phenomenon or event (Yin, 2014). Given the fact that the implementation of any teaching pedagogy at a school is a complex process which always involves multiple stakeholders (administrative leaders, teachers, and parents), case study methodology is an ideal approach to untangle and describe the

vast array of competing policies, actors, goals, expectations, and strategies that are inherent in the process of implementing translanguaging pedagogy. In addition to the ability to provide detailed description, case study's use of multiple data sources to understand phenomena under scrutiny can contribute to the nuanced and multifaceted portrait of the process of the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy process. In fact, Yin (1994) argues that "the use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioral issues" (p. 92). This research utilized multiple data sources, including video recordings and field notes of class observations, interviews (school administrative leaders, teachers, and parents), recordings of school administrative meetings (about the dual language approach), and documents about the DL program, plus teacher reflections provided by the school.

Yin (2014) asserts that case study methodology is an appropriate approach when the research goal is to investigate "how" and "why" questions about specific events. Yin (2014) suggests three types of case study, depending on the purpose of the study: the *exploratory* case study, a form of pilot study to inform subsequent research; the *descriptive* case study, which provides a thorough, contextualized description of a phenomenon; and the *explanatory* case study, intended to shed light on causal factors leading to particular events. The study employed a combination of the *descriptive* and *exploratory* case study to explore how teachers implemented translanguaging pedagogy in a translanguaging co-teaching DLE program. This approach also allowed for the investigation of how teachers' translanguaging practices are associated with and possibly affected by their professional knowledge, language ideology, institutional position, school policy, and parents' expectations. Exploring these connections provides an avenue to

understanding not only how teachers implement translanguaging pedagogy, but also why they do so or fail to do so.

### ***Case Selection Rationale***

This case study was conducted in Rochester College Kindergarten and infants' School (ROCKS). There are three reasons why the case of ROCKS is optimal for this research. The first reason is the increasing popularity worldwide of learning Mandarin. Secondly, the dual language model that Rochester College adopts is novel and different from many other dual language models. The third reason is based on my personal and professional vision of bilingual education.

First, this study should be viewed within the context of the worldwide burgeoning of Mandarin Chinese as a foreign language or second language program (Lo Bianco 2007). The increasing number of Chinese programs in schools worldwide is a reflection of China's rapid economic growth and increasing international influence. For many parents, having their children master the Chinese language means not only learning more about Chinese culture, it also provides advantages and opportunities in the job market and the business world at large.

Statistics from the American Councils for International Education show that the number of students learning Chinese at primary and middle schools in the US doubled between 2009 and 2015. More and more parents choose schools with Chinese-English bilingual programs for their children's education. This trend to learn Chinese is also seen in European countries. For example, a recent British Council survey shows that Chinese has become the language that British parents most want their children to learn, and is considered "the most useful language for the future" (British Council, 2017).

The increasing demand for learning Chinese, frequently fueled by China's global promotion of Chinese (Zhou, 2019), has also impacted international schools in Asia, which normally aim to provide education in English (Bray & Yamato, 2003; Slethaug, 2010). In recent



years an increasing number of international schools have begun to switch from an English-only model to an English-Chinese bilingual model (Wang, 2018). These English-Chinese programs are established with the aim of equipping students with strong bilingual skills to improve their career prospects and develop an “international-mindedness” (Wang, 2018; Cambridge, 2012).

With the rise of China's international influence, Chinese seems to be poised to enter more classrooms in foreign countries and international schools in China. One form of Chinese education is the English-Chinese dual language program approach. Currently, there is still very little research available on English-Chinese bilingual education (Lao, 2014). Researching English-Chinese bilingual education presents a number of challenges; not only are English and Chinese very different languages in terms of linguistic features but frequently English speaking teachers and Chinese speaking teachers also come from very different cultural backgrounds. These differences can create tensions during the implementation process of any English-Chinese program. Therefore, one of the aims of this study is to examine the internal factors affecting the implementation of an English-Chinese DLE program. ROCKS, with its diverse workforce of English-speaking expat teachers and Chinese-speaking local teachers, provides a perfect case to examine possible institutional opportunities and/or tensions during the implementation of a new bilingual program.

Second, ROCKS' unique DLE program is another reason it was chosen for this study. ROCKS employs a translanguaging co-teaching dual language program, which differs from traditional dual language programs in two languages are taught separately. ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching dual language program is an ideal example for a translanguaging program as it allows students to be exposed to two languages without any separation. Also, students at ROCKS can use their language freely without any restriction. Thus, the operational

model of ROCKS makes it a perfect case to study translanguaging pedagogy and its institutional implementation. In addition, although ROCKS is an international school in China which follows a British curriculum, many factors in the social setting can impact ROCKS' operation and teachers' language ideologies. For example, language ideology and nationalism are tightly interwoven in modern China (Zhou, 2019); therefore, many Chinese teachers grow up in a dialectally-diverse environment yet with a mindset of promoting standard Chinese. Thus, when ROCKS began implementing its translanguaging pedagogy, perhaps Chinese teachers could have argued for a more open pedagogy to blur the boundaries between languages and weaken the notion that there is, or ought to be, a single, standard Chinese language. Moreover, while China is promoting Chinese to become a global language (Zhou, 2019), such aspirations may clash with the notion of English as a global language and could create tensions in the collaboration between English and Chinese teachers at ROCKS. The analysis of ROCKS' case can thus provide insights into many of the internal and external factors influencing the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

Finally, I chose to conduct the study at ROCKS because of its world-renowned reputation. Although the purpose of case study is not to automatically generalize findings to other settings, the reputation of a flagship school can make it a reference point for other organizations that frequently mold their own pedagogical practices according to what they perceive as being or becoming an industry norm (see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). Given this, my personal interests and passion for codeswitching and translanguaging have driven me to initiate research into the translanguaging pedagogy at ROCKS with the hope of passing on the knowledge of what succeeded at ROCKS and also to

convey the lessons they have learned, in an effort to contribute to our understanding of translanguaging pedagogy and dynamic bilingualism.

### ***Research Setting***

Originally founded in the 17th century, Rochester College is an independent boarding school in London for students aged 2 to 19 years old. Since Rochester College established their first international school in an east coast city in China in 2003, the Rochester international family of schools has further grown in China and elsewhere in Asia. The group now operates ten schools in seven cities and four countries in Asia. Two more schools are slated to open in the United States. Rochester College usually is comprised of three levels (see Figure 5): ROCKS (age 2 to 7 years), junior school (age 7 to 11), and senior school (age 11 to 18). Within ROCKS, students are divided into two groups: the early year section (age 2 to 5), the key stage 1 (KS1) section, including year one (age 5 to 6) and year two (age 6 to 7). ROCKS' early year section consists of toddlers (age 2 to 3 years), nursery (age 3 to 4), and reception (age 4 to 5), and it is in this early year section that I chose to conduct this study. I selected a ROCKS school in an east coast city in China. Though many first language groups are represented at the school, native Chinese and English-speaking children constitute the two largest groups.

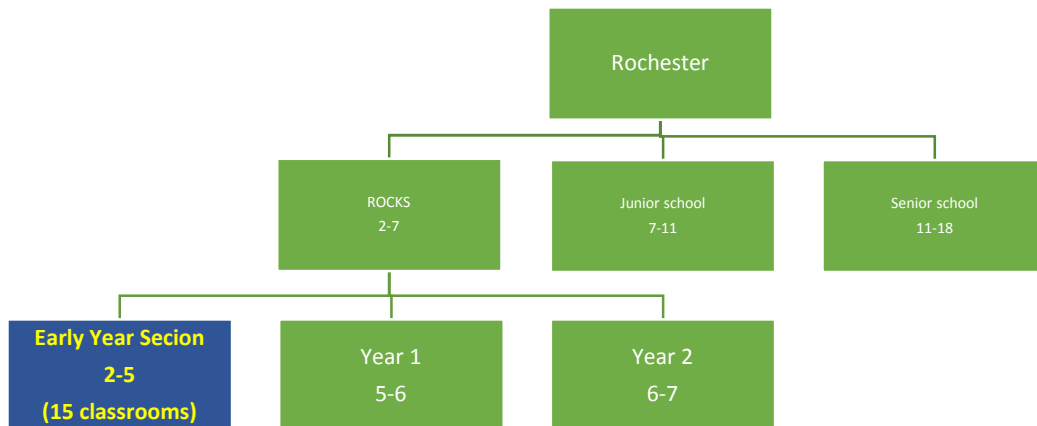


Figure 5: Rochester operational structure

Founded in 2003, ROCKS2 was initially an English-only international school. In the English-only model, in each of its ‘international classrooms,’ the expatriate teachers were usually designated as classroom teachers, and the local Mandarin teachers, who do not hold an equivalent degree and international teaching certificate as the expat teachers, were designated as teacher assistants (TAs). In the English-only model, TAs were not involved in teaching. Their responsibility was mainly to assist the classroom teachers in organizing the class. In 2015, with the rising popularity of Mandarin, ROCKS decided to change from its English-only approach to an English-Chinese DLE approach. In 2016, ROCKS adopted translanguaging co-teaching DLE model. ROCKS In the new operational model, an expat teacher (who is a monolingual English speaker) and a local Mandarin teacher (who is a limited English-Mandarin bilingual) teach together as one unit to simultaneously maximize students’ authentic language exposure to two distinct languages in one classroom. At that point, the title of the local Chinese TAs was changed to learning assistant (LA) in order to emphasize their involvement in students’ learning process.

Being aware of the need to develop a shared understanding of language acquisition for young children to make the translanguaging DLE approach operate effectively, in 2016, ROCKS provided multiple professional learning workshops for both expat teachers and the Mandarin LAs. These workshops focused on bilingual education and translanguaging theory and pedagogical strategies. The purpose of these workshops was to explicitly instruct teachers in how to implement the new operational model and to follow ROCKS’ pedagogical belief in teaching languages. The pedagogical belief is based on an ideology of learning language through effective

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*2 From here on I use ROCKS to refer to the ROCKS early year section, where this study was conducted.*

language exposure, child-initiated play, and natural interaction with children. All teachers have to follow children's interests and engage in both free play time and carpet time<sup>3</sup>.

### ***Participants and Recruitment***

ROCKS has a vested interest in this research study as they seek to learn and better understand how they can improve the implementation of their pedagogical innovation. Prior to this study, I had visited ROCKS and conducted other studies there. Therefore, I had established a good relationship with the school and the teachers and secured the support of the administrative leaders and teachers for this study. The focus of this study was on an entire early year section at ROCKS including four school administrative leaders, 34 teachers and LAs, and 12 parents. The school principal sent an email to all parents to inform them about all the details of this research and asking for permission to record class activities. Parents gave informed consent by not objecting.

#### **Administrative leaders**

Four administrative leaders participated in this study, all of whom are native English speakers. None of them speak Chinese except the bilingual program director Sandra, who speaks limited Chinese (see Table 1)

Although this study primarily focused on the ROCKS early year group, I also interviewed the director of KS1 and the principal of the Rochester junior school to better understand the institutional context in which ROCKS operates its translanguaging DLE program. The rationale for this approach is grounded in the probability that the consistency or inconsistency in the operational model and policy, which governs the relations between ROCKS early year group and

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<sup>3</sup> During free play time, children can initiate any activity with the tools that are provided by teachers within the classroom or the outdoor area, which is attached to the classroom. Carpet time refers to the time that teachers gather children to sit on a carpet. The content of carpet time is linked to the children's interests and their play and is extended through teacher-led small group activities as well as by provocations for child-initiated play. The carpet time may be based on the reading of a particular story or to let children share their own stories.

the other parts of the school, can significantly influence ROCKS' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. In other words, if the rest of the school does not fully support translanguaging or bilingual pedagogy now or in the future, the efforts of introducing it at ROCKS may be in vain and doomed from the start because of a lack of institutional support from the top of the organization.

Name	Gender	Language	Nationality	Job title
Linda	Female	English	Canada	Principal of ROCKS
Tim	Male	English	Britain	Director of KS1 of ROCKS
Sandra	Female	English and limited Chinese	Australia	Director of dual language program at ROCKS
Vivian	Female	English	Britain	Principal of Rochester junior school

Table 1: Demographic information of administrative leaders of ROCKS

### Teachers

The ROCKS leadership introduced me at a school meeting and encouraged all teachers to participate in a series of studies. Thirty-four teachers (33 females, 1 males), including 19 Chinese LAs and 15 expat teachers participated this study.

Most Chinese LAs acquired their early childhood teaching certificate at universities in China, except one who received her degree in New Zealand. The majority of the Chinese LAs have teaching experience at both local public preschools or kindergartens and other international preschools and kindergartens. The Chinese LAs' work experience at Rochester College ranges from one to six years. Among the 15 expat teachers who participated in this study, 12 are from the UK, two are from Australia and one from the United States. All expat teachers hold Postgraduate Certificates or a Bachelors in Education. Every teacher has their own classroom in toddler, nursery, or reception grades.

In the toddler classrooms, one expat teacher works with three Chinese LAs, whereas in nursery and reception classrooms one expat teacher works with only one Chinese LA. Except for

Sandra, who is a limited English-Chinese bilingual, almost all expat teachers are English monolingual speakers who can only say a few Chinese words such as hello, car, and dinosaur.

All Chinese LAs are English-Chinese bilinguals (see Table 2).

	Expat teacher	Chinese LA
Toddler		
Toddler 1	Ruth	Brittany, Olivia, Penny
Toddler 2	Janet	Judith, Anxin, Lori
Toddler 3	Gina	Menghua
Nursery		
Nursery 1	Sue	Megan
Nursery 2	Sandra	Yuyu
Nursery 3	Julia	Heather
Nursery 4	Sandra	Lihong
Nursery 5	Susan	Sophia
Nursery 6	Jackie	Yang
Reception		
Reception 1	Alice	Kayla
Reception 2	Jean	Cynthia
Reception 3	Carolyn	Pamela
Reception 4	Stephanie	Sharon
Reception 5	Delia	Angela
Reception 6	Daniel	Han

Table 2: Information of teachers (all names are pseudonyms)

#### Parents:

In order to recruit parents, ROCKS program leader Sandra sent an email to all parents explaining the research project and asking for volunteers who were willing to be interviewed. In the end, 12 parents volunteered to participate in the proposed study. All of them are female. All parents except one British mom are bilinguals or multilinguals (see Table 3 the list of parents).

Name	Nationality	Language
Jenny	Czech Republic	Czech, English, French, Chinese
Olivia	Chili	Spanish, English, Chinese
Ava	China	Chinese, English
Isabella	China	Chinese, English
Lihua	China	Chinese, limited English
Jordan	British	English
Nicole	Hong Kong	English, Cantonese, Chinese
Michela	China	Chinese, English
Delia	Spain	Spanish English
Maria	China	Chinese, English
Sabrina	Spain	Spanish, Italian, English, Portuguese
Mia	Japan	Japanese, English, Chinese

Table 3: demographic information of parents

**Data Collection**

Data collection includes video-recorded classroom observations, interviews of school administrative leaders, teachers, and parents, recordings of school administrative meetings (focusing on the dual language approach and translanguaging pedagogy), and documents about the DLE program and teachers’ reflections provided by the school (see Table 4). The data collection process involved two phases. In phase one, I conducted class observation, recorded two meetings, and interviewed parents and some expat teachers at ROCKS. In phase two, I interviewed school leaders, expat teachers and Chinese LAs via phone or Zoom.

Data	Video recording	Audio recording		Field notes	Documents
Description	280 hours Class observations	50 Interviews (15 expat teachers, 19 LAs, 4 school leaders, and 12 parents)	2 meetings	Class observations	Hardcopy: ROCKS’ Dual Language Guiding Principles, Parent Handbook, College Magazine, and teachers’ teaching reflections. Digital: ROCKS’ career ladder and poster of teachers’ action research.

Table 4: Data sources



### ***Class Observations***

A classroom is an extremely busy place where multiple activities, interactions, and negotiations take place at the same time. Observations have been used as a qualitative research method to capture the complex dynamic in a classroom and observe teachers' pedagogy. Observations make it possible for researchers to capture detailed information of interactions in the classroom, which can be difficult to explain through interviews (Sheal, 1989). Moreover, observations allow researchers to record time sequences of activities, actual spatial arrangements and the organization for the processes of learning (Nielsen, 1998).

I visited all toddler, nursery, and reception classrooms. I used digital video recordings and field notes to systematically capture the teacher-student and teacher-teacher interactions. The focus of the observations was on the language use of teachers and students, and the collaboration between expat teachers and Chinese LAs for the purpose of student language development. During class observations, I remained in the background of the classroom as much as possible to minimize any distractions for teachers or students.

Since teachers and students always move around in the classroom during play time, I focused on one specific group at a time in order to obtain clear audio and video recordings of the teachers and students' interactions.

I also created field notes during the class observations to capture more complex or parallel interactions in the classroom. These field notes served as secondary data to the class observations. The purpose of field notes was to record some interactions that the camera could not capture. For example, when I was recording one group, some interesting interactions took place next to that particular group. I then made a note about it.

## *Interviews*

As a research instrument, interviews “are theorized as a resource for investigating truths, facts, experience, beliefs, attitudes, and/or feelings” (Talmy, 2010, p. 131). Going beyond attitude assessments of a survey (Merton, Lowenthal & Kendall, 1990), interviews not only allow researchers to go deeper to reveal sentiments and ideas (Merton et al., 1990), through interviews, participants are also able to report as completely as possible the experience and the definition of particular situations or meanings (Merton et al., 1990).

As one of various exploratory tools (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), interviews have been used in empirical inquiry across the social sciences, including qualitative applied linguistics (Talmy, 2010). However, the interview method has also received criticism from scholars who highlight that interview is “a joint accomplishment of interviewer and respondent. As such, its relationship to any real experience is not merely unknown but in some senses unknowable” (Dingwall, 1997, p. 56). To overcome possible limitations, I followed McNamara’s (2009) suggestions on creating effective interview questions. These suggestions include: (a) open-ended wording; (b) questions should be as neutral as possible; (c) questions should be asked one at a time; (d) questions should be worded clearly; and (e) the interviewer should avoid asking “why” questions. I designed three different interview questionnaires with open-ended questions for three groups of participants: school administrative leaders, teachers, and parents (see Appendix A). These open-ended questions allowed participants to tell “as much detailed information as they desire (Turner, 2010, p. 756) and enabled me to ask probing questions as a means of follow-up to “unravel a deeper or more essential reality” (van den Berg et al., 2003, p. 3) about their understanding and experiences of translanguaging pedagogy at ROCKS.

Before each interview, I engaged in informal conversations with participants. These informal conversations provided me with opportunities to develop rapport with the participants,

but without becoming overly familiar, so that the interviews could be conducted in a relaxed setting and manner. I used an audio recording device to record the interviews of 4 administrative leaders, 34 teachers, and 12 parents. Overall, I recorded 50 interviews.

The interview questions for teachers and LAs involved their understanding of the DLE program, bilingualism, their attitudes towards translanguaging pedagogy, and the challenges they have encountered in the process of implementing translanguaging pedagogy. I also asked them about any concerns they might have regarding their institutional position and support of the school parents. The interview questions for administrative leaders focused on school policy, the overall vision of the translanguaging co-teaching DLE program, and the measures leaders have taken in order to improve translanguaging pedagogy. I interviewed parents about their language policies at home and their attitudes toward codeswitching (a term which is more familiar to them than translanguaging) and ROCKS' DLE program. Each interview lasted about 30-40 minutes. Some interviews were conducted in an office at ROCKS, while others were conducted via phone or Zoom.

### ***Recordings of School Administrative Meetings***

I also attended and recorded two school administrative meetings regarding the translanguaging pedagogy at ROCKS. The participants of the first meeting (43 minutes) consisted of DUCKS leader team members including the ROCKS principal, vice principal, DLE program coordinator, and KS1 team leader. The participants of the second meeting (30 minutes) included the ROCKS principal and DLE program coordinator.

### ***Documents***

As a research method, document analysis can be particularly helpful for qualitative case studies because supplementary information and insights derived from documents can add to the rich description of a single phenomenon, event, organization, or program (Bowen, 2009; Yin,

1994). According to Atkinson and Coffey (1997), documents refer to “social facts, which are produced, shared, and used in socially organized ways” (p. 47). Documents “contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without a researcher’s intervention” (Bowen, 2009, p. 27).

Qualitative researchers are expected to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources. Although class observations and interviews provide detailed information to understand the ROCKS case, they cannot offer insights that precede and go beyond the time of data collection. Documents cover long time spans across many events (Yin, 1994) and can help triangulate data. I collected paper-based documents including ROCKS’ Dual Language Guiding Principles, Handbook for parents, College Magazine (a form of ROCKS’ publication), and some teachers’ teaching reflections about translanguaging pedagogy. ROCKS also provided me with digital documents such as ROCKS’ career ladder and the digital posters of teachers’ action research projects. All of these were provided by the ROCKS administrative office during the data collection period.

### **Data Analysis**

In keeping with the theoretical and methodological framework for the study, I used NVivo 12 – a qualitative data analysis software – to prepare, organize, categorize, annotate and analyze all data. Since this study drew on multiple sources of data (interview, video, field notes, and documents), NVivo also allowed me to categorize data into themes across data sources. With NVivo 12, details can be checked on the content of particular nodes by going back to the data source. This can, in turn, enhance the inter-relationships of the thematic ideas and improve validity and reliability in the thematic ideas that emerge during the data analysis process (Welsh, 2002). As a first step, I watched all the videos and selected the sections where both Chinese and English were spoken or where only one language was spoken, but another language was mentioned. After I transcribed the selected videos, I uploaded the transcriptions on NVivo. All

interviews were transcribed and uploaded to NVivo, as well as all supporting documents (including images). The data analysis involved a multi-phase, iterative process. To respond to the two overarching research questions, (1) How do the two language teachers work independently and collaboratively to implement translanguaging pedagogy? and (2) What factors within an institution support or hinder the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy? I started the data analysis process by analyzing videos and field notes of the classroom observations. The rationale for this approach is based on the assumption that in order to explore the supporting and opposing factors in the implementation process of translanguaging pedagogy, I need to first find translanguaging moments and understand teachers' translanguaging practices in the classroom to be able to analyze the influential personal, organizational and institutional factors behind these specific cases.

The data analysis process across data sources was based on ethnographic content analysis, which offers a flexible yet “systematic and analytic” methodology (Altheide, 1987; 1996). Therefore, the data analysis process did not involve any pre-conceived categories. Instead, I let patterns and themes emerge inductively from it. In the next section, I will describe how each data source was analyzed using NVivo.

### ***Videos and Field Notes:***

I first watched all the selected videos and went through all the field notes several times in order to obtain a general idea about how translanguaging pedagogy was implemented in the classrooms. This process allowed me to make sure that translanguaging pedagogy took place in both expat teacher/LA-student interactions and teacher-LA interactions, and to determine whether challenges had occurred in the classrooms. Considering the complex situations and multiple levels of each teaching practice, it is important to first establish a clear structure for all the collected data from class observations. Therefore, I first divided the videos and field notes

into two categories: expat teacher/LA-student interaction and expat teacher-LA interaction. Expat teacher/LA-student interactions were used to understand how translanguaging was implemented by each expat teacher or Chinese LA independently, because there were no interactions between the expat teachers and the Chinese LAs in these segments. The video segments of expat teacher-LA interactions were used to examine how expat teachers and Chinese LAs practiced coordinated translanguaging through collaborations.

In the next step, through the lens of translanguaging theory, I focused on analyzing the nature of the translanguaging practices captured in the selected videos (what expat teachers, Chinese LAs and students were doing with their language repertoire) and the purpose and/or consequence of their actions under each aforementioned category. Table 5 highlights sample codes for the nature and the purpose of observed independent translanguaging practices of expat teachers or Chinese LAs.

Coding Categories	Sample Codes											
Nature of translanguaging practices	Codeswitching Teacher recasting bilingually Using small groups Teacher as co-learner Translation											
Purposes of translanguaging practices	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>Promoting engagement</td> <td rowspan="3"><b>Scaffolding learning</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Clarifying instruction</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Managing activity</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Maintaining interaction flow</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Gauging learning outcome</td> <td>Assessing learning</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Building relationships</td> <td rowspan="2"><b>Enacting dynamic bilingualism</b></td> </tr> <tr> <td>Affirming bilingualism</td> </tr> </table>	Promoting engagement	<b>Scaffolding learning</b>	Clarifying instruction	Managing activity	Maintaining interaction flow		Gauging learning outcome	Assessing learning	Building relationships	<b>Enacting dynamic bilingualism</b>	Affirming bilingualism
Promoting engagement	<b>Scaffolding learning</b>											
Clarifying instruction												
Managing activity												
Maintaining interaction flow												
Gauging learning outcome	Assessing learning											
Building relationships	<b>Enacting dynamic bilingualism</b>											
Affirming bilingualism												

Table 5: Teacher/LA's independent translanguaging practices

Table 6 are the sample codes for the coordinated translanguaging practices in the collaboration of expat teachers and Chinese LAs.

Coding Categories	Sample Codes
Nature of translanguaging practices	Elaborating statements in the other language Alternating languages Meaningful translation Teacher as co-learner Asynchronous bilingual interaction
Purposes of translanguaging practices	Promoting engagement Clarifying concepts Maintaining interaction flow Affirming understanding

**Scaffolding learning**

Table 6: Teacher/LA’s coordinated translanguaging practices

In the final step, I classified the purposes of the independent and coordinated translanguaging practices into three themes: scaffolding learning, assessing learning, and enacting dynamic bilingualism (see Table 5 and 6) . I will discuss the three themes in the next chapter.

When coding all the video and field notes data, I took into account the context of each translanguaging moment. I watched/read what happened before and after the interaction to ensure that my analysis reflected each situation and context as accurately as possible.

Based on analysis of the class observation data (video and field notes), I was able to gauge how translanguaging pedagogy was implemented in the classrooms in the ROCKS early year group. I used the other data sources (audio recordings of interviews and meetings, and the documents) combined with the analyses of the videos to investigate the challenges expat teachers and Chinese LAs encountered when implementing translanguaging pedagogy and the influential factors within ROCKS that advanced or hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. Below, I will discuss how the audio data and documents were analyzed.

***Audio Data (interviews and meeting recordings) and Documents:***

Although the audio recordings and documents are in different formats, NVivo allows me to code and apply categories across different formats of data. As a first step in analyzing the

audio data and documents, I engaged in a “long preliminary soak” (Hall, 1975 p. 15) in the data, I read the transcripts and documents several times, which enabled me to have a close and complete reading of the data. In this process, I used open coding to analyze each transcript or document paragraph by paragraph in order to identify those portions that are related to the research questions, and then identified the recurring ideas and categories. I allowed the various patterns to emerge by themselves instead of being limited by previous definitions or categories (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In the final step, I considered the interviews and documents collectively and compared the thematic patterns, which allowed for the emergence of unexpected findings.

In particular, in order to identify the challenges teachers encountered when they implemented translanguaging pedagogy in ROCKS, I first defined challenges based on each interviewee’s self-reported difficulties in translanguaging implementation or on my observed incidences that deviated from ROCKS’ Dual Language Guiding Principles (Appendix B). In other words, the challenges encountered at ROCKS may differ from those in other contexts. Overall, the data (a combination of class observations and interviews) revealed two types of challenges. The first type is related to the individual instructor’s language skills, such as expat teachers’ monolingualism and Chinese LAs’ bilingualism. The second type of challenge concerns the coordinated translanguaging practices between the expat teachers and the Chinese LAs (Figure 6).



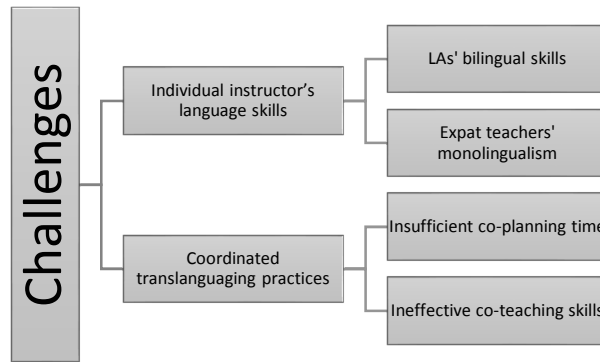


Figure 6: Categories of Challenges in the Implementation of Translanguaging Pedagogy

In order to answer the second research question, regarding the influential factors that supported or hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy at ROCKS, I primarily analyzed interviews, meeting recordings, and documents. Guided by positioning theory and translanguaging theory, I first created notes on NVivo to identify the influential factors which emerged in transcripts and documents. Then I classified the notes into two categories: supporting factors and hindering factors and two themes under hindering factors and three themes emerged in the category of Hindering Factors (Table 7).

Coding Categories	Sample Codes	
Supporting Factors	Child-initiated play pedagogy Stakeholders' translanguaging stance ROCKS' commitment to translanguaging pedagogy The co-teaching model Chinese LA's bilingual skill	
Hindering Factors	Chinese LAs' low institutional status	Theme 1
	Chinese LAs' various self-positioning practices	Theme 1
	The English-speaking administrative team	Theme 2
	English-only public facing materials	Theme 2
	Rochester's operational structure	Theme 2
Chinese parents' expectations	Theme 3	

Table 7: Influential factors impacting the implementation of translanguaging

**Theme 1:** Discrepancy between the institutional position of LA's and the co-teaching approach

**Theme 2:** Discrepancy between language equivalency inside and outside the classroom

**Theme 3:** Discrepancy between stakeholders' expectations

Overall, my interpretation of the data is substantiated by the analytical procedures followed for assessing the genuineness and credibility of the research, including triangulation, the use of various data, and constant comparison. These procedures ensured rigor in this study and suggested that the findings present an accurate representation and interpretation of the phenomena of the study. That is, the examples presented in Chapter Four are representative of the data as a whole and are not outliers. I will discuss the findings in the next chapter.

### **Trustworthiness and Credibility**

Unlike quantitative studies, which aim to provide determination, prediction, and generalizability in findings, qualitative studies seek instead to illuminate, understand, and explore situations and the meaning of objective reality (Hoepfl, 1997). Qualitative researchers believe that the meaning of any objective reality, which does not exist inherently (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005), is a function of engagement with the world and can be constructed in interactions with objective reality. As a result, the construction process can be different as it depends on the perspective from which interactions are viewed or known (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). Thus, to ensure a qualitative study can unfold a phenomenon of interest reliably (Patton, 2001), it is crucial to examine the trustworthiness and credibility of a qualitative study (Mishler, 2000) to establish confidence in the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The literature on qualitative research suggests a number of strategies to determine the validity, credibility and trustworthiness of a study. This case study used several processes including data triangulation, in-depth observation and acknowledgement of researcher orientation to ensure that the research meets established standards of rigor and trustworthiness (Creswell, 1998; Yin, 1994, Faltis, 1998).

### ***Triangulation***

Triangulation is defined as “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000, p. 126). The goal of triangulation is to develop “converging lines of inquiry” (Yin, 1994, p. 92) and “a confluence of evidence that breeds credibility” (Eisner, 1991, p. 110). By examining information collected through multiple sources and methods, the researchers seek to reduce the impact of potential biases and distortion (Maxwell, 1992) and to allow readers to “follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions” (Yin, 1994, p. 98).

In this study, I employed triangulation through the collection of data from various sources. I used videos and fieldnotes of class observations, audio recording of interviews (teachers, parents, and school administrative leaders) and school administrative meetings in combination with documents provided by the school to seek convergence and corroboration of the evidence found in the data. The multiple data sources not only allowed me to describe and explore the case across time and space, but they also provided me with the opportunity to engage with the objective reality from different perspectives. Corroboration was sought both among interview informants and across data sources. Especially while addressing the second research question, I sought to corroborate informant accounts with other extensive data sources such as documents.

### ***In-Depth Observation***

Observations provide opportunities for researchers to record and describe social interactions, which can be difficult to explore and explain through interviews. However, “one of the problems of the method of observation is that the observer's presence can affect the social interaction which happens” (Nielsen, 1998, p. 12). In observing teaching situations in particular,

the interaction between teacher and student can be affected, as teachers and students may be overly sensitive to the presence of another adult in the classroom. Thus, there may be some doubt whether the data collected through observation can fully represent the reality of the classroom. To overcome this problem, it is important that the teacher and students become familiar with the researcher's presence. When I conducted class observations, I stayed in one classroom as long as possible to create a sense of normalcy for teachers and students alike. I also used every opportunity to interact with teachers and students outside of class, which enabled me to become a familiar, non-threatening yet independent observer and to minimize the potential of my presence affecting the behavior of teachers and students.

#### ***Acknowledgement of Researcher Orientation***

It is important to acknowledge researcher orientation because “validity in qualitative research is not the result of indifference, but of integrity” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 91). Merriam (1998) defines acknowledging researcher orientation as an action of “clarifying the researcher's assumptions, worldview, and theoretical orientation at the outset of the study” (p. 205). By explicitly acknowledging my background, assumptions, and disciplinary perspectives (Charmaz, 2006; Blumer, 1969), which may influence my interpretation of data, I provide the readers a well-informed subjectivity (Peshkin, 1998). Instead of attempting to ignore these perspectives (Point, 2016) this form of transparency can be useful for readers to contextualize and fully understand the data and findings. The detailed introduction of the theoretical framework, outlined in chapter two, can help readers to familiarize themselves with the study's theoretical orientation and constitutes a reflection of the researcher's assumptions, perceptions and perspectives.

## **Ethical Considerations**

Ethical issues can arise in case study methodology due to the sharing nature of the research process (Flewitt, 2005), yet it is often overlooked (Stockley & Balkwill, 2013). To emphasize the importance of ethical considerations when conducting qualitative research, Denzin suggests:

... our primary obligation is always to the people we study, not to our project or to a larger discipline. The lives and stories that we hear and study are given to us under a promise, that promise being that we protect those who have shared them with us (Denzin, 1989, p. 83).

In this study, I attended to the task of “safeguarding the trip” (Stake, 2000, p. 442) for my participants in several ways. Prior to this study, ROCKS’ principal gave me a chance to describe the research process orally with all teachers at a school meeting. All participants were provided with a consent form detailing the purpose and background of this research project. I made sure to inform them that they have the right to refuse to participate in this study and elect not to answer any interview questions. I also emphasized that even if they agreed to participate, they could withdraw at any time and their withdrawal would not affect them. I followed exactly the same procedure with parents who were interviewed. I informed them that the interview would not affect their child in any way.

Pearson, Albon and Hubball (2015) point out that particular care needs to be taken when the researcher is investigating one’s pedagogy. Therefore, I continued to keep my positionality transparent to the participants when I was collecting data. I took into consideration the possibility and tendency that some participants, including teachers, would choose to display an overly positive view towards translanguaging pedagogy. To counterbalance this tendency, I attended to sensitivity and care to ensure participants felt comfortable being observed or being interviewed, and in being critical of the model. I continued to stress my position as a researcher who remained

an independent observer and not a person who was going to evaluate teaching performance or judge their opinions or actions.

In order to protect the participants and data, I followed the ethical procedures according to the IRB protocol at the University of Maryland. I adhered to the guidelines for anonymizing and storing data. Pseudonyms were used to obscure participants' names and the school's name. Other potentially identifiable information was masked. Students' faces were masked too when I displayed images in the findings section. I used vague regional locations (e.g., east coast of China) rather than specific city locations.

As I carried out my analyses, I made every attempt to honestly reflect the perspectives of my participants. I was aware that the analysis of the consequence/function of teachers' language use (see description in data analysis) could be subjective. Thus, I deliberately connected the interviews with class observations by showing some segments of the videos to teachers to obtain the teachers' own explanations of the purposes of their language use. When uncertainty arose with regard to substantive aspects of the study, I consulted the participants for clarification.

Overall, I strived to uphold a high level of integrity throughout all phases of the research process. Following Merriam's (1998) recommendations regarding clarifying and describing limits, I outline the limitations and level of familiarity with the case in Chapter Six.

### **Author's Positionality**

I was born in China where Mandarin is not only the lingua franca but also the only official language spoken on national television or in public institutions such as schools. Although I was surrounded by people who had different accents or spoke different dialects, I believed, as the government advocated and to this day still does, that language variation creates miscommunication. The upshot of this rationale then dictates that people speaking a single, standardized language across the entire country is beneficial for both the country's improvement

and the development of individuals. After all, it is not only convenient if we all use the same language and pronounce words in the same way, but it also makes communication much more transparent. Personally, I remember that I needed to pass a standard Mandarin speaking test in order to obtain a teaching certificate for Biology in China. During that test, even though I had studied hard, when I needed to pronounce the word “Yīnwèi” (because), my tone slipped back to my native Tianjin accent. Before I realized what I was doing, I said “Yīnwéi” (using the second instead of the third tone for the character wei). The examination supervisor immediately deducted some points. One may wonder whether the different tone would change the meaning of the word. In this particular case: no, not at all. People would understand me perfectly. In fact, many people in China pronounce the word the same way as I did during the test. However, leaving the test center somewhat disheartened, I still never questioned either the validity of the test or the artificiality of the linguistic hegemony of Mandarin in China. Similarly, when I started to learn English as a second language in school, I received English teaching through a monolingual approach. At that time my linguistic understanding was simple: Chinese is Chinese, English is English. I did not see nor could I have imagined how these two separate languages could possibly become connected. I had also never heard people actively or purposely mix two languages; such mixing was certainly not permitted when I was a student. We were told that mixing two languages simply means you cannot speak the language you’ve set out to learn.

Before I came to the United States to study bilingual education, my mind was filled with concepts and words such as academic English, target language-only pedagogy, two-way immersion, etc. Not surprisingly, initially I also advocated and practiced pedagogies related to these concepts, as I believed that language separation in dual language programs reflects the core ideas of bilingual education. I did so until I encountered codeswitching and translanguaging; two

concepts that turned my bilingual world upside down. These two ideas and all the scholarly work expounding the concepts not only challenged my mindset regarding bilingualism but enabled me to examine my own language ideology from a new perspective and gradually transformed my understanding of bilingualism and bilingual education.

Borrowing an allegory from Grosjean: I used to consider a hurdler as someone who can neither jump as high as a high jumper nor run as fast as a sprinter. But now, I can see the unique skillset hurdlers may develop; I see that hurdlers may be better at their combination of skills than both high jumpers and sprinters. I also see that it is even possible for a hurdler to jump as high as a high jumper and run as fast as a sprinter, or to have any combination of these skills, but that these are important skills either way. Dual language education is designed to encourage language learners to develop diverse skillsets. This idea of allowing the uniqueness of individuals to shine during their growth of learning a new language is one of the reasons I conducted this study. I wanted to let more scholars, teachers, school leaders and parents see what we can achieve in dual language education when we recognize the tremendous abilities of hurdlers.



## CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

### Overview of the Findings

This section presents findings on the following research questions:

1. How do language teachers navigate the complexities of implementing translanguaging pedagogy in a translanguaging co-teaching DLE program?
  - a. How do language teachers<sup>4</sup> work independently and collaboratively to implement translanguaging?
  - b. What challenges do teachers encounter when implementing translanguaging pedagogy?
2. What are the factors within an institution that support or hinder teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy?
  - a. How does administrative leaders', parents', and teachers' understanding of translanguaging affect the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy?
  - b. How do teachers' institutional positions and their self-positioning practices affect the employment of translanguaging pedagogy?

Overall, this study shows that expat teachers and Chinese LAs used various strategies to create three ecological translanguaging components in the classrooms. These three components enabled teachers and LAs to transcend language barriers to leverage and develop bilingual children's full linguistic repertoires. However, challenges also arose when teachers and LAs implemented translanguaging pedagogy in this co-teaching dual language program. These challenges emerged particularly due to expat teachers' monolingual profiles, Chinese LAs' bilingual skills, and the limited skills of both teacher groups in the areas of translanguaging shift

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<sup>4</sup> I use "teachers" here to refer to both expat teachers and the Chinese LAs

and translanguaging design. Findings also show that ROCKS' child-initiated play pedagogy and the translanguaging stance of teachers and LAs played important roles in supporting the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, whereas discrepancies between the LAs' institutional position and the co-teaching approach, the different positions of English and Mandarin inside and outside classroom, and dissonance between the school's requirements and parents' expectations all hindered the enactment of translanguaging pedagogy.

## **Teachers' Implementation of Translanguaging Pedagogy**

### ***1. Teachers' Navigation Between Languages***

English expat teachers and Chinese LAs at ROCKS were responsible for both free-play time and carpet time. During free-play time, teachers and LAs normally interacted with children separately in the classrooms with the exception of occasional teacher-LA-children interactions. Carpet time was sometimes conducted individually by either the English teacher or the Chinese LA, and sometimes it was conducted by both of them. The English teacher predominantly spoke English to children whereas the Chinese LAs used Chinese and English interchangeably. These teachers and LAs employed individual and collaborative practices to implement translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms.

#### **1.1 Individual translanguaging practices**

Teachers and LAs used various strategies to create translanguaging moments in the classrooms. These translanguaging moments served different functions in bridging English and Mandarin for students.

##### ***(1) Translanguaging strategies to scaffold learning***

English expat teachers and Chinese LAs created translanguaging scaffolding through different strategies to support children's engagements through using their L1. Chinese LAs who are Chinese/English bilinguals are able to switch to English to facilitate English-speaking

children’s understanding. However, English teachers, who do not speak Chinese, usually needed to “borrow” children’s bilingual skills in order to provide translanguaging scaffolding. The purposes of the scaffolding were to facilitate children’s content learning or assist their understanding of instructions in the TL. The examples below illustrate how a Chinese LA and an English teacher use children’s L1 to engage children in learning tasks or activities that go beyond the children’s capability in the instructional language.

In Excerpt 1, Chinese LA Sharon was showing children three new outdoor play stations for water play, sand play, and kitchen play. She gave children instructions about how to organize the playing tools for the three stations. For example, tools with yellow ribbons are for the sand play station (Figure 7).

#### Excerpt 1

- |   |          |   |
|---|----------|---|
| 1 | Sharon   | <p>((holds a toy sand shovel)) <i>Kàn dào méiyǒu, wán shā de gōngjù dōu shì huángsè sīdài de. Wǒ xiǎng wèn yīgè wèntí, huángsè sīdài de zhège kěyǐ ná dào wán shuǐ nà biān qù wán ma?</i><br/>         [Look! All tools for sand play have yellow ribbons. I would like to ask a question, can this one with a yellow ribbon go to the water-play station?]</p> |
| 2 | children | <p><i>Bù kěyǐ</i><br/>         [It can’t]<br/>         ((English-speaking children start to leave.))</p>  |
| 3 | Sharon   | <p>Michael, <i>zhège huángsè sīdài de, zhège gōngjù kěyǐ ná dào wán shuǐ nà biān qù wán ma?</i><br/>         [Michael, can we bring this tool a yellow ribbon to the water play station?]</p>   |
| 4 | Michael  | <p>((shakes his head)) <i>Bù kěyǐ.</i><br/>         [We can’t.]</p>   |
| 5 | Sharon   | Oskar, can we take this tool to play with water?  |
| 6 | Oskar    | No!   |
| 7 | Sharon   | <p>No! ((pointing to the yellow ribbon on the tool)) Yellow for sand play. Ok?<br/>         ((English-speaking children start to come back to her.)) And when you finish, you hang it here.</p>   |



Figure 7: English-speaking children starting to leave when Sharon was explaining toy use in Mandarin

When Sharon was explaining the instructions in Chinese, she realized that some English-speaking children gradually started leaving the crowd (line 2). She then switched to English (line 5) to make sure that every child could understand the instructions. After she switched to English, English-speaking children started to come back. Sharon's codeswitching was based on her observation of children's needs. By practicing translanguaging, she was able to provide scaffolding for bilingual children's understanding and to maintain their attention.

Although expat teachers who are monolingual English speakers cannot codeswitch freely, as Sharon did, some expat teachers utilized children's bilingual skills as a tool to create a translanguaging moment when they saw there was a need for L1 to bridge what children know to what they do not know. For example, Excerpt 2 is an example of how English teacher Sandra, who does not speak Chinese, can still scaffold language learning for her students through using children's Mandarin skills.

#### Excerpt 2

- |   |        |  |
|---|--------|--|
| 1 | Sandra | ((holds a flash card showing marbles)) It is a kind of stone. A special stone.     |
| 2 |        | Sometimes we have little holes on the ground ((using hand to mimic a small hole)   |
| 3 |        | and we play with marbles. Put your hands up. Do you have something to say about    |
| 4 |        | marbles? ((Li and some other girls sitting in the back are talking to each other)) |
| 5 | Xiaodi | I have a lot of marbles at home.   |
| 6 | Sandra | You have a lot of marbles at home. How do you say marbles in Mandarin?             |
| 7 | Xiaodi | ((shakes his head no)) It is a little round glass ball.                            |

- 8 Han *dàn zhū!*  
[Marble]
- 9 Li ((stops talking to other girls)) Oh, *dàn zhū!*  
[Marble]
- 10 Sandra *Dàn zhū*. Little tiny balls. They sometimes look like glass. You can play like this  
11 ((uses her thumb and index fingers to show how to play Marbles)). You can hit.  
12 Li If you eat that, you could die.  
13 Sandra Right! If you eat it, you could die!

In this excerpt, Sandra wanted to teach the word *marble*. She let children read the word, then explained the word. She noticed four Chinese girls in the back, seemingly disengaged and talking together. Instead of requesting their attention, Sandra asked Xiaodi how to say marbles in Mandarin (line 6). By doing so, she intended to engage the girls in the lesson, assuming they were confused about what the word meant. Xiaodi knew what a ‘marble’ was - he has a lot of marbles at home - but did not know the Mandarin word, so he described one (line 7). From Xiaodi’s description, Han translated *marble* into Mandarin, drawing Li’s attention. Li stopped talking and said “oh, *dàn zhū*” (oh, marble) and commented, “If you eat it, you could die” (line 12). Li had been disengaged, but Xiaodi’s description and Han’s translation helped her to bridge the gap between what she knew and what she did not.

In a non-translanguaging classroom, the teacher might have ignored the children’s L1 and insisted that they not use L1 vocabulary. However, based on Sandra’s understanding of translanguaging, Sandra aided the children’s comprehension through translanguaging scaffolding, and captured their attention with the L1. She considered each child’s English capacity and initiated an opportunity for children to translate. Although Sandra did not know the word *marble* in Mandarin, through her initiation, bilingual children offered their various contributions (Xiaodi’s description, Han’s translation, and Li’s comment). Sandra used the children’s L1 as a valuable resource to bridge from the known to the unknown. As a result, learning and engagement were escalated through translanguaging pedagogy.

Teachers and LAs also employed other strategies such as forming small L1 groups to provide scaffolding for emergent bilingual children. Excerpt 3 shows how Sandra, after telling the story *Mummy and Me*, used small groups as a translanguaging scaffolding strategy to promote Chinese-English emergent bilingual children's learning.

Excerpt 3

- |   |        |   |
|---|--------|---|
| 1 | Sandra | I want you to have a think. What are some lovely things you do with your mummy?   |
| 2 |        | And make everything feel right. Make you feel really happy. And now you are   |
| 3 |        | going to turn to your partner. Tell your partner about it. And you can tell your  |
| 4 |        | partner in Mandarin or English. What do you like to do with your mummy? Here you go.  |
| 5 | Yang   | ((turns to his partner Matt, speaking in Mandarin)) <i>Wǒ māmā dài wǒ gēgē gēn wǒ qù mǎi iPad</i><br>[my mom took my brother and me to buy an iPad] |
| 6 | Sandra | (After the group discussion) Matt, what does Yang like to do?   |
| 7 | Matt   | Buy iPad.   |
| 8 | Sandra | Buy an iPad. ((looking at Yang)) You go shopping together. ((Yang nods his head))   |

In this translanguaging segment, Sandra utilized the children's Chinese skills as a resource to encourage language learning through the alternating use of Chinese and English in small groups. According to Sandra's interview, she anticipated that some children, such as Yang, who had just arrived at this school, would have difficulty conducting entire conversations in English, so Sandra explicitly allowed children to tell their partners what they like to do with their mother in whatever language they wanted to use (line 4). In line 5, Yang told his partner in Chinese that he liked going with his mom to buy an iPad. Then in line 6, Sandra asked Matt to report what Yang told him in English. She then repeated Matt's answer in English to reinforce the English input. In this translanguaging segment, the alternating use of Chinese and English allowed Yang to participate in the activity without any hindrance and increased Yang's learning opportunity when his partner and the teacher repeated in English what he had said.

These three examples show using translanguaging to scaffold children's interactions enables children to engage in tasks that go beyond their capability in the instructional language and to expand their learning opportunities. Expat teachers and LAs employed various strategies such as codeswitching, translation, and forming small groups to utilize children's L1 and their bilingualism. These strategies were employed based on the teachers' careful observation of children's learning dynamics and needs. In each of these translanguaging moment. expat teachers and LAs remained aware of, and were committed to, teaching their designated language while still validating children's L1.

*(2) Translanguaging strategies to support dynamic bilingualism*

Based on the class observations, it is clear that expat teachers and Chinese LAs also created opportunities for children to let their dynamic bilingualism shine through different means during circle time and free-play time. These opportunities did not aim to teach English or Mandarin, but are strategic activities designed to unlock bilingual learners' full linguistic repertoires and allow them to creatively perform and develop bilingualism. The goal of a translanguaging showcase is not to teach English or Mandarin, but to create a platform to let children's bilingualism shine. In each translanguaging showcase, teachers and LAs used codeswitching, bilingual recasts, and other hybrid language practices to carry on conversations with children. Teachers encouraged children to use any linguistic features at their disposal to express themselves.

Excerpt 5 is an example of how one bilingual child, Yangyang, used her full linguistic repertoire to complete her show-and-tell task during carpet time and how the English teacher, Sue, stepped back to let the children perform their bilingualism.

Excerpt 4

1 Sue What are you going to tell us today?

- 2 Yangyang It is an Elsa drawing book.
- 3 Sue Wow. It is an Elsa drawing book! What do you like about this book?
- 4 Yangyang I drew all the (...) with colors.
- 5 Sue Look at this drawing that Yangyang has done. She has worked very hard to color the whole dress in purple! ((shows the book to the whole class.))
- 6 Yangyang *Zhè yǒu yīgè lán sè de* (shows another drawing in blue) *Hái yǒu huángsè.*  
[There is a blue one, and a yellow one.]
- 7 Sue *huángsè* What is *huángsè*?
- 8 Yangyang This! ((points to the drawing in yellow color))
- 9 Sue Yellow!
- 10 Bowen *Wǒ yě yǒu!*  
[I also have one!]
- 11 Sue You also brought an Elsa book.
- 12 Bowen No, *Wǒ yǒu yīgè tángguǒ, Elsa tángguǒ* ((drawing a candy in the air)).  
*[I have a candy, an Elsa candy.]*
- 13 Sue You have an Elsa candy, and you didn't bring to share with me? ((pretending to be sad and crying.))
- 14 Bowen *Wǒ jiějiě de.*  
[It is my sister's.]
- 15 Sue oh, it is your sister's candy! Got it!

In this example, the English teacher, Sue, who only understands some high frequency Chinese words, allowed children to bring the two languages together to express themselves. Some Chinese children, like Yangyang, could express themselves freely in both English (Line 2) and Chinese (Line 6) whereas others, like Bowen, could only use Chinese (Line 13 and 16). But because Sue opened a space for translanguaging, all children could follow Yangyang's sharing through the joint input from Susan (in English) and Yangyang (in Chinese). The translanguaging showcase in this example not only allowed the flow of the conversation to go on without interruption, it also fostered the alternative use of English and Chinese in conversation, increasing children's exposure to English and Chinese.

English teachers and Chinese LAs also created translanguaging showcases during free-play time. Children were given freedom to talk, write, or read in any language they wished when interacting with English teachers or LAs. Children used their entire language repertoires, authentically portraying different voices or different linguistic realities. In these translanguaging



showcases, teachers and LAs put bilingual children at the center of the interactions. Excerpt 6 is an example of how a Chinese LA, Cecilia, interacted with an English-speaking girl, Dasha.

Dasha was drawing a portrait of Cecilia and herself (Figure 8).



Figure 8: Cecilia and Dasha's interaction

#### Excerpt 5

- |   |         |  |
|---|---------|--|
| 1 | Cecilia | <i>Zhège shì Dasha, shì ma? Zhège shì shéi?</i><br>[Is it Dasha? Who is this?] |
| 2 | Dasha   | ((pointing to Cecilia.))   |
| 3 | Cecilia | It is me! Wǒ! Cecilia! ((pointing to herself))<br>[me]                         |
| 4 | Dasha   | ((nodded her head)) I am gonna draw a big giant!                               |
| 5 | Cecilia | <i>Wǒ hěn dà, shì ma?</i><br>[I am very big, am I?]                            |
| 6 | Dasha   | ((nodded her head.))   |

Dasha could not speak Chinese fluently, although she could understand a lot. Cecilia used Chinese (line 1 and 5) and codeswitching (line 3) when she was talking to Dasha. Cecilia allowed Dasha to use multiple modalities (English, body language, and drawing) to respond to her. During this interaction, Dasha did not feel any pressure to speak Chinese. In this natural and fluid interaction, Cecilia's focus was completely on having a conversation with Dasha about her drawing and letting Dasha's bilingualism shine instead of teaching her Chinese.

Unlike for Chinese LAs, it is difficult for English teachers to use children's L1 or codeswitching because they are monolingual English speakers. However, they used different strategies to construct dynamic translanguaging. For example, a monolingual English teacher, Daniel, positioned himself as a language learner among his bilingual children. He started a conversation with a Mandarin-speaking child, Dongdong, by asking the child to teach him Mandarin (Figure 9).



Figure 9: Daniel became a co-learner

#### Excerpt 6

- |    |          |  |
|----|----------|--|
| 1  | Daniel   | Dongdong, how do you say teeth in Mandarin?  |
| 2  | Dongdong | <i>Yáchǐ.</i><br>[tooth.]  |
| 3  | Daniel   | <i>Yáchǐ.</i> Excellent! You teach me. What else can you teach me? What another Mandarin work can you teach me? Do you know how to say... What are these? These are teeth. Do you say to teeth in Mandarin?                                      |
| 4  | Dongdong | <i>Shuāyá.</i><br>[brush tooth.]   |
| 5  | Daniel   | <i>shuāyá?</i> See, you teach me again! Oh can you get back to the purple water, I am gonna try if I can say it correctly. Can you turn back to the page with the purple water? Is, would that be <i>zǐsè shuǐ</i> ? What is purple in Mandarin? |
| 6  | Dongdong | <i>Hóngsè.</i><br>[red.]   |
| 7  | Daniel   | What's it?   |
| 8  | Dongdong | <i>Hóngsè.</i><br>[red.]   |
| 9  | Daniel   | <i>Hóngsè?</i> Is <i>Hóngsè</i> purple or red? I thought purple is <i>zǐsè</i> . Shouldn't it be <i>zǐsè shuǐ</i> ?  |
| 10 | Dongdong | Oh, yeah. <i>Zǐsè.</i><br>[Oh, yeah, purple.]  |
| 11 | Daniel   | <i>Zǐsè.</i>   |

12 Dongdong

[Purple.]  
Yeah! Haha. It is purple. I was wrong.

Dongdong's English learning journey started only about 5 months before the video was recorded. According to Daniel, Dongdong was very shy and often played alone. Dongdong could not yet talk to the teacher or other children in English only, but he could understand a lot. The conversation above took place during free-play time when Dongdong was alone, reading a book about a dentist. According to our interview, Daniel knew that Dongdong would not be able to have a complete conversation with him in English, nor was Daniel capable of talking to Dongdong in Chinese. In his interview, Daniel said: "Considering Dongdong's introverted personality, it is important to keep him in a conversation in which he can be exposed to English as much as possible." In this way, Daniel opened up a translanguaging showcase by switching their roles. Daniel intentionally showed his interest in learning Chinese words and positioned Dongdong as a Chinese teacher, as Daniel became a Chinese learner (line 1, 3, and 5). During this process, Daniel constantly affirmed Dongdong's bilingual skills. For example, he said, "See, you teach me again!" During the second part of the teacher-child role play, Daniel and Dongdong had an "argument" about how to say purple in Chinese (line 9-12). While Daniel insisted purple in Chinese is *zǐsè*, Dongdong had confused the English word purple with red. In this interactive conversation, Dongdong freely used his whole linguistic repertoire, using English to understand Daniel and using Chinese to express himself. While the conversation carried on, Dongdong was exposed to authentic English input from Daniel and he naturally produced output in English (line 13).

### *(3) Translanguaging strategies to assessment children's language learning*

Expat teachers and Chinese LAs conducted an informal assessment to gauge the full spectrum of children's bilingual knowledge instead of assessing children monolingually. They

allowed children to use both English and their L1 during a translanguaging assessment, enabling the teachers to obtain a holistic understanding of who bilingual children are and what they can do using the full features of their linguistic repertoires on classroom tasks.

Although ROCKS does not use formal assessment, there are ongoing informal assessments in the classroom. Excerpt 7 shows how an English teacher used a translanguaging assessment to evaluate children's learning outcomes in English. Prior to the conversation, the English teacher, Jean, told a story about houses to children in her class. She focused on certain items in a house such as the tap, the bathtub, and the stairs. Then she asked children to draw a house and show her their drawings with explanations. In this way, she could assess how well children had understood the content and whether they could use the new vocabulary in a conversation. Lili, a 5-year-old Chinese girl, showed Jean her drawing of a two-level house.

#### Excerpt 7

- |    |       |  |
|----|-------|--|
| 1  | Jean: | Is this your house, Lili? Where to start?  |
| 2  | Lili  | from <i>Jiàntóu</i> .  |
| 3  | Jean  | J... <i>Jiàntóu</i> ? What is <i>Jiàntóu</i> ? ((Jean's Chinese TA showed Jean a picture of an arrow in a book)) Oh! The arrow! So the arrow to see the house. Very good, Lili! I love it! Who is it? ((pointing to a child on the drawing)) |
| 4  | Lili  | Me.  |
| 5  | Jean  | What is the 4 for?   |
| 6  | Lili  | four-year-old. I am four years old.  |
| 7  | Jean  | Oh. There is another arrow. It is Jian. <i>Jiàntóu</i> ? <i>Jiàntóu</i> ? Is that right? I love it, Lili, it is beautiful! ((Then she opened the tri-fold drawing of Lili's house)) What is this?  |
| 8  | Lili  | A house.   |
| 9  | Jean  | So you have one house and another house.   |
| 10 | Jean  | What is it? ((points to the lines on the house)) Stairs?   |
| 11 | Lili  | Stairs! You have to ((uses fingers to show climbing the stairs)) <i>pá lóutī</i> (to get to the bathtub)   |
| 12 | Jean  | <i>Pa...</i> Say it again? <i>Pa...</i>  |
| 13 | Lili  | <i>Pá lóutī</i> . Heh-heh.   |
| 14 | Jean  | Heh-heh. You have to climb the stairs!   |

Jean gauged Lili's learning outcome through a translanguaging assessment that enabled Lili to use her full linguistic repertoire. There are three important elements in the translanguaging

assessment Jean practiced. First, a translanguaging assessment is open to bilingual children's fluid bilingual practices without setting forth rules - including any rule that children must practice translanguaging. Jean did not explicitly tell the children that they could use both English and their L1 before she conducted the assessment. In an interview, Jean indicated that she did not want to make any language rules that children must obey because she believed that translanguaging should occur naturally. Therefore, children in Jean's classroom felt that they could come to Jean and use whatever language, signs and forms they had at their disposal to accomplish the assessment without any language restriction. That is why Lili naturally started her introduction of her drawing with a Chinese word "*Jiàntóu?*" (line 2) and continued to use Chinese words when she needed them (line 10).

The second element this translanguaging assessment demonstrates is although teachers allow bilingual children to use any features in their linguistic repertoire, this freedom does not eliminate the goal of teaching the designated language. During the assessment, Jean's focus was not only on whether children grasped the vocabulary she expected them to learn; rather, she turned the assessment into a teaching moment by recasting what Lili said in English. When she realized that Lili did not know how to say "stairs" and "climb stairs" in English, she repeated what Lili said in English in line 12. Throughout this translanguaging assessment, Lili was able to enjoy the freedom of navigating between two languages and to learn English through a natural conversation at the same time.

The third important element of how translanguaging assessment is modeled here is how translanguaging assessments can be used as an opportunity to recognize children's bilingual skills. In this excerpt, Jean recognized Lili's translanguaging skill by becoming a learner (line 3 and 12). Lili giggled in line 13 when Jean had difficulties pronouncing the word *Pá lóutī* which

suggests that Lili was proud of her L1 and happy to use her bilingual skills to position herself as a Chinese teacher. The translanguaging assessment both assesses and validates bilingual children's dynamic ways of languaging.

### 1.2 Coordinated translanguaging practices

In addition to the aforementioned translanguaging practices modeled by individual teachers and LAs, language teachers often engaged in coordinated translanguaging practices with their teacher partners. Coordinated translanguaging practices mainly took place during carpet time, especially during story-telling or show-and-tell activities. These activities were mostly conducted in the presence of both English teachers and LAs. Typically, one adult led the story and another adult sat with the children interacting with the lead teacher or LA.

Overall, there were five types of translanguaging practices the teachers and LAs employed during story-telling activities.

#### *(1) Elaborating statements in the other language*

Elaborating each other's statements in the other language was one of the means partnered teachers often used when they told a story collaboratively. Unlike translation, elaborating the statement provides children authentic and natural language input through teacher-LA interactions. In excerpt 8, the English teacher Sandra was using English to tell the story, "Hooray for Fish." Yuyu, her Chinese LA, was sitting next to her and interacted with Sandra actively in Mandarin (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Sandra and Yuyu's bilingual interaction

### Excerpt 8

- 1 Sandra ((pointing to the fishes on a page)). So many fish and they are so beautiful. Ms. Yuyu, what's your favorite fish?
- 2 Yuyu I like that one. *Wǒ xǐhuān juǎn juǎn yú* {gestures curly hair}.  
[I like the fish with curly hair]
- 3 Sandra That's Ms. Yuyu's favorite fish. ((points to the curly hair fish)) Which one is my favorite fish? I like... Ms. Yuyu, I like the strawberry fish.
- 4 Yuyu Ms. Sandra *zui xǐhuān cǎoméi yú*.  
[Ms Sandra's favorite fish is the strawberry fish]

In this excerpt, we see how the interactions between two adults were conducted in their designated languages by rephrasing each other's responses. For example, in line 3, Sandra rephrased Yuyu's response in English. Then, in line 4, the Chinese LA rephrased the English teacher's sentence in Chinese. Since Sandra does not speak Mandarin, Yuyu used gesturing (line 3) to help her understand when she said that she likes “*juǎn juǎn yú*” (a fish with curly hair). The elaboration between them was not direct translation, which would shift children's attention from the book to the translated language or to the person who provided translation. Instead, Sandra and Yuyu kept their focus on the children. They constantly pointed to the images in the book when they rephrased each other's comments to keep the children's attention. The recursive bilingual interactions made the flow of the story-telling process natural and engaging without any disruptions. Together, Sandra and Yuyu offered relevant language

support for an integrated group of children with varying levels of proficiency and experiences in English and Chinese.

*(2) Alternating languages along the continuum of the story*

Alternating languages was another strategy expat teachers and LAs often employed during coordinated teaching sessions. Teachers and LAs provided input in their designated languages on the continuum of the story. In the next example, Yuyu was telling the story “Cockatoos” in Chinese while Sandra was sitting with children and interacting with Yuyu in English. The interactions between Sandra and Yuyu helped them carry on the story in alternating languages.

Excerpt 9

- 1 Yuyu *Dì èr tiān, dùbāng jiàoshòu zǒu jìnle wēnshì, ránhòu, tā fāxiànle shénme?*  
(The second day, the professor walked into the greenhouse. What did he see?)
- 2 Sandra They are not there.
- 3 Yuyu *Nǐ kàn bù dào yī zhǐ niǎo, tāmen dōu qù nǎ'erle?*  
(You can't see one bird. Where have they gone?)
- 4 Sandra I don't know. Where have they gone? Poor Professor Dupont. He looks sad.

In this interaction, the blend of the two languages from the English teacher and the LA provided the children with rich and effective input in both Chinese and English. The teachers' choice to alternate between Chinese and English also ensured that all children, regardless of their proficiency level, could follow the story. In addition, this practice discouraged those children who needed language support from merely waiting for translation. This dynamic highlighted a cooperative productivity in which translanguaging was achieved through the joint efforts from the English teacher and the LA.



### (3) Meaningful Translation

English teachers and LAs also frequently used translation as an instructional strategy to help children meet the story event goals. In the next example, after Yuyu told children the name of the bird in Chinese, Sandra saw a need to clarify the name and translated it into English.

#### Excerpt 10

- 1 Yuyu        *Zhè niǎo hěn piàoliang, tāmen jiào fēngtóu yīngwǔ*  
                  (These birds are very beautiful. They are called cockatoos)  
2 Sandra      Goodness, such a long name. I call them “cockatoos”

It is worth noting that Sandra did not provide a direct translation. Instead, she put the English name into a meaningful, translated sentence (line 2), which made the translation natural and fluid. In this translanguaging practice, Yuyu and Sandra offered translanguaging scaffolding to all children to enhance understanding. Moreover, this collaborative and elaborative translation reflects the fluid nature of bilingual speech.

### (4) Being a language learner

When English teachers were telling stories, they often asked children or LAs to teach them some Chinese sentences or words. The purpose of this practice was to engage Mandarin-speaking children and/or to ensure their understanding. The following excerpt is an example of how an English teacher, Gina, became a Chinese learner during the lesson

#### Excerpt 11

- 1 Gina        ((noticing that some Chinese speaking children were not engaged)) I don't know how to fly either. ((looking at Menghua)) How do you say “I don't know how to fly” in Chinese?  
4 Menghua    *wǒ yě bù huì fēi.*  
                  (I can't fly either.)  
5 Gina        *wǒ yě...*((looking at children.))  
                  (I also can't...)  
6 children    *bù huì fēi!*  
                  (can't fly.)

In this excerpt, we see a demonstration of how the English teacher recognized and celebrated children's L1 by becoming a co-learner with the children. When Gina was telling a story about an airplane, she saw that some Mandarin-speaking children were disengaged. She deliberately asked the Chinese LA Menghua how to say a sentence in Chinese (line 1). Then Gina turned to the children for help when she could not say the entire sentence in Chinese. In line 6, many children, especially Mandarin-speaking children, responded actively to her. They were excited about the opportunity to teach Gina Chinese. This translanguaging practice helped children engage in the exercise and provided children with an opportunity to demonstrate their bilingual skills.

*(5) Asynchronous bilingual interaction*

The coordinated translanguaging practices between the Chinese LAs and English teachers are sometimes asynchronous. Excerpt 12 offers an example of how two instructors can employ bilingual speech asynchronously. During carpet time, Chinese LA Han and English teacher Daniel were sitting with children talking about tree leaves. Han first used different shapes of dry leaves to talk about why leaves fall when winter comes. The interaction between Han and the children was conducted mainly in Chinese with some English words. The English teacher Daniel was sitting with the children (Figure 11).



Figure 11: Daniel sitting with the children while Han talks about leaves in Mandarin

## Excerpt 12

- 1 Han *Wèishéme shùyè dōu diào xiàláile* ((gestures falling down with hands))? Why?  
[Why did leaves fall down?]
- 2 E-child 5 *Yīnwèi dōngtiān láile*  
[because it is winter.]
- 3 M-child 6 *Yīnwèi xià xuě le*  
[because it snowed]

A few minutes later, Daniel took over the activity. He asked children to help him understand what they were talking about with Han because he does not speak Chinese (Figure 12).



Figure 12: Han sitting with the children while Daniel talks about leaves in English

- 4 Daniel Boys and girls, your Mandarin is a lot better than mine. So I need some people to tell me what you just talked about with Miss Han about the leaves.
- 5 Children Leaves!
- 6 Daniel Leaves?! What about the leaves?
- 7 Children Falling down.
- 8 Daniel Falling down? So the leaves were falling down? ((gestures falling down with hands))
- 9 Children Because it is winter.

In this example, Han and Daniel did not have any direct interaction. However, they coordinated translanguaging pedagogy through an asynchronous bilingual practice. Built on the opportunities of the Chinese input and the output Han created, Daniel used English to review what Han had talked about a few minutes before (line 4, 6, 8). He even used the same gesture Han used to

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*5 E-child: English-speaking child.*

*6 M-child: Mandarin-speaking child*

express leaves falling down (line 8). Although there was no direct interaction between Daniel and Han, and each session was conducted in only one language, children were able to engage in the two sessions because the two sessions focused on the same topic. By alternating the language input of the same content, Daniel and Han's asynchronous translanguaging practices enforced children's learning and practicing in both English and Chinese.

## ***2. Challenges of Implementing Translanguaging Pedagogy***

Examples 1-12 show that expat teachers and Chinese LAs actively used translanguaging strategies individually or collaboratively to construct translanguaging co-teaching dual language classrooms. Class observations showed that children in ROCKS' early year section were completely free from language restrictions. Observations revealed no instances in which a child was asked to speak the instructional language. However, while children could use any language at their disposal in these classrooms and translanguaged freely, both expat teachers and Chinese LAs reported that they had questions and concerns regarding their own translanguaging practices. These questions stemmed from confusion and challenges when implementing translanguaging pedagogy. Some challenges were reported by teachers and LAs during their interviews. Others stood out during the class observations.

As stated in the method section, I defined challenges as difficulties in translanguaging implementation or deviation from ROCKS' dual language guiding principles (Appendix B). In other words, the challenges encountered at ROCKS may differ from those in other contexts. Overall, class observations and interviews revealed two types of challenges facing teachers who might want to implement translanguaging. The first type is related to the individual instructor's language skills. In particular, expat teachers' monolingualism and Chinese LAs' bilingualism created different challenges for them. The second type of challenge stemmed from the co-teaching module operated in ROCKS' early year section. This type of challenge arose when the

collaboration between expat teachers and LAs was ineffective or when the co-planning time was insufficient.

## 2.1 The challenges of individually implemented translanguaging practices

### *(1) Monolingual limitations for expat teachers*

In 2017, ROCKS published a language use policy for both expat teachers and Chinese LAs. According to this policy, the expat teachers and staff who have limited knowledge of Mandarin should use almost exclusively English. However, they should show openness towards Mandarin and should acquire some basic, practical Mandarin if possible. They can make use of simple Mandarin words under the circumstances of greeting or comforting Mandarin-speaking children when they need emotional support (For more information on ROCKS' guiding principles, see Appendix B).

According to ROCKS' dual language guiding principles, the school did not expect expat teachers to use Mandarin in every situation where translanguaging might be needed because most of the expat teachers are monolingual English speakers. However, monolingual expat teachers still felt frustrated by their monolingualism. They were able to use Mandarin to greet children or to show appreciation for children's Mandarin skills because these situations required very little Mandarin skill on their part, but it was very challenging to go beyond that. Interviews with expat teachers reveal the frustration they felt at not being able to switch to Mandarin in their teaching practices or not being able to communicate with children to manage their behaviors.

For example, Janet stated:

I think it [translanguaging dual language approach] is great! I believe it is the best way to teach if you have a good team. But it is challenging for me because I don't speak Mandarin. When I read a story, I can't read the [Chinese] words. I mean, I feel like we use a lot of visual cues and a lot of imagery to try and give context to children. But other than that, I don't know how to really execute it efficiently in my class at the moment.

Limited by their monolingualism, expat teachers frequently found themselves incapable of extending children's bilingualism during their teaching. They felt their monolingualism limited the effectiveness of the translanguaging dual language approach.

Expat teachers were also troubled by not being able to communicate with Mandarin-speaking children freely in the classroom. For example, Daniel expressed his frustrations:

I guess, well, for example, I feel there's some children in this class who - they understand fairly minimal English. So, I find it very hard for me to communicate. I think you saw me, I was trying to tell Sammy not to, you know, snatch the bus and pushing thing here, things like that. Sometimes, sometimes he'll pick up straightaway what I'm saying, yeah, but sometimes, [he is] very easily distracted. And it's just to get his attention to try and talk to him, that's a challenge. But then trying to talk to him with the language barrier, is, yeah, that's quite challenging.

Class observations also show that, due to their limited skill in Mandarin, expat teachers missed many opportunities to build relationships with children or engage children in activities. Excerpt 13 offers an example of how an expat teacher, Susan, was unable to interact with the children who were sitting around her. This excerpt took place during free-play time. When Susan saw four Mandarin-speaking children (including Yangyang and Kun) sitting around a table drawing, she came to join them. She sat down and started to draw something on a piece of paper.

Yangyang and Kun were sitting opposite her. Yangyang was drawing and Kun was watching Yangyang draw. All of them were drawing quietly. Then Susan decided to talk to Yangyang.

Excerpt 13

- 1 Susan (inaudible) ((indicating Yangyang should do something))
- 2 Yangyang ((responding to Susan)) *Wǒ zài huà dìqiú ne*  
[I am drawing the Earth]
- 3 Susan ((seeing Kun watching Yangyang attentively, she gives Kun a piece of paper)) Do you want to do, do you want to draw?
- 4 Kun ((does not respond to Susan and keeps watching Yangyang draw))

In this example, we can see that Susan could neither communicate with the two Mandarin-speaking children, nor was she able to continue a conversation possibly initiated by Yangyang.

Yangyang and Kun did not understand what Susan said, and she did not understand what Yangyang said. The interaction ended up with everyone drawing quietly. According to ROCKS' pedagogical philosophy, translanguaging pedagogy should be based on active engagement with children during child-initiated play and meaningful interaction in the instructional language. In this example, Susan failed to make use of Yangyang's interest (drawing the Earth) to create a meaningful conversation simply because she did not understand Mandarin. Susan's case is not rare at ROCKS.

To overcome the monolingual challenge, expat teachers used different strategies to compensate. For example, Clair explained that she relies on her Chinese LA, Penny, to translate for her when children cannot express themselves in English. Daniel reported that he asked for help from other Mandarin-speaking children whose English is better. However, this strategy did not always work as expected. For example, Daniel found that sometimes it was problematic to use other children as translators because much information might be lost in translation:

When they're trying to talk to me, like Noah, for instance, he comes to me and he's crying. And his English is very limited, for me to try and understand what they're trying to say [is very challenging]. But then also, speaking to other children to find out what happened leading up to that, that can be challenging too because things can be lost in translation.

The ROCKS leadership encouraged expat teachers to learn Mandarin, at least some basic words that are frequently used in early years settings. However, expat teachers were inhibited because of some distinct differences between Chinese and English. For instance, Ruth was especially concerned about not knowing the characters and not pronouncing the tones right, explaining:

The hardest thing is I can't recognize characters. So what we start now is we are developing our word wall. So we are writing some words in English, then the characters and the Pinyin underneath. And that will help me, but even the Pinyin, I have to ask because it is hard for me to pronounce. So this is the biggest challenge. I can't even read. You know the tones are so different from English.

Expat teachers acknowledged that miscommunication and disengagement occurred because they were monolingual speakers, yet some of them were still reluctant to try to use Mandarin even when they could because they were not confident of their pronunciation in Mandarin. Expat teacher Jennie, who had learned some basic Chinese, expressed her concern over setting a bad example for students with her incorrect pronunciation of Chinese words.

My LA had observed another boy who was an expat boy, and he then sort of took my tones. My tones are not great. And I always do like a softer voice, I'm not doing a proper training in Mandarin voice. And he [the boy] would then speak to [other] expat boys using the imitation of my voice, so, almost altered his Mandarin, because he'd observed me and he thought that's the way expat people speak. Yeah, so I always felt like it was detrimental for me to, then, carry on speaking Mandarin. So, it almost made me want to step back.

In addition, the majority of expat teachers at ROCKS were not showing interests in learning Mandarin because they would normally be working in China for a limited time period (2-3 years).

The expat teachers' objective was to develop children's English competence in the dual language program. However, this goal could not be accomplished without scaffolding through the translanguaging practices that many Mandarin-speaking children needed. Expat teachers were challenged and limited by their own monolingualism.

*(2) Bilingual Chinese LA: When to use what language?*

Unlike expat teachers, the Mandarin LAs in the ROCKS early year section are bilingual Mandarin/English speakers with varying levels of English proficiency. It is expected that they will use predominantly Mandarin but will make use of the full range of their linguistic repertoire to support the children's acquisition of Chinese in a purposeful and deliberate way. According to ROCKS' dual language guiding principles, ROCKS had higher expectations for Chinese LAs than for expat teachers. While expat teachers only needed to use basic Chinese words to greet,



console, or show appreciation of children’s bilingual skills, Chinese LAs were required to use codeswitching to model bilingualism and facilitate teaching. (See Appendix B).

ROCKS’ leadership and expat teachers considered Chinese LAs’ bilingual skills an advantage for ROCKS’ translanguaging pedagogy. However, Chinese LAs sometimes experienced their bilingual skills as a challenge to their teaching. Unlike the expat teachers, who could only speak English, the Chinese LAs needed to change their language strategically according to children’s needs. An expat teacher, Anna, explained, “For me that is easy because I can only use English. But for them (LAs), they know two languages, it can be confusing which language they should use.”

Although ROCKS encouraged Chinese LAs to make use of the full range of their linguistic repertoires, this did not mean that they could easily translanguage effectively. Their translanguaging practices were intended predominantly to enhance children’s Mandarin development, and the Chinese LAs realized that it took careful thinking and effort to shift between the two languages or codeswitch. They especially struggled to overcome the habit of speaking English to an expat child and to develop a constant awareness to make codeswitching meaningful and purposeful. The interviews and class observations show that this challenge primarily occurred during free-play time, when they had more freedom to choose languages. In the following excerpt, a Chinese LA, Judith, was playing with an expat child named Emma. They were using colorful paper to cut flowers with scissors. When Judith spoke to Emma, she used a lot of gestures and body language. However, she spoke to Emma in English the entire time, and Emma followed her instruction without many verbal responses.

Excerpt 14

- 1 Judith This, ((gives Emma some glue and points to the toolbox)) put it back.
- 2 Emma ((puts the glue back in the toolbox and then is about to leave the table))

- 3 Judith ((grabs two pairs of scissors and hands them to Emma)) Put it back. One, two, (points to the toolbox)) put it back.
- 4 Emma ((puts the two scissors back in the toolbox))

After Emma left, the author had a short informal interview with Judith in order to find out the reason she spoke to Emma in English only:

Lijuan: I've noticed that you only spoke English to Emma.

Judith: Yes! Because she doesn't speak Mandarin at all. Actually, she also doesn't speak English. She hasn't started to talk.

Lijuan: If she hasn't started to talk, wouldn't it be the same if you spoke Mandarin to her with the assistance of body gestures?

Judith: Right, yeah, I've never thought about that. It's, I think, it's maybe a habit. Because she is an expat child, I just, just, somehow English just came out.

The conversation with Judith reveals that sometimes Chinese LAs use a language out of habit rather than a thoughtful plan. When speaking of this phenomenon, ROCKS' dual language program leader, Sandra, stated:

I see some others who will be talking to an English-speaking child and just speak entirely in English and then turn to a Mandarin child and speak entirely in Mandarin. And I asked them, "Why, why did you, why did you say that to him in English?" [The LAs answered] "Because he speaks, he speaks English. He doesn't speak Mandarin." I think there is some of them that do it out of habit. Okay. Just, they see a Western face and they just automatically speak English.

Sandra's statement shows that while children can translanguage freely, ROCKS expects Chinese LAs to use their bilingual skills strategically. Chinese LAs' predominant role is to expose children to Mandarin with different meaning-making strategies. Speaking to English-speaking children entirely in English violates the principle of ROCKS' translanguaging pedagogy. In other words, ROCKS holds two different stances regarding children's and teachers' translanguaging practices.

Sandra explained further:

Yeah. Probably for some of them [Chinese LAs]. It's just easier [using English only]. It's easier because they're thinking, I don't have to try hard, and use different meaning-making strategies, I can just say it [in English entirely].

Sandra was aware that mixing two languages was tiresome for LAs because the way they mixed languages was not a naturally occurring bilingual practice; it needed to be goal-oriented and intentional. It was by nature a pedagogical product that was manufactured based on the knowledge and awareness of expat children's capability in Mandarin. Compared to natural translanguaging, which is effortless, LAs' translanguaging practices were laborious. This effort sometimes became a challenge for LAs. This challenge was especially prominent when the classroom became busier. For example, when Chinese LA Yuyu was talking about her bilingual skills, she expressed her frustration at having to constantly remind herself not to go the easy route of using English only.

Yuyu: I try to keep a balance between English and Chinese. I try to explain myself in Chinese first and then use some English words if an expat child can't understand me. But honestly, sometimes, you, you just want to go with the easiest way.

Lijuan: What is the easiest way?

Yuyu: The easiest way is just to use one language only. [laughing] Really, not to think what words in Chinese and what in English, just, sometimes, when I am busy and when I am very tired, I just want to, I just don't want to think. I am tempted to only use one language instead of switching back and forth. It is tiresome and it is, it is almost like an extra work.

LAs sometimes struggled with the question of "when to speak what language" despite the fact that their bilingual skill privileged them at times. The difficulty of navigating between two languages sometimes fostered the desire to speak to expat children only in English, either because of their habit or because LAs were too busy to codeswitch purposefully in the classroom.

In summary, in spite of the fact that Chinese LAs' bilingualism was essential for the translanguaging dual language program, the forethought and strategy they needed to employ to use their bilingualism as an effective teaching tool was often burdensome. According to ROCK's policy, they need to overcome the tendency and habit of speaking only English to expat children.

They perceived strategic translanguaging shifts as extra work. While ROCKS' language use policy provided them with principles to follow, in practice, many struggles remained.

## 2.2 The challenges of implementing coordinated translanguaging

Apart from the challenges that were created by individual teachers' language skills, expat teachers and LAs also faced challenges coordinating translanguaging practices in the translanguaging co-teaching approach. Two types of challenges were identified from interviews and class observations.

### *(1) Ineffective co-teaching skills*

According to ROCKS' dual language guiding principles, dual language carpet-time sessions should be co-planned and co-taught collaboratively by both expat teachers and Chinese LAs. The sessions often center around the reading of a particular story in both languages during which teachers and LAs encourage the children to engage with the story in different ways. The collaborative approach entails coordinated translanguaging practices between expat teachers and LAs. Specifically, carpet sessions are intended to be led in either Mandarin or English with both adults being actively and concurrently supporting meaning-making for the children and assisting children in making links with their prior knowledge and experiences.

Co-teaching is a crucial skill for successful translanguaging instruction at ROCKS. Both adults should observe children's engagement and provide linguistic scaffolding when there is a need. This is a complex translanguaging process that involves two adults' reciprocal and constructive input. It takes sophisticated collaboration and coordination to make the co-teaching effective. For example, when one adult is reading a story in his or her designated language, another adult should know when to chime in with the other language to assist children's learning, and the lead teacher should also give space for the other teacher to speak. Both adults need to be in sync and have a bond of understanding between them. The expat teachers also

have to rely on the Chinese LA to provide meaningful translation or other cues to help them understand any sentences spoken in Mandarin in order to carry on the conversation.

The following three excerpts demonstrate three different instances in which teachers and LAs struggled to effectively implement translanguaging co-teaching. These examples show the difficulties educators face when implementing their planned, coordinated translanguaging practices.

Excerpt 15 is an example of how a Chinese LA's contribution became a digression during the carpet-time activity led by the expat teacher. During this carpet time, expat teacher Delia was reading a story about airplanes and her LA Angela was sitting in the back with the children. Angela sometimes provided scaffolding in Mandarin when she saw a need from Mandarin-speaking children.

#### Excerpt 15

- |    |                    |   |
|----|--------------------|---|
| 1  | Delia<br>(teacher) | You know, as soon as I get on an airplane, it's not in the sky yet, I fall asleep. I don't know why.  |
| 2  | Didi               | I also.   |
| 3  | Emily              | One day I took three airplanes. And one flies in the sky. Two flies in the sky, and one, landed on water.                                       |
| 4  | Delia              | Wow! I've never been on an airplane that landed on the water. Was that, was that when you went to Bali?   |
| 5  | Emily              | (twists her hair with her finger)) Hmmm   |
| 6  | Angela<br>(LA)     | ((sees some Mandarin-speaking children raise their hands)) <i>Měiguó? Déguó?</i><br>[America? Germany?]   |
| 7  | Tongtong           | <i>Měiguó yī jià fēijī jiù kěyǐ dào, dànshì nà yào hěn dà de fēijī</i><br>[Going to America only needs one plane, but it should be a big plane] |
| 8  | Angela             | <i>Ó, qù měiguó yī jià dà fēijī jiù kěyǐ dào.</i><br>[Oh. Going to America only needs one plane]  |
| 9  | Delia              | ((looks at Tongtong and Angela quietly and then turns to Emily)) Remember?  |
| 10 | Emily              | ((shakes her head)) I don't remember.   |
| 11 | Delia              | That's ok! Maybe we can ask Mummy when she is here.   |

Angela started to interact with children in Mandarin in line 6. Her input made it possible for some Mandarin-speaking children such as Tongtong to participate (line 7). However, Delia couldn't understand anything of their conversation. Angela also did not provide any cues to help

her. Delia could not build upon Angela's input. At the end, after listening to Angela and Tongtong's conversation quietly, she turned back to Emily and continued their conversation that occurred before Angela's input (line 9). While Angela's assistance was beneficial for Mandarin-speaking children, it seemed like an interruption of, or a digression from, Delia's teaching.

Angela failed to use her participation naturally to bridge the conversation between Mandarin-speaking children and the expat teacher. Excerpt 16 offers another example of how co-teaching can go awry. Gina was leading a story-reading activity. Her LA, Menghua, was sitting on the right side of Gina. Menghua actively responded to what Renee was saying.

#### Excerpt 16

- 1 Gina What is this? ((turns to next page on which there is a rabbit, deep in thought)) See, we got a thinking face.
- 2 Menghua *Xiǎng yī xiǎng de liǎn.*  
[A thinking face.]
- 3 Gina It could be...it could be...
- 4 Menghua *Zhè huì yòu shì shénme?*  
[What could it be?]
- 5 Gina A rocket!
- 6 Menghua *Huǒjiàn!*  
[A rocket!]

During this activity, Menghua actively provided Mandarin input, but her input consisted only of literal translations rather than meaningful interactions. Her translation sounded like a shadow of what Gina was saying. In this case, although Gina could understand what Menghua was saying, she could not build upon Menghua's participation. Thus, the presence of two languages did not serve the children's bilingual development in a meaningful way. On the contrary, some Mandarin-speaking children who have become familiar with this pattern may always just tune out the English and wait for the translations, instead of engaging in English acquisition.

Excerpt 17 is an example that shows how the lack of effective co-teaching skills negatively impacted the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. In this excerpt, expat

teacher Janet was telling a story about a ladder. The Chinese LA Anxin was sitting behind the children. However, Anxin did not provide any Mandarin input.

#### Excerpt 17

- 1 Janet What does it look like?
- 2 Sun *Lóutī*.  
[ladder.]
- 3 Janet Does it look like a ladder which you can climb up and down?
- 4 Sun ((turns back to Anxin)) *Lóutī*.  
[ladder.]
- 5 Anxin En. ((points to Janet, indicating Sun should pay attention to Janet. ))  
[ok]

When Janet asked the children what the picture looked like, Sun spoke aloud the word in Mandarin because he saw the image of a ladder on the page. Janet did not respond to him. This is probably because she did not understand the Chinese word, thus she did not register Sun's response. While Janet continued, Sun turned to the Chinese LA, Anxin, and said the word in Mandarin again (line 5). However, Janet continued talking without giving Anxin any time to chime in. Anxin only instructed Sun to pay attention to Janet, and failed to acknowledge or confirm his correct response. This example shows that teachers must carefully observe children's linguistic needs and deliberately give space for another adult to provide scaffolding. Effective co-teaching is based on meaningful interaction between expat teachers and LAs.

Examples 15-17 demonstrate that the reciprocal and constructive interaction between an expat teacher and an LA is essential for the translanguaging co-teaching approach. Only through the two adults' coordinated translanguaging practices can the co-teaching approach develop children's bilingualism and escalate their content-learning process. However, coordinated translanguaging is challenging for both expat teachers and LAs because they tend to focus on children only through direct adult-child interactions. In Angela and Delia's example, Angela provided children with language scaffolding without noticing or acknowledging Delia's need.

Menghua and Gina's interaction was artificial because the co-teaching consisted only of direct translation. In Janet and Anxin's class, the absence of direct interaction between the two adults made a Mandarin-speaking student's engagement and potential contribution unnoticeable. Ultimately, translanguaging co-teaching processes are similar to descriptions of bilingualism in translanguaging theory: each linguistic feature operates sometimes separately, other times in an integrated mechanism because they belong to one linguistic repertoire. In other words, to make the translanguaging co-teaching approach effective, both expat teachers and LAs must remember the goals of teaching their designated languages through adult-child interactions and, at the same time, work as one unit to implement translanguaging pedagogy through meaningful and constructive teacher-LA interactions.

*(2) Difficulty to make co-teaching plans and to internalize translanguaging strategies*

Another co-teaching challenge identified by teachers was a lack of time to develop their co-planning skills and internalize translanguaging strategies. In their interviews, teachers mentioned that lacking time to plan lessons collaboratively and to reflect on their lessons created challenges to developing their co-teaching skills.

First, given the busy schedule each teacher has, an expat teacher, Jennie, reported not having time to make a detailed plan with her LA for each carpet session:

Because we're just so short staffed, and we have no time to kind of sit down properly, make plans and have that communication. It would be better. I feel like our dual language, so to speak, isn't as strong as it could be because of the timing. We just don't know how to slot it in. And to those who don't really know how to do it, apply it properly. And because we are doing like I said, the storybooks. And we're trying to follow the same topic that I just, I just don't know how to kind of fully do it. I really believe that children should have dual language. I am aware that if I do English [only], the Mandarin children who are really really low in English will switch off and I can see them switching off quicker than the other children. And then when I watch Cecilia [Gennie's LA], I can see the western children that are, almost kind of just sitting through and yet trying to pass the time. So I want to help them, too. But I just don't know how to do that at this stage. I just, I just feel like any time that we have at the moment is very



precious...It's just the timing at the moment is really off...And at the moment I just want to sit down with her [my LA] and [talk about how] we want to go through it.

Teachers at ROCKS were aware that their teaching during carpet time would not be effective for emergent bilingual children without help from other adults. They also acknowledged that both expat teachers and LAs should familiarize themselves with the story and plan the session together. However, due to being short staffed and having a busy schedule, they found that it was difficult to find time to sit down and go through the lesson together. They attribute not knowing “how to kind of fully do it [translanguaging dual language]” to “no time to kind of sit down properly, make plans and have that communication.”

Other expat teachers emphasized that another important factor for making translanguaging co-teaching effective was to reflect on the lessons together in order to internalize the translanguaging strategies they learned. They realized that the strategies the school provided through professional learning workshops were useful, but not sufficient. For example, an expat teacher, Susan, expressed her appreciation for the demonstration class provided by ROCKS’ dual language program leader and her LA, but Susan soon realized that she and her LA needed to develop their own strategies for coordinating translanguaging by reflecting on and discussing their cooperation. She stated that she cannot always use the same strategies, such as asking her partner, “What does this mean and say in Mandarin?” because the children would know that the teacher was going to say that and wait for the translations. Susan pointed out that it was important to have time to reflect on the teaching with the LAs. The reflections could help them internalize the translanguaging strategies they have learned. More importantly, it was crucial to go beyond the strategies that the school suggested and create their own collaborative style which would enable them to provide moment to moment coordinated translanguaging depending on the teaching situation.

In this section, I have described how expat teachers and Chinese LAs implemented translanguaging pedagogy individually and collaboratively in ROCKS' early year section. I have also reported the challenges they encountered during their respective interactions with children and their coordinated teaching sessions. In the next section, I delineate factors within ROCKS that support or hinder the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, and I provide an analysis of how administrative leaders', parent's, and teachers' understanding of translanguaging and their positioning practices impacted the teachers' navigation across languages.

### **Influential Factors in the Implementation of Translanguaging Pedagogy**

To answer the second research question, what the factors within an institution are that support or hinder teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, I identified the factors at the institutional and individual levels in Rochester that supported or hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in ROCKS' early year section. Institutional factors that influenced the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy included Rochester's operational model, its pedagogical beliefs, and its internal teacher career ladder. Individual factors that influenced translanguaging pedagogy included the individual's (school leader's, teacher's, or parent's) understanding of translanguaging, their expectations for the translanguaging co-teaching approach, and the positioning practices among the stakeholders. In this section, I will first introduce the factors that had a positive impact on the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. Then I will describe the factors that hindered the translanguaging approach at ROCKS.

#### ***1. Supporting Factors***

##### **1.1 ROCKS' pedagogical emphasis on child-initiated play**

Child-initiated play consists of two important aspects, first, learning through meaningful play, which stands at the center of ROCKS' pedagogical belief. Child-initiated play emphasizes

the value of young children’s holistic development in a play-based environment. To that end, ROCKS offers structured play opportunities so children can learn while they are having fun. The second aspect of child-initiated play pedagogy is the belief that play should be child-centered and child-initiated instead of teacher-initiated. In other words, play should be instigated, led and controlled by the child rather than the adult. Children at ROCKS control the direction and narrative of their play experiences. According to an interview with ROCKS’ principal, Linda, ROCKS believes that “child-initiated play has more educational power than the play that is arranged by teachers.” Therefore, in early year sections, ROCKS requires teachers to get to know every child’s individual interests and then build structured opportunities around these interests, so children can learn through things that motivate and inspire them. ROCKS’ belief in child-initiated play pedagogy is visible in many different ways. For example, ROCKS’ classrooms were all set up by teachers based on their observations of the children’s recent interests. For instance, one teacher explained that when Fall started, she noticed some children talking and comparing the fallen leaves they picked up on the playground. In response, the teacher put some leaves and pencils on the ground so that when children came in the next day, they could use the pencils to draw the shapes of the leaves (Figure 13).



Figure 13: Sandra set up an activity based on children’s interests

ROCKS' professional training workshops for teachers primarily focused on child-initiated play pedagogy. These workshops aimed to equip teachers with the skills to allow children to learn and grow in their own unique pathways through child-initiated play. Teachers have been trained in these workshops to closely observe children's interests and then provide tools or create activities that are related to these interests. In addition, teachers at ROCKS not only practiced what they learned from their professional development workshops, they also actively engaged in action research concerning the impact of child-initiated play (see Appendix C).

ROCKS' child-initiated play pedagogy has positively impacted the implementation of its translanguaging pedagogy because both pedagogies place children at the center of learning. The positive impact was manifested in three different ways. First, child-initiated play enhanced teacher-child interactions which are essential for successful translanguaging instruction. Teachers reported in their interviews that when they focused on children's interests and passions, they were able to have longer and more effective interactions with children about the topics that children were interested in. Children could learn languages and develop their creativity while they were engaged in the interactions with teachers. Jennie stated:

In early years, we follow children's interest. For example, we've seen them talk about rockets. So, that is more likely going to be a focus, and it's going to be easier to convey both languages because they're interested. If I try and teach the boys about princesses in dual language, I don't feel that's going to work.

Jennie confirmed that it is important that ROCKS' translanguaging dual language approach was coupled with its pedagogical belief in child-initiated play because both place children at the center of teaching and learning activities. Although teachers joined child-initiated play with the goal of teaching language or other concepts, they were guided by children's interests, enabling both teachers and children to interact across languages and go beyond their language limitations.

The second benefit of child-initiated play for the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy is that it creates possibilities for children to cross language barriers when they organize their own play, because children often organize their play based on interest instead of by language groups between play peers. Translanguaging frees children from language restrictions, but there is a common concern about whether that freedom comes at the expense of opportunities for learning and speaking L2. This is because in a translanguaging dual language classroom where there is no language separation, children presumably tend to interact with peers who speak the same language, resulting in less input and output of L2. ROCKS effectively addressed this concern by using child-initiated play pedagogy to lead children to form small play groups based on their shared interests rather than their L1. It also made it possible for children to establish a social order, build relationship with peers, and organize peer play through linguistic improvisation and accommodation.

In addressing the common concern that children would only play with peers who speak the same L1, a Chinese LA, Angela, emphasized the importance of combining translanguaging pedagogy with child-initiated play:

There are many reasons why children play together. For example, if you see two Chinese-speaking children [that] like to play together, or two English-speaking children [that] like to play together, language can be a reason. But there are many other possibilities. For example, child A comes, B comes, C comes, they take a look, and feel they don't like to be in this group. It is possible because they don't like the activity of the group. However, if they enjoy the activity, they will just stay no matter what language their peers speak.

ROCKS teachers trusted that language barriers, although sometimes a hindrance in peer play, would not affect how children organized their play groups if they were the originators of the play. By exercising personal choice, the children engaged in deep and complex learning.

ROCKS' principal, Linda, commented on how child-initiated play can support language acquisition:

Because we focus so much on creating the environment to be play-based and child-centered, you know, then that has just been the arm that has supported the relationships with languages. So now what you would see is you would see children engaging in play, even if they are predominantly English-speaking [children] and predominantly Chinese-speaking children, you'd see them engaging with their play, but finding ways to communicate and connecting, and sometimes that might be one or two words in Mandarin or in English, or vice versa, but it just seems to be a far deeper level of interaction and play.

In her interview, Linda pointed out that a play-based and child-centered pedagogy tied together children who spoke different languages and increased the frequency and quality of the interactions between English-speaking children and Mandarin-speaking children. Linda believed that once children who speak different languages have more opportunities to build relationships through play, language acquisition will occur naturally and effectively. Linda also shared her observation of the changes in children's interactions before and after the child-centered play pedagogy was reinforced at ROCKS. Describing activities as they were beforehand, she stated,

The activities were not strategically planned by the teachers [based on children's interests], it was more about, you know, in their play, they'd be playing with their, their Chinese speaking peers. And the Chinese speaking peers would just continue to play in Chinese and the English-speaking children would just continue to play in English. So the interactivity and the interaction levels were probably a little bit low.

Linda attributed the higher quality of the interactive dynamic between children who speak different languages to the child-initiated play pedagogy. She considered this pedagogy as the foundation of translanguaging pedagogy in the early year settings. She believes that when children are placed at the center of the classroom, the connection between play and language can be strengthened. In other words, language learning could be embedded into the play.

The third positive impact on the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy is that the child-initiated play pedagogy made it possible for teachers to connect Mandarin-speaking children with English-speaking children. In particular, when two children with a different L1 had difficulties communicating with each other while playing together based on a joint interest, a

bilingual Chinese LA often acted as a language mediator between them to bridge their conversations. The follow excerpt is an example showing how Angela, a Chinese LA, connected Han, a Mandarin-speaking child, to Sammy, an English-speaking child. Before Angela came, Han and Sammy were sitting around a Lego basket. It seemed both of them were interested in the shapes of some Legos because they always picked some Legos that have irregular shapes. Although Han and Sammy were doing the same thing, they played quietly without direct interaction. Angela saw the quiet “interaction” and joined the students. She started to pick out some Legos and talked to Han about the shape of the Legos:

Excerpt 18

- 1 Angela ((shows a chair-like Lego)). Zhège xiàng yǐzi.  
[This looks like a chair.]
- 2 Han ((looks at the Lego in Angela’s hand))Zhège yě yǒudiǎn xiàng lóutī.  
[This also looks a bit like stairs.]
- 3 Angela Dui a, yǒudiǎn xiàng lóutī, wǒ zěnme méi xiǎngdào.  
[Yeah, it’s kind of like stairs. How come I didn’t see that?]
- 4 Sammy ((peeks at the Lego in Angela’s hand while taking other Legos out of the basket)) Stairs,  
looks like stairs.
- 5 Angela Nǐ kàn, Sammy yě juéde xiàng lóutī.  
[See! Sammy also thinks it looks like stairs.]

What connected Sammy and Han had nothing to do with their L1, rather, it was their common interest. Angela used this opportunity created by child-initiated play, and became a language mediator in this child-teacher-child interaction. Angela bridged Han’s input in Mandarin and Sammy’s input in English (line 5). It is not clear whether Sammy said the Lego Angela picked up looked like stairs because he understood the Chinese word “lóutī” or because he saw the shape of the Lego, but when Angela said “Nǐ kàn, Sammy yě juéde xiàng lóutī” (See! Sammy also thinks it looks like stairs), she confirmed the word “lóutī” is the Chinese translation for “stairs” for Sammy, and in the meantime, she made it clear for Han that the word “stairs” is “lóutī” in English. Language learning opportunities occurred for both children simultaneously through an indirect interaction created by Angela. Also, in this case, both children were learning

languages without an awareness of learning a language. When teachers follow the play moves initiated by children, they can make connections for children who speak different languages, and can introduce language learning into a child-initiated activity. When Angela later reflected on this interaction, she stated:

As a language teacher, I must first understand every individual child's characteristics, interests, and the way how they think. Once I know that, I just follow them, and language teaching becomes easy and natural.

### 1.2 Stakeholders' translanguaging stance

Another supporting factor in ROCKS is the translanguaging stance taken by school leaders, teachers, and some parents. According to García et. al., (2017), a translanguaging stance refers to a pedagogical approach that embodies the idea of dynamic and holistic bilingualism that embraces students' full and complex linguistic repertoire as a resource for learning and provides opportunities for students to develop metalinguistic awareness. Based on this definition, ROCKS' stakeholders demonstrated their translanguaging stance in two different aspects.

First, teachers and school leaders held high appreciation for children's hybrid language practices, such as codeswitching. They acknowledged that bilingual children use codeswitching to make meaning across social contexts and within one integrated, complex, dynamic, and flexible linguistic repertoire. An expat teacher, Daniel, described children's codeswitching as an amazing skill:

I think it is amazing that someone of this age can be speaking one language and then switch to another language. I can't speak a second language. And a lot of these children can or that they're beginning to. So, I think it's brilliant, because it shows they've got a really good understanding of the languages, they can make that transfer from one language to another. I think it's fantastic.

Daniel appreciated the children's codeswitching skills not only because this was something he could not do, but because he considered codeswitching the result of having "a very good



understanding of the languages.” In other words, Daniel perceived children’s codeswitching as an exercise of their metalinguistic awareness.

Daniel also pointed out that sometimes children’s translanguaging practices were evidence of their audience awareness. He explained that children might codeswitch

because they might be talking a little bit in Mandarin. But [when they start to talk to me,] they might think “Mr. Daniel can’t speak Mandarin, he speaks English. And I know this is phone [in English]. So I’ll say phone in English. So he understands what I mean.”

When Mandarin-speaking children approached Daniel, they naturally switched to English because they were aware that Daniel could not understand Chinese. Daniel perceived this ability as a bilingual skill instead of a deficit. His positive perception of children’s codeswitching laid a good foundation for his translanguaging pedagogy, which encouraged children to leverage all their linguistic resources.

ROCKS’ dual language program leader, Sandra, who was an advocate of translanguaging pedagogy, positively associated codeswitching with bilingual fluency:

The more fluent bilingual children that we have, the more switching I see. We have children who have one, you know, English speaking parent, one Mandarin-speaking parent, and they tend to do more codeswitching than the less fluent bilingual children. And they do it very strategically. I think the more fluent bilingual children are using it more strategically.

Sandra’s understanding of codeswitching echoed the results of Martinez’s (2001) study which found that more fluent bilingual children codeswitch more frequently and more strategically than emergent bilinguals. Sandra and her colleagues’ statements show that teachers and leaders of ROCKS have overcome a deficit view of children’s hybrid language practices and have embraced translanguaging as beneficial to children’s bilingualism.

Apart from the appreciation of children’s codeswitching practices, stakeholders (teachers, school leaders, and some parents) also demonstrated their translanguaging stance when they commented on how dynamic bilingualism surmounted language separation policies in other dual

language programs. Some stakeholders compared the translanguaging program at ROCKS with other dual language schools which operated under a language separation policy and concluded that the translanguaging approach is one of the most effective ways to teach languages. Expat teacher, Daniel, who has been working in different bilingual and dual language schools, emphasized that surrounding children with two languages through natural language exposure instead of deliberate teaching during separate sessions was the best way for young children to learn a new language:

So I think that's probably the best way because the children, they're not sitting down to an active lesson, *Yī* is one, *Sān* is two. That's too formal. That works for some people for some ages, obviously. But at this age, I think if they just got their natural classroom activities, their exploration and discovery, inquiry, whatever. And they're just immersed, surrounded by those two languages all day. It's brilliant.

Daniel appreciated that ROCKS' translanguaging pedagogy frees children from language separation and formal teaching. Like many other ROCKS teachers, Daniel's translanguaging stance enabled him to tap into bilingual children's full linguistic repertoires and create an authentic bilingual learning environment which reflected the linguistic reality in bilingual children's homes and communities.

Like Daniel, Linda shared with me her experience visiting another international dual language school, in this case, in Shanghai. She said that the school divided languages into two different sessions. There was very little interaction between the two language teachers. Linda concluded, "When we separate the two languages, it is not bilingualism, it is [based on] two monolingual systems, which doesn't reflect bilingual children's linguistic reality." Linda's translanguaging stance showed her commitment to ROCKS' translanguaging approach. This commitment was based on an understanding of bilingualism which was aligned with up-to-date literature on bilingualism.

Although they did not play a role in classroom activities, some parents, especially non-Chinese parents, also reported positive feedback regarding ROCKS' dual language approach, although they did not use the term "translanguaging". Their support, in turn, encouraged teachers and LAs to implement translanguaging pedagogy. For example, one parent, Nicole, whose daughter was in a year 2 classroom, stated that her daughter was able to learn English and Mandarin very fast, especially her listening skills. Nicole attributed her daughter's bilingual development to ROCKS' dual language structure because her daughter "is exposed to both languages at the same time." Another parent, Sabrina, compared ROCKS' approach with other schools. She concluded that ROCKS' module is "a perfect middle way to bridge two languages":

There are some schools, for example, they teach mathematics or something in English or in Chinese [separately]. After one year, [the child] doesn't speak any English, because he focuses only on the Chinese [section]. So he totally skipped the English. And there is another type of school, where there is English only. So, there is a gap in [this city] especially because you have either this way or that way. So, the ROCKS's model, is a middle way, the structure provides a good balance.

Sabrina refers to the ROCKS' model as "a middle way" because it provides instruction in two languages without a deliberate separation. Parents appreciate that their children can be exposed to two languages through natural interactions with the English teacher, the Chinese LA, and the children's bilingual peers. Although parents did not provide direct feedback about ROCKS' translanguaging approach to teachers and LAs, expat teachers and LAs both expressed that they were encouraged when they saw that parents choose to send their children to ROCKS rather than to other competing international schools in this city.

Overall, the stakeholders' appreciation and affirmation towards dynamic bilingualism pushed forward ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching model, which enabled children to learn languages and develop their bilingualism without language separation and restriction.

## ***2. Obstructing Factors***

As discussed above, this study found many institutional and individual factors within ROCKS that supported the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. These supporting factors helped teachers and LAs integrate translanguaging pedagogy into a classroom guided by child-initiated play. However, the data also showed that some factors hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. These hindrances created challenges for expat teachers and LAs concerning their individual translanguaging practices and collaborative translanguaging practices. In particular, these hindrances were associated with three discrepancies in both ROCKS and Rochester.

2.1 Discrepancy between the institutional position of LA's and the co-teaching approach  
ROCKS' hierarchical structure runs counter to the co-teaching approach necessary for successful translanguaging because it has created tension between expat teachers and LAs. It also demotivates LAs from engaging in the translanguaging co-teaching approach.

ROCKS was founded in 2004 and was initially an English-only international school. In the English-only model, in each of ROCKS 'international classrooms,' the expat teachers, who hold their degree and the international teaching certificate, were usually designated as the classroom teachers, while the local Chinese teachers, who typically do not hold an equivalent degree and international teaching certificate, were designated as teacher assistants (TAs). In that model, Chinese TAs were not directly involved in teaching because their responsibility was mainly to assist the classroom teachers in organizing the class. When ROCKS changed to the translanguaging dual language approach in 2016, the ROCKS leadership recognized that translanguaging required both groups, the expat teachers and the Chinese assistants, to be actively involved in the students' English and Chinese language development. Therefore, a collaborative approach was promoted to the expat teachers and Chinese assistants at ROCKS.

Linda emphasized that according to ROCKS' dual language guiding principles, both expat teachers and Chinese assistants needed to follow children's interests and get involved in child-initiated play. Although they interacted with children in different designated languages, teachers and assistants all needed to engage in teacher-child interactions, sometimes individually, and sometimes collaboratively. Thus, ROCKS modified their professional career ladder (see Appendix D) for Chinese assistants, changing the Chinese assistant title from teacher assistant (TA) to learning assistant (LA) to reflect the new responsibility of actively assisting students' learning in the classroom. The new dual language model required the LAs to teach collaboratively with the expat teacher. The expat teachers' title remained unchanged.

Despite the fact that the new career ladder provided LAs with potentially higher status and promotion opportunities, the unequal institutional positions between expat teachers and LAs still creates challenges for the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in a number of ways. First, the LAs' institutional position obstructs the relationship and cooperation between expat teachers and LAs. The translanguaging co-teaching approach entails a joint effort based on a trusting relationship between the English teacher and the Chinese LA, but their unequal positions in the classroom hinders the collaborative approach. Linda described the teacher-LA relationship as "very challenging" and potentially tense or conflict-ridden because it is "hierarchical." Consequently, "when the relationship is not there, the element of co-teaching is not there." A Chinese LA, Yang, expressed how the unequal position between expat teachers and LAs impacts their coordinated teaching practices.

On the one hand, the school asks us to teach Mandarin just as the expat teacher [is asked to teach English]. On the other hand, I need to see her as my boss. Sometimes I can't relax, you know, it is difficult when we read a story together, especially when I need to lead.

According to the positioning triad (Van Langenhove & Harré, 1999), this interview shows that Yang recognized her institutional position that was assigned to her by ROCKS. However, she also realized that her institutional position was only used by ROCKS to define her duties. Her rights, as a vital part of her position, were overlooked. Therefore, when she talked about her teaching experiences at ROCKS, Yang expressed her dissatisfaction. She stated that she struggled to see herself as an equal representative of one of the instructional languages in the classroom because her title did not capture this right. The co-teaching approach required Yang to see the expat teacher as her partner, yet her institutional position determined that the expat teacher was her boss. Yang explained that she could never really feel confident in her position, especially when she was leading a story-reading activity, because she was concerned about how the expat teacher would evaluate her “ways of teaching.”

An expat teacher, Sue, also reported this problem. She observed that the co-teaching approach needs equal positions in the translanguaging approach.

[It] needs an equal partnership in the classroom. And that isn't what is perceived... I talked to Linda, and you know, there needs to be an equal partnership. The English-speaking teacher and the Mandarin-speaking teacher, they need to be working together. It can't be like this.

Sue emphasized that an equal partnership is the foundation of the translanguaging co-teaching approach, and that the unequal institutional position was detrimental to the partnership, which created a hindrance to the translanguaging co-teaching approach.

My findings reveal a fascinating struggle to reimagine, redefine and rework the hierarchical nature of teacher status at ROCKS. Apart from the tension between the expat teachers and LAs, many Chinese LAs engaged in self-positioning to resist their institutional position. Some LAs accepted their institutional positions and then positioned themselves as persons who play an important role in children's Mandarin development. These LAs became

actively involved in co-planning and co-teaching with the expat teachers (as shown in Excerpts 8-11). Other LAs resisted the position enforced by ROCKS, and they tended either to position themselves as TAs or as Mandarin teachers. These LAs used different storylines to articulate their duties and rights, and their speech acts pointed to positions that differed from the ones ROCKS had assigned to them.

When LAs positioned themselves as TAs, they argued that a TA only needs to assist the classroom teacher instead of assisting children's learning. In other words, they refused to carry out the new responsibilities that came along with the title of LA. For instance, a Chinese LA, Judith, reported that the new responsibility required Chinese LAs to use their bilingual skill to "vigilantly observe children's linguistic need and strategically switch between languages." Judith further explained "since the workload mismatches the title, who wants to do the extra?" She considered her bilingual skill as a burden.

A similar dynamic is at play in excerpt 17. When the expat teacher told a story about a ladder to the students, the Chinese LA, Anxin, did not actively interact with the expat teacher to assist Mandarin-speaking children's learning. In her interview, Anxin described herself as a teacher's helper instead of a person who is responsible for children's learning. Anxin stressed that an LA was someone who primarily 'sets up the classroom and takes care of children.' She perceived expat teachers as the real teachers in the classroom, insisting that her role is only the expat teachers' helper. The misalignment between the LA's institutional positioning and their self-positioning was, in part, due to the fact that LAs did not see a significant change in their salary, institutional position or appreciation coming along with the new title. Nor did these changes match their newly assigned teaching responsibility. From the LAs' perspective, they

were being asked to take on more teaching responsibility for the same amount of pay and professional recognition.

The expat teachers' perceptions mirrored those of the LAs. For example, an expat teacher, Gina, stated:

When I came here [ROCKS], I think I tried initially to plan together, but I felt a little that the LAs were like, "Well, that's not our job. You're the expat teacher, and you just tell us what to do."

Like the LAs, expat teachers struggled with co-planning and co-teaching practices. As monolingual speakers, expat teachers needed the LA's input in order to develop lesson plans that would foster children's bilingualism. They considered LAs' language input as important as their own input in English. However, the discrepancy between LAs' institutional position and LAs' self-positioning demotivated the LAs, which hampered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

Other LAs rejected their institutional position and self-positioned themselves as Mandarin teachers. They reported that ROCKS' hierarchical structure and their positionality did not reflect their responsibility and contribution. Lihong stated:

We are not only Mandarin teachers for both Chinese students and non-Chinese students, but we are also the translator and mediator between expat teachers who barely speak Chinese and Chinese kids who speak only a little English. But we are titled and paid as LAs, not as Mandarin teachers.

Lihong's comment reflects that Chinese LAs are confused about their institutional position and their actual responsibilities. Lihong saw herself as a Mandarin teacher instead of a LA because expat teachers and Chinese LAs were equally responsible for the children's language development, however, LAs were positioned differently within the institution.

Similarly, Sophia expressed her concern about how parents perceive the qualifications of LAs in the classroom. She stated:



If your title is LA, some parents would question you: “How can you teach my child Chinese if you are not a teacher?”... I feel this title [LA] does not reflect my value, my experience, and my contribution.

Like many other LAs, Sophia perceived her job title as not reflective of her professional value.

Unlike LAs who positioned themselves as TAs, which entailed less workload, LAs who positioned themselves as Mandarin teachers were willing to take on the newly assigned responsibilities. However, their dissatisfaction demotivated them to make efforts to learn and adopt translanguaging strategies.

## 2.2 Discrepancy between language equivalency inside and outside the classroom

Despite the school’s insistence on the equal status of English and Mandarin, there are many ways in which English is elevated or prioritized outside the classroom. In order to reinforce language equivalency, ROCKS leaders emphasized many times during school meetings that “language belongs at the heart of everything that we did and do,” and English and Mandarin were of the same importance in ROCKS dual language model. For example, Linda explained the importance of using L1 during a school meeting:

I think that's another important thing about children’s first language. It lightens the cognitive load. It also enables children to think creatively and critically by being able to, you know, to process. They're thinking through languages, regardless of however they're going to make meaning.

Comments in the meeting were intended to encourage teachers and LAs to equally value English and Mandarin. Under the translanguaging co-teaching approach, in each ROCKS classroom, children were learning in an environment where Mandarin and English were both considered important languages. Children were immersed in both languages and freely used them. For example, all wall decorations and signs were bilingual. Children could get both English books and Mandarin books. However, outside the classroom, Mandarin and English were not equally esteemed in at least three ways.

The first discrepancy between the way English and Mandarin are valued emerges from that fact that all ROCKS' members of administration were from English-speaking countries. Their pictures, titles, and contacts were displayed outside each classroom in case any parents needed the information. This information showed every visitor to ROCKS that this was an international school led by a non-Chinese team. English was the main language for administrative meetings, parents' meetings, and teachers' professional development workshops. Moreover, the only document that is in both Chinese and English is the ROCKS Dual Language Guiding Principles because it is for the expat teachers and the Chinese LAs. All important public facing documents such as parent handbook, school magazines, and admission handbook are in English only.

The second way in which English was privileged over Mandarin was the lack of representation of Mandarin speakers among the program leaders at ROCKS. While ROCKS emphasized the collaboration between the expat teachers and the LAs, ROCKS' dual language program leader was an English-speaking expat teacher. LAs were concerned by this lack of representation and the assumption by English-speaking teachers that Mandarin language pedagogy is the same as English language pedagogy. Yang stated:

When we have a problem that is related to school policy or something, we don't have a leader who can speak for us. We have to go to the principal's office directly to report the issue. But a lot of times, LAs just give up [reporting] because our English sometimes is not good enough to articulate the problem. It is very difficult. If both languages are important, as ROCKS emphasized, and it is a dual language school, how come we don't have a Chinese program leader?

LAs felt they were left out when school administrative leaders were discussing policies and issues. They needed a Chinese leader who could represent them and help their voices be heard. Also, they felt alone when they faced pedagogical challenges. For example, Pamela, an LA who worked in a year 4 classroom, stated that she and her colleagues experienced significant

confusion in terms of adapting Chinese language learning to the phonics-based approach most English-speaking expat teachers use to teach reading.

You know, from age 4, children need to learn phonics. The expat teachers are teaching phonics. So, since we are a dual language school, we need to teach Chinese phonics. But Chinese is a very different language comparing to English. We don't have many rhyming words and knowing the rhyming words wouldn't help children learn Chinese. We are very confused about how to make Chinese phonics class effective. But we can't talk to the program leader because she is not Chinese. She doesn't really understand how Mandarin works.

The lack of a Chinese program leader created many challenges for Chinese LAs when they needed pedagogical support and guidance. They confirmed that the dual language program leader, Sandra, was a very effective teacher and a good leader, yet Sandra could not help them with the pedagogical challenges related to Mandarin. Some parents also pointed out that the Mandarin program at ROCKS needed to be strengthened. According to an interview with Evan, a parent, not having a Chinese-speaking dual language leader makes it difficult to know what is going on in the Mandarin section.

The third challenge to ROCKS' efforts at building language equivalency was the apparent discrepancy between the dual language approach encouraged in ROCKS and the monolingual British curriculum used in the broader Rochester institution. While ROCKS uses a translanguaging co-teaching approach, when children leave ROCKS and move to a higher grade, dual language is not available to them. In other words, other sections (senior and junior schools) still follow an international school model, guided by British curriculums. English becomes the "official" language in these sections. Although students have three separate Mandarin classes each week, they are assessed only in English for all subjects except for Mandarin. Both teachers and students are aware that when students move out of the ROCKS early years classrooms, they go to an English-dominant environment in Rochester. According to the director of KS1 section and principal of the Rochester junior school, Vivian, KS1 and the junior and senior schools do

not have a plan to change to a dual-language model in the near future. The different operational model between ROCKS and other sections at Rochester has created many doubts for teachers and LAs in terms of how well the dual language approach prepares their students for their future education. As reflected in the data, they questioned why the operational structure was inconsistent inside and outside their classroom. An expat teacher Julia commented:

I really don't understand why the company set up everything this way. But I sometimes ask myself: We make all the effort to develop children's bilingualism. But when they move to the senior school, there will only be English. So, what's the point of what we are doing here?

Julia's concern was not a single case. Chinese LAs were also puzzled by Rochester's operational structure. They were concerned that "What if one day, Rochester decides to change back to the English only model?" The discrepancy inside and outside ROCKS classrooms made teachers and LAs question the meaning of their contribution.

### 2.3 Discrepancy between stakeholders' expectations

The discrepancy between some Chinese parents' expectations and the school's requirements created challenges for bilingual Chinese LAs' translanguaging practices. Although parents expressed their appreciation of how ROCKS' natural and authentic bilingual environment provided for their children, some Chinese parents expected their children to have more opportunities to practice English. For example, one teacher, Delia, explained, "A lot of Chinese parents care more about their children's English development. They think their child is here and they really want them to get ahold of English."

A Chinese parent, Lihua, whose 4-year-old daughter was in a year 4 classroom, expressed high expectations for her daughter's English development:

My husband and I are both bilinguals. But it is very difficult to speak English to her [her daughter] at home, because, you know, her grandparents are living with us and they only speak Chinese. So, so, we expect her to have more chance to hear and speak English because there is very little opportunities to practice English outside the school. I told my

daughter to talk to the English teacher more often but she still kind of likes to stay around the Chinese teacher, so, I told the Chinese teacher to speak English to her more often. Chinese parents preferred for Chinese LAs to speak more English to their children because, given the insufficient exposure to English outside school, they expected their children to have more opportunities to hear and speak English. However, they realized that in ROCKS' translanguaging dual language classrooms, there was no language restriction for children, nor was there a language separation policy which could secure a certain amount of exposure to English for their children. The freedom brought by translanguaging pedagogy was sometimes a concern for Chinese parents, which resulted in their putting pressure on Chinese LAs.

Chinese LAs understood Chinese parents' expectations, but their position at school required different responsibilities, turning their bilingual skill into a challenge. For example, a Chinese LA, Sophia, stated:

So, the Chinese parents are most concerned that how their children can learn more English, because they have chosen to send their children to an international school. So they expect their children to learn more English. Yeah, they sometimes ask me if I can speak more English to their children. I understand their concern. You know, they are paying a lot of money. Of course, they want their children to, it is important to learn English. But ROCKS asks us to predominately use Mandarin. I am like, like, what language should I use?

As discussed above, Chinese LAs' bilingualism could be both a challenge and an advantage for them to implement translanguaging pedagogy. It is an advantage because they can easily switch languages when needed. However, this skill becomes a challenge at times when they are not sure when to speak what language. This is not to say that Chinese LAs completely move away from the school's language use policy, but some LAs who perceive their position as a lower institutional position than the expat teachers' struggled to satisfy other stakeholders. As one expat teacher, Susan, described it, "I think sometimes they [LAs] think they have to please everyone."

## Summary

In this section, I first discussed teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy, then presented the ways in which language teachers use translanguaging strategies in their individual and collaborative teaching practices and the challenges they encounter in implementing a translanguaging pedagogy. In particular, expat teachers and Chinese LAs used various strategies such as codeswitching, bilingual recasts, translation, and small L1 groups to create translanguaging moments to bridge the two languages, evaluate children's understanding, and let children's bilingualism shine. In creating these translanguaging moments, expat teachers and Chinese LAs also experienced challenges emerging from expat teachers' monolingualism and bilingual LAs' confusion about their strategic language choices, as well as underdeveloped co-teaching skills and insufficient co-planning and reflecting time.

I then introduced the influential factors within Rochester that supported or hindered the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. On the one hand, ROCKS' child-initiated play pedagogy enhances child-teacher and child-child interactions across languages and makes the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy possible because both of the pedagogies place children at the center of teaching and learning. As stakeholders, teachers' and parents' commitment to dynamic bilingualism also positively impacts the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. On the other hand, the unequal institutional positions between expat teachers and Chinese LAs creates tension in the relationship and coordination between expat teachers and Chinese LAs, and the unequal positions of English and Mandarin outside the classrooms created an English dominant environment, which worked against ROCKS' translanguaging theory. Finally, the incompatibility between some parents' expectations and school's requirements in relation to Chinese LAs' translanguaging practices causes confusion and hinders the implementation of translanguaging.

## CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

The central goals of this study were two-fold:

1. To explore how teachers implement translanguaging pedagogy and what challenges they encounter when there is no language separation policy in the school, and
2. To identify the factors among central and peripheral stakeholders within an institution that support or create challenges for the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy.

Following these goals, I presented findings in the previous chapter that demonstrate how teachers and LAs navigated translanguaging individually and in coordination with each other, the challenges they encountered, and the influential factors in the institution and among stakeholders which impacted the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. In this chapter, I discuss how these findings can enhance our thinking and understanding of teachers' translanguaging practices at a translanguaging, co-teaching, dual language school. I also discuss recommendations for teachers and administrators in schools willing to reject language separation policies and shift to a translanguaging language policy.

### **Translanguaging Co-Teaching Dual Language Approach: Opportunities and Challenges**

#### ***1. Opportunities***

##### 1.1 Constructing three translanguaging components

Unlike traditional dual language programs, which operate based on language separation policies, ROCKS classrooms reflect dynamic bilingualism. Children can mix two languages without any restrictions. English teachers and Chinese LAs simultaneously interact with children individually or collaboratively to develop children's language skills and bilingualism. The exploration of teacher-student, LA-student, and teacher-LA interactions shows dynamic and responsive languaging practices that reflect teachers' and LAs' holistic view of bilingualism and their skillful navigation across languages. The results of this research provide supporting

evidence of the possibility to enact translanguaging allocation policy in a DLE program, as advocated by Sánchez, García and Solorza (2018). In ROCKS, without a wall between the two languages, teachers and LAs constructed three ecological translanguaging components: translanguaging bridges, translanguaging assessments, and translanguaging showcases<sup>7</sup> (see figure 14) to validate and develop bilingual children’s linguistic identities and entire repertoires through three

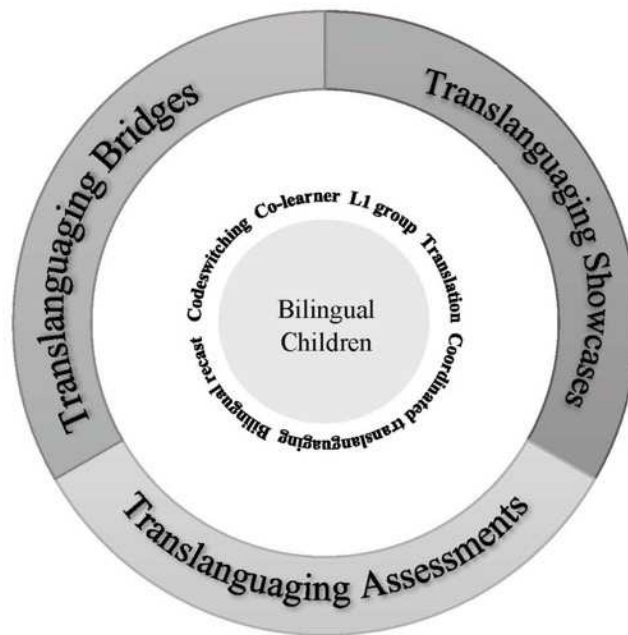


Figure 14: Translanguaging Components and Strategies

Similar to what Sánchez, García and Solorza (2018) defined as translanguaging rings, translanguaging bridges are ways of temporarily scaffolding instruction for emergent bilingual children that use their own languages “until they have acquired new features that expand their repertoire to the necessary level, and until they gain confidence leveraging their translanguaging to perform with whatever linguistic features they do have in their repertoire” (Sánchez, García &

<sup>7</sup> The three components are similar but not identical to the components described by Sánchez, García and Solorza (2018).



Solorza, 2018, p. 46). I use the term “translanguaging bridges” instead of “translanguaging rings” to emphasize the connection made by and between expat teachers and Chinese LAs. In this study, expat teachers and LAs provided bilingual children an ongoing and circular scaffolding. They provided or took away translanguaging bridges for specific tasks depending on their assessment of a child’s needs, performance, and level of engagement in the task because they understood that bilinguals’ languages were never “balanced” and their proficiency in each language varied.

The findings highlight various strategies used individually by the expat teachers or the Chinese LAs to construct translanguaging bridges around children. These strategies are consistent with the previous literature: codeswitching (Sanders-Smith & Dávila, 2019)), translation (Gort & Pontier, 2013), bilingual recast <sup>8</sup>(Gort & Sembiente, 2015), and letting children work in small groups in their L1 (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017; Daniel, Jiménez, Pray & Pacheco, 2019). These strategies enabled teachers and LAs to check for understanding; provide clarification, correction, and new information; ensure that all students understand their instruction; and increase linguistic and conceptual understanding.

Expat teachers and LAs also constructed translanguaging bridges collaboratively during carpet sessions through coordinated translanguaging practices (Gort & Pointer, 2013). Expat teachers and LAs constructed a triangular translanguaging discourse (Pointer, 2014) that allowed crisscrossing bilingual interactions to develop between expat teachers, LAs, and children (see figure 15). In each translanguaging triangular discourse, the expat teachers interacted with children in English. The Chinese LAs used both English and Chinese with bilingual children and

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<sup>8</sup> According to Long (2016), *bilingual recasting is defined as a reformulation of all or part of a learner’s immediately preceding utterance in which one or more nontarget-like items are replaced by the corresponding target language form(s), and where, throughout the exchange, the focus of the interlocutors is on meaning not language as an object.*

the expat teachers. Collaboratively, in each paired unit, two adults employed translanguaging strategies on the continuum of the story. Unlike in Pointer’s (2014) study, one of the two instructors in this study was a monolingual English speaker, which made the translanguaging triangular discourse more complex. The strategies expat teachers and Chinese LAs used included paraphrasing each other’s sentences, providing bilingual definition or clarification (Reyes, 2008; Tsai & García, 2000), alternating conversational turns (Morocco & Aguilar, 2002), or conducting asynchronous translanguaging interactions (between the expat teacher and the Chinese LA). These translanguaging strategies work as bridges connecting teachers (LAs) and children, English and Mandarin, content learning and language learning.

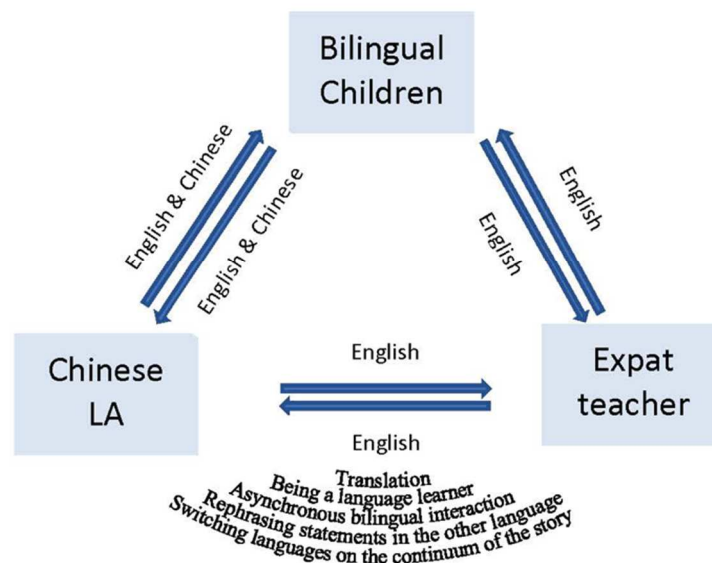


Figure 15: Translanguaging Triangular Discourse in Co-Teaching Model

Another way teachers and Chinese LAs implemented translanguaging was through constructing translanguaging assessments, which were designed to gauge bilingual children’s English or Chinese performance holistically, by using their entire language repertoire to evaluate and validate bilingual children’s dynamic ways of languaging. Expat teachers and LAs used translanguaging assessments to connect all the various data points for bilingual children’s

communicative and academic language use: what they know and what they can express using only the target language vs. using their entire repertoire (Sánchez et al., 2018). In this study, teachers and LAs who assessed language learners' linguistic performance (e.g., to express, explain and compare) through a translanguaging design followed a dynamic translanguaging progression (García et al., 2017). This translanguaging progression provided emergent bilingual children opportunities to use complex and fluid discursive practices to demonstrate their understanding of content knowledge or language skills (Ascenzi-Moreno, 2018). This finding shows that based on the holistic understanding of what children know, expat teachers and LAs teachers and LAs designed lessons or activities that were appropriate to the children's current understanding.

Translanguaging showcases were another translanguaging component employed by ROCKS instructors. Unlike translanguaging bridges, which provide improvised scaffolding to help bilingual children learn the target language with the assistance of their L1, translanguaging showcases were planned times or activities for teachers and children to bring two languages together. In this study, children demonstrated their bilingual skills, content knowledge, and life experiences without focusing on what language they were using in a translanguaging showcase. Translanguaging showcases also helped expat teachers, LAs, and children to challenge linguistic hierarchies that, for instance, position English as a superior language to other languages. Furthermore, expat teachers and LAs created translanguaging showcases that reflected the dynamic multilingual communities outside of the classroom (Mary & Young, 2017 b) to let children perform their bilingual identities (García-Mateus & Palmer, 2017).

The idea of a translanguaging showcase is similar to what Wei (2001) described as a translanguaging space and what Sánchez, García and Solorza (2018) define as translanguaging

transformation. According to Wei (2001), translanguaging space is “interactionally created by the individual through strategic use of the social resources, including linguistic resources, that are available to them [bilingual students]” (p. 1234). I use “showcase” instead of “space” because in this study, bilingual children were not only given the space to make meaning by drawing from their personal history, experience, attitudes, and cognitive and linguistic capacity (as the notion of translanguaging space describes), but they were also encouraged to display, even to flaunt their bilingual expertise and creativity. Expat teachers and LAs used various strategies to encourage children to perform naturally during a translanguaging showcase. While these strategies are consistent with what other translanguaging research (e.g., Kirsch & Seele, 2020; Sanders-Smith & Dávila, 2019; Velasco & Fialais, 2018) has revealed, this study highlights how language teachers connected these strategies with activities for young children. For example, teachers empowered children to use their own language or a mixture of their L1 and English to talk about things they were interested in during a show-and-tell activity, to talk about their life experiences during teacher-student interactions, or shifted their teacher-student roles in order to engage children in a conversation. In this study, during each translanguaging showcase, expat teachers or LAs stepped back to become audience members and learners. This role-shifting allowed for the sort of authentic interactions that bilingual children encounter in their communities, where there is no deliberate teaching but only communication and meaning-making among interlocutors. These interactions provided teachers, LAs and bilingual children opportunities to build rapport and to learn from each other and highlighted bilingual children as performers on a special stage where they could present themselves as they truly are at that point in their linguistic development.

## 1.2 Achieving two versions of translanguaging

ROCKS' legitimized translanguaging pedagogy which enabled expat teachers and LAs to construct the three translanguaging components, making it possible to achieve what García and Lin (2016) proposed: a combination of the weak and strong versions of translanguaging. García and Lin emphasized that bilingual education should respond to the socio-politically constructed notion of language, as promoted by the weak version of translanguaging, because learning languages has real consequences for bilingual students. However, language education must also focus on bilingual students and provide students with opportunities to develop their entire language repertoire, which is the central goal of the strong version of translanguaging. Therefore, a translanguaging classroom should contain both weak and strong versions of translanguaging.

Most studies focusing on translanguaging pedagogy have demonstrated the weak version of translanguaging, in which a child's linguistic knowledge serves as a temporary scaffold for acquiring a new language (García & Lin, 2016; García & Otheguy, 2020). Very few studies have explored teachers' pedagogical practices that reflect a strong version of translanguaging. Perhaps this is because a strong version of translanguaging has been found challenging to implement when teachers are either forced by a school's language separation policies (García & Lin, 2016) or by their own purist language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) to teach according to the socio-politically constructed notion of language.

In this study, without the restrictions deriving from a language separation policy, the teachers and LAs at ROCKS were able to construct translanguaging classrooms that contained the two versions of translanguaging. The three translanguaging components in figure 14 serve different roles in promoting the two versions of translanguaging. For example, translanguaging bridges represent the weak version of translanguaging. During the translanguaging bridge phase, teachers and LAs initiated translanguaging practices by asking children to deliberately use their

L1 to support their English or Mandarin learning. This type of bridge is temporary or is perhaps a detour children take in their progress towards learning the TL. Translanguaging assessment establishes both the weak and the strong versions of translanguaging. For instance, sometimes expat teachers and LAs used translanguaging assessments to evaluate children's language skills in their L2 with the assistance of their L1. Other times, teachers and LAs also created opportunities for children to display their bilingual skills freely. As Excerpt 3 shows, Jean's admiration of Lili's Mandarin encouraged Lili to talk and perform in both languages without being aware of the language being assessed. In contrast, a translanguaging showcase demonstrates the strong version of translanguaging. Translanguaging showcases do not serve to teach a language; their purpose is to let children's bilingualism shine. Through a translanguaging showcase, teachers and LAs created a translanguaging opportunity and then stepped aside to let the children take center stage and lead the conversations. A translanguaging showcase is translanguaging theory in practice. Based on translanguaging theory, bilingual students are not simply language learners of a L2 but emergent bilinguals who dynamically use and incorporate new language features in their unique and integrated language repertoire. A translanguaging showcase reflects translanguaging theory because it places children at the center of teaching and learning practices and enhances children's bilingualism through the languaging-thinking process.

This study provides evidence that although engaging the strong version of translanguaging is not meant for learning a specific language, it need not diminish children's opportunities to learn a specific language. In both of the examples of translanguaging showcases, every child who participated in the translanguaging showcase (show-and-tell activity or free conversation with the teacher or the LA) was exposed to authentic English and/or Mandarin by talking to the teachers or LAs. Consequently, the language exposure can help children learn a

specific language. For example, in Excerpt 11 from expat teacher Susan’s show-and-tell activity, although Bowen did not say anything in English, he was actively responsive to Susan’s English. In Excerpt 6, Daniel became a Mandarin learner and allowed the Chinese-speaking child Dongdong to only speak in Mandarin. However, towards the end of the interaction, Dongdong was able to produce an entire sentence in English without Daniel’s explicit instruction.

### 1.3 Enacting translanguaging: The case of monolingual English teachers

The findings of this study show that the legitimate position of translanguaging pedagogy at ROCKS provided opportunities for monolingual English teachers to employ different pedagogical strategies to overcome the challenges caused by their monolingualism. Expat teachers employed all the strategies demonstrated in the inner circle of Figure 14 except codeswitching (which was not within their abilities) to utilize children’s L1 as a resource in facilitating each child’s learning. For example, expat teachers used L1 small group discussion to help emergent bilingual children with relatively low English proficiency to understand content and class instruction. Teachers also gave children opportunities to think out loud and use their L1 when answering teachers’ questions, despite the fact that teachers could not understand children’s comments or questions. Expat teachers reported that allowing children to “languaging” in their L1 helped them organize and synthesize information, ultimately enhancing L2 output. Also, when expat teachers change their roles and become students of bilingual learners, they activated children’s bilingualism and increased opportunities for children’s implicit learning (Long, 2016). The finding is consistent with what Rolstad has found in the examination of the TWIST program<sup>9</sup>, where a monolingual English teacher had to conduct a

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<sup>9</sup> The TWIST (Two-Way Immersion Spanish Time) program was implemented in Arizona State University’s College of Education Preschool “to provide a cross-cultural, counter-hegemonic preschool experience while documenting some of the complex issues in young children’s language learning experiences, identity development and attitudes toward peers” (Rolstad, Swadener & Nakagawa, 2008, p. 75).

Spanish class but handed over the role of the teacher to Spanish-speaking children to become their student. This role reversal transformed the whole class into an authentic bilingual environment, where children switched between languages without any restrictions, and effortlessly learned another language. Rolstad concluded: one of the keys to overcome the challenge of language teachers' monolingualism is that they believe that children do not have to respond in the target language in order to be learning that language. Similarly, teachers do not have to speak children's L1 in order to practice translanguaging and teach the target language (K. Rolstad, personal communication, June 24, 2021).

ROCKS' approach shows that although teachers' bilingualism is advantageous for implementing translanguaging pedagogy, it remains entirely possible for monolingual teachers to enact translanguaging pedagogy. The findings show that when there was no language restriction, monolingual expat teachers' translanguaging stance enabled them to go beyond their linguistic limitations to construct translanguaging components, especially translanguaging showcases, to validate and develop children's bilingualism.

Overall, the ROCKS model shows that removing language restriction policies gives teachers the freedom to soften the boundaries between languages and to validate children's bilingualism. The administration's official support of translanguaging pedagogy legitimized these practices and laid the foundation for developing versatile modes of communication in the classroom. ROCKS' commitment to translanguaging pedagogy opened doors for expat teachers and Chinese LAs to flexibly employ different translanguaging strategies on a case-by-case basis in order to meet children's needs. In addition, the school's policy on translanguaging pedagogy empowered expat teachers and Chinese LAs to implement translanguaging pedagogy consistently without being overly concerned about teaching their designated language. The



consistent usage of the various translanguaging strategies also enabled the natural occurrence of children's spontaneous translanguaging, which transformed the classroom into an authentic bilingual environment similar to the bilingual communities that students are likely to experience outside the classroom.

## **2. Challenges**

Studies have shown that DLE teachers experience wide-ranging challenges emerging from their diverse linguistic backgrounds, training, ideologies (Amrein & Peña, 2000; Lee & Jeong, 2013; Yip & Garcia, 2015) and pedagogical skills (Palmer & Martínez, 2013). In ROCKS, official support for translanguaging pedagogy fostered a critical stance towards monolingual ideology with the majority of the expat teachers and LAs who indicated their firm support for translanguaging. They appreciated children's hybrid language practices and saw themselves as co-learners with bilingual children. However, this study found that trouble with their translanguaging practices was consistent with a problem translanguaging scholars have identified in the past (i.e. Yip, & Garcia, 2015): much more than a positive attitude towards bilingualism is needed to make translanguage teaching successful because translanguaging must always be strategic and purposeful in order to work well. In other words, the legitimization of translanguaging pedagogy does not eliminate all the challenges teachers might encounter in a translanguaging dual language program. This study provides detailed descriptions of the challenges regarding DLE teachers' pedagogical skills. The findings show that the primary challenges facing teachers' and LAs' stemmed from their insufficient experience and skills in implementing translanguaging pedagogy, particularly translanguaging shifts and design.

García, Johnson and Seltzer (2017) defined translanguaging shifts as a deviation and change in teachers' language choice or instruction in order to make the lesson meaningful for children who fall along all points of the bilingual continuum. Teachers in translanguaging

classrooms must be vigilant and observe bilingual children closely and allow them to use their full language repertoire. Translanguaging design means designing lessons with purposeful language, content, and translanguaging objectives (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017). Expat teachers and Chinese LAs struggled in at least two respects to effectively implement translanguaging shifts and translanguaging design even though they were eager and willing to celebrate and leverage multilingual diversity in their classrooms.

First, while studies have shown that teachers' bilingual skills provided them with more possibilities to interact with bilingual children (Allard, 2017, Sayer, 2013), this study shows that bilingual LAs found that it was both beneficial and difficult to remain vigilant and maintain a balance between children's language use/need, teaching objectives, and other tasks in the classroom. LAs pointed out that it was challenging to navigate between two languages in order to make the lesson/interaction meaningful for children who are at all points of the bilingual continuum. They reported that translanguaging shifts were especially challenging when they had to meet young children's other needs such as physical care. When the workload and the responsibility of strategically using their bilingual skill overwhelmed Chinese LAs, they tended to choose a monolingual way of communicating (using Mandarin or English only) instead of employing translanguaging.

The second challenge reported in this study was the development of a coordinated translanguaging design by expat teachers and Chinese LAs. According to García and Kleyn (2016), a translanguaging design must be made integral to the lesson. In this study, ROCKS's translanguaging co-teaching approach requires expat teachers and LAs to work cohesively and simultaneously to build children's understanding and knowledge of concepts using coordinated translanguaging practices. This is especially evident during group activities like carpet sessions.

Translanguaging design for coordinated teaching is challenging (Rolstad, Swadener & Nakagawa, 2008). In ROCKS' case, apart from lacking co-planning time, expat teachers and LAs reported that even when they had a plan, it was still difficult to integrate translanguaging strategies into the complex and dynamic triangular discourse that exists between expat teachers, LAs, and students.

While many studies have emphasized the importance of professional training for teachers to translate the theory of translanguaging into dynamic classroom practices (Yip & Garcia, 2015), this study highlights the importance of supporting teachers to integrate and automatize the modeling strategies that they learned through professional training. The findings of this study show that when faced with student's dynamic and complex bilingual practices during the carpet sessions, teachers and LAs struggled to flexibly use the strategies they were taught or had planned together. Therefore, it was challenging to maintain the flow of the translanguaging triangular discourse which required communication, interactions, and understanding from and within three parties. In the translanguaging triangular discourse structure in particular, teachers and LAs needed to make themselves understood to each other and to students and then to build another level of triangular interaction, in two languages. Both adults needed to observe children's linguistic needs and conduct translanguaging shifts to facilitate children's learning. There were instances when the Chinese LA was telling a story and the expat teacher needed to observe whether English-speaking children required L1 scaffolding. There were also instances where Mandarin-speaking children asked questions or made comments in Chinese when the expat teacher was telling a story. The Chinese LA would then need to take over the discursive turn and provide facilitation in Mandarin. To make the translanguaging triangular interactions effective and cohesive, both adults needed to provide meaningful input instead of direct

translations, and their input had to adhere to their designated language but with flexibility to cross the border between the two languages according to children's immediate reactions and responses to the leading adult's narratives. In other words, it took moment-to-moment design to thoughtfully coordinate the monolingual talk and the bilingual talk, a practice which makes the translanguaging co-teaching approach successful but challenging.

In addition to coping with the complex and dynamic interactions within a translanguaging triangular discourse, coordinated translanguaging was challenging especially for bilingual Chinese LAs because their partners were monolingual English speakers. Chinese LAs not only needed to take care of Mandarin-speaking children's linguistic needs and express themselves in a comprehensible manner for English-speaking children, they also needed to be perpetually mindful and provide improvised cues for monolingual expat teachers to understand and engage in the translanguaging triangular discourse. Although their efforts contributed to building an authentic bilingual environment which reflected the fluidity of translanguaging practices, LAs struggled when navigating between languages and between audiences (children and expat teachers) who were at different points on the bilingual spectrum.

Overall, the challenges expat teachers and Chinese LAs experienced in implementing translanguaging pedagogy demonstrates that even when translanguaging is accepted as the legitimate pedagogy by the institution and staff members hold a strong translanguaging stance, the successful implementation of translanguaging depended on various factors. Primarily, although translanguaging can be a natural and effortless process for bilingual or multilingual people and especially for young children, it takes deliberate effort for teachers to transform an English classroom into a translanguaging classroom. Consistent with the conditions emphasized by Ascenzi-Moreno (2018), translanguaging pedagogy must be meaningful and intentional. This

study shows that translanguaging interactions did not occur by chance but through deliberate and on-going design by teachers and LAs. Fostering the natural occurrence of translanguaging moments to correspond to each situation to meet children's needs was a challenging task for expat teachers and Chinese LAs, especially when they had to coordinate with other educators. To overcome this challenge, ROCKS' case shows that institutions should not only offer professional training related to translanguaging strategies, but it is also essential to encourage teachers to reflect on their translanguaging practices. The reflections enable teachers to own their own bottom-up and tailored approach (Duarte, 2020) to progressively operationalize the concept of translanguaging for their own contexts in their classrooms.

### **Influential Factors within the Institution**

#### ***Child-Initiated Play Pedagogy: An Important Factor in a Translanguaging Early Years Setting***

One of the reasons DLE programs tend to operate under a language separation policy is because language separation policies can contribute to an equal exposure of L1 and L2 for bilingual students (Turnbull, 2001). Without a separate and secured time and space for each language, school administrators are concerned that "irresponsible" teachers or bilingual students might overuse students' L1 which in turn would hinder the use of the TL in the classroom (Lin, 2015). In theory, the same concern could be extended to ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching approach. ROCKS' translanguaging approach contested the monolingual ideologies grounded in traditional DLE models of bilingualism and freed teachers and children from language restrictions, but if children were free to choose the language they want to use, it is possible that they would have the tendency to only play with peers who speak the same L1. Therefore, it was

important to determine whether or not students ran the risk of overusing their L1 without a solid boundary between English and Chinese.

This study showed that ROCKS's child-initiated play pedagogy helped teachers enhance dynamic bilingualism and, at the same time, avoid students' overuse of their L1. Teachers and LAs reported that when children were given opportunities to follow their own interests, thoughts and imagination when they played, children tended to choose their play peers or join a play group not based on their L1 but rather focusing on whether the activity aligned with their interests. Even when children sometimes initiated a play activity with other children who spoke the same L1, some children in the group lost interest and drifted away, while other children whose interest was the same but whose L1 was different then joined in. Bilingual children navigated between the two languages (Chinese and English) to organize their play and peer relationships. Class observations showed that children in ROCKS used both English and Chinese, depending on the situation in the playgroup. Children's navigation between the two languages reflected the authentic and dynamic translanguaging practices in bilingual communities, in which L1 is neither being avoided nor being overused deliberately. Furthermore, child-initiated play pedagogy provides children with more opportunities to learn another language because they prefer to learn a language from their peers rather than from adults (Rolstad, Swadener & Nakagawa, 2008).

In addition to drawing children with different L1s to play together, child-initiated play also helped expat teachers and Chinese LAs implement translanguaging pedagogy. Both translanguaging pedagogy and child-initiated play pedagogy placed bilingual children at the center of learning. Translanguaging pedagogy focuses on what bilingual speakers do with languages to make sense of their bilingual worlds instead of deliberately teaching them a

language (García, 2009a). Child-initiated play allows children to choose how, where, and what play they wish to engage in based on their own thoughts, ideas, and interests instead of teachers' (Craft, McConnon & Matthews, 2012). Both pedagogies consider children's knowledge, language skills, and interests as assets. Teachers build instruction and facilitation upon these assets. Before translanguaging was implemented, ROCKS had laid a good foundation of child-initiated play pedagogy by providing professional development workshops and encouraging teachers to conduct action research related to this pedagogy. Thus, when teachers and LAs constructed the three translanguaging components, especially translanguaging showcases, their understanding of child-initiated play enabled them to capitalize on children's interests and bilingual skills, showing respect for children's contributions in play and bilingual interactions (Pramling-Samuelsson & Johansson, 2009; Clark & Moss, 2001). Therefore, the child-initiated play pedagogy enhanced teachers and LAs' translanguaging stance and their willingness to implement translanguaging pedagogy.

Furthermore, the marriage between translanguaging pedagogy and child-initiated play pedagogy enabled expat teachers and Chinese LAs to work within socio-constructivist principles (Anning, Cullen & Fleer 2008), which emphasize that all learning develops as a result of social interaction and language use. Translanguaging pedagogy encourages teachers to embed learning in meaningful conversations and ongoing interactions. Child-initiated play helped expat teachers and LAs in ROCKS conduct effective interactions with children because children initiate not only physical activity (e.g., imaginative play, scientific exploration), they also initiate interactional activity with each other and with adults (Waters & Maynard, 2010). For example, when expat teachers and Chinese LAs participated in activities initiated by children, they found these activities sustained shared thinking among adults and children (Siraj-Blatchford & Sylva,

2004) and provided opportunities for them to deepen their interactions through drawing on all the linguistic features in bilingual children's linguistic repertoire. The two pedagogies worked cohesively to co-construct knowledge and understanding in communication (Duarte, 2016) and to raise children's confidence and motivation (Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

### ***Institutional Positioning Practices: An Overlooked Hindrance***

This study examines the factors that impacted the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy and shows that successfully enacting translanguaging pedagogy does not solely rely on schools' and teachers' understanding or pedagogical model and skills. Other factors within an institution, such as the school's operational structure or teachers' institutional positions, can influence how teachers implement translanguaging pedagogy. The study connects positioning theory with the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. The analysis of the positioning practices shows a dynamic process through which Chinese LAs navigated different positions at ROCKS and how this negotiation sometimes negatively impacted their translanguaging practices. The findings revealed discrepancies between Chinese LAs' institutional position and ROCKS' co-teaching approach, and between LAs' institutional position and their self-positioning. These discrepancies created tension during the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy because teachers are not passive recipients of the institutional position, they are also agentic to the institutional responsibilities and power that accompany their assigned position (Priestley, Biesta & Robinson, 2015). When teachers recognize that their position does not provide the power and privilege to execute the responsibility of the position, resistance to that responsibility can occur (Tisdell, 1998).

Positive relationships and equal positioning between expat teachers and LAs were crucial to ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching approach. This was not only because monolingual expat teachers often rely on Chinese LAs' bilingual skill in the classroom, but also because the school



required that carpet sessions be conducted through coordinated translanguaging by both adults. In this way, ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching approach required a joint effort from an expat teacher and a LA in each co-teaching unit. However, ROCKS' career ladder positioned expat teachers higher than Chinese LAs in the institutional hierarchy. On the one hand, the translanguaging triangular discourse structure requires equal input and leadership from expat teachers and LAs. On the other hand, the unequal institutional position obstructed the relationship between some expat teachers and LAs and created tension in their collaboration. The unequal institutional position also failed to empower Chinese LAs to actively execute their leadership during the carpet sessions.

The triadic dynamic (van Langenhove & Harré, 1999) of position, story line, and speech act explicates the various reactions of the Chinese LAs to their institutional positioning. LAs either accepted their institutional position but expressed their frustration and dissatisfaction within a storyline, or rejected their institutional position, and then created a new story line, in which they redefined their duties and rights. Consequently, they enacted different self-positioning practices. Sometimes, they positioned themselves as TAs, who could not be held responsible for children's language learning. Other times they identified themselves as Mandarin teachers who deserved more respect and a higher salary. Each self-positioning constructed a different professional identity. Although it is fairly common for teachers to have multiple identities (Beijaard et al. 2004), Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2007) indicate that teachers need to develop a clear professional identity in order to "secure their commitment to their work and adherence to professional norms of practice" (p. 383). At ROCKS, Chinese LA's unanchored professional identity negatively affected their engagement in coordinated translanguaging practices and made the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy very

inconsistent. LAs who saw themselves as an LA or Mandarin teacher cooperated with the expat teachers more actively. Their coordinated sessions flowed more smoothly to promote children's bilingual development. The study also found that LAs who positioned themselves as TAs were often reluctant to co-plan with expat teachers or contribute to the translanguaging triangular discourse structure. These LAs perceived their individual bilingual skill as a source of extra work because ROCKS asked them to strategically shift between Chinese and English, which the expat teachers did not have to do and could not do.

ROCKS' translanguaging co-teaching approach expected similar responsibility from Chinese LAs and expat teachers concerning the implementation of translanguaging. Although Chinese LAs' bilingual skill was advantageous to ROCKS' translanguaging approach, the inconsistency between the cooperation required by the co-teaching approach and the unequal hierarchy among expat teachers and Chinese LAs, as well as the discrepancy between the workload required by the new operational structure and the institutional status or salary determined by the hierarchical structure, significantly hindered Chinese LAs from following the recently changed translanguaging co-teaching approach.

## CHAPTER SIX: IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

This study has important implications for implementing translanguaging pedagogy in a dual language program, especially within early education learning contexts. The results of this study inform the field of DLE by highlighting challenges and offering recommendations for translanguaging implementation. Also, previous findings related to the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy have focused on teachers in individual classrooms, but this study provides a holistic view of the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in an institution. The findings suggest various factors, both individual and institutional, for schools and teachers to take into consideration when implementing translanguaging pedagogy including pedagogical skills, institutional power dynamics and operational structure. In this section, I identify several key implications for education that emphasize translanguaging pedagogy. These implications include suggestions for teachers' instructional practices and for school's administrative actions.

### **Implications for Translanguaging Pedagogical Practices**

This study showed that the three ecological translanguaging components can work together to build children's knowledge of a concept by approaching it in multiple strategic ways. Many translanguaging studies have focused on using students' L1 when acquiring another language (translanguaging scaffolding) (e.g., Kirsch & Seele, 2020; Sanders-Smith & Dávila, 2019; Velasco & Fialais, 2018), and have not presented a collective project of translanguaging bridges, translanguaging assessments and translanguaging showcases. In contrast, this study shows that when the school legitimized translanguaging pedagogy, teachers were able to effectively balance the goals of teaching a language (the weak version of translanguaging) and developing children's bilingualism (the strong version of translanguaging) through an iterative enactment of the three translanguaging components.

García and Otheguy (2020) highlighted the difference between plurilingualism and translanguaging and stressed that a translanguaging classroom should go beyond the common practice of merely allowing the occasional use of students' L1; using students' L1 as a tool to teach another language is important yet insufficient to instantiate the core of translanguaging theory. The strategies demonstrated in the first twelve examples in the findings section provide language teachers practical and concrete illustrations of how to deconstruct the ideological boundary between two languages and reflect the core of translanguaging theory, which reflects some of the goals of anti-bias education and captures the sociolinguistic reality and symbolic competence of emergent bilingual students (Derman-Sparks, LeeKeenan, & Nimmo, 2015; Sayer, 2013) by recognizing and developing bilingual children's entire repertoire. Teachers can use these strategies to help children "produce integrated knowledge, [and] deep understandings and coherent identifications" through employing all the linguistic features in their linguistic repertoire (García, 2009, p. 116).

In addition, and of crucial importance, there has been a disparity between the quickly growing numbers of bilingual students and the slowly growing numbers of bilingual teachers (Flores & Aneja, 2017). The lack of bilingual teachers thus requires monolingual teachers to employ practical strategies for enacting translanguaging pedagogy. However, there has been very limited research offering pedagogical examples of how monolingual English teachers can enact translanguaging pedagogy when they are incapable of using code-switching, an important translanguaging strategy commonly used by bilingual teachers. This study offered strategies for monolingual English teachers to enact translanguaging in the classroom. By putting bilingual children at the center of their teaching, monolingual English teachers can devise and employ different translanguaging strategies corresponding to each situation in order to meet children's

needs. For example, they can draw on children's dynamic bilingualism as a resource for teaching and learning. Teachers can let individual children go through the process of languaging in L1 and then producing L2. Monolingual English teachers also actively changed their role as teachers to become co-learners with emergent bilingual children. The school's positive stance towards translanguaging empowered monolingual teachers to implement translanguaging pedagogy consistently without being concerned about their own monolingualism or whether translanguaging might limit their opportunities for teaching English. Consistent usage of the various translanguaging strategies fostered the natural occurrence of children's spontaneous translanguaging because translanguaging was established as the norm in the classroom. The various strategies illustrated in this study can inform monolingual teachers who desire to go beyond their linguistic limitations to construct a translanguaging classroom that reflects the combination of the strong and weak versions of translanguaging, a classroom where translanguaging might be used not only to learn a language but to expand bilingual students' integrated and holistic linguistic repertoires (MacSwan, 2017; Turner & Lin, 2016).

These findings also contribute to teachers' translanguaging pedagogy by addressing the often-ignored challenges teachers encounter during the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. Recent studies about translanguaging pedagogy have primarily investigated successful examples of translanguaging practices in the classroom to illustrate its transformative nature (García & Kleyn, 2016). This is because one purpose of these studies was to demonstrate what translanguaging can achieve in terms of student learning in the classroom. Very few studies have analyzed the challenges teachers encounter when they apply translanguaging pedagogy in the classroom. It is important to address these challenges as they may hinder or subvert the successful implementation of translanguaging. This study reveals that when teachers were free

from administrative language restrictions and held a strong translanguaging stance, challenges still arose concerning translanguaging shift and translanguaging design. The findings of this study provide detailed descriptions of how Chinese LAs' bilingual skills became a challenge in an early childhood education context and how the complexity of triangular discourse sometimes made translanguaging attempts ineffective. These challenges occurred not because the school did not provide them with relevant professional training, but because teachers needed to internalize translanguaging strategies and apply them according to the immediate bilingual context in the classroom. Codifying and sharing these challenges can help the field advance its translanguaging stance, fostering multilingualism in a more effective and rigorous way, and encouraging researchers and educators to develop solutions to these challenges. Further research is needed to focus on how professional training can help teachers internalize translanguaging strategies and translate the theory of translanguaging into dynamic classroom practices (Yip & García, 2015). For that leap to take place, we need to investigate questions such as, what interventions can equip and support teachers in overcoming the challenges of implementing translanguaging in a dynamic classroom? What kind of teacher-researcher collaboration is necessary for translanguaging pedagogy to take hold in schools? How can unequal status of monolingual teachers and bilingual teachers or paraprofessionals be addressed in ways that improve translanguaging pedagogy? These questions point to the urgent need to advance professional learning for practitioners in order to develop translanguaging classrooms.

### **Implications for Institutional Administrative Actions**

This case study offers important insights for institutions that are interested in implementing translanguaging pedagogy. An increasing number of studies have focused on how individual teachers implement translanguaging pedagogy in classrooms (e.g., Hamman, 2018; García, 2017; García & Lin, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2016; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Gort &

Sembiante, 2015; Lin, 2015; Poza, 2018; Sayer, 2013) but none of them have examined the dynamics of an entire school or program. While individual teachers' translanguaging practices are important, it is also essential to use translanguaging theory to transform institutions because the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy does not solely rely on teachers' translanguaging knowledge, beliefs, and skills. Translanguaging pedagogy can only really take root as the normative paradigm in education when schools, not just individual teachers, normalize the use of diverse strategies in the language classroom (Parada & Turnbull, 2018). However, very few DLE schools have made this curriculum and pedagogical shift (Sánchez et al, 2018) because rethinking language allocation in DLE programs that include more translanguaging practices requires not only that teachers shift their practice, but that they make organizational changes. The results of this case study suggest that the adoption of translanguaging is not necessarily an easy path towards school transformation. This study provides empirical evidence that a variety of factors within an institution (including administrators, school policy, parents, and teachers) can impact the permeation of a translanguaging perspective, which in turn, supports or hinders teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in their classrooms.

The findings of institutional factors influencing translanguaging are informative for schools. For example, schools should take into consideration language teachers, especially the non-English language teachers' institutional positions and their self-positioning. In order to challenge English dominance ideologies in the classroom, it is important to examine whether non-English teachers' institutional positions reflect power and privilege equal to that of the English teachers in the classroom. In addition, school leaders should be aware that language teachers' self-positioning practices are possibly misaligned with their institutional positions.

These factors fall outside of classrooms yet have a significant impact on teachers' implementation of translanguaging pedagogy within classrooms, because language equality, promoted by translanguaging theory, is not only a pedagogical practice, but also a social structural practice. In other words, if we want to bring equality to language-minority students (Nieto, 2010) and provide them an educational environment that celebrates their L1, we must also scrutinize whether institutional structures, including teachers' positionality, mirror and reify language equality within a classroom.

In addition, this study highlights how other influential factors, such as other stakeholders within the institutional circle, may influence teachers' translanguaging practices. One should not forget that administrative leaders and parents, who are usually absent from the classroom, may play important roles in the adoption and implementation of translanguaging pedagogy. For example, when parents' expectations differ from school expectations regarding children's bilingual development, language teachers will likely suffer from the discrepancy. The pressure may cause language teachers to drift away from their commitment to translanguaging. Therefore, it is important that a DLE school provides parents a clear description about what kind of language policy and teaching goals they have. Ideally, DLE schools should also offer parents workshops regarding translanguaging theory and should communicate with parents concerning their children's codeswitching practices at home.

Another institutional factor that school leaders should bear in mind is that although the pedagogy of translanguaging is the focus of the teachers' teaching, translanguaging is also a political act. Without being cognizant of this latter point, school leaders and teachers may strive to create a bilingual environment inside the classroom but may overlook various factors promoting English dominance outside the classroom. The case of ROCKS shows that a lack of



Chinese representatives, in the leader team and within bilingual public facing documents, impacted teachers' translanguaging practices in the classroom. Translanguaging pedagogy cannot be implemented in a bubble. Schools should encourage educators, students and families to co-construct counter-stories and respond to dominant narratives (García, 2019) in order to make translanguaging a normative paradigm within an institution.

### **Implications for Translanguaging Research**

This case study advances knowledge of translanguaging theory and practice, as well as translanguaging research in early childhood education. Young children who have been exposed to two or more languages experience a dynamic process of developing bilingual and biliterate competencies without deliberate attention and effort to the rapid development of their bilingualism (García, Kleifgen, & Falchi, 2008; Gort, 2006; Reyes, 2006). Therefore, translanguaging pedagogy especially fits the predisposition of young children and how they learn a new language because translanguaging pedagogy reflects authentic ways of language mixing and production (García, 2017; Sanders-Smith & Dávila, 2019). Research thus far has mainly examined translanguaging pedagogy within elementary, middle and high schools (e.g., Garza & Arreguín-Anderson, 2018; Somerville & Faltis, 2019). Given the fact that children in preschool and kindergarten are at a prime age to begin the process of second language acquisition (DeKeyser, 2000), it is important to understand how translanguaging pedagogy can help young children in early year settings to develop bilingualism. Also, to address the general inadequacy of research in early childhood second/foreign language acquisition, and the obvious need for the teachers to know what to do with and what to expect from emergent bilingual children's bilingual skills, this study was situated in a dual language Pre-K school. The findings of this study provide important pedagogical and administrative guidelines for Pre-K schools and teachers who work with linguistically diverse young children. These guidelines including

ROCKS' policies about teachers' language use, and teacher cooperation can inform other Pre-K schools in how they might expand language boundaries and create authentic situations that reflect the multilingual communities in which young children learn languages naturally and learn to use the different features in their linguistic repertoire. The study also highlighted the importance of child-initiated play pedagogy, which counterbalances the potential risk of overusing children's L1 in a translanguaging DLE classroom. Thus, DLE schools can take into consideration the inclusion of child-initiated play pedagogy or other child-centered approaches before implementing translanguaging pedagogy.

In summary, this case study provides a holistic view of the implementation of translanguaging pedagogy in a co-teaching DLE school. The case study approach allowed for the investigation of how teachers' translanguaging practices are associated with their translanguaging stance and skills, institutional position, school policy, and parents' expectations. The findings reveal the opportunities and challenges when there is no language restriction policy, and what it took for an institution to support the enactment of a dynamic bilingual education that acknowledges the complete set of linguistic assets students bring to the classroom, and what factors may have hindered this endeavor. Furthermore, this study provides insights to guide DLE programs on how to implement translanguaging pedagogy in order to fulfill the goal of helping students become, and legitimately be, bilinguals at the same time as they are learning and developing their languages.

### **Limitations**

This case study is intended to shed light on how translanguaging pedagogy is implemented and practiced by teachers in a translanguaging DLE school, and what factors within the institution contributed to the implementation of the model. Given the fact that ROCKS'

translanguaging DLE program, which does not apply a language separation policy, is not a prevailing model that most dual language schools adopt, the findings of this study may not be easily applicable to other extant settings. However, this research can inform researchers and practitioners in other settings, as certain features and events can offer transferable “knowledge and meaning” for “newly encountered experiences” (Faltis, 1997, p. 149). In other words, while a case study is limited in the extent to which findings are generalizable or transferable to other settings (Pearson, 2015), this case study can still deepen our understanding of how translanguaging pedagogy can be implemented when there is no language separation in a DEL classroom. Moreover, ROCKS’ example can inform organizations and institutions that may be similarly interested in promoting translanguaging pedagogy more effectively.

In addition, I am aware that a cause-and-effect relationship between institutional factors and teachers’ pedagogical practices cannot be drawn from the findings. Although I analyzed and described how the influential factors impacted teachers to implement translanguaging pedagogy in the findings and discussion sections, my perspective and description are subjective, which may possibly affects the reliability of the study. To overcome this limitation, I attempted to increase internal validity through triangulation by using various data sources, employing long-term observations and by disclosing assumptions and theoretical orientations.

Another limitation of this study is that the purpose of this study was to systematically document and describe the teachers’ teaching practices and the institutional organization at ROCKS, not to understand student’s perspectives. I did not include student feedback on teachers’ translanguaging pedagogy, which could potentially have provided another source for data triangulation. However, considering the very young age of the students, they are not easily able to articulate their perceptions of teachers’ teaching practices; hence, I did not collect this

kind of data. However, studies have found that very young children (ages 3–6) are capable of expressing valuable perspectives regarding their contexts (Dayan & Ziv, 2012). Thus, it is possible to investigate young children’s feelings about being in a classroom where they can use their bilingual skills. Although children’s perspectives regarding their own translanguaging experiences in the classroom was not within the scope of this study, it is an interesting aspect to investigate in the future.

Finally, the data collection process was significantly interrupted due to the COVID-19 global pandemic. Although I conducted 280 hours of classroom observations for a pilot study for my proposal in 2018-2019, I had planned to do another six-week class observation along with a series of interviews with teachers and administrators in China to gain more data to capture translanguaging practices. However, the pandemic made my trip to China impossible, so I had to adjust my data collection, shifting many activities into a virtual space, which somewhat limited the interactions and time spend with the study participants.

## APPENDIX

### Appendix A: Interview Questions

For teachers and LAs:

1. What do you think is the effective way for early year children to acquire two languages?
2. How do you perceive students' codeswitching practices?
3. What is your understanding of translanguaging?
4. What is your understanding of dual language program?
5. How is the dual language program of Rochester Shanghai different from other bilingual language programs in other schools?
6. What are the challenges you have encountered in your teaching in this dual language program?
7. What do you expect from the school regarding your work?
8. What do you think the school expects of you?
9. What do you think the parents expects of you?
10. Have you experienced any pressure from parents in relation to your translanguaging practices?
11. Do you have any questions regarding to the dual language approach of Rochester, if any?

For administrative staff:

1. How do you perceive students' codeswitching practices?
2. What is your personal understanding of translanguaging and bilingualism?
3. What do you think is the effective way for early year children to acquire two languages?
4. Why did Rochester change from a monolingual approach to a dual language approach?
5. What are the factors that made Rochester school decide to operate a concurrent dual language program?

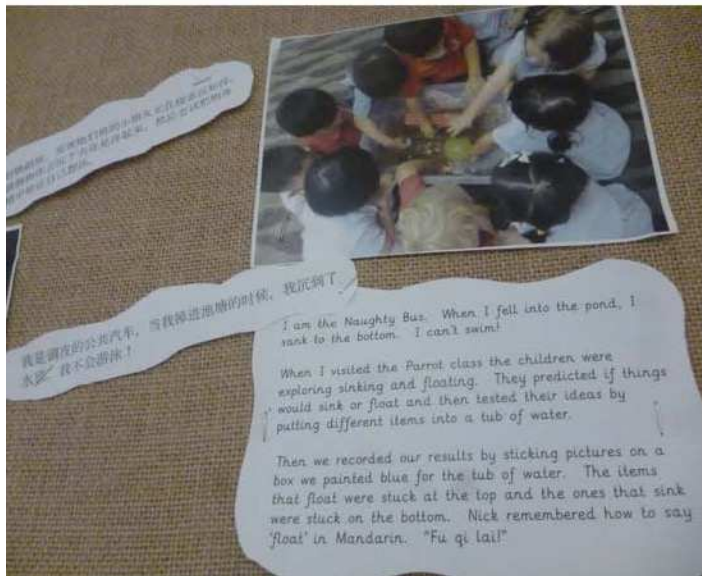
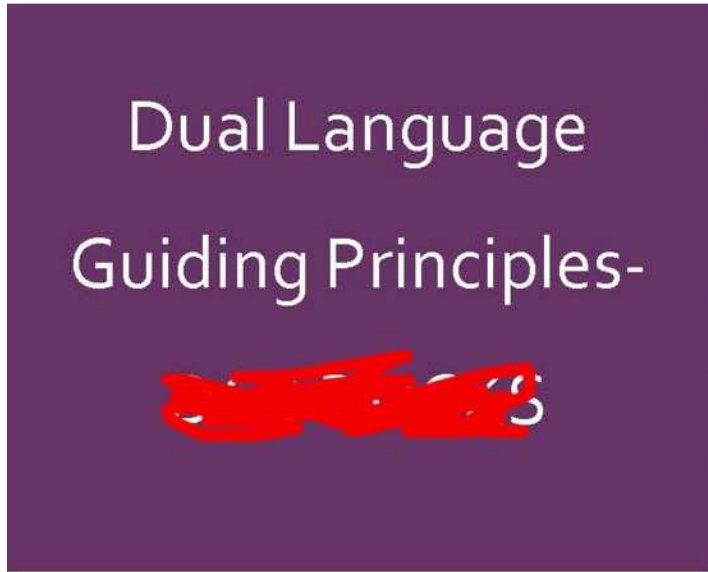
6. How is the dual language program of Rochester Shanghai different from other bilingual language programs in other schools?
7. What is Rochester pedagogical and theoretic belief of bilingualism?
8. What are the challenges you have encountered in operating this dual language program?
9. How do parents respond/react to the dual language program?
10. Can you talk about students' language development performance in the dual language program?
11. Can you talk about teachers and LA' teaching performance in relation to the translanguaging pedagogy?

#### For Parents

1. Can you introduce yourself and your child's language background?
2. What are the language(s) your child is exposed to at home?
3. Why did you choose Rochester for your child's education?
4. How many years has your child been studying at Rochester?
5. What is your personal understanding of translanguaging and bilingualism?
6. What do you think are the differences between the dual language program at Rochester Shanghai and those at other schools?
7. What do you think is Rochester's pedagogical and theoretical philosophy of bilingualism?
8. Does your child practice codeswitching? How do you perceive codeswitching practices?
9. Do you think your child's language(s) skills have improved since he (she) has studied at Rochester?
10. What do you expect of the English teachers and the Chinese LAs at Rochester?

11. Can you talk about your future educational plans for your child?

## Appendix B: ROCKS Dual Language Guiding Principles







## Language usage by the adults in the setting

*In each setting there are native English speaking expatriate teachers and native Mandarin speaking LAs/ HLATS/CT. For most of the day, these adults will maintain the use of their designated language in interactions with children. However, under certain explicit circumstances, the adult may deviate from this expectation and make a deliberate choice to use bilingual speech.*

*Most (but not all) expatriate teachers have beginner level fluency level in Mandarin, though there is an expectation that all expatriate staff will show an openness towards Mandarin and will acquire some basic, practical Mandarin.*

*Therefore, expatriate teachers will use almost exclusively English. They will make use of Mandarin under the following circumstances:*

- *To establish relationships with Mandarin speaking children such as greetings or common polite phrases.*
- *To reinforce and establish routines EARLY in the school year (e.g. Line up, wash your hands).*
- *To comfort Mandarin speaking children who are distressed.*
- *To sustain an interaction with a Mandarin speaking child who appears to be losing interest in continuing the interaction.*
- *To model use of Mandarin and a positive attitude towards Mandarin for the non-Mandarin speaking children.*

*The Mandarin LAs/HLATS/CT are bilingual Mandarin/English speakers with varying levels of English proficiency. It is expected that they use predominantly Mandarin, but make use of their range of linguistic repertoire in a purposeful and deliberate way to support the children's acquisition of language. The following describes occasions when they may deviate from using Mandarin;*

- English can be used to establish relationships with non-Mandarin speakers*
- English can be used to model bilingual speech for Mandarin speaking children*
- English can be used when dealing with behaviour management for non-Mandarin speakers*
- English can be used to reinforce and establish routines EARLY in the school year.*
- English can be used to clarify understanding or reinforce new concepts or vocabulary (KS1)*

### **The Four Macro Skills; Speaking, Listening, Reading and Writing**

*Understanding is the foundation for language acquisition. In the early stages of acquiring language, our emphasis is on providing effective language exposure, supported by meaning making strategies such as gestures, visuals, intonation, facial expressions and contextual cues. As comprehension develops, the door to new linguistic system is unlocked and children begin to be able to learn **through** this new system, expanding their repertoire and allowing them to begin **trans-languaging** (e.g. The process of using multiple language systems to process, think and produce language).*

## Appendix C: A Poster of Teacher Action Research

### *Developing the Quality of Interactions in the Toddler House*

*“Improving the quality of consistent, sustained interactions with children, focusing on how we engage them in play”.*

#### Abstract

The main purpose of this study was to ensure that all children were engaged in consistent, quality interactions with the teachers in the Toddler House.

Working with a Key Group of teachers on strategies to help them engage in quality interactions ensured that I found out what were the most effective strategies for the team.

This led to the development of an interaction scale which outlines, ‘Developing, Expected, Exceeding’ interactions for the teachers to evaluate and reflect on their practice.

Renee Wheeler  
Toddler Year  
Group Leader

#### Professional Learning Community:

Ms. Renee Wheeler, Toddler Year Group Leader, DUCKS

#### Participants and acknowledgement:

Ms. Ivy Chen, Ms. Peggy Wan, Ms. Helen Zhu, Ms. Lucy Yang and the children.

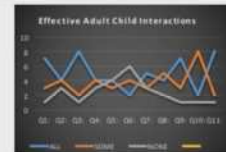
#### The Theory

<https://www.early-education.org.uk/news/blog-interacting-intervening-or-interfering>  
<http://www.keap.org.uk/documents/LearningPlayingInteracting.pdf>

#### Data

Increased levels in interactions from observations taken of the Key Group from October - April.

Reflections demonstrated teachers upskilling their thinking on how to engage children in play.



#### Methods & Materials

- Observations of the Key Group throughout the year using the observation model, “Observation checklist: Effective adult child interactions”.
- Workshops on effective interactions: how to engage in play, body language and facial expressions.
- Video observations and reflections.
- Teachstone: “Power of Interactions” video clips (<http://info.teachstone.com/power-interactions-video>)

#### Results

The data has demonstrated that there is a more consistent approach to interactions within the Toddler House. The Key Group have implemented these strategies, and written observations on how these strategies were effective (or not effective) for engaging children in play. The quality of observations has also improved.

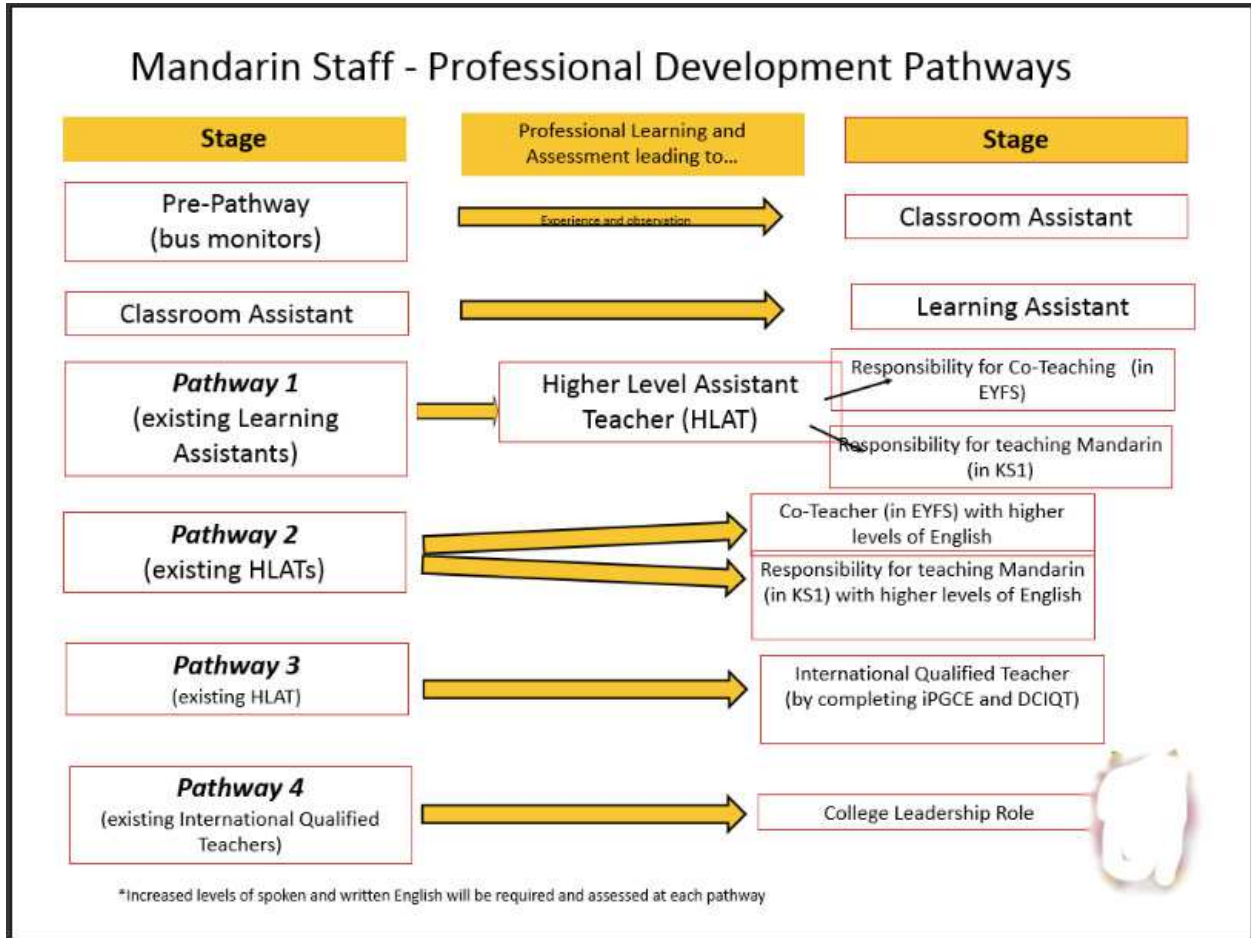
- *“I learnt that we need to ask further questions. Then the children will enjoy positive learning”.*
- *“We can use different ways to ask children if we can play with them. This will help our interactions.”*

#### What's Next?

To use the interaction scale with the Key Group. Evaluate, amend and include the use of the Interaction Scale as a part of the induction process for the Toddler House teaching team in the new academic year. The aim is to ensure all teachers are engaging in high quality and consistent interactions with the children.



## Appendix D: ROCKS Career Development Pathway for Mandarin Staff



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