

Translanguaging in the English-Centric Classroom:
A Communities of Practice Perspective

By

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To my family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

For two years, I was lucky enough to spend time with two cohorts of in-service elementary teachers that were learning to support emerging bilingual students in their classrooms. Each week, I observed them setting ambitious content and language objectives, structuring meaningful and rigorous activities, and implementing important practices for supporting their students' academic and linguistic progress. Along with two university professors, I documented these teachers' growth over the course of these two years using the Sheltered Immersion Observation Protocol (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short 2004). While almost all of the teachers showed positive gains on all parts of this protocol, the majority continued to struggle with the same instructional recommendation: leveraging students' heritage languages. Moreover, when students did use heritage languages, they used them in isolated instances that were often separate from larger learning goals in the classroom.

Observing and working with teachers who were struggling to find meaningful ways of including languages other than English in their classrooms prompted me to pursue this dissertation. These initial experiences made me curious about the role that heritage languages play in contexts where English is the medium of instruction, and curious about the challenges teachers' face when implementing pedagogies that encourage the use of these languages. These two overarching questions are examined in the following project conducted over the course of an academic year in one 2nd grade and one 3rd grade classroom. This dissertation seeks to inform not only understandings about the power of leveraging students' heritage languages, but how teachers can implement pedagogies that encourage the use of these languages in immersion contexts.

As classrooms continue to grow in linguistic and cultural diversity (NCELA 2010), educators and researchers continue to explore the rich pedagogies in which students' heritage languages can support students' academic, linguistic, and social development (Cummins, 2005). Instead of "bracketing off" English in instruction (García, 2009), *translanguaging pedagogies* offer opportunities for students and teachers to draw on all their linguistic resources to make meaning (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Rather than limiting students to only some of the resources in their semiotic toolkits, these pedagogies promote students' uses of a wide range of resources within a holistic language system to communicate strategically in various contexts (García, 2009).

Translanguaging pedagogies position students' bilingualism and multilingualism as resources for learning (Ruiz, 1984), rather than deficits, and recent research has begun to detail both the scope and the power of these pedagogies in the classroom (for a review, see García & Wei, 2014). As students translanguage, or move across what have previously been described as autonomous languages and registers of speech for communicative purposes (García, 2009), they might compare languages to promote linguistic development (Martin-Beltrán, 2014), translate texts to promote conceptual change (Jiménez, et al., 2015), or even convey nuances in meaning when composing persuasive texts to promote reader engagement (Martinez, 2010). In their seminal study, Lucas and Katz's (1994) found that heritage languages can play important roles in the ESL classroom, from facilitating group work to helping clarify misunderstandings in texts. García and Kleifgen (2010) build on and extend these findings, arguing that including all of an individual's linguistic resources in the classroom is vital, as translanguaging is the way that multilingual individuals make sense of their multilingual worlds.

This assertion is supported by research that explores translanguaging in contexts where interlocutors, often times teacher and students, share a heritage language. Sayer's (2013) work in Texas, for example, shows how students and their teacher use Spanish and English resources to make sense of texts and students' lives outside of school. Similarly, Creese and Blackledge's (2010) work in community schools in England show how students use English and Gujarati resources to clarify procedural information, among other functions. Even de Oliveira and colleagues' (2015) work, which investigates how an English-dominant teacher uses students' heritage languages in a kindergarten classroom, shows how this teacher's knowledge of Spanish, though limited, helps facilitate translanguaging pedagogies. But how might a teacher leverage a students' Arabic language resources when that teacher knows only a few vocabulary words in Arabic? And, as questioned in Martínez-Roldan's (2015) investigation of English linguistic hegemony, how might teachers and students participate in translanguaging pedagogies when classroom materials and ideologies encourage participation along monolingual norms?

This dissertation addresses two knowledge gaps in the translanguaging literature. The first gap relates to the need to investigate teacher language proficiencies when understanding translanguaging pedagogies. Helman (2012) estimates about 91% of students identified as English Language Learners (ELLs) are educated in classrooms where English is the medium of instruction. Lucas and Villegas (2011) note that as the student population continues to grow in linguistic and cultural diversity, the teaching force has largely remained White and "monolingual." Translanguaging pedagogies must address how the rich and varied resources that students bring to the classroom can be leveraged, if at all, in environments where teachers might not speak students' heritage languages and English is the primary medium of instruction. I refer to these classrooms as *English-centric*, as English is the medium of instruction due to not only

official language policy, but through the dominance of English as the language of verbal exchanges, the curriculum, instructional materials, and classroom resources like textbooks or storybooks. I use English-centric rather than *English-only* with an understanding that students and teachers in these environments are often multilingual, and thus, the negotiated and constructed contexts in which they participate reflect aspects of this multilingualism (Pennycook, 2010). To address this first knowledge gap, I ask what are the forms and functions of heritage languages use in English-centric environments. I also ask what successes and challenges teachers experience when implementing translanguaging pedagogies.

The second knowledge gap is the need to investigate translanguaging pedagogies as they relate to the contexts in which they are implemented. As mentioned in the opening paragraph of this dissertation, the translanguaging that I observed in teachers' classrooms was often removed from larger learning goals and occurred in isolated instances. Whereas the research literature does value the importance of attending to context when examining translanguaging (Gort, 2015), it does not sufficiently account for how translanguaging becomes a meaningful practice within an actual community of language users who shape these contexts through language use. What individuals do with language is always tied to the localities in which language practices occur, but "our words are produced in places that are themselves constructed and interpreted" (Pennycook, 2010, p. 7). Language use is inextricably tied to local and distant contexts, but contexts are never fixed or monolithic, and in contrast, are constantly negotiated and constructed by the individuals that inhabit them. This dissertation builds on this dialogic relationship between individual language use and communities of speakers, and explores language as a negotiated tool within a classroom community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). I explore how language operates as a tool for negotiating meaning within this community and how this community

shapes the use of this tool for making meaning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). I seek to understand how translanguaging shapes and is shaped by two communities of practice and how this translanguaging leads to meaning-making in these communities.

By examining the language practices of two English-centric elementary classrooms, I address *what* translanguaging pedagogies consist of, *who* can participate in translanguaging pedagogies, and *how* pedagogies are shaped over time within communities. As such, this dissertation is organized around two major goals: (1) exploring how multiple languages are used as tools for meaning-making in the classroom; (2) and, examining how the classroom community affords and constrains the use of these tools for making meaning.

Research Questions

The following three research questions guided this study.

1. What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in two English-centric classrooms?
2. How does translanguaging afford or constrain meaning-making in two communities of practice, and how do these communities of practice shape meaning-making?
3. What are teacher perceptions of translanguaging pedagogies in their communities of practice?

These questions were explored through the analysis of data from a year-long ethnographic study in which one 2nd grade and one 3rd grade teacher leveraged various translanguaging pedagogies. The investigation of these questions helps 1) uncover instructional approaches that encourage and develops students' emergent bilingualism; 2) shed light on the linguistic proficiencies of both teachers and students when using translanguaging pedagogies, and, 3) highlight the importance of understanding language use in relation to learning contexts. Using discourse analysis and methods derived from ethnography of communication (Hymes,

1974), I have found that teachers with limited proficiencies in students' heritage languages can leverage these languages to promote student achievement, but that teacher and student negotiation of how, when, and why these resources are leveraged is necessary. As a regular participant observer in these two classrooms, I have also found that overlapping aspects of learning communities—engagement, shared resources, and joint enterprises—inform the productive use of translanguaging pedagogies.

Before turning to an overview of this dissertation, I emphasize that this dissertation is primarily a study of language use within communities. This study is *not* an examination of two teachers or an evaluation of two teachers' instruction. My goal is not to suggest that one teacher was better than another, nor is it my aim to suggest that certain students were more proficient than others in their linguistic or academic abilities. As will be discussed later, both teachers were committed to finding ways of welcoming students and their heritage languages into the classroom. I seek to describe the successes and challenges both teachers experienced when implementing translanguaging pedagogies, and furthermore, how teachers in communities in specific contexts found productive ways of working with students to leverage their linguistic resources.

Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters. This chapter presents the objectives of this study in relation to what we currently know about translanguaging pedagogies. Chapter 2 details the theoretical frameworks that underlie the design of the research and the analysis of the data. In Chapter 2, I also review the related empirical and theoretical literature and provide a description of how this study contributes to this literature and addresses two major knowledge gaps. In Chapter 3, I focus on the study's methodology and methods. I describe the site and

context for the study, outline my role as a teacher-researcher, and present detailed demographic information of the teacher participants in this study and the classroom level demographic information. I then describe the different sources of data collected in the study, how these data were collected, and my methods for data analysis. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of the study's strengths and weaknesses.

Findings are arranged in three chapters and are guided by the study's three research questions. In Chapter 4, I present findings from the first phase of data analysis, which focuses on the forms and functions of translanguaging in two classrooms. I specifically attend to the forms and functions of language present in teacher and student classroom discourse. In Chapter 5, I present findings from the second phase of data analysis, which focuses on how classroom communities of practice afford and constrain the use of translanguaging pedagogies. I specifically attend to the types of engagement, the use of tools, and the goals within activities that students and teachers negotiate over time. In Chapter 6, I focus on teacher perspectives on translanguaging pedagogies and combine this analysis with insights from Chapters 5 and 6 to make recommendations for pedagogical conditions that could support future translanguaging pedagogies. Chapter 7 is an overview of the study's findings, a discussion of its theoretical and practical contributions, its limitations, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review the relevant theoretical and empirical literature that guide this study. First, I review theories of *translanguaging* and *communities of practice*, the two major theoretical foundations underpinning this study. Next, I examine the relevant literature on translanguaging pedagogies. I attend to teachers' roles within these pedagogies and how classroom communities of practice shape language use. Lastly, I detail the need for qualitative research that addresses the knowledge gaps present in these areas through detailing this study's research questions.

Theoretical Framework

This study is informed by conceptual work in two major areas: translanguaging (García 2009; García & Wei, 2014; Canagarajah, 2012) and communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1993; Wenger, 1998; Toohey, 2000). While translanguaging is a theory concerned primarily with language use and communities of practice is a theory concerned primarily with changes in participation over time, or learning (Wenger, 1998), both theories are concerned with how individuals *make meaning*, as described below.

Translanguaging to Make Meaning

I use translanguaging theory for three major reasons. First, this theory helps articulate the importance of including languages other than English in the classroom. Second, this theory articulates how language use relates to specific learning contexts. Lastly, this theory helps articulate how languages are used to make meaning within contexts.

Theories of translanguaging position language not as a set of rules, structures or discreet skills to be acquired, but as a tool for negotiating and constructing meaning between individuals

and a product of social relations (García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014; Canagarajah, 2013; Gort, 2015). Becker's (1995) notion of *linguaging* frames language use as a social practice or activity where the speaker's use of linguistic resources emerges through negotiating meaning with others in communicative situations. Linguaging, like other social practices, cannot be extracted from social contexts, the tools used to enact this practice, and individuals' goals when participating in this practice (Street, 1984). García and Sylvan (2011) argue translanguaging, like linguaging, must be understood as historically and socially constructed practices, where tools for negotiating meaning develop between speakers within specific contexts. How a student code-switches, for example, depends on a multitude of factors, such as who the student is speaking with, the activity the student is engaged in, and the language norms and ideologies of the classroom.

When examining teacher and student use of translanguaging, I take note that all linguaging is “done at the level of particularity” (Becker, 1995, p. 9), where individuals adapt, construct, and employ discursive tools to negotiate meaning within social interactions. I also take note that translanguaging must then be understood from the “bottom up,” as it “emerges from the meaningful interaction of students with different linguistic backgrounds and their educators” (Garcia, Flores, & Chu, 2011, p. 8). This view of linguaging and translanguaging aligns with the notion that an individual leverages resources from a holistic linguistic repertoire in relation to contexts for reception (Bourdieu, 1977) and goals for participation. Translanguaging challenges the idea that linguistic systems are autonomous or separate within the individual, and the idea that language use is autonomous or separate from context.

Building from Garcia (2009) and Canagarajah (2012), I understand translanguaging as the communicative practices associated with moving across languages within interaction to negotiate meaning. These communicative practices also involve the deployment of semiotic

resources across modalities, including spoken language and textual artifacts, as well as gestures, facial expressions, proxemics, and other ways of using the body. In this dissertation, I focus specifically on the communicative practices associated with moving between languages and registers of speech within verbal interactions. While teachers and students used gesture, for example, to support their negotiation of meaning, I am concerned primarily with how students and teachers used oral language coded in Spanish, Arabic, and English to negotiate meaning. I define *translanguaging pedagogies* in this study as the interactions among students, teachers, tools, and texts in which multiple languages and registers of speech are used in the classroom to promote student achievement.

How these resources are deployed within interaction depends on a multitude of factors, including the linguistic proficiencies of interlocutors, the goals for the interaction, and the context of this interaction. Martínez-Roldán (2015) suggests attending to the overall activity system to understand how linguistic resources are tools that do or do not align with the activity's goals. Smith and Murillo (2015) suggest attending to the linguistic marketplace where these resources are valued, negotiated, or dismissed. Norton (2013), however, has long pointed out that these contexts for communication are never separate from the individuals that participate in them. Whereas the English-centric or dual-language classroom might shape the language practices of individuals within that context, the individuals can still shape these contexts. In accordance with Wei's (2011) work, where individuals demonstrate agency in creating translanguaging spaces in otherwise monolingual contexts, I understand translanguaging as language practices that can shape and are shaped by communicative contexts.

In sum, theories of translanguaging suggest that an individual's multiple languages are part of one holistic language system that the individual accesses with varying degrees of

awareness to communicate strategically in various contexts (García, 2009; Martínez, 2014). Echoing Cook's (2002) notion that the L1 is always present in the L2 mind, the individual leverages resources from this holistic system as interlocutors, activities, and contexts change in a process of "dynamic bilingualism" (García & Kleifgen, 2010). Martínez (2010), for example, found that students regularly used and meshed English and Spanish in a 6th grade ELA class to shift voices for different audiences and communicate nuances in meaning. Creese and Blackledge (2010) found that teachers and students in community schools flexibly adapted English and Gujarati resources to convey information, provide clarification, and determine procedural knowledge. Along with this work that highlights the dynamic and flexible nature of language use, other research has detailed specific pedagogies that leverage translanguaging. Jiménez and colleagues' (2015) work, for example, found that a specific strategic translation activity encouraged students to access their holistic language systems to promote conceptual change.

Despite these studies' attention to different practices that involve the movement between and meshing of languages (i.e., code-switching, language brokering, and translating), they do not directly attend to how these practices are informed by the communities in which they occur. How, for example, did the relationship between the students and teacher in Martínez's (2010) study inform their code-switching? And how might the translation activity in Jiménez and colleagues' (2015) work inform different types of meaning-making when integrated into an existing literacy curriculum? I emphasize that translanguaging must be understood as linguistic practices, thus shifting attention away from an individual's linguistic proficiencies to how individuals within communities use semiotic resources to negotiate meaning with one another. To understand these practices, I turn to Canagarajah's (2013) concept of *translingual practice*,

and define practices as the repeated bundles of activity where individuals might use divergent codes, or multiple languages, to make meaning. These practices can be spontaneous and strategic, but are never “unbidden” (p. 401), meaning they emerge through interaction. Including translingual practice under the umbrella of this study’s translanguaging framework pushes an examination of the different semiotic resources teachers and students use strategically and spontaneously when using multiple languages in the classroom. This translanguaging framework also demands an examination of how certain activities or types of interaction position multiple languages as meaning-making resources or noise in the classroom, thus challenging the idea that all language use leads to effective or productive meaning-making. In the next section, I describe what entails *meaning-making*, as described by a communities of practice framework.

Making Meaning in a Community of Practice

I use a communities of practice framework for three major reasons. First, this theory offers a lens for understanding meaning-making between individuals within a community in a specific context. Second, this framework is a theory of learning that describes how individuals’ varying and changing roles in a community offer and deny certain avenues towards learning. Lastly, this framework describes how language is or is not taken up, or reified, as a tool for meaning making in a community.

While a translanguaging framework positions language as a resource for strategically negotiating meaning, a communities of practice perspective helps articulate the different forms of meaning-making in this language use. A community of practice (CoP) positions language as a tool for participation in activities, for appropriating and shaping other tools, and for promoting engagement between individuals. As its name suggests, central to a CoP is the notion of *practice*, or the activities in which community members engage with one another and with tools to

negotiate meaning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). To understand practice, Wenger (1998) suggests attending to three defining features of all CoPs. First, CoPs are defined by members' *mutual engagement*, where individuals interact in harmony or in conflict, but ultimately, negotiate who they are in relation to the CoP in which they engage and define the goals for the community. This engagement involves individuals "defining identities, establishing who is who, who is good at what, who knows what, who is easy or hard to get along with" (pg. 95). Engagement implies that teachers and students participate in complementary, overlapping, and different ways, but always contribute to shaping the goals, the tools, and the activities valued in the CoP.

Community members also leverage *negotiated resources*, or "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted" to participate in activities (Wenger, 1998, pg. 83). A negotiated resource is a meaning-making tool whose use and appropriation is negotiated and shaped by the different members in the CoP. A linguistic resource includes the oral and written products that teachers and students leverage to communicate and negotiate meanings. While these resources could be coded in Spanish or in English, they are always mobile, meaning that their utility and import vary depending on who is using them, their contexts for use, and their purpose within interactions (Canagarajah, 2012).

These resources then shape the *joint enterprises* that community members undertake as they incorporate the tools, goals, and modes of engagement offered by different community members. Teachers and students co-construct these joint enterprises, "where regular opportunities are provided for students to use speech in collaborative activities with others, to adopt different roles within the learning process, and to change the ways in which they relate to each other" (Renshaw & Brown, 1997, pg. 117). The relationship between these three central

constructs underscores Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion that "agent, activity, and world mutually constitute each other" (p. 33). Engagement, tool use, and activities shape one another, and are shaped by the contexts in which the community exists.

Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of a community of practice (CoP) describes learning as a process of participation and a process of becoming: individuals become more central participants in a CoP as they learn the community's "ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations—in short practices" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992, pg. 464) through participation. Community members can be central, often described as old-timers or experts, or can be more peripheral, often described as beginners or novices. As individuals participate in ways that are recognized and valued by that community they move from legitimate peripheral participation towards more central participation in that community. At other times, however, individuals might be excluded from participation in this community or pushed to the margins of participation. Whether moving inwards or outwards in a community, individuals' participation status is never fixed and changes as engagement, tools, and activities change.

As individuals' participation status in a community change, so do the different tools and activities valued by this community of practice. New tools and new activities lead to new forms of participation, which then leads to the reification of these tools and activities in the classroom. When teachers and students use language as a tool for negotiating meaning in the classroom CoP, they reify this language as a legitimate tool valued by this CoP. Tusting (2005) writes that the reification of a tool for negotiating meaning in a CoP is the congealing of "something of the practice that a community of participation engages in" (p.39). Yet, reification is not synonymous with fossilization; reification is a continual process that occurs through participation (Wenger, 1998). Reification of a tool comes through the use of that tool as a means for participating in a

community. By attending to participation with tools, one can then understand which tools that this community seeks to reify as a legitimate means for negotiating meaning within the CoP.

Similar to other research on language use in classroom communities of practice (Miller & Zuengler, 2011; Toohey, 1998), I define the classroom as the community of practice to be analyzed. In this classroom community of practice, both teachers and students negotiate the linguistic resources for participation and the goals for activities. I use this framework to examine how translanguaging is used to make meaning, if at all. I attend to instances of meaning-making through examining engagement, negotiated resources, and joint activities in the community of practice. I also use this framework to understand how teacher and student roles in this community can change as new tools and activities are introduced. Lastly, I use this framework to understand how translanguaging pedagogies emerge as reifications in the classroom in terms of how they engage individuals, how they involve specific tools, and how they achieve specific aims.

Translanguaging and Communities of Practice

While translanguaging pedagogies suggest that educators can and should find meaningful way of including multiple and varied semiotic resources in instruction, including multiple languages and registers of speech (García, 2009; Garcia & Wei, 2014), embodied resources (Canagarajah, 2013; Moschkovitch, 2002) and multiple modalities when creating and making sense of texts (Canagarajah, 2014; Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001), this theory also suggests the importance of interlocutors and contexts in how resources are deployed. Recent literature on translanguaging has examined language use in diverse contexts, including infant classrooms (Garrity, Aquino-Sterling, & Day, 2015), Korean households (Song, 2015), a university science classroom in Puerto Rico (Mazak & Herbas-Donoso, 2015), and dual language classrooms in

Texas (Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015). This diversity of contexts, however, should not suggest that translanguaging can be incorporated or encouraged productively in any context. Though Canagrajah (2011b) notes that “translanguaging is a naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual students” (p. 8), he also reiterates García and Kleifgen’s (2011) concept of dynamic bilingualism, where language use is responsive to contexts and never “unbidden.” As such, understandings of how language is used by multilingual students and their teachers demands a careful understanding of their classrooms and schools. To understand translanguaging in English-centric classrooms, this study attempts to describe this relationship between the individual and the contexts in which they use language.

When considering an individual as a member of a community, however, these contexts of language use are never fixed, and are continually shaped by the community members that participate in them. As Norton’s (2013) work with *subjectivity* argues that the individual and context mutually and continually shape one another, and studies of language learning and use must attend to this relationship. Therefore, to understand how translanguaging is responsive to context as understandings of dynamic bilingualism suggest, this project attempts to understand how teachers and students participate in a community with translanguaging, and in result, how this translanguaging is then shaped by their meaningful participation.

Assumptions Guiding the Enactment and Design of this Study

This study draws heavily on the empirical and theoretical literature that describes multilingual classrooms. I also draw on my own experiences as a teacher of multilingual students in elementary and secondary classrooms. These understandings and experiences have formed three major assumptions about multilingual classrooms and translanguaging pedagogies. The first assumption relates to the language proficiencies of “monolingual” teachers, and addresses

who can participate in translanguaging pedagogies. The second assumption relates to language use in context, and addresses *where* translanguaging pedagogies can or cannot occur. The third assumption relates to the role of the teacher and researcher.

The “monolingual” teacher. García’s (2009) translanguaging theory posits that multilingual individuals draw from resources in multiple languages to strategically negotiate meaning and achieve communicate purposes. Research has focused primarily on how translanguaging resources emerge between bilingual individuals and their bilingual educators (García, Flores & Chu, 2011, p. 8). Using Cook’s (2002) notion of multicompetence, however, I challenge the idea that teachers are truly “monolingual,” and therefore, cannot participate in translanguaging pedagogies with students that do not share a heritage language. Whereas Reyes (2012) has urged researchers and teachers to position students as *emergent bilinguals* with varying levels of proficiency along a bilingual spectrum (Hornberger, 2003), this study positions teachers along a similar spectrum as they possess some knowledge and awareness of languages other than English that can be leveraged strategically in translanguaging pedagogies.

Canagarajah (2012) supports this argument, and emphasizes that “all of us have translingual competence, with differences in degree and not kind” (p. 8). While one individual might identify as a balanced bilingual and another as a monolingual, both individuals demonstrate translingual competence when they draw on multiple registers of speech, languages, and modalities to negotiate meaning with interlocutors in diverse contexts. This expanded view of teachers’ competence will help answer the question of what specific translanguaging pedagogies “monolingual” teachers can participate in. As a teacher asks a student a question about a vocabulary word in Spanish, for example, she might participate in translanguaging as she attempts to make meaning in an interaction, and furthermore, attempts to expand her own

linguistic repertoire. While the teacher herself might not utter a Spanish word in this interaction, she and her student engage in translanguaging as they leverage divergent codes to make sense of new vocabulary.

This study is predicated on the assumption that meaning-making is possible between individuals that use multiple languages in interaction. This study assumes that no individual is completely “monolingual,” and that individuals constantly expand their proficiencies using their linguistic resources. I assume that multiple languages in the classroom can serve as resources for facilitating meaning-making rather than barriers to communication (Ruiz, 1984).

Language use in context. The second assumption that informs this dissertation is that language is not an autonomous entity with inherent meaning, but that meaning within language is shaped by the individuals that use it, the goals for its use, and the activities in which it is used (Pennycook, 2000). Canagarajah’s (2013) concept of *mobility* is helpful for understanding this assumption: language is not something that an individual simply “has,” but is a changing set of mobile resources whose meanings are shaped in interaction within distinct locales. It is necessary to consider not only what these resources consist of, but how teachers, students, and the contexts in which they interact shape the use and semiotic potential of these mobile resources.

I assume that the value of language and its utility in the classroom relates to the classroom community in which it is used. Research on speech communities supports this position (Hymes, 1974; Zentella, 1998; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1998), showing that language forms and is formed by the social practices shared by groups of individuals. I build on this work and examine the classroom communities of practice where individuals co-construct the forms and functions of language within a shared space. I build on Tusting’s (2005) argument that the specific functions of language within a community can be local and distant (i.e. function within

an activity or function to cohere a community of speakers). Similarly, I build on Martínez-Roldan's (2015) argument that local and distant language ideologies can shape these functions. While language use in this classroom community, for example, can be used in the "immediate situation" for individuals to negotiate meaning when comprehending a text, it also is used to maintain "the broader social forces and structures within which the community is situated" (Tusting, 2005 p. 46), such as maintaining or challenging English-only classroom policies.

To summarize, this study is predicated on the assumption that understanding language use demands an understanding of the different features of the context in which language is used. I rely on prolonged engagement (Lincoln & Guba, 1967) to gather a thick description (Geertz, 1983) of the two classroom communities of practice. I also seek to uncover how ideologies about language, whether articulated or embodied, inform language use in these contexts (Henderson & Palmer, 2015). To facilitate these understandings, I rely on field notes from observations, transcripts of classroom discourse, and interviews with participants to combine an etic and emic perspective on how language functions as a tool for meaning-making.

Mediated praxis. The third and final assumption stems from the second assumption about language and context. This dissertation assumes that multiple components within a specific context, including but not limited to participants, tools, and activities, influence how language is used. Hornberger's (2003) description of language ecologies is useful for describing this study's last assumption—the different components within an ecology are webbed together, as action invites reaction, and as such, language use is never separate from this web. I am aware that my presence in the classroom will affect how teachers enact translanguaging pedagogies, as work in classroom ecologies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Wei, 2011) shows how all individuals in an ecology create this linguistic space. Henderson and Palmer (2015), for example, found that

students spoke Spanish more freely in English-dominant classrooms when speaking with each other and when the bilingual researcher was physically close to these conversations. I understand that when a student asks me a question in Spanish, my response will influence the linguistic norms of the classroom ecology. As such, I assume that my presence in the two classrooms over the course of the year will influence student and teacher language use and I have attempted to document instances when this affects my data collection. Rather than attempting to eliminate this occurrence, however, I have attempted to leverage it as working towards an important goal of my research.

Drawing from social design experiment research, I view my role in this project as more than just a “participant observer,” but as an “observer participant” that seeks to co-construct both the inquiry process and the classroom activities with the participating teachers. Beyond influencing teachers’ actions because of my presence (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), I seek to influence them through the concept of *mediated praxis*, or offering them tools for self-reflection and new pedagogies that they can implement in their instruction (Gutierrez & Vossoughi, 2009). Teacher journal entries and post-observation discussions, for example, offer teachers the opportunity to “lift off the ground,” away from their everyday thinking about their classroom activities, and see their practices as artifacts for analysis and refinement.

To summarize, this study is predicated on the assumption that the researcher’s participatory role in the classroom can be productive and does not necessarily limit the trustworthiness of the data. I have accounted for instances when language use was explicitly influenced by my presence in my findings, such as conversations with particular students in Spanish. I also acknowledge the implicit encouragement that my presence offered, but see the rewards from this encouragement as far outweighing the costs. I embrace the idea of mediated

praxis and opportunities “to hear, to see, and to begin to experience reality as the participants do” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 100), and I embraced the opportunity to work directly with teachers and students in creating a translanguaging classroom space.

Literature Review

In the next section, I describe two overlapping areas of empirical research that inform my understandings of classroom translanguaging and the resulting knowledge gaps addressed in this dissertation. These two sections relate directly to the research questions investigated in the dissertation. I first examine different pedagogies that encourage the use of multiple languages to make meaning. Then, I examine how teachers participate in these pedagogies and how these pedagogies shape and are shaped by the communities of practice in which they are enacted. I then point to the knowledge gaps in these two areas of research and how this dissertation addresses these gaps.

To be included in this review, studies had to explicitly state they examine student or teacher translanguaging, or that they examine translanguaging practices like code-switching, language brokering, or codemeshing. Due to the importance of context in translanguaging, I exclude studies that did not occur in classroom settings. I include studies that extend beyond U.S. contexts, but in doing so, attend to differences in classroom settings with the hopes of learning through these comparisons. I exclude studies conducted before 2000, as classroom contexts have changed drastically in the last 15 years in terms of student demographics and legislation like No Child Left Behind. Lastly, though I am interested primarily in teachers’ participation, I include studies that focus on student practices with an understanding that student classroom participation cannot be separated from context, in which teachers are an important part.

Translanguaging to Make Meaning

Translanguaging to make meaning in the classroom comprises what García and Kleifgen (2010) call translanguaging pedagogies, or instruction that moves across languages to promote students' academic and linguistic achievement. Rather than “bracketing” English off, translanguaging pedagogies attempt to use the full range of students' and teachers' linguistic resources in instruction. Scholarship in the last 10 years has shown that teachers can in fact leverage students' linguistic resources through dynamic bilingual pedagogy (García & Sylvan, 2011) and bilingual instructional strategies (Cummins, 2005). Cummins has suggested that cognate instruction, translating activities, and bilingual dictionaries can help tap into students' heritage languages, and more recent work has begun detailing other bilingual instructional strategies, such as Borrero's (2011) work in classrooms that provide direct instruction on language brokering and Martin-Beltrán's (2014) work with peer language tutoring. Creese and Blackledge's (2010) work, on the other hand, shows that a more dynamic and responsive approach to bilingualism can promote student achievement. These responsive practices are part of a “flexible approach to pedagogy” (p.104) where teachers and students make use of resources in multiple languages as the need arises to convey information, provide clarification, and determine procedural knowledge, amongst other functions.

Gort (2015) acknowledges that the research base on translanguaging has taken a two-pronged approach. She points to one strand of translanguaging research that documents specific pedagogical approaches that explicitly seek to leverage multiple languages, such as Escamilla and colleagues' (2014) work with paired literacy instruction or Cummins' work with identity texts (Cummins & Early, 2011). Gort (2015) points to a second strand of translanguaging research that documents how bilingual individuals use language in and out of the classroom,

such as Orellana's (2008) work with language brokering or Martinez's (2010) work with Spanglish that documents the classroom code-switching of bilingual adolescents. For this review and in this study, I build on both strands to understand translanguaging in the classroom. I define researcher- or teacher-generated instructional approaches or programs that make use of students' multiple languages as *curricular translanguaging pedagogies*. I define the features of instruction that responsively and flexibly leverage multiple languages for communicative purposes as *dynamic translanguaging pedagogies*. A literacy activity that uses translation, for example, is a type of curricular translanguaging pedagogy, whereas a teacher code-switching when explaining the value of a dime is an example of a dynamic translanguaging pedagogy.

It is important to note the overlap and fluidity between these two categories. We cannot assume that any classroom practice is devoid of student and teacher translanguaging, as Cook (2002) has shown that the L1 is always present in the L2 learner. Any classroom pedagogy could be a curricular translanguaging pedagogy as students and teachers constantly draw from their multiple languages when participating in a classroom activity. To further complicate these categories, Wei (2011) shows the agentive ways that students create translanguaging spaces despite official classroom policy. Still, these categories give a useful heuristic for understanding how translanguaging pedagogies can promote student achievement by providing a distinction between instructional programs or planned curricula that specifically seek to leverage students' linguistic repertoires, and more dynamic forms of instruction that respond to teacher and student language use. Below, I draw from some exemplar studies to show how teachers and students have participated in both types of classroom translanguaging to make meaning, and how this dissertation contributes to this body of research.

Dynamic Translanguaging Pedagogies to Make Meaning

García and Sylvan (2011) use the metaphor of an all-terrain vehicle that adjusts and adapts to different types of terrain to describe how individuals flexibly adapt linguistic resources for different communicative contexts. As a teacher notices that his directions are not being understood by his students in a Botswana classroom, for example, he might shift out of English and into Setswana to best convey procedural information (Arthur & Martin, 2006). Below, I use three exemplar studies to show how dynamic translanguaging pedagogies can help convey information to students, honor and develop students' multilingual identities, and create translanguaging spaces in the classroom.

Code-switching to convey information. By analyzing teacher and student discourse in four Mandarin and Gujarati community schools, Creese and Blackledge (2010) found teachers code-switched to engage audiences and reinforce meanings for students with differing linguistic proficiencies. When explaining the school schedule to Gujarati and English speaking students, one teacher code-switched to convey her message based on the “social and linguistic complexity of the community” (pg. 108). The teacher recognized the bilingual proficiencies of her interlocutors, a characteristic of code-switching (Gumperz, 1986), and used English and Gujarati to “transmit information” to her audience (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, pg. 109). In another example, students and teachers translanguaged using English words like *discuss*, *discussion*, and *decide* in Gujarati discussions, recognizing that all parties understood these words and could use them as resources to establish procedural knowledge necessary for completing a task. Creese and Blackledge suggest that for this collaboration to occur, teachers and students needed to be “finely tuned” to the range and possibilities of one another's bilingualism (pg. 110).

Language brokering to create translanguaging spaces. A second way teachers participate in dynamic translanguaging pedagogies is through creating what Wei (2011) calls *translanguaging spaces*, or socially constructed contexts where individuals creatively and critically use their linguistic resources to strategically communicate (p. 1225). Coyoca and Lee's (2009) case studies of Chad, an English dominant emergent bilingual, and Lily, a Spanish dominant emergent bilingual, shows the creation of such a space by examining students' language brokering in their 2nd grade Spanish/English dual immersion classroom. The students participated in unidirectional brokering, where one student asks another directly for a translation or meaning of a word, in reciprocal brokering, where the broker assists the brokee in exchange for help with other academic tasks, and in distributed brokering, where the direction of assistance is directed from one student to many students or from many students to one student. Despite her bilingualism, the teacher, Señorita Ramírez, did not directly participate in brokering events, but instead, contributed to the creation of a classroom translanguaging space by honoring Chad's requests for Lily to help him translate sections of Spanish text. By recognizing student expertise, in this case Chad's limited Spanish proficiency and Lily's language brokering skills, the teacher collaborated by fostering student interaction to service the academic goal of understanding math directions.

Multilingual discussions to develop and honor identities. A third way that educators leverage dynamic translanguaging pedagogies is through honoring and developing students' translanguaging identities in the classroom. Whereas the teacher in Creese and Blackledge's (2010) study relied heavily on code-switching practices, the teacher in Sayer's (2013) ethnographic study of 2nd grade classroom on the Texas-Mexico border used entire discussions in Spanish and English to relate thematic concepts in texts to students' cultural histories. This

language use was not a fixed feature of the curriculum, but arose as different classroom activities encouraged students to make text-to-self connections. Sayer argues that these discussions allowed students to perform their Tejano linguistic identities, which were critical for understanding content material. He gives an example of how students related an English text's description of sunbathing to their own Tejano experiences of avoiding too much sun. The teacher in this study modeled how to draw on conceptual knowledge coded in Spanish to make sense of English academic content, and in doing so, prepared students for participation in their Tejano communities outside school.

Curricular Translanguaging Pedagogies to Make Meaning

The next section gives a brief overview of three translanguaging pedagogies. I have selected these pedagogies to represent the potential of translanguaging as it relates to a specific activity, a specific course, and across a school. Researchers and educators hold that effective instruction for ELLs should leverage heritage languages in instruction (August & Shanahan, 2006); the benefits to students are too great to be overlooked as emergent bilinguals continue to perform behind mainstream peers (US Department of Education, 2010). The Working Group on ELL Policy (2009) recognizes that “most schools fail to capitalize on (ELLs’) linguistic resources” (p. 2) and points out that the “use of the home language can promote English language development and academic achievement, particularly in literacy” (pp. 3-4). Cummins’ (2005) issued a proposal for action for researchers and educators to find innovative ways for leveraging students’ languages in instruction. He proposed that educators use cognate instruction, dual language books, and relationships between foreign language and literacy classes to foster students’ cross-linguistic transfer. With Cummins’ call, research with emergent

bilingual students and curricular translanguaging pedagogies has grown in both depth and breadth. Below, I give an overview of three pedagogies at the activity, class, and school level.

A translanguaging school. Borrero (2011) shows how a curricular translanguaging pedagogy can align with the language ideologies and policies present at the institutional levels. He examined how 53 Mexican-American students' language brokering related to their academic achievement by investigating teacher and student participation in a biweekly Young Interpreters class. In this class, teachers instructed students on language brokering through exploring students' prior experiences with brokering, identifying paraphrasing strategies, and strengthening listening skills. Students honed their vocabulary parsing strategies, improved paraphrasing skills, and developed positive perceptions of interpreting and bilingualism. A major component of the class also included students acting as translators for parent-teacher conferences. Borrero emphasizes the importance of aligning classroom practices with meaningful activities valued by the school community, similar to García, Flores, and Chu's (2011) work with translanguaging schools in New York City. Whereas translanguaging pedagogies can be instructional tools in a classroom community, Borrero (2011) suggests that these pedagogies can be afforded and constrained by the larger communities in which the classroom is situated.

A translanguaging class. Martin-Beltrán (2014) shows the potential for language development in students' L1 and L2 when pairs of English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students participate in peer reciprocal language teaching. She found students co-constructed knowledge about language through discussions in Spanish and English, and that students leveraged their unique linguistic funds of knowledge (Moll, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) by acting as "language ambassadors" to teach one another about grammar and vocabulary. Unlike much of the translanguaging research that examines curricular pedagogies, this study shows the

affordances of an entire course designed to promote students' linguistic development through translanguaging. Martin-Beltrán (2014) concludes that, along with promoting metalinguistic awareness, the class promoted problem solving and language learning, as well as opportunities to include language minority students in official classroom discourses (p. 40).

A translanguaging activity. Lastly, Jiménez and colleagues' (2015) work with middle school students explores how strategic translation can promote students' reading comprehension, and more specifically, their understandings about language and translating strategies. The researchers found that by translating lines of English text into Spanish, students had the opportunity to collaboratively construct meanings at the word, sentence, and text levels while developing more scientific understandings about the forms and functions of language. For example, one discussion about the word *sack* in a line of English text prompted students to consider different words, such as *bolsa* or *costal*, in Spanish, which prompted students to then reconsider the specific actions of a character in the story. Jiménez and colleagues conclude that this type of translanguaging activity is needed not only because it taps into students' heritage language resources, but that it shows potential for adaptation in a variety of classroom settings with different student populations.

Teacher Participation in Translanguaging Pedagogies

In the next section, I review the literature on studies of translanguaging pedagogies and pay specific attention to teacher participation in these pedagogies. Consistent with my communities of practice theoretical framework, I describe teacher roles in relationship to the communities of practice in which teachers and students participate. Three themes emerged in my analysis that help frame teacher participation in translanguaging activities in classroom CoPs. As Wenger (1998) notes, however, an individual's participation in a CoP is never fixed or unitary:

participation changes as individuals acquire new tools, encounter other community members, and form new goals for practice. As such, the categories presented below are never discrete, and often times, teachers move back and forth between categories as activities and participation structures change. The categories are meant to provide a useful heuristic for understanding ways in which teachers can, and often do, move across these categories and participate in multiple ways to promote student learning. Similarly, the studies presented below should not be perceived as relating to only one of the categories. A teacher acting as an expert, for example, will often act as a collaborator and as a learner. Instead, the studies presented below should be read as exemplars of the most salient aspects of these categories. While these categories were generated from a larger review of teacher participation in translanguaging pedagogies, I focus on three exemplar studies that highlight different forms of teacher participation.

Teacher as learner. Teachers can participate in classroom translanguaging activities to learn about student translanguaging practices so that these practices can then be incorporated into the repertoire shared by the classroom CoP. As linguistic tools for negotiating meaning are used to participate in the community, teachers and students then reify these tools as legitimate means for classroom participation. With participation comes reification, and with reification, new forms of participation develop (Wenger, 1998, pg. 58). Teacher learning about student practices is an essential step in this process, as understanding students' "personal experience of engagement" is the means "by which to incorporate that competence into an identity of participation" (pg. 214). By understanding how students translanguage, teachers can respond to students' needs, structure curriculum, and further hone these practices.

Pacheco, David, and Jiménez (2015) examined teacher participation in an activity that used strategic translation as a tool for comprehending texts. As Somali, Kurdish, and Mexican

bilingual students translated English texts over time, they developed understandings of how this tool helped them make sense of new vocabulary and deepen understandings about themes and characters. This tool also gave teachers opportunities to develop understandings of students' proficiencies with translating, with their heritage language, and with English. Teachers learned about students' cultures and language, which could then be incorporated into future instruction. When Pacheco learned new vocabulary in Somali, for example, he then challenged students' word choices for Somali translations of English texts. This study shows that by introducing a translanguaging activity like collaborative translation into a CoP, teachers can begin to learn about student resources and further incorporate these resources in the classroom. When teachers learn about students' translanguaging, they can connect these practices to other academic areas (Martínez, 2010), access and assess student thinking (Velasco & García, 2014; Alvarez, 2012), and evaluate student familiarity with these practices.

Teacher as collaborator. Whereas the previous category focused on how teachers participate in translanguaging activities to learn about students, the study below shows how teachers leverage their own and their students' translanguaging resources to collaborate in an academic task. I draw from Hutchins' (1995) work with distributed cognition to understand collaborative activity, where individuals recognize and leverage other CoP members' distinct expertise to accomplish a shared enterprise, where doing so "has potential for more in a system composed of many minds" (pg. 60). Wenger's (1998) concept of *mutual recognition* (pg. 56) posits that community members constantly assess and reassess the talents, contributions, and expertise of fellow members to complete a joint enterprise. Mutual recognition demands teachers assess student abilities to "make sure they have the resources to learn" (Wenger, 1998, pg. 10), but also demands teachers recognize the resources students already possess that contribute to the

CoP's joint enterprise. By the same token, students also recognize the contributions that teachers can make in this joint activity.

Gort and Pontier (2013) show how teachers can collaborate in translanguaging without using multiple languages themselves. Though the teacher in their study speaks Spanish and English, the dual-language classroom in which the research was conducted maintained strict language-separation policies, thus limiting the teacher's language to only English or Spanish. Teacher participation in preschool students' interactions in show-and-tell and read-aloud included the teacher's affirming of students' oral productions and providing new information to expand student schema when comprehending texts. Teachers did this through inviting student English use in Spanish-only instruction and coordinating teachers' tandem talk, or "the collaborative bilingual practice where a pair of speakers coordinates the use of two languages so that each maintains the use of monolingual speech in a bilingual conversation" (pg. 234). For example, when a student interjected the English word *pirates* in a Spanish discussion about *piratas*, the teacher responded in English, "like your pirates," to encourage the student to continue using Spanish and making relevant connections to his background knowledge (pg. 237).

This study highlights one way teachers can productively collaborate with students in translanguaging activities when participation is encouraged along monolingual norms. In other examples, we see effective collaborations when teachers translanguaged to make the goals of joint enterprises comprehensible for students (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), and when teachers recognized and leveraged students' linguistic expertise in using translanguaging resources (Kenner & Ruby, 2012). In these cases, teachers collaborated by offering activities, like retelling English texts in Spanish (Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006), to create possibilities for students to leverage their own linguistic expertise. To collaborate successfully, teachers must be able to

assess the contributions students can make through translanguaging in a classroom joint enterprise, and must assess when they themselves need to translanguage in order to make these joint enterprises possible.

Though teachers participated alongside their students in these enterprises, this does not mean that power relations afforded and constrained their participation equally. Teachers are central participants in classroom CoPs who can negotiate enterprises and shape the contexts in which students construct competent identities and experience successful participation (Wenger, 1998, pg. 175). Teachers can use this status to challenge institutional language policies through validating local language practices (Gort & Pontier, 2013), but similarly, can validate and enforce these larger language policies (Arthur & Martin, 2006). Teachers must be aware of their position of power and how their language practices can either invite student participation in a multilingual classroom, or marginalize students towards positions of peripherality.

Teacher as expert. Teachers can collaborate with students to achieve a task, but can also leverage specific expertise to develop students' understandings about the resources used to accomplish this task. Teachers can participate in translanguaging pedagogies to facilitate students' access to academic content and students' understandings about translanguaging itself. Teachers can participate as experts by explicitly sharing expertise in translanguaging tools with students, and by scaffolding novices' participation in attenuated classroom tasks, or what Lave and Wenger (1991) call legitimate peripheral participation. Students then become more central participants when they appropriate the tools valued by the classroom CoP. Teachers can invite this participation through modeling and giving specific instruction about translanguaging, and by acting as brokers and leveraging boundary objects (Wenger, 1998).

Martin-Beltrán (2014) shows how teachers can participate as experts in translanguaging pedagogies by leveraging expertise not necessarily in a specific language, but expertise in different areas of metalinguistic awareness. In her study of how students learning English and students learning Spanish participate in a high school class designed to promote reciprocal language teaching and learning, she found students co-constructed knowledge about language through discussions in Spanish and English, and that students could leverage funds of knowledge (Moll, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) by acting as “language ambassadors” to teach one another about grammar and vocabulary. Teachers leveraged their own expertise by instructing students on how to ask language-oriented questions, by offering help and feedback, and by noticing and comparing differences and similarities across languages. They also invited students to leverage expertise with Spanish and with English to serve as the primary tool for building understandings. Students’ first languages became tools that reified new teaching roles for students and a new form of class participation, that of leveraging students’ language expertise to teach one another.

This study highlights how teachers can leverage expertise in language without necessarily needing to speak that language. Knowing *about* language, and not just knowing how to speak a language, can be valuable for a teacher. Furthermore, by positioning English and Spanish dominant students as experts in collaborative discussions about language, Martin-Beltrán (2014) shows that teachers can build directly on students’ linguistic expertise. Miller and Zuengler’s (2011) study is a stark warning for teachers that dismiss this expertise when constructing classroom enterprises and negotiating tools for successful classroom participation.

Implications for the Current Study

From this review of dynamic translanguaging pedagogies, curricular translanguaging pedagogies, and teacher participation in these pedagogies, there are significant gaps in the

literature that this dissertation addresses. Figure 1 below shows the different bodies of research that inform this dissertation and the major knowledge gaps that I address.

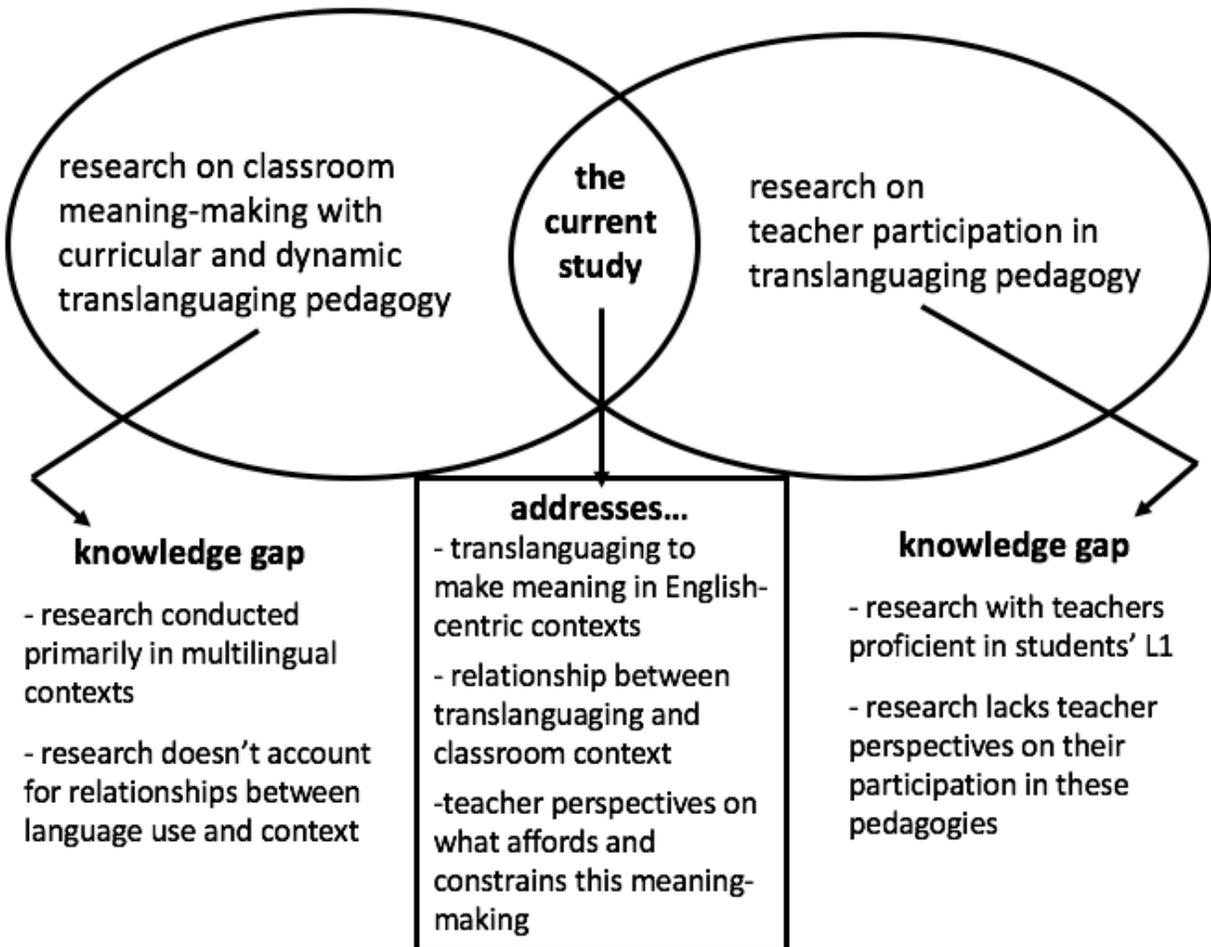


Figure 1. Knowledge gaps addressed by the study

Dynamic translinguaging and teacher participation. First, Creese and Blackledge (2010) suggest that teachers must be “finely tuned” to the language practices of students in dynamic bilingualism. This is supported by much of the literature on code-switching that describes how this practice as occurs between bilinguals that recognize one another’s linguistic proficiency (Blom & Gumperz, 2000). I seek to expand understandings of teacher and students’

dynamic bilingualism and practices like code-switching by rethinking the idea that teachers are fully monolingual (Cook, 2002), and I ask what other linguistic or cultural resources teachers possess to successfully participate in translanguaging pedagogies. I have used purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2013) to select two self-professed “monolingual” teachers to explore how these teachers participate in dynamic translanguaging pedagogies with students that speak Spanish and Arabic as their heritage languages.

Second, this review raises the question of how teachers and students can create translanguaging spaces in classroom environments that use English instructional materials and English as the dominant medium of instruction. The teacher in Coyoca and Lee’s (2009) study, for example, taught in a dual-language school where students used Spanish and English throughout the school day. A communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) framework elucidates how language relates to other tools valued within a community, as well as the ideologies and systems of power that characterize the classroom and the institution in which the classroom is situated. As van Lier (2000) has questioned, how can a teacher responsively encourage students to use their heritage languages to make meaning in texts, for example, when meaning-making in texts is rarely encouraged in that classroom? Through interviews with teachers, teacher reflective journals, and prolonged engagement in the research setting, I connect teachers’ translanguaging pedagogies to the instructional tools teachers have at hand, the mutual endeavors negotiated by the classroom CoP, and the language ideologies present in the classroom and in the school.

Third, this review raises the question of how teachers’ can welcome and develop different parts of students’ linguistic identities when the teachers might not share or recognize these parts. While classrooms become increasingly diverse in terms of ethnicity and language, the teaching

force has remained largely white and English-dominant (Lucas & Villegas, 2011). Sayer (2013) shows how a Tejano teacher promotes students' Tejano identities in the classroom, but little work on translanguaging has explored how teachers of different cultural or linguistic backgrounds can honor or develop these identities. Norton's (2013) work with investment and social identities suggests that individuals can draw from multiple aspects of their identities to make themselves heard in specific contexts for reception (Bourdieu, 1977). Through examining teachers' reflective journals and post-observation discussions, this dissertation explores how teachers draw strategically from and perform aspects of their identity that extend beyond monolingual and bilingual categories to reshape classroom contexts and participate in translanguaging pedagogies.

Curricular translanguaging and teacher participation. From this analysis of curricular translanguaging pedagogies, there are significant gaps in the literature in terms of teacher learning and how they implement these pedagogies. First, this study explores how teachers and students take up, or make sense, of a new tool in the classroom. I use Wenger's (1998) concept of reification to understand how a tool becomes a legitimate part of a community's shared repertoire of practice. To conceptualize how this reification relates to larger language ideologies within the school and classroom, I draw on Razfar's (2012) work with language ideologies to define them as the ideas or beliefs held by a group of people that are produced and reproduced through practices. I address how participation in translanguaging pedagogies is mediated by these ideologies in teachers' existing communities of practice. By using ethnographic methods to gather a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the classroom and the school, this study addresses how teacher and student reification of translanguaging pedagogies relates to the contexts in which translanguaging is used.

Second, Martin-Beltrán (2014) emphasizes the importance of student collaboration in promoting achievement through classroom translanguaging. Echoing the vast majority of the translanguaging literature, however, she gives little attention to different teacher features that make this type of pedagogy possible. By attending to aspects of teachers' knowledge, practices, and dispositions, as evidenced in reflective teacher journals, selected coursework from ELL endorsement classes, and teacher interviews, I explore how aspects of teacher identity afford and constrain the appropriation of a new pedagogical tool. If teachers and students co-construct pedagogies in classroom ecologies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010), it is important that we take a nuanced look at teacher features that make these pedagogies possible.

Lastly, all of this work points to the need to conduct more research on curricular translanguaging pedagogies with elementary school students. While some research has explored some specific classroom activities that incorporate multiple languages in instruction for meaning-making (Rowe & Miller, 2015; Lopez-Robertson, 2012) there is a dearth of research on what features of teachers and their teaching contexts facilitate the integration of these translanguaging pedagogies.

Research Questions

In the following section, I describe how each research question addresses knowledge gaps in the existing literature on translanguaging pedagogies. Each analysis in the dissertation follows a cross-case comparative analysis, where I first describe ground level, substantive level theories within each case, and then compare across cases to make mid-level theories that are applicable to other classroom contexts (Stake, 2006). Figure 2 below details how the three research questions relate to knowledge gaps in the literature, how they relate to one another, and the implications of addressing each questions.

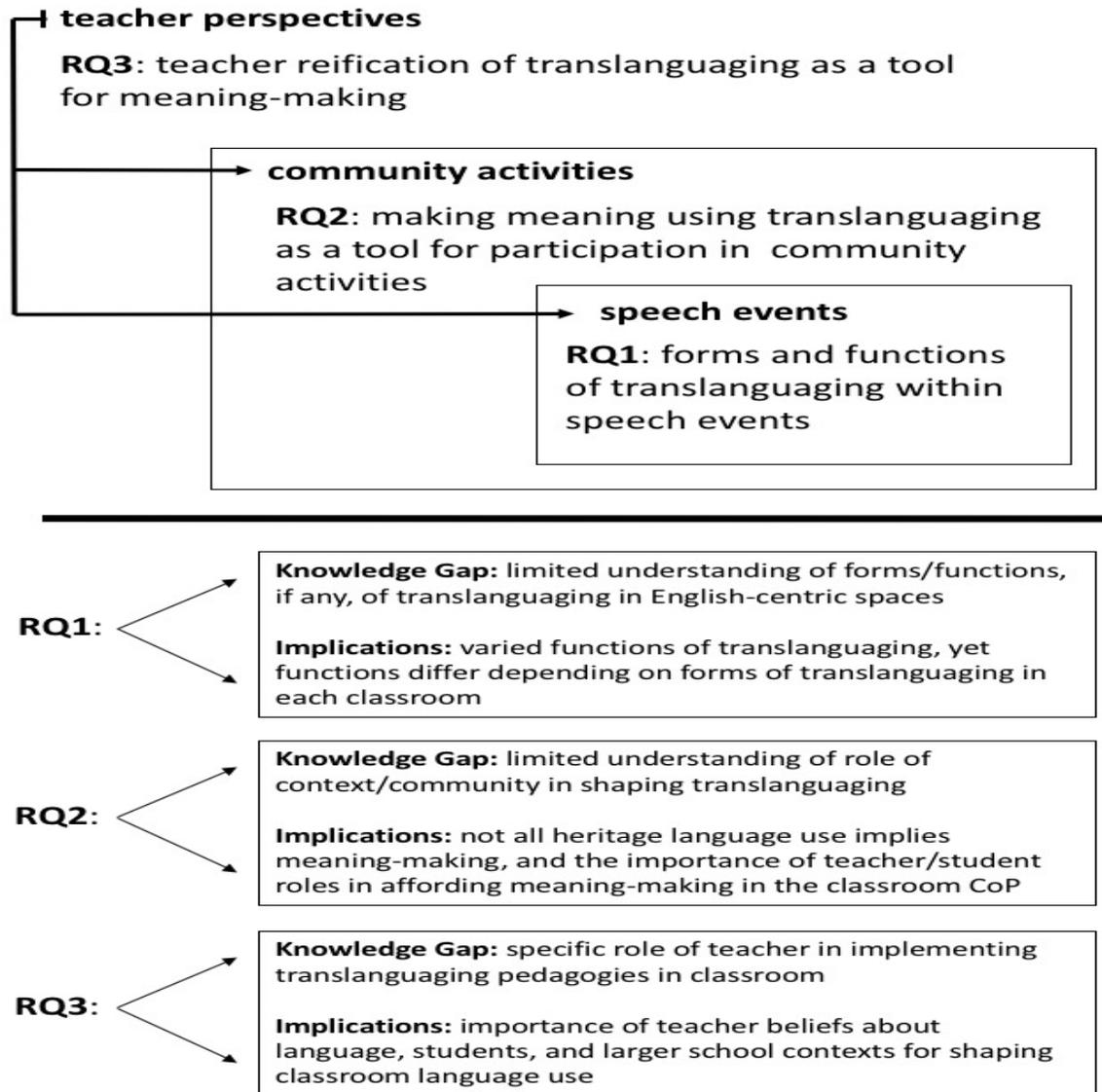


Figure 2. Knowledge gaps addressed by research questions

RQ1: What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in the English-centric classroom?

Research on translanguaging pedagogies has shown the potential of these pedagogies for promoting students’ academic, linguistic, and social development. This work spans grade levels, from early childhood (Rowe & Miller, 2015), elementary (Gort, 2015), to middle (Martínez,

2008) and secondary (Martin-Beltrán, 2014). This growing body of literature has also begun to suggest the potential of translanguaging pedagogies in different content areas, including science (Alvarez, 2012; Hopewell, 2011), mathematics (Moschkovitch, 2002) and foreign language instruction (Martin-Beltrán, 2014). There is scant research, however, that addresses how these pedagogies are enacted in classrooms where teachers and students do not share heritage languages in English-only contexts. Similar to Lucas and Katz's (1994) study of the role of native languages in ESL classrooms, I investigate the different ways that teachers and students use Spanish and Arabic in English-centric classrooms.

I inform two areas still unaddressed in the translanguaging literature by investigating the forms and functions of translanguaging pedagogies in English-centric classrooms. First, I describe the speech acts (Saville-Troike, 2008) when languages other than English were used by teachers or students to show the different functions that other languages can play in the English-centric classroom. Second, I account for how the functions of these speech acts differs in each classroom setting by investigating how functions of speech acts emerge within speech events. I look to discourse work with intertextuality (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993) to understand how individuals co-construct meaning within interaction. For this research question, I look at how language functions within specific interactions to make meaning, and I attempt to account for the ways that relationships between speech acts create this meaning. I then categorize the different types of interactions using the constant comparative method to understand the different forms and functions of translanguaging in each classroom, and how different forms of interaction in each classroom inform different language functions.

RQ2: How does translanguaging afford and constrain meaning-making in a community of practice, and how does the community shape this meaning-making?

With only a few studies that investigate translanguaging in English-centric classrooms (see de Oliveira et al., 2015; Pacheco, David, & Jiménez, 2015; Rowe & Miller, 2015), research still needs to uncover the relationship between language use and the context in which these pedagogies are enacted (Norton, 2013). To investigate the relationship between language use and context, I frame the classroom as a community of practice where language is a tool that shapes the community of practice, and in turn, the community of practice shapes how this tool is or is not used. I use Wenger's (1998) framework for understanding meaning-making to understand the relationship between speech events where translanguaging is used and the larger activities in which these events are situated. This communities of practice lens highlights that participation includes individuals engaging with one another; individuals offering, defining, and refining tools; and individuals co-constructing activities (Wenger, 1998). I look for evidence of these overlapping categories to understand when meaning-making occurs through translanguaging.

To understand how the CoP shapes this meaning making process, I look at the different teacher and student roles enacted by participants within meaning-making practices. I attend to teacher and student positionality in speech events and describe how this positionality relates to the different roles taken up in the CoP (i.e., novice, collaborator, expert). From this analysis, I generate substantive level theories about meaning-making in each classroom, and then generate mid-level theory about how participation might happen in other classroom CoPs. As teacher and student participation changes over time, this description will also be an account of teacher and student learning within their specific classroom communities (Rogoff, 1994).

RQ3: What are teacher perspectives of translanguaging in the English-centric classroom?

This dissertation addresses a knowledge gap in the translanguaging literature by eliciting teacher perceptions of translanguaging pedagogies. I address how teachers reify translanguaging as a tool in their discourse and in their classroom practice. Martínez, Hikida and Duran (2015) suggest attending to language ideologies to understand this reification, offering that an individual's attitudes or beliefs about language are both articulated and embodied, and Horn (2007) has argued that there is a direct relationship between teacher discourse and aspects of their practice. Lee and Oxelson's (2009) work underscores the complex beliefs that teachers have towards language instruction in the mainstream classroom. Whereas their study concerned teacher beliefs about language maintenance, this dissertation addresses teacher perceptions of using languages other than English for multiple instructional purposes. In this research question, I address how teachers reify translanguaging as a tool for meaning-making in their discourse. I then address what afforded and constrained their use of this tool in their specific CoPs.

Findings from this research question emerge from an analysis of teacher reflective translanguaging journals, post-observation interviews, and semi-structured interviews at the beginning and end of data collection. I use Gee's (2011) methods of discourse analysis, which posits that discourse indexes important practices, social relationships, identities, and social goods. Two related phases of coding using this method will address 1) teacher beliefs, or what social goods teachers construct in their discourse about translanguaging and 2) teacher challenges and success in implementation, or how teachers construct relationships, larger Conversations, and figured worlds in their discourse. These two phases of analysis then inform theoretical understandings of how language ideology and classroom practices are related, as well

as practical understandings of how future translanguaging pedagogies can be implemented in other English-centric classrooms.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This qualitative study examines how two elementary school teachers participated in translanguaging pedagogies over the course of an academic year. Specifically, it addresses the following three research questions.

1. What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in two English-centric classrooms?
2. How does translanguaging afford or constrain meaning-making in two communities of practice, and how do these communities of practice shape meaning-making?
3. What are teacher perceptions of translanguaging pedagogies in their communities of practice?

In this chapter, I describe the study's design, the context of the research, the research site, participants, and my role as a researcher. Next, I describe methods for data collection, data sources, and methods of data analysis. I conclude with a discussion of the study's strengths and limitations.

Study Design, Research Context, Site, Participants, and Researcher Role

This section describes the design of the study and the rationale for this design. Next, I detail the context in which this research was conducted. I then describe the sites and participants and my rationale for choosing these sites and participants. I conclude this section with describing my role as a researcher in this study.

Study Design

Drawing upon traditions of naturalistic inquiry and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), I explore the real-world relationships between individuals, tools, and contexts to generate understandings about not only what translanguaging in the classroom consists of, but

what conditions make this translanguaging possible. Consistent with a grounded theory approach, this study's design is reflexive in structure, as ongoing data analysis informed methods and forms of data collection. At the same time, a goal of this study was to work closely with teachers over the course of the year to improve instructional practices. This study thus draws on elements of social design experiment research as it “provides persistent opportunities for [teachers’] reflection and examination of informal theories developed over the course of participants’ experiences” (Gutierrez & Vossoughi, 2009, p. 101). Ultimately, I seek to generate substantive-level theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of teacher translanguaging and translanguaging pedagogies, as well as contributions to mid-level theories about translanguaging in other English-centric classrooms.

Study Design Rationale

There are three major reasons that justify the use of qualitative methods to examine translanguaging in elementary classrooms. First, as Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) point out, communication must be understood within the “complex and ramifying web” of relationships between individuals in specific contexts of reception (pg. 142). In other words, our language production is never an autonomous act, and therefore, must be examined with attention to the values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies (Charmaz, 2006) of those that produce it in context. Through methods of constructivist grounded theory, this study explores translanguaging as it relates to individuals and the contexts in which they communicate.

Second, as little is known about translanguaging in English-centric spaces, qualitative analysis offers the opportunity to explore this phenomenon from multiple perspectives—that of the researcher, the participants, and critical friends (Costa & Kallick, 1993)—that will add both depth and breadth to the descriptions of translanguaging. I identify causal and intervening

conditions that relate to translanguaging, and how these conditions relate to the context in which translanguaging occurs (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, pg. 11).

Lastly, this study's underlying social design methodology offers the opportunity to explore new directions of inquiry both during and after the study's completion. Practices continuously change as tools, goals, and identities shift within communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). This study's methods for data collection and analysis also needed to shift to accurately represent the phenomena being studied. Both participants and researcher shaped the questions asked, the data collected and analyzed, and the theory that has been generated. This reflexive design offered possibilities for teacher and researcher learning, and directions for research that might have been unanticipated at the study's inception.

Research Context

The research questions were investigated during collaboration between a university and school district in the southeastern United States designed to provide coursework leading to ESL endorsements for in-service elementary teachers. The two teachers in this study participated in this program where they took 15 credits of graduate coursework on ELL methods, assessment, educational linguistics, and principles of instruction. The teachers also attended a biweekly seminar aimed at addressing relevant issues of teachers' practices in their classrooms. Teachers were also observed and mentored in their classrooms on a weekly basis by me and two university professors. A component of these observations included conducting a monthly observation using the Sheltered Instruction Observation Protocol (SIOP) (Echevarria, Vogt, & Short, 2004). At the time of this study, this was the third year of the endorsement programs existence.

Due to the participants' participation in this ESL endorsement program, they had opportunities over the course of this study to learn about different translanguaging pedagogies.

The SIOP, for example, encourages teachers to find opportunities for students to clarify concepts in their L1. In one of the biweekly seminars, teachers had opportunities to discuss different ways that they could accomplish this SIOP goal, including suggestions to use bilingual texts, cognates, and student interactions. In these mentor seminars, teachers also had opportunities to discuss the importance of leveraging heritage languages and were exposed to translanguaging as a theory for understanding classroom language use.

Furthermore, the teachers learned about the TRANSLATE instructional approach developed by Jiménez and colleagues (2015) as one way to include languages other than English. This instructional approach consists of small-group guided reading instruction (Fountas & Pinnell, 2001) that employs strategic collaborative translation. With groups of four or five students, the teacher begins by inviting students to make text-to-self, text-to-text, or text-to-world connections to a poem, short story, or passage. The students then read the passage independently or as a whole group and collaboratively translate short sections of conceptually and linguistically rich texts from the passage into their heritage language. Students then compare translations with one another and discuss meanings at the word, sentence, and text level. At the end of this sequence, the teacher and students connect these translations back to important features within the text, such as character, plot, setting, or theme.

Despite the two participating teachers' exposure to different translanguaging pedagogies, teachers were not required by me or by the endorsement program to incorporate students' heritage languages in instruction. Discussions of TRANSLATE and translanguaging were used to demonstrate possible approaches for translanguaging pedagogies that teachers could then adapt to their specific contexts of practice. As such, the study presented in this dissertation is not an examination of how teachers implement existing translanguaging pedagogies (i.e.

TRANSLATE, cognate instruction, bilingual reading) in their classroom. Instead, this study examines how teachers build on their existing knowledge, practices, and dispositions as they attempt to facilitate translanguaging pedagogies and adapt aspects of these pedagogies to their specific classroom contexts.

Research Sites

The sites for this research are one 2nd grade classroom and one 3rd grade classroom in two elementary schools located in an urban area that is a new destination city for immigrants in the southeastern United States. The schools are part of a large urban district that serves the largest number of ELLs in the state, and this population within the district has nearly doubled in the past five years. The population of ELLs enrolled in the district exceeds the national average in terms of the percentage of ELLs enrolled and the linguistic diversity found within this population, serving approximately 7,000 students who come from 89 countries and 130 language backgrounds.

The first school, Elm Street Elementary, is located in a section of the city with a large population of recent immigrants of Mexican, Ethiopian, and Iraqi descent. The PreK-4 school, built in 1988, serves approximately 865 students, 92.7% of whom are listed as economically disadvantaged. Fifty-four percent of the students are ELLs and 62.1% are listed as Hispanic or Latino. Though the school has a new principal that encourages collaboration between teachers to create a “challenging environment in which students from diverse racial, ethnic and social backgrounds,” the school received a 31.4% Approval Performance Framework Rating, which is below the state average. The school uses a curriculum based on the Common Core State Standards. The literacy instruction in the 2nd grade is designed by teams of teachers to meet these standards, and is supplemented by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt’s Journeys Curriculum from 2011.

The math curriculum is also co-designed by the 2nd grade teachers using both district pacing guides and Pearson's enVisionMATH curriculum from 2012.

The second school, Sugar Hill Elementary, is located on the outskirts of the city with a large population of African-American and Latino families. In recent years, this section of town has seen a large growth in immigrants from northern Africa and Egypt. The K-4 school, built in 2012, serves approximately 950 students, 83% of whom are listed as economically disadvantaged. Thirty-four percent of the students are ELLs and 22.4% are listed as Hispanic or Latino. The school received a 30% Approval Performance Framework Rating, which is below the state average. The literacy instruction in this school is based primarily on Houghton Mifflin Harcourt's Journeys Curriculum from 2011. Math instruction is co-designed by the 3rd grade teachers using both district pacing guides and Pearson's enVisionMATH curriculum from 2012.

Site Rationale

I have chosen to study translanguaging in these two elementary schools for three major reasons. First, children in the elementary years are particularly sensitive to learning a second language (Collier & Thomas, 1989) and begin to form the linguistic foundations that will encourage future cross-linguistic transfer (Cummins, 2000). This language learning is contingent upon certain factors, however, such as prior schooling in the heritage language and literacy skills. Cummins (1991) argues that if there is support for the development of the children's native language, a foundation is built not only for native-language literacy learning but also for second language learning and second-language literacy acquisition. Yelland, Pollard, and Mercuri (1993), for example, show that a small amount of exposure to a second language yielded metalinguistic benefits for young children, and August and Shanahan (2008) argue that even a limited foundation in a child's heritage language can promote language learning and cognitive

benefits.

Second, teachers of children in the elementary years have the opportunity to begin students' processes of bilingual competence (Genesee, 2002). As children get older, this competence, or ability to strategically draw from resources in multiple languages to achieve communicative purposes, grows if students are given adequate opportunities to develop this competence (Reyes, 2012). For example, older students are able to code-switch for more complex purposes than younger students, but this ability is often lost through subtractive schooling practices (Valenzuela, 2003). Teachers in 2nd and 3rd grade can both maintain and build new understandings about language with students, who already show strong metalinguistic awareness (Galambos & Goldin-Meadow, 1990; Galambos & Hakuta, 1988), understandings of language and power (Jorgensen, 2008), and exposure to translanguaging practices outside of school (Orellana, 2008). Reyes (2012) notes the importance of teachers as one facet in a constellation of literacy practices that can maintain, encourage, and develop students' bilingualism and biliteracy.

Furthermore, there is a dearth of research that explores translanguaging pedagogies that teachers can employ with elementary school children in English-centric classrooms. Gumperz, Cook-Gumperz and Szymanski (1999) hold that children's use of multiple languages is a reflection of their linguistic knowledge and not a reflection of their linguistic deficiency. To build on this knowledge and challenge deficit notions of emergent bilinguals, it is vital that we explore translanguaging pedagogies at an early age as young students begin forming ideas about the forms and functions of language (Halmari & Smith, 1994), as well as important understandings about linguistic prestige and appropriateness (Reyes, 2012).

To conclude, it is important to note that though my participation in the ESL endorsement

program facilitated my access to these two schools, I purposefully chose to examine translanguaging in the elementary school years. This choice was informed by the empirical literature on translanguaging as well as direct experiences with multilingual students in this school district. Past work in this same district's middle schools pushed me to consider how languages other than English are used less and less frequently as students progress through school (see Pacheco & Smith, 2015; Daniel & Pacheco, 2015). In an effort to begin limiting this decrease in heritage language use, I chose to consider how languages other than English are or are not used in elementary school classrooms.

Participant Selection

The participants in this study were purposefully sampled (Patton, 1990) from the ESL endorsement program. Seventeen teachers were enrolled in the program, and two focal teachers, Ms. Ash and Ms. Hardy, were selected after a month of classroom observations and consultation with the two other university professors working in this program. The teachers were selected based on their reported language proficiency, expressed interest in leveraging students' heritage languages in the classroom, and evidence of competent instruction, as indicated by regular observations and SIOP scores. However, I learned that Ms. Hardy was more conversational in Spanish than previously reported, and I chose to exclude her from the study and find another participant. The third teacher, Ms. Gardner, was selected in October through a theoretical sampling process (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Though I originally set out to observe two 2nd grade teachers in the same school context, I realized an opportunity to expand my sample to include another grade level in a second research context to move towards maximal sampling (Creswell, 2013). This new teacher met the same sampling criteria used for selecting the first teacher, but was added due to her highly effective literacy instruction, which included extensive student-to-

student interaction and meaning-making based literacy activities, and a diverse student population of Arabic and Spanish speakers.

Both participants were selected based on their expressed desires to find new and innovative ways of bringing their students' heritage languages into the classroom. As social design research encourages, this desire was critical as the teachers in this study collaborated with me in creating, exploring, and implementing new pedagogies. I selected these two teachers based on my perceptions of their openness to collaborate, their expressed commitment to participating in translanguaging pedagogies, and their dedication to creating more inclusive and academically rigorous classrooms for emerging bilingual students. Both participants also reported having limited experiences working with translanguaging in their classrooms.

Participants

Ms. Ash, a 2nd grade teacher at Elm St. Elementary, was in her 3rd year of teaching at this school at the time of this study. She is Caucasian and 25 years old. She was born in the southeast and attended a large state university in the southeast where she studied early childhood development with a specialization in special education. After college, she worked as a kindergarten special education teacher in Georgia. She then moved to the city in which this research was conducted, where she teaches 2nd grade. Ms. Ash studied some Spanish in high school, but did not take any university coursework and in her words, "basically only speak(s) English." In her coursework for the endorsement program, however, she has expressed that learning to bring students' heritage languages into the classroom was a major goal for her development as a teacher working with ELLs. Despite an energetic classroom environment with high amounts of students' linguistic output, Ms. Ash has struggled to channel this output into productive engagement to promote learning. She reported having limited success with trying to

use students' heritage languages in her classroom prior to this study.

Ms. Gardner, a 3rd grade teacher at Sugar Hill Elementary, was in her 2nd year of teaching at this school at the time of this study. She is Caucasian and 26 years old. She was born in the southeast and studied education at a small Christian university in the southeast. After college, she began work as an elementary school teacher at Sugar Hill. Ms. Gardner describes herself as “monolingual,” but she did take some French in high school. Ms. Gardner regularly uses student groupings to encourage collaborative comprehension of texts. She has very strong classroom procedures in place, encourages student interaction, and regularly promotes higher-order thinking in her instruction through questioning and discussion. She reported that she attempted to incorporate languages other than English on a handful of occasions prior to this study.

Rationale for Participant Selection

It is important to note that both participants' linguistic proficiencies fall on a spectrum of bilingualism, as theorized by Cook (2001) and Hornberger (2003). Neither was fully monolingual, and each possessed differing competencies in languages other than English. Ms. Gardner, for example, had some experience learning French despite not being able to communicate in that language. Similarly, Ms. Ash had some knowledge of Spanish vocabulary and grammar, and expressed a great desire to learn more Spanish from her students. These teachers' differing linguistic proficiencies underscore Cook's (1992) ideas about the myth of the truly monolingual individual and the ideal native speaker, and thus, underscore the impossibility of conducting research on teacher and student populations that are fully monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual. These two individuals were also selected because of the differences in their classroom environments. Based on observations prior to this study, I observed differences in types of classroom activities and how students and teachers seemed to participate using English

and heritage languages. I also included Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash due to their teaching at different grade levels in different schools where varying activities, institutional leaders (Brooks, Adams, & Morita-Mullaney, 2010) and language ideologies (Razfar, 2012) could influence classroom language use.

Role of Researcher

My primary role during this study was that of participant observer (Spradley, 1980), though there were occasions when I performed as an observer participant, as described below. My primary responsibility within each classroom was to collect different forms of data. A secondary responsibility was to talk with teachers about their instruction in reflective interviews in which we I co-constructed ways to refine their translanguaging pedagogies (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Gutierrez & Vossoughi, 2009). I am aware that my presence in the classroom affected how teachers enacted these pedagogies, as work in classroom ecologies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Wei, 2011) shows that individuals within a classroom actively form this linguistic spaces and tools for communication. When a student asked me a question in Spanish, for example, my response influenced the linguistic norms of the classroom. As this reality was unavoidable and the benefit of participant observation offered the opportunity “to hear, to see, and to begin go experience reality as the participants do” (Marshall & Rossman, 2006, p. 100), I describe instances when my presence directly influenced student translanguaging in my analysis.

Drawing from social design experiment research, I also view my role as an observer participant that co-constructs the inquiry process and the classroom activities with the participating teachers. Beyond influencing teachers’ actions because of my presence (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), I worked with them using *mediated praxis*, or offering tools for self-reflection and new pedagogies that teachers could implement in their instruction (Gutierrez & Vossoughi,

2009). Teacher journal entries and post-observation discussions offered teachers opportunities to “lift off the ground,” away from their everyday thinking about their classroom activities, and see their practices as artifacts for analysis and refinement.

I am also aware that my own history, biases, and positionality influenced how the interactions between me and the teachers occurred, as well as how classroom interactions with students transpired, how these interactions were captured, and how these interactions were analyzed (Chiseri-Strater, 1996). I am aware that my role as an English and Spanish speaker has influenced the language norms of each classroom. I also bring with me extensive experience working in middle school and high school settings and two years of weekly observations in elementary school classrooms, but am not an “insider” as I have not taught in an elementary school classroom.

As a mentor for the participating teachers in the previous two iterations of the ESL endorsement program, I am aware that my relatively authoritative relationship to the teachers could impact teachers’ openness with me (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). However, I feel that aspects of this authority were limited by my role as a graduate student. Unlike the other two professors in this ESL endorsement program, I was not responsible for directly teaching or assessing the participating teachers in university coursework. Like the teachers receiving master’s credit from the university endorsement program, I was also in the process of finishing my doctoral studies during the time of this investigation. I feel that this allowed me to take on more of a collaborative role alongside the teachers rather than an evaluative role in their classrooms, and at times, I feel that the teachers took a more instructional role towards me in demonstrating aspects of their instruction.

Lastly, as a student educated in public schools in Massachusetts with experience teaching in New York City and abroad, I acknowledge that my experiences in education might be very different from the students in the teachers' classrooms, as well as the experiences of the participating teachers. All of these factors could influence how the data are produced, collected, and interpreted. I will explain how I address these influences and other issues of trustworthiness at the conclusion of the data collection and data sources sections.

Data Sources and Collection

In the following section, I describe the different sources of data used in this study. Table 1 below gives an overview of the different data that I collected and analyzed. Data collection occurred over a nine-month period from September, 2014 to May, 2015. Primary sources of data included audio recordings and field notes of classroom observations, video recordings of literacy instruction, post-literacy instruction reflective interviews, teachers' reflective translanguaging journals, and semi-structured interviews with teachers at the beginning and end of data collection. Table 2 then shows how the different sources of data correspond with the study's research questions. The next section describes in detail these sources of data.

Table 1

Total Data Collected and Analyzed

Data Collected	Ms. Ash	Ms. Gardner
Field notes from half or full day classroom observations	18 observations totaling app. 60 hours	18 observations totaling app. 45 hours
Video/audio recordings of literacy instruction	12 recordings totaling app. 300 min	8 recordings totaling app. 100 min
Post observation reflective interviews	10 interviews totaling app. 100 min	8 interviews totaling app. 80 min
Semi-structured entry Teacher Interview	1 interview totaling app. 40 min	1 interview totaling app. 40 min
Semi-structured exit teacher interview	1 interview totaling app. 50 min	1 interview totaling app. 45 min
Teacher reflective journals	6 journals collected	5 journals collected

Table 2

Relationship between Data Sources and Research Questions

Data Source	RQ1: forms and functions of translanguaging	RQ2: meaning-making through translanguaging in CoP	RQ3: teacher perspectives on translanguaging
Field notes from observations	•	•	•
Video/audio recordings of literacy instruction	•	•	
Post-observation interviews		•	•
Entry/exit interviews		•	•
Reflective journals		•	•

Observations with Field Notes and Audio Recording

Observations of instruction occurred approximately once a week in each teacher's classroom from October of 2014 to April of 2015, totaling approximately 18 observations for each participating teacher. These close observations (Patton, 1990) serve two purposes. First, observations allow me to better understand the contexts in which teachers participate. Through half and full day observations on a regular basis, I gleaned an in-depth understanding of how teachers implement curriculum, how they relate to their students, how administrative factors influence their instruction, and how language norms and ideologies influence student and teacher language use. Observations help create sensitivity (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) as I was immersed in the day-to-day working lives of the teachers in this study. From this ethnographic work, I strove to become finely-tuned to the patterns of behavior, ideas, and beliefs, as well as contextual features, that shape teacher practices (Wolcott, 2008). The second purpose of these observations was to document the different forms of translanguaging present in the classroom. Using Heard recording software on an iPhone and an audio recorder, I recorded all instances of teacher and student translanguaging, a concept that I initially define as using a language other than English in the classroom, which were transcribed and analyzed in conjunction with field notes.

Literacy Instruction Video and Audio Recording

Whereas weekly observations give a broad view of different translanguaging pedagogies, video recordings of teachers' literacy instruction, whether as a whole class or in a small group, grant me a fine-grained understanding of how dynamic translanguaging pedagogies are co-constructed between teachers and students (García, Flores & Chu, 2011). Teachers were video and audio recorded working with small groups and whole class in literacy instruction once a week for approximately 25 minutes for a total of approximately 10 videos for each participating

teacher. When it was not possible to film small group instruction due to teacher scheduling issues or other factors, I video recorded whole class literacy instruction. Along with this, I had opportunities to record other curricular translanguaging pedagogies that teachers implemented due to my extended presence in teachers' classrooms. When observing teachers and taking field notes, I had my video camera, which allowed me to selectively video tape lessons in which teachers chose to use specific curricular translanguaging pedagogies, such as using newspapers written in other languages to identify text features or creating bilingual book summaries.

Post-observation Reflective Interviews

After teachers were observed implementing literacy instruction, I conducted 10-minute post-observation semi-structured reflective interviews with teachers (see Appendix A for interview guide). These interviews serve three major purposes. First, they allow me to better understand teacher thinking about what affords and constrains participation in translanguaging pedagogies. For example, how might teacher perceptions of the text that they are required to use lend itself to translanguaging? Second, these interviews allow me to better understand teacher motivations for using translanguaging. For example, why did the teacher choose to ask a student for a Spanish definition of a vocabulary word? Lastly, these interviews served the purpose of encouraging teachers to think of new possibilities for future translanguaging through examining their own practice.

Semi-structured Teacher Interviews

Interviews were conducted with teachers at the beginning and end of data collection (see Appendices B and C for interview guides). The purpose of these interviews was to learn more about the knowledge, practices, and dispositions that inform teacher participation in the classroom. These interviews also help me understand more about teachers' educational and

linguistic histories. A major goal of these interviews was to understand how teacher features, like educational history or their perceptions of literacy instruction, inform their practice. For example, if Ms. Ash has some knowledge of Spanish and understands the challenges of learning another language, this might influence her abilities to empathize with her Arabic students' difficulties in learning English in her classroom. Similarly, if Ms. Ash feels the need to follow a prescribed curriculum, she might feel challenged in enacting new curricular translanguaging pedagogies. The questions for the final interview were informed through theoretical sampling (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), where data collection and ongoing data analysis informed the construction of new concepts about teacher translanguaging that were further investigated in these concluding interviews.

Teacher Reflective Journals

As full day observations only captured a limited sample of translanguaging pedagogies, teacher reflective journals asked teachers to reflect on instances of translanguaging in their instruction when I was not present (see Appendix D for journal template). Journals were collected from teachers every three to four weeks in hard copy or email. Journals serve three purposes. First, they help me understand what types of translanguaging the teachers found most salient in their instruction. By asking teachers to reflect on only one important example, I try to glean a “professional vision” (Goodwin, 1994) of what types of pedagogies are most relevant to teachers and need further investigating. Second, similar to Norton’s (2013) work with critical language awareness journals, these journals encouraged teacher awareness of their own discourse and practices (Fairclough, 2001), and how teachers could strategically develop, adapt, or leverage translanguaging in their instruction. Lastly, journals give insight into the contextual

features of the classroom that afford or constrain teacher translanguaging not readily apparent through my classroom observations.

Data Analysis

This section describes data analysis procedures. The section concludes with a discussion of the study's trustworthiness. Data analysis occurred in three phases that correspond with the study's research questions (see Figure 3 for an overview of the different phases of data analysis). The first phase, which examined the forms and functions of translanguaging, occurred throughout and after data collection. This phase analyzed field notes using the constant comparative method (CCM) (Corbin & Strauss, 2015), as well as transcripts of video and audio recordings using discourse analysis methods of to develop concepts with dimensions and properties of dynamic and curricular translanguaging pedagogies. The second phase, which examined how translanguaging affords meaning-making in a CoP, occurred at the end of class observations. Also using methods of discourse analysis and the CCM, this phase examined multiple data sources to construct a *bricolage*, or a mosaic of classroom CoPs (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and how teachers and students participated in these CoPs. The third and final phase of data analysis involved an analysis of teacher interviews and journals using methods of discourse analysis (Gee, 2011) to uncover teacher perceptions of translanguaging pedagogies.

All analyses presented below follow a cross-case study design (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2009). I define the case at the classroom level. For each research question, I first sought to achieve *density* in understanding each case, where I describe what I learned within each case to generate a substantive level theory for each classroom community of practice (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I then sought to achieve *abstraction* where I compared findings across cases, or “a general explanation that fits each of the individual cases, even though the cases will vary in their details”

(Yin, 1984, p. 108). In other words, I move towards a middle-level theory about each research question by comparing findings across cases that can be extrapolated to other classroom contexts.

September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June and beyond	
PHASE 1	Phase 1: <i>What are the forms and functions of translanguaging?</i> Sources: class observations, memos, post-observation interviews, videos of small group instruction Methods: constant comparative method, discourse analysis Outcomes: properties and dimensions of concepts about translanguaging pedagogies to inform Phase 2									
	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June and beyond
PHASE 2							Phase 2: <i>How does translanguaging afford meaning-making in the CoP?</i> Sources: FNs, exit interviews, post-observation interviews, videos transcripts Methods: discourse analysis, CCM Outcomes: participation storylines			
	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June and beyond
PHASE 3								Phase 3: <i>What are teacher perceptions?</i> Sources: journals, entry/exit interviews, post-observation interviews Methods: discourse analysis Outcomes: cross-case analysis for each RQ		
	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June and beyond

Figure 3. Data analysis scope and sequence

Research Question 1: Forms and Functions of Translanguaging Pedagogies

The objective of this first phase of analysis was to understand the different forms and functions of translanguaging pedagogies used by the two focal teachers over the course of the year. The primary data sources for this phase include 1) field notes from classroom observations and 2) video and audio recordings of literacy instruction. The different categories that emerged had specific properties and dimensions that then informed phase 2 of data analysis. Below, I describe how I established codes to describe forms of translanguaging. I present a sample transcript and detail the different codes that I used. Next, I describe how I established codes to describe the functions of translanguaging using the same sample transcript.

The examination of this first research question was guided by Hymes' (1974) ethnography of communication. Hymes recommends attending to speech acts, speech events, and speech activities in this method. With the understanding that all transcription is based in theory (Ochs, 1979), I first transcribed video and audio data in terms of audible language produced by teachers and students where languages other than English were used. While translingual practice suggests that multiple semiotic resources are used in communication, including gesture and other embodied resources (Canagrajah, 2013), I am concerned primarily with how divergent codes are used within verbal communication. Table 3 below summarizes the conventions used during the transcription process. The audio and video recordings were transcribed to directly capture participants' utterances at the word level, and as such, certain phrasings differ from conventional written English (i.e. repeated words, awkward syntax). I transcribed and then translated students' Spanish, and these translations were then checked by my advisor for accuracy. Arabic utterances were transcribed and then translated by an undergraduate at the university where the study was

conducted. This student was born in Egypt, the same country as the participants in this study, and reported speaking the same form of Arabic.

Table 3

Summary of Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Description
,	low rise in intonation
?	high rise in intonation
.	fall in intonation
..	slight pause in speech
<i>Italics</i>	marks stress
CAPITAL LETTERS	increased volume
=	no gap between utterances (latched speech)
[]	overlapping speech
xxx	inaudible utterance
(after utterance on right side of transcript)	translation of Spanish/Arabic into English

In the next section, I explain my process for choosing which parts of classroom interaction that I chose to transcribe and analyze. I first reviewed video of literacy instruction and identified speech acts in which languages other than English are used by the student or by the teacher. Following Saville-Troike (2008), I define the speech act as an utterance containing a single interactional function, such as a statement, a request, or a command. After identifying these speech acts, I then analyzed the speech events in which these speech acts occurred. Following Saville-Troike (2008), I define the speech event as a unified set of speech acts with the same general purpose for communication, the same participants, and the same general topic. Through examining the speech act in relation to the speech event, I coded the form of the translanguaging act (i.e. initiate, respond, declare) as per Bloome and Egan-Robertson's (1993) guidelines for describing message units. I then coded the functions of these speech acts (i.e. request, provide information, agree/disagree, ignore, initiate a topic, affirm/reject) within the

speech event. While I coded all message units within each speech event, I report on the forms and functions of instances when a language other than English was used by a teacher or by a student. All transcripts were coded using HyperResearch software.

The figure below shows how I coded a sample transcript for the forms and functions of translanguaging within a speech event in Ms. Ash’s classroom. Ms. Ash and her students are discussing words that indicate the present tense in English and in Spanish. Below, I have created a visual representation of the different codes that I generated for the forms and functions of translanguaging in this speech event. In Figure 4 below, I provide a sample speech event that shows the forms of translanguaging in the left column, and functions of translanguaging in this speech event in the right hand column. We see Spanish used as *responses* by both teacher and student. We also see these responses used to inform, request inform, provide information, and affirm information.

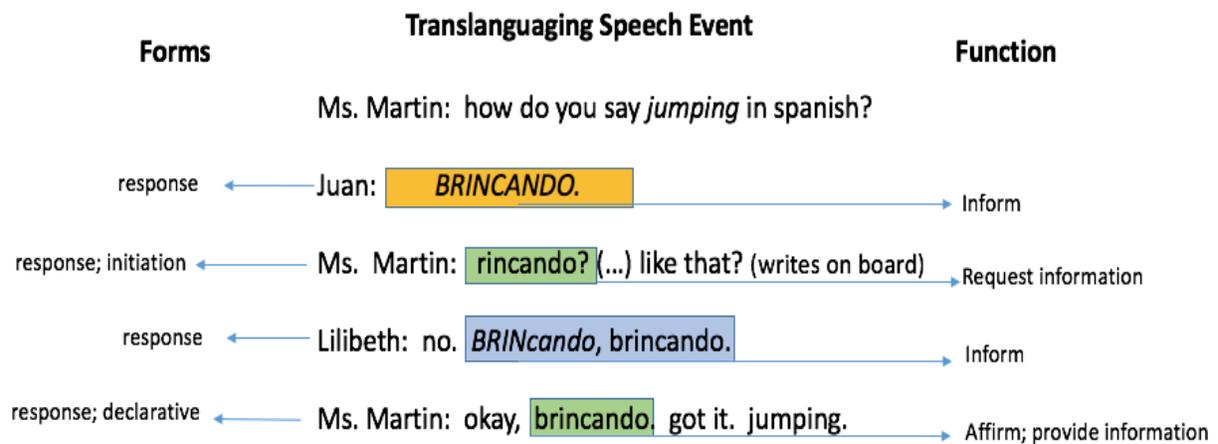


Figure 4. Sample speech event with form and function codes

After analyzing the speech acts used by students and teachers in translanguaging speech events, I then attempted to understand similarities and differences in how teachers and students

participated in these events to socially construct meaning in these interactions (Bloome & Egan-Robertson, 1993; Bakhtin, 1981). To do this, I attended to the different functions of individual translanguaging speech acts in relation to one another within a set speech event. I looked to instances when translanguaging speech acts were used as questions, statements or responses, and attended to their different functions (i.e., request, provide information, initiate a topic). I then used the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) to generate categories to describe how teachers and students participated in these translanguaging events. For example, in Ms. Ash's class, student translanguaging was often initiated through Ms. Ash's request. There were few instances where students used a language other than English to initiate a topic or ask Ms. Ash a question. I coded student translanguaging as *constrained* in these types of speech events as student language use seemed to relate directly to Ms. Ash's request for this language.

Research Question 2: Translanguaging in a Community of Practice

The investigation of this second research question was concerned with how language use relates to the classroom community of practice. In this phase of coding, I coded the functions of translanguaging speech events within larger class activities. To do this, I first reviewed empirical literature that describe functions of translanguaging in the classroom. I used these codes *a priori* to identify similar functions for translanguaging events within the activity. Table 4 shows these different categories, the definition of that category, and then the relevant study with that translanguaging function.

Table 4

Key Study Concordance: Translanguaging Event Functions

Category	Tap Background Knowledge	Demonstrate Expertise / Identity	Extend Meaning	Hone Meaning	Clarify Information
Definition	TL facilitates access to student background knowledge in relation to an activity	TL provides opportunity for students to demonstrate linguistic proficiency or take up “expert” role in activity	TL adds information to facilitate student understanding of a concept	TL provides a recast of a word or phrase to provide a specific meaning of a concept	TL facilitates the clarification of previously unclear or ambiguous information
Key Study Concordance	1. 10. 6. 8. 7.	15. 13. 14.	12. 4. 6.	12. 5. 2. 16. 11.	3. 9. 8. 4.

Key Studies

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Alvarez, L. (2012) | 9. Kenner, C. & Ruby, M. (2012) |
| 2. Borrero, N. (2011) | 10. Lopez-Robertson, J. (2012) |
| 3. Coyoca, A. M. & Lee, J. S. (2009) | 11. Martin-Beltrán, M. (2015) |
| 4. Creese, A. & Blackledge, A. (2010) | 12. Martínez, R. A. (2010) |
| 5. de Oliveira et al., (2015) | 13. Sayer, P. (2013) |
| 6. Gort, M. & Pontier, R. W. (2013) | 14. Schwartz, M. & Asli, A. (2014) |
| 7. Hopewell, S. (2011) | 15. Velasco, P. & García, O. (2014) |
| 8. Jiménez et al. (2015) | 16. Worthy et al., (2013) |

Along with this set of *a priori* codes, I used open coding to delineate categories with distinct properties and dimensions of translanguaging functions not present in the existing literature, and then a process of axial coding to identify crosscutting features that relates these categories to one another (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). As much of the literature has focused on functions relating to students, these additional codes relate directly to teacher functions

associated with translanguaging. Table 5 below shows these additional categories generated from classroom transcripts.

Table 5.

Researcher Generated Translanguaging Function Codes

Category	Learning About Language	Learning About Student	Learning About Activity
Definition	TL helps teacher deepen knowledge or awareness of lexical, syntactical, and pragmatic aspects of students' heritage languages	TL helps teacher learn about students' proficiencies with language, their comprehension of language, or their comprehension of activity	TL helps teacher learn about students' participation in an activity or monitor progress of this activity
Example	Ms. Gardner learns how to say "pumpkin" in Spanish	Ms. Ash learns that Karina understands concept of the past tense	Ms. Gardner learns that Miguel has been following and actively participating in discussion of weather in Africa

As my study was guided by a communities of practice perspective (Wenger, 1998), I was concerned with how these functions facilitated meaning making within the classroom CoP. To do this, a third phase of coding was necessary to understand how the different functions related to classroom members mutually engaging one another through co-constructing goals, negotiating tools, and collaborating in activities. I reviewed the different translanguaging events for each function within each classroom community. To identify instances when I thought that meaning making was occurring in these events, I applied the sensitizing concepts of *mutual engagement*, *negotiated resources*, and *joint activities* and attended to the forms of teacher and student participation. For mutual engagement, I attended to examples when teachers or students used

multiple languages within an activity to define or refine goals for an activity. For negotiated resources, I attended to examples when teachers or students used multiple languages within an activity to define or refine the tools necessary for participating in an activity. For joint activities, I attended to examples when teachers or students used multiple languages within an activity to define or refine participation structures within the activity. Using these sensitizing concepts as overarching categories, I was then able to use open and axial coding to generate codes for properties and dimensions across the data. I first used open coding to generate properties for each category. I then used axial coding to generate dimensions across examples. Table 6 below gives these properties and dimensions for each category of meaning-making.

Table 6

Properties and Dimensions of Meaning-making

Meaning-Making Category	Mutual Engagement	Negotiated Resources	Joint Enterprises
Properties	teacher and students both contribute to defining and refining the goals for the CoP's activities	teacher and students both contribute to offering, defining, and refining the tools (which includes language) for the CoP's activities	Teacher and students both participate in activities, and in doing so, define and refine the structure of these activities
Dimensions	students and teacher initiate translanguaging in activity; students and teacher create new goals within existing activity	students and teacher take up use of heritage languages; students and teacher directly examine tools for activity	students and teacher initiate authentic questions; students and teachers offer expertise to complete activity

Lastly, as I came to understand the data over the course of the year, I used theoretical sampling to guide other data collection efforts and analyses (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). This

process was used in two ways during Phase 2 of data analysis. First, I used an on-the-spot method, where I “purposefully [gathered] data related to categories, their properties, and dimensions” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 153). For example, if I saw a teacher translanguage in a lesson, I then collected classroom artifacts that relate to this pedagogy and asked specific interview questions about this pedagogy in a post-observation discussion. The second way that I used theoretical sampling was through the creation of regular descriptive and theoretical memos (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) that documented my thinking about categories that warranted further sampling in my data collection. These memos served as a way for me to document my emergent understandings of how meaning was made through translanguaging in the two classroom CoPs.

Research Question 3: Teacher Perspectives on Translanguaging Pedagogies

The objective of the third phase of analysis was to understand teacher perceptions of translanguaging pedagogies in their classrooms, and this stage occurred after the end of data collection. The primary goal for this phase of analysis was to create a substantive level theory for understanding 1) teacher perceptions of affordances and constraints for making meaning in their classroom CoPs, and 2) the challenges that teachers faced in implementing these pedagogies and how they overcame these challenges. This final phase of analysis was informed by findings from research questions 1 and 2, as well as findings from analyzing semi-structured teacher interviews, post-observation interviews, and teacher reflective journals.

Teacher journals, semi-structured teacher interviews, and post-observation interviews were analyzed using Gee’s (2011) methods of discourse analysis and were guided by two interrelated sensitizing concepts. I analyzed data to understand teacher perceptions of how translanguaging afforded and constrained classroom meaning-making, and at the same time, to understand teacher perceptions of the challenges to implementing translanguaging pedagogies

and how they overcame these challenges. To operationalize my understandings of teachers' perceptions, I used Gee's methods of discourse analysis to understand how individuals index important practices, social relationships, identities, and social goods within their discourse. This method helped me achieve a nuanced understanding of teachers' perceptions of language use in their CoPs and how these communities shape language use. In my analysis, I attended to discourse features that indexed 1) larger discussions in the classroom, school or community that the teachers participate in, or what Gee calls *Conversations*, 2) *Discourses*, or ways of thinking, doing, and being that the teachers perceive as valuable in their classrooms and schools, 3) *social languages*, or socially constructed features within language that are particular to their classroom and school, and 4) *figured worlds*, or socially constructed and interpreted "realms of reality" in which practices are valued.

This discourse analysis helped establish a "conceptual guide" for understanding the relationship between translanguaging and the context (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 102) by helping elicit the emic perspective of how teachers view their contexts for instruction, what types of instruction they value, their relationships to their students, and their goals for instruction. For example, when Ms. Ash stated she felt constrained to use only school-approved curricula, she indicates a wider *Conversation* within her school community, and similarly, a social good in her discourse about what types of instruction is valued in this Discourse community. From this type of comment, I can then make an inference that translanguaging pedagogies could be constrained by the materials or tools available in her CoP. In describing her commitment to follow a prescribed curriculum, this comment could also index a specific social language and Discourse encouraged in her classroom.

Trustworthiness

I attempt to maintain trustworthiness by collecting data from a multitude of sources: classroom observations, teacher interviews, student artifacts, and reflective teacher journals. This variety of data offered the opportunity to not only triangulate findings, but to also present a mosaic of reality that represents the voices of the researcher and the participants (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). A second means of maintaining trustworthiness was through prolonged engagement with the participants in the settings (Lincoln & Guba, 1967). As this study examines how language is used by individuals within specific contexts, this prolonged engagement helped garner a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the setting and individual participation in that setting.

Another means of establishing trustworthiness was through checking my understandings of this setting and my findings through member-checking (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) with the participating teachers. I did this through ongoing informal conversations throughout the year, more formal post-observation interviews, and email exchanges after data was collected. As these conversations provided only one perspective on my findings, I discussed my understandings with a critical friend (Costa & Kallick, 1993) throughout my time in the classroom. I am aware of how my own history affects data collection and analysis. Having never worked as an elementary school teacher, I met on multiple occasions with a critical friend to check my understandings and assumptions during and after data collection. This critical friend was a doctoral student that previously taught in the district as a 2nd grade teacher.

I am also aware that my findings are only one version of the mosaic of meanings that are possible within qualitative data analysis. As such I remained in regular contact with a peer debriefer (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) throughout data collection and analysis to gain a

complementary perspective on my emerging understandings of translanguaging in the classroom. This debriefer was a fellow doctoral student that studies translanguaging in early childhood and elementary classrooms. Lastly, I have attempted to establish trustworthiness by consulting with my advisor and members of my committee at different stages of this project, and by maintaining a reflective journal where I recorded theoretical insights and methodological decisions throughout data collection and analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Strengths and Limitations

There are three strengths of this study that arise from its variety of sources and methods of data collection and analysis, its sensitivity, and its reflexive and responsive nature. First, as qualitative research demands that the researcher act as a *bricoleur* (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) that constructs a multifaceted and dynamic version of the phenomena being studied, I to use a variety of data sources that give me varied and multiple perspectives on classroom translanguaging. Through observations of teacher instruction, for example, I am able to apply my own professional vision (Goodwin, 1994) to identify moments when teachers use translanguaging, and begin to theorize these pedagogies' affordances and constraints. Through post-observation teacher interviews, I juxtapose my own professional vision about what pedagogies teachers use with their own perspectives on their practice. I then contextualize these practices within the classroom and within the school through weekly observations at the school. While some of the literature on translanguaging has used similar methods to describe student translanguaging, such as Martínez's (2013) work using linguistic ethnography to explore student awareness when translanguaging, no work to my knowledge has yet explored the contextualized nature of translanguaging pedagogies to the extent in this study.

The second major strength of this study is its sensitivity, or my attempted “ability to pick up on subtle nuances and cues in the data that infer or point to meaning” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015, p. 19). I attempt to achieve sensitivity through prolonged engagement (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with the teachers in their context of work, which not only helps me establish trustworthiness, but also gives me the opportunity to better understand students, teachers, and the contexts in which they participate. I have attempted to achieve sensitivity through eliciting the perspective of the teachers in multiple forms. Furthermore, I have attempted to achieve sensitivity through peer debriefing, consulting with a critical friend, and member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For my peer debriefer, I met regularly with a fellow doctoral student throughout data collection and analysis who also works with elementary students and translanguaging to check my assumptions about my observations and to gain additional insights. For my critical friend, I met with another doctoral student that was a former second grade teacher in this study’s school district to gain an insider perspective on issues of curriculum and school policy that might not be readily apparent in the data. Lastly, I member checked with my participants by revisiting questions and ideas from my theoretical and methodological notes during and after data collection, and by sharing findings from my different phases of analysis to ensure trustworthiness and inform future data collection and analysis.

The third major strength of this study is its reflexivity and its responsiveness to not only a major gap in the literature on classroom translanguaging, but to the local needs of the classroom participants and the school district in which the research was conducted. The teachers in this study expressed a desire on multiple occasions for ways that they could access students’ heritage languages in instruction. At the same time, as SIOP scores from observations with more than 30 teachers in this same district over the previous two years showed, finding opportunities for

students to make use of their heritage languages in productive ways was a continued challenge. This study's use of elements of social design experiments and my role as a participant observer and observer participant offered the unique possibility to not only describe and document translanguaging, but to support teachers in their classroom practice throughout the study.

This study has two major limitations that arise from its design. First, as a comparative case study with a small teacher sample, this study does not address the complete range of possibilities for translanguaging. Similarly, the majority of the students in this study spoke Spanish, Arabic, and English, and therefore, I am limited in my ability to generalize how this translanguaging might look for other populations of students. True to its case study design, however, the study seeks to give a detailed description of multiple cases set within their contexts and surroundings (Yin, 2009), in order to begin making hypotheses about how teachers and students translanguage and the contexts that make this translanguaging possible. These conclusions can then be explored through future research with different populations of students in different settings.

This study's second major limitation is that it seeks to describe and not evaluate the effectiveness of translanguaging pedagogies. While this study heeds Cummins' (2005) call for illuminating and adapting more bilingual instructional strategies, it does not necessarily say which pedagogies work best with students for promoting academic achievement. Instead, this study seeks to give a typology of translanguaging pedagogies that can then be further explored in research, similar to Coyoca and Lee's (2009) work with language brokering. The trajectory of Ramón Antonio Martínez's research is a good example of how one scholar first identified student use of *Spanglish* in the classroom (2009), how this *Spanglish* can promote academic achievement (2010), and then how students showed awareness of their *Spanglish* use (2013).

This study is a first step in a projected trajectory that first seeks to describe what translanguaging pedagogies teachers are already participating in and how these pedagogies can be eventually developed to promote student achievement.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSLANGUAGING FORMS AND FUNCTIONS IN TWO CLASSROOMS

This chapter addresses the research question: *What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in the English-centric classroom?* I present an analysis of language use at the speech act and speech event level. For each example of translanguaging, I offer a primary function for individual speech acts, such as providing or clarifying information. I then offer a secondary function of translanguaging in relation to other speech acts in the speech event, such as describing new vocabulary or clarifying directions. Using a comparative case study design, I provide an analysis of similarities and differences at the speech act level across two classrooms.

In sum, this chapter shows teachers and students using initiation, evaluation, declarative, and response translanguaging speech acts for a variety of functions, including requesting, affirming, rejecting, demonstrating, displaying, and clarifying information. Findings from Ms. Ash's class show that teacher translanguaging was responsive, affirming and informative, whereas student translanguaging was compliant, restricted, and informative. Findings from Ms. Gardner's class show that teacher translanguaging was collaborative, authentic and informative, whereas student translanguaging was collaborative, responsive and instructive. This chapter concludes with implications for theory and practice, and describes how discourse patterns in the classroom, student expertise, and attention to language can afford productive translanguaging.

The Forms and Functions of Translanguaging Speech Acts

In this section, I present the forms and functions of Ms. Ash's translanguaging, followed by a discussion. I then present the forms and functions of student translanguaging in her class, followed by a discussion. I repeat this pattern for Ms. Gardner's classroom and conclude with

implications for affording translanguaging in other English-centric contexts. Table 7 provides a description of the different functions of student and teacher translanguaging.

Table 7

Translanguaging Functions and Descriptions

Function Category	Description	Example
display information	utterance used to comply with a request from interlocutor	Ms. Gardner: What did you write? Mina: <i>Bas el seedling, el kalb we yeshemaha.</i> (just a seedling, the dog smells it.)
provide information	utterance offers new information as a means to participate in an activity	So in Spanish we have <i>jugando</i> and in English we have playing.
request information	utterance used to solicit information from another individual	Miguel: <i>Qué es grana?</i> Dan: <i>Granja!</i> It's farm.
clarify information	utterance clarifies information within previously uttered information	<i>Pesada</i> , means, gonna mean that's gotta be like, I think it's gonna be you take two.
affirm/reject information	utterance signals appropriateness /lack of appropriateness of utterance	Karina: <i>Acción.</i> Ms. Ash: <i>Acción.</i> Thank you.
negotiate information	utterance evaluates information and suggests new information	Miguel: <i>Vamos a la clase.</i> Dan: <i>Va!</i>
demonstrate expertise	utterance asserts individual's proficiency with language/content	<i>Maestra</i> Gardner. You know what that means?

Ms. Ash's Translanguaging

In Ms. Ash's classroom, there were 119 speech events in which a language other than English was used by the teacher or by the student. In those 119 events, Ms. Ash used a language other than English 50 times in a translanguaging speech act. Of the 119 speech events, she translanguaged in 34 separate speech events. This number is lower because a single speech event

could contain multiple speech acts in which the teacher used a language other than English. In sum, Ms. Ash translanguaged in 29.4% of events when languages other than English were used. Table 8 gives a summary of Ms. Ash’s translanguaging by form and function. In the next section, I describe the most common functions associated with each form. I conclude with a synthesis of how Ms. Ash’s translanguaging was affirming, responsive, and informative.

Table 8

Ms. Ash Translanguaging Forms and Functions

Forms	Example	Functions
Initiation (9 S.A.s*)	1. What’s a <i>javelina</i> ? 2. Was <i>asistente</i> the same as assistant?	request information; invitation to speech event
Evaluation (26 S.A.s)	1. <i>Corrección</i> . Yep, like correction. 2. You got it, it’s <i>corriendo</i> .	affirm information
Declarative (15 S.A.s)	1. <i>Acción</i> kind of sounds like action. 2. They are having a <i>fiesta</i> .	provide information; demonstrate expertise

*S.A.s refers to separate speech acts in which a language other than English was used.

Evaluation Speech Acts

The most common form Ms. Ash’s translanguaging took was through evaluating student responses. Evaluation speech acts included instances when she repeated a word or phrase used by a student, or when she commented on students’ use of a language other than English and included a word in that language. In the following two examples, Ms. Ash elicits a translanguaging speech act from a student and repeats this utterance in the form of an evaluation. Ms. Ash participates in these events not through her knowledge of Spanish or Arabic, but through using student language. Below, Ms. Ash initiates a speech event by requesting the Spanish word for *running*. This act functions to affirm a student response and to then make a cross-language connection between Spanish and English.

- | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|-----------|
| 1 | Ms. Ash: | how would you spell running (..) or how do you | |
| 2 | | do you say it in spanish? | |
| 3 | Students: | CORRIENDO. | (running) |
| 4 | Ms. Ash: | corriendo? [okay]. | (running) |
| 5 | Students: | [síííí]. | (yesss) |

Ms. Ash initiates this speech event with a request for the Spanish equivalent of the word *running* (1, 2). The students respond and provide information to comply with her request (3). Ms. Ash then repeats *corriendo* to affirm students' response (4), and her students then affirm her translanguaging in turn (5). In a second example, Ms. Ash uses Arabic to affirm a student's response in an activity that compared verbs across languages.

- | | | | |
|----|----------|--|-------|
| 6 | Momo: | i know how to say eat in arabic. | |
| 7 | Ms. Ash: | <i>good</i> , tell us. | |
| 8 | Momo: | naakin. | (eat) |
| 9 | Ms. Ash: | what? | |
| 10 | Momo: | I said NAAKIN = | (EAT) |
| 11 | Ms. Ash: | = naakin, <i>awesome</i> , cool. you can write | (eat) |
| 12 | | that on your chart if you want. | |

These examples show the most common ways Ms. Ash translanguaged. As she reported not speaking Spanish or Arabic, Ms. Ash's translanguaging included repetitions of student utterances for evaluative purposes. In all cases, this speech act was used to affirm a student's response or show agreement with their contribution to the speech event. These findings suggest some academic potential, but translanguaging centered around single-word translations to make comparisons across languages. Findings also suggest teacher translanguaging can build on students' language and can ascribe value to students' language use.

Declarative Speech Acts

The second most frequent way Ms. Ash translanguaged was through declarative speech acts that provided information or initiated a topic. Similar to her use of evaluative speech acts, Ms. Ash's declarative speech acts often came after students used Spanish or Arabic. Below, Ms.

Ash's translanguaging initiates a discussion about cognates and provides students with information for participation in this discussion:

- 13 Ms. Ash: boys and girls he's saying the word, that's
14 what we're doing, what does that sound
15 like . . . ocupación . . . definición is (occupation, definition)
16 definition, imaginación is imagination (imagination)
17 ocupación is . . . would sound like? (occupation)
18 Adi: option, option.
19 Ms. Ash: *kind of* like option. what about occupation?
20 Juan: that was what I was gonna say.

Ms. Ash translanguages to model similarities between Spanish and English. She first demonstrates an overlap in phonology (15, 16) so that students might apply the same logic for producing a cognate of *ocupación*. While Abdi responds with *option* (18), he shows uptake of her information in that the two words show an overlap in sound and spelling. Ms. Ash reported planning her lesson with the help of Google Translate and discussed her plans with me prior to this lesson. With this knowledge, she then uses Spanish and English to demonstrate similarities across languages.

In other instances, Ms. Ash translanguaged in declarative speech acts after students or texts provided her with the necessary linguistic information. In these examples, Ms. Ash used declarative speech acts to provide information and demonstrate her emerging proficiency in languages other than English. In the following example, Ms. Ash uses the text, *The Moon Cheese: A Tale from Mexico* (Mike & Catalano, 2000), which uses the word *fiesta*.

Translanguaging allows her to demonstrate expertise and facilitate a discussion about a text.

- 21 Ms. Ash: look, they are having a fiesta= (party)
22 Pedro: =*una* fiesta (a party)
23 Ms. Ash: okay, pedro, they are having una fiesta. (a party)

Ms. Ash demonstrates she understands the word *fiesta* in the text (21), and repeats the word to demonstrate comprehension of the text. This declarative statement then becomes an

invitation for students to evaluate her use of Spanish, with Pedro suggesting that *una fiesta* is more appropriate. Ms. Ash then shows take-up of this new information and declares that they are having *una fiesta*. These two examples of declarative speech acts are representative of two secondary functions in Ms. Ash's translanguaging. First, Ms. Ash is able to provide information to students that facilitates their participation in the overall speech event. When she models how cognates in Spanish or English share graphemic and phonemic components, she invites students to use this information to make connections across languages for new words. Second, Ms. Ash's declarative speech acts serve as contextual cues (Gumperz, 1986), or utterances used to signal a changing social context agreed upon by interlocutors. When Ms. Ash offers *fiesta* or *ocupación* as legitimate linguistic forms for participating in class discussion, she opens up opportunities for student translanguaging. When she declares that the characters are having a *fiesta*, Pedro immediately evaluates this speech act and uses Spanish.

Initiation Speech Acts

The third most frequent way Ms. Ash translanguaged was through initiation speech acts that functioned to request information. This function can be further separated into acts in which Ms. Ash requested specific information she knew in advance of asking, or what Mehan (1979) calls known information or test questions, or acts in which she requested information she did not know in advance, or what Nassaji and Wells (2000) call *negotiatory* or authentic questions. Building on Richards (2006) work, the distinction between these two questions was made evident in Ms. Ash's responses to the requested information.

Below, Ms. Ash asks students for the meaning of *javelina* before reading the text *The Three Little Javelinas* (Lowell, 1992). Having read the text prior to this lesson, Ms. Ash

understood what a *javelina* was, but prompted the following speech event to access students'

background knowledge:

- 24 Ms. Ash: hmm the three javelinas, I wonder what (hogs)
25 that is. what do you think, what's a javelina? (hog)
26 Brendan: *i seen those=*
27 Ms. Ash: =what do you think kimberly?
28 Kimberly: it's a pig, like a pig.
29 Ms. Ash: okay, so a javelina is like a pig. (hog)

This speech act functions as an invitation for students to access background knowledge and then as an invitation to demonstrate this knowledge. This initiation speech act allows Ms. Ash to assess students' understandings of a central concept within a text prior to reading and possibly activate schema. Authentic questions, on the other hand, served different functions in speech events. Below, Ms. Ash asks her students the meaning of a word in Arabic in order to clarify information when comparing languages:

- 30 Ms. Ash: so then what is playing in arabic?
31 Momo: legon. (running)
32 Ms. Ash: legon? okay, so tell me again, what was (running)
33 running wait, you said running or playing,
34 what's *legon*? (running)
35 Momo: *running*.

Ms. Ash's initiation speech act (34) is an authentic question about Momo's translation of *playing*. Prior to this event, Ms. Ash elicited multiple verbs from the class in the present progressive tense, such as *eating*, *playing*, *jumping*, and *running*. She asks Momo to provide the word for *playing* in Arabic (30). When she is unsure if he responded with the word for *playing* or *running*, she asks for clarification (31). Ms. Ash then uses the word *legon* in her question and clarifies its meaning as *running*. This speech act is an authentic question that functions as a means to elicit information from the student and clarify vocabulary.

This discussion continues with Ms. Ash's further use of an authentic question to clarify information. However, her request is not meant to clarify students' language use, but her own emerging understandings of Arabic. After learning the distinction between *running* and *playing*, she invites Momo to demonstrate his expertise and provide instruction:

- 36 Ms. Ash: moamal do you know what playing would
37 be in Arabic?
38 Moamal: lahib. (playing)
39 Ms. Ash: wait, say it again.
40 Momo: *lahib*. (playing)
41 Ms. Ash: i know I'm not saying it right but tellab kind of?
42 Momo: *lahIB*. (playING)

In this initiation speech act (41) Ms. Ash asks Momo an authentic question about an Arabic word and Momo responds with the correct pronunciation of *lahib*. This example, along with the prior two, demonstrate a secondary function for these speech acts in that they show the value Ms. Ash ascribes to languages other than English in the classroom. Through requesting the correct pronunciation of *lahib*, Moamal demonstrates an area of expertise that Ms. Ash values and seeks to develop in herself.

In summary, these examples of initiation speech acts show Ms. Ash translanguaging for two primary functions. First, her translanguaging initiations invite information from students, and as a result, they access background knowledge and demonstrate these understandings. For example, when asking if *assistente* is a cognate of assistant, she invites students to demonstrate their emerging understandings of similarities across languages. Second, her translanguaging initiations function as invitations for students' evaluative speech acts. As Ms. Ash asks for the pronunciation of Arabic or Spanish, she positions students as primary knowers (Nassaji & Wells, 2000) in the speech event. She is able to learn more about languages other than English, and in doing so, ascribes value to these languages in her classroom.

Conclusions about Ms. Ash's Speech Acts

To summarize Ms. Ash's translanguaging, she used initiation, evaluative, and declarative speech acts to request information, affirm students' responses, and provide information. With the goal of generating substantive level theory from this analysis, I describe Ms. Ash's translanguaging as *responsive*, *affirming*, and *informative*.

First, Ms. Ash's translanguaging was *responsive*. In the majority of translanguaging speech acts, students first offered a word or phrase in their heritage language. Ms. Ash's translanguaging built directly on student language use, as shown in her frequent evaluations of student responses through repeating this response. When she used declarative speech acts, these utterances were at times based on student language in previous speech events, as in her stating "so *hablando* means talking" after eliciting other progressive verbs in a previous speech event. These speech acts also used language in classroom texts, as in Ms. Ash's use of *fiesta* when talking about the *The Moon Cheese: A Tale from Mexico* (Mike & Catalano, 2000), or *javelina* when talking about *The Three Little Javelinas* (Lowell, 1992). However, when discussing cognates, Ms. Ash offered words in Spanish that did not use language elicited directly from students. These findings suggest that Ms. Ash's translanguaging was responsive to student and textual language, but that in certain activities, like cognate instruction and verb tense comparisons, Ms. Ash could produce words in Spanish independently of her students.

Though I characterize her translanguaging as responsive, Ms. Ash was still able to work towards larger learning goals that were independent of student contributions. Ms. Ash responded to student language within larger activities that pushed students to develop metalinguistic awareness through comparing languages. Furthermore, it is important to note that though her translanguaging speech acts could be characterized as responsive, this does not mean that she did

not play an important part in facilitating student language on which she then modeled her translanguaging.

Second, Ms. Ash's translanguaging was *affirming*. The most common form her translanguaging took was evaluative, and the majority of evaluations affirmed student responses. Perhaps because Ms. Ash could not evaluate the accuracy of student answers, she took an affirming stance to nearly all instances of student translanguaging. When she challenged Momo's use of *lahib* for running versus playing, she did so based on prior knowledge of *lahib* from a previous activity. Along with affirming the accuracy of student responses, Ms. Ash's translanguaging helped affirm the status of heritage languages in her class. When students offered a translation of a word, such as *naakin* for eating, Ms. Ash repeated this word with an accompanying *awesome*. At other times, she used phrases like *good job* or *that's fantastic*. Through using student language and praising this language when used by students, Ms. Ash implicitly and explicitly affirmed languages other than English as important and as legitimate sources of information in her classroom.

Lastly, Ms. Ash's translanguaging was *informative*. When translanguaging through the use of declarative forms, for example, she offered necessary information for completing an academic task, such as modeling how to use cognates or make connections between progressive tenses in English and Spanish. While she used translanguaging to convey information to students, she also translanguaged to facilitate opportunities for students to then inform her about language. These informative moments included instances when Ms. Ash asked about the pronunciation of a word, or when students corrected her spelling of *brincando*.

It is important to note that Ms. Ash's translanguaging did not extend beyond the word level, and that she did not generate any Arabic language independent of student input. As will be

shown further when comparing Ms. Ash’s and Ms. Gardner’s translanguaging, Ms. Ash’s translanguaging centered around word-level translations elicited from students. However, as the findings in the next section suggest, her larger role in student translanguaging created opportunities for students to begin to participate, albeit rarely, in speech acts that included more extensive discourse in languages other than English.

Student Translanguaging in Ms. Ash’s Classroom

Of the 119 speech events in which a language other than English was used by the teacher or by the student in Ms. Ash’s classroom, students used a language other than English 79 times in separate speech acts. Of the 119 speech events, students translanguaged in 75 speech events. In sum, students used a language other than English in 63% of events when other languages were used in the classroom. Table 9 below gives a summary of students’ uses of languages other than English by form and function. In the section below, I describe the most common functions associated with each form. This section concludes with a summary of how Ms. Ash’s students’ translanguaging was compliant, restricted, and informative.

Table 9

Students’ Translanguaging Forms and Functions in Ms. Ash’s Class

Forms	Example	Functions
Response (61 S.A.s)	1. <i>Jugando!</i> 2. <i>Yo fui a la playa ayer.</i>	display information; demonstrate expertise
Evaluation (7 S.A.s)	1. It’s <i>acción!</i> 2. Not <i>ricando</i> , it’s <i>brincando</i> .	clarify information
Declarative (10 S.A.s)	1. I can say eating. <i>Naakin</i> . 2. I-N-G and N-D-O sound the same.	provide information; demonstrate expertise

Response Speech Acts

The most common form students' translanguaging took in Ms. Ash's classrooms was through responding to Ms. Ash's initiations. These responses included single word utterances, which facilitated student compliance to requests for translations in another language. These responses also included multiple-word phrases, which displayed information in response to questions with multiple possible answers.

Student translanguaging was frequently initiated through Ms. Ash's requests for a word in another language when learning new vocabulary, making comparisons across language in cognate instruction, and when studying verbs and morphemes. The speech event below is an example of a student responding to Ms. Ash's initiation to display information as part of a larger activity when learning about progressive tenses in Spanish and English:

- 43 Ms. Ash: you said today I'm learning how do you
44 say learning?
45 Mary: aprendiendo. (learning)
46 Ms. Ash: is e-n-d-o like i-n-g?
47 Kimberly: yes=
48 Mary: =kind of, it's kind of.

Mary's response of *aprendiendo* (45) displays information and complies with Ms. Ash's request. Because Ms. Ash asks an authentic question where she does not know the answer prior to asking, she negotiates this new information with her students by comparing word endings (46). Mary's displayed information (45) then serves a secondary function in this speech event of initiating further questioning from Ms. Ash which leads to a cross-language comparison between verb tenses in English and Spanish.

Below, Ms. Ash does not seem to negotiate new information with students after they have responded to a request. However, the information Nelly offers becomes part of a series of speech

events that lead to an understanding of verb similarities across languages. In the following example from the same activity, Ms. Ash requests a translation of the word *playing*:

- 49 Ms. Ash: okay so for spanish, in spanish we have playing as=
50 Nelly: =jugando. (playing)
51 Ms. Ash: jugando, right, and that's j-u-g-a-n-d-o. (playing)

Nelly displays information for Ms. Ash and complies with her request (49). While this translanguaging does not lead directly to a cross-language comparison, Ms. Ash then initiates another speech event later in the activity that facilitates an explicit connection (58):

- 52 Ms. Ash: wait, say it again?
53 Nelly: BRINCANDO. (JUMPING)
54 Ash: oh, b-r . . . is that right?
55 Students: yes.
56 Ms. Ash: well we know the ending, so we know it's
57 happening now, so that's okay, we're just
58 looking at the i-n-g part.

These multiple responses from students in successive speech events provide necessary information for Ms. Ash to draw connections across languages (58). Along with single word utterances, students responded with phrases that included multiple words in languages other than English. These phrases came through specific requests from Ms. Ash for more extended discourse, as shown below in an activity designed to make comparisons between past tenses across languages. Prior to this speech event, Ms. Ash asked students to write a sentence in Arabic or Spanish about something that happened yesterday:

- 59 Ms. Ash: awesome good job karina. amy?
60 Amy: ayer yo fui para la iglesia. (yesterday I went to church)
61 Ms. Ash: alright, say it to me in english then.
62 Amy: yesterday I went to church.
63 Ms. Ash: yesterday I went to church. awesome.
64 boys and girls this is a great job telling
65 me what you did yesterday.

Similar to Ms. Ash's use of student single-word responses to make comparisons across languages, she uses this extended response (60) to eventually question students about similarities between Spanish and English, asking "So when you write your verbs in Spanish, did you use E-D on your verbs?" The prevalence of these examples of single word and multiple word responses suggests that student translanguaging could be leveraged to promote metalinguistic understandings. Students offered translations of English words in Arabic and Spanish at Ms. Ash's request in activities centered around cross-language connections. However, this prevalence of students' responses, as compared to declarative, initiation and evaluative speech acts, also suggests the extent to which language use was controlled by Ms. Ash.

Declarative Speech Acts

The second most common form students' translanguaging took was through declarative speech acts. These declarative acts functioned to provide information and demonstrate proficiency or expertise in languages other than English. Unlike the majority of students' response speech acts, declarative statements incorporated more extended student discourse within translanguaging speech acts. Still, there were instances when students made declarative statements through a single word utterance, as in Momo's display of expertise below:

- | | | | |
|----|----------|--|-------|
| 66 | Momo: | that's spanish, i know how to say eat in arabic. | |
| 67 | Ms. Ash: | <i>good</i> , tell us. | |
| 68 | Momo: | naakin. | (eat) |
| 69 | Ms. Ash: | what? | |
| 70 | Momo: | I said NAAKIN = | (EAT) |

While Momo's declarative speech acts do not initiate a further discussion about similarities and differences between languages, these acts function as means for Momo to display his linguistic proficiency. The prior speech events in this activity focused on verbs in Spanish or English. Momo, who was not prompted by the teacher, demonstrated that he understood the

concept of verb, recognized vocabulary in Spanish and in English, and then displayed his linguistic proficiency, proudly stating that he “can say all those words in Arabic.” His declarative speech acts (68) serve as markers for demonstrating his linguistic expertise.

Students also used declarative speech acts outside of interaction with the teacher. When completing a math problem in small groups, for example, one student clarified directions for her partner by providing information in stating *tienes que contar todos los grupos*, or “you need to count all the groups.” In another example, two students discussed a text in Spanish upon Ms.

Ash’s request in a pair-share activity below:

71	Ms. Ash:	we just want to summarize what this	
72		story is about, talk about what we should	
73		include, what happened. we can talk in	
74		spanish or in english. y’all can just talk in	
75		spanish and then tell me what you’re saying.	
76	John:	i can do both.	
77	Ms. Ash:	let’s think about what happened in your	
78		story. you can speak spanish.	
79	Katrina:	(to John) este aquí, él, mira.	(this here, him, look)
80		este. él es mr. bumble xxx	(this. he is mr. bumble)

These speech acts between students (*él es Mr. Bumble* and *tienes que contar*) show how translanguaging offered opportunities to provide information needed to participate in academic tasks. I observed multiple instances when students used Spanish and Arabic amongst themselves, such as when Abbas language brokered for Momo and explained directions, and when Kimberly told Katrina in Spanish that Elliott had hurt her. However, the majority of these speech acts occurred in activities where Ms. Ash encouraged translanguaging. When Momo declared he could say all the words in Arabic, this was part of a larger activity that encouraged comparisons across languages. This suggests that, similar to students’ response speech acts, declarative speech acts were not entirely spontaneous or unbidden in the classroom (Canagarajah, 2013).

Evaluation Speech Acts

The third most common form that the students' translanguaging took was through evaluation speech acts performed to clarify information and demonstrate expertise. Evaluations occurred primarily in teacher-student interactions, and were used to evaluate teacher pronunciations and spellings in languages other than English. Students' evaluations were instructive in that they clarified information offered by Ms. Ash. Below, Ms. Ash and students discuss cognates in Spanish and English that end in *-ción* and *-tion*:

- 81 Momo: IT SOUNDS LIKE CORRECT.
82 Ms. Ash: it sounds like correct, listen to the
83 whole word again though. *corrección*. (correction)
84 José: *correcCIÓN*. (correctION)
85 Ms. Ash: correcCIÓN (. .) what word does that sound like? (correctION)
86 Momo: CORRECTION.

Hearing Ms. Ash's pronunciation of *corrección*, José translanguages to evaluate her Spanish and offer an alternate pronunciation. José's use of Spanish is not solicited directly by Ms. Ash, as in the majority of evaluative speech events, and in the example below:

- 87 Momo: *lahib*. (playing)
88 Ms. Ash: i know I'm not saying it right but tellab kind of?
89 Momo: *lahIB*. (playING)
90 Ms. Ash: OKAY. do you have an ending in arabic
91 that's like the spanish, like in english we
92 have i-n-g, spanish we have e-n-d-o?
93 Momo: not really.

Moamal's evaluation of Ms. Ash's pronunciation invites Momo's participation in a larger discussion about verb endings. Though this lesson centered around comparisons between Spanish and English, Ms. Ash uses Arabic, and in doing so, Momo demonstrates expertise as an Arabic speaker and participates in the discussion. This event supports the idea that translanguaging serves as a contextual clue that signals a shift concerning which linguistic tools can or should be used in discussion. This event also shows how translanguaging can challenge

traditional roles in common patterns of classroom discourse (Cazden, 2001). Whereas Ms. Ash had multiple opportunities to evaluate student responses, translanguaging offered opportunities for students to take up a similar evaluative role. Along with attending to phonology, students evaluated Ms. Ash's syntax (i.e. it's *una* fiesta), and orthography (*it's B-R-I-N, not ricando*). Over the course of the year, however, I did not observe any speech events in which students evaluated one another's language use.

Conclusions about Students' Speech Acts in Ms. Ash's Classroom

To summarize students' translanguaging, they used response, declarative, and evaluation speech acts for functions that included providing, clarifying and displaying information, and demonstrating expertise. To generate substantive level theory from this analysis, I describe student translanguaging as *compliant, restricted, and informative*.

First, students' translanguaging was *compliant*. Students translanguaged most frequently at Ms. Ash's request for a translation of a word or phrase. Unlike Ms. Ash's use of translanguaging, which was described as responsive, students' translanguaging was compliant in that students did not initiate these speech acts, nor did they choose which language to use when participating in speech events. In whole group instruction and small group literacy instruction, on no occasion did I observe students initiate a speech event through choosing to use a language other than English, and on only a few occasions did I observe a student use a language other than English when not prompted by Ms. Ash.

Second, students' translanguaging was *restricted*. Students' translanguaging directly met the demands of Ms. Ash's requests. When Ms. Ash asked for a translation of *moon* when reading *The Moon Cheese*, Nelly responded with *luna*. When Ms. Ash requested a complete sentence in a language other than English about something that students did yesterday, Danny responded with

ayer yo fui al lago con mami y papi. Student translanguaging was restricted to parameters Ms. Ash set within the speech event, which aligns with Arthur and Martin's (2006) findings that show how teachers set parameters for not only *what* language can be used, but *how* students use this language. Ms. Ash set the language that students were to use by directly requesting their translanguaging. Second, Ms. Ash often used test questions or questions with a finite set of possible answers. Students participated within the parameters of discourse set by Ms. Ash and then responded with single-word utterances. A counter example to this restricted discourse could be the instance when Ms. Ash asked students to discuss Mr. Bumbleticker's character with one another in extended discourse. I argue that the majority of student translanguaging was restricted—while Ms. Ash does not tell students directly *what* to say within multilingual interactions, she seems to tell them *how* to say it by asking for specific languages and through asking specific types of questions.

Lastly, student translanguaging was *informative*. Responses, evaluations, and declarations provided and clarified information to facilitate participating in different academic tasks. Student translanguaging provided information to make cross-language connections, as in noting pronunciation differences between Spanish and English when examining cognates, as well in providing information about Arabic endings to words, leading Ms. Ash to conclude that “there isn't as clear of an ending” that signifies the past tense. Student translanguaging was also informative in that it provided students opportunities to demonstrate an expertise not shared by their teacher, and at times, not shared by their classmates. During one lesson, Momo proudly stated “nobody knows Arabic but me” before demonstrating this expertise by translating the verbs written on the board in English and Spanish into Arabic. These moments offered students opportunities to subvert common participatory roles in the classroom and teach their teacher.

However, it is important to note that students' opportunities to inform their teacher were limited in two major ways. First, along with few opportunities to engage in extended discourse, I argue that Ms. Ash's limited understanding of Arabic and her transmission approach to pedagogy restricted opportunities for students to demonstrate their expertise. At the conclusion of this study, I member-checked (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) with Ms. Ash about the few instances when students used Arabic. She reported that she did not try to incorporate Arabic more because she "didn't know ANYTHING about Arabic or how the language works" (emphasis in the original). While she was able to use her basic knowledge of Spanish to consult with a colleague and find information on the internet, she "was lost" as to how to incorporate Arabic. I argue that part of this challenge is also informed by differences in Arabic's writing system from English, uses of different phonemes from English, and fewer cognates with English than Spanish and English, which share some Latin roots. Second, I argue that instruction in this classroom resembled more of a transmission-based pedagogy than a constructivist approach, which created fewer opportunities for students to demonstrate their thinking and teach their teacher. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Ms. Gardner's Translanguaging

In Ms. Gardner's classroom, there were 220 speech events in which a language other than English was used by the teacher or student. In those 220 events, Ms. Gardner translanguaged 96 times. Of the 220 speech events, she translanguaged in 80 separate speech events. In sum, Ms. Gardner used a language other than English in 36.3% of events when other languages were used in the classroom. Table 10 gives a summary of Ms. Gardner's translanguaging by form and function. Below, I describe the most common functions associated with each form. I conclude

with a summary of how Ms. Gardner’s translanguaging was collaborative, authentic, and informative.

Table 10

Ms. Gardner’s Translanguaging Forms and Functions

Forms	Example	Functions
Initiation (40 S.A.s)	1. Is it <i>sengunda</i> ? 2. What’s she doing <i>el pájaro</i> ?	request information
Response (14 S.A.s)	1. Miguel: Read it in Spanish. Gardner: Okay, <i>la clase vamos...</i>	demonstrate expertise, clarify information
Evaluation (18 S.A.s)	1. <i>La rosa, gracias.</i> 2. Hmm, please don’t start with <i>no más</i> because that’s word for word.	affirm/reject information; clarify information
Declarative (24 S.A.s)	1. There are all sorts of flowers, so we might want to say <i>las florás.</i>	provide information; clarify information; demonstrate expertise

Initiation Speech Acts

The most common form Ms. Gardner’s translanguaging took was through initiation speech acts. These initiations included the use of Arabic and Spanish at the word and phrase level, and were used to request and clarify information. These initiations can be further divided into secondary functions that include questions *about* language and questions *with* language. Below, Ms. Gardner uses Arabic in two initiation speech acts *about* language. After Amir brings in a physical piece of Egyptian clothing, Ms. Gardner asks him the name of this item (94). She had heard this word from a student in a previous lesson about weather in Africa. In a second speech act, she asks for the correct pronunciation of an Arabic word (101). This speech event occurred in a text comprehension activity where students were describing African weather:

- 94 Ms. Gardner: and we learned that was something called
 95 was it lips? (egyptian garment)
 96 Amir: *this* is called lips. (egyptian garment)
 97 Ms. Gardner: oh the whole outfit is called lips. is there (egyptian garment)
 98 a term for what you wear on your head?
 99 Amir: no idea.
 100 Ms. Gardner: so Amir is going to put this on over his [pants]
 101 Mina: [it's] called tahayah. (egyptian headwear)
 102 Ms. Gardner: tahayah? (egyptian headwear)
 103 Mina: that's a hat.

The two speech acts are questions *about* language that connect students to the text—Ms. Gardner requests information from students about specific semantic and phonological information when discussing students' experiences with Egyptian clothing. In the first speech act, Ms. Gardner elicits Amir's distinction between *lips* as a single article of clothing or *lips* as an article that includes a hat (97). Mina then clarifies that a *tahaya* is the name of the head piece worn by Egyptian men (100), thus distinguishing it from a *lips*. Ms. Gardner repeats this phrase and, in doing so, initiates a further clarification from Mina about the use of this clothing (102).

Whereas this speech event uses a single Arabic word, Ms. Gardner also used phrases in Spanish and Arabic in initiation speech acts *about* language. This was more common in Spanish, perhaps due to her familiarity with Spanish and ability to parse phrases into word level units. In a discussion about a text with two Arabic students, as shown below, she repeats a phrase that she heard from them in Arabic to clarify the meaning of a text. The students are discussing the line “just a flower” in the text:

- 104 Ken: bes hya= (just it's)
 105 Ms. Gardner: =bessemet? (. .) (no meaning in Arabic)
 106: Amir: we didn't write that.
 107 Ms. Gardner: what is bes ay yah (. . .) bessemet? (just; no meaning in Arabic)
 108 Amir: bes hya. (just it's)
 109 Ms. Gardner: oh. ken, what does that mean?
 110 Ken: the girl, she throw the flower. (just it's)

Ms. Gardner uses multiple Arabic words (*what is bes ay ah bessemet*) by repeating her students' contributions to the discussion about the text, *Just a Seed*. Amir corrects her pronunciation of the phrase (107) and Ken offers a description of the picture in the book rather than a translation of the Arabic (109). This example shows one of the challenges Ms. Gardner faced in using Arabic; though she elicits some information from students about pronunciation, she struggles to use Arabic to further probe student understandings about language. In this example, Ken responds with a summary of the text, saying that the girl threw the flower (110) rather than answering her specific question about the meaning of *bes hya*.

On other occasions, Ms. Gardner used student language in initiation speech acts in which she asked questions *with* languages other than English. Ms. Gardner reported knowing a few basic words in Spanish, and we see her apply this knowledge when discussing the word

sombrilla:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--|----------------------------------|
| 111 | Miguel: | ms. gardner how you say, wait, | |
| 112 | | cómo se dice? cómo se dice= | (how do you say; how do you say) |
| 113 | Ms. Gardner: | qué? | (what) |
| 114 | Miguel: | how you said, in english, how you say in | |
| 115 | | english la sombrilla? | (the umbrella) |
| 116 | Ms. Gardner: | la sombrilla? | (the umbrella) |

Ms. Gardner directly responds to Miguel in Spanish (113), and in doing so, prompts him to repeat his request for a translation (114). She uses Spanish to help Miguel clarify information. Rather than Spanish as a part of a question about language, Spanish is the language through which the question is articulated (113). In a similar discussion about a pumpkin, Ms. Gardner directs students' attention to a picture in a text and asks, "Qué es grande?" In these examples, Spanish is both the object of the discussion, or the information that is requested, as well as the means for conducting this discussion, or the form used to initiate this question.

To conclude, Ms. Gardner translanguaged in initiation speech acts primarily to request and clarify information. When using Arabic, she used previously uttered student language to then ask questions about phonology and semantics. When using Spanish, Ms. Gardner built directly on student language by repeating single words or multiple word phrases. However, she also responded to student language when using *qué* after Miguel initiated a speech event with *cómo se dice*. These examples are important in that they signal not just Ms. Gardner's understanding of Spanish, but the value she ascribes to it, her own willingness to use it, and her desire to further interrogate it in class activities. In the next section, she shows how declarative speech acts have similar functions, including opportunities for her to demonstrate her emerging expertise.

Declarative Speech Acts

The second most common form Ms. Gardner's translanguaging took was through declarative speech acts where Arabic and Spanish provided information in different meaning-making activities, and clarified information in collaboration with students. Declarative speech acts also gave Ms. Gardner opportunities to demonstrate her emerging linguistic proficiencies, which then invited student evaluations of these speech acts.

Below, Ms. Gardner responds to a student translation of *huele* for the word *smell*, which was a paraphrase of a text's use of the word *sniff*. Ms. Gardner uses her knowledge of the word *perro* and the verb *huele* to contribute to the discussion of a character's actions in the text (120):

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--|------------------|
| 117 | Ms. Gardner: | how do <i>you</i> say it? | |
| 118 | Dan: | huele. | (smell) |
| 119 | Ms. Gardner: | huele is smell? okay so the dog is, | (smell) |
| 120 | | el perro huele the sapling. okay, and | (the dog smells) |
| 121 | | what's happening here? | |
| 122 | Miguel: | xxx. | |
| 123 | Ms. Gardner: | so he's talking about el perro, the dog. | (the dog) |

Ms. Gardner provides information about the text that is useful for comprehension, stating that *el perro huele the sapling* (120). After Dan provides *huele* to describe the dog's actions (118), Ms. Gardner confirms in Spanish and English that the dog is smelling the sapling before moving on to the next page. This example of intrasentential code-switching (120) demonstrates her emerging understanding of Spanish syntax, and she translanguages to provide Miguel and Dan with a description of a character in the story. Translanguaging allows Ms. Gardner to collaborate in this activity by supplying useful information for two students at the beginning levels of English proficiency (119, 120). She repeats Dan's contribution (119) and emphasizes this information as important in the process of comprehending the text.

Along with providing information, Ms. Gardner used declarative speech acts to clarify information in texts. Below, she uses student language uttered prior in the speech event to clarify new information. Franklin and Dan suggest that *las flores* implies flowers, whereas a *rosa* is a type of flower. Ms. Gardner uses this information to help Miguel clarify the dog's action of smelling flowers versus smelling roses and possibly build his Spanish vocabulary knowledge:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|---------------|
| 124 | Miguel: | we are looking flowers. | |
| 125 | Franklin: | las flores. | (the flowers) |
| 126 | Ms. Gardner: | um . . what is flower? | |
| 127 | Miguel: | rosas. | (roses) |
| 128 | Dan: | <i>flores</i> . | (flowers) |
| 129 | Miguel: | rosas is like, you can call it rosa. | (roses; rose) |
| 130 | Franklin: | that's a type of flower. | |
| 131 | Ms. Gardner: | is it roses? | |
| 132 | Dan: | yeah. | |
| 133 | Ms. Gardner: | what type of, there are all sorts of flowers, | |
| 134 | | so we might just want to [say, um, las floras.] | (flowers) |
| 135 | Miguel: | [they're rosas.] that is rosas ms. gardner. | |
| 136 | Franklin: | that's not a rose. | |
| 137 | Ms. Gardner: | but, they just see all types of flowers . . | |
| 138 | Dan: | roses have spikes, they don't have spikes. | |
| 139 | Ms. Gardner: | thank you. | |

Her declarative speech act (133) pushes Miguel to defend his opinion that the flowers are in fact *rosas* (135). Dan counters that roses have spikes and accepts Ms. Gardner’s clarification that “we might just want to say, um *las flores*.” Despite her mispronunciation of *flores* as *floras*, her translanguaging invites students to make their own clarifications of information in the text and to use features of the text, such as the illustration (136), to defend their positions. Ms. Gardner translanguages to clarify textual information, and at the same time, help Miguel clarify understandings of Spanish vocabulary.

These declarative speech acts show Ms. Gardner’s willingness to use student-generated language. In repeating or rephrasing student contributions, she positions student language as valuable for classroom discussion. Unlike Ms. Ash’s repetitions for evaluative purposes, Ms. Gardner repeats student language to further discussions about texts and language. In doing so, she simultaneously positions students as experts with language as she struggles with this new language. Below, she attempts to pronounce the Spanish word for *tree*:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|----------------|
| 140 | Ms. Gardner: | nested in, you know, what was tree? | |
| 141 | Miguel: | árbol. árrrbol. | (tree; trtree) |
| 142 | Ms. Gardner: | árbol? | (tree) |
| 143 | Miguel: | árbol. | (tree) |
| 144 | Ms. Gardner: | ÁRbol, i’ll get it, i’ll get it. | (TRee) |
| 145 | Miguel: | ÁRRrbol. | (TRRree) |
| 146 | Ms. Gardner: | I can’t roll my r’s. | |
| 147 | Miguel: | ÁRRRRRbol. | (TRRRRee) |
| 148 | Franklin: | árbol. | (tree) |
| 149 | Ms. Gardner: | árbol. i’ll keep practicing. so what you | (tree) |
| 150 | | did, is you summarized what we said here, and | |
| 151 | | you put it in your own words, and i want you to | |
| 152 | | do the same right here. | |

This example highlights the new role Ms. Gardner takes up in the classroom when translanguaging. Despite primarily using declarative speech acts to provide and clarify information, this speech act (144) shows her willingness to learn from students and her attempts

to model language learning in general. Miguel even laughs at her attempts to use Spanish, and Franklin chimes in to help with pronunciation (148). Ms. Gardner, a persistent and eager learner, declares that she will keep practicing (149).

These examples show how declarative speech acts provided and clarified information in speech events. Often, Ms. Gardner’s translanguaging built directly on student language as she repeated information in Spanish or Arabic from previous speech events. This analysis also suggests the collaborative nature of Ms. Gardner’s participation—Ms. Gardner provided information and helped clarify content in texts through her emerging multilingualism. At times, students challenged information, as in Miguel’s declaration that “it’s *rosas*, Ms. Gardner”, and evaluated her language use. While Ms. Gardner translanguaged to help students make meaning in texts, this translanguaging also provided students opportunities to help her make sense of new language.

Evaluation and Response Speech Acts

The final two forms Ms. Gardner’s translanguaging took was evaluating student responses and responding to initiations. Her evaluations were similar to Ms. Ash’s in that they affirmed student responses, but differed in that Ms. Gardner also challenged and provided new information to extend student thinking. Rather than repeating student responses to evaluate, Ms. Gardner also used basic Spanish phrases to affirm students’ language, as in the example below where she thanks Miguel for teaching her Spanish (163):

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|
| 153 | Ms. Gardner: | can you say it one more time so I can | |
| 154 | | learn it in spanish? | |
| 155 | Miguel: | la la la artista | (the the the artist) |
| 156 | Dan: | la la la= | (the the the) |
| 157 | Ms. Gardner: | =la artista | (the artist) |
| 158 | Miguel: | stá. | (is) |
| 159 | Ms. Gardner: | stá. | (is) |
| 160 | Miguel: | dibujando. | (drawing) |

- 161 Ms. Gardner: dibujando. (drawing)
 162 Miguel: la rosa. (the rose)
 163 Ms. Gardner: la rosa. gracias. (the rose; thank you)

In a later speech event, Ms. Gardner continues the discussion of the artist drawing a flower and again evaluates Miguel's contributions using Spanish (168):

- 164 Ms. Gardner: la artista está divor= (the artist is)
 165 Miguel: =dibujando. (drawing)
 166 Ms. Gardner: una rosa? (a rose)
 167 Miguel: la rosa. (the rose)
 168 Ms. Gardner: sí, excelente. (yes; excellent)

Both speech acts (163, 168) function to affirm Miguel's comments. They are different from other translanguaging speech acts in that the response speech acts do not repeat student language. Her translanguaging, similar to using *qué* and *qué es* during initiation acts, shows her take-up of Spanish and willingness to use it in classroom discourse. In these exchanges, Spanish is not just a language within an activity, but the language through which the activity occurs.

In other evaluative speech acts, Ms. Gardner attempts to extend student thinking by challenging information. In this activity, students were paraphrasing the line "just a sapling, said the dog" in Spanish as a means to summarize an English text. Ms. Gardner challenged students' translation in Spanish as being "word for word" (173), or a direct translation rather than a paraphrase of the text. Rather than affirming students' Spanish use, she evaluates their Spanish with "please do not start with no más" (176, 177).

- 169 Ms. Gardner: let's reword this because here we said, what
 170 what did we say? um, no más un sapling (just a sapling)
 171 dijo el perro. okay so you said (.) (said the dog)
 172 Miguel: no más un sapling dijo el perro. (just a sapling said the dog)
 173 Ms. Gardner: so you wrote that word for word. okay,
 174 let's reword this, because this is almost
 175 word for word what the author said. this guy
 176 says okay? so let's try and reword this. please
 177 do not start with no más, because that, that (just)
 178 means you are putting it exactly word for

179 word. how can you put this in your own words?
180 how can you put this in your own words?

Ms. Gardner uses Spanish to hone student understandings of what make a strong paraphrase. *No mas* could be translated as *no more* or *no longer*, and in this case, it can translate as *just*, or a direct translation of *just a seed*. For Ms. Gardner, the syntax matches the syntax of the text too closely (173, 178) and she recognizes it as a translation and not a paraphrase. Despite her limited Spanish lexicon and understanding of syntax, she is able to assess her students' contributions and challenge them to extend their thinking about how to paraphrase texts.

Ms. Gardner's emerging Spanish and Arabic vocabulary also afforded and constrained the extent to which she could or could not comply with students' requests for translanguaging in response speech acts. Ms. Gardner translanguaged to respond to students for a variety of functions, including displaying and clarifying information, and demonstrating expertise. Despite a limited vocabulary, she was able to respond to students' requests for translanguaging through transliterating their speech in Arabic. Below, Ken offers *awwal* as a translation of the transition word, *first*. Dan, a Spanish-English bilingual student, asks if Ken meant to say the English word, *owl*. Ken and Ms. Gardner respond simultaneously, and Ms. Gardner responds through transliterating Ken's initial contribution on a small whiteboard (187):

181 Ms. Gardner: how would you say it in arabic?
182 Ken: awwal. (first)
183 Ms. Gardner: say it again?
184 Ken: AWWAL. (FIRST)
185 Dan: owl?
186 Ken: amir can write it (. .)
187 Ms. Gardner: ahh-will. kind of like that?
188 Ken: yeah.

Ms. Gardner writes A-W-I-L-L and Ken recognizes and affirms this writing through *yeah* (188). In a sense, Ms. Gardner is able to respond to Dan's request not through leveraging

expertise in Arabic, but through leveraging her knowledge of English phonology. In contrast, there were instances when Ms. Gardner did not possess sufficient knowledge in heritage languages or English to respond to students' requests for translanguaging. When discussing whether to use *pesa* or *pesada* to describe the heaviness of a pumpkin, for example, Ms. Gardner responded to a student's question about which word to use by pointing to the picture of pumpkins in the text and deciding *pesada* was more appropriate based on number. Both words could describe how much a pumpkin weighs and, unbeknownst to Ms. Gardner, the number of pumpkins does not determine whether *pesa* or *pesada* is appropriate.

These examples of Ms. Gardner's responses show her emerging linguistic proficiency and her students' acknowledgment of this proficiency. Dan, for example, asks her if *owl* is an appropriate pronunciation of an Arabic word. Miguel asks her if *pesa* is more appropriate than *pesada*. She responds to student requests to clarify information and then invites student evaluations of these responses, thus positioning herself as a learner. Students recognize her emerging proficiency and take pleasure in hearing her progress. Below, Miguel and Franklin take instructor-like stances and prompt her to read a passage in Spanish:

- 189 Miguel: ms. gardner how about you come back and
 190 read all in spanish not in english.
 191 Ms. Gardner: i was reading that in spanish.
 192 Miguel: no, you was reading it in english.
 193 Ms. Gardner: was I reading it in english?
 194 Miguel: yeah.
 195 Franklin: you were.
 196 Ms. Gardner: uh la clase, mmm, vamos a ver los (the class, let's go see the)
 197 animales, y las flores. la clase (animals, and the flowers, the class)
 198 van a ver diferente cosas (they're going to see different things)
 199 y plantas y rosas y calabazas. (and plants and roses and pumpkins)
 200 pumpkins.
 201 Miguel: calabazas. (pumpkins)
 202 Ms. Gardner: calabazas. (pumpkins)

Miguel wants to hear Ms. Gardner's pronunciation of Spanish and pushes her to read his summary of an English text. Franklin affirms his request and Ms. Gardner tries to read the Spanish (195). When Ms. Gardner then points to the picture in the book and states "pumpkins" (200) Miguel responds with "*calabazas*" thus demonstrating his understanding of the English text and ensuring Ms. Gardner's uptake of the new vocabulary.

These examples of evaluation and response speech acts align with García and Kleifgen's (2010) notion of dynamic bilingualism. Ms. Gardner uses *gracias* and *excelente* to conclude a discussion where Spanish is the matrix language. Her Spanish mirrors students' language and marks Ms. Gardner's comprehension in these exchanges. Her responses also align with dynamic bilingualism in her willingness to use Spanish and Arabic despite a limited proficiency with these languages. Challenging the idea of a fully monolingual or bilingual individual, Ms. Gardner uses language as a tool to make meaning in specific exchanges. When a student offers *awwal*, for example, Ms. Gardner adds this word to her growing repertoire and writes it on a small whiteboard using transliteration. When a student asks her to read in Spanish, she does so despite her lack of understanding of the text. As she uses new language, she models what it means to be a "good language learner," willing to experiment with language and make mistakes. At the same time, she demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of how language makes meaning in specific activities despite an individual's overall language proficiency.

Conclusions about Ms. Gardner's Speech Acts

To summarize Ms. Gardner's translanguaging, she used initiation, declarative, evaluative, and response speech acts to request, clarify, provide, and negotiate information, and to demonstrate proficiency. To generate substantive level theory from this analysis, I describe her translanguaging as collaborative, authentic, and informative.

First, Ms. Gardner's translanguaging was *collaborative*. In translanguaging speech events, she collaborated in making meaning of texts and class activities by providing and clarifying information for students in evaluative and declarative speech acts. Her initiations were also collaborative in that they extended beyond basic test questions (*is perro a dog?*) or initiations for the translations (*what is attahaya in English?*). Initiations often included authentic questions, or non-test questions about language and texts. Her discussion with Kimberly, Franklin, Dan and Miguel about whether *pesa* or *pesada* describes the pumpkins in a text, included questions for which she and her students did not necessarily possess the answer to (*is it pesada if there is more than one?*). This questioning was collaborative in that Ms. Gardner's participation promoted student thinking about language (*pesa* vs. *pesada*) and about texts. Moreover, Ms. Gardner's questioning did not stop at trying to simply understand how language functions, but moved towards text comprehension through questioning about language. Perhaps due in part to a lack of linguistic knowledge in Arabic and Spanish, Ms. Gardner collaborated with students in meaning-making activities around texts through these initiation speech acts.

Second, Ms. Gardner's translanguaging was *authentic*. I describe authentic translanguaging as language use that arises directly from an activity and functions to participate in that activity. For example, as shown in her initiation and evaluation speech acts, Ms. Gardner used Spanish when Spanish was the matrix language for discussion. As Franklin and Miguel discussed a character's actions in *Just a Seed*, Ms. Gardner used Spanish to join their discussion (*qué es grande*). After Dan settled on *calabaza* for a translation of pumpkin, as opposed to Miguel's suggestion that one can say *punkin* instead, Ms. Gardner acknowledged his contribution with an evaluative *gracias*. When Amir made a text-to-self connection about weather in Africa, Ms. Gardner asked about the *lips* that men wear in Egypt. As the activity encouraged students to

take up the use of Spanish, Ms. Gardner did so, too. For Ms. Gardner, languages other than English were not only objects to be examined, but tools that informed her participation in classroom activities like accessing background knowledge and summarizing texts.

Lastly, Ms. Gardner's translanguaging was *informative*. Similar to Ms. Ash's translanguaging, Ms. Gardner used Spanish and Arabic to clarify and provide information. She was able to apply areas of expertise, such as her knowledge of phonology, in some of these informative speech acts. When Amir and Ken were writing a paragraph in Arabic to describe a field trip, Ms. Gardner assisted them by transliterating the word *awal*, or *first*, to be included in their composition. When Dan, Franklin, and Miguel were discussing the differences between *flores* and *rosas*, Ms. Gardner pointed to the text and prompted Miguel to consider *floras* as more appropriate based on the illustration. Through using classroom texts, building on student language, and leveraging an emerging understanding of Spanish and Arabic, Ms. Gardner's translanguaging was informative in that it facilitated students' composing, comprehension of texts, and understandings of language.

Student Translanguaging in Ms. Gardner's Classroom

Of the 220 speech events in which a language other than English was used by the teacher or by the student in Ms. Gardner's class, students used a language other than English 319 times. Of the 220 speech events, students translanguaged in 201 speech events. In sum, students translanguaged in 91.4% of events when languages other than English were used. Table 11 gives a summary of students' translanguaging by form and function. Below, I describe the most common functions associated with each form. This section concludes with a summary of how students' translanguaging was responsive, collaborative, and instructive.

Table 11

Student Translanguaging Forms and Functions in Ms. Gardner's Classroom

Forms	Example	Functions
Response (134 S.A.s)	1. Gardner: Which one is dog? Ken: Kalb. (Arabic for <i>dog</i>)	provide information; initiate speech event
Declarative (82 S.A.s)	1. El Aar' 'asal hoa tageel awy awy w hoa mad'ook (the pumpkin is splattered with mud)	demonstrate expertise, clarify information
Evaluation (62 S.A.s)	1. Miguel: La clase vamos a visitar. Dan: Va!	affirm/reject; agree/disagree; clarify information
Initiation (37 S.A.s)	1. Do you know what sombrilla is?	provide information; clarify information; demonstrate knowledge

Response Speech Acts

The most common form students' translanguaging took was responding to Ms. Gardner's and other students' initiations. Similar to responses in Ms. Ash's class, responses in Ms. Gardner's class included Spanish and Arabic translations of single words to display information. Student responses differed in that they included instances when Ms. Gardner did not directly prompt responses in Spanish or Arabic, instances when students responded to open-ended questions, and instances when students responded to one another directly.

Below, Amir responds to Ms. Gardner's initiation and clarifies information about Arabic phonology. Unlike responses where students display information to comply with the teacher's request for a word in Arabic or Spanish, it is Amir that introduces Arabic into the conversation. In this example, students participate in a pre-reading activity in whole-group literacy instruction to access background knowledge by describing Egyptian clothing:

- 203 Ms. Gardner: let amir talk.
 204 Mina: this is from egypt.
 205 Amir: it's like a pajama. and it's called in
 206 arabic a jalabaya. (egyptian pajama)
 207 Ms. Gardner: can you say that one more time?
 208 Amir: JALABAYA. (EGYPTIAN PAJAMA)
 209 Ms. Gardner: can we try and say that, *jalabaya*. (egyptian pajama)
 210 Students: JALABAYA. (EGYPTIAN PAJAMA)
 211 George: it's not that hard to say.

Amir's response (208) clarifies the pronunciation and meaning of a new vocabulary word. The example shows how a student, and not Ms. Gardner, initiated Arabic in the speech event and prompted further translanguaging. Amir then responds not to a test-question, but an authentic question about pronunciation, demonstrating his expertise and inviting further Arabic in the speech event (210).

Similar to Amir's response to Ms. Gardner's question, students also responded to one another to provide and clarify information, and demonstrate expertise. Below, Ms. Gardner asks Miguel and Dan to read their summary of *Field Trip to the Farm*. As Miguel reads, he questions the use of *grana* written in his text and Dan responds to his request for information. The students are reading in a small group during center time with Ms. Gardner. In this example, translanguaging deepens Miguel's understandings of Spanish and possibly the text.

- 212 Ms. Gardner: what did you write?
 213 Miguel: le gusta. *les gusta*. (.) grana. grana? (he likes; they like)
 214 Dan: we say *granja*. (farm)
 215 Miguel: granja. (farm)
 216 Dan: that's farm.
 217 Miguel: qué es la grana? (what is the)
 218 Dan: GRANJA. it's farm. (FARM)

Dan responds (218) to Miguel's request (217) to ensure Miguel's uptake of new vocabulary and clarify phonological information about this vocabulary. Though Ms. Gardner initiates this speech event by asking students what they wrote, it is Dan that responds to Miguel's

question about language. Dan uses Spanish to clarify *granja* from *grana* (214), and to provide information to co-compose a summary with Miguel and Ms. Gardner. This and the previous example show students using Spanish and Arabic to respond to authentic questions. Ms. Gardner did not understand *jalabaya*, and requested information from Amir to help clarify, and Miguel did not understand *grana*, and requested information from Dan.

In a final example, students use Spanish to respond to questions where there were multiple possible responses in order to provide new information in discussion. Ms. Gardner works with Franklin, Miguel, and Dan to summarize a text during small group reading. Miguel responds to her request in Spanish and Franklin uses English:

- 219 Ms. Gardner: so, they see the pumpkins, and what about
220 the pumpkins?
221 Miguel: um, crecen? (they grow)
222 Dan: they grow.
223 Ms. Gardner: wait, wait, hold on. let's talk about this
224 together, before we write. so what does
225 the author have to say about the pumpkin?
226 Franklin: um, that,
227 Miguel: [uh, que]
228 Franklin: [um, the class] is taking pumpkins home.

Miguel translanguages to respond to Ms. Gardner's open-ended question (220). Spanish is not a tool for translating, but a tool for comprehending texts and demonstrating this comprehension. Miguel describes his thinking in Spanish (221) even though Ms. Gardner does not directly request translanguaging. In response, she pushes students to not just say what they know about pumpkins, but what the author states in the text (225). She builds off Dan's language-brokering (222) and encourages a closer reading of the text (228).

These examples show how students' translanguaged in response speech acts for a variety of functions, including clarifying and providing information. Students used Spanish and Arabic to respond to Ms. Gardner's and classmates' closed and open-ended questions. Responses

included single and multiple word utterances that clarified meanings in texts, as well as understandings of language. This last example highlights how new information was provided in Spanish, which then invited student language brokering, and then a request for further analysis of the text.

Declarative Speech Acts

The second most common form students' translanguaging took was declarative speech acts that functioned to clarify and provide information, display understandings of content, and display proficiency in languages other than English. These speech acts were directed at classmates with shared linguistic proficiencies and at Ms. Gardner. These acts included instances when students provided information to comprehend texts, but also instances when speech acts provided information for instructional purposes.

Below, Miguel uses a declarative speech act to provide information for classmates, and in turn, share a personal experience and signal his comprehension of class discussion. During whole group reading of an informational text about Africa, discussion turned towards air travel, and Miguel chose to participate in Spanish after Ms. Gardner offered this suggestion:

229	Ms. Gardner:	you can say it in Spanish, someone	
230		will understand.	
231	Miguel:	cuando yo estaba en honduras,	(when I was in Honduras)
232		cuando yo fui en un avión=	(when I went on an airplane)
233	George:	=what did he say?	
234	Miguel:	cuando yo estaba en avión,	(when I was on the plane)
235		yo vi a mi tía y este, cuando	(I saw my aunt and, um, when)
236		vi a ella después, ella estaba	(I saw her after, she was)
237		mirando la=	(watching the)
238	Amir:	= franklin what did he say?	
239	Franklin:	he said when he was on an airplane	
240		he saw his aunt, and he, that's all I got.	

Miguel makes a connection to his classmates' experiences, describing a time he went on an airplane with his aunt (234). Using Spanish, Miguel is able to participate in the class activity,

providing information that adds to the discussion. Franklin then attempts to translate Miguel's contribution for the class (239, 240). Miguel translanguages to demonstrate comprehension, provide new information for class discussion, and contribute to a collaborative comprehension activity that he might otherwise be excluded from if it were conducted solely in English.

Along with providing information and demonstrating expertise or comprehension, students used declarative speech acts to clarify information for instructional purposes. Below, Lara and Miguel attempt to define *main idea* and identify the main idea of a text. After Ms. Gardner asks Lara to translate this concept, Miguel suggests *título* as a possible definition:

- 241 Ms. Gardner: would you like to translate lara.
242 the main idea?
243 Miguel: título. és el titulo, del. los títulos. (title. it's the title, of, the titles)
244 Ms. Gardner: okay . . . so think about the main idea=
245 Miguel: =qué es la pregunta de este, de (what's the topic of this, of)
246 este story. escribimos que es? (this. do we write what it is?)
247 do you have to write a sentence?
248 Gardner: the main idea. what does that mean.
249 Lara: in spanish, i have no idea.
250 Miguel: can you say it again dan? you telled me.
251 say it, say it. el título. el título. say that. (the title. the title)
252 el título. título. *título*. i wanna write that. (the title. title. *title*)

Miguel translanguages to clarify existing information and strengthen a classmate's Spanish vocabulary. He suggests *título*, or title, is the main idea, and then refines this statement and suggests the main idea could be "*la pregunta de este, de este story*," or the question or topic of a story. When Lara responds that she is still not sure what *main idea* is, Miguel takes an instructional stance and emphasizes the syllables of *título* (252). Though his definition is not entirely accurate, he uses Spanish to instruct Lara, who has "no idea." He provides two definitions of *main idea* and asks her to repeat to ensure her comprehension.

Students also used declarative speech acts to instruct Ms. Gardner. At times, these acts were solely instructional, where a student would teach Ms. Gardner a word out of context or

unrelated to texts or activities. In other examples, these acts helped students clarify information, similar to the *main idea* discussion above. Below, Miguel instructs Ms. Gardner on differences between *la última* and *por fin* in an activity about sequencing ideas when summarizing texts:

- 253 Miguel: oh, ms. gardner. por fin i did it wrong. (at last)
254 Ms. Gardner: why?
255 Miguel: la última, la última. (the last, the last)
256 Ms. Gardner: you don't like por fin? (at last)
257 Miguel: no, that means finally, finally. like finally.
258 Ms. Gardner: is that it?
259 Miguel: so i put, la primera, la última. (the first, the last)

Miguel clarifies information and explains to Ms. Gardner that *por fin* is “wrong” in the context of sequencing events (253). In his explanation, he instructs Ms. Gardner that *por fin* is used as “finally, like finally” (257) and suggests that “la última” is more appropriate in relation to “la primera” (259). As Ms. Gardner asks “why” the choice is wrong (254), Miguel has the opportunity to teach her. In his instruction, he not only advances her understanding of Spanish, but clarifies a subtle distinction for two possible translations of *finally*.

This example highlights opportunities for both students and teachers to learn through translanguaging. As students provide and clarify information for others, they have opportunities to further their own understandings of language and texts. These acts also highlight the collaborative aspects of translanguaging in the classroom—students built on one another’s contributions, took opportunities to respond to and refine one another’s thinking, and facilitated teacher and classmates’ learning about language.

Evaluation Speech Acts

The third most common way students translanguaged in the classroom was evaluation speech acts. These speech acts allowed students to clarify information offered by classmates and their teacher, and to demonstrate expertise. These speech acts also allowed students to negotiate,

or accept, reject, or add to, information offered by classmates. At times, evaluations served as entry points into discussions about texts, thus acting as invitations for student participation.

Below, Ken uses Arabic to accept Amir's description of the text. Prior to this speech event, Ken and Amir read a text about a muddy pumpkin. After discussing in Arabic, the students concluded that the pumpkin was *malyan teen*, meaning it was filled with or riddled with mud. While this translation could describe a dirty pumpkin, it is ambiguous as to whether the mud is on the inside or outside of the pumpkin.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|----------------------------------|
| 260 | Amir: | the pumpkin is heavy and it is filled with mud. | |
| 261 | Ms. Gardner: | filled? | |
| 262 | Amir: | mad'ook yabny= | (covered in, buddy.) |
| 263 | Ken: | =the pumpkin. | |
| 264 | Amir: | el aar' el gasal hoa 'aleeh= | (that means it's on there is on) |
| 265 | Ken: | = 'aleeh teena. | (on it there's mud) |
| 266 | Amir: | teena. | (yeah, mud) |
| 267 | Ken: | there's mud on the pumpkin. | |

Ken affirms Amir's description of the pumpkin in Arabic (265), accepting his comment that there is mud *on* rather than *in* the pumpkin. While Ms. Gardner evaluates Amir's English comment in her questioning (260, 261), it is Ken that assumes this same powerful evaluative stance as the conversation shifts to Arabic. Translanguaging allows Ken, a student identified as in the beginning stages of developing English, to affirm information offered by Amir, demonstrate his expertise, and clarify previously misunderstood information in the text.

Along with Arabic, students evaluated classmates' use of Spanish to clarify information and demonstrate linguistic expertise. Below, Dan evaluates Miguel's use of *vamos* as they summarize an English-language text in small-group reading:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 268 | Ms. Gardner: | do you agree with him? do you agree? | |
| 269 | | la clase vamos. they go? | (the class we go) |
| 270 | Miguel: | la clase vamos a visitar. | (the class we go to visit) |
| 271 | Dan: | <i>VA.</i> | (<i>GOES</i>) |
| 272 | Miguel: | a todos de, de= | (all of, of) |

- 273 Ms. Gardner: =vamos a visitar? (we go to visit)
 274 Miguel: a todos, vamos a visitar. (all, we go to visit)

Dan evaluates Miguel's response, deciding that *va* is grammatically more appropriate than *vamos* (271). Whereas Ms. Gardner initiates this event with a question (*they go*) and Miguel responds (*la clase vamos a visitar*), it is Dan that evaluates this contribution, challenging the traditional teacher-student-teacher I-R-E sequence (Mehan, 1979). As it is Dan that possesses the necessary linguistic expertise and not Ms. Gardner, he participates in this conversation and demonstrates his understanding of the text and Miguel's contribution. Ms. Gardner then acknowledges his evaluation (273) and presses Miguel on his decision to use *vamos* (273).

A final example shows Dan evaluating student language by using a meshing of English and Spanish. Below, Miguel responds to Ms. Gardner's question about what the students are going to see in a text about field trips. Miguel responds they will see *el farmer*, an example of intrasentential codeswitching that uses the Spanish word *el* and the English word *farmer*. Dan attempts to evaluate and clarify his response through offering a meshing of English and Spanish:

- 275 Ms. Gardner: what else are they going to see? in our picture?
 276 Miguel: el farmer. (the)
 277 Dan: el *farmador*. (the farmer)
 278 Ms. Gardner: el farmer, are they just going to (the)
 279 see the animals or other things?

Though Ms. Gardner does not take up his contribution and uses *el farmer* instead of *el farmador*, Dan's contribution signals his active participation in the discussion (277). He attempts to correct Miguel's use of *farmer*, and in doing so, applies Spanish morphology to an English word. The suffix *dor* can signify a person, as in *jugador* (one that plays) or *luchador* (one that fights). Dan applies this rule to English and generates *farmador* (277), an English and Spanish meshing for "one that farms." His evaluation attempts to clarify information and demonstrate expertise, and in turn, he demonstrates understandings of Spanish morphology.

These examples point to opportunities for students to clarify, negotiate, and provide information when discussing texts, and opportunities for students with limited proficiencies in English to demonstrate expertise and take up instructional roles. However, these examples also suggest limited opportunities for negotiation of language in speech events. Though Dan offers *farmador*, Ms. Gardner uses *el farmer* without questioning him about *farmador*. Though Dan offers *va*, Miguel uses *vamos* without questioning why he chose *va*. It is possible that students did not have sufficient linguistic knowledge or proficiency to describe subtle differences in language, defend evaluations or justify choices. I argue, however, that an evaluative stance towards language was not fully encouraged in these activities. There were few instances like the *pesa/pesada* example when students explained choices about language. As comprehending texts was the main focus of these activities, students interrogated language to the extent that it facilitated understandings about texts, as in Ken and Amir's discussion of the dirty pumpkin, rather than investigating features of language.

Initiation Speech Acts

The least common way students translanguaged was initiation speech acts. These acts were used primarily to request information about classroom content and language, and to request clarification of existing information. These acts can be further divided into questions in which the asker knows the answer, or test questions, and questions in which the asker does not know the answer, or authentic questions (Mehan, 1979). Students used test questions to initiate instructional opportunities and demonstrate proficiency in languages other than English. Below, Miguel asks Ms. Gardner what he and his partner should write. Miguel addresses Ms. Gardner directly in Spanish, possibly as a means to gauge her understanding of his language and possibly as a means to continue a prior Spanish-matrix discussion with Franklin.

280 Miguel: qué escribimos aquí? *ESCRIBIMOS*. (what do we write here)
 281 you know what that means? (. . .)
 282 Ms. Gardner: write what?
 283 Miguel: what do we write, that mean qué escribimos. (what do we write)

Miguel initiates this event by requesting information (280). When Ms. Gardner does not respond correctly to his request, he probes her understanding through repetition and emphasis (*ESCRIBIMOS*) and concludes by evaluating her response (283). While he used this initiation to request information, it was also an opportunity for him to teach Ms. Gardner language and demonstrate expertise.

Along with instructing his teacher, Miguel also used test-questions to instruct classmates. When describing events from a text, he attempts to convince Dan of an accurate translation of *field trip*. Below, he uses an initiation speech act to probe Dan's understanding of field trip.

284 Dan: time for a field trip.
 285 Miguel: oh, ms. gardner, I think field trip's la feria. (the fair)
 286 the feria. sí. no sabes que es feria? (do you know what a fair is?)
 287 Dan: no.
 288 Miguel: it's field trip. *yes it is*. tú no sabes. (you don't know)
 289 Ms. Gardner: remember we didn't know what it was so
 290 we described it.
 291 Miguel: i know field trip my mom tell me it's la feria. (the fair)

Miguel asks Dan if knows what a *feria* is (286), seeking to gauge Dan's Spanish knowledge. Dan responds *no*, signaling he does not know what *feria* is or that *feria* is not an accurate translation of *field trip* (287). Instead of using a general term for field trip (*excursión* or *viaje de estudios*), Miguel describes a specific field trip in the text, a trip to the fair (*feria*). He defends his decision and justifies his choice based on experiences with his mother (291). He uses this initiation to gauge Dan's understanding and establish his own expertise. Similar to Ken's use of Arabic to establish an evaluative teacher-like role, Miguel translanguages in a familiar

classroom pattern of discourse, that of the I-R-E sequence, to evaluate Dan's understanding (288) and clarify meanings of Spanish vocabulary.

Initiation speech acts were also used in authentic questions to clarify information, and students asked one another specific questions about language when making sense of texts. In this same lesson about field trips, Franklin, a Spanish-English bilingual student, asks Amir and Ken, two Arabic-English bilingual students, to clarify phonological information in Arabic:

- 292 Ms. Gardner: what is field trip in arabic?
293 Amir: rehella. (field trip)
294 Ken: rehella. (field trip)
295 Franklin: *rehella?* (*field trip*)
296 Amir: you got it.

In other instances, students translanguaged to clarify procedural information, similar to Lucas and Katz's (1994) findings native language functions in ESL classrooms. Below, Miguel uses two initiations to ask for clarification of directions. He directs the first act at Ms. Gardner (299) and the second act at Franklin (302) who serves as a language broker in this exchange:

- 297 Ms. Gardner: miguel how would you describe a field trip?
298 we talked about this last friday so think back.
299 Miguel: qué quiere decir eso? (what does this mean)
300 Ms. Gardner: chris what did he say?
301 Franklin: what?
302 Miguel: qué quiere decir que dijo ella? (what does what she said mean)
303 Franklin: what does that mean what you said?
304 Ms. Gardner: how would you describe a field trip in
305 spanish or in english. you can say it in
306 spanish or in english.

In these examples, initiations were authentic questions that requested information to clarify content and procedural information. Initiations were also used as test-questions to demonstrate or assert expertise, as in Miguel's questioning of Dan about *feria*. Across initiation speech acts, the majority were directed at other students, supporting the idea that bilingual individuals recognize the bilingual competency of their interlocutor when using multiple

languages in interaction (Gumperz, 1986). In contrast, when students questioned Ms. Gardner in Spanish or Arabic, they sought to encourage her language-learning through test questions.

Conclusions about Students' Speech Acts in Ms. Gardner's Classroom

To summarize students' translanguaging, they used initiation, declarative, evaluative, and response speech acts to request, clarify, provide, and negotiate information, and demonstrating proficiency. Students translanguaged to teach one another and Ms. Gardner about language, and to make sense of texts, language, and procedural information. To generate substantive level theory from this analysis, I describe student translanguaging as *collaborative*, *responsive*, and *instructive*.

First, students' translanguaging was *collaborative* in that students evaluated, responded to, and initiated questions directly towards one another and Ms. Gardner. Collaboration implies more than one individual contributing to the accomplishment of a goal (Cole, 2014), and students demonstrated this collaboration by refining one another's linguistic offerings through evaluative speech acts, as in Ken affirming Amir's comment argument that the pumpkin was covered in mud. Students also collaborated through initiations and responses to clarify information when making sense of texts in small group reading, as in Franklin explaining directions for Miguel in Spanish. Lastly, they collaborated through declarative speech acts that provided necessary information to understand content, as in Miguel describing a *main idea* in Spanish to his classmate, Lara.

Second, students' translanguaging was *responsive*. Students' translanguaging was responsive in that there was extensive student cross-talk (Lemke, 1990), or students responding directly to one another rather than the teacher. Students affirmed, negotiated, and provided new information in these responses, as shown by their use of evaluative, initiation and declarative

speech acts. Similarly, students responded to Ms. Gardner's challenges to use languages other than English during literacy activities that included orally paraphrasing texts, discussing vocabulary, and writing summaries. However, there were only a few examples of student translanguaging outside of activities that explicitly encouraged it. Miguel's comment during whole group reading about his airplane trip is one example of a more spontaneous use of languages other than English. As such, student translanguaging was confined mostly to small group reading with the same group of students in the classroom. With language responsive to context, the instructional contexts outside of small group reading did not explicitly encourage translanguaging.

Lastly, students' translanguaging was *instructive*. Students taught one another and Ms. Gardner about language and about texts. This instruction included phonological clarifications, as in Amir affirming Franklin's pronunciation of *rehella*. This instruction also included semantic clarifications, as in Dan questioning Miguel's use of *feria* for *field trip*. When discussing texts, students translanguaged to clarify content, as in Ken affirming Amir's statement about the pumpkin covered in mud. These instructional events offered opportunities for students and Ms. Gardner to learn more about language and texts, and for students to demonstrate expertise and clarify their own thinking about language and texts. As Miguel attempted to explain to Ms. Gardner the correct spelling of *segunda*, for example, he noticed an additional *n* in his writing and edited his work. Similar to Martin-Beltrán's (2014) findings about peer collaborations between ESL and mainstream students, as students instruct one another and Ms. Gardner about language, they have opportunities to examine this language and refine their understandings.

Translanguaging Implications from Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner's Classrooms

In the final section, I compare translanguaging in Ms. Ash's and Ms. Gardner's classrooms to generate mid-level theory of how languages other than English are used in English-centric contexts. I organize this section by focusing on three implications concerning how translanguaging functions in the classroom and what shapes this language use.

Initiations, Responses and Evaluations: The Importance of Discourse Patterns

Through analyzing translanguaging in both classrooms, it is impossible to ignore the import of patterns of discourse. In Ms. Ash's classroom, translanguaging reinforced the I-R-E sequence whereas in Ms. Gardner's classroom, translanguaging subverted roles within this sequence and offered opportunities for student cross-talk. The prevalence of the I-R-E sequence is evident in the numbers of responses from students ($n = 61$) and numbers of evaluations from Ms. Ash ($n = 26$). There were few occasions when students and Ms. Ash broke from this pattern and students responded or evaluated one another. At times, students did subvert this sequence and evaluate Ms. Ash's discourse, but they did not translanguage to respond to one another. While I do not present analyzed transcripts from lessons conducted solely in English, field notes from regular observations suggest that lack of student cross-talk was not limited to translanguaging speech events, but to overall language use in the classroom. When student-student interaction did occur, it frequently came at Ms. Ash's bidding. In a rare example in the findings presented above, we see students discussing a text with one another after Ms. Ash prompts them, "y'all can talk in Spanish and then tell me what you're saying."

Norton's (2013) work shows the challenges of learning English when new speakers have infrequent opportunities to use English with native speakers. Similarly, Arthur and Martin's (2008) work shows the challenges of integrating heritage languages in classrooms when students

are limited to slotting in answers in the I-R-E sequence. Findings from my analysis speak to this work and suggest it is not necessarily the language, whether English, Spanish or Arabic, that determines which discourse patterns are used, but patterns of classroom discourse that afford and constrain language use. For Ms. Ash, the I-R-E sequence used during translanguaging activities was similar to observed language use in activities conducted primarily in English and students were limited to one or two word utterances.

In Ms. Gardner's classroom, this pattern was less discernible as students responded to Ms. Gardner's authentic questions, evaluated classmates' responses, and initiated questions for one another and their teacher. Translanguaging subverted traditional roles in the I-R-E sequence and encouraged frequent student cross-talk. It is important to note, though, that with the limited use of the I-R-E sequence in Ms. Gardner's classroom, there were more student speech acts in general, and more speech acts that included translanguaging. From these findings, I agree with Arthur and Martin (2006) and argue that students need frequent opportunities to ask questions, respond to one other, and use language, whether in English or another language, in speech acts that extend beyond the word level. These findings reinforce my theoretical framework for language use in the classroom. On the one hand, translanguaging, like all languaging, is responsive to the context in which it is used. On the other hand, this languaging actively shapes this context. Echoing García and Wei (2013) who emphasizes the *trans* in translanguaging, language in Ms. Gardner's *transformed* and reproduced aspects of the context as students took up instructional roles, interacted directly with one another, and translanguaged to make sense of language and content.

Declarations, Responses, and Evaluations: The Importance of Student Expertise

This analysis of speech acts suggests that translanguaging affords students opportunities to demonstrate and leverage linguistic expertise in varied classroom activities. At the same time, this analysis points to the importance of recognizing this expertise to inform these activities. In Ms. Ash's classroom, student expertise was demonstrated through student responses to authentic questions from their teacher, or questions where she did not know the answer prior to asking. Students' responses were their most prevalent speech act, and included translations of new vocabulary and known verbs, such as *jumping*, to make cross language comparisons. Though Ms. Ash's expertise in recognizing opportunities to make comparisons was critical, as in her recognition of similarities in word endings, students leveraged their expertise in Spanish by providing the necessary translations of English words to then make these comparisons.

In Ms. Gardner's classroom, students demonstrated and leveraged expertise in translanguaging speech events, yet their expertise differed in that they also used evaluation and initiation speech acts to achieve these functions. At times, students sought to directly teach Ms. Gardner new language, as in Miguel asking her if she knew what *escribimos* meant. At other times, students sought to teach classmates new language with the goal of then collaborating to make sense of texts, as in Amir focusing Ken's attention on *with* versus *on* in Arabic when summarizing. Like Ms. Ash, Ms. Gardner also asked students authentic questions about language during these activities, as in her asking Dan when he would say *pesa* versus *pesada*. Examples from both classrooms suggest that affording translanguaging demands a recognition of students' linguistic expertise. However, they also suggest that translanguaging pedagogies offer students' opportunities to demonstrate expertise that could possibly go overlooked if restricted to using only English in the classroom.

In a sense, translanguaging pedagogies are afforded by leveraging student expertise, but expertise is made most visible in translanguaging pedagogies. I argue Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner both sought to recognize this expertise and incorporate it in their instruction whenever possible. In Ms. Ash's class, Momo proudly stated that "no one knows Arabic but me" and then proceeded to translate the Spanish and English verbs written on the board into Arabic. In Ms. Gardner's class, Miguel made an important connection to his classmates' discussion about Egypt through describing in Spanish a time with his aunt on an airplane. Speech events from both classrooms suggest that teachers' explicit recognition and leveraging of student expertise affords translanguaging pedagogies and this translanguaging then makes this expertise more visible.

Translanguaging Speech Acts: The Importance of Language

Short (1999) argues literacy instruction must create opportunities for students to learn language, learn about language, and learn content through language. Analysis of translanguaging speech acts in Ms. Ash's and Ms. Gardner's classrooms suggests that incorporating Spanish and Arabic functioned to create opportunities for students to learn languages, learn about languages, and learn content through multiple languages, thus challenging traditional monolingual learning goals in English-centric classrooms (Martínez-Roldán, 2015). These speech events also suggest that attending to these three goals in instruction then affords student and teacher translanguaging.

Ms. Ash's evaluations of student responses show her attempts to build on student translanguaging and hone students' metalinguistic awareness through cross-language comparisons. After she draws students' attention to the *-ndo* ending in Spanish and the *-ing* ending in English, Thomas declares that "N-D-O is the sign in Spanish" for *-ing* in English. Whereas Ms. Ash frequently translanguaged to make these comparisons, Ms. Gardner's students made these connections through declarative and evaluative speech acts. These speech acts were

often instructional in nature, as in Miguel’s defense of using *pesa* versus *pesada* because “así me dice mi mamá,” or “that’s what my mom tells me.” These examples show how translanguaging facilitated opportunities to consider structural and pragmatic aspects of language, or learning about languages.

Translanguaging also facilitated opportunities for students to learn languages at the phonemic, lexical, and phrasal levels. When Franklin, a Spanish-English bilingual student, uses an initiative speech act to ask Amir for a clarification of the pronunciation of *rehella*, his Arabic translation for *field trip*, Franklin can begin developing an awareness of differences in phonology across Spanish, Arabic, and English. When Karina translates *celebré* as *celebrate* rather than *celebrated*, Ms. Ash takes this opportunity to instruct her on this new grammatical form in English in the past tense. As students discussed texts and translated words and phrases, amongst other activities, they had opportunities to use languages, discuss languages, and compare languages in ways that suggest language learning in English and their heritage language.

Lastly, translanguaging in both classrooms offered opportunities for students to learn content through languages. Ms. Ash helped students tap into background knowledge when discussing *The Three Little Javelinas* through probing understandings of Spanish vocabulary. Ms. Gardner encouraged students to paraphrase, rather than translate, the word *field trip* in Spanish and Arabic in order to clarify this concept in the text. Mina made an important connection to a text about weather in Africa through describing Egyptian clothing during a pre-reading activity in Ms. Gardner’s classroom. Katrina described Mr. Bumbleticker’s characteristics in small-group reading in Ms. Ash’s classroom. Using Spanish, Arabic and English offered students opportunities to clarify content and procedural information, question texts and classmates, and demonstrate understanding.

Attending to these three goals in instruction afforded authentic and collaborative translanguaging. When students used Spanish, Arabic, or English to discuss texts in Ms. Gardner's classroom and learn content *through* languages, Ms. Gardner could then question students about language choices, students could then question one another, and new understandings of content and language were generated. Teachers faced challenges in implementing translanguaging pedagogies when only one of these goals was worked towards, as in Ms. Ash telling students "y'all can talk in Spanish if you want" when discussing content or Ms. Gardner asking for a translation of a vocabulary word that was not used to then discuss content. I argue that translanguaging was afforded in both classrooms when teachers structured activities that facilitated opportunities to learn languages, learn about languages, and learn content through languages.

Conclusion

This chapter's goal was to provide an analysis of forms and functions of translanguaging speech acts in two classrooms. Ms. Ash's evaluative, initiation and declarative speech acts functioned to provide, clarify and request information, as well as affirm student responses. Ms. Ash's students translanguaged primarily to respond to Ms. Ash's initiations. These speech acts functioned to display information, demonstrate knowledge about language, and provide information for cross-language comparisons. Ms. Gardner translanguaged in initiation, evaluative, declarative, and response speech acts to request, provide, negotiate, and clarify information, and demonstrate emerging linguistic expertise. Students in Ms. Gardner's classroom used initiation, evaluative, declarative, and response speech acts to engage Ms. Gardner and one another. These acts functioned to provide, request, negotiate and clarify information, and demonstrate expertise.

The second goal was to generate substantive level theory that describes translanguaging in each classroom. The translanguaging in Ms. Ash's classroom was described as responsive, affirming, informative, compliant and bound. Translanguaging in Ms. Gardner's classroom was described as collaborative, authentic, responsive and instructive. From comparing these two classrooms, I argue that translanguaging functions in a dialogic relationship with learning contexts—the functions of translanguaging related to classroom discourse patterns, yet translanguaging could subvert these very patterns. I hold that translanguaging speech acts offer unique opportunities to tap into student expertise, yet this expertise was made most visible in translanguaging pedagogies. Lastly, I argue translanguaging afforded opportunities to learn languages, learn about languages, and learn content through languages, yet activities that actively worked towards these three goals in turn encouraged translanguaging.

In the next chapter, I address implications from this analysis. Whereas Chapter 4 provided a necessary description of *what* translanguaging consisted of in each class, Chapter 5 explores *how* translanguaging pedagogies were afforded and constrained differently in each context. Chapter 4 examined speech acts to detail translanguaging, while Chapter 5 addresses speech events to understand how translanguaging affords meaning-making in two CoPs.

CHAPTER 5

TRANSLANGUAGING TO MAKE MEANING IN TWO COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

This chapter addresses the research question: *How does translanguaging afford and constrain meaning making in two classroom communities of practice?* This question is based on a dialogic view of language use and context: the individual makes meaning with language in a community, thus shaping the community. At the same time, the community shapes how language is or is not used to make meaning. To examine this research question, I analyze speech events in Ms. Ash's and Ms. Gardner's classrooms and consider how translanguaging is used to make meaning in their classroom communities while attending to features of the CoP that shape the use of translanguaging.

This chapter presents illustrative examples that represent how translanguaging relates to meaning making in each classroom. In each example, I attempt to understand the relationship between communicative events that indicate meaning-making and larger communicative situations across time in the community of practice. I first describe how I understand meaning-making in my analysis. I then present findings for each teacher in terms of Wenger's three overlapping categories for making meaning: mutual engagement, negotiated resources, and joint enterprises. From this analysis, I generate a substantive level theory for each classroom that addresses how translanguaging affords meaning making. I then compare classrooms to generate a mid-level theory that generalizes how translanguaging affords meaning making in other communities of practice, arguing for the importance of classrooms that position linguistic resources as desirable and necessary, promote student negotiation of these resources, and that encourage flexible student and teacher roles.

Making Meaning in a Community of Practice

Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of a community practice (CoP) positions language as a tool for participation in activities, for appropriating and shaping other tools, and for promoting engagement between individuals. As its name suggests, central to a CoP is the notion of *practice*, or the activities in which community members engage with one another and with tools to negotiate meaning (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Building on Wenger's (1998) categories, I examine meaning-making in practice by attending to community members' *mutual engagement*, where members interact in harmony or in conflict, but ultimately, negotiate who they are in relation to the CoP in which they engage. This engagement involves individuals "defining identities, establishing who is who, who is good at what, who knows what, who is easy or hard to get along with" (pg. 95). Community members recognize one another as legitimate members of the community to then negotiate goals, tools and activities within the community. In my analysis, I build on this understanding of engagement and acknowledge that teachers and students participate in complementary, overlapping, and different ways, but always contribute to shaping the objectives of the CoP.

I also attend to how community members leverage *negotiated resources*, or "routines, words, tools, ways of doing things, stories, gestures, symbols, genres, actions, or concepts that the community has produced or adopted" to participate in activities (Wenger, 1998, pg. 83). A negotiated resource is a meaning-making tool whose use and appropriation is negotiated and shaped by the different members in the CoP. A linguistic resource includes the oral and written products that teachers and students leverage to communicate and negotiate meanings. While these resources could be coded in Spanish or in English, they are always mobile, meaning that

their utility and import varies depending on who is using them, their contexts for use, and their purpose within interactions (Canagarajah, 2012).

These resources then shape the *joint enterprises* that community members undertake as they incorporate the tools and goals offered by different community members. Teachers and students co-construct these joint enterprises, “where regular opportunities are provided for students to use speech in collaborative activities with others, to adopt different roles within the learning process, and to change the ways in which they relate to each other” (Renshaw & Brown, 1997, pg. 117). These joint enterprises, or activities, can encourage specific tool use. At other times, specific tools give rise to new community activities.

For this analysis, I attend to how two communities make meaning through translanguaging. I examine how engagement, tool use, and activities shape one another, and are further shaped by the contexts in which the community exists and the histories of the individuals participating in these context. Using this framework, this chapter seeks to understand how students and teachers make meaning in their communities of practice at two interrelated levels. First, I explore language as a tool that facilitates engagement, the negotiation of other tools or resources, and collaborating in and structuring activities. For example, using Spanish might be used to establish the goals or procedural information accompanying an activity, clarify important vocabulary within a text, or to summarize a story. Second, I explore how these activities in the classroom then lead to the reification of these languages as tools for meaning making in each CoP. I explore how engagement, negotiated resources, and joint enterprise, are parts of *practice*, which leads to the reification of translanguaging, or establishment of ways of participation, as legitimate in this community.

In my analysis, I attempt to describe individuals' changing position within the community as they negotiate tools, activities, and goals. I attend to this positionality by addressing student and teacher movements between novices and experts in different classroom practices. Building from Miller and Zuengler's (2011) work with communities of practice in an English-centric secondary classroom, by understanding who is central or peripheral, and who moves inwardly or towards the the margins of the CoP, I can then address whose language, whose activities, and whose goals inform legitimate participation or meaning-making in the community. In the following sections, I examine each classroom and explore how students and teachers make meaning and how this meaning-making is afforded and constrained by their respective classroom CoP.

Ms. Ash's Classroom Community of Practice

The students in Ms. Ash's class at Elm Street School show varying levels of English proficiency, but all are listed as beginner or intermediate on assessment records. According to home language surveys and through informal discussions with students, these students speak Spanish, Arabic, and Amharic, with their families. Ms. Ash reports having taken Spanish in high school, but fears "my students will just laugh at me" if she speaks it in front of them. Still, as she walks her students down to Specials, Momo and Omar chat in Arabic. During math center time, Pedro explains the direction to the activity in Spanish to Anna. One morning, Joseline tells me how she accidentally cut her finger with *un cuchillo*, and Thomas tells a classmate how he likes to eat Maria cookies *con café*. As reported by Ms. Ash and gleaned through observations, students were hesitant at first to speak in languages other than English outside of these informal exchanges

Literacy instruction in Ms. Ash's classroom each day involved three major activities. A

whole group reading with a writing activity occurred each morning for approximately one hour, usually from minutes from 8:45 to 9:45. In this activity, Ms. Ash would read from a text and ask students questions, ranging from “what does *squishy* mean” to “why is this a fairy tale?” to “how can you describe the character.” This whole group reading would usually culminate in a short writing activity about the text where students might describe a character or sequence events. After returning from music or art, Ms. Ash would give explicit instruction on phonics from 11:00 to 11:30, which included board work and song recordings about “Bossy R” and “Sneaky E” that students learned over the course of the year. This instruction and other parts of her literacy curriculum were mandated by the 2nd grade team in which she participated. In the afternoon from 12:45 to 1:30, students participated in center activities where they wrote in journals, read independently or to a partner, and met with Ms. Ash in a small group guided literacy activity. In this center, groups of 4 or 5 students of similar reading levels would meet with Ms. Ash for anywhere between 8 and 15 minutes to whisper-read short texts, attend to an issue of phonics (i.e. consonant blends), or focus on reading strategies, like making predictions.

When Ms. Ash included languages other than English in her instruction, she chose to implement translanguaging pedagogies as a replacement of her normal phonics instruction from 11:00 to 11:30. On few occasions did I hear a language other than English used in whole group reading or outside of literacy instruction. I observed three different story books used in guided reading that contained languages other than English. Other than this, print materials and environmental print in the classroom were written entirely in English. From these observations of the context, it seems that Spanish and Arabic were bracketed off into a specific section of the day in specific types of activities, which suggests important implications for understanding how languages other than English were valued as tools within this CoP.

Overall, the different translanguaging pedagogies that Ms. Ash implemented included instruction on Spanish and English cognates, including patterns of cognates like *acción/action* and *corrección/correction*; comparisons of Spanish, Arabic, and English verb tenses, including comparisons of the preterit and progressive tenses; instruction on shared prefixes and suffixes in English and Spanish (i.e., *quickly-rapidamente*, *easily-facilmente*); and reading activities that used multilingual texts, such a whole-group read aloud using *The Three Little Javelinas*. These different translanguaging pedagogies will be discussed in greater detail below in regards to how they afforded mutual engagement, negotiated resources, and other joint activities in Ms. Ash's classroom community of practice.

Mutual Engagement: Central Teacher, Peripheral Students

I argue that Ms. Ash and her students' engagement with one another in the classroom community of practice was informed by their respective statuses as expert and novices. The expert, a central participant in the CoP, recognizes the novice as a legitimate participant and structures attenuated tasks to move that novice towards more central forms of participation (Wenger, 1998). In this process, the novice then has a hand in shaping the community's activities, tools and goals. However, in Ms. Ash's classroom, this process of moving from peripheral to central participation was challenged due to *what* entailed central participation in the CoP.

Though Ms. Ash stated the importance of students speaking languages other than English in her classroom, I argue that central participation was marked by English proficiency, rather than proficiency in another language. Ms. Ash was a central participant in that she structured classroom activities and elicited tools from students for participation in these activities. When students used Spanish or Arabic, this use did not lead to their engagement, or negotiation of the

community's goals. Instead, student translanguaging complied with Ms. Ash's requests, which then facilitated *her*, and not necessarily her students', meaning-making. In other words, translanguaging facilitated Ms. Ash's understandings of Arabic or Spanish to make cross-language connections, but did not seem to facilitate students' overall understandings of language. Below, I further argue that translanguaging in this classroom may have inadvertently marginalized students rather than pushed them towards more central participation in this CoP.

For example, as Ms. Ash reported knowing only a few Spanish words and phrases, one way she engaged students in using other languages was by acknowledging their expertise. She frequently praised students' abilities to use multiple languages and asked them questions about word meanings, and this praise often came in the form of feedback on student language use. Recognition of student languages did not then lead to students using these languages to shape the activity. Ms. Ash sees Momo's language as "cool" but Momo does not then engage by comparing his Arabic to English or Spanish. It is Ms. Ash that makes the connection rather than Momo. Below, Ms. Ash asks students to share verbs in Arabic and Spanish to make connections to verbs ending in -ing in English.

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|-------|
| 1 | Ms. Ash: | don't be embarrassed. this is cool to us, | |
| 2 | | because we don't know arabic so, so there's | |
| 3 | | not as clear of an ending in arabic | |
| 4 | | that's like i-n-g? | |
| 6 | Momo: | i know how to say eat in arabic. | |
| 7 | Ms. Ash: | <i>good</i> , tell us. | |
| 8 | Momo: | naakin. | (eat) |
| 9 | Ms. Ash: | what? | |
| 10 | Momo: | i said NAAKIN = | (EAT) |
| 11 | Ms. Ash: | = naakin, <i>awesome</i> , cool. | |

Ms. Ash recognizes and praises Momo's abilities, and Wenger (1998) notes that mutual engagement involves the recognition of the competencies of other community members. Furthermore, Ms. Ash encourages Momo to participate by valuing his Arabic contributions

(don't be embarrassed...this is cool...awesome!), and through structuring a lesson where using Arabic, Spanish and English were necessary for engagement in the classroom activity. I argue, however, that this cursory attention to language marks these languages as something “cool” or something that could possibly lead to English understandings, but does not necessarily lead to meaning making with these languages. Arabic or Spanish remains a tool for an attenuated task on the periphery of the community rather than a tool that is central for participation. Ms. Ash, a central participant, praises this Arabic and uses it to compare to English, but does not engage students by encouraging them to then investigate how Arabic is or is not used. Central participation in this activity, or understanding verb endings in English, might conflict or not align with the tools that students can offer in this activity.

This example of language use contrasts with examples of translanguaging in the research literature, where the 2nd grade students in Sayer's (2013) study use “TexMex” in a dual-language classroom to interrogate aspects of their “TexMex” identities, and elementary students in Lopez-Robertson's (2012) study use Spanish, or “the language of the heart” to make text to self connections to Spanish texts. In these studies, the language, or tool, aligns with the goals of the activity, whereas in Ms. Ash's classroom, using Spanish and Arabic did not necessarily align with the goals within the activity. Arabic use was “awesome” and could be used to make a connection across languages, but its use was not further encouraged or explored as a tool to make sense of verb endings in English. Furthermore, it was often Ms. Ash that articulated these connections, and not students, in activities that compared languages.

In Ms. Ash's final interview, she acknowledged her readiness to praise students during translanguaging activities but her frustrations with not knowing what students were saying in their language. Below, she underscores how languages other than English might have functioned

as markers of marginality due to her lack of understanding as a central community member:

And I think that has something to do with me not being able to speak in any of their first languages fluently and not knowing just like vocabulary so I'm just like, yeah, do it, good, good job, like.

In Ms. Ash's view, praise for students was a way for her to engage students. Whereas she did not have the requisite linguistic knowledge in Arabic or Spanish, acknowledging student responses as "good" was one of the few ways she attempted to recognize students' legitimate participation. One possible conclusion from her description could be that Ms. Ash's engagement with students in translanguaging activities was limited due to her limited expertise with student languages. Another conclusion could be that Ms. Ash's engagement with students in translanguaging activities was restricted due to *how* she and her students engaged as participants in these translanguaging activities. Ms. Ash's lack of Arabic knowledge challenges her centrality within this classroom community—a teacher or expert knows and a student or novice learns. Legitimate participation in this classroom CoP reflects this structure through Ms. Ash's questioning and evaluating of students and the limited amount of student cross-talk. In other words, recognizing the competencies of novices could imply recognizing a lack of competency of an expert, thus challenging English as a marker of central participation in this CoP.

Negotiated Resources: Student Tools, Teacher Negotiation

There were few instances across the year when students' participated to negotiate the community's resources and contribute to shaping the community's goals. Without this negotiation, their use of languages other than English did not necessarily move them towards more central forms of participation in the classroom. Though Ms. Ash structured activities that encouraged using varied linguistic resources, this does not imply that she and students negotiated the use of these resources or students' legitimate participation in the CoP. Ms. Ash frequently

used the I-R-E question sequence (Mehan, 1979; Cazden, 2001) when encouraging the use of languages other than English, and her students had few opportunities over the course of the year to engage with her or with one another in extended dialogue in English or other languages.

Similar to the above dialogue, Ms. Ash frequently asked test questions that required one or two word responses, such as how to say an English vocabulary word in Spanish:

- 12 Ms. Ash: how do you say *action* in spanish?
13 Juan: acción. (action)
14 Ms. Ash: thank you juan.

As Arthur and Martin (2006) point out in their work in postcolonial settings, when students have limited opportunities to use languages other than English in extended discourse, they have limited ownership in how these languages are used to participate in classroom activities. By responding to Ms. Ash's request for an answer in Spanish, Juan participated in the activity, but did not actively negotiate with Ms. Ash which resources could or could not be used to understand verb structures. This pattern also reflects the respective positionality of students and Ms. Ash in this classroom. Despite students' expertise in the tool at hand, it is Ms. Ash, a central member, that controls how this tool can or cannot be employed in the classroom.

On a few occasions, however, students had opportunities to give extended answers in languages other than English. In the following example, Ms. Ash asks Anna to share a sentence that she wrote using a verb in the past tense. In this lesson, Ms. Ash sought to draw students' attention to connections between verbs in the past tense in English and in Spanish:

- 15 Ms. Ash: who else has a sentence in spanish?
16 Anna: yo celebré el día de la madre. (I celebrated mother's day)
17 Ms. Ash: awesome, now, tell me what it says in english.
18 Thomas: *i know what she said*
19 Anna: i celebrate mother's day.
20 Ms. Ash: i celebrate (.) if it happened yesterday
21 *i celebrated* mother's day. awesome.
22 good job, anna.

Rather than posing a follow up question to Anna or to Thomas who shouted, “I know what she said,” Ms. Ash points out the connection between the two languages by emphasizing the importance of the –ed ending in English. While Spanish is used to participate in this event, it is Ms. Ash that verbalizes how English and Spanish vary in verb structures. Similarly, it is Ms. Ash that initiates this speech event, and she who determines which languages are to be used in the discussion. As Lave and Wenger (1991) point out, legitimate peripheral participation implies the ability to shape not only the activities in which the community engages, but the resources used for undertaking these activities. Through participation over time, these tools then become reified as legitimate resources for meaning-making in the community. Over the course of the year, I documented few moments where students offered a comment or initiated a discussion in a language other than English when interacting with Ms. Ash or their classmates, suggesting a lack of reification of these linguistic resources for making meaning in the CoP.

These above examples illustrate how negotiating resources is tied to negotiating community goals. Whereas Ms. Ash established the goals for the activities—making a connection between verb endings and noticing similar affixes in Spanish and English—Ms. Ash also selected the resources that could be used to make these connections. Students volunteered answers to her questions, but their use of Spanish did not change the outcome or goal of the activity. Figure 5 below is one example of an activity in which the tools for participating in the activity were determined prior to the lesson despite students’ offering of Spanish translations:

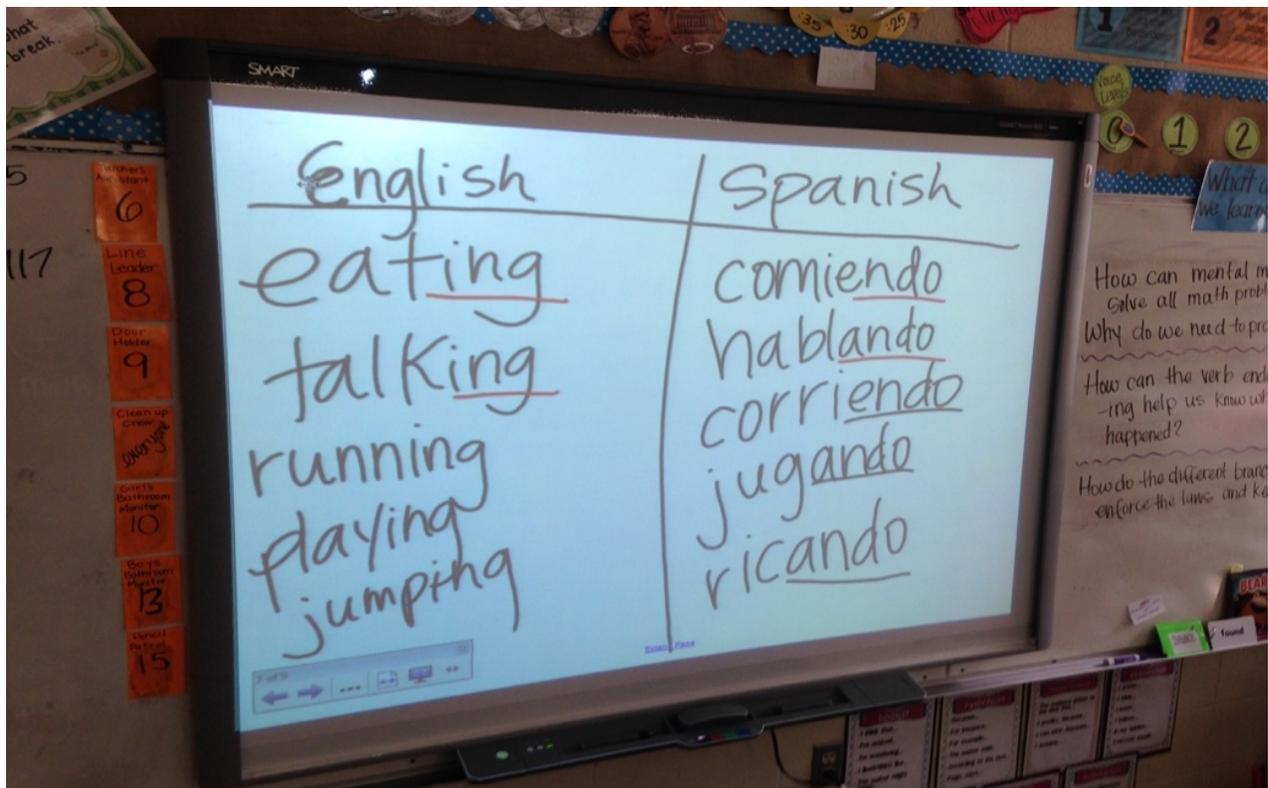


Figure 5. Cross-language connections between English and Spanish

These examples of heritage language use contrast with the Korean-American elementary school students in Velasco and García's (2009) study of translanguaging in writing. Whereas the students in Ms. Ash's classroom used Spanish and Arabic, these tools had a predetermined or non-negotiated function within the community's activity, as shown in the progressive verb tense activity in the figure above where Ms. Ash determined the activity's goal and students slot in Spanish translations of English words. In Velasco and García's (2009) study, students could choose to use Korean and English in the planning, composing, and revising stages of the writing process, and texts were then shared with Korean speaking classmates and the teacher. With students negotiating when to use different linguistic tools within different phases of the writing activity, the activity then encouraged using the tool for a variety of purposes, such as conveying

nuanced meanings through specific vocabulary and marking the writer's affiliation with different discourse communities that included Korean speakers and scientists. Findings from Ms. Ash's classroom suggest that meaning-making is constrained when students do not have opportunities to negotiate how language is used and the functions associated with this language use. In comparison with Velasco and García's work, these findings also suggest how multiple or varied functions of the tool could also be constrained when students cannot negotiate its use.

When students did seem to negotiate how Spanish should be used, as in the example below of a student correcting Ms. Ash's spelling, this tool served the function of meeting Ms. Ash's objective. When Nelly corrects Ms. Ash's spelling of *brincando* (24), Ms. Ash emphasizes importance of the end of the word rather than the spelling, and it is she that points out the comparison across languages (32-36):

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--|-----------|
| 23 | Ms. Ash: | wait, say it again? | |
| 24 | Nelly: | <i>brincando</i> | (jumping) |
| 25 | Ms. Ash: | oh, b-r. is that right? | |
| 26 | Students: | [NO] | |
| 27 | | [YES] | |
| 28 | Ms. Ash: | well, we know the ending, so we know | |
| 29 | | it's happening now, so that's okay. we're | |
| 30 | | just looking at the i-n-g part. alright. | |
| 31 | Thomas: | what is that? | |
| 32 | Ms. Ash: | that's a g, but it just has a long tail, so it | |
| 33 | | doesn't look right. so, boys and girls, thank | |
| 34 | | you for helping me see the connection between | |
| 35 | | the english and the spanish and that | |
| 36 | | i-n-g in english and in spanish. | |

Student expertise in Spanish and Arabic facilitated cross-language connections, but this use of Spanish did not change the community's goals or activities, nor did it reconfigure student-teacher relationships in the classroom. Despite Nelly's instruction of Spanish, Ms. Ash was still the "expert" in the activity in that her goal was to support student understandings of grammar. Though students used Spanish and Arabic, they did not necessarily negotiate how, when, or why

to use this language, nor did they negotiate important features of this language to refine this tool. Even as students demonstrated expertise, as in Nelly correcting Ms. Ash's spelling (24), this expertise did not move students towards more central participation in this classroom community in that they did not have opportunities to further interrogate this language.

With these findings, I do not seek to describe Ms. Ash as a bad teacher or a failure in leveraging heritage languages in the classroom. Consistent with many studies of the productive use of multilingualism in elementary classrooms (Escamilla et al., 2014; Cummins, 2005; Soltero-González, 2009), Ms. Ash recognized multiple opportunities to strengthen students' metalinguistic awareness through explicitly comparing languages. These findings are meant to point to some of the challenges of implementing these types of comparisons in meaningful activities within English-centric classrooms. Whereas Cummins (2005) urges educators to explore cognates and or use bilingual texts, findings suggest the importance of students' participation in structuring these activities. Consistent with a CoP framework, I argue that this student participation implies *their* negotiation of how languages relate to one another and *their* negotiation of the activities in which languages are leveraged. Whereas attending to cognates can be something powerful in making sense of texts (Jiménez, García, & Pearson, 1996), students need opportunities to extensively interrogate these relationships in varied class activities.

Joint Enterprise: A Community in a Community

The third way that individuals make meaning in a community of practice is through engaging in joint enterprises, or activities where community members negotiate aspects of what this activity consists of and how they participate in the activity. In the previous two descriptions of mutual engagement and negotiated resources, I have attempted to show the challenges students faced in negotiating linguistic tools and engaging in the community to negotiate goals.

As such, aspects of this CoP also constrained Ms. Ash's students' participation in shaping the community's joint enterprises. However, as further discussed below, *student* constraints on shaping joint enterprise might have been influenced by *teacher* constraints in her own CoP within the school. Ms. Ash was required to teach phonics from 11:00 to 11:30 each morning and to cover certain topics, like fables and fairy tales, in her whole group literacy block. Not unlike other elementary school teachers in this district, Ms. Ash needed to follow a common plan created by another 2nd grade teacher for parts of her literacy instruction. Ms. Ash attempted to negotiate these joint enterprises valued in her *teacher* community of practice to then include translanguaging in her *classroom* community of practice.

For example, over the course of the year, Ms. Ash adapted activities created or encouraged by her 2nd grade team to incorporate students' translanguaging. She chose texts, for example, like *The Moon Cheese* and *The Three Little Javelinas* that contained Spanish vocabulary. She structured activities that encouraged students to make cross-language connections in terms of grammar and lexicon during required phonics instruction. These activities included students guessing the Spanish cognates for English words ending in *tion*, students comparing words in Spanish and English that end with the suffix *ly* and *mente*, students generating sentences in the past tense in Spanish when learning about *ed* affixes in English, and comparing words that end in *ing* and *ndo* in English and Spanish. When teaching a required unit on fairy tales at the beginning of the year, Ms. Ash asked students if they knew any fairy tales or stories they heard at home to share during a read aloud. When adapting a lesson on prefixes, she went on Google Translate and looked up Spanish words that begin with *re*, meaning *again*. In these examples, Ms. Ash attempted to restructure pre-packaged lessons, either encouraged through prescribed curricula or determined by her teaching team, and make opportunities for

students to use their heritage languages. In a sense, the larger school community in which her classroom was situated influenced the activities in her classroom community.

While these activities encouraged students' participation through Spanish or Arabic, they did not necessarily encourage community members' collaboration or negotiation to determine the structure or goals of the activities, an important aspect of joint enterprise. In the cognates activity with words ending in *-ion*, for example, Ms. Ash reported selecting words for comparison prior to the lesson. In a sense, the activity, its tools, and its goals were determined prior to the implementation of the activity in the classroom. Ms. Ash reported that this was necessary for the incorporation of languages other than English in her classroom CoP, as reported in her final interview:

Um, I guess even more, like the, um, the positive side of being extra prepared, like when I did have those words, I didn't have any backup ones, when they said they were wrong, I was like, and, we're done here. I don't know. I guess like, it helped me see that it was useful, but be prepared even more.

For Ms. Ash, being "prepared" meant knowing how to use Spanish to participate in a specific activity. She notes not having "backup ones," or words selected in Spanish, and then this causing her to be "done here." While translanguaging pedagogies do require thoughtful and strategic planning for how to best leverage students' languages (Cummins, 2005), this quote illustrates the limitations of making meaning in a CoP when students do not have space to negotiate how or why languages other than English are used in instruction. García (2009) pushes that translanguaging is a dynamic practice, responsive to communicative contexts and responsive to the linguistic proficiencies of interlocutors. When students do not have opportunities to co-construct the activities or linguistic tools for participation in the classroom activity, these pedagogies are not responsive to community members or the linguistic tools that they possess. Whereas languages other than English were used in this classroom, these examples suggest the

limited opportunities that students had to make meaning through using these languages within the classroom CoP.

A counter example to these finding would be Worthy and colleagues study (2014) of hybrid language use in a 5th grade literacy class. While the authors point out the challenges of fostering hybrid language use in any environment that encourage linguistic separation, or the dual-language school in her study, the classroom in this study had a fully bilingual teacher, used culturally and linguistically rich texts, and was situated in a school where 90% of the students were from the same area of Mexico. In this environment, “students’ life experiences and language use were legitimized and valued as part of the official curriculum” (p. 325). In Ms. Ash’s classroom, she struggled with this “official curriculum” and struggled to find meaningful ways to understand and incorporate her students’ cultural and linguistic resources in instruction. Furthermore, whereas Worthy points out many opportunities for extended discourse in the 5th grade classroom where students could demonstrate linguistic resources and then shape the activity, Ms. Ash’s students had limited opportunities to talk at length in English and their heritage languages. I argue that as a result, students were constrained in their abilities to use their heritage languages or English to shape the activities valued in their classroom CoP.

Translanguaging to Make Meaning in Ms. Ash’s Classroom Community of Practice?

From this analysis, it is difficult to say if translanguaging was a tool for making meaning in this community of practice. Central to participation in any community is *practice*, which entails using shared tools to negotiate engagement, activities, and others resources with community members (Wenger, 1998). Despite the use of languages other than English, I argue that languages were not negotiated by the teacher and the student in activities, nor were these languages used to negotiate the goals of the activity itself. When Ms. Ash asked kids to identify a

vocabulary word in Arabic or offer a present progressive verb in Spanish, she cued students as to which languages were or were not appropriate for completing the task at hand. While students offered responses to Ms. Ash's request in other languages, Ms. Ash was often the one that made connections between languages visible. In a sense, despite many instances of using languages other than English in the classroom, there were few moments of actual translanguaging for meaning-making in the CoP.

This conclusion is further supported by the lack of Arabic or Amharic in classroom instruction. Though three students spoke Arabic and one spoke Amharic, there were few opportunities across the year for students to use these languages. As Ms. Ash reported, she knew "some Spanish" from high school and was able to structure activities that made connections directly between English and Spanish. Ms. Ash also reported knowing "absolutely zero Arabic." In more of a transmission-oriented community of practice (Renshaw & Brown, 1997) where the teacher presents the activities and tools for students to take up, this creates a challenging scenario as the "expert" does not have the "expertise" required for affording opportunities for novices' participation in the CoP.

Despite these conclusions, it is important to note that the use of languages other than English in this classroom was still productive in many ways. Students had opportunities to make cross language connections, tap into background knowledge, clarify new vocabulary, and clarify directions through using Spanish and Arabic. Ms. Ash's acknowledgment and encouragement of using languages other than English shows great potential for developing future productive interactions with students. On one of my first observations, she told Kimberly, "Your mamma is learning English? That's so great. I really want to learn Spanish." This regular praise showed students that she valued their multilingualism, and at no point did I see a student shy away from

responding to one of her prompts in Spanish or Arabic. When developing a classroom CoP where languages other than English could be important tools for participation, this acknowledgment and explicit valuing of students' heritage languages can be important steps in challenging monolingual language ideologies and deficit perspectives of languages other than English (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2012).

Ms. Gardner's Classroom Community of Practice

The students in Ms. Gardner's 3rd grade class at Elm Street School all showed varying levels of English proficiency, with three students assessed as beginner, and the remaining assessed at intermediate or advanced. Five of the students were born in Egypt, one was born in Nigeria, seven were born in Mexico, Honduras, and El Salvador, and the remaining students were children of immigrants or refugees from Uzbekistan, Ethiopia, Albania, and Kurdistan. On my second day visiting this classroom, I observed Nick, a student born in Egypt, and Dory, a student of Uzbek descent, in a heated discussion in English about a description of thunderstorms in an informational text. Ms. Gardner's walls were lined with sentence starters and reading comprehension strategies, and she encouraged students to use hand signals to agree, disagree, or add on to classmates' contributions during interactive read-alouds. Despite this classroom rich in student interaction, I did not see any environmental print in languages other than English or explicit attention to the use of languages other than English in my initial observations of instruction.

This does not mean, however, that there was not explicit attention to language and how it is used. In Ms. Gardner's daily morning work, students completed a "Daily Language Review" before whole group reading (see Figure 6 below for two examples) where activities included providing synonyms and antonyms for new vocabulary, addressing issue of punctuation, and

attending to features of figurative language. During whole group reading, Ms. Gardner encouraged students to use “accountable talk” and respond to one another, rather than directly to her, during discussions.

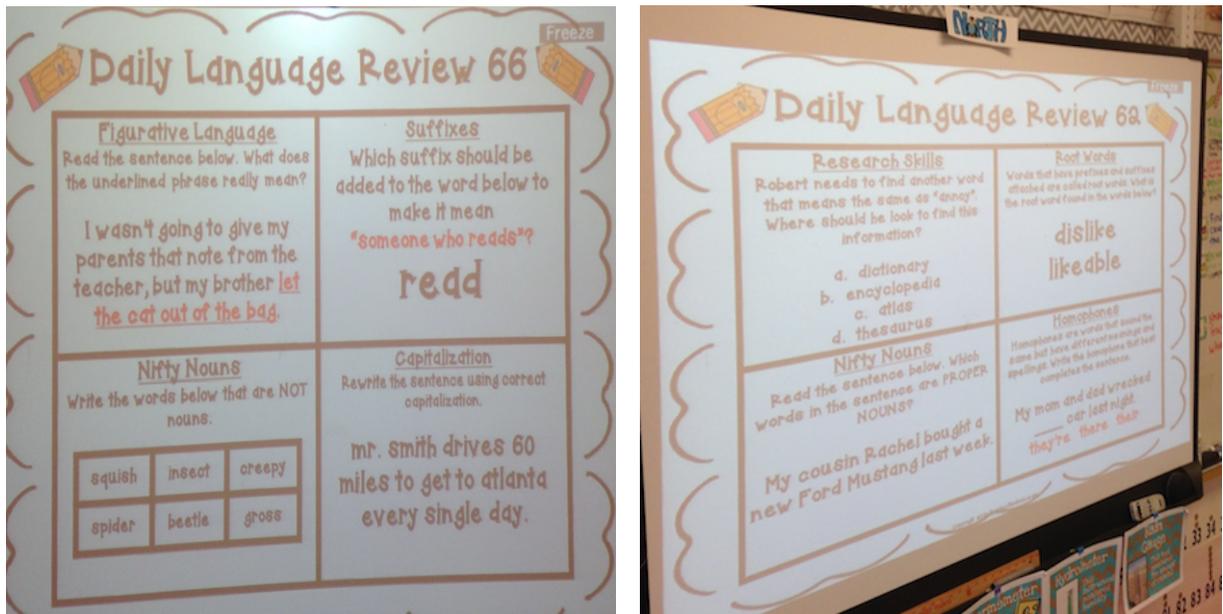


Figure 6. Attention to language in Ms. Gardner’s classroom

This work with language was an important part of the morning routine in Ms. Gardner’s classroom. Her literacy instruction included whole group literacy from 8:15 to 9:00, a daily language review and continuation of this whole group literacy from about 10:00 to 10:30, and then small group literacy and literacy centers from 10:30 to 11:10. As we will see in the examples of translanguaging below, this regular focus on language was also integrated into small group reading where issues of syntax, lexicon, and pragmatics entered into discussions about texts. At the same time, Ms. Gardner complemented this focus on discrete issues of language with broader attention to comprehension. Below, she describes how she conceptualizes literacy and literacy instruction:

- 37 Interviewer: if i were like the point of reading is=
38 Ms. Gardner: =comprehension.
39 Interviewer: tell me more about that.
40 Ms. Gardner: i think it's important for them not just to be
41 able to decode, almost when you get done
42 phonics almost anyone can decode, and
43 to comprehend and tell what you are reading.

These comments help illustrate Ms. Gardner's approach to literacy instruction. While there was attention to more discrete features of language, including phonics, the overall goal of reading instruction and reading was "comprehension." As such, Ms. Gardner incorporated explicit strategy instruction into her small group and whole group literacy and encouraged student dialogue around texts. In this CoP, languages other than English then became tools for participating in these activities. Furthermore, in these comprehension activities, understanding how languages other than English often became an activity in and of itself.

Overall, the different translanguaging pedagogies that Ms. Gardner implemented included discussing new vocabulary in heritage languages during centers time; creating written and oral summaries of texts in heritage languages in small-group reading; creating written and oral translations of important lines of text in small-group reading; making sense of texts through comprehension activities in whole group reading, including accessing background knowledge and discussing content; and using contents to learn new vocabulary during centers time. These different translanguaging pedagogies will be discussed in greater detail below in regards to how they afforded mutual engagement, negotiated resources, and other joint activities in Ms. Gardner's classroom community of practice.

Mutual Engagement: Recognition and Leveraging

Mutual engagement in Ms. Gardner's classroom included community members recognizing the proficiencies of one another over time and then collaborating to structure aspects

of the community's shared goals. Recognizing and then leveraging competencies in languages other than English was part of this mutual engagement. Below, I describe how translanguaging facilitated students' and Ms. Gardner's mutual engagement in two ways. First, I show how languages other than English were recognized by the community as a legitimate form of participation in classroom activities. Second, I show how these languages then helped establish community goals.

Ms. Gardner took French in high school, said she had "an ear" for Spanish vocabulary, but "knew absolutely nothing" about Arabic. When she began to incorporate languages other than English in her lessons, she frequently encouraged students to talk with one another in these languages to discuss a character in a story or collaboratively translate a challenging line of text. Ms. Gardner also encouraged translanguaging through asking students to discuss parts of texts with one another in small group reading. Over the course of the year, she eventually joined in on these discussions in small group guided reading during literacy centers.

In the example below, Ms. Gardner recognizes Spanish as a tool for participation in an activity and also recognizes that it is a tool that she herself can use. Mutual engagement involves recognizing the tools of other community members, and can be further developed when these recognized tools then become part of the community's shared repertoire of practice (Wenger, 1998). Ms. Gardner engages in a small-group reading activity as a learner of other languages by asking students if they would be willing to barter linguistic resources:

44 Miguel: okay ms. gardner, i show it to you in spanish
45 you show me it in english.
46 Ms. Gardner: you show me in spanish i'll show you in
47 english, how's that sound? okay, so if you
48 were to say just a sapling said the dog and
49 she sniffed it, okay, just a sapling said the
50 dog and she sniffed it, okay who's sniffing
51 it here? what's *to smell*?

- 52 Miguel: *huele*. hue- i don't remember. (smell)
 53 Ms. Gardner: frank, do you know what *smell* is?
 54 Franklin: *smell?* huele. (smell)
 55 Miguel: *huele*, but i say like, *hueles*, *huele*. what? (you smell, it smells)
 56 Ms. Gardner: how do *you* say it?
 57 Dan: huele. (smell)
 58 Ms. Gardner: huele is smell? okay so the dog is, (smell)
 59 el perro huele the sapling. okay, and (the dog smells)
 60 what's happening here?
 61 Miguel: xxx.
 62 Ms. Gardner: so he's talking about el perro, the dog. (the dog)

To engage in this activity, Ms. Gardner performs as both a peripheral and a central participant. On the one hand, she guides student interaction towards a close reading of the text through her expert questioning (50). On the other hand, she asks students words in Spanish that she wants to learn and begins taking up this use of this language towards the end of the interaction (53, 59). Similarly, students engage as peripheral and central participants, as shown during a discussion of plot in *Just a Seed*. On the one hand, they are learning about a text as novice sense-makers. On the other hand, they possess the linguistic expertise that Ms. Gardner seeks to gain.

This example shows the different ways Ms. Gardner and her students engaged in the classroom CoP. She engaged as a learner of student languages, as an English speaker in a language brokering event, and as a barterer of English resources. Through this interaction, she then is able to leverage a new linguistic resource and she offers that “el perro huele the sapling.” Likewise, students engaged as language learners, as participants in language brokering, and as barterers of linguistic resources. This example underscores how Ms. Gardner and her students engaged in activities to collaboratively make meaning in texts by recognizing the linguistic proficiency of one another. Spanish was not a marker of peripherality in this exchange, nor did it move students to the margins of this community. Spanish was a valuable resource valued by Ms.

Gardner as she offered an exchange of English and took up the use of this language. Miguel and Franklin also recognized this value and used it to negotiate meaning within the text.

A second way of understanding mutual engagement is through attending to how community members negotiate community goals. In the above example, translanguaging also led to a new goal within the activity. Whereas the initial task was to summarize an English text into Spanish, a secondary goal develops as students and Ms. Gardner use Spanish, that of strengthening their linguistic repertoires. In the example below, students' use of Arabic functions to not only clarify meaning in an English text, but to clarify a subtle distinction in Arabic vocabulary. As students engage in the activity, they reshape the goals set forth in the task through translanguaging. In small group reading, Ms. Gardner used resources in English and students used resources in Arabic to collaboratively parse meaning in a text. In this exchange, Ms. Gardner asked Amir and Kevin to translate the line "the pumpkin was heavy and muddy" into Arabic. In their discussion we see translation as a tool for furthering their knowledge of Arabic and the text:

63	Amir:	el 'ar al asal. el aar asal hoa (pumpkin; the pumpkin is very heavy)	
64		tageel awy awy w hoa mad'ook	(and covered in mud)
65	Ken:	um (. . .)	
66	Amir:	mad'ook yabny.	(it's covered in, buddy.)
67	Ken:	ya'ny eh?	(what does it mean?)
68	Amir:	ta'raf lama el [xxx] btkoon	(do you know when xxx is)
69		mad'ook?	(covered in?)
79	Ken:	mad'ook?	(covered in?)
80	Amir:	<i>mad'oo'.</i>	<i>(covered in)</i>
81	Ken:	malyan teen?	(filled with mud?)
82	Amir:	<i>malyan teen.</i>	<i>(filled with mud.)</i>

In this activity, Amir and Ken use Arabic to clarify the meaning of an English text. They consider translations of "covered in" and "filled with" to describe the pumpkin, and ultimately decide that the pumpkin is filled with mud. Ms. Gardner recognizes their use of Arabic as a

legitimate way to discuss texts and then asks Amir to broker the meaning from their conversation into English. As a result, she discovers a misunderstanding in their interpretation and asks them to consider an alternative:

83 Amir: he says the pumpkin is really heavy and
84 it is filled with mud.
85 Ms. Gardner: is it filled? if something is filled that means=
86 Amir: =he said filled.
87 Ms. Gardner: hold on. if something is filled that means the
88 inside is with mud, is the inside, does the inside
89 of the pumpkin have mud?
90 Amir: i said it is, there is mud on the pumpkin, but he
91 said no, it's filled.

The goal for this activity was to paraphrase and then translate an English text into Arabic in order to facilitate text comprehension. Amir, Ken and Ms. Gardner show mutual engagement in that they all determine the goals for this activity. As Ms. Gardner questions Amir's report that the pumpkin is "filled," she uses English to engage in the activity and encourages students to shift back into Arabic to clarify meaning. Ms. Gardner helps establish that Arabic is an important tool for working towards the goal of accurately parse meaning in the text. Whereas Ms. Gardner uses English to work towards this goal, Amir uses two languages to participate in the activity. He and Ken use Arabic to interpret the English text. Through translanguaging, the initial goal of understanding the text becomes accessible to not only Amir and Ms. Gardner, but to Ken, a student at the early stages of developing English proficiency. Using Arabic offers students a legitimate way of participating in this activity, and for negotiating a new goal of clarifying meanings in Arabic when comprehending English texts.

These two examples show how students and Ms. Gardner used Spanish, Arabic and English to engage one another in activities in the classroom CoP and negotiate goals within activities. I argue that this engagement was indicated by students' and teacher's central and

peripheral forms of participation through using these languages. At times, Ms. Gardner was an expert and a novice in these activities, and similarly, students' expertise in languages other than English was valued despite their emerging proficiencies in comprehending texts. These findings mirror Martin-Beltrán's (2014) work where Spanish dominant bilingual students exchange linguistic expertise with English-dominant classmates learning Spanish as a foreign language. Findings presented above differ, however, in that it is not peers, but teacher and students that are able to recognize expertise in one another and then use this expertise to establish community goals. These findings suggest that translanguaging pedagogies in English-centric classrooms can be powerful in transforming traditional classroom roles, but that teachers, like Ms. Gardner, must work to recognize this expertise in their students. Ms. Gardner's language-trading approach shows her explicit valuing of languages other than English and desire to incorporate it into instruction.

Negotiated Resources: Understanding the What, When, and How

There were three major ways that translanguaging facilitated meaning-making in terms of negotiated resources. First, heritage languages became negotiated resources in instances when students and Ms. Gardner had opportunities to consider when to use these languages in class activities. Second, heritage languages became negotiated resources when students and Ms. Gardner scrutinized and defined the meaning-making potential of these resources within these class activities. Lastly, heritage languages became negotiated resources when they were used to help with negotiating the use of other resources or tools in the community.

There were occasions across the year when students resisted participating in class activities using Spanish or Arabic. In one example, Ms. Gardner told Miguel he "could say it in Spanish," and Miguel responded "I want to speak English, Ms. Gardner, not Spanish. I want to

learn English!” Rather than taking up Ms. Gardner’s bid to “say it in Spanish,” Miguel negotiated when Spanish could or could not be used as a resource for participation in his CoP. Ms. Gardner noted in her final interview, however, that as languages other than English were woven more frequently into class discussions and activities, Miguel and other students began to use Spanish more regularly and without embarrassment. The example below shows Miguel negotiating with his classmates if Spanish is a legitimate tool for participation in this community. In a pre-reading activity that tapped into students’ background experiences in different African countries, Mina told classmates that men wore a hat called an *atahaya* in Egypt shade the sun. Amir said he had seen this before, and Miguel then raised his hand to participate in the discussion:

- 92 Ms. Gardner: okay, so you kind of experienced something
93 similar to what amir is talking about. um,
94 miguel, did you have something that you wanted
95 to say, your hand’s raised.
96 Miguel: when i was with my mom. i was in, when I was in
97 honduras, i went alone, i was by myself, at home.
98 Ms. Gardner: do you want to say it in spanish?
99 Miguel: you not gonna understand.
100 Ms. Gardner: you can say it in spanish, someone
101 will understand.
102 Miguel: cuando yo estaba en honduras, (when I was in Honduras)
103 cuando yo fui en un avión= (when I went on an airplane)
104 George: =what did he say?
105 Miguel: cuando yo estaba en avión, (when I was on the plane)
106 yo vi a mi tía y este, cuando (I saw my aunt and, um, when)
107 vi a ella después, ella estaba (I saw her after, she was)
108 mirando la= (watching the)
109 Amir: = frank what did he say?
110 Franklin: he said when he was on an airplane
111 he saw his aunt, and he, that’s all I got.

Miguel makes a personal connection to his classmates’ comments about their time in Egypt. His classmate, Amir, an Arabic and English speaker, recognizes that Miguel is a legitimate participant in this discussion, and he asks Franklin, a student proficient in English and

Spanish, to help broker meaning in this exchange. In this pre-reading activity, Arabic, Spanish, and English are all used as resources for students to tap into their experiences in other countries. Though Miguel did not finish his thought in Spanish and complete this connection to his classmates' experiences, he is able to negotiate how and when Spanish is used to participate in the class discussion. He recognizes the linguistic proficiencies of his teacher and his Arabic classmates, stating "you not gonna understand." With Ms. Gardner's encouragement, however, he establishes that this resource can be used to make meaning, and he participates in the class discussion.

There were also opportunities in this CoP to negotiate not only when Spanish or Arabic could be used, but how this language is used and what defines its features. During small group reading, Ms. Gardner and students challenged translations of English words, and in the process, deepened student understandings of linguistic features within heritage languages. When discussing sequencing words and how they are used to summarize a text, for example, Franklin, Dan, and Miguel negotiated whether or not to use *último* or *por fin* when concluding a sequence of events. In the following discussion, Dan challenges Miguel's use of *por fin* by using his knowledge of *last* versus *finally* in English.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|---------------------------------|
| 112 | Ms. Gardner: | finally? | |
| 113 | Miguel: | por fin cómo qué hay llegaste aquí | (at last like you arrived here) |
| 114 | | aquí por fin de aquí, sabes? | (at last, understand?) |
| 115 | Dan: | finally? | |
| 116 | Miguel: | sí, por eso. | (yeah, like this) |
| 117 | Dan: | el último? | (the last) |
| 118 | Miguel: | it's finally, cómo. finally means like to | (like) |
| 119 | | finally i come here, right? es lo mismo (.) | (it's the same) |
| 120 | | por fin vine aquí. | (at last I came here) |
| 121 | Dan: | but that's= | |
| 122 | Miguel: | =yeah that's correct. | |
| 123 | Ms. Gardner: | what do you think dan? | |
| 124 | Miguel: | sí o no? | (yes or no) |
| 125 | Dan: | that's finally, but you said last. | |

- 126 Ms. Gardner: okay, so if i wanted to say last=
127 Miguel: =last is último. (last)

In this discussion, Dan uses meaning-making tools in both English and Spanish to clarify the subtle difference between *último* and *por fin* in Spanish. Miguel suggests that *por fin* translates as *finally*, as in *You finally arrived*, whereas Dan thinks that in English, *last* and *finally* can be used differently. He offers *último* as a more appropriate choice (117), as it indicates the end of a sequence, and Miguel eventually concurs (127). This example shows students negotiating a specific meaning of Spanish in a larger summarization activity. With the perspective of language as a tool for meaning-making in a CoP, this discussion shows students deepening their understanding of nuanced features of a tool. This example also shows how Spanish and English were used together to negotiate other linguistic tools that could be used to make meaning in the CoP. As the small group was engaged in sequencing the events of a story, the two languages afforded students the opportunity to scrutinize and negotiate the meanings of sequencing words, which in turn could be used as tools for sequencing events.

These examples all show how language became the object of negotiation within this CoP. Miguel and Dan, for example clarify the meaning between *por fin* and *último*, an act of negotiation that hones how Spanish can be used when sequencing. Similarly, Miguel's pragmatic considerations when deciding whether or not to use Spanish in whole group discussion suggests his negotiation of the tool's appropriateness in this community. These examples shed new light on how teachers can incorporate translanguaging as a tool in the classroom, particularly in settings where language ideologies might encourage participation along monolingual norms. I argue that understanding a tool and its functions is one way of challenging misconceptions or negative ideologies surrounding that tool in certain contexts. Henderson and Palmer's (2015) work with third grade students in a two-way dual language classroom, for example, suggest that

student agency can challenge monolingual norms. They describe aspects of this agency taking form in students' hybrid language that functions to resist teacher control. Rather than entrusting hybrid language practices to "agency," however, findings above suggest that monolingual ideologies can be challenged through teachers and students creating a space where language as a tool is negotiated in multiple activities across time. This negotiation entails teachers recognizing opportunities to use translanguaging, and then teachers and students collaboratively determining when and how this linguistic tool is used.

Joint Enterprises: Aligning Activities, Tools and Goals

In this concluding section, I describe how students and Ms. Gardner leveraged English and heritage languages in joint activities. In joint activity, members of a community participate together in a task, though forms of participation and tools used in this participation might differ depending on the community member (Wenger, 1998). I examine joint activity by attending to how heritage language use was purposefully integrated into class activities, or what I described earlier as curricular translanguaging pedagogies. I then show how this heritage language use then structured new activities in the classroom, or what I described earlier as dynamic translanguaging pedagogies. I argue that in both of these cases, student and teacher learning more about language became an activity in and of itself.

This first example below illustrates how Ms. Gardner structured activities that opened opportunities for students to participate with tools other than English in the classroom community. In a whole group literacy lesson, Ms. Gardner and students were reading an informational text about tornadoes. To scaffold understandings of the text, Ms. Gardner wanted to focus students' attention to text features (i.e., captions, bullets, titles) that could support reading comprehension (see Figure 7) (Risko, Walker-Dalhouse, Bridges & Wilson, 2011).



Figure 7. Text features and heritage newspapers

To make clear the function of these different text features, Ms. Gardner first passed out newspapers written in Chinese and Spanish along with sticky notes with different text features written on them. Students worked in small groups to identify the appropriate text features in the newspapers. Unlike the specific lessons about grammar and language in Ms. Ash’s class, students used languages other than English as a tool to uncover the metalinguistic functions of text features that accompany texts. As Princess, a student that speaks Uzbek and English stated when reading a Chinese text, “all newspapers have text features!” In this activity, similar to an activity where students summarized texts, languages other than English were used as means, or tools, to accomplish a larger goal in the classroom rather than ends. In other words, the focus of the activity was not just examining language, but to use language in completing an academic task.

This example shows how translanguaging is afforded when the goals of an activity align with the tools used to participate in that activity. One goal was to understand the functions of text features within informational texts. Heritage language newspapers provided students opportunities to see text features—titles, captions, bullets, and graphics—performing similar functions across languages. While this activity reflects Jiménez, Smith and Teague’s (2009) community literacy activity that urges educators to bring in multilingual texts from students’ lives outside of school, it sheds light on how this type of curricular translanguaging pedagogy could be facilitated by aligning specific instructional goals with the tools used to participate in activities with texts. For example, bringing in heritage language texts from students’ communities could be powerful activities where students interrogate author’s intent, compare text features, explore theme, or consider language or modal affordances to then support them in their own composing.

In the example above, Ms. Gardner explicitly encouraged students to use languages other than English to participate in the class activity. In other instances, however, the tools informed the type of activity that classroom CoP members participated in. As Ms. Gardner encouraged students to use Spanish and Arabic with more regularity over the course of the year, new multilingual activities emerged within activities. In these examples, the shared repertoire in the classroom helped align the goals and activities in the classroom with the tools at hand. On one occasion, Ms. Gardner planned to have students summarize an English text into Spanish to help develop their sense of the story’s main idea. As students began discussing the text, however, this lesson became an extended exploration of the difference between *pesa* and *pesada* when describing the heaviness of a pumpkin. As Ms. Gardner pushed Miguel, Alan and María to think of when they might use each term, she asked if noun and verb agreement mattered, if degree of

heaviness was important, or if the number of pumpkins would determine which word to use. The resources used for participation in a community ultimately shape the enterprises in which that community engages (Wenger, 1998). As Ms. Gardner initially set out to engage students in a text-summarization activity, students' use of Spanish resources shaped a joint enterprise in which students not only discussed the main ideas in this text, but attended to differences in meaning in grammatical structures and vocabulary.

Interestingly, Ms. Gardner reported not knowing the difference between *pesa* and *pesada*, or the verb meaning *it weighs* and the adjective meaning *heavy* in Spanish. She reported drawing from her own experiences learning French, where subject verb agreement, number, and degree can all inform word choice. By encouraging students to use linguistic resources in this activity, a new, joint activity took form that encouraged both teacher and student learning. These findings offer an avenue for implementing the types of translanguaging pedagogies that Pacheco and Miller (2015) suggest in the elementary classroom. Though composing bilingual summaries in texts can be useful, as the authors suggest, these activities must be flexible in how they respond to students' translanguaging. As new languages are brought into the classroom, teachers must make space to interrogate these languages. Transliteration activities, for example, could be an opportunity for students to explore multiple sound systems, which could then support students' writing of these bilingual summaries. Similarly, as Jiménez and colleagues (in process) are beginning to investigate with activities that encourage translating texts in elementary classrooms, a useful activity within a translating activity could be exploring when and why children translate and the strategies they use in their everyday lives. Findings from the analysis above suggest that when heritage languages are used in activities, these languages can encourage new activities that demand teacher flexibility. At the same time, these findings in comparison with the literature

suggest that teachers can prepare for some of these “activities within activities” over time.

Translanguaging to Make Meaning in Ms. Gardner’s Community of Practice?

From this analysis, I argue that Ms. Gardner’s classroom is a community of practice where teacher and students translanguaged to make meaning as evidenced by their engagement, their negotiation of community resources, and their collaboration in joint activities.

Translanguaging was used in a variety of activities that included honing meanings of English vocabulary through discussions in other languages, paraphrasing key lines of English text into other languages to identify the main idea, and clarifying procedural information. At times, Ms. Gardner and her students’ collaborated in determining both *what* tools were valuable in an activity and *how* these tools could be deployed. Students also chose to write in other languages to clarify content, as in Mina’s choice to write in Arabic to describe the life cycle of a tree. At other times, students opted to write in English as needed in an activity, as in Alex’s choice to use the word “pumpkin” instead of the Spanish *calabaza* when writing in Spanish, because “that’s what I say.” These two examples show how students negotiated the linguistic resources used in activities, and that these resources at times determined goals within activities. Below, I highlight three aspects of this community of practice from my findings that afforded meaning making with translanguaging.

First, I argue that languages other than English were used meaningfully in part because of the flexible roles for participation in the classroom. At times, students and Ms. Gardner participated as novices within activities, and at other times, as experts. Ms. Gardner’s lack of knowledge of Spanish and Arabic did not encourage cursory acknowledgments or evaluations of student language, but instead, invited her further authentic questioning about student language. In other words, her lack of expertise with Arabic and Spanish did not push her students to the

periphery of an English-centric community of practice, but encouraged her to participate as a novice learning new language from her expert students in a CoP where multiple languages inform central participation.

This finding that students and teachers had varied roles within this community is made most clear when Miguel directly instructs her on the meaning of *escribimos* when summarizing a text—he teaches her a new word as she in turn teaches him what to write in his summary. In a subtler example, this finding is evident when students discuss Arabic clothing and Ms. Gardner asks, “And we learned that was something called, was it *lips*?” She expertly connects the discussion to prior learning and background knowledge, important components for reading comprehension, and at the same time, positions Mina as an expert in clarifying what a *lips* is. In a CoP where languages are flexibly and responsively used to make meaning, the participation status of teachers and students must also be flexible and responsive.

Second, I suggest that the CoP afforded meaning making due to the flexible and responsive nature of the joint activities undertaken within the CoP. In these activities, language as a negotiated resources other served as both a means and an endpoint. Activities in Ms. Gardner’s class often had a general goal, such as to tap into background knowledge in pre-reading or to identify salient themes in a text, but these activities often took on new aims with the introduction of students’ languages. When summarizing a text about the field trip, for example, students discussed differences between *pesa* and *pesada*, thus facilitating participation in the text summarization activity and participation in negotiating meaning of the linguistic tool used for this participation. At the same time, Ms. Gardner did make a conscious effort to plan for the use of languages other than English, including the newspaper text feature activity and composing summaries of texts in heritage languages. Through including translanguaging in the “official”

curriculum of the classroom, students and teachers can begin to challenge some of the monolingual norms of this space. I argue that over time in this classroom, students then used languages more frequently in activities that did not explicitly encourage translanguaging, as in Miguel's willingness to use Spanish in a whole group discussion about Africa. This combination of dynamic and curricular translanguaging pedagogies offered students multiple opportunities to negotiate how and why to use translanguaging to make meaning.

Lastly, I argue that this community of practice afforded meaning making through translanguaging due to the explicit and implicit valuing of these languages in instruction. An aspect of mutual engagement is community members' recognition of the legitimacy of other community members and the tools they offer. We see this recognition in the class communally agreeing that Miguel's Spanish was an acceptable tool for participating in a text discussion about Africa. We also see this recognition in students challenging one another's use of Spanish or Arabic when summarizing texts in small group reading. We also see this recognition when students' recognize the value of Spanish and English, with Miguel and Ms. Gardner establishing a market where Ms. Gardner's knowledge of English can be traded for Miguel's knowledge of Spanish. If classrooms are to encourage languages other than English as meaning-making resources, students and teachers must collaborate to structure activities that position these resources as important for making meaning.

Discussion across Classrooms

When comparing the translanguaging in Ms. Ash's 2nd grade classroom and Ms. Gardner's 3rd grade classroom, both teachers welcomed, encouraged, and valued languages other than English in their instruction. Ms. Ash encouraged students to make cross-language connections during instruction on grammar and vocabulary, and Ms. Gardner encouraged

students to use linguistic resources to parse meanings in texts. Both classrooms showed that languages other than English could be strategically integrated into instruction to promote literacy achievement when the teacher does not speak these languages. However, when comparing these two classrooms as communities of practice, translanguaging for actual meaning-making varied greatly. Ms. Ash seemed to engage students in a transmission-based classroom approach, where students used languages other than English to display information or respond to Ms. Ash's prompts (Renshaw & Brown, 1997). Ms. Gardner engaged students in collaboration, where resources in English and other languages were adapted to engage community members and accomplish varied activities. When addressing the question of how these two different CoPs afford and constrain the use of languages other than English to make meaning, I offer four important implications.

Value

First, educators and researchers must offer activities that position linguistic resources as both desirable and necessary for making meaning in that activity. Asking a student to “say it in Arabic” might not lead to the reification of Arabic as a legitimate tool for participation in the classroom. It is important to remember that in order to participate in certain class activities, Arabic might not be *necessary*—the goals of an activity might not align with the tools needed for accomplishing these goals. In contrast, translating a line of English text into Arabic and then paraphrasing this text back into English could be a meaningful text-comprehension activity that positions Arabic as a necessary and desirable resource for class participation.

Ownership

Second, students must have ownership in negotiating the use of these resources in activities. Effective translanguaging pedagogies begin from the “bottom up,” or actual language

practices of students and their educators (García, 2009). While educators hold great power in affecting the language norms of their classrooms, as shown through Ms. Ash's constant praise of her students' bilingual competencies, students must still be able to negotiate when and why their heritage languages are integrated into instruction. In Ms. Gardner's class, students often resisted using Spanish and Arabic, not because they were unable to, but because it marked a deficiency in their abilities to speak English. By encouraging students to negotiate when and how to use other languages in instruction, teachers can ensure the authentic use of these valuable resources to promote meaning-making. This negotiation could involve exploring specific aspects of the tool itself, as in when to use *pesa* or *pesada*, or could involve exploring pragmatic features of the tool, as in when we translate outside of school or when Spanish could be helpful to use in whole-class discussion.

Commitment

Third, meaning-making with translanguaging was afforded through repeated opportunities to use this tool when engaging with the community over time. Both classrooms in this study showed an increase in the use of languages other than English over the course of the year. As Wenger (1998) notes, engaging with the community through shared tools over time is part of participation, and this participation then leads to the reification of these tools as authentic ways of constructing meaning in communities. On an observation from May, Miguel asked Ms. Gardner to tell him the meaning of *sombrilla* in English, thinking that she would be able to clarify a Spanish word for him. On one of my final observations of Ms. Ash's class, Thomas pointed to the ending of the word *jugando* written on the board and exclaimed "that's the thing for I-N-G here and that is I-N-G sign for Spanish!" Over time, students and teachers in both classrooms became more comfortable using heritage languages. Hopefully, part of this comfort

arises from, or could potentially lead to, meaning making with these languages.

Flexibility

Lastly, I argue that translanguaging in both classrooms was made possible through teachers and students recognizing their flexible roles within their communities. As new tools were introduced in the classroom, new roles were taken up by the students and teacher. While it seems obvious that teachers need to recognize themselves as learners within translanguaging activities, it might seem less obvious that students need opportunities to recognize themselves as experts as well. This could be particularly challenging in spaces where students learning English can be silenced (Valdes, 2001; Gitlin et al., 2003) or can be pushed to the literal and figurative margins of classroom communities where proficiency in English is a marker of central participation (Miller & Zuengler, 2011; Toohey, 1998).

It is important to emphasize that translanguaging pedagogies do not automatically bestow status on speakers of other languages. Instead, I argue that researchers and educators must take a two-pronged approach—classroom activities must position heritage languages as tools, necessary and desirable for participating in important class activities, and at the same time, activities must create opportunities for students to negotiate aspects of these tools. I argue that when students and teachers can then explore *how* a students' command of Spanish or Arabic matters in an activity, they can then understand their shifting roles within the classroom community of practice and their emerging expertise with these tools.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to use examples of classroom practice as a means to describe how translanguaging can afford meaning making in a CoP, and how this CoP in turn affords and constrains meaning-making. In both classrooms, I have shown the different ways that

languages other than English can facilitate mutual engagement, the negotiation of resources, and collaboration in joint enterprises. In both classrooms, I have also shown the importance of flexibility and responsiveness in terms of teacher and student roles, the goals for activities, and how negotiated resources are employed. In the final chapter of analysis, I seek to better understand classroom practice from teachers' perspectives through their reification of translanguaging and its functions in their discourse.

CHAPTER 6

REIFYING TRANSLANGUAGING AS A TOOL: AN EMIC PERSPECTIVE

In this third and final chapter of findings, I examine teachers' perspectives on translanguaging in their specific communities of practice. Broadly, I examine these perspectives to understand how teachers make sense of and leverage a new tool in their instruction. By eliciting these emic perspectives, I investigate how teachers integrate translanguaging into an existing community of practice situated in an English-only policy context. More specifically, I examine how teachers' discourse is part of *reification* (Wenger, 1998), or the shaping of translanguaging as a tool within a community for making meaning. In this chapter, I briefly revisit my theoretical perspective from Chapter 3. I then describe how teachers reified translanguaging as a tool within their discourse. I then describe teacher perspective on aspects of their CoP that influenced this reification. I conclude each of the above sections with implications for teacher education and implementing translanguaging pedagogies in similar contexts.

Reification in a Community of Practice

When I examine how teachers appropriate the use of a new tool in their community of practice, I use Wenger's concept of *reification* to understand how an individual's participation in a community shapes certain tools, ways of participating, and activities valued by that community into "thingness" (p.58, Wenger 1998). Reification involves individuals projecting meaning onto tools, whether physical or abstract, and then ossifying or congealing that meaning through practice. There are two important aspects of reification relevant to this analysis. First, reification refers to both a process and product. It is a process in that individuals constantly shape and reshape the tools that they use in their practice. It is a product in that these tools then become part of the shared repertoire of a CoP through this participation. I highlight this process-product

aspect of reification specifically within teacher discourse, attending to how teacher talk entails a process that reifies translanguaging as a tool, and simultaneously, presents a reification or representation of this tool. In other words, I analyze teacher discourse for evidence of how teachers shape translanguaging as a tool in their practice and for evidence of how this new tool has already taken shape within teacher discourse.

Second, reification dialogically relates to practice, and that practice is informed by community members, their goals and activities, other tools in that community, and the history of practice in that community (Wenger, 1998). To understand how teachers reify translanguaging in their community of practice, it is necessary to understand how this tool relates to the teacher's ongoing participation in the existing community of practice, as well as other communities of practice that overlap with the classroom. In other words, to understand how translanguaging becomes a reified tool in this community, it is necessary to understand how individuals with histories, sets of expertise, and relationships within a specific context relate to this tool. To understand how teachers reify a tool, it is necessary to understand their relationships with other community members, with existing tools, and with community activities. I analyze teacher discourse for evidence of these relationships, as outlined in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

In the previous two chapters of this dissertation, I have attempted to understand the forms of functions of translanguaging in two classrooms, and how the community of practice shapes and is shaped by this translanguaging. In this third and final chapter of findings, I elicit teacher perspectives to understand how they see languages other than English in their classrooms. Through the concept of reification, I first seek to understand the meanings that teachers project onto these languages. I then connect these reifications to implications in teacher education and preparation for working with translanguaging pedagogies. Second, I seek to then understand their

perspectives on different community aspects that shape these projected meanings. From this analysis, I make further recommendations for how to incorporate translanguaging pedagogies into other classroom contexts and how teacher educators and researchers can support the implementation of these pedagogies. The findings that I discuss in this chapter address the following guiding questions:

1. How do teachers reify translanguaging as a tool for community participation in their discourse?
2. How does teacher participation in their communities of practice afford and constrain this reification?

Findings are presented by representative themes across data sources that address each research question. I conclude the chapter with implications from these comparisons for other classroom communities.

Reifying Translanguaging in Discourse

Three major themes emerged from the analysis of post-observation interviews, semi-structured interviews, and teacher reflective journals about translanguaging. Below, I present how teachers reified translanguaging through describing the functions of this tool, the potential of this tool, and the accessibility of this tool in the community of practice. While prior work examining teacher discourse has presented both divergences and convergences between teacher articulation of practices and actual implementation of these practices (see Horn, 2007; Martínez, 2013; Martínez, Hikida, & Durán, 2015), the goal of this chapter is to present examples of teacher discourse that reflect their perceptions on translanguaging in the classroom. Based on my prolonged engagement and prior analysis of the translanguaging pedagogies in each classroom, I present the examples below as representative of common practices in each teacher's classroom

and make note of instances where there was a disjuncture between articulated and implemented practices.

A Targeted Tool

Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash both described translanguaging as a way to engage specific community members in specific activities. Unlike García and Kleifgen's (2011) description of translanguaging as the way that multilingual students regularly make sense of their multilingual worlds, both teachers viewed translanguaging as a specialized tool for making meaning within bounded activities. Whereas these authors warn about "bracketing off English," Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner's targeted approach to language use at times led to the "bracketing off" of translanguaging in instruction. However, rather than seeing this as a limit to students' meaning-making potential, teachers reified translanguaging as a specialized tool with very specific affordances for promoting students' participation in activities.

Evidence for this reification for translanguaging was made visible in teacher post-observations, reflective journals and final interviews. In post-observation interviews, for example, Ms. Ash described a successful moment when students "got it" and understood how to form the past tense in English as compared to Spanish. In journals, for example, Ms. Gardner described student eagerness to write in languages other than English when summarizing texts but her challenges in supporting their transliteration processes. Below, I share examples from teachers' final interviews that illuminate both teachers' reifications of translanguaging as a targeted tool for participating in specific translanguaging pedagogies.

While both teachers talked about translanguaging being of value for students that were identified as having limited English proficiency, the two teachers differed in their descriptions of the meaning-making potential of translanguaging in their classrooms. Ms. Gardner described

languages other than English as valuable for a students' text comprehension, as evidenced in her semi-structured interview at the end of the year:

I think the skill, like working in the small group was a skill that they were working on was comprehension. And before they were working on decoding words and um, his strength was more decoding rather than comprehension. But you can tell he's really excited to read, like we were reading the text he was going through and making predictions. I have the book it's about these neighbors who send a letter that they have horses, and he was going through the text and saying these aren't even real horses, like he was so upset about it.

Above, Ms. Gardner describes a student at emerging levels of English proficiency and her view of translanguaging as a tool to engage this student in comprehending texts. Whereas this student showed proficiency in decoding, Ms. Gardner describes how translanguaging gets this student "really excited to read," to use reading strategies, like "making predictions," and to make connections to characters in a story through examining text evidence. The discourse above shows a reification of translanguaging as a specialized tool for promoting text comprehension and this reification was evident in Ms. Gardner's classroom practice. She consistently used Spanish and Arabic in small group literacy activities, often as a way to summarize texts or discuss features of these texts. In the conclusion of her interview, she reiterated her view of where translanguaging is most powerful in her classroom community:

Gardner: Well, for next year, are you going to observe whole or small group. I just really can't stress enough bringing language into small group. I've said that three times!

This view of translanguaging as a targeted tool for promoting reading comprehension contrasts with Ms. Ash's view of translanguaging in her classroom. Ms. Ash also spoke about translanguaging as a means to engage students with limited proficiency in English, but described using languages other than English as a means to hone students' metalinguistic awareness. In the following excerpt from her final interview, she describes the challenges of using Spanish and

Arabic in reading comprehension and the benefits of leveraging these languages to scaffold student understandings of grammar and phonics:

Knowing that I-N-G were similar, and N-D-O. Because other than doing extra leg work on that, I would have no idea. Now I know, but before, yeah, I had no clue. Like I wish there was a chart for the common core standards, and if you have children that speak Spanish then it's a great idea to bring this up, like Arabic you could bring in their knowledge of something that is Arabic. I don't know how that would work. And like, two Arabic students think it's cool to hear Spanish, so they don't take offense. I could even ask Katie when we are doing phonics I could ask, could we bring Spanish in? Or is that useless, or would it make sense, would it be an extra step. Especially grammar, where it has specific things. Reading is like main idea, that's almost too vague, that's like summarizing could be applicable to that, but like, phonics skills like T-I-O-N or whatever.

This excerpt shows how Ms. Ash values making cross-language connections in her classroom. In her experience over the course of the year, translanguaging did not support making meaning in something “vague,” but functions well in activities with discernable ends, such as “phonics skills like T-I-O-N.” As Escamilla and colleagues (2014) point out, these cross-language connections are important for developing emerging bilingual students’ understandings of not just English, but their heritage languages as well. Ms. Ash recognizes this function of translanguaging, and reifies this aspect of the tool in both her discourse and her classroom practice. There were few opportunities for students to integrate languages other than English in small group reading, but Ms. Ash found ways of making cross language connections through consulting with her colleague, with me, and with the internet.

This finding reflects research with specific translanguaging pedagogies, where students’ heritage languages can support students’ understandings of language through translation (Jiménez et al., 2015; Borrero, 2011), where heritage languages can support students in composing for diverse audiences (Martínez, 2008; Pacheco & Smith, 2015; Velasco & García, 2014) and where heritage languages can help facilitate home-school connections (Rowe &

Miller, 2015). Based on García and Sylvan's (2011) description of translanguaging being part of everyday ways that multilingual individuals make sense of their worlds, however, I argue that more research must detail ways in which these "targeted" activities can be generalized or adapted for more everyday practices throughout the classroom. Ms. Gardner, for example, spoke about the power of translanguaging when Miguel transferred a practice from small group guided reading, that of summarizing a text in Spanish, to whole group reading where he responded in Spanish to a whole class discussion in English. With Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash, it could be helpful to build on their understanding of translanguaging not as a targeted tool existing only in a targeted activity, but as a tool with many "targets" that can be adapted responsively to different class activities.

Whereas these two views evidenced in teacher discourse contrast, they do not necessarily address how or why Ms. Ash or Ms. Gardner held these views about the functions of translanguaging, and this will be further explored in the second half of this chapter. This discourse, however, does suggest that teacher reification of translanguaging included teacher reifications of language as a tool with specific affordances and constraints in their classroom communities. Along with reifying aspects of *what* the tool can achieve, teachers also described *how* this tool affords this meaning-making in the classroom, as described below.

Language-as-process and Language-as-product

In the reflective journals in which both teachers documented moments of translanguaging in their classrooms over the course of the year, Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash described successes and challenges with using languages other than English. These journals gave insights into the different types of translanguaging activities teachers implemented and how teachers reified translanguaging as a tool within these activities. The two examples presented below show

differing views on how language is used in the classroom as a *process* or as a *product*. Whereas both teachers at times showed evidence of using language as both process and product, these journal entries detailed below are representative of the most common types of translanguaging activities that I observed in each classroom over the course of the year.

Translanguaging-as-process aligns with Canagarajah's (2012) concepts of mobility and improvisation in translingual practice. Language is mobile in that it is a resource that takes on new meanings as contexts for use change. Translingual practice is improvisational in that linguistic resources are deployed in response to these changing communicative contexts, similar to García and Sylvan's (2011) notion of dynamic bilingualism where interlocutors flexibly respond to changing communicative terrains. Translanguaging-as-process entails mobility in that the meanings and function of linguistic resources emerge through their deployment in an activity. This process view entails improvisation as community members deploy these resources in response to one another and the task at hand.

Evidence for this reification for translanguaging as a process was made visible in teacher post-observations, reflective journals and final interviews. In post-observation interviews, for example, Ms. Gardner spoke of her challenges of knowing when to limit student discussion of how to use a vocabulary word in Spanish, a practice that evidences a language-as-process perspective. In semi-structured interviews, for example, Ms. Ash also reified language-as-a process in her descriptions of allowing students in prior years to discuss concepts in texts at length as the need arose in class discussion. In the next section, I provide representative examples from teacher journal entries that are representative of both teachers' reifications of translanguaging as a process and product.

In the journal entry below highlighted in Figure 8, Ms. Gardner documents an experience she had when implementing a translation activity in small group reading. I argue that she takes a process-oriented view of translanguaging in how she describes “some of the successes, or positive impacts” that came from this activity:

What are some of the successes, or positive impacts on your teaching, that came from this event?

I noticed the students debating vocabulary words and structure of their sentences. Each student had their own booklet to summarize the story. The three Spanish speakers did not summarize the story exactly the same way. Each student had their own unique summary. After they completed the summary of the first couple of pages, I had them teach me their summary in their language. Students seemed excited to do this, because they were able to teach their teacher something new.

Figure 8. Ms. Gardner’s February journal entry

The value in this activity does not hinge upon an exact or correct translation of a text, but lies in students’ negotiation of a text’s meaning through comparing their summaries.

Translanguaging is a part of this process of collaborative meaning-making in that students leverage their own resources improvisationally, or what Ms. Gardner describes as “their own unique summary.” As interlocutors, activities, and goals change, so do the translanguaging resources that students deploy in their texts. These resources are also mobile in that they take up new meanings as students have opportunities for “debating vocabulary words and structure of their sentences.” In Ms. Gardner’s discourse, she identifies this moment as a successful translanguaging pedagogy, and reifies translanguaging as a mobile and improvised resource that

can be used in the process of meaning-making. This finding is supported through observations of her using this reified tool in small group and whole group text comprehension activities where there was frequent student cross-talk and authentic questions about language and texts, as detailed in Chapter 4.

At times, Ms. Ash also showed this translanguaging-as-process view in class activities. When discussing *Mr. Bumbletucker*, for example, she invited students to “talk in Spanish and then tell me what you’re saying.” With peer interaction being an important component of language and literacy learning for emerging bilinguals (Cole, 2014), this activity positions translanguaging as a tool within the text comprehension process. In Ms. Ash’s journals, post-observation interviews, and final interviews, however, I argue that she reified translanguaging as an ossified tool whose meaning was autonomous of context (Street, 1984). I use the phrase *translanguaging-as-product* to refer to a view of language and linguistic resources as stable or determined tools with fixed meaning that are impervious to contextual influence. Ms. Ash points to success in her instruction when she is able to establish connections between Spanish and English, which then encouraged an Arabic student to share his translation of “design.” The class used part of a district wide curriculum (“Journey’s vocabulary cards”) to compare cognates. Without the Journey’s cards for support, however, students struggled with creating their own definitions, as described below in an excerpt from one of Ms. Ash’s journal entries in Figure 9.

Yesterday during a vocabulary lesson I incorporated some Spanish cognates into our introduction of words because they were listed on the backs of the Journey's vocabulary cards. The first word was designed – *diseñar*. My Spanish students said they knew the word *diseñar* and had heard it before. They were able to tell me that *diseñar* meant to make something or put things together. Then my Arabic students shared the how you would say designed in Arabic (I am not even going to attempt to spell it out). They also agreed with the definition of “making something or put things together”. We went on to talk about the definition that Journey's gave and how it was pretty similar to what they came up with.

We also examined the words composed – *componer* and *result* – *resultado*. The students were all familiar with their L1 translations of these words, but they were not as sure about the definitions as they were before. We talked about times when they had heard their parents or friends use these words to try to build on their background knowledge but they weren't able to think of a time that it was used.

I think this was a great vocabulary building activity and I hope that the Journey's unit vocabulary we use for the rest of the year has some useful cognates! The students were engaged using their L1 and sharing personal experiences.

Figure 9. Ms. Ash's November journal entry

I argue that Ms. Ash takes a language-as-product perspective in this entry. Spanish or Arabic are not described as useful in that they help students discuss or negotiate new meanings, but are useful in that they directly correspond to English words. While Spanish is used to compare *resultado* and *result*, for example, the students struggle to “build on their background knowledge” to understand how or why these words are used, and similarly were “unsure about the definitions.” In this language-as-product perspective, rather than language adapting and responding to the situation or activity, the activity or situation presented above must lend itself to certain types of language in order for Spanish or Arabic to be used. In other words, the activity is challenging because the fixed definitions on vocabulary cards did not prove to be helpful. Ms. Ash highlights this predicament when she hopes “that the Journey's unit vocabulary we use for the rest of the year has some useful cognates!”

It is important to note that there is still academic merit in this type of activity. Using and comparing multiple languages can promote students' conceptual development about vocabulary (Jiménez et al., 2015; Cummins, 2005), and Ms. Ash recognizes the Journey Cards as tools for drawing students' attention to these comparisons. I use this example not to suggest a deficiency in Ms. Ash's approach to language, but to highlight a view of language in the classroom that encourages, and is encouraged by, certain types of class activity. A language-as-product view aligns with the closed questions prevalent in this classroom's discourse patterns, as identified in Chapter 4. In a sense, there is a "right" answer and a "wrong" answer that Ms. Ash identified *before* participating in the activity. Students don't use Spanish or Arabic to construct or negotiate meanings spontaneously, but display language as an artifact or product that completes the teacher's request for a cognate.

These process and product views of language suggest important starting points for researchers and teacher educators to build on when working with teachers in examining and implementing translanguaging pedagogies. A product-oriented view of language, for example, could deter teachers from attempting to use heritage languages in instruction as the teacher might view their own lack of expertise as a challenge to their expert status in the classroom. Current work with communicative approaches to second language pedagogy provides an analogue for the ways that a language-as-process approach could be a more useful perception to develop within teachers. In communicative approaches (Brandl, 2008), there is no ideal language learner or perfect native speaker, and students are encouraged to take stances as language users within meaningful activities. For teacher educators or researchers working with teachers learning to implement translanguaging pedagogies, developing a language-as-process approach could encourage teachers to become language users that are developing proficiency and understandings

of how to adapt language to different communicative contexts. Rather than “knowing” all of the verbs or vocabulary in Arabic prior to activity, a teacher could structure an activity in which students make this lexicon visible and teachers and students work together to participate in a meaningful task with this language. Canagarajah’s (2011a) work with codemeshing exemplifies this approach, as students and teachers discuss linguistic affordances of using multiple languages throughout the writing process. As students use linguistic resources in Arabic, for example, teachers have opportunities to respond to this use, and students adapt their writing accordingly.

Crutches, Bridges, and Signs of Strength

The third and final theme that illustrates how teachers reified translanguaging in their discourse was how they positioned language as a symbol of power, or lack thereof, for the student. Three categories emerged from analysis of the data: language-as-crutch, language-as-strength, and language-as-bridge. All three of these categories were evident in both teachers’ discourse to varying degrees. In one of Ms. Gardner’s journals, for example, she wrote how Spanish helped students “use logic and language” to access English texts, thus reflecting a language-as-bridge approach. Similarly, in one of Ms. Ash’s journals, she spoke about students’ eagerness for applying background knowledge and their experiences at a *panadería* when discussing an English text, also reflecting a language-as-bridge approach. Below, I further explore these different reifications of translanguaging as a tool in teachers’ journals, post-observation interviews, and semi-structured interviews.

The first category, language-as-crutch, was identified by Ms. Gardner as important to how she used languages other than English in small-group reading. In a post-observation discussion, Ms. Gardner spoke about the challenges of working with students that are reluctant to use their first language in the classroom, an observation documented by other researchers in

similar classroom environments (Rowe & Miller, 2015). In the excerpt below, Ms. Gardner identifies a language-as-crutch mentality that might inhibit student output in the classroom. As a complement to Ruiz's *language-as-problem* (1984) description, I use the phrase *language-as-crutch* to refer to instances when students' heritage languages were used, or encouraged to be used, when they did not know something in English. This positioning has important implications for how languages are or are not valued in the classroom and how they can become markers of weakness or deficit, rather than strength, as shown in Ms. Gardner's words below:

Gardner: My Spanish speakers just don't want, um, to speak Spanish. And I see that within class everyday. So I'm hoping to see a lot more of them stepping outside of their comfort zone as we do it.

Pacheco: Why do you think they don't want to speak Spanish?

Gardner: I don't know. I know, like Dan, gets frustrated if I'm saying something to him in English, he doesn't understand it, I say okay, well I'll get someone to translate what I'm saying, and he's like, no, I understand what you're saying, and he gets frustrated and responds to me in English.

Pacheco: Okay.

Gardner: I don't know if it makes him feel like he's not smart enough, or you know, I don't know, it's interesting.

Ms. Gardner identifies a challenge that she faces when implementing translanguaging pedagogies in her classroom. She acknowledges the dangers of reifying translanguaging as a tool that identifies Spanish or Arabic as a marker of students' deficiency in the classroom community, a marker that makes her student "feel like he's not smart enough." Ms. Gardner, reflective of her practice and her students' participation in this practice, acknowledges that this view of language has been reified in her classroom for certain students, and she must find ways of challenging it in her instruction.

The second way that both teachers described language in their interviews and journals was as a type of bridge or on-ramp for inviting student participation in the classroom community of practice. In this view, languages other than English are valuable resources in that they can be used as entry points into valued classroom activities. In the excerpt from an interview below, she describes how using Spanish invited a newcomer to participate in a valued classroom writing assignment:

Ash: Um, well I've seen kind of both ends. With cognates, they didn't seem to care, but other times when I let them translate words or um like last year I had a little girl who didn't speak English, so she just came from Mexico like 3 days before she was in my classroom. So, I didn't, I had like no EL background last year, I didn't know I was teaching any EL last year til like the first day of school, so I was like I don't know what to do, you can draw up here, I had nothing to do. But then, like a month or so later I just decided that she could write in Spanish, if she wanted to, and she was just like going to town and like letting her do that or having a kid translate for her what I said to write and she would write it, and it was great, I couldn't read what she was saying, but she was writing, but I think it's great to bring in first language as much as possible, because, just because I can't speak it, they can't speak English, so they shouldn't be hindered.

This example shows how Spanish was recognized as a legitimate form of participation in the classroom. This example also raises the question, however, as to why the student in this classroom willingly used Spanish whereas the student in Ms. Gardner's classroom was reluctant. While the interview data does not directly clarify this reason, I infer that students' English language proficiency played an important role. Whereas the student in Ms. Gardner's classroom was more proficient in English, he wanted to continue improving this proficiency and to be seen as proficient within the classroom CoP. In Ms. Ash's classroom, on the other hand, after "like a month or so" of Ms. Ash struggling to find ways of including this newcomer in classroom activities, Spanish offered an opportunity for the student to demonstrate expertise in both writing and content. Her writing in Spanish was not a sign of deficiency, but allowed her the opportunity to demonstrate proficiency and legitimate participation in the class community. Regardless, both

examples suggest, the importance of positioning students' linguistic resources as strengths, rather than deficits.

Lastly, echoing Ruiz's (1984) *language-as-resource* categorization, both teachers talked about students' languages as signs of strength and resources for learning throughout their interviews and journal entries. Whereas the above example shows how Ms. Ash described Spanish as a bridge to facilitate students' negotiation of content and learning of English, they also reified these languages as tools worthy of developing in and of themselves. In an interview with Ms. Gardner, for example, she described being impressed with students' abilities to negotiate English, Arabic, and Spanish in their everyday lives as they are "thrown into school and have to make good grades." In a journal entry from April, she also described how she was impressed with two students use of Spanish to describe a new vocabulary word (*spotted*) in Spanish as a means to get at its meaning in English and then to comprehend a text. Language was not a crutch for these students, but a tool in their linguistic repertoire that was valuable for making meaning. Similarly, Ms. Ash spoke about student language as a strength. She talked about being amazed with Abbas' ability to write in Arabic script, for example, and wrote in her journal how impressed she was with students' abilities and eagerness in translating. In both teachers' discourse, they reified languages other than English as student strengths that needed to be recognized and developed in class instruction.

One conclusion from these findings is the importance of ideologies about language present within teacher discourse and their relationship to practice. As Horn (2007) has shown, these reifications within discourse are often closely tied to actual classroom practices. Martínez and colleagues (2015) point out, however, that there is often a disconnect between teachers' articulated ideologies about valuing language and actual practices, or embodied ideologies, in the

classroom. The findings presented above suggest aspects of both of these positions—though Ms. Gardner valued Miguel’s language as a resource and attempted to structure activities where he could use Spanish as a resource, there were times when she inadvertently positioned his language as a deficit despite her good intentions. Similarly, though Ms. Ash viewed Spanish as a bridge for accessing English, this view of languages might limit Spanish to just that—a bridge to English—rather than a tool in itself to be developed. Both teachers described this development of all of their students’ linguistic resources as a goal for their instruction. From these findings, I suggest the importance of creating spaces in teacher development or education for teachers to interrogate both their articulated and their embodied ideologies about language. Daniel and colleagues’ (under review) use of video recordings of teacher practice and collective teacher analyses of these videos offers one avenue for examining the intersection of this articulation and embodiment of language ideologies.

Implications for Supporting Translanguaging Pedagogies

In the previous section, I have explored how teachers reify translanguaging in their discourse and have focused on how this reification relates to the implementation of translanguaging pedagogies. From this analysis, there are three major implications for classroom practice. In the first section, I discussed how teachers described translanguaging as a targeted tool, meaning that it has a specific function within specific classroom activities. For Ms. Gardner, this tool functioned to facilitate text comprehension activities in small group reading. For Ms. Ash, this tool functioned to facilitate cross-language comparisons in grammar and phonics instruction. I argue that both teachers attempted to integrate translanguaging in relation to existing classroom practices. Ms. Ash reified translanguaging as a way to extend her existing grammar instruction, whereas Ms. Gardner reified translanguaging as a way to tap into

background knowledge when comprehending texts. When introducing new translanguaging pedagogies into a classroom community of practice, teachers and teacher educators can leverage this relationship between new tools and existing activities, but must also take caution when attempting to implement a new pedagogy that might conflict with these regular activities.

For example, issues of time might limit opportunities for teachers to engage students in extensive discussions about language and texts during small group reading. Or, as shown in Ms. Ash's classroom, discussing language and texts in meaningful ways might not be a regular practice in the classroom community. When implementing new translanguaging pedagogies, researchers and teacher educators must attend to how teachers can incorporate discussions about language in not just one particular pedagogy, but across classroom practices. Furthermore, teachers with mandated curriculum might be required to teach certain topics, which was the case in both Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner's classrooms. As such, educators and researchers might consider working to adapt or complement existing curricula, like the Common Core State Standards, to include translanguaging.

Second, Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner differed in how they reified translanguaging as a process and translanguaging as a product in their discourse. A product view of language demands that the teacher possesses some knowledge of what that product consists of at the end of a lesson. Ms. Ash used Journey cards, for example, to find cognates when learning new vocabulary. A process view, on the other hand, demands that a teacher responds to and builds on students' language. Whereas both of these views hold some academic and linguistic merit, teacher education must attempt to increase not only teachers' understandings about language, but how to use these understandings responsively. A teacher's knowledge of the relationship

between English and Spanish is valuable, but a teacher's awareness of how to leverage this knowledge in response to their students is also important.

Lastly, teachers' reification of translanguaging in their discourse suggested different, and at times competing, ideologies about students' heritage languages. While both teachers evidenced a language-as-strength stance, Ms. Gardner suggested a language-as-crutch view of language that impeded translanguaging in her classroom. Rather than encouraging views of heritage languages as tools to access English or communicate ideas when English is not available, teacher education about translanguaging must encourage views of translanguaging that position student languages as markers of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) rather than linguistic deficiency. In agreement with Smith and Murillo (2015), I argue that new translanguaging pedagogies must then make opportunities for students to demonstrate the value of this capital.

Classroom Communities and Translanguaging

Whereas this previous section described how translanguaging was reified in teacher discourse, the next section examines teacher perspectives on how this tool was reified in relation to their classroom practice. I examine how teachers' perspectives on how their classroom communities of practice afforded and constrained translanguaging. Three major themes emerged from the analysis of teacher semi-structured, interviews, journals, and post-observation interviews. In terms of what afforded and constrained translanguaging in their respective CoPs, teachers described the importance of the larger communities of practice in which their classroom CoP was situated, the importance of their own linguistic knowledge, and the importance of tapping into student expertise.

Communities within Communities

A major theme that emerged from teacher discourse was the way that teacher participation in the classroom community was related to their participation in larger CoPs within their school and district. These larger communities of practice were indexed in teacher discourse through teacher descriptions of relationships with other teachers, descriptions of the significance of school-wide curricular initiatives, and descriptions of district-wide testing mandates. Both teachers discussed how these three communities at the peer, school, and district level afforded and constrained pedagogy in their classrooms.

For example, Ms. Gardner described the challenges of implementing curriculum that encouraged students to share about their culture and use their heritage languages when she was “micromanaged” by a fellow teacher on her planning team. In Ms. Gardner’s words, this larger teacher CoP constrained opportunities for Ms. Gardner to respond to her students’ languages and cultures in her daily practice:

Well, um, she has been teaching for 7 years and she’s our team leader and she kind of treated her job more as, I’m trying to put this as respectfully as possible. She just tried to control and micromanage everybody’s classroom, so I remember specifically going to team planning twice a week and saying I have this idea for social studies and like, it helps with our language, whatever, how about we do a cultural presentation which is like what I did last year and it was amazing and the kids got into it, and I was like let’s just do the same this year because it worked last year and she was like, she said, um, no, you can do that later in the year but that’s not in our pacing guide. So what is on the calendar is whatever comes that week, like a specific continent. I think it was South America.

Pray, Daniels, and Pacheco (under review) suggest that “functional systems” within schools can impact classroom practice and can be particularly powerful in impacting teachers as they take up new practices in support of English learners. Ms. Gardner described feeling constrained by a mandated pacing guide and her colleague despite her desire to implement an “amazing” lesson. Ms. Ash spoke of similar challenges, noting the required phonics and

grammar instruction across the 2nd grade, and furthermore, that another 2nd grade teacher was responsible for planning this section of her instruction. In contrast, Ms. Ash described her ideal of good literacy instruction in her classroom:

bringing in all four parts of listening, speaking, reading writing, all together, I guess where they use skills, I guess that goes for all instruction, but giving kids ways to use skills through literacy, through writing, or using decoding, just giving them tools and showing them how to use them.

Her instruction and use of translanguaging, however, had limited moments of student to student interaction and only moments of extended student discourse. In a sense, Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner were not able to fully negotiate the resources valued in their *teacher* CoPs (i.e., which lessons they could or could not teach), and were pushed to then find complementary ways of including languages other than English into their classroom CoPs. For Ms. Ash, this included using translanguaging in required phonics instruction. For Ms. Gardner, this included using translanguaging in small group literacy instruction.

Teachers' Linguistic Expertise

A second major theme of what afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom that emerged from teacher interviews was teacher proficiency, or lack thereof, with languages other than English. Though both Canagarajah (2012) and García and Wei (2014) suggest that translanguaging pedagogies can and should be implemented by teachers that are not proficient in students' heritage languages, both Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash spoke of the challenges of doing so. However, both teachers also pointed to ways in which linguistic barriers could be overcome in instruction. Ms. Gardner, for example, echoes Canagarajah's notion of translingual practice, where two speakers of different languages draw from all of the semiotic resources at their disposal to collaboratively construct meaning. I have argued that teachers' linguistic expertise extends beyond a simple binary of "knowing" or "not knowing" a second

language. Both teachers used an awareness of how language functions and other semiotic resources to encourage translanguaging pedagogies. Below, Ms. Gardner describes how she attended to students' "body language" when they were speaking in Arabic and Spanish:

Um, at first it was a little challenging, but I think you learn to pick up on like, what is that thing where language is only 20% words, or something and so you learn to pick up on their body language and their facial expressions and all these other things.... You could just tell by their body language, you'll hear them say another student's name and he's not in the group and they're speaking their first language so that was probably the easiest way. You can definitely tell by just looking at their body language.... At first, it became, it was a little frustrating at first because I didn't know if they were on task, but as I worked more with them and heard their language more, I could tell when they were on task and when off task.

In Ms. Gardner's words, this attention to body language was important for managing the topic of conversation and ensuring that students are on task. Along with attending to this macro-level structure of language, or what Hymes (1974) calls the Ends, Act, Key of the speech activity, Ms. Gardner also spoke about using her knowledge of French to push student thinking about the content of these conversations. Echoing Malakoff and Hakuta (1994), I argue that this knowledge of a second language contributes to her overall metalinguistic awareness and affords her participation in translanguaging pedagogies, as described below in her interview at the beginning of the study:

No, not really. No one speaks French. But it helps with the structure, Spanish and French have similar sentences, but it doesn't really help with vocabulary. I grew up in Louisiana, that's why I feel more comfortable with French.

At the end of the year, Ms. Gardner further reflected on her experiences with languages other than English:

Um, it's really funny because, I don't speak, Arabic was hard for me because it's like a completely different phonetic system, um, but I did have some background knowledge in Spanish, I only took it for two years, I talk French, but I found myself like, I would think something, I would think it in English, I would think it in French, and I would try and translate it over to Spanish. So, um, I did find myself speaking more in Spanish and my students were teaching me Spanish. So that was kind of cool.

This awareness of French manifested itself in Ms. Gardner's understanding of noun-adjective agreement in Romance languages as she questioned students, for example, of their choice between *pesa* and *pesada* to describe pumpkins. Whereas Arabic is more dissimilar to French in terms of orthography, lexicon, and syntax, and has "a completely different phonetic system," Ms. Gardner struggled to participate in conversations with students in small group reading. Her use of Arabic was limited to repeating student phrases or offering word-level vocabulary, for example, as in her use of *lips* to describe an article of clothing.

Ms. Ash shared these challenges with Ms. Gardner, and she described her inability to build on student thinking and plan sophisticated lessons due to a lack of knowledge of Spanish and Arabic.

I think like, actually bringing it in, I'm like okay I'm going to have them talk about this vocabulary word in Spanish, to help them understand, I can't think of an example right now, but if they didn't know what it was they would like look to me like aren't you going to tell us now since we don't know it and I couldn't tell them, that was kind of hard, or I think you were in here when I said a word and they were like no that's not right, that's not the right word and I just kind of, it stopped me in my tracks. Because I didn't have an alternative way to bring it in.

For Ms. Ash, not knowing Spanish challenged her ability to participate in a transmission approach to literacy instruction. In a community of practice where she is a central participant that offers tools and attenuated tasks (Wenger, 1998) to move students towards more central forms of participation, as detailed in Chapter 4 and 5, her role is challenged when she cannot offer students vocabulary in Spanish or Arabic to encourage student participation. She notes being "stopped in my tracks" when she used the wrong word in Spanish, for example, in a vocabulary activity. Still, Ms. Ash met this challenge through consulting with a colleague that was proficient in Spanish, through discussing issues in grammar with me when planning translanguaging pedagogies, and through using the internet to be "extra prepared," as detailed below. Ms. Ash

describes two lessons, one in which she did not prepare with “backup” words when making a cross-language comparison to the prefix *re-*, and a second lesson in which she prepared “even more” when making a cross-language comparison with verbs in Spanish and English.

Um, I guess even more, like the, um, the positive side of being extra prepared, like when I did have those words, I didn't have any backup ones, when they said they were wrong, I was like, and, we're done here. I don't know. I guess like, it helped me see that it was useful, but be prepared even more.

These perspectives from Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash's have important implications for teachers implementing translanguaging pedagogies. First, as discussed by Ms. Gardner, they suggest that teachers can leverage awareness about how language functions to push student thinking. An understanding or awareness of syntax in a second or even a first language can be a valuable tool for questioning students about their heritage language. Second, teachers also can use other resources, in and out of the immediate classroom, to scaffold their participation in these pedagogies. Both teachers spoke about attending to student body language, and Ms. Ash found success in gaining knowledge about Spanish from a colleague and the internet when planning her lessons. Lastly, however, both teachers' comments about their lack of proficiency in Arabic and Spanish suggest that teacher educators or new translanguaging curricula must explicitly address their concerns. As classrooms continue to grow in linguistic diversity (Enright, 2011), teachers' concerns about working with less familiar languages could continue to grow as well. In the final section, both Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash pointed to the importance of recognizing student expertise in translanguaging pedagogies. I argue that this recognition is crucial for any translanguaging pedagogy and can help address teachers' concerns when “they don't speak their language” (Iddings, Risko & Rampulla, 2009).

Student Expertise

The third and final major theme of what afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom that emerged from teacher interviews was teacher relationships with students, and more specifically, how these relationships helped develop teacher understandings of student expertise and experiences with translanguaging. Both Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash spoke about the importance of recognizing and leveraging student expertise with languages other than English. This positioning of students as experts contrasts with findings in the research literature that illuminate teachers' deficit views of heritage languages and deficit views of students that are learning English as an additional language (Lee & Oxelson, 2009; Valdés, 2001).

In Ms. Gardner's classroom, she described her views of students with valued expertise through describing her own positioning as a novice or learner in the CoP. In her words below, she explains how successful translanguaging pedagogies in her classroom demanded that she create a "window" for learning about students' languages. In her view, students' are capable language users that can participate in challenging translanguaging pedagogies, like paraphrasing and summarizing English texts in Spanish and Arabic, and can simultaneously teach her about their language:

Um, I think it's important to you have to, in order to really get to you know your students you have to learn about their language. And have them also teach you and give them that ability and window and that control to be able to teach you, I guess. I really think you need language in small group instruction.

Ms. Gardner describes a type of virtuous cycle in the quote above. She views students as capable language users, structures opportunities for them to demonstrate their capabilities, and as a result, they then teach her about these languages. She can then use this knowledge to participate in translanguaging activities where she will then learn new features of students'

heritage languages. This cycle begins with Ms. Gardner's recognition and esteem of student expertise.

Interestingly, Ms. Gardner recognizes this expertise in students that might otherwise be excluded from a community of practice that only encourages participation along monolingual norms. In the following quote, she describes how Dan, a student with beginning levels of English proficiency and a learning disability, "comes out of his shell" through using Spanish. In the "aha moment" described below, Ms. Gardner talks about how she first began using Spanish with Miguel in small group instruction. Over time, he then recognized Spanish as a tool for participating in the larger classroom community of practice:

The biggest aha moment was not in the small group instruction but it was when my small group carried over to my whole group and Miguel just said, for the first time ever just I think you were there, he just spoke in Spanish in front of everybody he came out of his shell and used his first language to get across what he wanted to say.

For Ms. Gardner, recognizing students as experts afforded opportunities to participate in translanguaging pedagogies. With this understanding of student expertise, however, she also recognizes her own status as a learner or novice. I argue that this dual recognition is important for implementing translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom, especially for teachers like Ms. Gardner that do not share students' heritage languages. Ms. Gardner describes "creating a window" for students to use heritage languages to not only make sense of texts, but to then teach her about these languages. For Ms. Gardner, recognizing student expertise entailed recognizing an opportunity for her own learning in the classroom.

Across the year, Ms. Ash also spoke about student expertise in languages other than English. Similar to Ms. Gardner, she spoke about how using these languages over time "gave me the confidence to do it." However, unlike Ms. Gardner who spoke about her own learning about language, Ms. Ash did not report learning more about language in these activities, and was not

“going to know what [students] are saying.” Below, Ms. Ash describes recognizing student expertise in translanguaging activities and a recognition of student ownership in how these activities are implemented:

But I have a lot higher proficiencies last year, so I think it helped me like just as much as giving them the confidence to use their language like gave me the confidence to do it, like you can use it if you want, I’m not going to know what you are saying so I’m trusting you are talking about what you are saying your talking about so it helped me not only like give them time to like, use this language and keep it fresh in their mind but it does build on their background knowledge a lot too.

This quote illustrates how translanguaging pedagogies depend on student expertise in Ms. Ash’s classroom. At the same time, this quote shows her trepidation in “trusting (they) are talking about what (they) are saying they are talking about.” From a communities of practice perspective, students’ expertise in languages other than English challenges Ms. Ash’s role as a central participant in this classroom. Unlike Ms. Gardner who becomes a peripheral participant that moves towards more central participation through learning about student languages, Ms. Ash is pushed outwards towards the periphery of the CoP through a process of marginalization (Wenger, 1998). Her recognition of her students as experts requires a new role for her, one in which she doesn’t “know what (they) are going to say.” This description of her silence in translanguaging pedagogies is supported through observations over the course of the year. For Ms. Ash, recognizing student facilitated opportunities to make cross-language comparisons, but limited her own abilities to build on and develop student language.

These two examples highlight how teacher recognition of expertise can afford or constrain translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom. Both teachers explicitly described their students as capable for participating in translanguaging pedagogies. Their comments reveal, however, that student expertise is important in not only how it positions students, but in how it positions the teacher within translanguaging pedagogies. For Ms. Gardner, using languages other

than English was an opportunity to learn more about her students and more about language. At the beginning of the year, she felt discouraged, saying:

...I think it was like the second session with the kids I just wanted to call it quits because I was so frustrated. I thought at the beginning, this is not going to work, but I think the important thing is to keep going with it. Because you don't know until you try something consistently long enough and grit your teeth and bear it.

I argue that part of what made her successful in implementing translanguaging pedagogies was not just her ability to “grit [her] teeth and bear it,” but in her willingness to collaborate alongside students in these pedagogies, to learn more about language, and to learn more about what these languages can and cannot accomplish in the classroom.

Implications for Supporting Translanguaging Pedagogies

In this section, I have explored how teachers describe aspects of their classroom community of practice that afford and constrain translanguaging pedagogies. From this analysis, there are three major implications for understanding how translanguaging pedagogies can be implemented in other English-centric classrooms. First, both teachers described their own proficiencies in languages other than English as being important for their participation in translanguaging pedagogies. This finding suggests that teacher knowledge and awareness about language was important for implementation. I view awareness about language as metalinguistic awareness (Galambos & Goldin-Meadow, 1990; Kuo & Anderson, 2008), where an individual understands how linguistic forms relate to specific functions, or “the ability to make language forms opaque and attend to them in and for themselves” (Cazden, 1974, p. 29). To align with my communities of practice perspective, I also view this awareness as a recognition of one's own proficiency with a tool as it relates to other community members and community activities. This awareness manifested itself differently for each teacher. Ms. Ash, for example, was aware of a need to be “extra prepared” when using Spanish and Arabic in the classroom. She recognized

that her limited knowledge of these languages could constrain her participation, and thus, she sought assistance from another teacher and the internet when planning lessons. Ms. Gardner's awareness aligns more directly with metalinguistic awareness, and she described building on her knowledge of French and her experiences of learning French as important when participating in translanguaging pedagogies. Both types of awareness were important for informing how teachers participated in translanguaging pedagogies.

For professional development initiatives, as well as for researchers and teachers that are developing new translanguaging curricula, teachers' awareness of language can be a valuable building block for structuring translanguaging pedagogies. An awareness that adjectives and nouns must agree in French and other romance languages, for example, could be an entry point into a discussion for a teacher when working with students translating texts into Spanish. Similarly, identifying and tapping into the rich linguistic resources within schools can help teachers feel "extra prepared" when working with new languages in the classroom. Reyes (2012) has argued for positioning students as emerging bilinguals so that all of their linguistic resources are recognized, leveraged and developed in instruction. I argue that teachers must also be positioned as emerging bilinguals so that the full range of their linguistic toolkits are used when implementing translanguaging pedagogies. These toolkits include not only their knowledge of language, but their awareness of how different languages might function, how these languages function within their classroom community of practice, and how to find support in their schools for this language use.

Findings from this section also point to the need to consider how the larger communities of practice in which teachers participate afford and constrain classroom language. As Horn (2007) has pointed out, relationships with colleagues can be powerful in reifying tools in teacher

discourse and for how these tools are then reified in actual classroom practice. Ms. Ash was able to discuss her emerging understanding of Spanish with a bilingual colleague. Part of her ability to work with Spanish speaking students in her classroom hinged upon her ability to work with other teachers in her school. However, both teachers also described feeling constrained by these relationships outside of the classroom. Ms. Gardner, for example, spoke about the challenges of implementing translanguaging pedagogies when her team leader demanded that her instruction follow a grade-wide pacing guide. While my findings do not detail the extent of these relationships with other teachers, both Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash described relationships with colleagues as important in influencing classroom practice.

Future research must take into account how teacher participation in these larger CoPs affords and constrains translanguaging pedagogies in individual classrooms. My findings suggest that these communities can afford translanguaging through offering tools or relationships for teachers to leverage. Findings also suggest that these communities can also constrain translanguaging through limiting teacher choice in their instruction. One way of preparing teachers to meet challenges in their larger school communities of practice is designing translanguaging pedagogies that complement existing curriculum within schools, such as the Common Core State Standards or the Journey's curriculum. Pacheco, David, and Jiménez (2015), for example, outline how strategic collaborative translation can promote literacy practices like defending an opinion with text evidence in this translanguaging pedagogy. Similarly, I argue that teacher educators must then work directly with teachers to find ways of integrating new translanguaging pedagogies into their existing curriculum.

Lastly, findings support the importance of taking a non-deficit perspective of bilingual students and their language proficiencies in the classroom. While the research literature has long

argued for positioning bilingual students as capable learners of language and content, findings from this chapter shed some new light on how this can be accomplished in the classroom. Evidence from teacher discourse show the conflicting views that they have about learners and heritage languages. I argue that one way of enacting a non-deficit view of bilingual learners in the classroom is through teachers explicitly taking up the position of learner and collaborator within the classroom. When students can take up the role of teacher, when they can challenge one another's language choices and when they can show expertise of content in languages other than English, they can demonstrate the full range of their linguistic expertise and the value associated with this expertise.

To conclude, it is important to not only note what Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash described as affording and constraining translanguaging pedagogies, but also to note what they left out of these descriptions. When asked about English-only policies in their school and in their state, both teachers reported that their classrooms were not affected by these laws. Ms. Gardner stated that she “wanted (students) to use their first language” and her school and principal were supportive of her efforts. She spoke about the growing ethnic and linguistic diversity of her school body and the school's efforts to make students feel welcome through translating documents and posting signs in languages other than English. Ms. Ash spoke about her principal's indifference to language use in her classroom, stating that “if I see something that's working, I'm just gonna keep doing it.” She reported that she had never been told either way about language policies in her classroom and felt that she had the freedom to support her students in whatever language was needed if it “was something that I thought would help them.” She spoke about getting Spanish-language books in the classroom to help newcomers prior to this study and her willingness to use Spanish even when observed by her principal. While English-only policies do affect curriculum

and materials in both classrooms, this previous section shows the power of other aspects outside of language laws that afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have investigated two research questions through analyzing teacher discourse in interviews and journal entries. First, I investigated how teachers reify translanguaging as a tool in their discourse. I found that teachers held varying perspectives on language and language use in their classrooms. To summarize, findings suggest that teachers reified translanguaging as a process and as a product, as a targeted tool for specific classroom activities, and as a crutch, a bridge, and a resource. From these findings that detail teacher perspectives on language and language use in the classroom, I suggest that research and teacher education with translanguaging pedagogies must identify ways that teachers can integrate new pedagogies into existing classroom practices. I also suggest that teacher education programs must stress Ruiz's (1984) language-as-resource perspective if languages other than English are to be valued in the classroom by both teachers and students.

In the second half of this chapter, I investigated teacher perspectives on the different features of their classroom CoPs that afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies. I found that both teachers viewed their own linguistic knowledge and awareness as affording and constraining in terms of implementation. Both teachers also acknowledged the importance of relationships with other teachers and with their students when implementing translanguaging pedagogies. From these findings, I suggest that research must continue to investigate how other communities of practice within schools influence classroom language practices. I also suggest that new translanguaging pedagogies must tap into teachers' emerging linguistic knowledge and must complement existing curriculum within classrooms. I conclude with a recommendation for

positioning students as experts within classroom communities of practice. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I further explore the implications from this chapter of findings, as well as findings from Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

With the goal of exploring how translanguaging affords meaning-making in English-centric classrooms, this study was guided by three research questions:

1. *What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in two English-centric classrooms?*
2. *How does translanguaging afford or constrain meaning-making in two communities of practice, and how do these communities of practice shape meaning-making?*
3. *What are teacher perspectives on translanguaging pedagogies in their communities of practice?*

To answer these questions, I analyzed data collected over the course of an academic year in which one 2nd grade and one 3rd grade teacher attempted to implement translanguaging pedagogies in their literacy instruction. The following section contains a summary of the findings.

RQ1: What are the Forms and Functions of Translanguaging in Two English-centric Classrooms?

Two key findings emerged from my analysis of translanguaging speech acts in Ms. Gardner's and Ms. Ash's classrooms—student and teacher translanguaging speech acts were used for important functions within speech events, but these functions varied greatly across contexts and interlocutors; and the functions of teacher and student translanguaging speech acts were afforded and constrained by the forms of these speech acts.

First, the translanguaging speech acts in both classrooms were used for a variety of functions, including providing, requesting, clarifying and displaying information, as well as demonstrating expertise over content and language, suggesting that translanguaging can play an

important role in classroom discourse. These speech acts varied, however, in relationship to the larger speech events in which they were situated. In Ms. Ash's classroom, for example, teacher translanguaging was described as responsive, affirming, and informative, whereas student translanguaging was described as compliant restricted, and informative. Students' translanguaging was limited to displaying information within speech events when Ms. Ash requested specific information from students' in closed questions. In contrast, Ms. Gardner's translanguaging was described as collaborative, authentic and informative, whereas student translanguaging was described as responsive, collaborative, and instructive. Both student and teacher translanguaging functioned to provide information when both interlocutors asked authentic questions about texts and language.

Second, the functions of speech acts within both classrooms related to the patterns of language use prevalent in classroom discourse. Translanguaging speech events in Ms. Ash's classroom frequently employed the I-R-E sequence where students used response speech acts to comply with Ms. Ash's requests for information with one or two word utterances in their heritage languages. As such, Ms. Ash often repeated student utterances in evaluative speech acts that affirmed student responses. In contrast, Ms. Gardner asked students authentic and open-ended questions about language and content that encouraged them to provide extended discourse that allowed classmates to respond to this discourse and for Ms. Gardner to evaluate student language. These findings suggest the importance of classroom discourse patterns when encouraging translanguaging—when students and teachers have limited opportunities to use heritage languages in extended discourse within meaningful activities, the potential functions of these languages are limited as well.

These two major findings suggest that translanguaging can play an important role within classroom discourse, from clarifying new vocabulary and procedural information to challenging understandings of content material and affirming student expertise. These findings also suggest, however, that researchers and educators must attend to the way *language*, and not just *heritage language*, is used to make meaning in the classroom. When students have opportunities to listen to one another, to ask questions, and to describe their thinking at length, heritage languages can be powerful tools in supporting these practices.

RQ2: How Does Translanguaging Afford or Constrain Meaning-making in Two Communities of Practice, and How Do These Communities Shape Meaning-making?

Three key findings emerged from my analysis of translanguaging speech events in Ms. Gardner's and Ms. Ash's classrooms—while translanguaging afforded rich opportunities for students and teachers to make meaning with heritage languages, not all heritage language use led to meaning making within the CoP; meaning-making was afforded by community members' flexibility and movement within the CoP; meaning-making was afforded and constrained to the extent that students and teachers had opportunities to negotiate tools and activities in the CoP.

First, translanguaging afforded meaning-making differently in each community of practice. In Ms. Gardner's classroom, translanguaging pedagogies included opportunities for students to negotiate how these languages were used and the activities in which these languages could be employed. For example, when Ms. Gardner and students collaboratively established that Miguel's Spanish was an appropriate tool for participating in a whole-group discussion about a text, translanguaging afforded meaning-making in the classroom CoP. In Ms. Ash's classroom, translanguaging pedagogies included opportunities for Ms. Ash, and not necessarily her students, to determine when, how, and why heritage languages could be used in instruction.

For example, when Ms. Ash elicited verbs in Spanish from students and then articulated the connections between languages for students in a pre-determined activity, I argue that this did not necessarily reify heritage languages as part of the community's shared repertoire of practice. From these findings, I argue that not all heritage language use led to translanguaging, or meaning-making in a community through using multiple linguistic resources.

Second, a major feature of the classroom CoP that afforded and constrained meaning-making with translanguaging was the flexibility of student and teacher roles within this community. Despite student expertise with languages other than English in Ms. Ash's classroom, for example, these students remained peripheral participants in this community. Similarly, Ms. Ash remained a central participant in that she determined both the tools and activities that informed student participation. In Ms. Gardner's classroom, students moved towards more central participation when they had opportunities to describe features of language to one another, instruct Ms. Gardner about language, and determine the goals and structures for different translanguaging activities. I argue that translanguaging can become part of a community's shared repertoire not only when students can demonstrate this expertise, but when teachers recognize their own roles as learners and collaborators within activities.

Lastly, the findings above highlight the importance of negotiation in all classroom activities that seek to encourage meaning-making. In translanguaging pedagogies that evidenced meaning-making in both classrooms, students and teachers were able to negotiate the goals, tools, and activities in the CoP. The activities in Ms. Gardner's classroom offered opportunities for extended discourse and more of a constructivist approach towards pedagogy where Ms. Gardner collaborated with students and centered her instruction on their language use. These activities included summarizing texts in heritage languages in oral and written forms, translating

lines of important text into heritage languages, discussing vocabulary in heritage languages, and discussing features of text in heritage languages. The activities in Ms. Ash's classroom resembled more of a transmission-based approach towards pedagogy where Ms. Ash demonstrated or requested information and then evaluated students' use of this information. These activities included cognate instruction, comparisons of verb tenses, and some discussion of texts in languages other than English.

Still, Ms. Ash's CoP did show moments of emerging meaning-making when students like Momo interjected that he could say all of the words in Arabic or when Thomas interjected that he understood Karina's sentence using the past tense in Spanish. These students recognized that the activity at hand valued languages other than English, and these two students then recognized a value in their own translanguaging. Ms. Gardner's CoP, for example, showed meaning-making when Amir and Ken negotiated differences in Arabic vocabulary to then negotiate meaning in an English text. This last finding concerning negotiation emphasizes the central argument within this chapter—meaning-making with translanguaging was possible when individuals could use this tool to shape the communities in which they participate.

RQ3: What Are Teacher Perspectives on Translanguaging in Their Communities of Practice?

Three key findings emerged from my analysis of how teachers reified translanguaging in their discourse: despite explicit valuing of translanguaging as a resource, perceptions of this resource language conflicted between and within teachers; teacher relationships to their students and larger CoP afforded how they reified translanguaging; teacher histories and experiences with language afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies in their classrooms.

First, both teachers valued translanguaging as a targeted tool with specific meaning-making affordances in the classroom. Teachers differed, however, in viewing this tool as a reified product with specific functions in the CoP, or as a tool whose reification emerges through use in that CoP. For example, Ms. Ash described her successes and challenges with translanguaging pedagogies as influenced by her knowing or not knowing meanings of words prior to instruction, whereas Ms. Gardner described successful translanguaging pedagogies as moments when she and students could negotiate meanings of language collaboratively in extended discourse. Teachers showed conflicting or multidimensional and nuanced perceptions about the value of heritage languages within themselves, describing students' heritage languages as both a crutch and a resource. Similarly, they described these languages as being access points to English and classroom content, but also as resources to be developed in and of themselves. These findings suggest the importance of opportunities in university coursework or teacher education where teachers have opportunities to view and then interrogate ideologies about heritage languages.

Second, both teachers described relationships with students and participation in CoPs outside of the classroom that afforded and constrained translanguaging pedagogies. For example, Ms. Ash described her participation in translanguaging pedagogies as limited when she did not possess the same linguistic expertise as her students. In contrast, Ms. Gardner felt that her participation was afforded when she could participate as a novice and her students could teacher her about language. Furthermore, both teachers described their implementation of translanguaging pedagogies as constrained by the larger communities in which they participated. For Ms. Ash, her participation in her 2nd grade team encouraged her to find ways of adapting colleagues' lessons to include students' heritage languages. Similarly, for Ms. Gardner, her

participation in her 3rd grade team encouraged her to incorporate translanguaging into small group reading but to forego other translanguaging pedagogies. These examples both suggest that translanguaging pedagogies are afforded and constrained by both local and more distant influences in the classroom. When supporting teachers in implementing translanguaging pedagogies, teacher educators must be aware of some of these less obvious influences outside of teacher language proficiency—like views of student expertise and prescribed curricula—that could afford or constrain pedagogies.

However, both teachers emphasized the importance of their own linguistic knowledge when supporting translanguaging in the classroom. Teachers differed in how they viewed and leveraged this knowledge in the classroom. For Ms. Gardner, for example, her understandings of French gave her an entry point into Spanish grammar and vocabulary. At the same time, she showed evidence of viewing language as a tool that could be used, regardless of idealized notions of fluency, by multicompetent users of language. While she struggled to understand discussions in Spanish and Arabic, she elicited information from students about both languages and then applied this information in activities. This finding suggests that teachers' awareness of their own emerging bilingualism can be useful when implementing translanguaging pedagogies, and could be a useful awareness to develop in teacher education.

Contributions

From this qualitative analysis of translanguaging in two English-centric classrooms, this study provides important insights for understanding translanguaging and its potential in elementary classrooms. In this section, I outline the contributions that this study makes to theories of translanguaging and to classroom practice. I conclude with a discussion of the limitations of this work.

Contributions to Theory

First, findings from this study support and expand García and Sylvan's (2011) notion of dynamic bilingualism, where individuals deploy linguistic resources within interaction with one another. Along with a growing body of research (Canagarajah, 2012; García & Wei, 2013, de Oliveira et al., 2015; Pacheco, David, & Jiménez, 2015; Rowe & Miller, 2015; Pacheco & Miller, 2015) this study suggests that these resources can be leveraged and deployed by individuals that do not share a heritage language. This study expands notions of dynamic bilingualism to consider not just how these resources are deployed in response to individual speech acts or within speech events, but how they are deployed in response to larger activities in the classroom. In other words, this study emphasizes that understandings of dynamic bilingualism must include attention to how individuals deploy linguistic resources in response to one another *and* the contexts for this deployment. I argue that the differences in translanguaging pedagogies in Ms. Gardner and Ms. Ash's classrooms were largely due to differences in their communities of practice and not necessarily the linguistic proficiencies of interlocutors.

Second, findings from this study support and extend Canagarajah's (2012) argument that all individuals, regardless of language proficiency, can use multiple yet divergent codes to negotiate meaning. Differences in how bilingual individuals code-switch with each other and how Ms. Gardner and her students use English and Spanish to make sense of texts, for example, are differences in *degree* and not *kind*. This study begins to address the different degrees to which this is possible in the classroom. With my communities of practice perspective, I argue that the degree to which meaning-making through using multiple languages is informed by the extent to which members of the classroom community can negotiate how these tools are used to engage other community members in community activities. This study supports Canagarajah's

findings regarding translingual practice, emphasizing that meaning-making is possible when individuals leverage divergent codes in to negotiate, rather than impose, meaning.

Lastly, this study supports the idea of teachers, despite their “monolingual” status, can participate as multicompetent language users in the classroom (Cook, 1992). Both teachers showed evidence of this multicompetency by using Spanish, Arabic, and English in a variety of classroom activities. However, this study also points to a tension within this language use: to be a multicompetent language user, teachers must recognize their own linguistic limitations and emerging proficiency. For Ms. Gardner, for example, using Arabic meant explicitly acknowledging and encouraging the expertise of her students. Consistent with other work with communities of practice in immersion classrooms (Miller & Zuengler, 2011; Toohey, 1998), it can be challenging for teachers to take up these new roles, especially in classrooms where expertise is signaled by proficiency in English. This study suggests that teachers can participate as multicompetent language users, but this language use is afforded and constrained by teacher relationships to their communities of practice.

Contributions to Practice

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, a major goal of this dissertation was to better understand how teachers and students could productively participate in translanguaging pedagogies in English-centric classrooms. An important step in meeting this goal was to describe how these pedagogies could support meaning-making in the classroom. This study directly contributes to a growing body of literature that suggests the power of leveraging heritage languages in the classroom. Whereas prior studies have centered largely around interactions between bilingual individuals, this study suggests that teachers and students that do not share heritage languages can participate in translanguaging pedagogies to summarize texts, clarify

procedural information, demonstrate expertise, deepen understandings of vocabulary, and promote students' metalinguistic awareness (see Table 12 below for a more extensive list). Sharing these findings and different activities with teachers that are learning to support emerging bilingual students in their classrooms is one first step towards implementing translanguaging pedagogies.

Second, this study contributes to understandings of how translanguaging pedagogies can be implemented in similar classroom contexts. As researchers and educators continue exploring the affordances of specific activities that encourage translanguaging, this study offers a way to understand how these activities can take hold, or become a legitimate part of a community's joint activity, in the classroom. Findings from this study suggest the importance of patterns of discourse, for example, in affording translanguaging pedagogy. For researchers and educators that seek to support teachers in implementing translanguaging pedagogies, addressing classroom *language* use along with classroom *heritage language* use could be a useful place to begin.

Similarly, this study contributes to understanding some of the challenges that teachers face when implementing translanguaging pedagogies in their specific context, and how teachers can then meet these challenges. If translanguaging pedagogies are to take hold in similar classroom environments, teacher educators and teachers can work towards structuring activities that recognize and leverage student expertise. As Canagarajah (2012) has noted, effective multilingual activities demand more, not less, from multilingual students. Findings from this study suggest that activities that encourage students to make sense of content, to interrogate language, and to demonstrate expertise led to meaning-making, rather than activities that asked students to simply display information. I argue that taking a process-oriented approach to expertise might then facilitate student engagement. Translanguaging pedagogies should strive to

encourage students to demonstrate expertise through activity and through negotiation. Expertise is not a product to display, but a tool to hone through use.

Though not addressed directly in this study, this language-as-process and language-as-resource framing could have implications for foreign-language and EFL classrooms as well. Though the L1 can serve a variety of functions in the foreign language classroom, such as helping establish social relationships necessary for classroom interaction (Anton & di Camilla), deepening understandings of L2 language structures (Scott & de la Fuente, 2008), and scaffolding different aspects of L2 writing (Adamson & Coulson; Hanson, 2013; Lorimer, 2013), approaches in communicative language teaching have stressed the importance of privileging the L2 to participate in meaningful classroom activities and thus encourage educators to limit L1 use (Brandl, 2008). From my analysis of language use, I offer that one way of addressing this tension between L1 and L2 use is to consider the relationship between the goals for a community of language users and the resources at hand for working towards that goal. If the goal for a lesson is to speak about a particular topic in the L2 using particular language structures, a scaffold for this activity might include addressing procedural information or reviewing those language structures in the L1 prior to the speaking activity. As shown by work that investigates the relationships between individuals and context and how this influences language learning and language use (Norton, 2013), eliminating or restricting the use of a student's L1 resources in a foreign language classroom ultimately seems counterproductive. Just as Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner sought to actively incorporate the full range of their students' linguistic resources in instruction, more work in foreign language research could continue to investigate how to strategically incorporate students' linguistic resource in instruction.

Lastly, if translanguaging pedagogies are to take hold in other classroom contexts, rich exemplars are needed that illustrate not only the power of translanguaging in affording meaning-making, but the supports that teachers and students used to support this meaning-making. As discussed in the opening sections of this dissertation, this project arose from my observations of teachers that struggled to incorporate languages other than English into the classroom. As such, a major goal for this study was to provide teachers with some guidance in creating and maintaining multilingual classroom environments. Table 12 below illustrates some of the different ways that Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner incorporated translanguaging in their instruction, the meaning-making affordances associated with this translanguaging, and the instructional supports that facilitated this meaning-making. While there were many functions associated with each translanguaging event, I focus on one function for each to highlight the diversity of functions across the data.

Table 12

Translanguaging exemplars to inform practice

Classroom Interaction	Class Activity	Function within Class Activity	Instructional Supports
Ash: What do you think, what's a <i>javelina</i> ? Brendan: I seen those. Kimberly: It's a pig, like a pig. (83*)	whole class text read-aloud	access students' background knowledge for text comprehension	bilingual text; student linguistic and cultural knowledge
Gardner: Miguel, how would you describe a field trip? Miguel: <i>Qué quiere decir eso?</i> Gardner: Chris, what did he say? (119)	small-group literacy instruction where students use Spanish and Arabic to summarize English text in writing	clarify procedural information in text comprehension activity	students' linguistic knowledge; classmate language brokering

<p>Gardner: They nested in, what was tree? Miguel: <i>Árbol</i>. Gardner: <i>Árbol</i>? Miguel: <i>Árrrrbol</i>. Gardner: <i>Árbol</i> (laughs). I'll get it! (101)</p>	<p>discussion of text during small-group literacy instruction</p>	<p>model language learning strategies/identities</p>	<p>student expertise; flexible teacher/student roles</p>
<p>Gardner: Filled with mud? Amir and Ken: <i>Arabic discussion</i> Amir: There is mud on the pumpkin. (153)</p>	<p>discussion of text during small-group literacy instruction</p>	<p>clarify and deepen understandings of text to facilitate comprehension</p>	<p>student expertise; teacher request for English translation of Arabic discussion</p>
<p>Ash: Say it again? Nelly: <i>Brincando</i>. Ash: So we're looking at the I-N-G part. Boys and girls, thank you for helping me see the connection between the I-N-G in English and Spanish. (141)</p>	<p>whole class grammar-focused activity about progressive tense verb endings</p>	<p>develop awareness of cognates at the morphemic level to strengthen metalinguistic awareness</p>	<p>internet search; consultation with colleague and researcher; student linguistic expertise</p>
<p>Gardner: What's field trip in Arabic? Amir: <i>Rehella</i>. Franklin: <i>Rehella</i>? Amir: You got it! (119)</p>	<p>discussion of text during small-group literacy instruction</p>	<p>develop metalinguistic awareness through comparing phonology across languages</p>	<p>student linguistic expertise; flexible teacher/student roles</p>
<p>Miguel: <i>Les gusta grana</i>? Dan: We say <i>granja</i>. Miguel: <i>Granja</i>. Dan: That's farm. (110)</p>	<p>small-group literacy instruction where students use Spanish and Arabic to summarize English text in writing</p>	<p>deepen knowledge of L1</p>	<p>student linguistic expertise</p>
<p>Anna: <i>Yo celebré el día de la madre</i>. Ash: Awesome. Now tell me what it says in English. Anna: I celebrate Mother's Day. Ash: If it happened yesterday, I celebrated. (138)</p>	<p>whole class grammar-focused activity about past tense verb endings</p>	<p>deepen knowledge of L2</p>	<p>student linguistic expertise; teacher attention to student language</p>

Gardner: Let's reword this because here we said <i>no más</i> . Miguel: <i>No más un sapling, dijo el perro</i> . Gardner: That's word for word, and how can you put this in your own words? (103)	small-group literacy instruction where students translate lines of text into Spanish and Arabic	deepen knowledge about translanguaging practices	teacher awareness of translating strategies; teacher recognition of similarities in Spanish/English syntax; student expertise
Ash: It sounds like correct, listen to the whole word. <i>Corrección</i> . Momo: <i>Correction!</i> (92)	whole class morphology-focused activity about suffixes	develop awareness of cognates through cross-language comparisons	internet search; consultation with colleague and researcher
Gardner: You can say it in Spanish. Miguel: But you not gonna understand. Gardner: Someone will understand. Miguel <i>Cuando yo estaba en Honduras...</i> (155)	discussion of text during whole class literacy instruction	develop pragmatic aspects of metalinguistic awareness; access background knowledge	classmate language brokering; student's linguistic knowledge

* indicates the page number where this speech event is discussed in greater detail

Limitations

This study's contributions are limited in two major ways. First, based on the qualitative nature of this work, findings from this study are applicable to other classroom contexts but are by no means replicable. While this inability to generalize findings is a feature of qualitative work (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), it is particularly salient in my study due to my theoretical understandings of how language functions within specific contexts. I explore language use with two teachers with different students in different classroom contexts, and as such, these contexts cannot begin to cover the diversity of teachers, learners and learning contexts in today's schools. Though I cannot say that specific variables afforded translanguaging, however, I can say that translanguaging in English-centric classrooms was productive and responsive to the communities in which it was used. These findings can then serve as starting off points for future research that more closely investigates aspects of these communities.

Furthermore, the contributions of this study are limited by the interpretive nature of the analysis. While interpretation is by no means particular to qualitative research, I have used methods of inquiry that rely on inference, where I make conclusions about a phenomena based on evidence and my own prior knowledge. I have attempted to support my conclusions by establishing trustworthiness through a variety of methods, from peer-debriefing and memoing, to member-checking and triangulating findings across data sources. Still, the findings presented in my analysis reflect my interpretation of the data and cannot, and should not, be taken as a definitive conclusion about translanguaging pedagogies in these two or any other English-centric classrooms. Instead, these findings offer entry points for understanding new possibilities in the classroom and new areas of investigation to be addressed in further research.

Directions for Future Research

This study suggests that a variety of factors outside of a teacher's linguistic proficiency were important in affording and constraining translanguaging pedagogies, thus emphasizing Canagarajah's (2012) concept of mobility, where language use and its meanings relate to the context in which it is used. Translanguaging and its functions, for example, related to ideology, to relationships, to expertise, to communities. Based on this dynamic understanding of language, a useful step in supporting translanguaging pedagogies in the classroom could be to investigate how teachers adapt existing activities or curricula in their specific communities of practice to include translanguaging. Jiménez and colleagues (2015) translation activity, for example, could be a powerful tool for developing students' understandings of language when it is integrated into an existing class activity, like identifying a main idea of a text. Martín-Beltrán's (2014) peer collaborative conversations about language, for example, could be powerful tools within think-pair share activities in whole-group read-alouds to promote students' text comprehension. New

research on translanguaging pedagogies could begin to examine existing classroom activities, such as prescribed curriculum or standards set forth by the Common Core State Standards, to establish how translanguaging could afford students' meaning-making within these activities.

While a variety of factors afforded and constrained classroom translanguaging, this study found that teachers held varying perspectives about language and language use in their classrooms, and that at the times, these articulated ideologies about language were reified in actual classroom practice. This study shows that teacher perspectives are important, but does not actively take into account student perspectives on their language use. New research could benefit from a closer examination of student views on their language use, similar to Borrero's (2011) interviews with students about translating, Daniel and Pacheco's (2015) interviews with multilingual students' about their perspectives on in and out of school translanguaging, and Orellana's (2008) work with student perspectives on para-phrasing. In one example of translanguaging in Ms. Gardner's classroom, Miguel stated "I just want to learn English!" To understand how to support students' multilingualism in the classroom, more research must begin to interrogate student perspectives on this multilingualism, taking into accounts ways of honoring students' desires and ownership over their own learning while challenging monolingual language ideologies in the classroom.

Along with student perspectives, the field also needs to focus on student language use in contexts like the two classrooms presented in this study. The SIOP protocol, for example, pushes an examination of teacher practices that then allow students to clarify concepts in the L1. I argue that more work needs to focus on student practices in the classroom, similar to Coyoca and Lee's (2009) work with language brokering and Martinez's work with Spanglish (2010). One area of productive research could be to develop ways that teachers can recognize and then incorporate

some of these existing language practices or resources in instruction (see David, 2015, for a suggested framework). As Ms. Ash and Ms. Gardner both discovered in their practice, some of the most productive resources for instruction were offered by the students themselves.

Lastly, this study suggests that certain activities were repeated over the course of the year and across classroom contexts. Furthermore, some of these activities suggested opportunities for meaning-making, or *practice*. While research has documented categories and dimensions of translanguaging practices between bilingual individual, like code-switching (Martinez, 2010) language brokering (Coyoca & Lee, 2009) and codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011a), this research has not extended to documenting translanguaging practices in English-centric contexts. This study suggests that certain activities, like Ms. Gardner and Miguel's language-bartering, the use of transliteration, and the defining of unknown words, could be categories of translanguaging practices that require further investigation. Similar to how Canagarajah (2012) has offered mobility and spontaneity to characterize how individuals deploy resources in translingual interactions, future research can investigate specific translanguaging practices in English-centric contexts. By understanding the different dimensions of how students and their teacher's participated in defining new words, for example, we can begin to understand the full meaning-making potential and limitation of this practice.

Conclusion

A growing body of research suggests the potential for leveraging the full range of students' linguistic toolkits in the classroom. This study supports this work, showing how two dedicated teachers, committed to recognizing, valuing, and leveraging students' heritage languages, found productive ways of implementing translanguaging pedagogies to facilitate students' academic and linguistic progress. While both teachers showed a commitment to this

goal over the course of the year, this study suggests that the meaning-making potential of these pedagogies was largely afforded by the classroom communities of practice in which these pedagogies were implemented.

To conclude, this work encourages researchers and educators to move beyond binaries of monolingualism and bilingualism, English-only and multilingual, proficient and deficient, towards understanding classrooms as spaces with a spectrum of language users with varied proficiencies that use linguistic resources to make meaning. In this study, English, Spanish, and Arabic were used by teachers and students alike as means to not only make sense of texts and language, but to participate in the classroom community of practice. It is my hope that this study's focus on the forms and functions of translanguaging and what afforded meaning-making with translanguaging offers opportunities for other classroom communities to take up the meaningful and valuable use of heritage languages in the classroom.

Appendix A

Post-Observation Interview Guide

Teacher Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about the lesson.
2. What went well for you/your students when using Spanish/Arabic?
3. What challenges did you/your students face using Spanish/Arabic?
4. What do you think students learned? How do you know?
5. What would you do differently next time?

Appendix B

Initial Semi-structured Interview Guide

Teacher Name _____

Date _____

1. Tell me about your teaching education.
2. Tell me about your experiences learning or speaking a foreign languages.
3. What do you think good literacy instruction is?
4. What challenges do you face in implementing this?
5. How do you meet these challenges?
6. What do you think good math instruction is?
7. What challenges do you face in implementing this?
8. How do you meet these challenges?
9. What do you think bringing kids languages into the classroom is good for?

10. What are some challenges you face in doing this?

11. How do you meet these challenges?

12. Any big goals for the year as a teacher?

13. What keeps you from achieving these goals?

14. What supports you in achieving these goals?

15. Anything else I should know? Am missing? Important?

Appendix C

Concluding Semi-structured Interview Guide

Teacher Name _____

Date _____

1. What's your impression overall of bringing other students' languages into the classroom?
2. What's the biggest challenge you faced?
3. What's one memorable success?
4. What did you learn this year from trying it out?
5. What do you still feel like you need to learn?
6. In your opinion, what were students first languages most helpful with?
7. What were they not helpful for?
8. How do you think your students felt about using Spanish/Arabic?
9. Looking back at this year, what kinds of things could you do next year?

10. If you had to give advice to a teacher trying to bring in other languages, what would it be?

11. Anything else I should know? Am missing? Important?

Appendix D

Teacher Reflective Journal Template

Critical Language Journal

Date of event _____

Date of journal entry _____

Describe the event (who, what, how, why when, where, why did you decide to do this?):

What are some of the challenges you faced in this event?

What are some of the successes, or positive impacts on your teaching, that came from this event?

Any other thoughts about this experience?

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