

Language and Literacy Series, *continued*

Letting Go of Literary Whiteness

CARLIN BORSHEIM-BLACK
& SOPHIA TATIANA SARIGIANIDES

The Vulnerable Heart of Literacy

ELIZABETH DUTRO

Arts Integration in Diverse K-5 Classrooms

LIANE BROUILLETTE

Translanguaging for Emergent Bilinguals

DANLING FU, XENIA HADJIOANNOU, & XIAODI ZHOU

Before Words

JUDITH T. LYSAKER

Seeing the Spectrum

ROBERT ROZEMA

A Think-Aloud Approach to Writing Assessment

SARAH W. BECK

"We've Been Doing It Your Way Long Enough"

JANICE BAINES, CARMEN TISDALE, & SUSI LONG

Summer Reading, 2nd Ed.

RICHARD L. ALLINGTON & ANNE MCGILL-FRANZEN, Eds.

Educating for Empathy

NICOLE MIRRA

Preparing English Learners for College and Career

MARÍA SANTOS ET AL.

Reading the Rainbow

CAITLIN L. RYAN & JILL M. HERMANN-WILMARTH

Social Justice Literacies in the English Classroom

ASHLEY S. BOYD

Remixing Multiliteracies

FRANK SERAFINI & ELISABETH GEE, Eds.

Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies

DIANGO PARIS & H. SAMY ALIM, Eds.

Choice and Agency in the Writing Workshop

FRED L. HAMEL

Assessing Writing, Teaching Writers

MARY ANN SMITH & SHERRY SEALE SWAIN

The Teacher-Writer

CHRISTINE M. DAWSON

Every Young Child a Reader

SHARAN A. GIBSON & BARBARA MOSS

"You Gotta BE the Book," 3rd Ed.

JEFFREY D. WILHELM

Personal Narrative, Revised

BRONWYN CLARE LAMAY

Inclusive Literacy Teachings

LORI HELMAN ET AL.

The Vocabulary Book, 2nd Ed.

MICHAEL F. GRAVES

Go Be a Writer!

CANDACE R. KUBY & TARA GUTSHALL RUCKER

Partnering with Immigrant Communities

GERALD CAMPANO ET AL.

Teaching Outside the Box but Inside the Standards

BOB FECHO ET AL., Eds.

Literacy Leadership in Changing Schools

SHELLEY B. WEPNER ET AL.

Literacy Theory as Practice

LARA J. HANDSFIELD

Literacy and History in Action

THOMAS M. McCANN ET AL.

Teaching Transnational Youth

ALLISON SKERRETT

Uncommonly Good Ideas

SANDRA MURPHY & MARY ANN SMITH

Transforming Talk into Text

THOMAS M. McCANN

WHAM! Teaching with Graphic Novels Across
the Curriculum

WILLIAM G. BROZO ET AL.

Critical Literacy in the Early Childhood Classroom

CANDACE R. KUBY

Inspiring Dialogue

MARY M. JUZWIK ET AL.

Reading the Visual

FRANK SERAFINI

ReWRITING the Basics

ANNE HAAS DYSON

Writing Instruction That Works

ARTHUR N. APPLEBEE ET AL.

Literacy Playshop

KAREN E. WOHLWEND

Critical Media Pedagogy

ERNEST MORRELL ET AL.

A Search Past Silence

DAVID E. KIRKLAND

Reading in a Participatory Culture

HENRY JENKINS ET AL., Eds.

Teaching Vocabulary to English Language Learners

MICHAEL F. GRAVES ET AL.

Bridging Literacy and Equity

ALTHIER M. LAZAR ET AL.

Reading Time

CATHERINE COMPTON-LILLY

Interrupting Hate

MOLLIE V. BLACKBURN

Playing Their Way into Literacies

KAREN E. WOHLWEND

Teaching Literacy for Love and Wisdom

JEFFREY D. WILHELM & BRUCE NOVAK

Urban Literacies

VALERIE KINLOCH, Ed.

Envisioning Knowledge

JUDITH A. LANGER

Envisioning Literature, 2nd Ed.

JUDITH A. LANGER

Artifactual Literacies

KATE PAHL & JENNIFER ROWSELL

Change Is Gonna Come

PATRICIA A. EDWARDS ET AL.

Harlem on Our Minds

VALERIE KINLOCH

Children, Language, and Literacy

CELIA GENISHI & ANNE HAAS DYSON

Children's Language

JUDITH WELLS LINDFORS

Storytime

LAWRENCE R. SIPE

Educating Emergent Bilinguals

Policies, Programs, and Practices for Multilingual Learners

THIRD EDITION

Ofelia García, Jo Anne Kleifgen,
and Claudia Cervantes-Soon

Foreword by Jim Cummins

Afterword by Ramón Antonio Martínez



Teachers College Press

Teachers College, Columbia University

CHAPTER 4

Bilingualism and Achievement

Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Evidence

In this chapter, we:

- Review the following theories related to bilingualism:
 - » Cognitive benefits,
 - » Linguistic interdependence and common underlying proficiency,
 - » Developing language for academic purposes,
 - » Literacy and biliteracy,
 - » Dynamic bilingualism,
 - » Translanguaging,
 - » Decolonial and borderland theories, and
 - » Raciolinguistic ideologies.
- Consider the empirical evidence on the relationship between bilingualism and academic achievement.

So far, we have seen that a growing number of language education programs and policies have failed to recognize language-minoritized students' bilingualism and the role of their home language practices in supporting their learning. In this chapter, we consider the theoretical constructs and empirical findings that support the use of students' home language practices in the classroom. Within this context, we also examine the theories and research on bilingualism and bilingual acquisition that speak to the developmental process of acquiring English as well as additional languages, not just for spoken communication but also for academic work.

THEORETICAL CONSTRUCTS

Over the past five decades, researchers have developed frameworks for understanding the relationship between bilingualism and academic achievement. We describe here some of the theoretical frameworks that are useful in considering the equitable education of emergent bilinguals. We also outline here associated empirical studies from the fields of anthropology, education, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, and sociology that are useful for addressing equity goals in the education of emergent bilinguals.

Cognitive Benefits

Ever since the seminal article by Peal and Lambert (1962), which found that bilingualism is an important factor in cognitive development, the literature on this topic has been extensive. In their Montreal study, Peal and Lambert (1962) found bilingual 10-year-olds to be "more facile at concept formation, and [to] have greater mental flexibility" than monolingual students (p. 22). Many empirical studies have followed, detailing various aspects of cognitive advantages for bilingual learners (for a review of these, see Baker, 2011; Baker & Wright, 2021; Blanc & Hamers, 1985; Díaz & Klinger, 1991; García, 2009a; Hakuta, 1986). Bilingual speakers constantly select some features from their linguistic repertoire and inhibit others, relying on what psycholinguists call the executive function of the brain. Bialystok and her colleagues, who study how bilingualism affects the mind and brain, have used behavioral and neuroimaging methods to show that bilinguals, because of their constant use of two languages,¹ perform better on executive control tasks than do monolinguals (Barac & Bialystok, 2012; Bialystok, 2011, 2015, 2016; Kroll & Bialystok, 2013). In an article reviewing studies showing the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, Bialystok (2011) concludes that

research with bilinguals . . . provides clear evidence for the plasticity of cognitive systems in response to experience. One possible explanation in the case of bilinguals is that the executive control circuits needed to manage attention to the two languages become integrated with the linguistic circuits used for language processing, creating a more diffuse, more bilateral, and more efficient network that supports high levels of performance. (p. 233)

It has been found that bilinguals' constant use of their different language practices strengthens the control mechanisms of the brain (the inhibitory control) and changes the associated brain regions (see also Abutalebi et al., 2012; Bialystok et al., 2012; Green, 2011). In addition, because blood flow (a marker of neuronal activity) is greater in the brain stem of bilinguals in response to sound, this also creates advantages in auditory attention (Krizman et al., 2012).

Researchers have found other positive cognitive consequences of being bilingual. Bialystok (2004, 2007, 2016) has pointed out that children's bilingualism results in a more analytic orientation to language itself, a facility that is known as greater *metalinguistic awareness*. Bilingual children also have more than one way to describe the world and thus possess more flexible perceptions and interpretations—that is, more *divergent* or *creative thinking* (Ricciardelli, 1992; Torrance et al., 1970). Also, bilingual children have more practice in gauging communicative situations, giving them more *communicative sensitivity* (Ben-Zeev, 1977).

Young children's potential for metalinguistic awareness, creative thinking, and communicative sensibility is forcefully documented in Perry Gilmore's (2016) close analysis of two 5-year-old boys who shared no common language but soon fashioned their own language during daily play together on a hillside in Kenya. Gilmore's English-speaking son interacted with his newfound Kenyan friend, a

speaker of Samburu and some degree of Swahili. With these linguistic tools, they generated novel forms “never before heard or uttered” (p. 55). They invented what Gilmore called Kisisi, their private language.

The development of bilingual practices has been associated with enhancements in cognitive function. August and Hakuta (1997) conclude: “Bilingualism, far from impeding the child’s overall cognitive linguistic development, leads to positive growth in these areas. Programs whose goals are to promote bilingualism should do so without fear of negative consequences” (p. 19).

Bilingualism has also been associated with creativity (Kharkhurin, 2015; Li Wei, 2011). Bilingual practices have been shown to strengthen certain cognitive mechanisms, which in turn may increase one’s creative potential. Hugo Baetens Beardsmore (2018) points to five characteristics of bilinguals that result in greater creativity: a flexible mind, a problem-solving mind, a metalinguistic mind, a learning mind, and an interpersonal mind. In their study of creativity in Montreal, researchers Stolarick and Florida (2006) quote a respondent from a consulting firm who tells them that whenever he is faced with difficult problems to solve, he forms strategy groups with multilingual staff. The respondent observed:

being multilingual means you understand the world from different perspectives and are more likely to devise creative and innovative solutions: it’s “good for the brain to have to learn how to work and think in [multiple languages].” (p. 1812)

All programs to teach emergent bilinguals should capitalize on the cognitive and creative advantages of bilingualism. Because bilingualism develops cognitive capacities and enhances sensory processes, educational programs for emergent bilinguals can be effective if they leverage the home language practices along with English in the learning process.

Linguistic Interdependence and Common Underlying Proficiency

Jim Cummins has been a pioneer in developing theoretical frameworks that help us understand the relationship between a student’s home language and the development of an additional language. It might seem counterintuitive to imagine that using the home language at school can support higher levels of English proficiency. However, the benefits of such practices are explained by the concept of *linguistic interdependence*, which means that both languages bolster each other in the student’s acquisition of language and knowledge (Cummins 1979, 1981). Cummins (2000) explains linguistic interdependence by stating: “To the extent that instruction in Lx [one language] is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx [that language], transfer of this proficiency to Ly [the additional language] will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly” (p. 38). Cummins is not positing here that the child’s home language needs to be fully developed before the additional language is introduced, but he argues that “the first language must not be abandoned before it is fully developed, whether the second language is introduced simultaneously or successively, early or late, in that process” (p. 25).

Linguistic interdependence is stronger in the case of languages that share linguistic features (such as, for example, Spanish and English) where students can derive interdependence from similar linguistic factors, as well as familiarity with language and literacy practices and ways of using language. Yet, even in cases where the two languages are not linguistically congruent, such as Chinese and English, Chinese-speaking students learning English will benefit academically if they have developed literacy in Chinese because they will understand, for example, that reading is really about making meaning from text and that writing requires the ability to communicate to a distant and sometimes unknown audience. In addition, they will have had practice in decoding, a sense of directionality of print and the mechanics of writing in their own language—all useful metalinguistic understandings that help orient learners to text in another language (Fu, 2003, 2009; Fu et al., 2019).

A related theoretical construct called *common underlying proficiency* (Cummins, 1979, 1981) posits that knowledge and abilities acquired in one language are potentially available for the development of another. Researchers have consistently found that there is a cross-linguistic relationship between the student’s home and additional language, and proficiency in the home language is related to academic achievement in an additional language (Riches & Genesee, 2006). This is particularly the case for literacy. Lanauze and Snow (1989), for example, found that emergent bilinguals, even those students who were not yet orally proficient in their additional language, exhibited similar complexity and semantic content in their writing in both their home and additional languages.

Language for Academic Purposes

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), working with Finnish immigrants in Sweden, proposed that there is a difference between the way in which language is used for academic tasks as opposed to its use in informal spoken and written communication.² The *surface fluency* so evident in conversational language or in writing to someone we know intimately is most often supported by cues that elaborate and accompany language—gestures, repetition, intonation, emoticons, and so on. Cummins (1981) has called this use of language, which is supported by meaningful interpersonal and situational cues outside of language itself, *contextualized language*. Contextualized language is used for what Cummins (1981) has called *basic interpersonal communication* (BICS). Contextual support, Cummins (2000) explains, can be *external*, having to do with aspects of the language input itself. Contextual support can also be *internal*, having to do with the shared experiences, interests, and motivations that people communicating may have.

To complete school tasks, and especially assessment tasks, a different set of language practices is needed. Students in school often must be able to use language with little or no extralinguistic support. Cummins (1981) has claimed that what he calls *decontextualized language*³ is needed in order to participate in some classroom discourse, read texts that are sometimes devoid of pictures and other semiotic cues, or interpret texts requiring background knowledge that students do not always have. Students also need to use this abstract language in order to write academic

essays that require an unknown audience with whom communication is important and to participate in the specialized discourse of test-taking such as multiple-choice tests that force students to choose only one answer. Cummins (1979, 1981, 2000) refers to the mastery of this type of language abilities as cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) and has proposed that it takes five to seven years to develop these skills in an additional language. Cummins also estimates that students can usually acquire the language of everyday communication in an additional language in just one to three years. As shown in Table 3.1 in Chapter 3, many educational programs for emergent bilinguals do not afford sufficient time to develop complex ways of using language.

The finding that the development of ways of using language for academic tasks in an additional language takes time is supported by other empirical research. Hakuta, Butler, and Witt (2000) also have found that it takes five years or longer to fully develop academic skills in English. They add: "In districts that are considered the most successful in teaching English to EL students, oral proficiency takes 3 to 5 years to develop and proficiency in English for academic purposes can take to 7 years" (p. 13). High school students are said to need a vocabulary of approximately 50,000 words, and the average student learns 3,000 new words each year (Graves, 2006; Nagy & Anderson, 1984). Thus, in four years of high school, emergent bilinguals might have acquired 12,000 to 15,000 words in English, falling short of what they would need in order to engage in English with the complex coursework of high school (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). In their review of longitudinal research over 32 years on the efficacy of bilingual instruction, Collier and Thomas (2017) confirm that it takes students at least six years with good-quality instruction that includes their home language, and at least ten years without it, to achieve "on-grade" levels of performance in reading in English.

Although oral language development is most important to make sense of literacy activities, emergent bilinguals develop receptive skills in an additional language, especially those of listening, long before they can use the additional language well to read and, especially, to write. Gándara (1999) reports that by grade 3, listening skills in English may be at 80%, but reading and writing lag behind this number. Oral language development and reading/writing development are intertwined, but it is important to understand the special demands of reading and writing for academic contexts, especially those that are targeted in state-developed standards.

While acquiring the necessary linguistic proficiency to perform decontextualized academic tasks is clearly a complex and challenging process, there has been a tendency to dichotomize language practices as either "social" or "academic," assuming that "academic language" is more difficult to develop and distinct from everyday language. However, both types of language proficiency are important, and rigidly separating them can be misleading (Bigelow, 2014; García & Otheguy, 2020). For example, highly educated emergent bilinguals who learn an additional language later in life through traditional approaches may often find that social language or the language required in nonacademic social settings—with its nuances like humor, sarcasm, figurative language, cultural references, and other knowledge necessary to engage in socially appropriate discourse—can be more challenging

than the language needed for academic tasks, which can be more readily learned from books and grammar instruction.

Flores (2020) further critiques the emphasis on teaching academic language as a separate, superior form of communication, which suggests that the language practices of racialized emergent bilinguals are deficient, rather than recognizing them as legitimate and valuable forms of expression. Flores and Rosa (2015) argue that academic language is not merely a set of empirical linguistic practices but rather an ideology that perceives the language practices of racialized communities as inherently deficient. By framing academic language as a gatekeeping tool, Flores and others highlight how it can serve to exclude nondominant students from rich academic opportunities by relegating them to perpetual remedial education. This is clearly illustrated in a study by Adair and colleagues (2017) involving over 200 educators, parents, and children. Their study found that well-meaning educators often perceived Latine immigrant students as lacking the necessary vocabulary for dynamic learning, thus depriving them of sophisticated educational experiences. Instead, children in these classrooms were taught to equate learning with stillness, silence, and obedience. Given these issues, it is important that educators redefine what constitutes academic language or create new constructs to include diverse, fluid, and dynamic linguistic practices in the learning process.

Literacy and Bilinguality

Brian Street, a key figure in new literacy studies, challenges scholars and educators to examine the uses of language for academic purposes as a series of social practices. Rather than thinking of literacy as a monolithic construct made up of a discrete set of skills, he recommends that we consider first, that literacies are multiple, and second, that they are embedded in a web of social relations that maintain asymmetries of power (Street, 1985, 1996, 2003, 2005). He notes that literacy practices can also entail privileging some forms of literacy over others, and he reminds us to interrogate "whose literacies are dominant and whose are marginalized or resistant" (2003, p. 77). In other words, learning to "do language" in schools is not a neutral activity, easily divided into two modes of communication—spoken and written. Rather, developing literacy for academic purposes entails much more: It requires using language in ways that are increasingly complex and contingent upon wider societal factors beyond the school. Paulo Freire and Donaldo Macedo remind us that literacy is about "reading the word and the world" (Freire & Macedo, 1987).

Nancy Hornberger (1990) has defined biliteracy as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two or more languages in and around writing" (p. 213). Hornberger's (2003) framework of the *Continua of Biliteracy* identifies the major social, linguistic, political, and psychological issues that surround the development of biliteracy as they relate to one another. The interrelated nature of Hornberger's continua supports the potential for positive networks of relationships across literacies. Hornberger (2005) says that "bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when students are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two or more languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by

monolingual instructional assumptions and practices” (p. 607). The nested nature of Hornberger’s (2003) continua also shows how literacy can be promoted or hindered by different contextual factors (Hornberger & Skilton-Sylvester, 2003).

Initially, much of the discussion around biliteracy focused on whether to first master literacy in what was considered the student’s home or first language or develop simultaneous biliteracy. However, at the turn of the 21st century, scholars began to consider the meaning-making process in biliteracy, focusing on the *interaction or bidirectionality* between the two languages, which inform each other as bilingual readers interpret texts (Dworin, 2003; Gutiérrez, Baquedano-López, & Alvarez, 2001). Later, De la Luz Reyes (2012) challenged the linear development of biliteracy. Since then, the work of Kathy Escamilla and her colleagues (2014) has further changed the conversation around biliteracy, arguing that it needs to be developed simultaneously, from the start. Focusing on the many Latine students who are entering U.S. schools with different levels of proficiency in English and the language other than English, Escamilla and colleagues propose that literacy can be squared. This means that by introducing students to reading and writing in two or more languages simultaneously, literacy multiplies itself and its effects. As a result of this vision of biliteracy, alternative conceptualizations about instruction and assessment are being developed.

The New London Group (1996) coined the term *multiliteracies* to refer to the increased modes of meaning-making that characterize the production and use of texts today especially given the influx of new media (including not only the linguistic but also the visual, the audio, and the spatial/gestural); the term also accounts for the increased local linguistic diversity around the world. In advocating for a different type of pedagogy, they argue for one that develops “an epistemology of pluralism that provides access without people having to erase or leave behind different subjectivities” (p. 72). (For more on this, see Chapter 9.) Moreover, Martin-Jones and Jones (2000) coined the term *multilingual literacies* to refer to the “multiple ways in which people draw on and combine the codes in their communicative repertoire when they speak and write” (p. 7). Building on these new frameworks and the ones developed by Street and Hornberger, authors García, Bartlett, and Kleifgen (2007) proposed the concept of *pluriliteracy practices*, which are grounded in an understanding that equity for emergent bilinguals must take into account the power and value relations that exist around the various language practices in the school setting and in society. Importantly, while Hornberger’s (1990) definition of biliteracy focused on writing as the primary source of meaning, pluriliteracies expanded this concept to include multiple semiotic forms together with written text for decoding, production, and interpretation. In this way, the notion of pluriliteracies recognizes the more dynamic and fluid uses of literacies in and out of schools in a context of new technologies and increased movements of people, services, and goods in a globalized world. Schools that value the use of pluriliteracy practices—including diverse language practices, scripts, and modes—can provide a more equitable education for emergent bilinguals; they are enabling students to develop a powerful repertoire of multiliteracies that includes practices associated with English and/or other additional language and cultural practices.

Scholarship on biliteracy is slowly moving toward understanding the dynamic nature of students’ bilingual practices. For instance, recent research has revealed that bilingual individuals possess a profound grasp of language usage, adapting specific linguistic features (e.g., in English or Spanish) based on their audience (Durán, 2017; Nuñez, 2018). This adaptation involves interpreting and utilizing both linguistic and nonlinguistic culturally embedded codes, often resulting in the creation of multimodal texts. Furthermore, scholars have developed a more heightened awareness of power asymmetries in literacy instruction. Palmer and Martínez (2016) have urged language arts and biliteracy educators, researchers, and policymakers to resist policies and instructional practices that uphold conventional language views and stigmatize the dynamic bilingualism of emergent bilinguals.

Dynamic Bilingualism

Wallace Lambert (1974), working in the context of Canadian immersion bilingual education for Anglophone majorities in the 1970s,⁴ proposed that bilingualism could be either *subtractive* or *additive*. According to Lambert, language-minoritized students usually experience subtractive bilingualism as a result of schooling in another language. Their home language is subtracted as the school language is learned. (Such is the case in the United States with ESL/English-only programs, as well as programs in transitional bilingual education.) On the other hand, claims Lambert, language-majority students usually experience additive bilingualism as the school language is added to their home language (for a review of additive bilingualism, see Cummins, 2017). These models of bilingualism are represented in Figure 4.1.

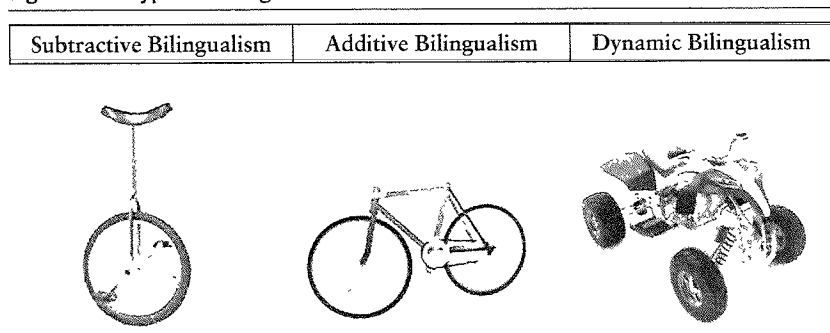
Responding to the intensified movements of peoples across national borders and attendant language interaction and change brought about by globalization and new technologies, it has been proposed that bilingualism is not *linear* but *dynamic* (García, 2009a). This conceptualization of bilingualism goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages and of additive or subtractive bilingualism, and it instead suggests that the language practices of *all* bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way. Bilingualism does not result in either the balanced wheels of two bicycles (as the additive bilingual model purports) or in a monocycle (as the subtractive bilingual model suggests). Instead, bilingualism is like an all-terrain vehicle with individuals using their different language practices and features to adapt to both the ridges and craters of communication in uneven terrains (see Figure 4.2). Like a banyan tree, bilingualism is complex as it adapts to the soil in which it grows (see García, 2009a).

Figure 4.1. Subtractive Versus Additive Bilingualism*

Subtractive Bilingualism	Additive Bilingualism
$L1 + L2 - L1 = L2$	$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$

*L1 refers to first language, L2 to second language.

Figure 4.2. Types of Bilingualism



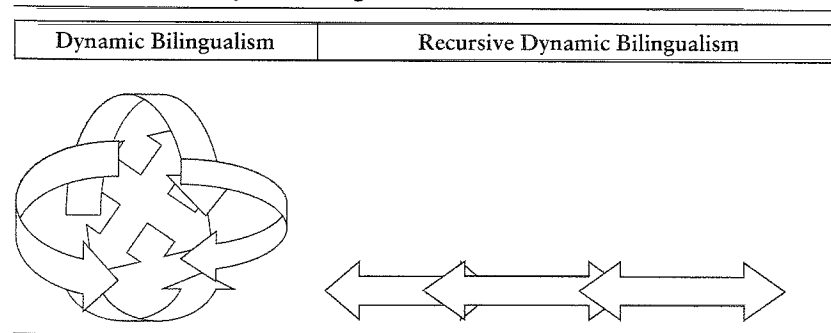
Dynamic bilingualism refers to the development of different language practices to varying degrees in order to interact with increasingly multilingual communities and bilinguals along all points of the bilingual continuum. In some ways, dynamic bilingualism is related to the concept of *plurilingualism* as defined by the Council of Europe (2000): the ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes and an educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance. Jim Cummins (2017) has proposed the term *active bilingualism* to support the dynamic nature of multilingual practices, while maintaining the idea that bilinguals indeed have two separate languages that can support cross-linguistic transfer. There is a subtle difference between the concept of dynamic bilingualism on the one hand, and on the other hand the concepts of plurilingualism and of active bilingualism. Within a dynamic bilingual perspective, languages are not simply perceived as autonomous and separate systems that people “have,” but rather as linguistic and other multimodal features of a unitary semiotic meaning-making repertoire from which people subjectively select and “do.” We will expand on this when we discuss *translanguaging* subsequently.

Educating for dynamic bilingualism for *all* students builds on the complex and multiple language practices of students and teachers, not simply on standardized conventions of named languages. Unlike additive and subtractive models of bilingualism, a dynamic bilingualism model proposes that we start by leveraging the complex practices of bilingual speakers—that is, that we *put their practices front and center*.

In most bilingual encounters today, the language practices of bilingual users function as those portrayed in the graphic on the left in Figure 4.3. The dynamism refers to the interrelatedness of language features and practices taking place in a moment-by-moment interaction with different interlocutors in the present, but also to the intermingling of features and practices as speakers blend together remnants of past experiences and histories with those of the present. This is consonant with Bakhtin’s (1981) concept of *heteroglossia*, and his idea that “one’s own language is never a single language: in it there are always survivals of the past and a potential for other-language-ness” (p. 66).

Speakers in language-minoritized communities, who have experienced extreme language loss and who attend bilingual schools for purposes of language revitalization,

Figure 4.3. Kinds of Dynamic Bilingualism



undergo a process of what García (2009a) has called *recursive dynamic bilingualism*. They do not start as simple monolinguals (as is assumed in the subtractive and additive models). Instead, they recover features of their existing ancestral language practices as they develop a bilingualism that continuously reaches back to former language practices in order to move forward and revitalize their language use. Their bilingualism cannot be called balanced, as in the two wheels of a bicycle, because their language practices need to adapt to the bilingually complex terrain in which they interact. This is the case, for example, of many Native American communities in the United States whose ancestral language practices have been persecuted and forbidden, resulting in language loss (see, for example, Leonard, 2017; Wyman, McCarty, & Nicholas, 2013). This is also the case of groups who have lived in the United States for generations and who are revitalizing the language their ancestors brought to the United States as immigrants.⁵ And this is also evident in the language practices of African Americans who use alternate ancestral linguistic features than those deemed to be standard white English depending on their audience and context. This recursive dynamic bilingualism is portrayed in the graphic on the right in Figure 4.3. Although we portray it as a series of arrows that go back and forth, the recursive bilingualism of these minoritized groups is also dynamic, experiencing the same dynamism that the multidirectional circular arrows on the left depict. That is, the language practices of language-minoritized groups may start out by reaching backward, but in order to go forward they experience the same heteroglossic practices of all bilingual speakers.

Educators meaningfully educate when they draw upon the full linguistic repertoire of all students, including language practices that are multiple and fluid, as we will see subsequently. Any language-in-education approach—be it monolingual or bilingual—that does not acknowledge and build upon the fluid language practices in bilingual communities is *more concerned with controlling language behavior than with educating* (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009a; García & Li Wei, 2014; García et al., 2021; Li Wei, 2011, 2018). Effectively educating emergent bilinguals, even in programs that teach through the medium of English, must include and support the dynamic bilingual practices by which bilinguals construct knowledge and understandings.

This conceptualization of dynamic bilingualism builds on and challenges traditional second language acquisition work. In the 20th century, researchers in the field of second language acquisition (SLA) were concerned with the degree to which a language learner's "interlanguage" (Selinker, 1972) conformed to what they called the *target language*. They often cataloged what is called *fossilization* behavior—that is, "errors" associated with interlanguage. Selinker and Han (2001) list some of these fossilizations: low proficiency, non-target-like performance, backsliding or the reemergence of "deviant" forms, and errors that are impervious to negative evidence. The emphasis on fossilization and "ultimate attainment" in second language acquisition studies have impacted the ways in which some language educators view their learners—as somehow incomplete. In such a view, learning an additional language is linear, as if a static and complete set of grammar rules were available for acquisition. However, recent scholarship has increasingly questioned what Ortega (2014) has called "the monolingual bias in SLA." Socioculturally oriented SLA researchers now focus on the meaning-making semiotic resources of speakers rather than narrowly focusing on what is considered "the linguistic" itself (Block, 2014). Additionally, scholarship on language education has increasingly focused on what Conteh and Meier (2014) and May (2015) have called the *multilingual turn*, a recognition that those involved in language education are, or are in the process of becoming, multilingual.

Scholars have also increasingly questioned the idea of a "native speaker" and of "native-like proficiency" (Bonfiglio, 2010; Canagarajah, 1999; Cook, 2008; Doerr, 2009; García, 2009a; Pennycook, 2006; Valdés, 2005). Kramsch (1997) has argued that the concept of native speaker, which had been considered a privilege of birth, is closely linked to social class and education, since the ways of speaking of many poor and working-class native-born citizens are considered suspect. Bonfiglio (2010) has focused on how it is the concept of race that determines who is considered a native speaker. He documents how advertisements for "native English-speaking teachers" in Singapore actually means white teachers are wanted for hire and not those who are ethnically Chinese and have spoken English "natively" since birth.

In addition, scholars in the field of bilingualism have long argued that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one (Grosjean, 1985, 1989). By proposing the concept of *multicompetence*, Cook (2002) contends that second language users are different from monolingual speakers because their lives and minds are also different; that is, they hold knowledge of two named languages in the same mind. Likewise, Herdina and Jessner (2002) have also proposed that speakers of more than one language have dynamically interdependent language systems whose interactions create new structures that are not found in monolingual systems. This view of bilingualism has implications for teaching English to emergent bilinguals. As Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) explain:

Learning is not the taking in of linguistic forms by learners, but the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability. (p.135)

Emergent bilinguals are developing a complex multicompetence. Educators who are aware of this complexity support home language practices and facilitate the adaptations of these practices as their students make meaning in new social and academic situations.

Translanguaging

Today, research in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics has refocused away from "homogeneity, stability, and boundedness as the starting assumptions" in favor of "mobility, mixing, political dynamics, and historical embedding" as "central concerns in the study of languages, language groups, and communication" (Blommaert & Rampton, 2011, p. 3). These critical poststructuralist approaches (Blommaert, 2010; García et al., 2017; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007; Pennycook, 2010, 2024) have emphasized not only the very diverse language practices of people in a global world but also the negative effects that the social construction of *named languages* like English, Spanish, Arabic, Chinese, and so on have had on language-minoritized populations. In other words, critical sociolinguists have maintained that named languages have an important social reality, a reality constructed and regulated to serve different nations' political and economic needs. At the same time, these scholars argue that named languages cannot be defined linguistically—that is, based on linguistic features alone, linguists cannot determine whether speakers in, for example, Madrid, Lisbon, Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Barcelona, or Valencia speak the same language or not (see Otheguy et al., 2015). Translanguaging rests on a practical theory of language (Li Wei, 2018), as speakers deploy their very different semiotic resources to communicate.

Translanguaging takes as its starting point not the named languages of nation-states, but the words, sounds, constructions, modes, and so forth that make up speakers' vibrant *linguistic/semiotic/multimodal repertoire*, continuously shaped by speakers' own social interactions (García & Li Wei, 2014). This repertoire is not simply, as John Gumperz (1964) first proposed, "an arsenal" of "weapons of everyday communication" from which speakers select features guided by rules and conventions (p. 138). The repertoire does not just consist of what is seen as "the linguistic mode" but includes additional modes of communication, such as gestures, the visual, sounds, touch, and so forth. Speakers make choices not based on rules but based on what Brigitta Busch (2012) calls the speakers' *lived experience of language*, that is, their own self-perception and relationship to others, their sense of belonging or not belonging, their degree of power or powerlessness, and their willingness (or not) to enable the listener to construct the message. In addition, sometimes the choices are shaped by others who listen to them. Speakers' ways of constructing their *language assemblages* (Pennycook, 2024) is done during the moment-to-moment interactions with others.

The term *translanguaging* was coined in Welsh (*trawsieithu*) by educator Cen Williams (1994) and translated into English by Colin Baker (2001) to originally designate a bilingual pedagogy in which one language was used as input and another as output. This meaning of the term *translanguaging* has been extended by

many scholars all over the world to refer especially to the ways in which bilinguals and other language minoritized groups communicate (see, for example, Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011, 2013; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2009a; García & Li Wei, 2014; Gort, 2018; Hornberger & Link, 2012; Lee, 2017, 2022; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a, 2012b; Li Wei, 2011, 2018). Even though translanguaging was first used in relation to bilinguals' ways of languaging, it is also a way to understand the language of other racialized or minoritized speakers traditionally viewed as bidialectal. For example, translanguaging is also being used to study the languaging practices of Black students (Privette & Saechao, 2024) who also assemble different features and practices in interactions. Both Chapters 5 and 6 provide examples of translanguaging pedagogical practices, but here we will focus on how translanguaging transforms traditional conceptions of language and bilingualism.

García (2009a) defined translanguaging as "the multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (p. 45), and "the communicative norm of bilingual communities" (p. 51). Translanguaging refers to how speakers deploy their full linguistic/semiotic/multimodal repertoire "without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages" (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 281). In so doing, translanguaging takes up decolonizing named languages as a goal (García et al., in press). Decolonizing language is also an important goal of language revitalization/language reclamation projects (Leonard, 2017).

From a societal or political/geographical perspective, bilinguals may be said to have two named languages (for example, English and Spanish or English and Chinese), and bilingual schools are said to teach two named languages. But when seen from the bilingual speaker's own point of view (the *insider's* point of view, and not the *external* nation-state perspective), bilinguals do language with their own complex unitary semiotic repertoire. This repertoire may have features that are *socially* identified as belonging to two or more named languages, but the repertoire is shaped by the speakers' bodily-emotional experiences, feelings, and thoughts about *doing language and interacting with others*.

García and Li Wei (2014) posit that the notion of translanguaging has been spurred by "language exchanges among people with different histories, and releases histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states" (p. 21). This definition captures, as Mazak and Carroll (2017) have said, "the historical, political, and social embeddedness of language practices and how these practices are and have been intertwined with ideologies" (p. 6).

A theory of translanguaging differs in many ways from the conceptualization of what some scholars and educators have termed *code-switching*. Code-switching implies a "switch" from one language code to another and rests on the assumption that bilinguals have two separate, bounded language systems. Since Gumperz (1976), the sociolinguistic literature has shown how what some scholars call code-switching points to the agency of speakers (Auer, 2005; Myers-Scotton, 2005). Some have even argued that code-switching could have "pedagogic validity" (Arthur

& Martin, 2006; Jacobson & Faltis, 1990; Lin, 2013). But the idea that code-switching could be used constructively in education seldom has had acceptance, since it is considered too much a violation of what is accepted as two separate, autonomous languages.

Translanguaging theory shifts our epistemological understandings, positing that there is no such "switch," because bilingual speakers are selecting and/or inhibiting different features in their unitary linguistic/semiotic repertoire based on the moment-to-moment communicative situation (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). In other words, when called upon to perform using what society calls "English," bilinguals may inhibit those features from their repertoire that are socially associated with Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Vietnamese, and so on. But when bilinguals are among other bilinguals and in bilingual communities where their language use is not monitored by school authorities or others, they do not always have to exercise such social restraint. Translanguaging then is the norm, with bilingual speakers having free access to their entire language repertoire in a social context where this language behavior is accepted, where they perceive themselves as belonging and powerful, without having to leave behind any part of themselves or their experiences. Translanguaging thus focuses on the complex language practices of bilinguals in actual communicative settings (Li Wei, 2018) and not on the use of language codes whose distinctness is monitored by the standardizing agencies of nation-states such as language academies, grammar books, and, of course, schools.

The *trans-* in translanguaging is *not* about going from one language to another. Instead, the *trans-* refers to the act of *transcending* the concept of named language that erases and stigmatizes the language practices of speakers; translanguaging transcends or goes beyond the borders established by dominant society and nation-states.

Li Wei (2011) describes translanguaging spaces as "interactionally created" and emphasizes the performative nature of those spaces. He adds:

For me, translanguaging is both going between different linguistic structures and systems, including different modalities (speaking, writing, signing, listening, reading, remembering) and going beyond them. It includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information and the representation of values, identities and relationships. The act of translanguaging then is transformative in nature; it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience. I call this space "translanguaging space," a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging. (p. 1223)

This *creative* use of language by bilinguals not only transforms our traditional notions of "named languages" and the ways in which we view the language practice of bilingual students but also makes room for bilinguals to be themselves rather

than “two monolinguals in one” (for more, see García, 2009a and García & Li Wei, 2014). In other words, translanguaging is also *critical*, transforming ideologies and subjectivities.

The social construction of named languages is most important and real, and bilinguals have to learn to gauge when to use what features for what situation and with whom, but in the view of García and Li Wei (2014) and Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015, 2019), this is a social selection based on *external social norms*, not one based on a dual linguistic reality of two languages. This is the perspective of translanguaging that we adopt in this book, because as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6, a translanguaging lens makes a difference as to how we view and teach emergent bilinguals.

In contrast to the *unitary repertoire* view of translanguaging that we support, MacSwan (2017) has advocated for what he calls “multilingual translanguaging.” But in MacSwan’s view, the concept of a named language, as a product of colonization and nation-building, is left intact, thus protecting the privilege of those monolingual—usually white—speakers with dominant ways of using language. However, in the unitary theory of translanguaging adopted by García and Li Wei (2014) and Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015), among many others, the colonial logic that produced standard named languages is disrupted, giving bilingual and other language minoritized speakers the privilege to be agentive language users, and acknowledging the bodily-emotional aspects of their lived languaging. In fact, as García and Wong (in press) have said: “Translanguaging can be considered a *fugitive practice* (Givens, 2023), by which speakers, similarly to Black enslaved people in the Americas, escape from the language and literacy constraints imposed by dominant white societies and their institutions.” García et al. (in press) name three principles of translanguaging—a decolonial logic of language, support of fluid languaging practices, and multimodalities beyond what is considered “the linguistic.”

There is an important additional reason for advancing the unitary repertoire view of translanguaging that we are espousing in this book. Without understanding the bilingual’s unitary repertoire and the decolonizing goal of translanguaging, bilingual students will continue to be taught as two monolinguals in one instead of leveraging translanguaging pedagogical practices. Understanding translanguaging gives us a different starting point for teaching them, as we will see in Chapters 5 and 6, for it is important not just to add linguistic features but to engage with the feelings, perceptions, and experiences of students as they do language, and integrate them holistically (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015; see also García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). And as we will see, translanguaging is also important for valid assessments since disregarding the bilingual’s unitary repertoire will always put them in a position inferior to that of dominant monolinguals. Translanguaging in assessment will be considered in Chapter 8.

Only by disrupting the idea of the named language that is upheld with a colonial logic of language (Mignolo, 2000) will translanguaging enable bilingual speakers to name and be themselves. In other words, it is the unitary repertoire theory of translanguaging that has the potential of becoming a political act in the transformation

of these racialized/minoritized speakers. Our view of translanguaging has emerged from decolonial or borderland visions of the world as well as raciolinguistic perspectives. We consider these subsequently because without these alternative theories, translanguaging cannot fulfill its transformative potential.

Decolonial and Borderland Theories

As we have seen, theories regarding bilingualism have evolved as scholarship has questioned many of the ways in which bilingualism was first studied and the subjugated or inferior positions in which minoritized bilinguals were placed. An important theoretical lens for this shift has been *decolonial theories*. Decolonial scholarship emerging from Latin America demands that scholars situate our epistemological perspective on what Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2007) has called “the other side of the line.” Santos explains how the knowledges and lifeways of Indigenous populations were positioned by colonial powers on a side of the line that rendered them invisible, relegating them to an existential *abyss*, erasing their existence. According to Santos (2007), *post-abyssal thinking* requires bringing to light the vast system of knowledge and practices of Indigenous people and those from the Global South, which had been previously relegated to that existential abyss. Post-abyssal thinking challenges the existence of the colonial line itself. To do so requires that we take up a *locus of enunciation* (Mignolo, 2000), which is different from that of the nation-state and dominant populations. By locus of enunciation, Mignolo refers to the specific positionality or standpoint from which a person speaks, interprets, or makes meaning. The term highlights the fact that knowledge, beliefs, and ideas are not neutral or universally applicable but are instead rooted in particular experiences, places, and identities. Part of the colonial project was to situate the dominant locus of enunciation not only as the normative one but also as the only reasonable one by erasing, extinguishing, and delegitimizing as much as possible the knowledges and worldviews that already existed and that continue to exist even if in suppressed ways. A decolonial lens enables scholars to observe and describe the *actual language practices* of diverse communities, while rectifying histories of exclusions and guaranteeing minoritized bilingual students the greatest level of participation (see García et al., 2021). Translanguaging and decoloniality are always linked (García & Alvis, 2019).

Bilingual students often are not situated on one side of the line or another but on *borderlands*, on the cracks between worlds, on an *entre mundos* (Anzaldúa, 1987). Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) identified, with the Nahuatl word *nepantla*, the place in the middle where duality of nationhood, identity, language, gender, race, and social positions is transcended. By navigating the cracks between different sides of the line, borderland theory (often referred to as *nepantlera theory*) advances that life can be reconstructed, identities can be rewritten, and alternatives constructed (Anzaldúa & Keating, 2002).

Decolonial and borderland/nepantlera theories have been responsible for providing a different angle from which to view traditional theories of bilingualism and find them lacking. In fact, focusing on decolonial and borderland/nepantlera theories

is transforming the traditional ways in which we had thought about dual-language bilingual education (García, Alfaro, & Freire, 2024). Without the alternative epistemological perspective that adopts the locus of enunciation of communities that have been subjugated (Mignolo, 2000), alternative theories of bilingualism like dynamic bilingualism and translanguaging would not have emerged.

Raciolinguistic Ideologies

As we saw in the previous chapter, language minoritized communities in the 1960s called for antiracist bilingual education. But race was soon divorced from language, as government policy toward the education of emergent bilinguals was directed exclusively to language aspects (see Chávez-Moreno, 2020; García & Sung, 2018; García, Cioè-Peña, & Frieson, 2024). And yet, both race and language have been produced precisely by processes of colonization that made it possible to categorize “the other” as inferior. As the Brazilian decolonial theorist Lynn Mario de Souza has said (2007), dominance came first, and it was later that this superiority came to be biologized as race and naturalized as language.

The close link between language and race and the discriminatory effects it has produced has been theorized in the work on raciolinguistic ideologies by Flores and Rosa (2015) and the many scholars who now center raciolinguistic perspectives in thinking about the education of emergent bilinguals. It is not language itself, but racialization processes that produce the perception that the language of racialized subjects is deficient. As Flores and Rosa have said: “No language variety is objectively distinctive or nondistinctive, but rather comes to be enregistered as such in particular historical, political and economic circumstances” (2015, p. 632).

The work on raciolinguistic ideologies has brought us full circle to confront the racism that has surrounded the education of emergent bilinguals. While governmental policies and traditional theories of bilingualism have historically focused on language, raciolinguistic ideologies remind us of how race and the antiracist/sociopolitical demands of the language-minoritized communities in the 1960s were silenced. As García, Cioè-Peña, and Frieson (2024) have said: “The government’s response to Latinx activists’ broader political, racial, and economic struggle was to promote the ideologies of the War on Poverty, focusing on the cultural deficit discourse of handicaps that Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans had to overcome” (p. 104). Melamed (2011) has referred to this response as *liberal multiculturalism*, that is, rather than engage critically with race and oppression, the government focused on differences in culture, thus distancing itself from the antiracism demands of communities in the 1960s.

The complete separation of language from race in theoretical discussions of bilingualism has resulted in the silencing of the racialized experience of most emergent bilinguals. For example, in discussions of the education of Latine emergent bilinguals, the presence of Afro-Latine, Asian-Latine, and Indigenous-Latine groups has been rarely addressed. Also silenced is the profound absence of African, Asian, and Native Americans in bilingual education programs (Cervantes-Soon et al., 2021; Chávez-Moreno, 2020, 2024).

Translanguaging has to be understood in the light of work on decolonial theories and raciolinguistic ideologies (Flores, 2019). The manifesto jointly written by García, Flores, Seltzer, Li Wei, Otheguy, and Rosas (2021) delineates how rejecting the type of thinking that erases the epistemologies of the Global South is the core of a just education for racialized bilingual students. In translanguaging work, language is not simply defined as a category that belongs to a specific group and identifies them, but as practices that can be dynamically used to interact with interlocutors moment-to-moment. Because of the dynamism of the interactional encounters, both speakers and listeners are always positioned differently, with listeners having a most important role in the construction of linguistic and social messages. White listening subjects often act on their raciolinguistic ideologies when evaluating the language practices of racialized speakers as inferior without grounding this assessment on the language practice itself.

EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BILINGUALISM AND ACHIEVEMENT

Around the world there is near consensus among researchers that greater support for emergent bilinguals’ home language practices, and academic development using those practices, is “positively related to higher long-term academic attainment” (Ferguson, 2006, p. 48). Because in the United States the notion of bilingual education itself is so politically loaded, research about the question of whether bilingual education or monolingual (English-only) education works best for emergent bilinguals is often contradictory. Nevertheless, and on balance, there is much research support for the positive effects of the use of students’ home language practices over English-only education (for a comprehensive review, see Baker & Wright, 2021).

Several large-scale evaluations (e.g., Ramírez, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 2002) have demonstrated that using the home language in instruction benefits language-minoritized students. For instance, Ramírez (1992) carried out a longitudinal study of 554 kindergarten-to-sixth-grade Latine students in five states (New York, New Jersey, Florida, Texas, and California) who were in English-only structured immersion programs, transitional early-exit programs, and late-exit developmental bilingual programs. The results of the study favored late-exit developmental bilingual programs that use students’ home languages for five to six years. Although there were no differences between programs among students in the third grade, by sixth grade, students in late-exit developmental programs were performing better in mathematics, English language arts, and English reading than students in the other programs.

In 2002, Thomas and Collier published a study of the effectiveness of different types of educational programs for language-minoritized student achievement. They compared the achievement on nationally standardized tests of students in different kinds of programs, who entered school in kindergarten or first grade with little or no proficiency in English, and followed them to the highest grade level reached. They determined that bilingually schooled students outperformed comparable

monolingually schooled students in all subjects. Furthermore, they found that the strongest predictor of the students' English language achievement was the amount of formal schooling they had received in the home language. Developmental bilingual education programs (one-way dual language) and two-way bilingual education programs (two-way dual language) were the only kinds of programs that enabled emergent bilinguals to reach the 50th percentile in both languages in all subjects. These bilingual education programs also produced the fewest dropouts. Two types of two-way and developmental bilingual education programs were included in the study: (1) the 50:50 model, meaning that 50% of the instruction is in the child's home language and 50% in the additional language; and (2) the 90:10 model, meaning that *initially* 90% of the instruction is in the child's home language and 10% in the other language, but gradually moves to a 50:50 arrangement. Thomas and Collier (2002) found that the 90:10 type of instruction was more efficient than the 50:50 instructional model in helping students reach grade-level achievement in their additional language.

In 2017, Collier and Thomas summarized the findings of 32 years of research on the effects of bilingual instruction on achievement. Their summary concludes that only high-quality long-term bilingual programs are effective in making bilingual students achieve academically, whereas bilingual students in English-only and transitional bilingual programs of the early-exit type are not successful.

Lindholm-Leary (2001) conducted a comprehensive evaluation of programs serving emergent bilinguals in California. These included English-only programs, transitional bilingual education, and two types of two-way bilingual education (what she called simply dual-language education or DLE—90:10 and 50:50). Like Thomas and Collier (2002), Lindholm-Leary found that students who were in instructional programs in which initially English was used for only 10% to 20% of the time (whether transitional or 90:10 dual language) did as well on English proficiency tests as those in English-only programs or 50:50 two-way dual-language bilingual programs. By grade 6, however, Latine students in what Lindholm-Leary called "dual-language education" (which for her is two-way bilingual education) outperformed transitional bilingual education students. In mathematics, all students in dual-language education outperformed by 10 points those educated only in English.

In their synthesis of the research evidence in the education of emergent bilinguals, Genesee, Lindholm-Leary, Saunders, and Christian (2006) confirmed that students who are in educational programs that provide extended instruction in their home language through late-exit bilingual education programs (developmental/one-way dual-language and two-way bilingual education/dual language) outperform students who receive only short-term instruction through their home language (early-exit transitional bilingual education). They also found that bilingual proficiency and biliteracy were positively related to academic achievement in both languages. Finally, Genesee and colleagues (2006) found that emergent bilinguals in primary school programs providing home language support had acquired the same or superior levels of reading and writing skills as students in English-only programs by the end of elementary school.

Five independent meta-analyses of experimental studies (August & Shanahan, 2006; Greene, 1997; Rolstad, Mahoney, & Glass, 2005; Slavin & Cheung, 2005; Willig, 1985) concluded that learning to read in the child's home language promotes reading achievement in an additional language (Goldenberg, 2008). Likewise, the National Literacy Panel on Language Minority Children and Youth, appointed by the George W. Bush administration, concluded that bilingual education approaches, in which the student's home language is used, are more effective in teaching students to read than are English-only approaches (see August & Shanahan, 2006). Thus, there is firm evidence that learning to read in the student's home language promotes reading achievement in English. In a guide to the research on how to promote academic achievement among English learners, Goldenberg and Coleman (2010) say:

Primary-language reading instruction is clearly no panacea, just as phonics instruction is no panacea. But relatively speaking, it makes a meaningful contribution to ELLs' reading achievement in *English*. (p. 27, emphasis added)

In 2014, Umansky and Reardon conducted an analysis of reclassification patterns among Latine emergent bilinguals in schools in California in three different types of programs—sheltered English immersion, transitional bilingual education, and two-way dual-language bilingual (dual-immersion) programs. They found that Latine emergent bilingual students in two-way dual-language bilingual education (DLBE) programs were reclassified (as fluent bilinguals) more slowly than were students in other programs. However, they also found that, over time, students in DLBE programs had higher overall reclassification rates and higher English proficiency and academic performance.

Lindholm-Leary and Genesee (2014) synthesize all these studies by concluding:

Over three decades of research in the U.S. indicates that minority language students in two-way and DBE [developmental bilingual education] programs acquire English speaking, listening, reading and writing skills as well and as quickly as their minority language peers in mainstream programs. (p. 172)

Despite the support for two-way immersion or two-way dual-language bilingual education, we cannot conclude that they are the *only* way to educate language-minoritized students successfully and bilingually. The promise of two-way DLBE notwithstanding, not all localities can implement these programs in all languages because many language-majority communities are not eager to have their children schooled with language-minority children. For example, even though two-way DLBE programs are growing in English/Chinese and English/Spanish, other language groups—Haitians, for example—are not benefiting from such programs. Why? Language-majority parents are many times reluctant to have their children learn Haitian Creole, which they consider to be a low-prestige language. Haitian Creole is, however, essential for the meaningful education of Haitian children and youth (Ballenger, 1997; Cerat, 2017; DeGraff, 2009; DeGraff & Stump, 2018;

Hudicourt-Barnes, 2003; Kleifgen, 1991, 2009), and thus, it would be important to develop bilingual education programs for the Haitian community. The same can be said of Native American communities where the ancestral languages are important in the education of the community itself, but where two-way DLBE would have little relevance.

It is also important to point out that, depending on demand and availability, in some cases students are selected for participation in two-way DLBE programs on the basis of good scores on screening instruments and parental interviews (see, for example, the case of some schools in New York City in García, Menken, Velasco, & Vogel, 2018). Emergent bilinguals who are considered less “gifted” linguistically when they enter kindergarten are assigned to ESL programs or transitional bilingual education programs because room has to be made for English-speaking monolingual students in the DLBE program. Thus, emergent bilingual students in two-way DLBE programs where half of the students are white English-speaking students may not always be the same type of students as those in transitional bilingual education or ESL programs.

As August and Hakuta (1998) state in their National Research Council report, any type of program to educate emergent bilinguals can be implemented well or poorly. However, what is evident from the research is that the classroom use of students’ home language practices over a longer period of time is crucial for their long-term cognitive growth and academic achievement in English and in the home language. De Jong and Bearse (2011) report a positive correlation between level of bilingualism and academic achievement, as well as between level of bilingualism and level of proficiency in English and the home language. All teachers, both those who are required to deliver instruction in English only and those who do so bilingually, can take a more effective pedagogical path by constructing bilingual instructional spaces, as we will describe in the next chapter.

EDUCATING EMERGENT BILINGUALS: BUILDING ON BILINGUALISM FOR ACADEMIC SUCCESS

Although *additive schooling practices* are important (see, for example, Bartlett & García, 2011), additive conceptions of bilingualism fail to capture the complexity of bilingual acquisition and development. A linear conception of additive bilingualism does not adequately describe the ever-changing multilingual practices of the 21st century; thus, we have chosen instead to use the term *dynamic bilingualism*. We make evident that some language-minoritized students who speak languages that are not prevalent in the school community cannot be schooled bilingually, given the ways in which many bilingual education programs have been constructed. It is, of course, easier to build bilingual education programs for large language groups—especially Spanish speakers, the largest and most rapidly growing linguistic minority in the United States. Yet every teacher, even those teaching in spaces that are formally denominated as ESL or English only, can draw on students’ linguistic practices (see García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

By way of summary, Table 4.1 shows the types of educational programs described in Chapter 3, alongside linguistic goals, and the kind of bilingualism that they promote according to the understandings that we have proposed in this chapter.

Table 4.1. Types of Educational Programs and Bilingualism

Program	Goal	Bilingualism
Submersion	Monolingualism	Subtractive
ESL pull-out	Monolingualism	Subtractive
ESL push-in	Monolingualism	Subtractive
Structured English immersion (sheltered English)	Monolingualism	Subtractive
High-intensity English language training	Monolingualism	Subtractive
Transitional bilingual education (early exit)	Monolingualism	Subtractive
Developmental bilingual education (one-way DLBE/late exit)	Bilingualism	Dynamic and recursive dynamic
Two-way bilingual education (two-way DLBE or two-way immersion)	Bilingualism	Dynamic
Dynamic bi-/multilingual education	Bilingualism	Dynamic

STUDY QUESTIONS

1. What, according to a number of studies, are the cognitive benefits of bilingualism?
2. Discuss Cummins’s theories of “linguistic interdependence” and “common underlying proficiency.” Describe the distinction, according to Cummins, between basic interpersonal communication skills and cognitive academic learning proficiency.
3. Identify types of bilingualism. Discuss why dynamic bilingualism fits closely with the concept of multicompetence and the complexity of bilingualism.
4. What is translanguaging? How does the concept differ from the notion of “named languages”? Can you imagine how building on the concept of translanguaging might change instruction in ESL and bilingual education?
5. What is the epistemological difference between translanguaging and code-switching?
6. How do decolonial and borderland/nepantlera theories transform our understandings of bilingualism?
7. What is the relationship of raciolinguistic ideologies and the perception of language and bilingualism?
8. Discuss the research evidence that exists for drawing on home language practices in the schooling of emergent bilinguals.