



The Kahikatea Tree (Tamati, 2006)

**Bilingual Education Theories and Translanguaging Pedagogy:
Implications for Language Policies and Instruction**

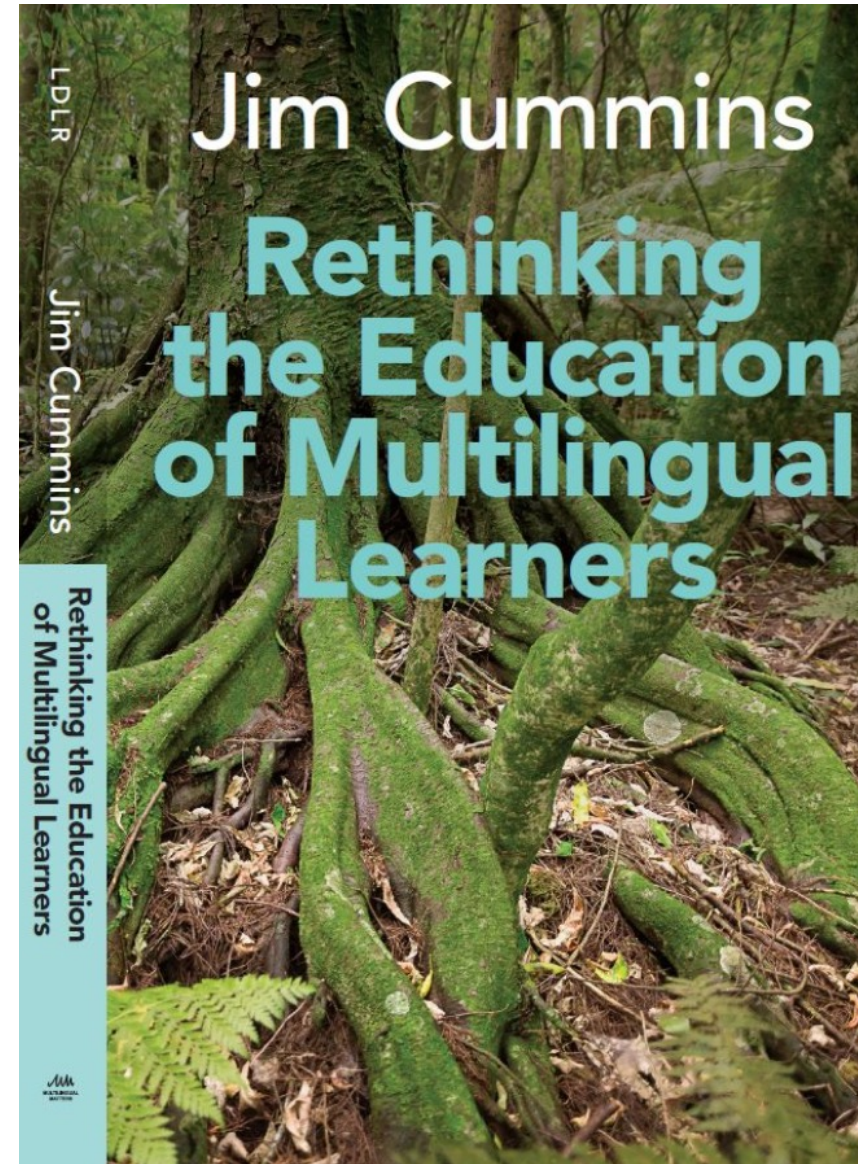
Jim Cummins
University of Toronto

Bilingual Multilingual Child
Network Annual Conference

October 2022

Introduction and Overview

- Part 1 - A brief historical perspective on theoretical assumptions in L2 teaching
- Part 2 - Bilingual education works much better than teaching L2 as a subject, but the implementation of bilingual programs frequently share some problematic assumptions with L2 teaching
- Part 3 - The emergence of 'the multilingual turn' and translanguaging
- Part 4 - Implications of the research and theory for L2 teaching in Japan and elsewhere



Part 1

A brief historical perspective on theoretical assumptions in L2 teaching

Four Overlapping Phases in L2 Teaching Assumptions Over the Past 50 Years

- **Grammar/Translation Phase**—L1 and L2 are brought into contact, but focus is only on the structure of the language and students remain passive—they don't *do* anything with the target language;
- **Monolingual and 'Two Solitudes' Phase**—L2 is taught in isolation from students' L1;
- **Crosslinguistic/Plurilingualism Phase** - Students' L1 is seen as a resource and crosslinguistic contact and transfer are encouraged;
- **Translanguaging Phase** - 'languages' cannot be distinguished in the student's cognitive system and so it is illegitimate to talk about 'teaching for crosslinguistic transfer'. It is legitimate to talk about 'languaging' (verb form) but not 'languages' (noun form) as being existentially 'real' in our cognitive system.

Current realities in L2 teaching for 'majority' group and immigrant- background students

- The current situation is confusing for many practitioners (and researchers!):
 - There is still a widespread belief that 'best practice' in L2 teaching requires teachers to use the target language exclusively in their teaching;
 - Many people still believe that 'native speakers' of the target language are likely to be 'better' teachers because their accent and fluency are 'native-like' and they are also more likely to use L2 exclusively in their teaching; this belief is reflected in the fact that language schools frequently advertise the fact that they employ 'native speaker' staff.
 - These beliefs have been challenged by research suggesting strong relationships between L1 and L2, suggesting that we should teach for transfer across languages;
 - The focus on 'translanguaging' over the past decade goes even further in rejecting monolingual approaches to L2 teaching.
 - One version of translanguaging theory, which I have termed *Unitary Translanguaging Theory* (UTT) (e.g., Garcia, 2009) even argues that 'languages' do not exist in our cognitive system, and thus even teaching for crosslinguistic transfer is problematic.
- How should we make sense out of all these conflicting trends?

Monolingual 'Direct Method' Assumptions

The 'monolingual principle' (Howatt, 1984) emphasizes instructional use of the target language (TL) to the exclusion of students' L1, with the goal of enabling learners to think in the TL with minimal interference from L1.

This principle initially gained widespread acceptance more than 100 years ago in the context of the 'direct method' and has continued to exert a strong influence on various language teaching approaches since that time.

According to Yu (2001: 176), '[t]he direct method imitated the way that children learn their first language, emphasizing the avoidance of translation and the direct use of the foreign language as the medium of instruction in all situations'.

These assumptions were reflected in the audiolingual and audio-visual approaches that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s and are also apparent in the implementation of communicative language teaching in many contemporary contexts.

Disappointing Outcomes of L2 Teaching in Many Contexts

- In general, methods that teach the FL/L2 as a school subject rather than using it as a medium of instruction **do not work well** for most students except when there is considerable exposure to English outside of school (e.g., social media, music, television, etc.);
- When students' home language (L1) is similar to English (e.g., in northern European countries), this increases students' success in learning the language;
- In these countries, English-language movies and television programs are typically subtitled (English audio, L1 subtitled) rather than dubbed into the majority language.
- In general, approaches that teach English for 30-45 minutes per day produce disappointing results for about 80% of students. They may learn how to pass examinations in English, but seldom learn how to speak the language fluently.
- This conclusion applies to the following 'methods': **Grammar/Translation, Direct Method, Audiolingual Method, Communicative Language Teaching and most other methods that teach the language as a school subject.**

Part 2

Bilingual programs (including L2 immersion and CLIL) are much more successful than L2 teaching as a subject, but many of these programs share the same problematic assumption that L1 and L2 should be kept rigidly separate

What Does Research Say about Bilingual Education?

- Bilingual programs for minority and majority language students have been successfully implemented in countries around the world. These programs generally produce much better outcomes than teaching the language as a subject.
- Minority languages are fragile - without strong support in the school and community, students will often not develop strong fluency and literacy in their home language.
- For both 'minority' and 'majority' language students, there is no loss in students' mastery of the 'majority' language, despite the fact that much less instructional time is spent through that language. Students typically catch up in reading and writing skills in the 'majority' language by the later grades of primary school.
- **But, academic skills in both languages must be actively taught - some transfer of concepts may happen automatically, but the benefits of transfer will increase when schools teach actively for transfer across languages.**

Katoh Gakuen: A Japanese Example of English Immersion

A STUDY OF AN ELEMENTARY ENGLISH LANGUAGE IMMERSION
SCHOOL IN JAPAN

A Dissertation
Submitted to
the Temple University Graduate Board

in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

by
R. Michael Bostwick
January, 1999

"...students would receive the same Japanese language instruction as non-immersion students, but all other classes would be done in English. This amounted to approximately two-thirds of the instructional day being conducted in English" (p. 63).

"Generally speaking, the immersion students performed at the same high level [in all school subjects] as the regular students who received all of their instruction in their primary language" (p. 187).

"The results clearly demonstrate that there is no negative effect on primary language literacy skills as measured by the national and prefectural Japanese achievement tests. The distance of the language pairs would appear to have little or no negative effect on primary language development within a partial immersion context (p. 190).

"linguistically-speaking, the grade five students were functioning in English at approximately the same level as third grade students in the USA. This is remarkable considering that most of the students have never lived abroad. When we compare the immersion students to Japanese students in Japan in English language skills as measured by the *Eiken* test, we find that a majority are performing at or beyond the ninth grade level" (pp. 190-191).

Transfer of Conceptual and Content Knowledge through 'Cognitive Reprocessing'

Lambert & Tucker (1972): French/English immersion

“...children... may have transferred basic skills of reading, concept development, word manipulation, and verbal creativity through French to English by **reprocessing in English** all the information they received through French, or by simultaneously processing in French and English” (p. 82).

Cohen (1994): Spanish/English immersion (math word problems study)

“This phenomenon of **reprocessing** is most likely what we uncovered in our study, where the reprocessing in English was of much, but not all, of the information received through Spanish. It is not so surprising that the students in this study switched to English to think through their word problems. After six or seven years of immersion schooling, the learners were behaving externally or socially in Spanish, but not psychologically or cognitively” (p. 192).

Bostwick (1999): English/Japanese immersion

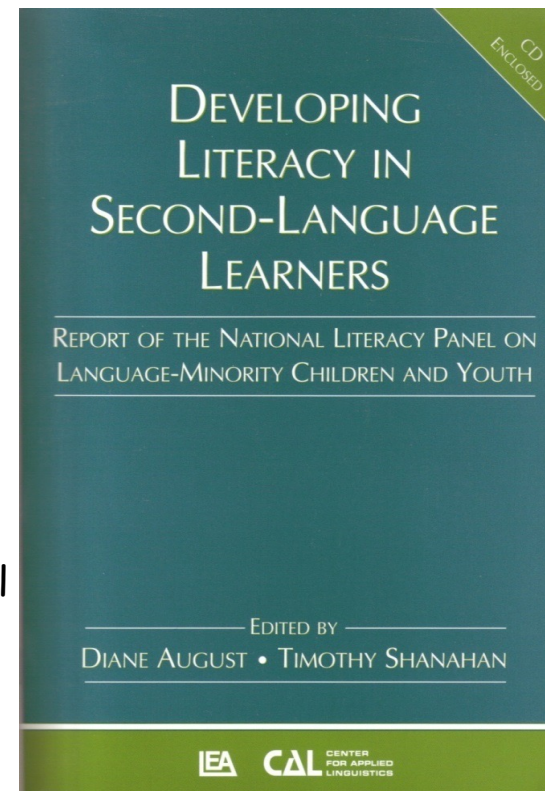
“The transfer of skills learned through the medium of one language to another language has been seen over and over again in immersion programs around the world and is clearly evident in the English immersion program in Japan. The transfer of concepts appears to be spontaneous. ... Evidence from these studies suggests that immersion students perform **on-line ‘reprocessing’** ... of the information into their primary language, and that the student’s internal language environment is not nearly as foreign-language oriented as outside observers might believe” (p. 188).

Research Evidence on Bilingual Education

"In summary, there is no indication that bilingual instruction impedes academic achievement in either the native language or English, whether for language-minority students, students receiving heritage language instruction, or those enrolled in French immersion programs.

Where differences were observed, on average they favored the students in a bilingual program. The meta-analytic results clearly suggest a positive effect for bilingual instruction that is moderate in size."

(Francis, Lesaux, and August 2006, p. 397)



F. Genesee, K. Lindholm-Leary, W. Saunders, & D. Christian (Eds). (2006) *Educating English Language Learners*.
New York: Cambridge University Press.

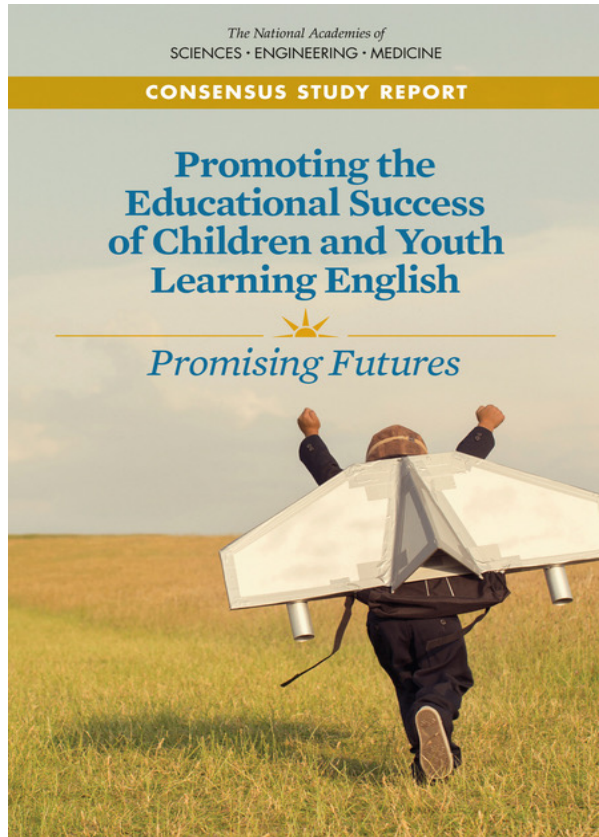


"There is strong convergent evidence that the educational success of English language learners is positively related to sustained instruction through the student's first language. ...

Most long-term studies report that the longer the students stayed in the program, the more positive were the outcomes".

(Lindholm-Leary & Borsato, 2006, p. 201)

Overwhelming Research Support for the Efficacy of Bilingual Education for Minority Group Students



Conclusion 7-1:

Syntheses of evaluation studies that compare outcomes for ELs [English learners] instructed in English-only programs with outcomes for ELs instructed bilingually find either that there is no difference in outcomes measured in English or that ELs in bilingual programs outperform ELs instructed only in English.

Two recent studies that followed students for sufficient time to gauge longer-term effects of language of instruction on EL outcomes find **benefits for bilingual compared with English-only approaches.** (p. 280)

Many L2 Immersion and Bilingual Education Programs Have Also Assumed that the Two Languages Should be Kept Separate

- The 'two solitudes' theoretical claim is that L1 and L2 should be isolated from each other to the extent possible in order that L1 doesn't 'interfere' with the learning of L2.
- The crosslinguistic transfer claim is that L2 immersion and bilingual programs will be even more successful when teachers systematically encourage students to bring the two languages into productive contact. This 'teaching for transfer' will enhance crosslinguistic processing and build students' awareness of similarities and differences between their languages.

The 'Two Solitudes'
Approach in L2
Immersion and
Bilingual Education is
illustrated in
Wallace Lambert's
Monolingual
Instructional
Principle

"No bilingual skills are required of the teacher, who plays the role of a monolingual in the target language ... and who never switches languages, reviews materials in the other language, or otherwise uses the child's native language in teacher-pupil interactions. In immersion programs, therefore, bilingualism is developed through two separate monolingual instructional routes" (1984, p. 13).

- *Languages should be kept separate;*
- *The TL should be used exclusively with no switching between languages;*
- *Translation across languages is never appropriate;*



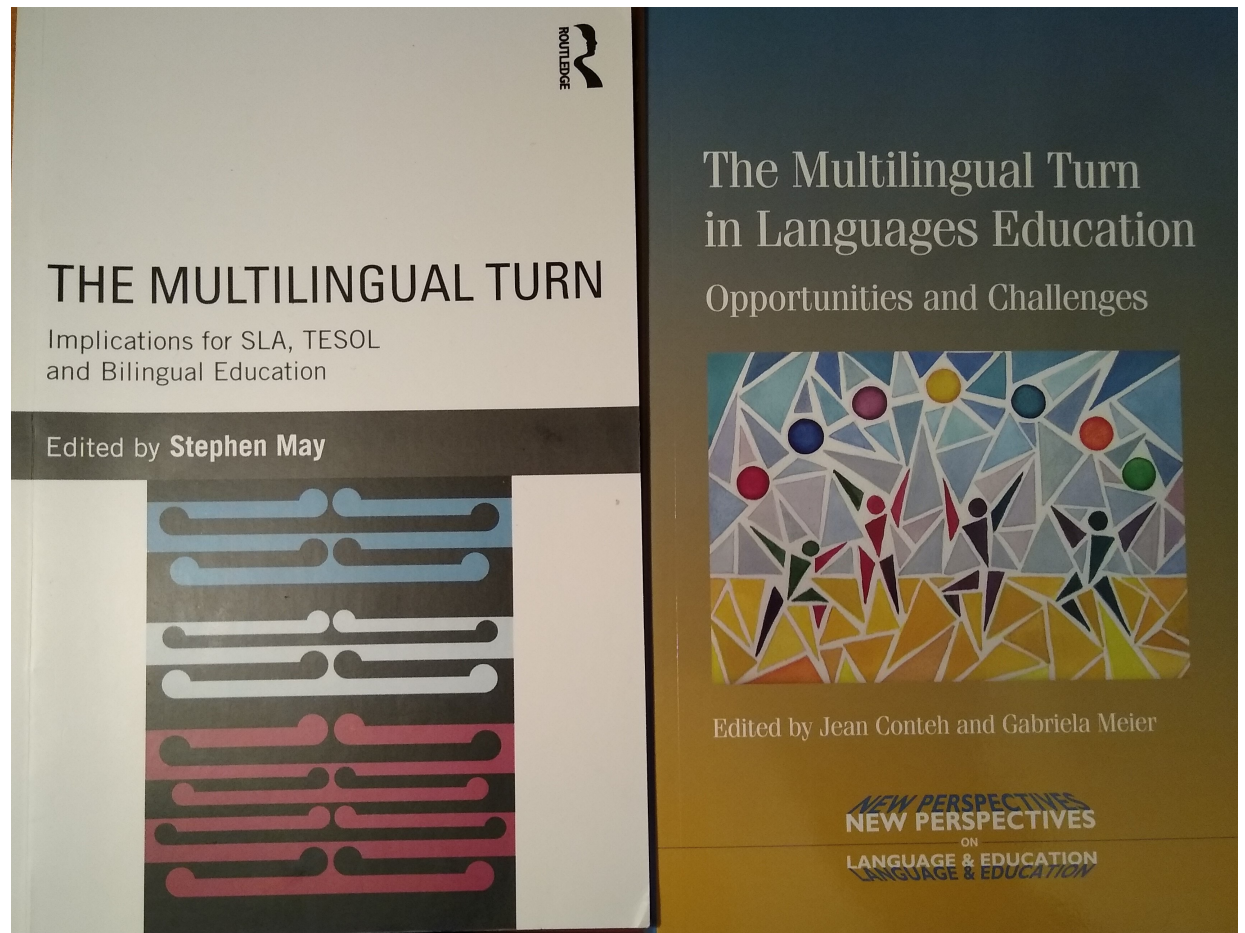
What's Wrong with the Monolingual Educational Principle?

- This orientation has led to restrictive pedagogical possibilities with very little opportunity for students to showcase their growing intellectual and literacy skills in the two languages.
- Because the students' languages are kept in isolation from each other, teachers
 - don't point to relationships between the languages,
 - don't encourage students to write dual language books or use both languages in projects or classroom activities (this would involve translation),
 - and generally, teachers don't promote students' awareness of how language works (e.g., by contrasting grammatical patterns in L1 and L2).

Part 3

The Emergence of the Multilingual Turn and Teaching for Crosslinguistic Transfer

The Multilingual Turn argues that language teaching should take account of the fact that multilingualism is increasingly the norm in societies around the world



Crosslinguistic Pedagogy

Various terms have been used during the past decade+ to refer to the same pedagogical orientation:

- Translanguaging
 - Heteroglossic instructional orientation
 - The Multilingual Turn
 - Plurilingual pedagogy
 - Bilingual instructional strategies
 - Interlingual teaching
- These strategies have in common a rejection of the 'two solitudes' orientation to bilingual proficiency and a commitment to teaching for crosslinguistic transfer;
 - They can be applied not only in bilingual education contexts but also in multilingual contexts where the dominant language is used for instructional purposes.

Crosslinguistic/Plurilingualism Phase: Promote Productive Contact Between Languages

Plurilingualism

- In the late 1990s, researchers associated with the [Council of Europe](#) elaborated the construct of plurilingualism to refer to the dynamically integrated and intersecting nature of the linguistic repertoires of bilingual and plurilingual individuals.
- Piccardo (2016: 7) expressed the instructional implications as follows:

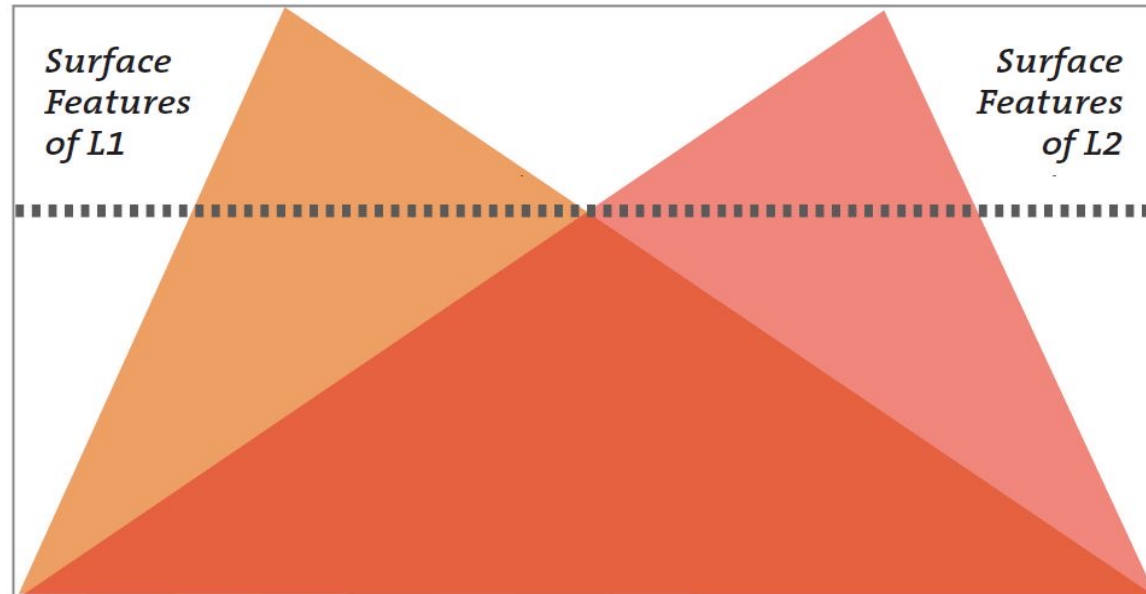
'A plurilingual classroom is one in which teachers and students pursue an educational strategy of embracing and exploiting the linguistic diversity present in order to maximize communication and [promote] both subject learning and plurilingual/pluricultural awareness'.
- In other words, teachers should aim to bring the target language into productive contact with students' home languages.

Crosslinguistic Pedagogy

- Based on the notion of a 'Common Underlying Proficiency', Cummins (1981) argued that teachers should teach for transfer across languages;
- In later work (e.g., Cummins & Early, 2011), the role of students' identities was also highlighted.
- When students are enabled to create 'identity texts' that showcase their growing competence in their two or more languages, their identities are affirmed.
- Identity affirmation comes from doing powerful things with languages.

Common Underlying Proficiency Model:
The Empirical Basis for Teaching for Crosslinguistic Transfer

**The Dual Iceberg representation
of bilingual proficiency**



Although languages can be distinguished in our cognitive system (e.g., aphasia studies), there is overlap and dynamic interdependence among languages.

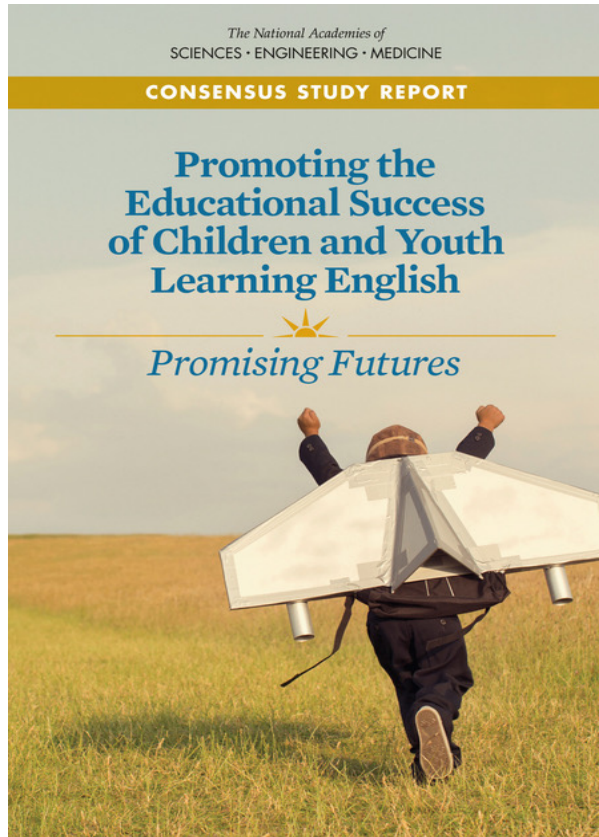
The Kahikatea Tree Metaphor

(from Sophie Tauwehe Tamati [2016]. *Transacquisition pedagogy for bilingual education: A study in Kura Kaupapa Māori schools*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Auckland).



Growing in water-logged swampy soil, the inter-twining of the roots supports all trees to grow individually and collectively.

There is overwhelming **research support** for the notion of a common underlying proficiency and for teaching for crosslinguistic transfer

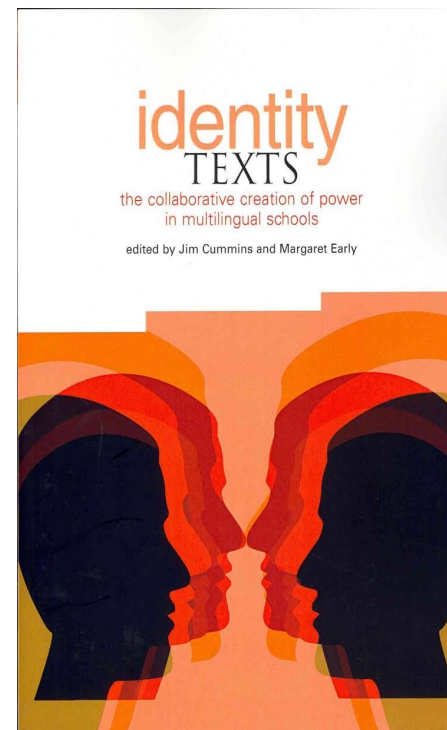


- A growing body of research dating back to the 1960s reveals that the two languages of bilinguals do not exist in isolation and to the contrary, are highly interactive. ... **The two languages of bilinguals share a cognitive/conceptual foundation** that can facilitate the acquisition and use of more than one language for communication, thinking, and problem solving. (NASEM, 2017: 243)
- Conclusion 6-3: The languages of bilinguals do not develop in isolation from one another. Evidence indicates that certain aspects of dual language learning, processing, and usage are significantly and positively correlated and that the development of strong L1 skills supports the development of English-L2 skills.
- Conclusion 6-4: Evidence reveals significant positive correlations between literacy skills in ELs' [English learners'] L1 and the development of literacy skills in English-L2. (NASEM, 2017: 245)

Engaging Students' Multilingual Repertoires: Crosslinguistic transfer in action

"When I am allowed to use my **first language** in class it helps me with my writing and reading of **english** because if I translation in **english to urdu** then **urdu** give me help for **english language**. I also think better and write more in **english** when I use **urdu** because I can see in **urdu** what I want to say in **English**". (Aminah, original spelling retained).

"When I am allowed to use **Urdu** in class it helps me because when I write in **Urdu** and then I look at **Urdu** words and **English** comes in my mind. So, its help me a lot. When I write in English, Urdu comes in my mind. When I read in **English** I say it in **Urdu** in my mind. When I read in **Urdu** I feel very comfortable because I can understand it". (Hira, original spelling retained) (Leoni *et al.*, 2011: 55-56)



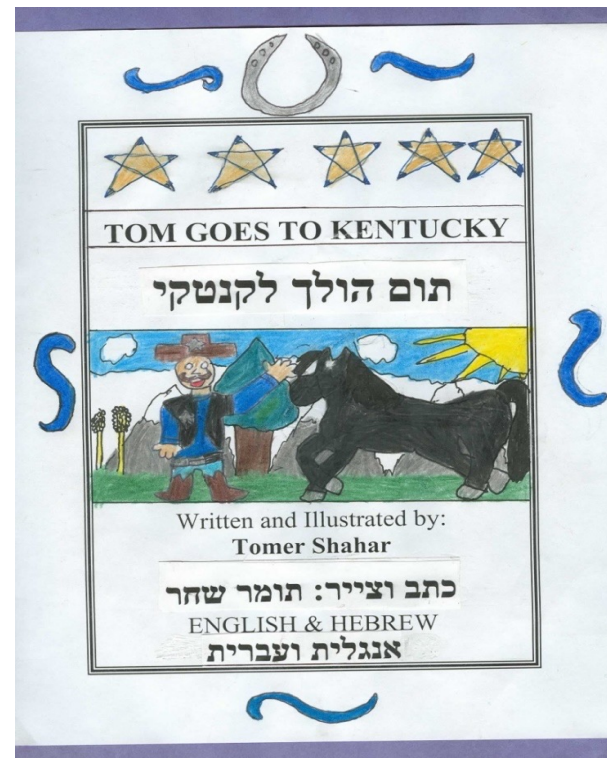
Lisa Leoni consistently encouraged her students to carry out creative writing and other assignments in their L1, and generally use their L1 as a stepping-stone to English.

Identity Texts

- The term 'identity texts' describes the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher.
- Students invest their identities in the creation of these texts which can be written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic, or combinations in multimodal form.
- The identity text then holds a mirror up to students in which their identities are reflected back in a positive light.
- When students share identity texts with multiple audiences (peers, teachers, parents, grandparents, sister classes, the media, etc.) they are likely to receive positive feedback and affirmation of self in interaction with these audiences. This, in turn, fuels further literacy engagement.

Tomer's Hebrew-English Dual Language Book (Identity Text)

- I think using your **first language** is so helpful because when you don't understand something after you've just come here it is like beginning as a baby. You don't know **English** and you need to learn it all from the beginning; but if you already have it in another language then it is easier, you can **translate** it, and you can do it in **your language** too, then it is easier to understand the **second language**.
- The first time I couldn't understand what she [teacher, Lisa Leoni] was saying except the word Hebrew, but I think it's very smart that she said for us to do it in our language because we can't just sit on our hands doing nothing.



- Bringing L1 and L2 into productive contact;
- Scaffolding L2 academic language learning through initial L1 writing;
- Literacy engagement;
- Connecting instruction to students' lives;
- Affirming identity

Types of Crosslinguistic Transfer

- Transfer of concepts (e.g., understanding the concept of *photosynthesis*);
- Transfer of specific linguistic elements (knowledge of the meaning of *photo* in *photosynthesis*);
- Transfer of phonological awareness (knowledge that words are made up of different sounds);
- Transfer of morphological awareness (how words are formed, roots, prefixes, suffixes, etc.);
- Transfer of cognitive and linguistic strategies (e.g., strategies of visualizing, use of graphic organizers, mnemonic devices, vocabulary acquisition strategies, etc.);

Translanguaging

• Definition

Pedagogical translanguaging refers to instruction designed to enable students to use their entire multilingual repertoire in carrying out academic tasks and activities.

Teachers in many contexts were engaging in this kind of instruction long before the term 'translanguaging' entered mainstream educational discourse (e.g., Auerbach, 1993; DeFazio, 1997; Lucas & Katz, 1994; Chow & Cummins, 2003; Cummins & Early, 2011; García & Sylvan, 2011).

However, the elaboration of the concept by García and colleagues (e.g., García, 2009) and the development of a wide range of instructional and curricular resources (e.g., Celic & Seltzer, 2011/2013) has dramatically increased awareness of the potential of translanguaging pedagogy and has stimulated exploration of its classroom possibilities, particularly in International Schools contexts.

Translanguaging

Origins in Welsh-English bilingual education

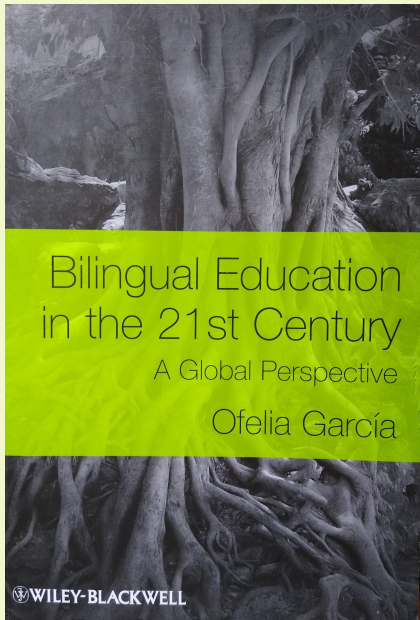


Cen Williams' (1994, 1996, 2000) conception of translanguaging referenced the systematic and intentional alternation of input and output languages in Welsh-English bilingual instruction.

Gwyn Lewis, Bryn Jones and Colin Baker (2012, p. 650):

pedagogical translanguaging "allows more effective learning due to **crosslanguage** semantic remapping that occurs when the encoded information in **one language** is retrieved to enable production in **the other language**".

Unitary Translanguaging Theory (UTT)



- The central claim of UTT, as elaborated by García and colleagues, is that the multilingual's linguistic system is internally unitary and undifferentiated, reflecting the fact that 'languages' have no linguistic or cognitive reality.
- However, UTT also rejects several key theoretical concepts associated with crosslinguistic pedagogy, such as the common underlying proficiency, teaching for crosslinguistic transfer, additive bilingualism, academic language.
- UTT also rejects the concept of codeswitching (see MacSwan, 2017, 2022)

Unitary Translanguaging Theory Claims

- The multilingual's linguistic system is internally undifferentiated and unitary, reflecting the fact that 'languages' have no linguistic or cognitive reality; therefore, the verb form *trans/languaging* is legitimate, but the noun form *languages* is illegitimate (e.g., García, 2009).
- Codeswitching is an illegitimate monoglossic construct because it assumes the existence of two separate linguistic systems (e.g., Otheguy *et al.*, 2015, 2019).
- Additive bilingualism is an illegitimate monoglossic construct because it similarly assumes the existence of two separate languages that are added together in bilingual individuals (e.g., García, 2009).
- For similar reasons, the notion of a *common underlying proficiency* and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer imply a monoglossic conception of bilingualism (e.g., García & Li Wei, 2014).
- "Academic language is a raciolinguistic ideology that frames racialized students as linguistically deficient and in need of remediation" (Flores, 2020: 22).
- Additive approaches to minoritized students' bilingualism are rooted in raciolinguistic ideologies (e.g., Flores & Rosa, 2015).

Crosslinguistic Translanguaging Theory Claims

- In contrast to the UTT position, the CTT affirms the existential reality of 'languages' in the individual's linguistic and cognitive system.
- CTT also endorses the concepts of **additive bilingualism**, **academic language**, and the **legitimacy of teaching for transfer across languages**. Languages intersect and interact in dynamic ways in the cognitive and linguistic functioning of the individual. These concepts are 100% consistent with dynamic conceptions of multilingualism.
- The different orientations of UTT and CTT to the legitimacy of the construct of *language* should not obscure the fact that:
 - both theoretical perspectives view languages as socially constructed,
 - they reject rigid instructional separation of languages,
 - they condemn the frequent devaluation of the linguistic practices that many minoritized students bring to school.
 - Both orientations to translanguaging theory also endorse dynamic conceptions of multilingual cognitive functioning.
 - And, finally, UTT and CTT both view translanguaging pedagogy that connects with students' lives and draws on their entire linguistic repertoire as a central component in the struggle for social justice and equity in education.



Jim Cummins

Rethinking
the Education
of Multilingual
Learners

The core difference between CTT and UTT is that CTT proposes fluid linguistic and cognitive boundaries between languages; UTT proposes no boundaries and no languages.

In other words, for a Japanese/English bilingual, it is not possible to distinguish Japanese from English in the individual's linguistic or cognitive system

To what extent are each of these opposing claims

- (a) supported by the empirical evidence,
- (b) logically coherent, and
- (c) conducive to the implementation of effective and empowering multilingual instructional practices?

Evaluating the Credibility of UTT Claims

Is the bilingual's linguistic system unitary and undifferentiated?

Bhatt and Bolonyai (2019) review compelling data from studies of aphasia demonstrating that the different languages of bilinguals have specific patterns of neural representation and organization. For example, they cite the case of JZ, a Basque-Spanish bilingual individual with aphasia, whose linguistic functioning in each language was affected in markedly different ways by his aphasia.

- "JZ's aphasia impacted his languages to different degrees: his first language, Basque, was more impaired than his second language, Spanish. In particular, the Bilingual Aphasia Test revealed deficits in first language production, but intact production in his second language. Such differential language loss does not find an account in translanguageing theory: a unitary linguistic system cannot explain why one language is impacted (more) than another in differential bilingual aphasia". (2019: 18)
- *This type of finding refutes UTT but is consistent with CTT*

Working Papers in

Urban Language & Literacies

Paper **254**

On the theoretical and empirical bases of translanguageing

Rakesh M. Bhatt (*University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign*)
& Agnes Bolonyai (*North Carolina State University*)

Part 4

Implications of the research and theory for L2 teaching in
Japan and elsewhere

**Implications:
The need to promote
identity investment in
learning the target
language and the role
of students' L1 in
enabling them to do
powerful things with
both languages**

- Active engagement with the target language (both in oral and written forms) and identity investment in learning the target language strongly promote effective learning. **The goal should be to enable students to do powerful (i.e., identity-affirming) things with the target language.**
- Students' home language acts as a foundation for L2 development; teaching for crosslinguistic transfer of concepts and literacy skills represents a powerful instructional strategy. A wide variety of instructional strategies have been implemented for bringing the language learner's two languages into productive contact.
- Recently this strategy has been called **pedagogical translanguaging**, which I define as follows:
instruction designed to enable students to use their entire multilingual repertoire in carrying out academic tasks and activities.
- The research of Professor Junko Majima and colleagues in Osaka provides a relevant Japanese example.



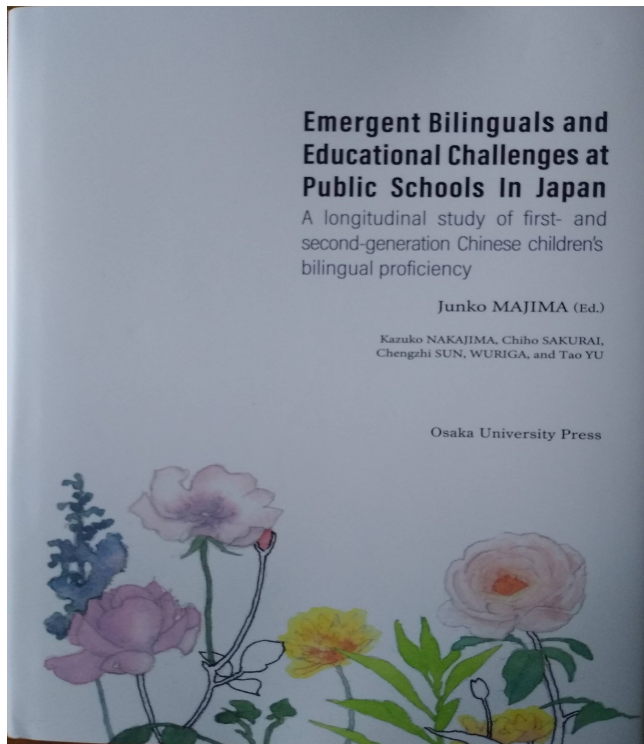
Emmanuelle Le Pichon & Ellen-Rose Kambel (2022) The Language Friendly School: An Inclusive and Equitable Pedagogy, *Childhood Education*, 98:1, 42-49

See: languagefriendlyschools.org

As educators, we should be working as a whole school community to transform our schools into Language-Friendly ecosystems

- where students' languages are recognized and affirmed,
- where all students can expand their identities as they become aware of how language works in our heads, our families, and our societies,
- and where students can begin to use their entire multilingual repertoire for powerful (identity-affirming) purposes.

Language Friendly Pedagogy in the Japanese Context



“We conducted a longitudinal study by following a total of 110 pupils to assess their bilingual proficiency in L1 Chinese and L2 Japanese .

Majima, J. and Sakurai, C. (2021) A longitudinal study of emergent bilinguals among Chinese pupils at a Japanese Public School: A focus on language policies and inclusion. In Mary, L., Krüger, A.-B. and Young, A. (eds) *Migration, Multilingualism and Education: Critical Perspectives on Inclusion* (pp. 93-110). Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Pedagogical Translanguaging and Crosslinguistic Pedagogy Benefits Literacy Development in both L1 and L2

Initiatives implemented over a 10-year period

- Employment of a Chinese full-time teacher in 2012;
- “Pull-out classes” for Chinese pupils, where the native Chinese teacher sometimes uses Chinese for instruction and cognitive awareness of the two languages;
- Better communication with Chinese pupils’ parents. In order to promote mutual understanding, the Chinese teacher improved ways of translating aspects of school culture;
- Multilingual signs and posters in the school building;
- Schoolwide cross-cultural understanding classes offered by the school;
- Teachers’ praise of and expression of respect for Chinese pupils speaking Chinese;
- School-wide composition project organized by the school principal. The topics of the compositions were “Pride,” “Dream,” and “Connections.” Some Chinese pupils wrote in Chinese, and translated into Japanese;
- Bilingual presentations at the graduation ceremony were encouraged.

Quantitative Findings

- Children attain native like fluency in Japanese spoken skills faster than they catch up academically in Japanese reading skills; therefore, many of these children will require support from teachers for several years after they appear to have 'learned Japanese'.
- Children who had developed Chinese reading skills in addition to conversational and listening skills performed significantly better in Japanese reading than those who had attained conversational and/or listening Chinese skills but not literate Chinese skills.

Conclusions

- Despite its dominance in foreign language teaching, the teaching of immigrant-background students, and even in bilingual and L2 immersion programs, **monolingual instructional assumptions** are not supported by the empirical data and have generally produced disappointing results in practice. The 'monolingual principle' and 'two solitudes' assumption ignore the dynamic interactions between languages in the individual's cognitive system.
- **Translanguaging** is a useful concept to highlight the dynamic interconnections between languages both in the process of learning languages and using languages. **Pedagogical translanguaging, understood as enabling students to make use of their full multilingual/plurilingual repertoire in carrying out academic tasks and activities**, is supported by the empirical research and examples of classroom practice where students pursue productive contact between languages. I have labelled this version of translanguaging theory *Crosslinguistic Translanguaging Theory (CTT)*.
- **Unitary Translanguaging Theory (UTT)** overlaps with CTT in many ways but it loses credibility as a result of its empirically unsupported claim that languages have no cognitive reality. This claim leads UTT theorists to reject useful and empirically supported concepts such as the common underlying proficiency, additive bilingualism, and teaching for crosslinguistic transfer.

Some Tools and Resources

- The CUNY-NYSIEB project: <https://www.cuny-nysieb.org/>.
- The European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML): <https://www.ecml.at/>.
For example, the project *Teaching the School Language in a Context of Diversity* highlights language diversity as a resource and provides many tools to support teachers in changing from a monolingual to a plurilingual mindset (<https://maledive.ecml.at/Home/Projectdetails/tabid/3481/Default.aspx>).
Particularly useful in times of educational disruption is the *Treasure Chest of Resources for Learners, Parents and Teachers in Times of Covid-19*:
(<https://www.ecml.at/Resources/TreasureChestofResources/tabid/4397/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>).
- The Language Friendly Schools project: <http://languagefriendlyschool.org>

References

- Bhatt, R.M. and Bolonyai, A. (2019) On the theoretical and empirical bases of translanguaging. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*. Paper 254, 1-25.
- Bhatt, R. M. & Bolonyai, A. (2022). Code-switching and its terminological other—translanguaging. In J. MacSwan (Ed.), *Multilingual perspectives on translanguaging* (pp. 154-180). Multilingual Matters.
- Cohen, A. (1994). The language used to perform cognitive operations during full-immersion math tasks. *Language Testing*, 11, 171-195.
- Cummins, J. (2007). Rethinking monolingual instructional strategies in multilingual classrooms. *The Canadian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 10, 221-240.
- Cummins, J. (2021). *Rethinking the education of multilingual learners: A critical analysis of theoretical claims*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- García, O. (2009). *Bilingual education in the 21st century. A global perspective*. Boston: Basil Blackwell.
- García, O. and Lin, A.M.Y. (2017). Translanguaging in bilingual education. In O. García and A.M.Y. Lin (Eds.), *Bilingual and Multilingual Education (Encyclopedia of Language and Education, Vol. 5)* (pp. 117-130). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Lambert, W. E. (1984). An overview of issues in immersion education. In California State Department of Education (Ed.), *Studies on immersion education: A collection for United States educators* (pp. 8-30). Sacramento: California State Department of Education.

References

Lambert, W.E. and Tucker, G.R. 1972: *Bilingual education of children: The St Lambert experiment*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Lewis, G., Jones, B. and Baker, C. (2012a) Translanguaging: origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18 (7), 641-654. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2012.718488>

MacSwan, J. (2017) A multilingual perspective on translanguaging. *American Educational Research Journal* 54 (1), 167-201. doi:10.3102/0002831216683935

MacSwan, J. (2022). Introduction: Deconstructivism—A reader's guide. In J. MacSwan (Ed.), *Multilingual perspectives on translanguaging* (pp. 1-41). Multilingual Matters.

National Academies of Sciences, Engineering and Medicine (NAEM) (2017) *Promoting the Educational Success of Children and Youth Learning English: Promising Futures*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. doi:10.17226/24677.

Rata, E. & Tamati, T.S. (2021). *TransAcquisition Pedagogy and Curriculum Design: Academic Achievement in Bilingual and Immersion Education*. Routledge.

Riches, C. and Genesee, F. (2006) Literacy: Crosslinguistic and crossmodal issues. In F. Genesee, K. Lindholm-Leary, W.M. Saunders and D. Christian (eds) *Educating English Language Learners: A Synthesis of Research Evidence* (pp. 64-108). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Tamati, S.T. (2016) *Transacquisition Pedagogy for Bilingual Education: A Study in Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools*. Doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Auckland.