

MONOLINGUAL POLICIES IN THE EFL/BILINGUAL CLASSROOM: TEACHERS'
PERCEPTIONS OF AND BELIEFS ABOUT L1/L2 USE

BY

ANALIA SOLEDAD ROJAS VILLASANTI

THESIS

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Adviser:

Clinical Assistant Professor Liv Thorstenson Dávila

Abstract

Second and foreign language programs often adopt monolingual pedagogies that promote strict language separation of the L1 and L2, with the intent of maximizing students' exposure to the target language. This qualitative study presents an analysis of the attitudes and beliefs of two co-teachers in an EFL/Bilingual classroom at a private bilingual school in Asuncion, Paraguay, by focusing on how the school's language policy influences their practices and responses to students' language use in the classroom. The conceptual framework for this study draws from translanguaging as a theory of bilingualism and biliteracy development, grounded on the dynamic and interrelated discursive practices of bilingual and multilingual speakers (García & Wei, 2014). Findings reveal teachers engage in unplanned and unconscious natural translanguaging practices to give voice and promote metalinguistic awareness. Findings further illuminate how the language policy overrides the teachers' opinion on the pedagogical value of the other language, exposing a juxtaposition between teachers' beliefs and practices. The language transactions on behalf of teachers and students alike in this context extend the findings of previous studies in ESL settings. The results of the study offer several implications for EFL/bilingual programs, suggesting translanguaging as a valuable pedagogy to structure spaces conducive to the purposeful and dynamic use of learners' entire linguistic repertoire.

To my husband, Diego, for his courage

*“Por eso les digo: todo lo que pidan en la oración, crean que ya lo han recibido y lo obtendrán”
(Mc. 11:24)*

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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework.....	7
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	26
Chapter 4: Findings	34
Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion	62
References.....	74

Chapter 1: Introduction

Private bilingual schools in which English is one of the languages of instruction are growing in popularity around the world (Clark, 2014). These schools implement their curriculum via prestigious languages, as is the case of Spanish and English as a Foreign Language in South America, with the goal of attaining “elite bilingualism,” or language skills and content knowledge necessary to compete in the global economy (De Mejía, 2002). A growing trend among private schools in Asunción, Paraguay, where this study took place, is a content-based instructional (CBI) approach for foreign language teaching. CBI is characteristic of the established elite bilingual schools in Asunción. The K-12 school selected as this study’s site, referred to from now on as “Bilingual Academy” (all place and participant names in this study are pseudonyms), incorporates a dual-language model for the Elementary school with English and Spanish as the main languages of instruction. A language policy discourages the use of the L1 during the English schedule to guarantee partial immersion in the target language and thus, grant students maximal exposure for the acquisition of the target language. This qualitative study focuses on two teachers’ attitudes toward this language policy at the Bilingual Academy.

Bilingual education, both in the U.S. and internationally, encompasses a range of program models. In international settings, the following program models may be found: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), gaining strength in Europe and Asia; international schools that serve the expatriate community and host country locals creating multilingual school communities; immersion programs that gradually incorporate the students’ native language, as well as partial immersion; and, one-way bilingual education, where majority language students are taught through the means of a second, perhaps minority, language of the community (De Mejía, 2002). The inclusion of an additional language in these programs seeks to install an

additive bilingual program supporting oral language and literacy development of the students' native language and the school's target language (Baker, 2001).

This traditional view of keeping the languages of instruction separate is commonly held by bilingual programs in English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) contexts to ensure high proficiency levels in the target language in which students are immersed (Cummins, 2007). This approach is based on the notion that languages are cognitively compartmentalized and that bilingualism is achieved through monolingual pedagogical approaches (Bialystok, 2001). In the words of Grosjean (1989), students are expected to behave as "two monolinguals in one," contradicting empirical studies that demonstrate bilinguals are constantly engaging in dynamic and flexible use of their linguistic repertoire (García & Wei, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010).

Scholars in the field of bilingualism have addressed the language separation pedagogy, exploring teachers' performance and interaction with and around the medium of instruction (MOI) in immersion or dual-language programs; as well as students' dynamic use of their skills and metalinguistic knowledge to achieve successful communication by bilingual means (Gort, 2006; Gort & Pontier, 2013; Lee, 2007; Manyak, 2006, Varghese, 2008). ESL/EFL has also studied the various functions students' native languages fulfill in the second language acquisition process in these two contexts (see DiCamilla & Antón, 2012; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003; Swain & Lapkin, 2000). This scholarship, nonetheless, has mostly been conducted with two main population types: emergent bilingual students in the United States and college students enrolled in ESL or EFL courses.

Given the growing popularity of bilingual programs in international contexts, emergent bilingual students in EFL settings constitute an additional population to be explored, in order to

address how L1 is either promoted or restricted in the EFL classroom (Nakatsukasa & Loewen, 2015). These emergent biliterate students are also developing literacy skills in tandem in both languages of instruction. Therefore, exploring L2 use in the L1 classroom may provide additional insight on the flexible and dynamic linguistic transactions bilingual speakers engage in (García & Wei, 2014). This study draws from the findings of the aforementioned scholarly work, in light of the interrelated objectives bilingual programs deal with: mastery of the languages of instruction and content learning.

The need to combine the ESL/EFL field with that of bilingualism stems from this particular demand bilingual schools face. Schools choosing to deliver their curriculum via foreign languages that are, by definition, unavailable in the broader community may benefit from a more encompassing perspective, embracing second language acquisition research and bilingual education. The focal population for this study involves two language teachers at the Bilingual Academy, who deliver instruction in English and Spanish following a dual-language model in an EFL setting.

Research Site

The Bilingual Academy has a relatively homogenous student body and may be defined in terms of partial-immersion, one-way bilingual program. The school's population is mostly made up of high SES students from Asunción, and a smaller number of international students, mostly from South America. International students are usually temporary residents and children of expatriate employees of multinational companies. At the onset of second language learning the Early Childhood program provides between 70-80% of instructional time in English, and the remainder in Spanish. The Elementary grades follow a 50/50 model throughout grades 1-6. In light of these characteristics and the Bilingual Academy's high tuition rate, the school can be

considered an elite bilingual school.

In addition to English and Spanish, in accordance with Paraguay's Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) requirements, Guaraní is also taught from Grades 1-12. Guaraní is an official indigenous language of the country, widely spoken by over half of the population. At the time of the study, the Bilingual Academy offered a total of three languages for grades 1-6, albeit with varying amounts of instruction for each. While content delivery in English and Spanish had comparable amounts of time, Guaraní instruction was limited to one 40-minute period per week.

Conceptual Framework

This study's conceptual framework draws on theories and scholarship on bilingualism and bilingual education. In light of research conducted in the last decade, *translanguaging* has recently gained traction as a theory of bilingualism and biliteracy development, suggesting speakers of two languages or more engage in functional transactions between their acquired codes (Velasco & García, 2014). This relatively new approach in bilingualism pedagogy theorizes that the languages of a bilingual speaker make up an integrated system by which dynamic processes of decision-making occur to fulfill a communicative act (Canagarajah, 2011; García & Wei, 2014). A translanguaging lens is concerned with the observable language practices of bilinguals taking these as the norm and, consequently, challenging the monolingual approach to language acquisition (García & Wei, 2014). Translanguaging happens naturally inside and outside the classroom (García, 2011; Velasco & García, 2014) and bilingual speakers adjust their *languaging* based on context, interlocutors and even meaning. The language classroom differs from real-world interaction due to monolingual expectations and practices that mediate language transactions, a product of language separation policies. Even within the monolingual realm of bilingual education, teachers possess sufficient agency to foster bilingual

strategies without straying from the school's policies, and students may also rely on translanguaging as a self-regulatory strategy (Cummins, 2007; Velasco & García, 2014).

Although scholarship has begun to examine translanguaging practices in English-medium contexts, scholars have mostly studied either ESL and bilingual classes in the U.S., or CLIL contexts in Europe and Asia. To my knowledge, fewer studies have addressed this linguistic phenomenon in multilingual settings in South America. In light of the growing popularity of elite bilingual schools around the world, I considered it important to examine the natural practices of students and teachers alike in multilingual settings, where the absence of the foreign language in the community motivates monolingual practices.

As mentioned above, teachers have agency to support students' bilingual development through instructional strategies that acknowledge their bilingualism and entire linguistic repertoire. Hornberger (2005) comments on the advantages of bilingual instructional strategies claiming "bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two+ languages), rather than being constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices" (p. 607). Taking this excerpt as a guiding argument, this research sought to explore how teachers enact language policies in a bilingual environment. Specifically, it examined the interaction of languages at the Bilingual Academy through a translanguaging lens. The main purpose of the study was to explore the interface of L1 and L2 in the classroom as mediated by teachers' perspectives and beliefs, in relation to the English-only policy instituted for instruction in the target language.

Research Questions

In light of this theoretical and research-based knowledge, and the regulations on language use at the Bilingual Academy, the following overarching research question guided this study:

1. Are there any effects generated by a language separation policy in the bilingual classroom?

Further sub-questions were designed in order to narrow down the breadth of this main research question, focusing on three relevant aspects: teachers' perceptions of language separation; attitudes and beliefs about language use; and finally, authentic language use in the classroom.

1.1. How do teachers perceive the language separation in this particular bilingual program?

1.2. What are their attitudes and beliefs on language use in the bilingual classroom?

1.3. How are teachers' attitudes and beliefs enacted through their response to students' use of oral and written language?

The forthcoming chapters include a review of the literature covering topics of bilingualism and education models, mainly examining translanguaging and language functions in ESL and EFL settings. The methodology chapter describes the research site and the teachers' profiles and explains the methods of data collection. Chapter 4 presents the findings of this study, focusing on one English/Spanish teaching dyad, followed by a discussion and conclusion of findings in order to answer the research questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

Bilingual education programs are widely classified as being additive or subtractive on the basis of their language goals. Language learning models following an additive approach provide instruction in two languages, seeking to maintain age-appropriate proficiency of students' L1 while adding a second language, often targeting equivalent proficiency levels in the L1 and L2, without language loss (Baker, 2001; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Wilson & Kamana, 2011). Subtractive bilingualism strives for language proficiency in the society's dominant language, using students' L1 as an initial medium of instruction for later mainstreaming into the dominant language classroom (García & Wei, 2014). Additive models are of prime interest for this research, considering they seek to nurture bilingualism and second language acquisition.

Additive bilingual programs may tailor their programs based on how homogeneous or heterogeneous the community is. In diverse societies, such as the U.S., *two-way immersion*, *two-way bilingual education*, and *dual language programs* are some of the labels schools with curriculum models that serve children from two distinct linguistic groups have adopted (Hall, Smith & Wicaksono, 2011). These schools group the two intentionally to create spaces with diverse language practices, where students can act as models of the target language (García & Wei, 2014; Gort & Pontier, 2013). *One-way immersion* programs typically serve learners who share an L1, using two prestigious languages as the languages of instruction, illustrated by efforts in Canada where immersion programs were created once French and English gained equal administrative status in the country (de Mejía, 2002; Hall, et al., 2011).

Elite bilingualism is yet another outcome of additive models that are mostly concerned with the addition of a prestigious language (i.e. English) to ensure upward mobility of individuals, maintain status and participate in cultural interactions with speakers of other

languages (De Mejía, 2002). These programs have also been referred to as *prestigious bilingual education* characterized as programs that allocate equal instructional time for both languages early on, compared to immersion programs in which the L1 is gradually incorporated (García, 2011). For the purpose of this study, I adopt the term elite bilingual education to refer to programs that teach through the medium of two prestigious languages in a high SES setting, with relatively equal amounts of time allotted to each.

The acquisition of an additional language is an overt goal of these elite bilingual schools, supporting oral language and literacy development in both languages of instruction. These languages, depending on the context, may be a majority and minority language; two prestigious languages; or, a local and foreign language (De Mejía, 2002). A less overt aspect of bilingual programs is their approach towards bilingualism. A fractional view embraces monolingualism as the norm for bilingual speakers and promotes the notion that bilinguals have “two separate and isolable competencies” (Grosjean, 1989, p. 4). This fractional view posits languages as compartmentalized and any contact between the languages is evidence of low proficiency.

The features of bilingualism, as validated in the bilingual speaker’s behavior, disagree with the fractional view. Learning a second language, either simultaneously or sequentially, provides speakers with function-specific codes that vary depending on the context and interlocutors (Bialystok, 2001). These function-specific codes come about as a result of the environmental requirements speakers are subjected to in each language, often very distinct from one another, yielding a naturally imbalanced bilingual (Grosjean, 1989). Viewing bilinguals as “integrated wholes” (Grosjean, 1989, p. 6) and assessing their competence in consideration of these realities is defined as the holistic view of bilingualism.

The Monolingual Approach

Cook (2001) posits language-teaching practices have failed to question monolingual assumptions, almost completely ignoring the existence of the native language and the *funds of knowledge* (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005) students possess in each code. The monolingual contention in bilingual education has been largely discussed and consensus has not necessarily been achieved, proven by the variation that exists at micro levels across teachers who adhere strictly, flexibly or not at all to the policies stipulated by each school or district (Swain & Lapkin, 2013, Varghese, 2008). The topic of ‘L1 in L2’ teaching has gained momentum in ESL challenging long held beliefs regarding negative transfer and interference as a result of language contact (Cummins, 2007). The monolingual-bilingual dichotomy will be further discussed below, presenting arguments that question this popular principle of bilingual education, as supported by classroom evidence.

The English-only movement that took place in the United States during the 20th century greatly influenced the teaching approach adopted by schools, establishing a common-sense belief that ESL learners must achieve proficiency through exposure and sole use of English (Auerbach, 1993; Menchaca-Ochoa, 2006). Scholars agree that the foundations of language teaching have been greatly influenced by assumptions that promote monolingual instructional pedagogies in multilingual contexts (see Auerbach, 1993; Cook, 2001; Cummins, 2007). These assumptions are usually aligned with ideologies that compare second language acquisition to first language acquisition, encourage monolingual teaching through extensive L2 input without recourse to the L1 and, in turn, view the L1 as a source of potential interference (Cook, 2001). Auerbach questions the “natural and commonsense” tenets that have foregrounded much of English language teaching strategies, arguing they originate in particular ideological stances (1993).

Although she writes from an adult-ESL viewpoint, Auerbach's (1993) final suggestion may also be pertinent to other language teaching contexts: it is necessary to reexamine practices and adopt pedagogies that are research-based.

Among the most prominent assumptions and common practices is the separation of languages, to which Cummins refers to as 'the two solitudes' assumption (2007). The design of bilingual programs have followed this ideology, implementing instructional formats that isolate one language from the other, such as one language/one teacher models or based on schedule, such as morning/afternoon or alternating language days (Hall, et al., 2011; Cook, 2001). These arrangements seek to maximize language use, sometimes incorporating a language policy that restricts the use of the 'other' language during target language (TL) instruction, following a 'time on task' approach. This approach posits that the use of the L1 decreases the amount of time spent in the target language; hence students' exposure to L2 input is reduced (Riches & Genesee, 2006; Genesee, 2015). Genesee clarifies differences have been found between children whose levels of exposure differ, yet these studies fail to demonstrate causality between length of exposure and level of achievement in the long run (2015). These pedagogies have remained "unchallenged doctrines" (Auerbach, 1993) in language teaching, becoming foundational ideologies for second language and foreign language teaching.

Research conducted in the past decades concludes that the presence of the L1 in the multilingual classroom is part of the natural linguistic dynamism that bilinguals and multilinguals engage in; offering substantial evidence towards the essential role of the L1 as a mediator for communication (Cook, 2001; Gort, 2006; Hornberger, 2004; Velasco & García, 2014). Cummins (2007) acknowledges the importance of creating spaces for each language for the sake of acquisition, yet holds up for debate hermetically sealed language spaces when "the

reality is that students are making cross-linguistic connections throughout the course of their learning [...], so why not nurture this learning strategy and help students apply it more efficiently?" (p. 229). The role and significance of input should not be underestimated, considering its vital role in the language acquisition process (Gass & Mackey, 2007). This aspect is particularly relevant in foreign language teaching due to the absence of target language input outside the academic environment.

Monolingual ideologies that align English language teaching with strategies that promote strict use of the target language are not extraneous to foreign language classrooms. These practices are often imported from the US and UK, where the majority of research is conducted (Hall, et al., 2011). Certain contextual differences must be addressed when comparing the effectiveness of certain pedagogies for both ESL and EFL contexts, mainly considering the make up of the population (homogenous vs. heterogeneous), and access to the target language and interaction with native speakers (Loewen, 2015). While research is inconclusive regarding the extent of the effects of these factors, an important caveat is that not all pedagogies are generalizable across contexts (Canagarajah, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Loewen, 2015). Consequently, studying bilingual, EFL settings is essential in order to evaluate the transferability of bilingual/ ESL research findings.

Language Use in Foreign Language Contexts

Several studies conducted in foreign language (FL) settings have documented the function-specific L1 use between learners, with findings similar to that of studies in ESL/bilingual environments (see Azkarai & García Mayo, 2015; De La Colina & García Mayo, 2009; DiCamilla & Antón, 2012; Storch & Aldosari, 2010; Storch & Wigglesworth, 2003 for further details). Correspondingly, the strict use of L2, suggested as an efficient means to create

virtual monolingual spaces, interposes between the comprehension of new content and the learners' funds of knowledge. Sharing a common L1 is a common trait of language teaching contexts, projecting a considerable influence in the interactions that take place in the L2 classroom. In a recent study, Nakatsukasa and Loewen (2015) studied the teacher's language use during teacher-student interactions and found the L1 to be used strategically by the educator, although in an unpremeditated manner. The authors examined form-focused episodes (FFE) and in particular, the emergence of the L1 – English - during these, with the intention of studying the pedagogical uses of the L1 in a Spanish as foreign language class at a US university.

Part of the findings in Nakatsukasa and Loewen (2015) demonstrated the dominance of the L2 in this particular classroom, in which the instructor would make use of the target language in FFEs for almost half of the class time, documenting more frequent L2 use than L1. The frequent use of the target language notwithstanding, the language for FFEs appeared to vary according to the linguistic foci. The instructor would use the L1 for metalinguistic explanations of target forms, but L2 recasts for non-target forms. Additionally, language use varied for vocabulary explanations as well, using L2 to introduce new lexical items and L1 to explain the meaning of phrases in the target language. This instructor's approach to incorporating the learners' L1 is a suitable example of how teachers can act as language brokers (Orellana, 2009) in order to promote acquisition of the L2 without decreasing the amount of exposure to the target language.

Regarding the exclusive use of the target language in foreign language teaching, Macaro (2001) studied the language choice of six English-speaking French teachers in the UK. Part of his research focused on the teachers' decision-making process behind their choice of language, either L1 or L2 for certain situations. Three theoretical positions on language policy observance

and pedagogical values assigned to the L1 were introduced: the virtual position, the maximal position and the optimal position. The virtual position suggests the simulation of an environment that resembles that of the target language, excluding the L1 entirely while, within the maximal position, the use of the L1 is acknowledged as a result of unfeasible virtual conditions. Contrary to the former, through an optimal position, educators concede the pedagogical values of the L1 to maximize L2 acquisition (Macaro, 2001).

The L1 in these studies above took on the role of mediator for new concepts, vocabulary and even for classroom management. They exemplified how within the language classroom, a degree of L1 may become a valid bilingual strategy to get the message across or to promote metalinguistic awareness. The optimal position aligns with flexible strategies bilingual teachers can adopt in their classrooms. In a review of empirical evidence from various language learning settings, Cummins (2007) concluded there is consistency between “extensive communicative interaction in the [target language] (ideally in both oral and written models) and the utility of students’ L1 as a cognitive tool in learning the [target language]” (p. 227). In immersion EFL programs, a complete breach from the L1 may be discredited if the contextual uses of L1 and L2 are contrasted. Learners’ L2 development is mostly confined to the academic realm, making it necessary to recognize that monolingual standards may not apply.

Studies in immersion contexts have found that the use of the languages become diglossic over time, concluding that the role of the native language serves a social function, mediating interaction among peers, whereas the use of the target or second language may be influenced by a variety of factors, mainly driven by its status as academic language (Broner & Tedick, 2011; Tarone & Swain, 1995). Diglossic functions of the language of instruction are a reality bilingual/immersion programs face in relation to the roles each language fulfills. A study

conducted in Paraguay at the American School of Asuncion (ASA) looked at English immersion students, focusing on different aspects, one of them being patterns of language use (Spezzini, 2004). Her findings substantiate that of other researchers at the same site, concluding that ASA students may reach high levels of proficiency, though not near-native proficiency in the target language.

A diglossic situation was verified through procedures for determining students' language use through self-reports that revealed their language use patterns. These differed significantly depending on context, with Spanish being the vernacular for social interaction among peers, whereas English was employed for a larger portion of their academic related tasks (Spezzini, 2004). The author concluded that due to this contrastive use of languages "students do not develop an L2 vernacular and are restricted to using L2 solely as a formal register" (Spezzini, 2004, p. 426). Moreover, Spezzini (2004) provided students' insights from focus groups sessions and reflective essays in which the participating high school students expressed their discomfort with their level of technical vocabulary in their L1 – Spanish- and even self-assessed as having poor L1 skills.

The arguments that predispose bilingual programs to adopt monolingual instruction stem from the fractional view aforementioned. In the realm of L2 teaching, coordinate bilingualism is the goal, creating two independent systems in the mind of the speaker, contradictory to the natural and flexible transactions made by bilinguals across both languages through a single linguistic system (Cook, 2001; Velasco & García, 2014). From a compound perspective, Cook (2011) adds, "the L2 meanings do not exist separately from the L1 meanings in the learner's mind" (p. 407); and from a sociocultural standpoint, the students' L1 constitutes a mediational tool for learning (Razfar & Rumenapp, 2014). Compound bilingualism adequately describes

what stands out as the norm, considering speakers manipulate, adjust and make decisions to achieve meaning in their communicative intentions, either in one language or in both. This vast difference in meaning making processes between monolingual and bilingual speakers indicates that the questions we ask about monolingual children are not the same questions we should be asking about those who are bilingual or multilingual (Bialystok, 2001). This study accepts the notion of compound bilingualism, acknowledging the need to contest monolingual instructional pedagogies for bilingual learners from a *translanguaging* perspective.

Translanguaging

As a theory of bilingualism and biliteracy, this study adopts the concept of *translanguaging* to describe the functional interrelationship of the languages of emergent bilingual students, as well as teachers' attitudes toward students' translanguaging practices (Velasco & García, 2014). This new lens in the field of bilingualism and bilingual education characterizes languages as an integrated system involving a dynamic process of decision-making to fulfill a communicative act (Canagarajah, 2011). Dworin (2003) suggests that while students do incur in cross-linguistic transfer of L1 features or skills gained in their native language, transfer does not necessarily follow a unidirectional pattern, but rather a bidirectional transaction occurs where skills that have been acquired in the L2 can also help students develop literacy in their L1. This dynamism can be explained in terms of translanguaging, which García and Wei (2014) explain involves the “complex interrelated discursive practices [...] that make up the speakers complete language repertoire” (p .22). Translanguaging, therefore, is not concerned with the prescriptive aspects of oracy and literacy, but instead zooms in on the descriptive behavior of bilinguals or multilinguals as the norm, building on naturally occurring uses of language. For the purpose of this study, translanguaging will be operationalized as the observed

behavior in which the interrelated discourse in both languages yields support to create meaning, following García and Wei (2014).

A salient feature of emergent bilingual/biliterate students documented in several US based studies is the active and dynamic interplay that exists between the possessed metalinguistic knowledge of one language and the absence of it in the other (Dworin, 2003; Edelsky, 1982; Gort, 2006; Moll, Sáez & Dworin, 2001). This process of drawing from “the known to the unknown” is part of students’ *syncretic literacy practices* (Reyes & Moll, 2010). A popular practice among Spanish L1 English learners, for example, is the use of Spanish phonology to spell in the target language. Gort (2006) explains this process to be part of students’ *interliteracy*, a similar concept that explains the process by which emergent biliterate learners apply the structural rules of one language to the other, usually drawing from their L1 metalinguistic knowledge to read and write in the L2. Students’ performance in the languages of instruction substantiates the dynamic interplay that translanguaging posits, as evidenced in bilingual learners’ interaction with others, as well as in their written productions. Besides students’ self-regulatory strategies (Velasco & García, 2014), teachers can also facilitate translanguaging, promoting skill transference across languages through their instructional pedagogies and also translanguage themselves systematically.

The value of translanguaging as a pedagogy has mostly been studied in multilingual settings, where language-minority groups are subjected to homogenous teaching approaches that disregard students’ linguistic and cultural funds of knowledge (García & Wei, 2014; Gonzales, Moll & Amanti, 2005; Hornberger & Link, 2012). Through a translanguaging lens, these students are vested with linguistically, socially, culturally and cognitively differentiated instruction, valorizing students’ ethnolinguistic identities (García & Wei, 2014). The majority of

this research has been conducted in multilingual/multicultural settings, with language minority or immigrant populations. These studies challenge the hegemony of the majority language that exists across schooling, particularly in the U.S., embracing and celebrating cultural and language diversity.

An approach that has been employed to analyze students' language use in bilingual classrooms is that of sociocultural theory, which views language as a mediating tool to scaffold learning in the second language (Martin-Beltrán, 2010; Swain & Lapkin, 2013). In their study involving 8th grade language learners, Swain and Lapkin (2013) recognized the L1 fulfilled specific functions in the students' communicative intentions, such as task management, focus attention, or specific language forms for interpersonal interactions. These are a few examples of how students translanguage in a multilingual environment, yet teachers may also enforce translanguaging practices to mediate learning. Within these settings, teachers may also engage in systematic and dynamic use of the languages of instruction through *natural* or *official translanguaging practices*. The main difference between the two lies in the conscious, pre-planned practices educators incorporate within an *official* translanguaging approach, whereas natural translanguaging occurs incidentally to ensure full understanding of the content (García & Wei, 2014).

Individuals make sense of the world through language, and a translanguaging lens “reminds educators that the more students’ contexts of language and literacy use allow them to draw from across the whole of each and every [dimension of the biliteracy] continuum, the greater are the chances for their full language and literacy development and expression” (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p. 243). Incorporating these natural and/or official practices should derive from the observed behaviors students engage in following their natural tendencies to use

language as a mediator (Canagarajah, 2011). Through a translanguaging pedagogy educators can foster acceptance of linguistic diversity through their interactions, taking precedent over form, while reinforcing and embracing students' voices and identities through their languaging (García & Wei, 2014). Educators, thus, have the power to instill a classroom culture of dialogic teaching, where students are allowed to actively engage through their entire semiotic repertoire.

Advocating for novel approaches in teaching English in an era of globalization, Canagarajah (2014) argues language educators are faced with the task of embracing students' multilingual resources in order to attain levels of competence. In the midst of this process, he describes the development of *language awareness* as necessary for speakers to adapt and succeed in unpredictable language transactions with other speakers. The use of other languages in the foreign language classroom may cause a concern among language teachers and it is therefore crucial to understand a translanguaging approach does not replace the target language, but rather broaden students' resources to communicate. Furthermore, defining what and how the L1 will be used (Corcoll, 2013) makes up a decisive component for this pedagogy to be effective.

When the affordances of this pedagogy are taken advantage of, teachers bring about discursive functions within the affective, academic and organizational domains of the classroom, outlined by García and Leiva (2014) from a social justice theoretical standing. First, this pedagogy has the potential of empowering students through a celebration of their voices and insights, regardless of their proficiency levels. Second, teachers access strategies that reinforce and clarify concepts for students to appropriate their learning, as well as extend and ask questions that engage further cognitive involvement – translanguaging to clarify, to reinforce and to extend and ask questions. Lastly, classroom management becomes more effective and

efficient by means of guaranteeing students' comprehension of guidelines and expectations – translanguaging to manage the classroom (García & Leiva, 2014).

Clear examples of natural translanguaging practices were observed in a study conducted in a dual language program in Texas that enforced a language separation model by alternating days of instruction (Palmer, Mateus, Martínez & Henderson, 2014). In spite of the teachers' intention to follow the model with fidelity, their hybrid language use modeled “ a willingness to welcome diversity and an openness to engaging in important ideas, *however they are expressed*” (Palmer, et al., 2014, p. 765, emphasis added). These strategies may seem illegitimate and incongruous with the language model, but it is important to highlight the benefits students received: they were given voice (García & Leiva, 2014) and their communicative needs were addressed (Lee, 2007).

Research on teachers' translanguaging strategies in the classroom

A review of findings challenges monolingual policies and pedagogies in bilingual education, as they do not reflect the students' spontaneous and instinctive practices, an organic part of their meaning making processes for language and literacy development. Bilingual education programs, especially the immersion kind, may advocate monolingualism out of fear of not achieving linguistic proficiency in the languages of instruction (Swain & Lapkin, 2013; Varghese, 2008), which ensues a debate over the possible effects L1 use may have in L2 proficiency. Consequently, some educators choose to epitomize the language separation philosophy, in spite of their bilingualism. The studies described below contain exemplars of how educators can maximize bilinguals' experiences by drawing from their entire language repertoire themselves and enabling students to do so (Hornberger, 2005).

A search for relevant literature in non-ESL contexts yielded studies conducted in English

speaking postcolonial communities and fewer in strict foreign language settings. In an empirical study conducted among Catalan-Spanish L1 English learners, Corcoll (2013) hypothesized the informed and planned use of the students' L1s, mainly through pedagogically based code-switching, would create a favorable multilingual and multicultural space by giving students the opportunity to engage with all the languages, without substituting the target language. The predicted outcomes included cognitive – as in language acquisition-, metacognitive and socio-affective gains. A comparison of quantitative data revealed the control and experimental groups did not differ in the comprehension and production measures, making similar gains in the cognitive dimensions. In the metacognitive and socio-affective domains, however, the findings yielded greater language awareness, positive response to classroom activities and pluricultural competence. Corcoll (2013) concluded the “language classroom becomes a place where everyone feels more at ease as children’s participation increases and all [...] feel safe and able to answer and speak for themselves” (p. 42).

Similar socio-affective gains were documented in Tavares’ study (2015) in a CLIL context in a Hong Kong classroom. Although the national government has stipulated English as the sole medium of instruction (MOI) in English medium classrooms, the teacher’s pedagogy included recourse to L1 as a strategy for vocabulary comprehension, transference of content coded in the L1, and scaffolding. The students, in turn, responded positively to instruction that created a *participatory classroom culture* (p. 325) where language use and production was constructed in learner dyads, decreasing the pressure of relying on individual linguistic repertoire and demonstrating linguistic solidarity on behalf of the teacher (Tavares, 2015). Using a Vygotskian approach, teachers can pair students together to generate new ideas coded in a language they are less proficient in. It is worth mentioning that this teacher made systematic use

of English and used the L1 only strategically and mainly through code-switching, without delivering lessons in Chinese. This caveat is an important clarification for classroom teachers who might experience disbelief in the use of L1 in the classroom, considering sometimes it is taken as a ‘green-light’ to replace the L2 (Cummins, 2007).

Gort and Pontier’s (2013) study included a school with a flexible methodology to organize language instruction based on classroom teachers’ preferences resulting in a *one teacher/one language* (OTOL) model and *language by time of day* (LBTOD). Although the school did enforce language separation, the teachers in both models incorporated a variety of strategies to mediate and scaffold learning as well as for management purposes. The authors termed these strategies as *coordinated monolingual practices* (p. 235), such as tandem talk, where teachers would engage themselves in bilingual interactions but still maintaining their pure language model supporting emergent bilingual learners at early and more advanced levels. They further add how teachers exemplified the way bilingualism assists the creation of meaning, even though they personified monolingual identities creating a positive environment of acceptance (Gort & Pontier, 2013).

There are also positive attitudes that have been documented in the classroom that reflect teachers’ beliefs and positions regarding translanguaging. In a wider context, encompassing the entire school community, Creese and Blackledge (2010) acknowledge how teachers’ disposition to adapt and become more flexible in their language use created a more cohesive community that could reach all stakeholders, not only those with language proficiency in one or the other language, recognizing these as *flexible bilingual pedagogies*. Although this present study is limited to the classroom level, it serves to note how translanguaging has effects beyond the classroom when seen as a valuable resource. Teachers who accept students’ L1 as an asset for

language acquisition and literacy development can help students examine procedures of cross-linguistic transfer they might already employ and assess the effectiveness of such strategies, using a biliterate lens and considering the bidirectional transfer that might be occurring (Cummins, 2012; Dworin, 2003; Sparrow, Butvilofsky & Escamilla, 2012).

The degree of rigor with which language policies are enforced is directly dependent on teachers, considering their roles as language brokers and the value they assign to the native language (Canagarajah, 2011; Varghese, 2008). Three out of four teachers interviewed in Varghese's study expressed concern over the use of L1 in the bilingual classroom and its correlation to the achievement level students may actually reach in English if Spanish were to be allowed in the classroom (2008). While these teachers' preoccupation was directed at their immigrant ESL students, a similar tension occurs in elite bilingual programs where instruction is conducted through the means of a foreign language and teachers are performing under external pressures, indirectly exerted by parents' expectations in relation to the L2, as well as internal pressures related to academic achievement and job performance.

A clear example of teachers who feel compelled to adhere strictly to the institutionalized language policies is seen in a study carried out in a Korean-English dual language kindergarten classroom in California, where the teacher did not allow nor use the other language during each language's monolingual periods. The heavy focus the teacher placed on the students' form of linguistic output, instead of on the meaning of their message, reduced students' opportunities to interact and thus, generated a contradiction of language form versus function (Lee, 2007). Furthermore, it provides evidence on how teachers are fearsome of using the L1 when monolingual instruction is the norm. The reality, as described above, is that teachers do have certain agency over pedagogical practices they promote that can still be in line with the language

policy, while accepting students L1 as a cognitive and linguistic personal resource (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Cummins, 2012).

Swain and Lapkin's (2013) results exposed the benefits of not banning language to create more language building safe and flexible spaces to use the L1 and L2. The authors offered insight into students' transactions in collaborative tasks in which they reached a consensus on how to best use the L2 to fulfill their communicative goals by means of exchanging ideas in their L1. These practices are used as a springboard to generate coherent meaning in their less proficient language that they might not be able to achieve without it, as L2 use is contingent on the complexity of the task (Swain & Lapkin, 2013). In addition, their identities and experiences are most likely encoded in these students' L1 and thus, a complete breach from it is questionable. Among the functions for L1 use delineated in their study, the authors included: task management, focus attention on specific language forms and interpersonal interaction involving mainly vernacular forms or to express opinions. These findings substantiate the diglossic functions found in other settings (e.g., Spezzini, 2004) and invite educators to reflect on the gains L1 use may bring about in immersion/bilingual settings.

The effect of language prohibition can restrain students from actively partaking in the learning processes, an instance observed in a California classroom where a deafening silence on behalf of minority language learners illustrated how ineffective a pedagogy it is (Manyak, 2006). The silence of these young bilinguals is remarkable when compared to the students in a classroom without linguistic censorship, who would engage in meta-linguistic discoveries when exchanges in Spanish and English took place in order to negotiate language use. These contrasting outcomes are a reminder of the need to maximize students' languages and literacy skills as bilingual beings, as "wholes."

Translanguaging taps on the pedagogical framework of the *continua of biliteracy* (Hornberger, 2004), which incorporates four interdependent dimensions that are representative of how factors that shape literacy development build on each other. The purpose of the continua in pedagogy, she explains,

...is to break down the binary oppositions so characteristic of the fields of bilingualism and literacy and instead draw attention to the continuity of experiences, skills, practices, and knowledge stretching from one end of any particular continuum to the other (Hornberger, 2004, p. 156).

The continua of biliteracy is a model for teachers to take into account to design their instructional pedagogies by building on students' translanguaging practices (Hornberger & Link, 2012). Students enrolled in early entrance bilingual programs are usually introduced to literacy in both languages simultaneously with the goal of achieving comparable proficiency in L1 and L2. The term *emergent biliteracy* has been adopted to describe this process, which “encompasses all uses of language to think, speak, read, and write in multiple linguistic systems while taking into account the various cultural factors and experiences of the bilingual learner” (Reyes, 2012, p. 309). Educators may then refer to the continua of biliteracy to evaluate where their practices are positioned and discern if the students are exposed across each dimension and given the chance for “full language and literacy development and expression” (Hornberger & Link, 2012, p. 243)

Various studies in different settings have been presented that exemplify how the debate over L1 use in the L2 classroom transcends institutional policies and is an ever-present phenomenon, characteristic of bilingual learners. Although many have looked at the translanguaging of learners in second language contexts, i.e. the U.S., there is a certain degree of plausibility that this phenomenon also takes places in immersion programs located in foreign

language contexts, where one of the languages of instruction is locally available and the other significantly distant from the community and its stakeholders. Monolingual methods and approaches are usually the preferred model for acquisition of the L2 in EFL contexts; therefore, the need to examine these spaces is fundamental to evaluate and determine whether a translanguaging approach to both teaching and learning is feasible to promote language proficiency in both languages.

Moreover, these studies bring forward the agency educators may have even within the monolingual milieu. Acting as language brokers, educators have a broad range of strategies available that can be employed systematically to assist students in the development of their entire linguistic repertoire. All in all, the combination of research findings from Foreign Language Teaching and Bilingualism substantiate the value of a translanguaging lens in bilingual education and invites educators to reflect on the possibility of incorporating it as a language pedagogy.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Study Design

In order to address the research questions, this study was conducted using a qualitative approach in the form of a case study. Case study research seeks to gain thorough understanding of an individual, group or situation, usually employed in the social sciences to explain some social phenomenon through in-depth descriptions (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006). This particular study focused on the social phenomenon of translanguaging in an EFL, elite bilingual program where I held a position as a Kindergarten English teacher in the past, being part of the Early Childhood Education (ECE) staff. The main research question and sub-questions that guided this study necessitated a close look at teachers' beliefs and classroom practices to understand how they interpreted the language policy instituted by the school and their interactions around the languages of instruction. The following sections contain a description of the setting, the participants and the methods of data collection.

Positionality Statement

Given my prior experience at the Bilingual Academy, I was familiar with the strengths and weaknesses of the ECE's language arrangements and the concerns my Spanish and English colleagues had with respect to young learners' linguistic development. My subjective position as a former ECE language teacher influenced my decision to work with Elementary teachers with whom I had shared limited professional ties in the past (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012). Neither of the teachers who participated in this study had worked directly with me in previous years. The English teacher and I had an amicable professional relationship and the Spanish teacher was a new staff member at the time of the study. In spite of my attempts to avoid bias in my data collection and analysis, I approached this research with a particular set of experiences

and relationships within the school that naturally informed my data collection and analysis. To enhance the validity of my findings, I worked to obtain as many perspectives as possible from Spanish and English teacher interviews, from classroom observations, and from student writing samples. Nevertheless, I do not seek to generalize my findings across all bilingual schools, but rather to understand how a language policy mediates instruction in this particular EFL/bilingual setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Setting

The study was conducted at the Bilingual Academy, a private, co-educational K-12 school located in Asuncion, Paraguay. The focus of this study was on lower Elementary grades; therefore, the secondary school will not be further discussed. It should be noted, however, that English and Spanish are also the languages of instruction for grades 7 to 12.

The languages of instruction in the Elementary School (ES) are English and Spanish, with one hour of Guarani Language Arts per week. The ES can be defined as a one-way, dual language program, considering the high enrollment of Spanish speaking students. The dual-language program begins as an early immersion model in Pre-K and Kindergarten, following a 90/10 and 80/20 model respectively. Dual language instruction is then balanced out starting with Grade 1 under a 50/50 model. The language teachers at the Bilingual Academy teach Language Arts, Math, Social Studies and Science in both languages, but with differing time allotments. Teachers' schedules are organized by language, delivering lessons in English in the morning and Spanish in the afternoon. There are two head teachers per class, one English and one Spanish teacher, along with one part-time bilingual aide. Teachers are only on-site during their instructional hours.

Following Paraguay's Ministry of Education, the ES enrolls students from Cycles 1 and 2, which encompass grades 1-3 and 4-6 respectively. Cycle 1 students have less experience in the target language and may be considered emergent bilinguals/biliterate students. Cycle 1 grades were selected as potential research contexts taking into account the emergent bilingual status of their students. The choice for these grade levels responds to the need to explore how teachers interact around the language of instruction when teaching students with relatively significant experience in the target language and commensurate proficiency. Students in these grades are literate in both languages of instruction and the majority has usually had at least three years of experience learning English in this particular immersion context.

Moreover, teaching teams in Cycle 1 grades are made up of a head teacher for each language and one teacher aide for the English program, whereas Cycle 2 grades are organized by content areas in each MOI, with different teachers assigned for each subject. In light of this difference, grades 1 through 3 were most suitable considering English and Spanish teachers spend more time with their students in larger block schedules and would allow the collection of more in-depth data from fewer teachers.

The school divides each grade level in two separate strands. Each strand has two head language teachers, plus additional special subject teachers. Language educators teach the curriculum mostly separate from one another, Mathematics being the only exception, which had begun at the time of the study. Classroom teachers would usually collaborate with other same language teachers, and rarely with their English/Spanish counterpart. The teachers' profiles vary across languages, with most English teachers possessing a degree either in Education or English Language Teaching and all Spanish teachers a degree in Education. English teachers are usually bilingual Spanish/English speakers, with Spanish being their native language. The Spanish

teachers, on the other hand, are all native Spanish speakers, some being Spanish/Guarani bilinguals and few speaking English. Administrators appoint Spanish and English teachers to a grade and section, with positions remaining fairly stable through the years.

Participants

A total of 12 Elementary school teachers (six English and six Spanish teachers) were invited to participate in this exploratory study on translanguaging in a foreign language setting. Given the nature of the study, understanding the use of both languages of instruction in a bilingual setting, I sought to work with teaching pairs for the grade levels of interest. There were a total of six teaching pairs, consisting of an English and a Spanish teacher each. All twelve teachers were invited to volunteer as participants, obtaining agreement from only one English teacher and all six Spanish teachers. The English teachers expressed schedule conflicts to complete the individual interviews required for the study and declined to participate. Their refusal prevented me from working with the rest of the Spanish teachers, as data from each grade would be incomplete. Therefore, upon obtaining consent from one teaching pair, the study was conducted with two Grade 2 teachers, Ms. Eve, the head English teacher, and Ms. Susana, the head Spanish teacher. In the following paragraphs I include a brief description of each teacher's background.

Ms. Eve has been working in bilingual settings for the past ten years. Her teaching experience includes five years as an English teacher aide in Grades 3 and 4 at the Bilingual Academy. She has held her current position as head English teacher for the past four years, plus an additional year in a similar position at a different bilingual school. Ms. Eve learned English attending a bilingual K-12 school in Asuncion, spending a total of 12 years in English and Spanish bilingual environments. Ms. Eve has the most experience teaching Grade 2 as head

teacher. She was raised in a Spanish speaking family and attended a dual-language program for 14 years, learning English as a second language since age four. Ms. Eve did not possess a teaching certificate at the time of the study and held a degree in a different professional field.

Ms. Susana is a bilingual speaker of Spanish and Guaraní, with limited knowledge of English. This was her first year teaching in an English-Spanish bilingual context and had only taught in Spanish monolingual contexts in the past. She taught in Early Childhood programs for two years as head teacher, prior to her first teaching Elementary experience at the Bilingual Academy. Ms. Susana has a degree in Early Childhood Education and was finishing a second degree in Elementary Education at the time of this study. She shared she was keen on bilingualism, mainly interested in the bilingual situation of Paraguay and the education of Guaraní speakers, which was the topic of the thesis she was writing at the moment.

Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana were assigned to work together by the school administration. A teacher aide was also assigned for Ms. Eve, who taught in the morning, and Ms. Susana conducted her classes without any assistance during the afternoon. The class was made up of 21 students in total: the majority were Spanish native speakers and one US-born student was raised bilingually in Spanish-English by Paraguayan parents. Nineteen of these students had been attending the Bilingual Academy since Pre-Kindergarten and two were new to the school, an international student whose family recently relocated to Paraguay and the other, a local student. A description of the data collection process follows next, detailing the methods adopted for this study.

Procedures

Following qualitative data collection methods, the methodology for gathering substantial data included individual interviews with each teacher and classroom observations conducted

during their instructional hours, in order to validate findings and be able to triangulate results (Lodico, et al., 2006). Initial contact was made via e-mail two months prior to my arrival in May, 2015 to extend an invitation to all language teachers. Given the number of potential participants and my brief stay, teachers were asked to fill out a screener to ensure diverse backgrounds (years of experience teaching the language, years in bilingual education and grade levels taught). Eventually, screeners were disregarded given the decline in teachers' willingness to participate.

The two teachers received a consent letter stating the purpose of the study and explaining participation was voluntary and confidential. In order to conduct the observations, parents also received consent letters written in Spanish and English, as per school protocols to distribute all official information in the school's two languages of instruction. The letter briefly indicated the purpose of the study and requested parents' permission to observe their child and collect work samples if necessary. A total of 19 letters granting parental consent were received and the two students whose parents did not return the letter were omitted from the study.

Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana participated in two interviews each. The first interview took place in Asuncion, in late May 2015, conducted following a protocol of open-ended questions, which, served as a guide in order to obtain in-depth information about the bilingual program, the teachers' beliefs and perspectives regarding the language policy and their regular language practices. Ms. Eve chose to meet in a meeting room in the school premises, whereas Ms. Susana chose a location outside the school campus. Both interviews lasted approximately one hour and were conducted in Spanish with Ms. Susana, while Ms. Eve agreed to an interview in English upon my request. A follow-up phone interview took place in early October 2015 after the classroom observations had been transcribed, in order to clarify and further discuss certain situations observed and topics that emerged from the observations. Teachers were given the

choice of a videoconference or an audio call, with the latter being their preferred means of communication. These interviews were also carried out in Spanish with Ms. Susana and English with Ms. Eve. All interviews were recorded using a digital recorder application and further transcribed for their analysis. Data collection spanned from late May 2015 to early October, 2015, with the final interview with teachers taking place in early October due to schedule conflicts.

Through open observations, I collected detailed data pertinent to the language use employed by the teachers and students in the classroom context. I kept an observation log for all visits, first taking notes on the physical environment, types of activities presented by each teacher and usual routines. Following this first stage, teacher-student and student-student dialogues and situations that demonstrated a variety of language practices on behalf of all participants were documented verbatim as the main source of data. School policies did not allow me to video nor tape-record students, making a log an appropriate instrument for data collection. All observations were transcribed in either English or Spanish, depending on the language used by the participants. Observations during English and Spanish instruction spanned over the first two weeks of June, 2015, completing five visits to each teacher's entire language shift (a total of 21 hours), summing up 10 observation logs in total. Initially, it was my interest to complete two weeks of observations as my visit was considerably short and I would be unable to visit the site again within the school year. An influenza breakout cancelled school for three full days, preventing me from completing more observations.

Prior to starting the classroom visits, Ms. Susana introduced me to the children and I presented myself as a student researcher and not a teacher. As a former teacher in the ECE program, the majority of these students had known me in my role as teacher and would call me Ms. Rojas. Part of my protocol was explaining to students I was there to "sit, watch and listen" to

how they worked in their English and Spanish classes, emphasizing my role as a non-participant observer. During individual work, I would get closer to some students and obtain their consent to sit along side them and observe their work.

All students agreed to have me observe them and collect a copy of their work. The collection of work samples was driven mainly by students' participative attitude and how much they engaged in teacher directed lessons or student-student interactions. I collected writing samples in English and Spanish from a total of five students, whom I identified as being most participative compared to the number of verbatim interactions or dialogues I was able to record.

Data Analysis

Following qualitative methodology to discover patterns that emerged from the data set and organize the data into themes, I employed content analysis following *a priori* codes for initial coding (Friedman, 2012). These codes were extracted from the interview protocol, applying labels to transcripts following an interpretive process, inherent to qualitative research (Baralt, 2012). Once themes were extracted, they were compared between participants and also across the observations, in order to triangulate results from one data type to another.

The field notes from classroom observations complemented the research process, providing a descriptive insight into the classroom's physical organization, environmental print and practices teachers regularly engaged in, as well as how teachers responded to the various language patterns that emerged in the classroom. Following data triangulation, transcripts were also labeled according to the categories found across the interviews, concentrating on data that provided a better understanding of the language policy in the classroom. The findings are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings

Central to the Bilingual Academy's partial immersion program is the English-only policy, which requires English teachers to interact with students in English at all times in and outside the classroom. The Spanish program lacks such a policy, yet naturally mirrors the English program given teachers are often monolingual. Through this study I explored how this monolingual policy influences teachers' perspectives, beliefs and practices revolving around language, and how this language policy mediates instruction in the classroom and how teachers and students interact with the L1 and L2. The specific research questions and sub-questions that guided this study were:

Are there any effects generated by a language separation policy in the bilingual classroom?

- 1.1. How do teachers perceive the language separation in this particular bilingual program?
- 1.2. What are their attitudes and beliefs on language use in the bilingual classroom?
- 1.3. How are teachers' attitudes and beliefs enacted through their response to students' use of oral and written language?

This chapter is organized in three main sections. The first one introduces findings relevant to teachers' perceptions of the bilingual program, the organization of the classroom and that of their curricular objectives. The following section introduces the teachers' beliefs and attitudes on language use. This section provides greater detail into how the Bilingual Academy enforces the language policy through its language arrangements, combining both teachers' perspectives to obtain a broader panorama. The last section presents more fine-grained data on specific uses of the L1 and L2 in each MOI, first presenting Ms. Eve's English class and the

language patterns observed in her interactions with the students, followed by a description of the Spanish class, focusing on Ms. Susana and the strategies observed in her class.

How Teachers Perceive the Language Separation

In this first section I present results that pertain to sub-question 1.1, reporting on teachers' perspectives regarding the language policy and their views on the bilingual program in which they teach. Opposing views surfaced from the interviews, demonstrating the teachers' position towards language use. Glimpses of the maximal and optimal positions described by Macaro (2001) are noticed throughout the data set, disclosing the influence of the policy in classroom practices.

Two Schools. Besides keeping language classrooms sealed from use of the *other* language, the language separation at the Bilingual Academy also results in a division of the curriculum into separate programs: the English and the Spanish program. The daily schedule is organized in two portions of the day based on the languages of instruction: English is the medium of instruction (MOI) in the mornings and Spanish is the afternoon's MOI. In addition to the schedule, the program undertakes a one teacher/one language format with language teachers who work separate schedules. This format, coupled with the schedule they follow, created a notion of 'two separate schools' (Ms. Eve, Interview #1, May 2015) within the same premises, as both teachers characterized the bilingual program where they teach when asked to briefly describe it. A false dichotomy emerged from this existing curricular separation, evidenced in the following description Ms. Eve shared:

It's a fully bilingual program, right. It's *totally different* what we work in Spanish and English. But this year, we are starting to implement in Math, we are trying to work together. But if I can describe [to] you what the program means, it's like two separate

schools in one. They should learn things in English that they are also learning in Spanish the same year, so sometimes it's like *we are doing the same thing in Spanish and in English*, but I think that is better for [the students] because it means they are doubling their content. But sometimes, it interferes because we did this in Spanish and we have to do it again in English (own emphasis, Ms. Eve, Interview 1, May 2015).

The contradiction in Ms. Eve's comments reveals how she perceives programs to be different, yet ascertains there are shared curricular objectives and similar content taught in each program. This dichotomy is linked to the absence of collaborative work between both teachers, which will be presented later on. For now, it serves to contrast what Ms. Susana believes regarding the bilingual program and how a "connection" between both languages is necessary for academic achievement:

Creo que hay mucha separación. Al menos en el ámbito donde estoy es inglés (señala a un lado) y español (señala al lado opuesto). No hay como una conexión entre ambas lenguas, no hay un trabajo en conjunto [...] Hay por ejemplo ciertas materias, ciertas habilidades que [los alumnos] tienen que tener en ambos idiomas, como matemática por ejemplo, o la expresión verbal, independiente del idioma. Eso es un requisito.

[I think there is a lot of separation. At least in my area, there is English (points to one side) and then there is Spanish (points to the other). There isn't a connection between both languages, there isn't any collaborative work [...] There are certain subjects, for example, certain skills that [students] need to have in both languages, like math or verbal expression, independent of the language. That is a requisite]. (Ms. Susana, Interview 1, May 2015).

These comments each teacher offered are contradictory in nature, where the English teachers deems language contact as a source of potential interference, yet the Spanish teacher highlights the need to work collaboratively to attain certain academic objectives that involve cognitive skills, beyond the languages of instruction. The separation of languages is consistent with the dissociation of both programs, which in turn fuels the distance that exists between both head teachers. The following section will present evidence that pertains to the lack of synergy between teachers and how students perceive this distance.

The classroom. The classroom observations I conducted confirmed the dominance of the target language over the students' native language in the classroom. Although the print environment was fairly scant, it was mostly in English, such as a birthday bulletin board; an English wall alphabet above the whiteboard; monthly and daily calendars near the entrance door, which included the class schedule listing morning subjects in English; spelling words of the week; and classroom rules posted next to the white board. A "Jobs Chart" was also posted close to the entrance door with students assigned to classroom jobs that involved roles such as: paper passer, line leader, lights switch and so on. Several labels in English indicated storage areas for classroom materials and students' textbooks and resources around the room, without their Spanish equivalent. These labels included words such as: white paper, recycled paper, folders, lost and found, and the like.

Student-made classroom rules in Spanish were posted on a smaller wall space, placed below students' visual field, as well as a small bulletin board behind the teachers' desk that read "Rincón de Matemáticas" (*Math Corner*). These spaces were inconveniently located to make productive use of them, argued Ms. Susana, who regretted the organization of the environment. She claimed that teaching a lower grade where students are not fully literate yet in their native

language needs a print-rich environment and for this particular context, students should be exposed to a bilingual environment (Cummins, 2012). Ms. Eve and I conversed about the classroom environment and she explained how sometimes it “just happens” that English has a stronger presence in the classroom and that she usually offers her Spanish counterpart the opportunity to “help decorate” the room (Interview 2, October 2015). Ms. Susana clarified she was only offered this opportunity once all English materials were posted.

The absence of Spanish print in the environment represented an issue for Ms. Susana who believes it devalued the students’ native language, fomenting in them the perception that Spanish is not important and that it is only valuable as a social language. Ms. Susana added that as a bilingual program, both languages should enjoy the same prestige and be given equal importance. In order to exemplify the inequality that exists within the classroom, she stated

Hay letras del abecedario en español que faltan: la ñ que no está y es gigante, agarra todo el espacio y ya no tenés un espacio para poner vos [el tuyo] y el ambiente de la clase es todo inglés. Hay todo un espacio reducido de centímetros donde me dejaron libre para poner algo de español, que es un rincón matemático que no puedo usar porque esta allá en las nubes.

[There are [Spanish] letters that are absent in the wall alphabet: the ñ is not there and [the alphabet] is huge, it takes up all the space and there is no more space for you to place your own and the classroom environment is all in English. There is this reduced space that I was given to post something in Spanish, a math corner, but I can’t use it because it is too high up to reach] (Interview #1, May, 2015).

Furthermore, Ms. Susana explained how the English print interfered with her classroom management, because she was unaware of the assigned jobs Ms. Eve had established and

students had so intrinsically incorporated them that they would protest, for example, her choice of paper passer of the day. Ms. Susana said “*Yo no sabía quién es el paper pass porque yo no sabía que el paper pass era el que tiene que pasar los papeles*” (*sic*) [I didn’t know who the ‘paper pass’ was, because I didn’t know a ‘paper pass’ is the person who passes the paper] (Ms. Susana, Interview 1, May 2015).

Curricular objectives. A noticeable phenomenon that added to the topic of language separation was the breach that existed between teachers and their curricular objectives. Both teachers experienced the need for collaborative work, albeit for different purposes. This was evident in their comments and their disconnection was observable in their lessons. Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana agreed that they were unaware of the curriculum requirements of their co-teacher, yet they were also ignorant of the similarities of the content they delivered in their Grade 2 class.

The most overt situation during my visits was the content of a Science unit, introduced by Ms. Eve. The topic covered was ‘Severe Weather’ and she had introduced a lesson on a Monday and followed-up on the lesson the next day. Students engaged in two different activities each day: a guided reading and fill-in-the-blanks in the textbook on Monday and, on Tuesday, copying definitions and illustrating four types of severe weather (i.e. thunderstorm, lightning, tornado, hurricane). On this same Tuesday afternoon, Ms. Susana began a Spanish Science unit on “Desastres Naturales” [*Natural Disasters*], which included concepts such as flooding, wildfire, and thunderstorms.

Student participation did not differ much across both lessons, and remained fairly low. An important difference, however, stood out in their contributions. Students spontaneously shared comments and thoughts in Ms. Susana’s lesson, perhaps influenced by the culturally appropriate content found in the Spanish textbook. For instance, whereas the science textbook

used by Ms. Susana focused on weather patterns and other geographic features of the southern cone of South America, English teachers used American textbooks that focused on the geography and weather patterns common in the northern hemisphere.

During the English lesson, Ms. Eve guided much of the lesson through questioning and eliciting information provided in the text, without self-initiated comments. Moreover, students were unsure of the meaning of the vocabulary, but the ban on Spanish prevented both the teacher and students to reach full comprehension through the use of both languages. The most remarkable aspect of this situation was that despite the content's similarities, none of the students made the connection to the English lesson that had taken place earlier in the morning and on the day before. Ms. Eve explained that students sometimes share with her topics or lessons Ms. Susana delivers in Spanish, while the latter stated in the second interview that students had never shared with her the content taught in English subjects, except for Math.

Attitudes and Beliefs on Language Use in the Bilingual Classroom

Strategic use of the 'other' language. The similarities across content was a topic introduced in the follow up interviews with both language teachers, reflecting on the possibility of systematic use of the 'other' language as a scaffold for language and literacy development. On one hand, Ms. Eve revealed hesitancy regarding teachers' use of L1 in the L2 classroom, emphasizing that students "are completely able to understand fluent English" (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October 2015) towards the end of the year. She questioned the validity of the use of Spanish when their comprehension level meets expectations, explaining it could perhaps be allowed to assist output production, but would be less useful as a support for input comprehension. In support of this claim, Ms. Eve asserted participation rates would most likely increase among students who are not willing to contribute using only English and consequently,

grades would improve because participation is part of the grading criteria in the school's assessment scale. She also explained the lack of student motivation to participate in terms of personality traits, stating "it doesn't depend only on understanding the language but it also depends on if they are interested or not in the subject, if they are willing to participate or not" (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October, 2015). Reflecting upon the language policy, Ms. Eve explained there is room for flexibility, as long as students do not become accustomed to the use of Spanish, by "always reinforcing English, [asking] 'how do you say that in English' or repeating it in both languages" (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October, 2015).

With respect to performance expectations, Ms. Eve also believed that by second grade students should have the ability to speak in complete sentences in English, without resorting to code-mixing. She explained, students "cannot say a sentence; for example, they say 'During the weekend, I went to *la casa de mi abuela*'. They mix in a complete sentence [...] Spanish with English and sometimes it's like 'You know how to say *casa*'" (Interview #2, October 2015). She assumed this happened because students experienced reluctance to use the target language in the beginning of the school year or, even, due to the lack of command of basic vocabulary she deems students should have mastered by the start of second grade.

On the other hand, Ms. Susana also had reservations regarding the potential use of English as a pedagogical strategy, mainly due to her lack of proficiency in English. She was in her first year teaching in a dual-language program and explained how not speaking English impeded her from drawing more connections between the languages or establishing differences. Incorporating the students' second language in her instruction was a demanding goal for her in light of her basic English skills, indicating "[*los alumnos*] *me saltan con dudas de inglés por ejemplo en español y yo no les puedo responder porque no entiendo*" (The students have certain

doubts about English [and they ask] in Spanish and I cannot clarify [the doubts] because I don't understand) (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015).

She felt English proficiency could have helped her to supplement students' literacy development in English and Spanish and address their difficulties or mistakes *in situ*. The following quote draws attention to this belief.

“No es significativo que después de 24 horas le diga ‘Saben que, uno de ustedes escribió tal palabra con tal letra... En español suena así, en inglés suena así, pero las letras son diferentes’, yo que se, y [dar] toda una explicación. Pero si yo por ejemplo lo hubiese sabido en el momento, lo hubiese hecho ya ahí y hubiese sido mas rico para todos.

It's not meaningful to say 24 hours later ‘You know, one of you wrote this word with this letter... In Spanish, it sounds like this, in English like this, but the letters are different’, something like that and explain the differences. But if I had known it at the time, I would have focused right then and there and it would have been much more significant for all” (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015)

Ms. Susana considered that if she had greater proficiency or knowledge about the English language, she would have been able to capitalize on students' metalinguistic awareness by drawing explicit connections across students' literacy skills. As time progressed, however, she learned from colleagues, as well as from the students' writing samples, certain patterns students borrowed from English to complete reading or writing tasks in Spanish. Being aware of the specific features students transferred allowed her to be more flexible and, in turn, helped students be more reflective about their choices. She explained students were more mindful of their decisions, recognizing certain literacy practices as inappropriate for Spanish when inviting them to reflect by asking *“qué te parece qué dice acá o qué quisiste escribir, que quisiste decir y se*

dan cuenta y dicen 'quise poner tal cosa y puse esto'” [what do you think says here or what were you trying to write or say and they realize and say ‘I wanted to write this, but instead used this’] (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015).

A desire for collaboration. A recurring issue both teachers mentioned during their interviews was the need for more time to work together because the schedule impedes collaborative work among teachers. “The schedule of one teacher begins when the other one is finished and ready to leave,” explained Ms. Susana. If there were issues that needed to be discussed, they could not do it face-to-face because they were not on school grounds when the other was in class, with technology as their only choice to communicate. When asked about the type of information the teachers exchanged, Ms. Susana claimed that most were related to behavioral concerns and not pedagogical or cognitive ones and that they would usually get together twice a year before Parent-Teacher conferences to discuss each student’s academic progress. Ms. Eve, furthermore, shared, “daily or weekly, we talk about special cases, students that have problems, that are failing” (Interview 2, October 2015).

Both teachers were cognizant of this issue and demonstrated sensitivity towards the need to achieve teacher collaboration. Among the potential benefits of a closer, more cooperative approach to teaching, these teachers introduced two distinct arguments. Ms. Eve’s argument, on one end of the continuum, was aligned with socio-affective concerns. She stated how it could be a useful strategy to create a space where concerns and worries are shared, presenting the following project as an example of the type of collaborative work they can implement:

We have a lot of girls with conflicts and problems between themselves, [so] we decided with the Spanish teacher to start writing projects or presentations about values, friendship

and all those kinds of things. We're going to start working close for this last month we have. (Ms. Eve, Interview 2, October 2015)

This clear example challenges the separation of the programs, conceding that teachers must join efforts to deal with aspects that transcend academic needs. In another conversation held with Ms. Eve, she justified the need to meet more frequently to remain informed of the events that take place during the time she is absent, meaning the Spanish hours (Ms. Eve, Interview 1, May 2015).

Ms. Susana stood at the opposite end of the continuum, considering how a collaborative approach could bridge the gap that existed between both languages by drawing from students' experiences that took place in the other language class. A possibility she reflected on is becoming familiar with the English program's content, especially English Language Arts and creating spaces in the classroom to discuss topics that have already been learned.

Podríamos hacer una clase en conjunto por ejemplo, o no sé [conversar sobre] qué vos diste o qué hiciste [...] Que la otra refuerce no mas ya (diciendo) “ se acuerdan de tal cosa que hicieron en inglés?” O sea, que vos ya sepas lo que han hecho, o [preguntar] “Se acuerdan que tal cosa hicieron con la profe en español”

[Perhaps, we could teach a class together or discuss topics or activities that have been introduced [...] Reinforcing them by asking “Do you remember this or that you did in English”? I mean, knowing what they have learned. Or [asking] “Do you remember how in Spanish class you learned this...?”] (Ms. Susana, Interview 2, October 2015)

The Spanish teacher's interest was more pedagogically driven, as the above quotation illustrates. Ms. Susana's argument recognizes students' funds of knowledge (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005) that have been generated in the English classroom and posits there is instructional value in them. Additionally, she believed that a collaborative approach would ultimately impact

students' perception of the program, establishing an association between both languages and the content imparted in each class. Based on her observations, she considered students were highly aware of the enforced language separation and that this affected the value students assigned to each language and to the knowledge they had acquired through each medium of instruction, illustrated in the following quotation.

[Los alumnos creen] “lo que aprendo en inglés no me va a servir en español y lo que aprendo en español no me sirve en inglés”. Y ellos ya tienen eso incorporado y [...] por eso es que ellos no manifiestan por ejemplo sus... como que ellos piensan que inglés es totalmente algo diferente a español y tal vez sí, pero hay cosas que son similares [...] los sustantivos, los verbos y algunas letras que también son iguales, no suenan igual, otras sí suenan igual pero no es la misma grafía.

[The students think] “What I learn in English will not be useful in Spanish and what I learn in Spanish will be not useful in English”. And they have incorporated that [...] which is why they don't manifest their... it's as though they think English and Spanish are completely different and perhaps they are, but some things are similar [...] nouns, verbs, some letters are the same, although they sound different, others sound the same but the graphemes are different.] (Ms. Susana, Interview 2, October 2015)

Ms. Susana also highlighted the importance of bringing these differences to the students' attention, regardless of their grade level, because they can become appropriate tools or scaffolds to support students' development.

Upon consulting each teacher about the lack of articulation in their curricular objectives, these teachers agreed there is potential in cooperating for certain units or lessons. Ms. Eve was more inclined towards the pedagogical gains when this specific situation was introduced. She

considered collaboration as a useful practice in order to stay on top of students' progress and needs by having a more encompassing evaluation from each language teacher's perspective reflecting how "knowing what is going on for them in their first language is very important for me to teach or see different strategies for them to improve their second language" (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October 2015). She further added how to build on their practice from the other teachers' observations, sharing "if I notice something that the Spanish teacher tells me, I can reinforce it in English or the other way around, maybe I can tell them what they are lacking of so the Spanish teacher can help them" (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October 2015).

Ms. Susana, moreover, suggested teachers could co-teach a unit and make instructional decisions together, allocating specific lessons to each and even having a joint lesson where both languages are allowed, suggesting "*cada una con su lengua, porque es la identidad que el chico tambien identifica*" [each teacher with their language [of instruction] because it's part of the identity students' perceive] (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015). Ms. Susana clarified however, she would be "at a disadvantage for not speaking English and therefore, would be favorable to have a Spanish teacher who also speaks English" (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015). These two teachers demonstrated willingness to reach a consensus in topic and lesson delivery, but at the time of the study they had only been partially collaborating in the Math program.

These two teachers agreed that the use of the other language may bring an added value to their instruction. Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana, however, advocated monolingual practices in their classrooms. The following section presents evidence of how the use of both languages in each language classroom emerged, in spite of their positions on language use.

The Language Policy in the Classroom: What does Language Use Look Like?

Thus far, I have described how the language policy drives a separation between both language teachers in this context. The policy, however, targets language use at a micro scale, focusing on interactions in the L2, in order to nurture the language acquisition process. I will now proceed to further describe how the languages of instruction are in constant dynamism, in spite of efforts to compartmentalize them. Verbatim transcriptions of teacher-student interactions exemplify the participants' translanguaging practices in the English and Spanish classroom, further substantiated by students' writing samples. Findings related to the English class will be introduced first, presenting the teacher's L2 enforcement and hybrid language practices, followed by a section on the practices that emerged in the Spanish class. Lastly, a brief description of teachers' responses to students' literacy practices is offered.

Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana maintained language practices that were aligned with the language policy, speaking only English or Spanish, respectively, during their instructional hours. Ms. Susana, as a non-English speaker, naturally enforces a monolingual environment by using her native language. Ms. Eve, on the other hand, made use of her bilingual identity manifesting her own dynamic bilingualism (Palmer, et al., 2014), shifting to Spanish speaking mode in the presence of other Spanish-speakers, such as Ms. Susana. In her own words, there are "extreme" cases in which the need to intervene collaboratively in certain situations demands her to use a common language with Ms. Susana. She added "I tell [the students] *'I will speak Spanish with you because the Profe is here'*" making sure students understand speaking Spanish is permissible under certain circumstances only.

In her explanations regarding the language use policy, Ms. Eve stated "we cannot speak Spanish with the students because [school administrators] observe our classes", revealing how a

teacher's language use is considered a performance criterion. The Spanish teacher, Ms. Susana, offered further detail clarifying that while head teachers were expected to follow the language proscription, administrators were more lenient with teacher aides, who were allowed to speak Spanish to support students when necessary. Likewise, she believed the students also took on a position regarding the appropriate language use for their academic contexts, claiming,

De los alumnos en sí ya sale eso. [Dicen] "Vos no sabes que está prohibido hablar en español a la hora de inglés?" Ellos mismos lo dicen, y en la hora de español también. Yo les digo "no es que está prohibido sino que saben que hay un momento para".

[The students say that. They say "Don't you know that it is not allowed to speak Spanish during English hours?" They say that and during Spanish hours as well. I tell them "It's not forbidden, but there are moments for this and that]. (Ms. Susana, Interview 1, May 2015)

The L1 was only theoretically forbidden in Ms. Eve's class, confirmed by the unplanned use of Spanish for pedagogical purposes on behalf of the teacher and its social function. The language patterns observed in her class are presented below, followed by a description of Ms. Susana's class.

"I don't speak Spanish!": The English classroom. Ms. Eve's lessons were conducted in English for the majority of the time, with traces of Spanish embedded in some of her utterances. Ms. Eve discouraged the use of Spanish during English hours through a variety of strategies she shared in the interviews, and which I was also able to observe. She stated it should be students' daily task to speak "only English with the teachers", demonstrating her support towards the English-only policy (Ms. Eve, Interview 1, May 2015). In order to enforce the language policy strictly, students were orally and visually reminded of the rule through

classroom posters and teacher's reminders. The classroom environment was enhanced with posters that encourage the use of phrases and expressions in English, such as: *How do you say ... in English?, May I go to the bathroom?, How do you spell...?, Move aside, please.*

The presence of Spanish, the students' and teachers' native language, was almost inevitable in this particular context due to its status as the social language for all stakeholders. In the first interview, Ms. Eve acknowledged students used Spanish with their friends, never communicating in English. If students used Spanish during English hours to address the teacher, she would prevent them from continuing until they spoke the appropriate code, interjecting "I don't speak Spanish." This was a common phrase heard during English hours, part of her advocacy for the English-only approach. The following vignettes illustrate efforts to minimize the use of L1 in the classroom.

Vignette 1

Francisco: *Yo estoy haciendo en el libro.* [I am completing the workbook]

Ms. Eve: I don't speak Spanish.

Francisco: *Pero estoy haciendo de la otra forma.* [But I am doing it the other way]

Ms. Eve: You know perfectly well how to say that in English.

Student continues working on his task.

Vignette 2

Rebeca: *¿Vamos a esperar hasta el almuerzo?* [Will we wait until lunch?]

Ms. Eve: I don't speak Spanish. We are gonna wait...(sic)

Rebeca: We are gonna wait... uh.. how you say *almuerzo*? (sic)

Ms. Eve: How do you say? (sic)

Fiorella: Lunch

Rebeca: Lunch!

These two examples occurred in different contexts. In the first vignette, the student was on task, completing an assignment posted by the teacher. His announcement was disregarded for communicating in Spanish. Vignette 2 occurred at the end of the last class period prior to lunch, as students were getting ready to leave the classroom. They exemplify how students made use of their L1 to fulfill academic and social communicative needs.

In keeping with the English-only approach, another strategy the teacher employed was suggesting students to choose English books for independent reading after tasks were completed. Although I did not observe many students asking to read books upon finishing their tasks, the few students that did were advised against reading books written in Spanish and asked to exchange those for a book in English. In the following excerpt from my notes, Jacob is reminded of this rule.

Students are taking a test and Jacob is finished early. He walks over to the classroom library and takes a book in English. He returns shortly after to browse for another one, grabbing one in Spanish, a copy of *Franklin dice "Te Quiero"*, from the Franklin series by Paulette Bourgeois. The teacher then announces aloud, looking at Jacob: "Remember that only English books! That is a Spanish book." Jacob places the book back in the shelf, and continues browsing (English Class, Observation Entry, June 17).

I followed up on this observation in the second interview I had with Ms. Eve where she justified this strategy as being part of her class. This position is connected to her strong beliefs that students should use English at all times during the English portion of the day, mentioned above. She explained the following:

[...] in my class, they must read English. Sometimes they ask, until now they continue asking, ‘Can I read a book in Spanish while we wait?’ but they know, they finish and they have to grab a book to read. It’s like part of my class [...] because during the English program, they have to read in English. That’s what I tell them. (Ms. Eve, Interview 2, October 2015)

These samples exemplify how one English teacher in this language program strived to preserve the English-only policy by implementing strategies that would ultimately encourage students to make use of the morning’s MOI for academic and social purposes.

Her language policy enforcement, nevertheless, was limited to teacher-student or student-student interactions. An interesting aspect of Ms. Eve’s class was that the language rule was enforced to compel students to speak the target language, but did not regulate her own language use. Whenever the teacher aide was present in the classroom, Ms. Eve would use English and Spanish invariably with her, even around students. In addition, the presence of Ms. Susana or other Spanish-speaking personnel in the classroom triggered her use of Spanish, placing this behavior within the realm of policy-exempt situations.

Spanish in the English Class. There was a noticeable inconsistency in the enforcement of the language rule for academic purposes during English hours. In spite of her apparent strong adherence to the policy, Ms. Eve’s practices diverged from her beliefs and her expectations for student language use. Some of these observations diverged from the teacher’s beliefs and her projection for student language use and took place mostly during teacher-guided activities. Ms. Eve would often introduce content through a brief explanation of concepts and tasks to be completed, embedding questions for vocabulary clarification as she saw fit. In the first example, she directed students’ language choice by indicating students that Spanish was not appropriate

for the situation. This strategy demonstrates Ms. Eve's encouragement to use the target language, perhaps in order to elicit content specific vocabulary or to review previously learned vocabulary.

Vignette 3

Ms. Eve: What season is fall? Don't tell me in Spanish, I want to know what happens.

Fiorella: The leaves fall and is more cold (sic)

Ms. Eve: Very good.

There were other instances in which she would accept comments or certain words in the L1, or in fact, request students to share the equivalent word or phrase in Spanish. Moreover, as part of students' strategies to communicate their ideas, code mixing was concurrent among some and Ms. Eve would either accept it or recast their utterances with the English word. An example of such practice was observed during a read aloud of "Matilda" (Dahl, 1990). While the teacher read a chapter, students listened to her. She would pause from time to time to question students about certain events that were taking place in the plot and to make connections to earlier chapters. The following vignettes indicate the teacher's approval of the non-target language.

Vignette 4: Accepting Spanish

Ms. Eve: What are punishments? To punish someone?

Jacob: *¡Castigar!*

Ms. Eve: Very good

Vignette 5: Questioning for the Spanish term

Ms. Eve: What is the Spanish word for wise?

Jacob: *¡Inteligente!*

Ines: *¡Esposa!*

Ms. Eve: That is wife, I said wise with an s. (*No response. She does not follow up on Jacob*). Wise in Spanish is *sabio*. (Continues reading in English)

The examples below show how students used code-mixing and the different ways Ms. Eve would respond to this strategy, often providing a recast of the phrase with the appropriate English word.

Vignette 6: Code-mixing, followed by Recast

Catalina: How do you say ‘*el compró más barato*’?

Ms. Eve: He bought it cheaper

Catalina: and he sell *más caro*

Ms. Eve: Yes, more expensive.

Catalina: Yes, expensive.

Vignette 7: Code-mixing, no Recast

Ms. Eve: How can we be safe in a storm?

Victor: down a *refugio* [shelter] in the house.

Ms. Eve: Very good.

These findings reveal an involuntary stray from the language policy to support the development of the lesson. There were significant efforts to achieve the desired monolingual environment during English hours, yet students and teachers faced their bilingual reality and employed Spanish as an academic tool to support the lesson and enrich the learning process.

The Spanish Classroom: “I don’t speak English.” A recurring theme in the interviews with Ms. Susana was her lack of English knowledge. Despite the absence of a specific policy for the Spanish program, this seemed to be an influential factor conducive to the creation of a

monolingual environment, imitating the language segregation that existed in the English portion of the day. Ms. Susana explained she struggled to adjust to English terminology and certain literacy features at the beginning of the school year, but eventually, through the use of technology and her colleagues' help, she was able to foster better practices. The support of other Spanish teachers was a crucial element in Ms. Susana's adjustment to this dual-language program. Her experienced colleagues directed her attention to typical mistakes that students would make and how they could be explained in terms of language transfer or due to the influence of students' literacy development in their L2.

While Ms. Susana did not incorporate the use of English as a pedagogical strategy in her class, she offered evidence on how students made use of their knowledge of English in Spanish class, whether for oral language or literacy tasks. She pointed out that students employed classroom language established and introduced by Ms. Eve for classroom management purposes, such as class jobs and school materials. She reasoned that students made use of these terms consistently because the classroom was an English-print rich environment and labels were not available in Spanish. In addition, the teacher explained students sometimes relied on their English phonics knowledge to spell words in Spanish, for example substituting letter *j* in Spanish for *h*, following English phonology (Ms. Susana, Interview 2, October 2015). This linguistic awareness broadened Ms. Susana's perspective and prompted her to be more meticulous in her L1 literacy lessons. More details on this will be offered in the subsequent section.

Ms. Susana's decision-making processes were impacted by the complications English brought into her instructional hours. In an attempt to cope with these difficulties, she established her own classroom management rules, explaining to students "in Spanish, we do as the *profe* says and in English we follow the *miss*" (Ms. Susana, Interview 1, May, 2015). The distinction

between the *profe* and the *miss* elucidate the breach the language policy creates between programs and teachers. Similar efforts to that of Spanish proscription in the L2 classroom were observed in Ms. Susana's teaching periods, encouraging students to practice reading, always clarifying to choose books written in Spanish, but not in English. These decisions further segregated the languages in this particular classroom, generating monolingual, independent spaces led by each teacher.

Just as English hours were characterized by the inconsistent use of Spanish on behalf of the students for academic and non-academic related functions, the Spanish class experienced a similar phenomenon, but to a lesser degree. The use of certain L2 vocabulary code-mixed in Spanish utterances was popular among students. These words or phrases were noticed in oral utterances, whereas their writing samples incorporated features of English literacy (i.e. spelling with English phonics). Moreover, the similarity of concepts taught in both programs granted students the opportunity to establish connections between both programs.

There were some instances in which I identified students employing English words or phrases during oral communication in the Spanish portion of the day. Those were clear examples of how students do not compartmentalize their linguistic repertoire by language, as the language separation policy suggests. Code-mixing occurred often, using specific classroom vocabulary or basic words, supporting Ms. Susana's observation. The examples below illustrate the students' language use for private speech and also in a dialogue between two girls about lending materials.

Vignette 8

Victor: *Terminé mi trabajo y ahora tengo un break y voy a pintar.* [I finished my work and now I have a break and I will color]

Vignette 9

Fiorella: ¿Puedo usar los tuyos? [May I use yours?]

Agustina: No, vos tenés los tuyos. [No, you have your own.]

Fiorella: Please! (begging)

Agustina does not respond, but lets Fiorella use the pencils.

In vignette 8, I was sitting close to Victor as he was completing his assignment. Private speech was a common feature in this particular student, who would use it to guide his academic tasks. In this instance, he could have used the word *descanso*, yet he chose to externalize his thoughts bilingually. In the girls' dialogue, English serves an emphatic function. Fiorella begged her classmate, elongating the word *please*, to convey meaning. Again, the Spanish equivalent *por favor* would have sufficed in this situation, but their bilingual selves allowed them to code-mix. Other situations in which English was used consistently in the classroom during my visits were when students would address me, as they associated my presence there with my role as a former English teacher.

Besides the use of common classroom language in English, there was one overt episode in which a student made explicit connections between her first and second language during my visits. The student, Rebeca, made a connection between lessons from the English language arts class to the content Ms. Susana was reviewing on that day on nouns. As the teacher questioned students, elicited the difference between common and proper nouns, and asked for example items, Rebeca, who was sitting in the back row of the class, shared her insights with her desk partner. The following vignette illustrates this episode.

Vignette 10:

Ms. Susana: ¿Cuál es el sustantivo? [Which is the noun?]

Student: yaguareté [Jaguar]

Ms. S: *¿Quién me dice por qué?* [Can somebody tell me why?]

Student: *Porque es el nombre de un animal* [Because it's the name of an animal]

Rebeca: *Aaaah. Sí. Como nouns en inglés es, ¿viste?* [Oh, yes. It's like nouns in English, see?]

Following the discussion Ms. Susana initiated, Rebeca identified nouns as a concept she had already learned in English. Through this comment, she demonstrates how her metalinguistic awareness is developing and the concepts she is learning in each language are in concert with each other. Ms. Susana, however, did not perceive this episode and proceeded with the lesson without making reference to Rebeca's remark, most likely due to the physical distance that separated the student from the teacher.

In our second interview, I inquired about this type of behavior in the classroom and Ms. Susana was surprised the student had not shared this with the class and wondered if it could be the result of the gap that exists between both programs and how students perceive content from one class as being "irrelevant" for the other (Ms. Susana, Interview #2, October 2015). She also explained she made the point to students she did not speak English, most likely affecting their behavior and language choices in the Spanish class, hence the absence of more overt or observable code-mixing.

Although Ms. Susana felt she was unable to capitalize on her students' valuable language practices due to language constraints, she managed to create spaces that nurtured students' literacy development in Spanish by drawing connections between their L2 and L1. These instances were limited during my visit, but nonetheless important to demonstrate the potential behind contrastive analysis strategies that engage students in processes of metalinguistic

awareness. The following extract from my field notes illustrates the ways in which Ms. Susana elicited from students features of writing in Spanish that differ from English:

Ms. Susana is writing word problems on the whiteboard and students are silently copying in their notebooks. One asks how many more will they copy and she replies not to worry. Immediately, she adds, “*Acuérdense que cuando escribo una pregunta en español, ¿dónde pongo los signos de interrogación?*” [Don’t forget that when you write a question in Spanish, where do you put the question mark?] All respond “*Al principio y al final*” [In the beginning and end]. She follows, “*¿Y de exclamación?* [And the exclamation mark?],” “*También al inicio y al final* [Also in the beginning and the end]”, students reply. (Spanish Class, Observation Entry, June 17)

Although Ms. Susana did not explicitly focus on the differences between both languages, she implied there is a distinction by drawing attention to a specific written language aspect and highlighting that it applies to writing in Spanish.

The incidental use of the target and the non-target language during English class and the connections made between the two during Spanish class demonstrates the students’ and teachers’ metalinguistic awareness. The unplanned and strategic use of both languages indicate the bilingual identities of all stakeholders, teachers and students. Although the language policy aims to nurture students’ second language acquisition by restricting the use of one language, their behaviors are solid examples of students’ emergent bilingualism/biliteracy.

Teachers’ response to written language. Writing samples in English and Spanish further validated these students’ emergent biliteracy. The selection of writing samples I collected included mainly original narratives created by the students, as well as several extracts from their notebooks. Although code-mixing Spanish and English mostly occurred in English hours, the

students written productions demonstrates the bi-directionality of cross-linguistic transfer across the L1 and L2 (Dworin, 2003). Moreover, translanguaging acknowledges a functional interrelationship between the literacy practices that an individual has gained in both languages (Velasco & García, 2014). This dynamism is verified in the students' short narratives, where Spanish literacy features are recognized in their English writings, as well as traces of the English language in Spanish, in different language areas: phonology, morphosyntax and lexical choice.

At the time of data collection, these samples had all been assessed and revised by each language teacher. Similarities across teachers' revisions were manifested in the corrections or highlights they made on students' writing. Samples written in English had received marks for including lexical items in Spanish and for incorrect spelling, which often included traces of phonological transfer from the L1 to the L2 (See Figure 1).

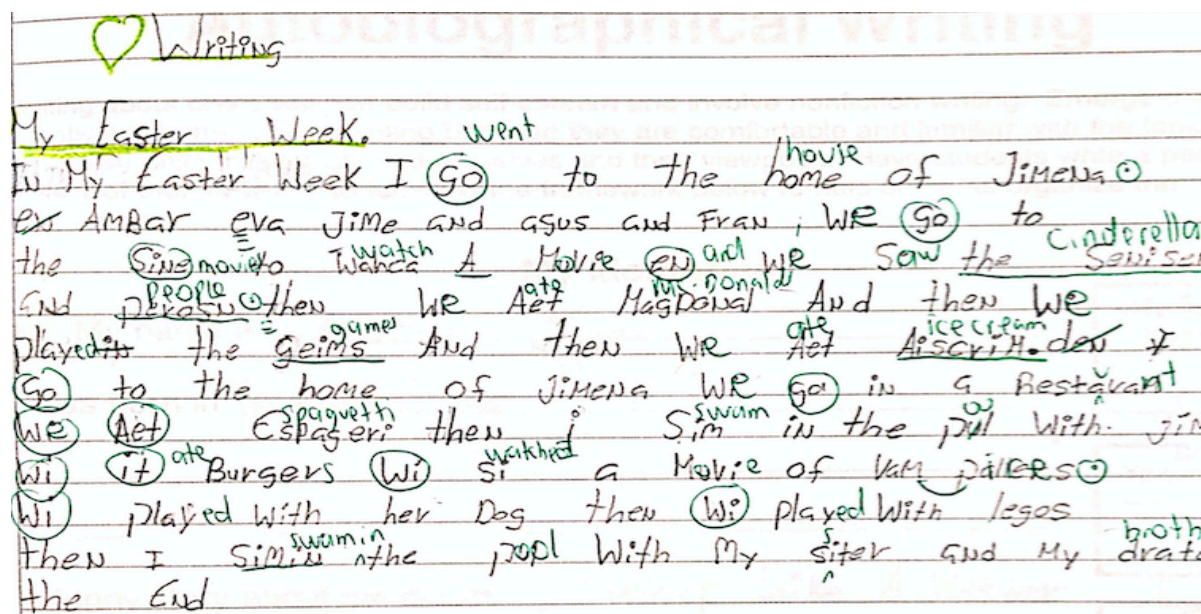


Figure 1. Ms. Eve's response: error marks for lexical and phonological transfer.

Ms. Eve explained that for writing assignments in English Language Arts she would correct "all mistakes, spelling mistakes [and] conventions," but this practice was less rigorous for content area assignments, like Science and Social Studies, where her interest was on mastery of

concepts, not language (Ms. Eve, Interview #2, October, 2015). These practices revealed how the language teacher could potentially penalize cross-linguistic transfer, depending on the communicative intention of the task.

The writing samples in Spanish contained less lexical transference than the English pieces did. Ms. Susana stated it was uncommon for students to include words in English, although there were times in which they would select names in English for their stories' characters or words such as *brownies*. Students' Spanish writing also incorporated features of the L2, mostly using English phonology for certain words, which were marked as errors in their pieces (See Figures 2 & 3).

3 cuando h caso herrhesisio respiro sin
parar

Figure 2. Ms. Susana's response.

Phonological Transfer: *ejercicio* as *herrhesisio*

"Cuando ago **herrhesisio** respiro sin parar" [*Cuando hago ejercicio respiro sin parar* / When I exercise I breath hard]

Paseando encontré a una jirafa que tenía
el cuello tan largo que la jamó Cojares
Largos y se la llevo a su casa. EL tigre el

Figure 3. Ms. Susana's response to writing. Phonological Transfer

"Paseando encontré a una jirafa que tenía el cuello tan largo que la jamó Cojares Largos y se la llevo a su casa." [While taking a stroll, he found a giraffe with a really long neck, he called her Long Necklaces and took her home].

She further added she could not assist students with spelling of these words and would thus encourage students to use words in Spanish (Ms. Susana, Interview 1, June 2015). Moreover,

she would modify texts with more culturally appropriate language, such as changing the name of a city in a math word problem for that of a city in Paraguay (Observation entry, June 17, 2015). As noted above, Ms. Susana regretted her lack of English proficiency to better assist students in their biliteracy development.

These writing samples show how students used their knowledge of Spanish linguistics to achieve an academic purpose in the L2. Moreover, their developing literacy in English also assisted them in their writing pieces in Spanish. Students' strategies were relatively comparable in both languages, employing code-mixing and borrowing language features from one of their languages to the other, a sign of their interliteracy development (Gort, 2006). While these were positive outcomes that transpired in spite of the English-only policy, both teachers viewed these as incorrect and a result of negative transfer from the other language. A discussion of findings as well as their implications is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The findings from this study shed light on the effects a language policy may have on teacher's beliefs and attitudes regarding language use in a bilingual context and in turn, how it mediates their classroom pedagogies. This study considered translanguaging practices as natural affordances of bilingual school settings in teacher-student interactions, as well as in students' performance in oral and written tasks. Findings corroborate the language policy influences pedagogical decisions that perpetuate the monolingual approach and cause a separation between teachers in the same cohort. Even with the presence of organic transactions between the L1 and L2 that took place for content learning, monolingualism prevailed in each language class, despite the Bilingual Academy's ultimate goal: bilingualism.

The teacher interviews and classroom observations exemplified the extent to which the Bilingual Academy encourages monolingual teaching to ensure students' exposure to the target language through teacher-student interactions. The monolingual methodology may come about as a result of the homogeneous, Spanish speaking population found in the school and in the wider community. Access to authentic language is therefore a limitation the school faces, which motivates the 'time on task' approach for the development of language and literacy (Genesee, 2015). Under the one teacher/one language model, educators were part of a non-collaborative system for a co-teaching condition.

Teachers' Perception of the Language Separation

The first sub-question asked how teachers perceived the language separation in this particular bilingual program. A common theme across both teachers was the apparent dissociation that existed between the curricular objectives based on the MOI. Through classroom observations I obtained insider's data on both teachers' practices, revealing that their academic

goals and objectives did not diverge, in fact were extremely similar, so much so, that Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana introduced the same science concepts and reviewed literacy concepts within the same days. Ms. Eve demonstrated a degree of awareness on the similarities existing between content, yet observed it caused interference in her instruction, influencing students' motivation and interest on those already covered topics.

These two teachers' perspectives on the need for collaborative teaching differed, where Ms. Eve contemplated students' socio-affective needs as a shared responsibility, while Ms. Susana asserted it was common objectives in the realm of literacy and cognitive skills that called for a fusion of responsibilities. Ms. Susana's role as Spanish teacher and the obstacles she faced in consideration of the language arrangement granted her with a vantage point that was not available to Ms. Eve, who enjoyed the benefits of an English monolingual space that supported her corresponding instructional goals. This difference is substantially relevant when contrasting both teachers' perspectives as they are shaped by their experiences in their professional world. To Ms. Susana, the language separation – or for this effect, absence- influenced students' attitudes towards the L1 and their awareness of English as the dominant language in the school, a position not expressed nor implied by Ms. Eve.

The efforts to create a bilingual environment at the Academy were frustrated by the lack of horizontal articulation between both teachers. Teachers demonstrated being negligent in their affiliation to their co-teachers in relation to planning and curricular objectives, a possible consequence of not having shared instructional time in keeping with the monolingual approach (Cook, 2001). The science lesson was a strong example of how teachers can draw points of convergence through the similarities of their content and engage students in lessons that promote use of their entire linguistic repertoire for mastery of concepts. Moreover, like the teachers in

Gort and Pontier (2013), *coordinated monolingual strategies* can provide a safe space for students to translanguage, asserting teachers' and students' identities as bilinguals.

The classroom's physical organization endorsed the dominant status of the L2 in the classroom, reinforcing the artificial independence between the languages of instruction. The limited presence of Spanish print marginalized the students' L1, making the language unattractive and irrelevant to students according to Ms. Susana. The distinct division between the languages of instruction resulted in an imbalance of power for each language, shaping the educators' appraisal of the bilingual program and influencing students' sense of ownership of their cultural background (Cummins, 2012). Because teachers did not work collaboratively to create a bilingual classroom environment, it may be inferred that an articulation between language teachers was not prioritized.

Due to the strong emphasis placed on English as the sole means of communication, this particular classroom environment did not provide enough support to these emergent bilinguals for contrastive analysis nor samples of both languages of instruction to use as a scaffold. A keen observation worth highlighting was the dissociation children in this classroom experienced who, according to Ms. Susana, were oblivious to the parallelism that existed across languages of instruction. However, as seen in the literature review, emergent bilingual students employ their metalinguistic knowledge to create texts and communicate in the target language (Gort, 2006; Velasco & García, 2014) and these particular students were not an exception.

The findings also point to the possible advantages that greater cohesion among Spanish and English teachers may return. By bridging the content taught in each language, teaching dyads can create opportunities to develop multicultural awareness in students. The science lessons on natural disasters were taught from culturally distant locations given the English

textbook was from an American editorial and the Spanish textbook from a regional one. A collaborative approach between co-teachers may enable the classroom environment to become more conducive to achieve multicultural mindedness through these emergent bilinguals' languages. The homogeneity found at the Bilingual Academy diverges from some of the needs multicultural spaces face, yet its multilingualism sets the ground for the adoption of a pedagogy that empowers educators to foster instruction that valorizes students' identities (García & Wei, 2014).

Teachers' Attitudes and Beliefs on Language Use at the Bilingual Academy

The second sub-question asked what were the attitudes and beliefs these teachers had on language use. These co-teachers disagreed on the language policy and had different beliefs regarding the use of the L1 and L2 in the classroom. In both cases, different factors influenced their attitudes on language use, such as their teaching positions, the environment and the policy itself.

The main motivators behind Ms. Eve's strict observance of the language policy in the classroom were the administrative scrutiny language teachers faced and her position as the foreign language teacher. The responsibilities outlined by the school for EFL teacher included maintaining virtual English-only spaces, exerting pressure on her instructional practices and performance. In addition, in order to ensure progress in the language acquisition process, she believed it necessary to compel students to use the MOI for their interactions. These efforts were unsuccessful to achieve social use of the L2 in light of the diglossic situation she observed among students and the languages of instruction. Her teaching position, coupled with administrative resolutions, seemed to justify her decision to maintain a monolingual approach.

Contrary to her absolute English-only rule, Ms. Eve believed flexibility towards the inclusion of Spanish would support less confident and/or less proficient students to communicate in class. She believed the L1 would facilitate student participation during English hours by giving them the chance to communicate their ideas in any of the MOI, acknowledging the function Spanish may fulfill “to involve and give voice” (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 210). Corcoll (2013) corroborated Ms. Eve’s prediction, in which the presence of the L1s in the additional language class received positive feedback from young learners in a motivation survey. This teacher, furthermore, deemed the use of Spanish for comprehension purposes as inapplicable in light of her own assessment of comprehension levels students usually achieved by the end of the school year.

These two different positions uncover a fundamental dichotomy in Ms. Eve’s attitudes towards the language policy and language use. Administrative decisions essentially took precedence over her own beliefs, shaping her instructional decisions. In practice, she strived to uphold the monolingual approach epitomizing the virtual position (Macaro, 2001) and ignoring her hypothesis that L1 use may have positive effects. Supportive of the language policy, Ms. Eve displayed agreement by guiding her practice based on the principles outlined by the school, similar to one of the teachers in Macaro (2001) who allowed “the influence of a governmental agency to override personal beliefs based on practice” (p. 545).

Ms. Susana had a more affirmative outlook on the value the ‘other language’ might bring to her literacy instruction, potentially raising students’ metalinguistic awareness. The instructional value she assigned to the L2 for literacy development in the students’ native language supports the bidirectional transaction noted by Dworin (2003) and syncretic literacy practices observed across bilingual/biliterate learners (Reyes & Moll, 2010). This attitude

recognizes the latent role the L1 educator has on language and literacy development of the L2, offering support by drawing comparisons across languages and consequently, increasing students' command of their entire linguistic repertoire.

Although Ms. Susana's beliefs correspond to a translanguaging pedagogy, she concluded her actual practice was relatively thwarted in relation to her low language proficiency in English. Despite her beliefs, her practices confirmed that even educators who don't speak the languages of their multicultural/multilingual audience could employ translanguaging practices to support students' learning process (Cummins, 2007; García & Wei, 2014; Palmer, et al., 2014). Moreover, Ms. Susana demonstrated support towards a more collaborative approach given she believed it could furnish her with the necessary contextual details of the English medium classes in order to bridge lessons across subjects areas and activate students' prior knowledge (Cummins, 2012).

Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana shared beliefs that meet or intersect at given points. Both agreed there is pedagogical value in the use of the other language, either to motivate students to participate or for metalinguistic awareness; they also agree on the need to have greater cohesion with their language counterpart to support content learning and literacy development in both languages. In spite of this commonality, both of their practices were in stark opposition to their beliefs and aligned with the monolingual policy.

Teachers' Response to Students' Oral And Written Language

The third sub-question explored the teachers' practices in relation to language use. Consistent with current research, there were pedagogical practices in this second grade classroom that illustrated the natural transactions that occur within bilingual contexts, even around a language policy. The use of the L1 for instructional purposes was much more common

in the English class, than the use of L2 in the Spanish one, an effect related to Ms. Susana's limited English proficiency. Ms. Eve's bilingualism allowed her to initiate flexible bilingual pedagogies (Creese & Blackledge, 2010) fulfilling two main functions: reinforcing concepts and endorsing hybrid language uses to move the task along (García & Leiva, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010). These natural translanguaging practices were unplanned and unconscious choices Ms. Eve made that contradict the strong adherence she declared toward the English-only policy (García & Wei, 2014; Macaro, 2001). Although her L1 use was unpredictable, it demonstrated the environment could not espouse absolute monolingualism due to her bilingual nature (and that of the students'). Other bilingual interactions with the teacher aide or other staff added to understand the school's language ecology 'Policy-exempt' situations further added to understand the school's language ecology, such as bilingual interactions with the teacher aide or other staff. The limited amount of time spent in the classroom, however, prevented me from obtaining more detailed and thorough data on the use of Spanish among English teachers.

Moreover, Ms. Susana's practices uncovered the ecological nature of bilingual environments by drawing from across the continua of biliteracy to emphasize certain skills and practices pertinent to one language, yet inappropriate for the other (Hornberger, 2004). Although the connections to English were rather covert, the strong emphasis she made on '*how it's done in Spanish*' demonstrated the presence of different literacy practices that deserved their attention and corroborated that "adding and integrating new linguistic resources cannot be done without reference to those linguistic resources the child already has" (Velasco & García, 2014, p. 21), in this case in their L2. These teacher-initiated instances, although limited, serve as evidence that making overt connections to ensure progress of L1 literacy may have a positive, tangential effect on interliteracy maturation (Gort, 2006). Even as an advocate of nurturing bilingual identities,

certain practices in her class divulged skepticism towards hybrid language use in light of the highly monolingual environment in which Ms. Susana was inserted, much like the teachers in Varghese (2008).

The monolingual policy, enacted through different instructional decisions, was very much a part of this class and further contributed to the division between teachers and languages. In order to generate spaces that promoted use of the language of instruction, both manipulated language choice for independent reading, raising important questions on how educators within a bilingual context can valorize and affirm students' bilingual identities (Cummins, 2012). Moreover, their responses to language transfer observed in writing samples speak to the monolingual standards and expectations teachers have for students' performance "in accordance with artificial bounds of social norms and language" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 135). To further add, Ms. Susana's choice of separate classroom rules may have implicitly sponsored students' perception that teachers, languages and content are independent of one another.

The most prominent practices that reflected the language policy were observed in Ms. Eve's classroom, as was expected considering her viewpoint on the pressing need to have students use the target language. Her rejection of Spanish occurred in the academic and social domains of the classroom through her popular interjections, displaying a binary role of monolingual and bilingual behavior for different purposes, mainly instructional for the former and social for the latter (Gort & Pontier, 2013). The value she placed on form over meaning in pedagogical interactions led her to ignore Spanish as a mediator and cognitive resource for content comprehension, as well as a scaffolding tool for language acquisition (Cummins, 2012). The absence of space for students to develop their voice, in spite of the teacher's reported beliefs, are consistent with those found in Lee (2007), who suggests "form follows function and thus,

when educators respect the nature of language – its communicative function – it usually results in learning of the form” (p. 121).

These descriptions of Ms. Eve and Ms. Susana are not intended as criticism, but rather to understand how a combination of teachers’ personal beliefs and a school policy stimulate myriad practices in particular classrooms. Research conducted from a sociocultural lens support the role of the teacher as mediator to make interactions more fruitful (Martin-Beltrán, 2010), suggesting possible strategies educators in bilingual education may adopt to negotiate content in both languages of instruction and thus provide students with further opportunities to engage in the lesson. Even when strategies are implemented haphazardly, they can be effective in their outcomes, enabling the teacher to become a mediator and not just a language regulator.

Implications

Macaro (2001) argued for the need to establish a framework for language teachers to determine when the L1 use constitutes a valuable tool and thus, work towards a “theory of optimality” (p. 545). If the orientation of EFL bilingual programs derives from the notion of language as a problem (Hall, et al., 2011), mainly that the L1 causes interference, and accordingly designs a policy to avoid language contact, it will be difficult to adopt an approach by which teachers promote use of students’ entire language repertoire as a mediational tool for learning. In order to adopt functional and effective bilingual instructional strategies, systematic observation should record strategies students naturally employ, but might do so haphazardly, and inform pedagogical decisions, rather than educators “imposing their own views” (Canagarajah, 2011, p. 415; Palmer, et al., 2014).

This study has only begun to illustrate how language policies in elite bilingual schools may act as an incidental factor that shapes the organization of teaching cohorts and influences

teachers' perceptions, personal beliefs and pedagogical practices, beyond its sincere intention of creating auspicious monolingual spaces for language acquisition. A closer examination of the classroom's interactions offer a clear contrast to the monolingualism the policy promotes demonstrating the bilingual culture of this second grade class. Based on the teachers' reported observed natural translanguaging practices that emerged in the classroom it can be inferred that the "values of the teacher mediate the policies of the institution" (Canagarajah, p. 416), albeit at an unconscious level.

The implications for foreign language teaching via bilingual models are significant. Despite the contextual differences between ESL and EFL contexts, educators and learners engage in similar processes. The occurrence of the L1 in the L2 classroom and opportunities for contrastive analysis in the L1 classroom are evidence of potential bilingual strategies that can promote a classroom culture of acceptance of voices and active participation (García & Wei, 2014; Tavares, 2015). I argue that in order to reach consensus on a *theory of optimality* (Macaro, 2001) and promote *official translanguaging practices* (García & Wei, 2014), it is necessary to engage teachers and administrators in critical discussions that encourage "flexible bilingualism in a pedagogic context to involve students in instructional activities" (Gort & Pontier, 2012, p. 240). The monolingual and bilingual educators teaching one language in elite bilingual schools are called to action to become models of translanguaging, designing and structuring spaces conducive to the purposeful and dynamic use of students' entire linguistic repertoire (Canagarajah, 2011; Gort & Pontier, 2012; Palmer, et al., 2014).

Limitations of this Study and Directions for Future Research

The goal of this study was to better understand the influence a monolingual approach has on the beliefs and practices of educators in an elite bilingual school in Paraguay. The results

should be interpreted with caution considering the study's limitations. First, the limited number of consenting participants raises considerations for interpreting the data and I acknowledge the results may not be representative of all teaching cohorts at the Bilingual Academy. Second, data collection at the site was brief and spanned over two weeks only, allowing a one-time snapshot of the language patterns found in one particular classroom. In addition, the study was conducted halfway through the school year. It would be interesting to take a longitudinal approach with cross-sectional methodology for data collection to determine if students' performance in the L1 and L2 changes significantly over the course of one school year and whether teachers' strategies vary accordingly. Third, considering the data was obtained from one partial immersion program, it may be worth obtaining data from multiple sites that incorporate foreign language teaching in bilingual models to further understand the dynamic interplay of the languages of instruction and how educators articulate their beliefs and the institutions' pedagogical philosophies. Finally, another potential limitation in this study was conducting the interviews with Ms. Eve in English, her second language. It is possible that had the interview been conducted in Spanish, her responses might have been more elaborate and provided further insight into her practices.

Future research can focus on collaborative teaching in bilingual education to further explore the "negotiation of spaces, roles and pedagogical practices" (Dávila, Kolano & Coffey, in press) necessary to achieve articulation between teachers and avoid the misleading parallelism they may perceive. Also, studies can document young emergent bilingual/biliterate learners' natural translanguaging practices in foreign language contexts, using a bilingual lens to understand the bidirectional transactions between the L1 and L2 and consequently, restructure language teachers' practices through research-based evidence. Lastly, the diglossia observed in bilingual settings may seem to justify the 'two solitudes assumptions' (Cummins, 2007). A

possible line of research to corroborate the value of translanguaging pedagogies and challenge monolingual assumptions within the EFL realm could be longitudinal, quasi-experimental studies with between-subjects designs to explore the potential gains learners may make in their L1 and L2 literacy and oral proficiency levels in relation to a translanguaging pedagogy. Given the growing numbers of bilingual schools worldwide, further research can further explore how language educators in foreign language contexts can harness students' cultural and linguistic funds of knowledge in mutually beneficial ways.

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