

Regards critiques sur la notion de langue : vers quelles pratiques en éducation ?

La langue et le loup: "Y mientras jugamos el lobo vendrá"

Ofelia García

The Graduate Center, City University of New York

ogarcia@gc.cuny.edu;

www.ofeliagarcia.org

18 juin 2019



La langue et le loup: Le Petit Chaperon Rouge

I. **Ma vie** et ma langue: Le loup se cache



II. L'èmergence de **la sociolinguistique**: Walking with the wolf



III. La Linguistique appliquée et le le multilinguisme dans une **économie néolibérale**: Le loup se déguise



III. La sociolinguistique et la linguistique appliqué **critique**: Uncovering the wolf and conscientização



I. La langue: Le loup se cache (1961-1970s)

1. Ma vie en cubano- Rendered “stupid”

7th grade - “She’s just a stupid Cuban girl”

2. Ma vie en anglais – Rendered “remedial”

High School “Group D – A subject called “English”

3. Ma vie en español – “En español no se dice”

College – La profesora Bonilla

4. Ma vie comme prof – “In English only”

Teaching bilingually before the Bilingual Education movement



II. La sociolinguistique et la sociologie de la langue

Cracking open spaces (assisting) languages of minoritized people



II. La sociolinguistique: The historical context

1. The Colonial structure crumbles. Independence of colonies.
End of colonialism

2. Civil rights and the Ethnic Revival



II. La sociolinguistique et le bilinguisme: Walking with the wolf in hindsight

*“Dearie, I've heard that **Granny is ill**, so you shall go and see her; **in this basket** I've put a cake and some lovely fresh butter, take them to her **with my love.**”*



La sociolinguistique: Its function in hindsight

1. The Colonial structure crumbles. End of colonialism

Beginning of “coloniality” (A. Quijano, 1991)

- “**Colonial power matrix**” – not exploitation of labor & domination by authority, but **imposition of dominant western epistemology and knowledge**.
- **Race and racism** as organizing principle of superior & inferior, and knowledge as valid or folklore/magic.

2. Civil rights and the Ethnic Revival

*Policy of **Liberal multiculturalism** (J. Melamed; E. Haque)/ **Liberal bilingualism***

- **Calm tensions** over civil rights, while **organizing** “white settler hegemony” which obscures racial & linguistic **exclusions**

II. La sociolinguistique et le bilinguisme: Policies & frameworks as **instruments**

What are instruments of assistance, but that also work as instruments of coloniality and liberal bilingualism?

1. Language planning & policies
2. Bilingualism
3. Diglossia, LM & LS
4. Language-in-education policies & Bilingualism in schools

1. Language Planning & Policies: Solving “problems” of newly independent nation-states

- **Aim:** Finding *solutions to social problems created by language differences* (Jernudd & Das, 1971)
- **Language policies:** “ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve *planned language change in society*” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997)

Naturalization: Language as used in dominant societies

2. Bilingualism “like sand” in stream

Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (1953)

- **Interference** as “**deviations from the norms** of either language in the speech of bilinguals”
- “The introduction of **foreign elements** into the more highly structured domain of language.” (Weinreich, 1953, p. 1)

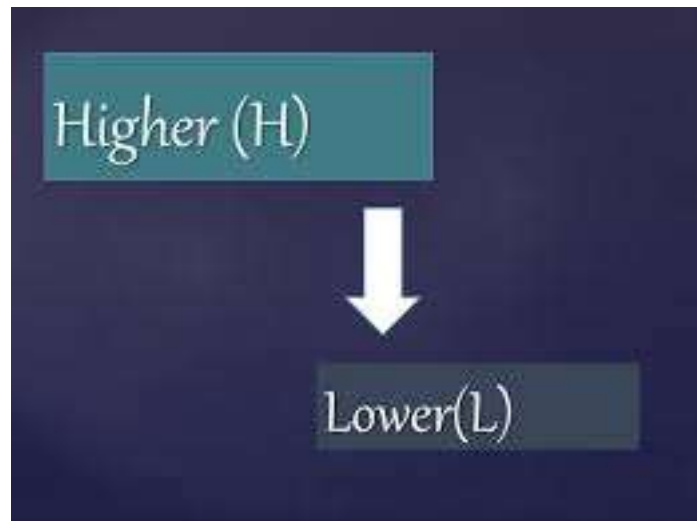


2. Bilingualism: Focus on language categories

- Languages are L1/MT/ L2
- Native and non-native languages
- Non-native languages (“foreign” elements that have sand: Loans, calques and code-switches

Naturalization: Language of dominant monolingual colonizers

3. Diglossia: Describing processes of minoritization



Naturalization: Language = use of powerful colonizers & control of others

3. Diglossia: Language maintenance & shift



Language as entity that can be maintained and shifted to another

Naturalization: Language = use of powerful colonizers & control of others

4. Language-in-education policies & bilingualism in schools

- *Monolingual Education*
- *Bilingual Education*: UNESCO (1953): “We take it as axiomatic that the best medium for teaching is **the mother tongue** of the pupil. . . .But **with** any hundreds of languages lacking a **WRITTEN FORM**, it is difficult for these aims to be pursued.”

Graphocentrism: Language = written form

4. Bilingualism in schools (W. Lambert, 1974)

Subtractive bilingualism

$L1 + L2 = L2$



Additive bilingualism

$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$



Naturalization of elite bilingualism

4. Bilingualism in schools

Naturalization of language as *psycholinguistic entity*

J. Cummins: Common Underlying Proficiency

Common underlying proficiency (1981): Knowledge and abilities acquired in one language are potentially available for the development of another.

**Naturalization of language as only psycholinguistic &
Calming tensions**



4. Bilingualism in schools:

The two solitudes (J. Cummins, 2008)

L1



L2



Naturalization of diglossic curricular arrangements =
Hierarchies, Power & Language of elite monolinguals

II. Summary: In Hindsight....

Sociolinguistic frameworks and schools:

Language naturalized as that of dominant speakers

1. Solving “problems” of language difference
2. Stopping the sand flow, the “interference”
3. Keeping languages separate to maintain the power differentials
4. Promoting artificial additive bilingualism & language as simply a psycholinguistic entity

- ***“Coloniality”*** (A. Quijano, 1991), domination by imposition of western epistemologies of “white settler” privilege
- ***Liberal multiculturalism/Liberal bilingualism:*** Appeasement of raciolinguistic tensions

III. La linguistique appliquée, la sociolinguistique et la langue à l'école: XXI siècle

THE CONTEXT

- **Neoliberalism**

“Deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision.” (Harvey, 2005, p. 3)

- **Displacement, brown & black immigrants & refugees**

U.S.: No Child Left Behind, 2002

- Accountability and high-stakes testing
- End of Bilingual Education Act

III. El lobo se disfraza/camouflaging:

Applied Linguistics & sociolinguistics in the 21st century

Continuing to hide by making believe to “be good” while constructing more “bad hombres/speakers” as a “niche market” for educational products



Continuation of Coloniality:

Hidden dominance in the imposition of language that doesn't fit minoritized speakers

III. Sociolinguistics & schools in a neoliberal era

What are instruments of assistance, but that also work as instruments of neoliberalism and continued coloniality?

1. The concept of “academic language”

2. Language education policy

In U.S.

a. The Common Core State Standards

b. “Dual language education”

- ***Appearance of benevolent support*** towards language minoritized speakers.
- **Imposition of narrowing definition of language** that does not fit bilingual minoritized speakers
- **Expanding remedial markets** of education for more students

1. Why “academic language?” Appearance of benevolence

Learning ***academic English*** is probably one of the surest, most reliable ways of attaining ***socio-economic success in the United States*** today. This *variety of English* entails the *multiple, complex features of English* required for “*long-term success in public schools, completion of higher education, and employment with opportunity for professional **advancement and financial rewards***” (Scarcella, 2003).

Does anyone know what is academic language?

- “Somewhat **inchoate and underspecified**” (Snow & Uccelli, 2009)
- “ **No agreed-upon definition** of either academic English or academic language in general” (Valdés, 2004) .

Teachers define “academic language”

- “They” don’t have it
- “They” are nilingües

Where in the world is “English academic language” Sociolinguists enter

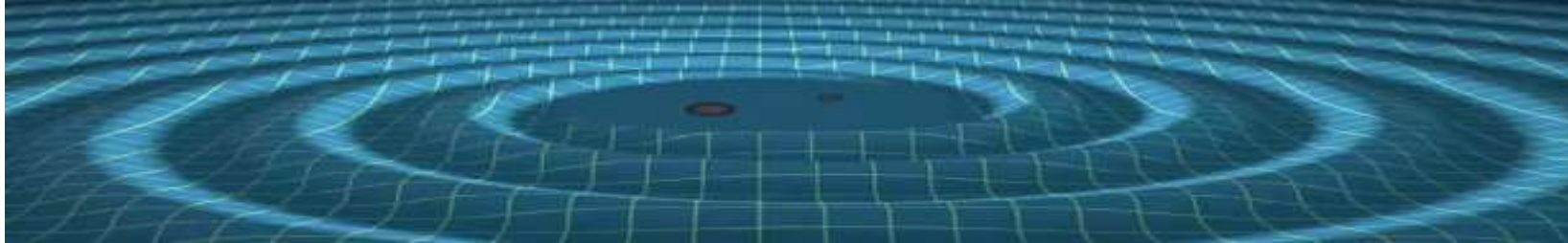
Relying on System Functional Linguistics (Halliday, 1978, 2004) and defined by **texts, produced by, and for, white monolingual middle-class speakers**

- The length and complexity of sentences and the use of subordinating conjunctions,
- The frequent inclusion of long noun phrases with embedded clauses
- The prevalent use of nominalization
- The utilization of complex and unfamiliar vocabulary

(Bailey, 2007; Di Cerbo et al., 2014; Scarcella, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004; Snow and Uccelli, 2009, among others).

Circular and expanding construction of categories of “English language learners”

- Circularity – Academic language is what “they don’t have.”



- Expanding who is an ELL
- New categories – “Long Term English Language Learners,” “English Language Learners with Disabilities,” “Students with Interrupted Formal Education” (SIFE)
- “They” will need to be in segregated “remedial special programs”
- “They” need special products for instruction and assessment
- “They” are a profitable “niche market.”

2a. The Common Core State Standards (2010): Expanding processes of minoritization & exclusion

- “To ensure that K-12 students were “**college and career ready**” by the time they finished high school.
- Poor performance of the United States in the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA).
 - "Governors recognize the irrefutable ***links between a quality education, a productive workforce, and a sound economy. Our competitiveness*** relies on an education system that can adequately prepare our youth for college and the workforce” (Dane Line, in National Governors Association 2009).

2a. Common Core State Standards: Expanding processes of minoritization & exclusion

- Total **exclusion** of bilingual minoritized speakers.
- Only **two and a half pages** to “English language learners,” acknowledging that “these students *may require additional time, appropriate instructional support, and aligned assessments*”

2b. Dual language programs

- Bilingualism **not named**
- Two languages “academic” - **separately**.
- Language minoritized students cannot participate unless **half of their classmates** are said to be “native English speakers,” **usually white monolingual student**
- For language minoritized students, instruction focuses on **remediating bilingual practices** and developing their “academic English,” but also their “academic language other than English,” rendering them “**languageless**” (Rosa, 2018)

III. Summary

Sociolinguistic frameworks & schools in a neoliberal era

- Academic language is **exclusive “property” of “monolingual” elites & can be marketed for profit**
- ***Enregisterment*** (Agha, 2005) through Standards & Assessments of language minoritized speakers, as **“needing” products to “solve” their linguistic “problems”**.

Functions:

- 1. Submission to behavior.**
- 2. Expanded niche market.**

IV. Critical sociolinguistics

Uncovering the wolf and conscientizaçao



- --Abuelita, qué boca **más grande** tú tienes!!!!
- --Para comerte mejor.

IV. Critical Sociolinguistics: Dimensions & scholars

1. Heteroglossia (*Bakhtin, Volosinov*)

- **Beyond la langue:** *J. Aden; Blackledge & Creese; Blommaert; Jiménez-García; Li Wei, Pennycook*

2. Power (Bourdieu, 1982; Foucault, 1980)

- **Disinvention:** *Makoni & Pennycook, 2007*
- **Discrimination/Raciolinguistics:** *Blanchet, 2016 (glottophobie); Costa, 2017; García, Flores & Spotti, 2017; Hélot, Léglise, 2015; Flores & Rosa, 2015; Rosa & Flores, 2018*
- **Decoloniality:** *Menezes de Souza, 2007; Mignolo 2000; Boaventura de Souza Santos, 2000*
- **Profit/Neoliberalism:** *Duchêne & Heller, 2013; Heller & McElhinny, 2018; Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar, 2018; Martín-Rojo & Del Percio, 2019)*

IV La sociolinguistique critique

Uncovering the processes of **minoritization of bilinguals**

Translanguaging as a critical sociolinguistic instrument to transform understandings of la langue

Translanguaging: Precursors in the US: Gloria Anzaldúa, “Borderlands/La Frontera” – *Taming the Wild Tongue* (1987)

1. Silencing:

“El Anglo con cara de inocente **nos arrancó la lengua. Wild tongues can’t be tamed, they can only be cut out**” (p. 76).

2. Language as lived action:

“Un lenguaje que corresponde a un modo de vivir” (p. 77)

3. Language of bilinguals as both: “Neither eagle nor serpent, but **both**. And like the ocean, **neither animal respects border**” (p. 84).



Translanguaging

Precursors in the US:

- El Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Language Policy Task Force
 - Pedraza, Attinasi & Hoffman. 1980. *Rethinking Diglossia*
 - Pedraza, P. 1988. *An Ethnographic analysis of language use in the Puerto Rican community.*

Languaging as “un modo de vivir”



Humberto Maturana & Francisco Varela

“Lenguajear” (1st edn 1973, rev. edn of 1987] *The Tree of Knowledge.*)

Languaging refers **to activity** in which those who **interact mutually** orient themselves to each other and to a subject.

“**Continuous becoming** that we **bring forth with others**” “**through action and practice**” and “not simply by acquiring relevant features of pre-given world that can be decomposed into significant fragments.”

(J. Aden & *translangageance*)

A. L. Becker (1988)

Languaging refers to the **ongoing** process (can never be accomplished) that is **always being created as we interact** in the world lingually.

Translanguaging – Beginnings & extensions

- Coined in **borderlands**
- With **bilingual entanglement** of worlds & words
- Against **established linguistic power hierarchies**

Wales (Cen Williams, 1994 & Colin Baker, 2001)

Extended: Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Li Wei, 2011, 2018; García, 2009; García & Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, 2018 — Aden, Helot, Léglise & many others

Translanguaging: Why the trans?
Privileging the languaging of bilinguals:
The perspective of “**emergence**” and acknowledging **power hierarchies**

- **Transculturación** (F. Ortiz, 1940)

“The child always has something of both progenitors, but it is *always different* from each of them.”

- **Bilanguaging** (W. Mignolo, 2000)

Thinking, listening, speaking, signing and writing **between languages**. All language *enmeshed in systems of power*.

Translanguaging

- Prefix *trans-* in the sense of ‘**go beyond**’ as in *transcend* (Li Wei, 2011; García & Li Wei, 2014; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015).
- 1. Beyond two or more named languages.**
 - 2. Beyond linguistic system to semiotic system**
 - 3. Beyond how educators view the language of bilinguals and how they use language to educate them.**

The language of bilinguals: Two perspectives

(Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, 2018)

- **External sociopolitical** perspective: Seen from **outside** speaker. Speaker has **2 named languages**
- **Speaker's sociocultural** perspective: Seen from the *speaker in action with context*; from their **doing language** with their **own unitary linguistic repertoire**.

The Translanguaging View

Translanguaging of bilinguals

“Even though Spanish runs
through my heart,
English rules my veins”



Translanguaging: A definition

“Translanguaging is the **deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire** without regard for watchful adherence to the **socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages**” (Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015, p. 281)

TRANS: Beyond linguistic system

Semiotic repertoire of meaning-making resources as **human social activity**

Embodied systems that arise from interactions with the social world and different systems of signification

- Speech, writing, signs, image, video, layout, gesture, cognitive, social, emotional environmental act of languaging in performativity
- Blackledge & Creese, Li Wei, Pennycook, J. Bradley, E. Moore, J. Simpson, Aden (translangageance)

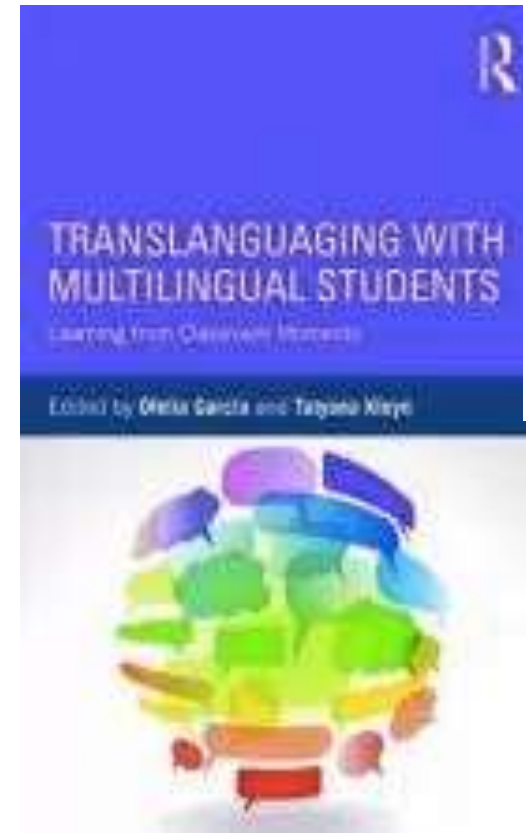
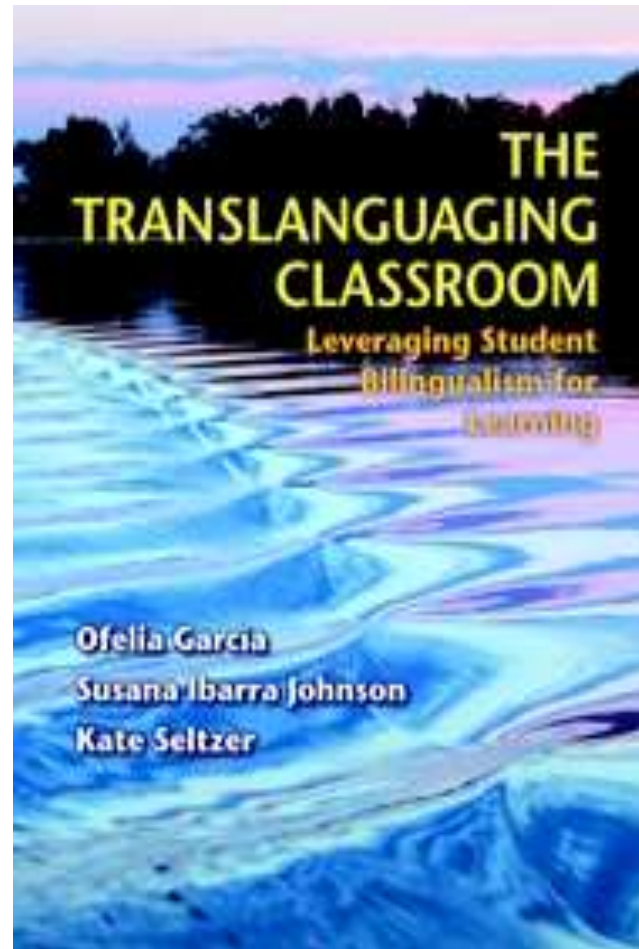


Translanguaging

“Language as **an activity** rather than a structure, as something **we do** rather than a system we draw on, as a **material part of social and cultural life** rather than an abstract entity” (A. Pennycook, 2017).

We **perform** language as **semiotic beings** who bring together in an “assemblage” a **wide range of linguistic, multimodal, social, semiotic and environmental resources** as we engage living in the world.

How can students' translanguaging be leveraged in schools? Translanguaging Pedagogy?



www.cuny-nysieb.org

Working in schools with The Translanguaging Corriente

(García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017)

Working with reality of racialized speakers & their lives,
while touching external sociopolitical reality
Working with entanglements and the flows



3 strands of Translanguaging Pedagogy (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017)

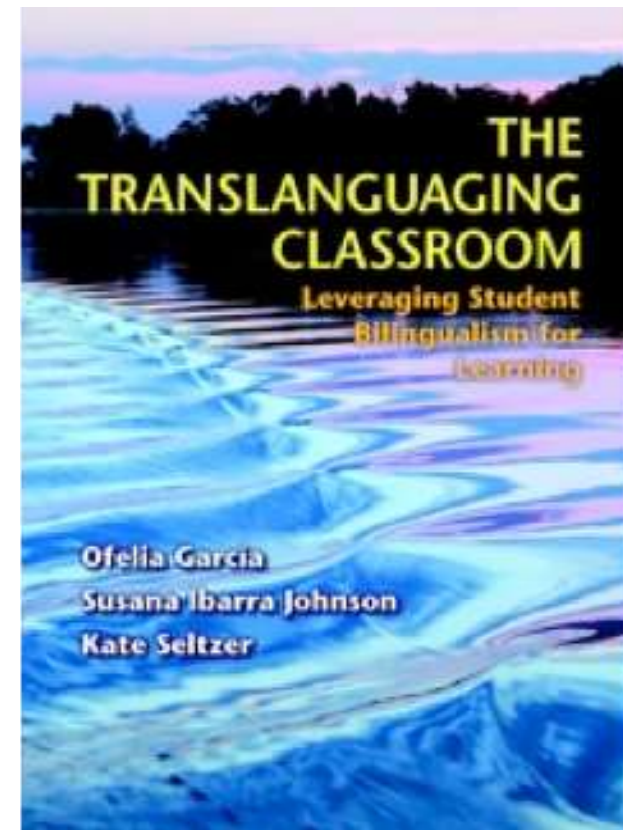
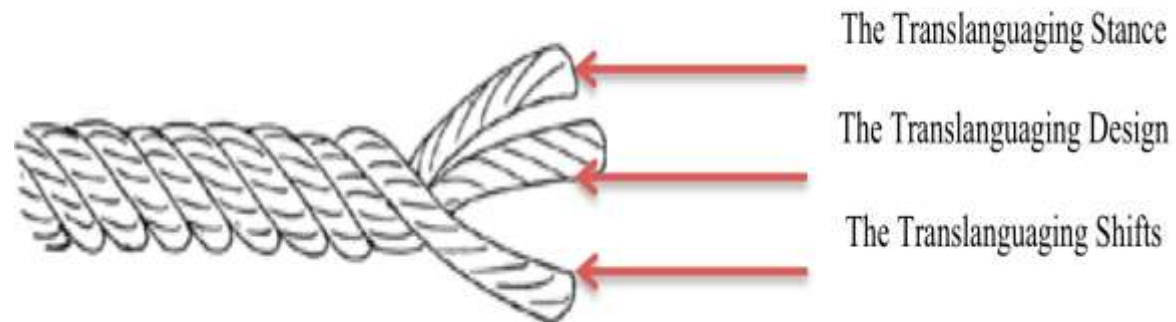


Figure 5.1. The Strands of a Translanguaging Pedagogy



Translanguaging Stance

NOT ABSENCE & INCOMPLETENESS



But FULL, in EMERGENCE

Emergent bilinguals in Continuum



Not Traditional stance

Focus on named languages L1/L2

Focus on one or both separately



But Translanguaging

JUNTOS stance

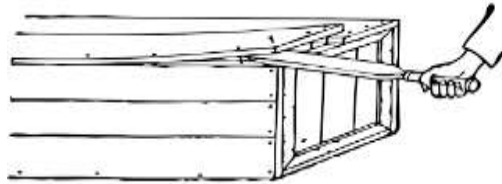
Start with languaging of students

**Acting with NEW features to act
with and appropriate as OWN**



Translanguaging DESIGN

A Translanguaging Classroom



Starts by recognizing and leveraging **students' unitary semiotic (meaning-making) system** to act

Not just **scaffold**;

Must be **transformative** and produce

NEW BILINGUAL SUBJECT POSITIONS

Translanguaging as Transformation New Subject Positions

TRLNG **transformative** as way of “**lifting the veil**,” which prevents them from looking at themselves except through “*through the eyes [the tongue] of others.*” (W.E. Du Bois, 1903),

Through “*the white gaze*” (Fanon, 1967)/a monolingual gaze



Translanguaging shifts:

Reading the river

Knowing to look out for the
translanguaging current
on the surface and below



Uphill battle: Translanguaging in schools (2002-2019)

www.cuny-nysieb.org



Regards critiques sur la notion de langue : vers quelles pratiques en éducation ?

As sociolinguists/applied linguists working on education:

- How is la langue being used and reinterpreted in schools and why?

We have no time to “jugar en el bosque, porque el lobo vendrá”

- Validate bilingual speakers “doing” language, translanguaging, in ways that may not fit what we have constructed as “the langue basket,” even if it has been filled with cake, butter & love.

Révéléz le loup dans le panier!!!!!!

