Understanding Translanguaging in Multilingual Education

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Abstract

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Keywords: Translanguaging, fixed language approach, fluid languaging approach, pedagogy, strategic pedagogy, multilingual education, monolingual ideologies, teacher-learner relationships

Introduction

Over the last decade, the concept of 'translanguaging' has been extensively utilised across a range of multilingual settings. Scholars have explored its theoretical basis (e.g. García, 2009; García & Wei, 2014a; Wei, 2018) while also conducting a growing body of empirical research, particularly in educational contexts. However, a closer examination of the widespread adoption of the term reveals that it is often interpreted differently across the literature. This lack of consistency largely stems from the fact that 'translanguaging' has evolved over time, drawing upon two distinct research paradigms: 'the fixed language approach' and 'the fluid languaging approach.' Consequently, 'translanguaging' remains a fluid, "transmutable" concept (Leung & Valdés, 2019) that seeks to capture the complex practices of multilingual speakers. As a result, empirical studies have operationalised 'translanguaging' in varied ways.
Particularly, the idea of first emerging in an educational context has spread beyond the classroom. It is in education that this concept finds its main site of 'translanguaging' to be experimented with and further developed. This review partly serves to unpack the ways in which 'translanguaging' has been taken up in educational contexts, in light of this growing body of literature at the level of reviews (e.g., Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Poza, 2017; Turner & Lin, 2017; Leung & Valdés, 2019) and at the conceptual level (e.g. García, 2009; Hornberger & Link, 2012a, 2012b; Lewis et al., 2012). We present a systematic genealogical review of empirical use of the concept in different educational contexts. Its major objectives in this paper are two folds: one is to critically review the conceptual frameworks of 'translanguaging,' and the other is to review how it has been conceptualised and applied to study multilingualism in diverse educational contexts around the world.

This review exclusively examines 'translanguaging' as a standalone field of inquiry. We deliberately chose not to discuss distinctions or similarities between 'translanguaging' and related concepts such as 'sociolinguistic repertoire' (e.g. Fishman, 1970; Rymes, 2014), 'code-switching' (e.g. Gafaranga, 2007, 2016), 'metrolingualism' (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), 'polylingualism' (e.g. Jørgensen, 2003, 2008), 'codemeshing' and 'translingual practice' (e.g. Canagarajah, 2011b), 'heteroglossia' (e.g. Blackledge & Creese, 2014; Jaffe, 2015), and 'multilanguaging' (Nguyen, 2012). For a detailed discussion, refer to Jaspers and Madsen (2016, 2019). Nonetheless, some researchers identify both code-switching and translanguaging in their studies (e.g. Jones, 2017; Probyn, 2019), while others use 'translanguaging' to describe practices that could arguably be classified as code-switching (e.g. Gort & Pontier, 2013; Afaf al-Bataineh & Gallagher, 2018). Further exploration is needed to clarify the relationship between these concepts, but that lies outside the scope of this article. Most of the studies reviewed are in English, though we've included some in French (e.g. Pedley, 2018), Mandarin (e.g. Zhang, 2016), and Portuguese (e.g. Leroy & Santos, 2017), thanks to the authors' multilingual repertoire. We hope this encourages researchers to publish and explore work in languages other than English within translanguaging education.

Translanguaging originates from Welsh bilingual education in the 1980s (Lewis et al., 2012). The Welsh term 'trawsieithu,' introduced by Cen Williams and later translated to English as 'translanguaging,' was created as a cross-curricular strategy for "the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning within the same lesson" (p. 3). In the United Kingdom, educators in English as an Additional Language (EAL) settings are increasingly recognising the pedagogic value of translanguaging (Li, 2018a, p. 32), which can benefit other language educators. The ongoing re-evaluation of 'own-language use' in language instruction aligns with recent conversations around translanguaging in English Language Teaching (ELT), as discussed by Hall and Cook (2012).

Translanguaging is a philosophy opposite to what Cummins (2001) has been influential for EAL practitioners around the globe. For him, there lies a 'common underlying proficiency' (CUP), and thus an interdependence of languages, hence the value of language transfer. In fact, 'translanguaging' is used now, either to refer to 'multilingual oral interactions' (e.g., García, 2009;
Blackledge and Creese, 2010) or to the 'usage of more than one language in a single text' (e.g., Canagarajah, 2011; García. Conteh (2018) critiques this, however, as a myopic focus of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach in that most emphasis was placed on understanding the interactional processes, rather than seeking pedagogical potential. Most recent scholarship, such as Mertin’s (2018), has certainly driven home the importance of more fully incorporating teachers’ perspective into the academic discourse on translanguaging. Two chapters in her work are written by teachers—one from Brussels, another from Johannesburg—that are especially illustrative of the kind of classroom activity in which the process of translanguaging unfolds. These activities include collaborative translations and the use of video clips in native languages of the students (p. 95).

Whether approached as interactional form or pedagogy, translanguaging carries with it models of language that defy traditional conceptualisations within ELT. Under this view, language is considered a continuing "process," not a "thing," a "verb," rather than a "noun" (Becker, 1988, p. 25) — pretty close to the idea of "languaging." Counting languages a person commands is replaced by an attempt to count how they are using their resources to achieve whatever it is they want to achieve. According to Li (2018b, p. 24), translanguaging is a "challenge to the conventional understanding of language boundaries between… culturally and politically labeled languages." Comparing, Blackledge and Creese (2010, pp. 210-215) compare language to the process of identity construction. According to this approach, through translanguaging, the students can make meaningful connections between their experiences both in and out of the classroom in a way that even their teachers cannot. This practice can provide substantial pedagogic benefits, as seen with the children described by Conteh (2015, p. 58) whose understanding of time improved when the English vocabulary was related to those words used by their mothers in their native languages to measure fabric.

Translanguaging remains contentious and presents challenges in research, policy, and practice. Some scholars question the necessity of such a concept, suggesting that familiar ideas like code-switching and code-mixing offer an existing framework to analyse multilingual language use. Blackledge et al. (2014) identify limitations in this argument, asserting that it creates false distinctions between monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual individuals. They posit that everyone is, to some extent, multilingual, given our ability to use language in various ways, even if we primarily speak one language. They challenge deficit ideologies surrounding multilingualism in education and argue that translanguaging and similar concepts disrupt traditional notions such as "standard" and "target" language, which inherently rank languages. They further claim that translanguaging raises crucial questions about social justice in language education, revealing "how linguistic resources are deployed in our societies and how this deployment of resources reproduces, negotiates and contests social difference and social inequality" (p. 193).

The challenges to translanguaging in policy and practice within ELT are found emanating from, as Hall and Cook (2012, p. 297) describe, the "entrenched monolingualism" lying embedded within its facets. Despite large growth in international migration and mobility, creating ever-greater
multilingualism in the Global North, many language classrooms still reflect the "two solitudes" (Cummins, 2008). Languages are compartmentalised, and the home languages of the learners often languish. Language policies, curricula, and assessment practices all continue to maintain their focus on national and standard languages. Still, there is somewhat of a "silver lining." Through such a dialectic, teachers who value translanguaging not just for its role in learning but also for its importance in the relationship-building towards mutual empowerment, and learners and researchers who are now realising the promise of such a dialectic within their classroom-based studies, bear the promise to come together and shape future translanguaging pedagogies.

**Evolution of Translanguaging: Fixed and Fluid Approaches**

The term "translanguaging" goes back to the early 1980s and was used in research contexts quite different from the often very broad and loosely defined usages today. Here, we trace the conceptual genealogy of "translanguaging" and hold that the conceptualisation has more or less occurred through two main conceptual lenses: what we, in the present study, refer to as the "fixed language approach" and the "fluid languaging approach." Here, each brings with it a unique understanding of the meaning of translanguaging, which unfolds from distinct epistemological frameworks. Other scholars have sought to critically dissect the various ways "translanguaging" has been conceptualised. For example, García and Lin (2017) find the "weak" and "strong" forms of it; Anderson (2017) conceptualises it in the form of a translingual continuum with "monolanguaging" at one pole and "strong" forms of translanguaging at the other. This continuum is thus from an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classroom in Japan (Turnbull, 2019). Translanguaging only becomes "weak" when those speaking are simply loosening the boundaries between languages while still recognising that one of the languages may be used in the place of another. It is "strong" when acknowledging that speakers' single communicative repertoires comprise diverse semiotic resources. Similarly, Leung and Valdés (2019, p. 359) describe translanguaging as a "multifaceted and multilayer polysemic term" and strive to clarify its varied interpretations. They argue (2019, p. 359) that translanguaging is generally approached from two analytical viewpoints: "(a) languages are distinct and separate entities, and (b) languages are configurations of temporal lexical and syntactic features expressing human meaning." Poza (2017, p. 113) further outlines three distinct ways to understand translanguaging.

This review includes Jaspers and Madsen's (2019) work in the area of linguistic fixity and fluidity, where either one is looked at to open or restrict social transformation. The debates about fixity and fluidity have equally been at the center of both the study of translanguaging over the years and that of bilingual investigations at large (Creese & Blackledge, 2011). The critical literature review in this paper will substantiate the statement that "translanguaging" is actually understood from either a "fixed language approach" or a "fluid languaging approach" perspective.

We term this body of work 'the fixed language approach.' This perspective on translanguaging as a focus of study initially emerged in Bangor, Wales, during the 1980s (Lewis et al., 2012a). The concept of translanguaging was first introduced by Cen Williams (1994) while investigating
strategies for employing both Welsh and English in a classroom. The Welsh term 'trawsieithu' was later translated to English as 'translanguaging' by Colin Baker (Baker, 2001). Williams's (1994, 2002) original conceptualisation referred to a pedagogical practice that alternates the use of Welsh and English for input (reading and/or listening) and output (speaking and/or writing) in the same lesson, allowing systematic variation. For instance, students could source information from both English and Welsh texts, discuss it in both languages, and produce written work primarily in Welsh while incorporating English vocabulary (Jones, 2017).

The original sense of "translanguaging" represents an explicit, pre-planned use of both English and Welsh in the classroom. The latter was an innovative way at the time and opposed the monolingual ethos rooted in the Welsh educational system. Within this system, bilingualism was seen as a problem rather than a resource (Williams, 1994; Baker, 2001; Lewis et al., 2012b). Thus, "translanguaging" was recommended as a strategy to reinforce both languages through systematic variation of the language of input and output. Williams (1996, p. 64) defines it as getting information in one language, for example, English, then producing it in another, say Welsh. This approach sought to support and enhance each language while ensuring that they both occur simultaneously, resulting in enhanced comprehension. As Lewis et al. (2012b) note, translanguaging avails a visible scaffolding structure that progressively should be removed as children gain proficiency. Baker (2001, 2003, 2011) advocated extending translanguaging to all bilingual educational contexts beyond Wales. He described it as making meaning in two languages (Baker, 2011, p. 288), asserting that "the teacher can allow a student to use both languages in a planned, developmental, and strategic manner to maximise the student's linguistic and cognitive capability" (Baker, 2011, p. 290). Through a comprehensive survey of bilingual education in Wales, Lewis (2008) and Jones (2010) distinguished between 'teacher-directed translanguaging' (planned by the teacher) and 'pupil-directed translanguaging' (initiated by students). Later, Jones (2017) further defined two classroom translanguaging practices, both of which can be either teacher- or pupil-directed. The first, known as Basic Interpersonal Translanguaging (BIT), is used for personal interaction, social cohesion, and classroom management. The second, Cognitive Academic Translanguaging (CAT), emphasises academic language and subject-specific terminology. However, Jones acknowledges that BIT and CAT are not strictly delineated and often overlap within the same educational context.

This conceptualisation of translanguaging was initially grounded in second language acquisition pedagogy, where learners' bilingual resources were no longer seen as a hindrance to learning a second language (L2) but as an asset (Jones & Lewis, 2014).

**Translanguaging in the Fluid Languaging Approach**

In the 'fluid languaging approach,' the concept of 'translanguaging' is informed by postmodern and poststructuralist shifts in sociolinguistics, bearing little resemblance to the original conceptualisation under the fixed language approach. This fluid approach is rooted in the work of García (2009) in the United States, García and Wei (2014), and Hornberger (Hornberger & Link,
2012a, 2012b). Scholars from other regions have also made significant contributions, including Creese and Blackledge (2015), Wei (2018), Wei and Lin (2019), and Lin (2019).

Although we delineate these two approaches, scholars have gradually transitioned between them as the field of sociolinguistics evolved. García's work exemplifies this transition. In her early research (García, 2009), she expanded on the ideas of Williams (1996) and Baker (2001) to apply translanguaging to the daily practices of bilingual speakers rather than limiting it to planned bilingual educational contexts. Lewis et al. (2012a) aimed to connect their work to this emerging approach in the United States, particularly in García's research. They observed:

"What began in Wales in the early 1980s and developed in Welsh education circles from the 1980s to the present has very recently caught the imagination of expert North American and English educationalists. In particular, the term has been generalised from school to street, from pedagogical practices to everyday cognitive processing, from classroom lessons to all contexts of a bilingual's life" (Lewis et al., 2012a, p. 647).

García (2009) ultimately diverged from the fixed language approach, where specific languages are planned for particular pedagogical functions. She asserted that she sees translanguaging as "an approach to bilingualism that is centred, NOT ON LANGUAGES, as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable" (García, 2009, p. 44). Emphasising practices rather than languages signifies an epistemological shift in sociolinguistics, especially critical sociolinguistics, in which the concept of 'language' was becoming less relevant. Pennycook's (2010) work has contributed significantly to this shift by understanding language as a local practice embedded in social and local activities. (p. 128). From this new standpoint:

"... the notion of discrete, bounded languages becomes very dubious, since languages are always mixed, hybrid and drawing on multiple resources. We might therefore suggest that languages, like subjects, are always a work in progress (indeed subjects and languages are mutually constitutive), and that we cannot therefore understand language without taking particular language practices in particular locations into account" (Pennycook, Reference Pennycook2010, p. 129).

Viewing language as a local practice created a distinct separation between the 'fixed language approach' and the emerging 'fluid languaging approach.' Critical sociolinguists (e.g. Heller, 2007; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) challenged the idea that people speak a 'language.' Makoni and Pennycook (2007) contended that 'languages' as we know them are "social constructs," invented to unify nations and reinforce national identities and boundaries (p. 1). In our globalised era, where people migrate and communicate through digital technologies, communication has become increasingly complex, dynamic, and mobile. As a result, the concept of 'language' often no longer adequately describes 21st-century communication practices, which are fluid and not confined to discrete, bounded systems. Creese and Blackledge (2015, p. 25) emphasised that "languages cannot be viewed as discrete, bounded, impermeable, autonomous systems."
To move beyond this fixed understanding of 'languages,' Makoni and Pennycook (2007) and others (e.g. Shohamy, 2006) argue that only 'languaging' exists, not distinct languages. The term 'languaging,' initially introduced by Walter Mignolo (1996), has gained popularity among sociolinguists (e.g. Jørgensen et al., 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2015; Wei, 2018) who study how people employ 'signs,' 'linguistic features,' and 'communicative repertoires' to convey meaning in dynamic and complex contexts. García highlighted that "what we have learned to call dialects, pidgins, creoles, and academic language are instances of languaging: social practices that we perform" (García, 2009, pp. 32-33).

The concept of 'languaging' is also closely tied to the new sociolinguistics of 'mobility.' Blommaert and Rampton (2011) argued that in today's global era, sociolinguists need to explore how mobility shapes communication, language, and identity. Blommaert (2014) further advocated for complexity as a paradigmatic principle in sociolinguistics, arguing that prefixes like 'pluri,' 'multi,' 'inter,' and 'trans' imply separable units that no longer represent today's fluid practices (Blommaert, 2012, p. 2). Thus, 'multi-' or 'pluri-' lingualism is not useful as it remains rooted in viewing languages as fixed entities (see also Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2019, on the differences between translanguaging and plurilingualism). Scholars adhering to the fluid languaging approach often refer to 'complex semiotic practices' rather than 'multilingual language practices.' Makoni and Pennycook (2007) argue that 'languaging' alone is sufficient to describe these practices. However, García and Wei felt that "a term other than just 'languaging' is needed to refer to complex multilingual situations" (García & Wei, 2014, p. 17), which led to their adoption and development of the term 'translanguaging.'

In the fluid languaging approach, 'translanguaging' is grounded in distinct conceptual premises that differ from those of the fixed language approach: (1) moving away from the idea that 'languages' represent fixed communities and identities, (2) embracing sociolinguistics of mobility and complexity, and (3) questioning the relevance of viewing 'languages' as bounded entities. Next, we will define 'translanguaging' within this tradition.

**A Practical Theory of Translanguaging**

Building on García and Wei's (2014) work and in response to Kramsch's (2015) call for an "applied linguistic theory of language practice," Li Wei (2018) proposed that translanguaging should be developed into a practical theory of language. He stated that the concept has already been "applied to pedagogy, everyday social interaction, cross-modal and multi-modal communication, linguistic landscape, visual arts, music, and transgender discourse" (Wei, 2018, p. 9). In this context, Wei explained languaging as both a practice and a process by drawing on examples like Chinglish and multilingual language use in Singapore. Languaging involves the dynamic and integrated use of different languages and varieties. More importantly, he emphasised that translanguaging is a knowledge construction process that transcends language itself.

Wei explored two foundational theoretical questions: the relationship between language and thought, and the modularity of mind. He then presented two primary ideas:
Multilinguals do not think monolingually in a politically named linguistic entity, even when they appear to be in a "monolingual mode," producing only one language for a particular conversation or text.

Humans think beyond language, and thinking involves a diverse array of cognitive, semiotic, and modal resources. Language, in the conventional sense of speech and writing, is just one of these (Wei, 2018, p. 18). Wei's work is firmly grounded in the 'fluid languaging approach.' He contextualised translanguaging in the linguistic landscape of the 21st century, where fluid and dynamic practices transcend the boundaries between named languages, varieties, and other semiotic systems. He investigated how language and the human mind are connected, highlighting the importance of multimodality in communication. According to Wei, human communication has always been multimodal, utilising oral, textual, visual, and spatial resources to convey messages. Translanguaging also encompasses the multimodal social semiotic perspective where linguistic signs form a part of the repertoire. This perspective emphasises how language users are able to interrelate with and make meaning, not only from the usage of different languages but rather from a wide array of signs across different semiotic modes in interaction and the expression of identity. Wei does suggest that translanguaging might serve as a resource, enabling the breaking down of the ideological divide, which has located students in separate tracks. The educational theory brought to bear in translanguaging serves the objective of teaching all students to maximise their creative, meaning-making, and critical potentials in language use, rather than attempting to recapture and protect discrete language systems and to exercise them.

A recent case study by Leung (2019) in Hong Kong provides a practical example of using translanguaging as a theoretical lens. Leung explored translanguaging in visual arts interpretation in early childhood education. Her study of 88 children in four K3 classes (aged 5-6) showed that translanguaging extended beyond verbal languages, as the children incorporated visual language alongside English and Chinese vocabulary to express their ideas and emotions. This example demonstrates how translanguaging involves a wide range of cognitive, semiotic, and modal resources. Garcia and her colleagues go so far as to propose the use of translanguaging not simply as a pedagogical tool but rather as a practice within multilingual educational settings to take into account the possibilities of advancing issues of social justice (see Otheguy, Garcia, & Reid, 2015; Garcia & Kleyn, 2016; Vogel & Garcia, 2017). This argument is anchored in the translanguaging transformative potential, daring misconceptions of language and education which have been responsible for disengagement and miseducation of the minoritised communities. Translanguaging permits these communities to refer to themselves as "bilinguals" who are free to practice and use their languages without any judgment for the furthering of their understanding. Translanguaging is a bottom-up way of raising consciousness in multilingual educational contexts where systemic inequalities impinge on marginalised communities and languages.
Conceptual Map of Translanguaging Approaches

To provide a comprehensive overview of the term 'translanguaging,' we have examined its history and identified two distinct research approaches: 'the fixed language approach' and 'the fluid languaging approach.' While the term 'translanguaging' is used in both, it denotes different phenomena. We have also demonstrated how translanguaging can be conceptualised as both a pedagogy and a practical theory of language, and how these conceptualisations can be articulated considering the distinct epistemological foundations of each approach.

Understanding the relevant approach is essential when studying or researching translanguaging to clarify the associated conceptual framework. Therefore, we suggest a conceptual map that visually represents these different perspectives. Here is a textual description of how you might structure the diagram:

**Figure 1**
A conceptual map of ‘translanguaging’

Translanguaging has been used to describe the complex meaning-making practices that occur in multilingual mainstream classrooms. These settings encompass both classrooms in the Global South, where colonial legacies influence multilingual communication, and in the Global North, which has seen increasing multilingualism due to transnational migration. The Global South
comprises nations often labelled as 'developing' or 'undeveloped' (Shoba & Chimbutane, 2013), a classification stemming from economic and political criteria. Decolonial theorist Mignolo (2014) argues that divisions between 'West/East' and 'North/South' have shifted after World War II to legitimise development and modernisation by Europe and the U.S. The studies discussed below reflect some of the many complex dynamics in mainstream education.

Probyn (2019) emphasises the historical documentation of heteroglossic practices in the Global South and references scholarship on code-switching (e.g., Lin & Martin, 2005). Her study focused on Grade 8 science classes in South Africa, where isiXhosa was a common language among teachers and learners, yet English was the medium of instruction. She recorded five consecutive science lessons for each of the eight teachers and conducted socio-cultural analyses (Mercer, 2004) to evaluate the science content and the language resources used. Her findings highlighted a teacher who adopted translanguaging pedagogy to build students' understanding in isiXhosa before transitioning to English. Detailed analysis of classroom interactions revealed that this teacher's practices were flexible and responsive to learners' needs, challenging the prevailing monolingual ideologies in the classroom. Probyn (2019) viewed translanguaging as both a pedagogy and a theory, drawing on both the fixed and fluid approaches. She advocated for systematic translanguaging pedagogies in mainstream education and praised how access to the curriculum improved when teachers leveraged students' full repertoires. Duarte (2019) noted that most translanguaging studies have focused on bilingual programs or complementary schools, leaving a gap in understanding translanguaging in mainstream education. Her research examined peer-peer interactions in Grade 10 subject classes in Germany, using video recordings from 59 lessons. Adopting a socio-cultural approach to discourse analysis (Mercer, 2004), she demonstrated how translanguaging between German and other linguistic resources promoted participation and knowledge co-construction. Although she used quantitative analysis to count occurrences of different languages (suggesting a fixed language approach), her qualitative analysis enriched understanding of how translanguaging facilitated meaning through interaction and promoted higher-order thinking. She defined translanguaging as "the dynamic and flexible ways in which multilingual speakers access their language repertoires to expand their communicative potential" (Duarte, 2019, p. 151). Pedley (2018a, 2018b) focused on a multilingual poetry competition in Scotland known as 'Mother Tongue Other Tongue,' where students wrote poems in a chosen language, accompanied by English commentary. In 2015-2016, poems were submitted in 36 different languages. Pedley found that students discovered creative abilities by playfully using their linguistic repertoires, gaining confidence in their multilingual identities and sharing these with monolingual peers.

The competition enabled students to engage in translanguaging as a literacy practice, exploring the concept as a 'rite of passage' where their languages became their own. Pedley described this as 'language appropriation' (Castellotti, 2017). Her work aligns with the fluid languaging approach, revealing the creative potential of translanguaging in mainstream classrooms.
Conclusion

A critical look at translanguaging reveals that the approach embodies both fixed and fluid modes of language use. What had started out as an irreparable, pedagogical practice of the set, methodical usage of two languages in Welsh bilingual education has so far changed into a more theoretical construct, one that is not easily defined, fixing any ossified linguistic boundaries. This review has illustrated that translanguaging enhances meaning-making and pedagogical innovation within the multilingual classroom, enhancing equitability in access to the curriculum and learners' creativity and critical thinking. Examining how translanguaging is conceptualised and practiced, this paper draws attention to its potent capacity both to cross and to violate monolingual ideologies at the same time as defending social justice. Translanguaging is a theory of practice that emphasises the learners' language repertoires and participation from marginalised communities, and investments in relationships between teachers and learners. Educators and researchers alike benefit from the adoption of flexible translanguaging strategies not only in developing learners' varied needs but also enabling them to harness their multilingual resources effectively.

Future research should continue to look into the potential of translanguaging in the changing face of educational practices, most especially given the incorporation of diverse linguistic contexts and the needed expanded empirical research in non-English languages. In effect, this paper provides that given this potential, the use of translanguaging can effectively break down systemic barriers and, concomitantly, promote a more equitable and inclusive language education.

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