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Chapter 58

Translanguaging Practices in a Hungarian–English Early Childhood Classroom

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ABSTRACT

After a brief overview of translanguaging research carried out in the past, this chapter introduces how Hungarian-English emergent bilingual children used translanguaging practices during play time in a Hungarian-English early childhood education classroom in the AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA). The authors developed the concept of student-led translanguaging and observed it separately from teacher-led translanguaging practices. This chapter presents the data collected through classroom observations over a period of 6 months. The overarching aim of this research is to reveal how translanguaging is used by the students and by the teachers in a superdiverse community of Hungarian descendants living around New York City.

INTRODUCTION

In the era of globalization and intensive migration, the number of emerging bilinguals is rapidly increasing. Researchers in multilingualism have now been drawn to focus more closely on the phenomena of code-switching and translanguaging. The recent analysis of scholarly papers on the topic under discussion (Csillik & Golubeva, 2017) showed that research in this area has mostly been dedicated to studying the social and psycholinguistic aspects of code-switching, as opposed to Foreign and Second Language Education. This shows a need for more research on multilingual classroom settings.

This chapter discusses the translanguaging practices of an early childhood classroom with bilingual Hungarian-English students from AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA). The empirical study was conducted in the educational center. The main purpose is to help first, second, or third

generation Hungarian immigrants (and their descendants) preserve their heritage language and culture. Typically, the English language proficiency of these children is native-like, and they enroll in the center to develop and improve their knowledge of Hungarian.

The authors study the phenomenon of translanguaging and attempt to identify the repertoire of relevant linguistic practices in an early childhood multilingual classroom, with a special focus on teaching children by involving them in the process of meaningful play, guided by Hungarian-English bilingual teachers.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The choice of language to be used by bilingual and multilingual people depends on multiple factors (Reyes, 2004, for example the social context of communication, the theme, or the interlocutors. In multilingual classrooms, typically more languages are used, native languages and a target one. This phenomenon was not really welcomed in a traditional classroom, and there was a common (false) belief that such code-switching was due to an insufficient knowledge of the target language (Reyes, 2004). Fortunately, the academia and the wider public now admit that language choice depends on a given communicative context. For example, according to Zentella (1997), multilingual people in certain situations choose the language in which they can convey the meaning in the most accurate way. Or, according to Kramsch & Whiteside (2007), a different language can be used to establish multicultural identities among multilingual speakers. In addition to the above-mentioned cases, it was observed that code-switching has positive effects on language curricula (Zentella, 1997).

Thus, nowadays it is becoming accepted to occasionally employ code-switching in multilingual language classroom, but when it is referred to as a pedagogical practice it is usually called *translanguaging* (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Translanguaging not only serves to understand the meaning, but – as emphasized by García (2009) – it frees multilingual speakers from undergoing language separation or coping with sociolinguistic matters, such as language power and identity.

However, in practice, translanguaging is applied limitedly. According to Canagarajah (2011) and Hornberger & Link (2012), a concrete set of teaching strategies is still missing. Therefore, it seems to be both an exciting and challenging task to identify effective translanguaging practices in early childhood multilingual classrooms.

MAIN FOCUS

This chapter aims to explore more profoundly the practices of translanguaging in an early childhood classroom through the process of free-play. The authors report on the case of heritage language-and-culture learning/teaching in AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA).

Issues, Controversies, Problems

Traditional early childhood educational programs in the USA are based on the Piagetian theory that play provides an ideal environment in which a child can learn, grow, and develop to his or her fullest potential (Piaget, 1962). The importance of play and its long-term benefits on child development is constantly in the focus of recent researchers such as Stuart Brown and Vivian Gussin Paley. Gussin Paley (2008)

calls play "a survival skill". Brown (2008), who also believes that "play is basic for survival" and that *life without play would lead to depression*, called play part of the,

developmental sequencing of becoming a human primate. If you look at what produces learning and memory and well-being, play is as fundamental as any other aspect of life, including sleep and dreams (Marantz Henig, 2008 quoting Brown's TED Talk, 2008).

He further states that in play we constantly engage voluntarily and repeatedly; and play occurs in a setting that is stress-free, risk-free, and secure.

Similar to Piaget, the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky also viewed children as active seekers of knowledge, and was interested in the role of social interaction in cognitive development, and argued that development first takes place socially. According to him (Vygotsky, 1978), children internalize the information from the external world through language. He further believed that children's learning takes place within the zone of proximal development - a range of tasks too difficult for the child to do alone but possible with the help of adults or more skilled peers - that is optimal for translanguaging (Lantolf, 2000). Today, peer collaboration is widely used in early childhood classrooms where cooperative learning takes place in a form of small groups of classmates working together towards a common goal. He elevated the language used to communicate with peers during collaboration to highest importance of how children learn. Vygotsky (1978) identified play as the most important activity in early childhood, *crucial component of a child's normal development*. What may seem to be a simple and uncomplicated way for children to entertain themselves is a complex process that affects all aspects of a child's life. Play shapes how children make sense of their worlds, how they learn thinking skills, and how they acquire language.

When a child is at play, he or she is in a constant dialogue either with self or others. Through child-centered play, children take on different roles and try out different language uses, all of which help them on the journey from being externally regulated to internally regulate in cognition. Through play, children become more competent in their language use and begin to regulate their own thought processes.

Since language is both a symbolic system of communication and a cultural tool used to transmit culture and history, play is an essential part of both language development and a child's understanding of the external world. Children at play are making sense of the world through a process of "inner speech" - that is, they are often talking out loud to themselves. As adults, we lose this capacity because it is not socially acceptable. If we really listen to children at play, we can hear the way they converse with themselves to make sense of the external world. Mimicking adults is often the most obvious way this process can be observed. For instance, "Now, let's wash our hands and eat dinner," a child might say when playing "family" (Berk, 2013).

During play, children learn to use languages for different purposes in a variety of settings and with different people. Talking in play settings allow children to practice the necessary forms and functions of languages (Halliday, 1975) and helps them think about the different ways to communicate with one another. Moreover, for children who are multilingual learners, play offers multiple opportunities to build on their language skills and practice fluency in the home, as well as in their multiple languages in safe and informal settings (Owocki, 1999). During playing with others, while establishing and maintaining the play itself, children often use languages to ask for materials, ask questions from peers, seek out information or provide information to others, express ideas, and explore languages.

Elementary and preschool children get involved in different forms of play, such as associative play, cooperative play, make-believe play, constructive play, pretend play/sociodramatic play, games with rules,

rough-and-tumble play, and free-play (Berk, 2013). For elementary and preschool children, the form of language play manifests itself in the jokes, riddles, jump rope rhymes, and games they use. During these forms of play they build their very only language that the play requires to satisfy all parties in the play. Elementary and preschool children are intrigued by the sound and meaning ambiguity of "knock-knock" jokes, as well as by the humor of making rhymes and rhyming word pairs during play. These forms of language play require the transformational ability to explore the phonological, syntactic, and semantic rules of languages (Bergen, 2002; Clawson, 2002; Isenberg & Quisenberry, 2002).

The stress-free, risk-free, and secure environment of play not only contributes to children's cognitive, socio-emotional, and physical development, but also, to their creative development hand-in-hand with their language and literacy development (Berk, 2013). Play is an optimal setting for children to practice translanguaging without any consequences to pay for. During play, children talk more, speak in lengthier utterances, and use more complex languages (e.g. future tense, interrogative clauses, conditional verbs, descriptive adjectives, mental state verbs, etc.) than when they are engaged in other activities (Fekonja, Umek, & Kranjc, 2005 as cited in Fisher, K., Hirsh-Pasek, K., Golinkoff, R. M., Singer, D. G., & Berk, L., 2011; Singer & Singer, 1981).

Rosenblatt (1977) was one of the first researchers five decades ago who proved the close relationship between children's play and their language development. He observed that children who indicate high levels of pretend play also show complex language use. Many researchers since then focused on fostering second language development through play (Sherrod, Shievart, & Cavallaro, 1984; Dixon & Fraser, 1986); however, these researchers mainly focused on language developmental delays or on the inadequacy of the early childhood educational program for the multilingual player's linguistic and social developmental needs (Lee, 1984).

The role of the teacher in preschool and Kindergarten classrooms was in the center of some of the studies from the field of Early Childhood Education where scholars mainly researched on how to foster children's literacy and language development through play, but these studies were carried out in monolingual settings and did not involve multilingual learners or target a superdiverse population (Mielonen & Paterson, 2009; Saracho, 2004).

Meanwhile, some scholars from the field of Second Language Learning researched in multilingual settings; however, these scholars mainly focused on the teacher's role in a bilingual setting. Fraser & Wakefield (1986) highlighted the effect of teacher's intervention in multilingual children's utterances during sociodramatic play. They found that children make more English utterances when the teacher made more verbal interactions and played the dominant role while conversing. As the teacher's verbal interaction increased, so did the children's verbal interactions, not only with the teacher, but also with each other. They concluded that the teacher plays an essential role in stimulating second language learning by intervening verbally in the children's play and they also warned future teachers about the decrease of sociodramatic play produced by the children if the number of intervention on their part is way too many. They further observed that children tend to play in groups with others of the same linguistic background and they are keen on using their first language to communicate with one another.

Research from the field of Applied Linguistics focusing on the translanguaging approach in multilingual settings only started to appear in the past couple of years or so, and were mostly carried out by Ofelia García in the USA (García, Ibarra Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). The bulk of the research was carried out in elementary and middle schools, and secondary educational settings emphasizing the importance of the translanguaging approach as a practical and innovative pedagogy for teachers working

with multilingual learners. None of the data from these research studies was collected during free-play of multilingual learners in the classroom. Instead they were collected during classroom instruction time.

Following García's steps, Celic & Seltzer (2011) also collected data from bilingual students in order to develop a very unique guide proposing a repertoire of translanguaging strategies. Teachers working with multilingual learners can add these strategies to their everyday teaching practices with the purpose of creating a welcoming and diverse multilingual classroom, while promoting multilingual learners' optimal multi-language development.

In the UK, Beer (2013) was one of the first to carry out a study that looked at the attitudes and actions involving the best methods of teaching literacy skills in English as an Additional Language (EAL) within the press, school inspectors, and teaching staff. Her observations still followed the idea of multilingual learners having separate language systems (opposite to García's); and the study mostly aimed to convince policy makers to create a rich multilingual environment in the classrooms of governmental schools instead of neglecting the needs of these multi-language learners.

Only just recently a collection of rich empirical research studies by Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer, & Wedin (2017) was introduced to the field of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education exploring the immense potential of translanguaging in educational settings across Europe, where English is not the dominant language in any of the countries involved in the studies (e.g. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, and France). Many of the research papers discussed topics such as translanguaging in writing practices, analyzing social media postings and tweets of multilingual young people, or the role of the translanguaging teacher making connections between home and school. Also, how to transform the translanguaging classroom into a safe and welcoming space that promotes the optimal language development of a multilingual learner, or the importance of using translanguaging to make content more accessible.

A very similar ethnographic study to this research was carried out by Latisha Mary and Andrea S. Young (Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017) in France. The researchers looked at the linguistic practices of Turkish emergent bilingual (Turkish-French) students during their literacy development (storytelling, reading picture books, etc.) in a French pre-school. However, the significant difference between this research, where the researchers collected the data through video-recordings, and the present study, where the authors used note-taking to record the data, is that Mary & Young were only interested in the teacher's translanguaging practices in the classroom (why the teacher was translanguaging, in which contexts the teacher chose to translanguage; and what effects, if any, these practices had on the children and their families and further on the classroom context). Meanwhile, the authors of this research were equally interested in the bilingual teachers' and the multilingual students' translanguaging practices in the classroom. Research was aimed to categorize the type of translanguaging practices of both the students and the teachers in the multilingual classroom; and while the data in the above-mentioned research only was collected during instruction time, the authors' focus zoomed on free-play. Therefore, the results of the two studies are significantly different; not only in the sense of the targeted participants, but also in the targeted learning activity.

As we can see, the research that has been carried out since the 1970s, is extremely limited in correlation with "play" in the Early Childhood Education settings and almost none of the researchers meant to target translanguaging practices during children's free-play in bilingual or multilingual classroom settings. The reason behind the insufficiency of studies is that the term "translanguaging" itself appeared first in the second half of the 1990s, meanwhile, the approach was introduced and explored by scholars only in the past fifteen years or so. Therefore, the importance of the current study in the field of Second/ Foreign Language Education in Early Childhood is highly essential and necessary.

Context of Research

The AraNY János Hungarian School is a melting pot for families with Hungarian backgrounds in the New York City urban and suburban areas, such as Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx. Some families commute from Westchester County and from parts of Long Island while many children attending the school on Saturdays commute from other states, such as New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut. The student body consists of first, second and even third generation Hungarians, including alumni returning with their children. Many of the children come from mixed-marriage families where English is the dominant home language next to other languages spoken in the family like Spanish, Mandarin, and Korean. Some children also learn a third or fourth language such as Spanish or French from their nannies by the time they arrive at the school. The students have different Hungarian language skills and proficiency levels varied from the silent stage to the advanced fluency stage. Some children were born in the US and some came from various parts of the world including Hungary; however, all children share their path to form Hungarian social and cultural identities.

Students can start in the Bóbita Hungarian Play Group as early as from birth to 3 years old. The aim of this very early group is to develop children's Hungarian language skills. The methodological background of the program is based on the Hungarian "Ringató Program." This requires the active participation of parents while they learn Hungarian games, nursery rhymes and children's songs.

Students continue in the Nursery, Preschool, and Kindergarten programs following the Montessori Method between the ages of 3 to 6. In these groups, children spend up to 3 hours weekly with two certified teachers and with one teacher assistant per group in order to develop social and communication skills while learning about Hungarian culture and traditions (stories, songs, games, and arts-and-crafts). In these early childhood years, it is beneficial for students to learn through sensory-motor activities, working with materials that develop their cognitive powers through direct experience: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, and movement through Hungarian Folk Dance classes.

Later on, from the age of 6 till the age of 18, students can continue their studies in the Elementary, Middle, and High School as part of the Hungarian Scouts Association in New York City. The primary goal of these schools is to develop students' fluency in reading and writing in Hungarian; as well as to teach basic historical and geographical knowledge of the Republic of Hungary and the Carpathian Basin. The students use a variety of materials that include textbooks and workbooks published for schools in Hungary, for example, those by Apáczai Kiadó. Other resources are learning materials that were developed by the Balassi Institute for learners of Hungarian as a heritage language (Balassi Füzetek) and publications on Hungarian Heritage Studies (Magyarságismeret), edited and published by the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris.

The school's goal goes further beyond to just educating Hungarian descendent children in the New York City milieu to help them preserve the Hungarian heritage language. In this welcoming environment, students, parents, and teachers open up to each other and make true, lifelong friendships far from home. Thus, the school serves not only as the learning center for young Hungarian-speakers, but for many as an adopted family where they belong to in the New York City area.

In this research, the authors are going to mainly focus on the early childhood years, especially students in the Pre-K and Kindergarten ages since they believe that this age group is the most optimal age for language development in the natural environment of play where children are stress and risk-free and are engaged in something that is fun, enjoyable and actively engaging.

Research Participants

Participants of the study attended the AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA) once a week, on Saturdays, for four hours in the morning. The participants of the study were children in the "Maci Csoport" (Brummie Group) between the ages of 4 and 6, preschoolers and Kindergarteners. Twelve children were enrolled in the "Maci Csoport" for the 2016-2017 school year; however, the attendance was inconsistent during the eight times the observations took place. Nine participants attended the school from New York City: Four of the participants resided in Manhattan, Four other participants came from different parts of Queens (Glendale, Astoria, Flushing, and Jackson Heights), one participant lived in Brooklyn, and another participant in the Bronx. One participant commuted from New Jersey and one from Connecticut. Since only four participants lived in Manhattan where the school is situated, it is undoubtable that due to the long commute in the extreme weather conditions during the wintertime, the attendance of the children was affected.

All children were emergent bilingual/multilingual learners. Most children came from mixed marriages where either the father or the mother identified themselves as Hungarian descendent, first or second generation immigrants, marrying either an English native speaker, an English-Spanish, or English-Vietnamese bilingual speaker. Only one child came from a household where both parents were first generation Hungarian speakers.

Eight participants were dominant in English, learning Hungarian as their second or third language to preserve their Hungarian heritage; two participants had no dominant language since they equally were fluent in English and in Hungarian; one participant was confidently using all five languages with different speakers, such as Hungarian, English, Mandarin, French and Russian. However, this participant was dominant mostly in English. Two participants were more dominant in Hungarian than in English since both of their parents were Hungarians and they use only Hungarian in the home. Two of the participants spoke Spanish other than Hungarian and English, and one participant spoke Vietnamese other than Hungarian and English.

All children were born in the USA. Two of the participants were twins and came from the same household. Out of the twelve participants, four participants had older siblings also enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian School, four participants had younger, new-born siblings at home, and four participants had no siblings at all.

The students who were Kindergarteners also had early literacy skills in English since they were enrolled in an English-only elementary school during the week. In New York City, preschool is free and universal since 2016; however, it is not mandatory to attend, only Kindergarten is. All children were able to write their names without mistakes in Hungarian and in English.

One participant attended the AraNY János Hungarian School for the past four years, two attended the school for the past three years, five participants attended the school for the past two years, and two participants attended it this year for the first time. Only one participant was a newcomer who was enrolled for less than six months. Two participants already had a high-intermediate Hungarian language skills, four participants had a low-intermediate Hungarian language skill, and one was on a complete beginner level, while five of the participants already had native-like Hungarian language skills.

The "Maci Csoport" was run by two Hungarian-English bilingual Kindergarten teachers and one Hungarian-English bilingual Kindergarten teacher assistant. One teacher and the teacher assistant were

first generation Hungarian immigrants with teaching backgrounds in Hungary (one teacher was an Art teacher and the teacher assistant was a nursery teacher in Hungary), the other teacher had no teaching background from Hungary since graduated from Law School in the Hungarian higher education system. All three of the teachers were native Hungarian speakers who also fluently speak English as their Second Language. No additional languages were known to be spoken by any of the teacher participants. The teachers' practices were fundamentally child-centered, which meant that they all sought to use any appropriate means to meet the language needs of the children to support them in their language learning process, they used the translanguaging approach multiple times throughout the observations to comfort students.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The method applied to study the translanguaging practices of the early childhood classroom during play of bilingual Hungarian-English students in the AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA) was *classroom observation*. In this chapter, it is important to mention that the authors present only a part of their broader research. In order to ensure the validity and reliability of the study, questionnaires and in-depth interviews were conducted (method triangulation).

Classroom observations were planned from December 2016 through May 2017. In total, eight observation sessions were conducted after obtaining the consents of School Administration, teachers, and children's parents. During the times of the observations, data was collected through note-taking. The observer recorded multiple (three to four) conversations between students, students and teachers, and teachers and teachers, by taking notes of exactly what was being said during these conversations each time an observation took place. Later, the data collected through note-taking was transcribed for further analysis and categorization. Data included the verbal utterances of the participants (students and teachers) in any of the languages spoken during free-play. Since the authors fluently speak all the languages used in the classroom, namely Hungarian, English, and Spanish, no problems were encountered during the process of transcription of the spoken interactions. Altogether 5,358 words were transcribed during the eight classroom observations for analysis.

After the classroom observations, in-depth interviews were conducted with the two teachers in order to collect precise information about the teachers' profiles. Background information was also collected. This included students' age, gender, place of birth and current address, number of languages spoken, and the levels of each spoken language. Additional information included family background (mothers' and fathers' native languages and additionally spoken languages, place of birth, the siblings' (if any) spoken languages and their place of birth, the home language(s) of the family), the number of years of students, their siblings, or even their parents enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City. Furthermore, questionnaires were sent home to the families to strengthen information collected through the in-depth interviews with the teachers. Upon receiving the questionnaires back from the families, information was analyzed and added to students' profiles to clarify accuracy.

It is important to emphasize that the authors changed the names of the participants in the later transcribed data. Fictitious names were used instead of the participants' own names; this way the participants' identities stays anonymous and unrevealed.

The aim of the researchers was to understand: (1) why the students/teachers were translanguaging; (2) in which context the students/teachers tended to choose translanguaging; and (3) which characteristics

of English and/or Hungarian languages the students used during translanguaging to clearly understand and being understood in the conversations transcribed.

The series of classroom observations helped not only to understand the phenomenon of the translanguaging practices, but to develop an in-depth interview for the later stages of the research and a questionnaire.

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Translanguaging was observed between children playing one-on-one or in small groups (functional play: running around, playing tag; constructive play: coloring/drawing, arts-and-craft; make-believe play: acting out television/cartoon characters), between children and teachers playing one-on-one, in small or in larger group settings (constructive play: puzzle, coloring flowers, making mother's day card, making a butterfly, making a carnival instrument; games with rules: spring greeting activity, animal identification play), or between two teachers conversing during children's play; overall 107 times during the course of the transcribed conversations.

The data revealed that students used the following purposes for translanguaging in the classroom: (1) to convey information when communicating facts and information; (2) to reinforce meaning-making within themselves and clarification of what the other speaker is saying; (3) to convey a sense of personal identity by expressing views and feelings; (4) to position themselves in order to enhance social relationships (include or exclude others in the conversation or relate to others), (5) to demonstrate knowledge, (6) to make requests or give orders to control someone else's behavior, (7) to express fantasy or possibility of imagination, (8) to express a need to get something.

This data absolutely coincides with Halliday's (1975) findings, which states that early language of children has seven functions: Personal (to express preferences and options of the individual), Representational (to express information), Heuristic (investigate and acquire knowledge), Interactional (to establish social relations), Instrumental (getting the individual's needs met), Regulatory (to influence other's behavior), and Imaginative (to be creative through language that relates to imagination, and humor). Additionally, this study has revealed that multilingual learners use translanguaging practices for meaning-making to clarify if understanding was accurate on the learner's part.

Through the analysis of the data the authors also identified the following purposes why translanguaging was used in certain conversations by the teachers: (1) to convey information and reinforce meaning; (2) to create translanguaging spaces when asking for the meaning of the world either in Hungarian or in English; (3) to honor and develop multilingual identities through translanguaging in the classroom; (4) to comfort a child in order to provide more support; (5) to capture students' attention when it is urgent.

In the classroom teachers and students naturally move between languages to teach and learn due to the numerous opportunities the super-diverse setting offers to translanguage. Through these practices students and teachers are able to construct and constantly alter their sociocultural identities and values.

Student-Led Translanguaging

It is essential for students to engage and interact socially and cognitively in the translanguaging process during play. Students have the opportunity to use translanguaging practices freely with their peers and teachers without any consequences of inaccuracy or making multiple mistakes while communicating to learn and make sense of the world around them. The setting of free-play gives the opportunity to own

the language and shape it according to wherever the play takes the language user in this learning process. The freedom of integrating new language practices into one linguistic repertoire during play is only possible through complex and meaningful interactions of multilingual learners. This way all multilingual learners create their very unique language repertoire that is typical of the context and the interlocutors involved in the free-play. Translanguaging gives the multilingual learner the flexibility to take control of their own language in their very own way.

In this process many times multilingual learners want to express individuality, their options and preferences to convey their personal identity, their belonging to a social group or minority. One day, around Christmas, the "Maci Csoport" was having a conversation while coloring, decorating, and making a Christmas tree. The teacher asked *'Mit csináltok Karácsonykor?'* (What are you doing at Christmas?). The emergent bilingual children used translanguaging to represent information, what they usually do around Christmas time, and to honor and develop translanguaging identities (see Table 1).

Both Emma and Erika used the word '*gingerbread'* instead of *'mézeskalács'* from their linguistic repertoire to express they are English speakers as well. Erika added the Hungarian suffix '*-et'* to '*gingerbread'* from the linguistic repertoire while Emma made up a compound word '*gingerbread házat'* (gingerbread house) where the suffix '*-at'* is added to a Hungarian word '*ház'.* The two Hungarian suffixes ('*-et'* and '*-at'*) are used to indicate the direct object in the sentence. Ilona, the teacher assistant, reinforced the Hungarian word '*mézeskalács'* at the end of this conversation to honor and help to develop Hungarian identities in the classroom.

Another time in April, when children were engaged in an Arts-and-Craft activity which involved making butterflies to celebrate spring, children used translanguaging to reinforce meaning-making within themselves and clarification of what the other speaker was saying (see Table 2).

Through translanguaging Maggie made meaning of what was happening in the class, what they were making, what steps Ilona (the teacher), was demonstrating, and what parts of the butterfly they were cutting out from colored papers at that point. Maggie was investigating and acquiring knowledge by asking the teacher questions. Through translanguaging, Maggie was able to follow the steps of making a butterfly and complete the task.

Many times, when children were talking amongst themselves, one-on-one, or in small groups (3-4 students), children used translanguaging to convey information when communicating facts and information and also to demonstrate knowledge. In the following conversation, which took place the last day

Table 1. Making a Christmas card, day 2 (December 12, 2016)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Janka:	Mit csináltok Karácsonykor?	What are you doing at Christmas?
(…)		
Erika:	Idén Karácsonykor csináltam *gingerbread*-et, adtam neki cipőkét, szemeket és gombokat cukorból.	This Christmas I made gingerbread, I gave him shoes and eyes and buttons made of sugar.
Emma:	Idén Karácsonykor csináltam *gingerbread* házat.	This Christmas I made a gingerbread house.
Ilona:	*Mézeskalács* házat.	Gingerbread house.

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 2. Making a butterfly (April 28, 2017)

	Transcription	Authors' Translation
Ilona:	Ilyen pillangót fogunk csinálni. Milyen alak ez amit rajzoltam?	We are going to make a butterfly like this. What shape is this what I drew?
Emma:	Egy szivecske.	A little heart.
Ilona:	Összeragasztjuk a két szivecskét ilyen matricával.	We glue the two little hearts together with a sticker like this.
Emma:	Ez mi lesz a pillangónak?	What is this going to be for the butterfly?
Ilona:	A szárnya	Its wing.
Maggie:	*We are making a butterfly?*	
Ilona:	Igen, pillangót csinálunk.	Yes, we are making a butterfly.
Maggie:	*And what is that?*	
Ilona:	A teste.	Its body.

Source: (Own elaboration)

of school during free-play, emergent bilingual students were "showing off" with their knowledge of languages (see Table 3).

Emergent bilingual students mostly used English while talking to each other. Sarah started the conversation about knowing different languages (English and Hungarian, later stated Chinese); however, could not keep up with Emma and Erika translanguaging and demonstrating their Spanish linguistic skills, such as, '*Tres. Tres means three.*' or '*Uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seis.... I speak Spanish.*' Erika demonstrated knowledge of colors and numbers in Spanish by translanguaging and Emma tried to keep up with the game by using rhyming words '*Tres, cinco, coco.*' Translanguaging was also used by Lehel '*¡Hola!*' since he wanted to relate to the others and be part of the conversation. He positioned himself to establish social relationships with the others.

This conversation also revealed that translanguaging is used to express fantasy or possibility of imagination of a play. When Emma invented a language that mermaids talk and expressed how it sounds '*kvannankolouva*', she completely relied on her imagination, creativity, and humor while playing. She made connections with a cartoon character, Ariel, the Mermaid and she pointed out that her invented language sounds just like Ariel's. She was not only playing in her fantasy world, but also she was playing with the language she used during translanguaging.

It was also observed that children were keen on using translanguaging to make requests or give orders to control someone else's behavior. The second time children were getting ready for Mother's Day and were finishing up decorating their Mother's Day cards Emma was trying to regulate Sarah's disturbing behavior which bothered her (see Table 4).

Emma called out loud to stop Sarah from pinching her while she was trying to finish up her Mother's Day card. She used translanguaging to end the annoying behavior of Sarah. In other words, Emma used translanguaging to precisely express/transmit her feelings.

Children also used translanguaging to express a basic physical need or the need of getting something from somebody during the observations. They preferred using English to ask for a bathroom break or for more food during snack time. They also used English to ask for materials or to get to know the time. In the following conversation, children expressed their need for stickers to finalize their Christmas Cards

Table 3. Free-play (May 19, 2017)

	Transcription	Authors' Translation
Sarah:	I know a lot of languages, I know English, Hungarian…	
Emma:	I know English.	
Erika:	I can talk Spanish.	
Lehel:	¡Hola!	Hello.
Erika:	I like azul. Azul is a color.	I like blue. Blue is a color.
Sarah:	I don't care about colors.	
Erika:	Azul is blue.	
Emma:	Tres. Tres means three. Tres, cinco, coco.	Three. Tres means three. Three, five, coco.
Erika:	Uno, dos, tres, cuatro, cinco, seis… I speak Spanish.	One, two, three, four, five, six…
Emma:	Cuatro.	Four.
Sarah:	Seriously, what are you talking about?	
Emma:	I am smarter than you.	
Sarah:	How do you know? I know languages.	
Emma:	I know languages too.	
Sarah:	I can speak Chinese.	
Emma:	Do you know how to speak "sneak-peeks"? It's like "kvannankolouva". It's what mermaids talk.	
Erika:	Like Ariel, the mermaid?	
Sarah:	Girl, can you just be quiet?	

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 4. Making Mother's Day card, day 2 (May 13, 2017)

	Transcription	Authors' Translation
Emma (to Sarah):	*Hey, that's not fair!*	
Ilona:	Ne, Emma, légyszi ne játszál!	No, Emma, please don't play!
Emma (to Ilona):	Sarah csipked engem.	Sarah is pinching me.
Emma (to Sarah):	Rossz csipész vagy, rossz csipi vagy!	You are being a bad pincher, bad pincher!

Source: (Own elaboration)

in December. They were collaborating and swapping stickers with each other and sticking them on their cards (see Table. 5).

Erika *'Én ezt akarom.'* and Maggie '*I need stickers. More!'* expressed their need for stickers to the group. Erika used Hungarian and Maggie used English to get the stickers they wanted. Translanguaging enabled all students to participate in group work and in the group conversation. They used their unique language repertoire to translanguage. Emma, who used intra-sentential translanguaging by mixing Hungarian and English in the same sentence by saying *'Ez azt mondja, "Happy Christmas."'*

Table 5. Making a Christmas card, day 1 (December 4, 2016)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Kinga:	(matricákat osztogatva) Ezt is ragaszthatjátok a képeslapra.	(giving out stickers) You can stick these on the cards.)
Sarah:	Who is that? What's his name?	
Emma:	His name is Santa.	
Maggie:	His name is Frosty.	
Erika:	Reindeer!	
Ilona:	Nézzétek, én is kaptam egy sticker-t.	Look, I also got a sticker!)
Sarah:	Where is Santa?	
Erika:	I have Santa. You can have Santa.	
Emma:	Nézdd az enyémet! Melyiket szeretnéd?	Look at mine! Which one would you like to have?
Erika:	Én ezt akarom.	I want this.
Maggie:	I need stickers. More!	
Erika:	L-O-V-E that says love.	
Emma:	Ez azt mondja, "Happy Christmas".	This says, "Happy Christmas".

Source: (Own elaboration)

showed she has one linguistic system she uses to communicate. So, does Ilona, the teacher, who stated *'Nézzétek, én is kaptam egy sticker-t.'* In these sentences, English is used to make meaning clear by the translanguaging approach.

The emergent bilingual students observed during the visits, successfully and independently communicated across languages through the translanguaging process. They used their very own and unique language repertoires together with their gestures, facial expressions, body posture, intonation, mimic and imitation of others during translanguaging. They showed total autonomy and the flexible ability of translanguaging in different settings with different interlocutors. On one hand, most of the students showed that Hungarian and English are both continuously activated throughout their conversations with each other and with their teachers. On the other hand, it even goes beyond that, and it was revealed that Spanish is just as much of part of the language repertoire as Hungarian and English, which proves that children are able to flexibly use all the linguistic instruments they possess in order to achieve their communicative goal.

Teacher-Led Translanguaging

Translanguaging pedagogy used by teachers requires more planning than student-led translanguaging. Teachers use translanguaging for many reasons in the classroom but their practices are more meaningful and always have a purpose. Through translanguaging, teachers generate opportunities for language use. They facilitate the language and open translanguaging spaces for language learners to learn the translanguaging techniques. By using translanguaging, teachers can informally check for comprehension and allow students to demonstrate their knowledge about a topic through more than just one medium (de Jong & Freeman Field, 2010).

They also make students comfortable in the classroom by translanguaging. This is especially beneficial in the case of newcomer students who are transitioning from one culture to another in a short time, and translanguaging provides them with a link to "home", which is extremely comforting at first in a new environment where these students face cultural shock. Teachers rely on the scaffolding strategy to ensure these newcomer students are fully engaged with the content or the task while they are transitioning from one environment to the other.

Teachers are role-models and facilitators providing examples of how to translanguage for students who are still acquiring their unique language repertoire and translanguaging practices. Taking risks opens up a possibility to form an open and stress-free environment where teachers and students build on mutual trust and social equity while translanguaging.

The authors observed the following dynamic translanguaging pedagogies teachers used in the AraNY János Hungarian School in New York City (USA). Teachers used dynamic translanguaging pedagogies to convey information and reinforce meaning while the newcomer student was having snack during free-play (see Table 6).

Kinga, the teacher, is trying to build a relationship with a newcomer student, Kamilla, by using translanguaging pedagogy in order to convey meaning. Connecting with non-speakers can be very challenging; therefore, translanguaging enables Kinga to bind with the newcomer student, to show that the student's home language (English) is accepted and valued in the class. Kinga comforts the student that she is in a safe and risk-free environment where she can open up and feel free to collaborate with others.

Further, teachers used dynamic translanguaging pedagogies to create translanguaging spaces when asking for the meaning of a word either in Hungarian or in English. Many times, teachers asked for the Hungarian equivalent of English words used by an emergent bilingual child who was translanguaging. In the following conversation that took place in May during coloring and drawing, the teacher asked for the meaning of *'playdate'* (see Table 7).

Table 6. Snack time: Free conversation (December 4, 2016)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Kinga:	*Do you want this, Kamilla?*	
Kamilla:	(bólogat)	(nodding)
Kinga:	*Do you want this with or without butter?*	

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 7. Free drawing (May 13, 2017)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Emma:	Ti együtt éltek?	Do you live together?
Emilio:	Nem, de van play date-ünk.	No, but we have a play date.
Janka:	Hogy mondjuk a play date-et magyarul?	How do we say "play date" in Hungarian?
Emma:	Játszó idő	"Játszó idő".
Janka:	Igen, az egy jó szó rá.	Yes, that's a good word for that.

Source: (Own elaboration)

The purpose of Janka, the teacher, asking *'Hogy mondjuk a playdate-et magyarul? (How do we say "playdate" in Hungarian?)'* was to clarify the meaning of the English word *'playdate'* for a clear understanding and to encourage the development of Hungarian identities of the children. The word *'playdate'* has no word-to-word translated equivalent in Hungarian. However, Emma came up with a Hungarian word *'játszó idő'* for *'play date'* that is semantically a perfect equivalent of the English word.

A third way that teachers used the dynamic translanguaging pedagogies was through honoring and developing students' translanguaging identities in the classroom (see Table 8).

In this extract the authors observed that Janka, the teacher, used the Spanish word '*piñata'* to honor the students' (Emilio and Ivette) Spanish speaking background and to open up translanguaging spaces by further talking about the '*piñata'* in the following sentence, *'És mikor kapjuk a piñatát? (And when do we get the piñata?)'*. Both students felt safe and ready to open up and share a story of their daily life which included how they celebrate their birthday. It is part of the Mexican culture to celebrate somebody's birthday with a '*piñata'*, a container often made of papier-mâché, pottery, or cloth; it is decorated, and filled with small toys or candy, or both, and then broken as part of a ceremony or celebration. Translanguaging creates an environment for anti-bias education (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010), where every single child's identity, culture and language is respected, valued and highly appreciated.

Next, teachers used dynamic translanguaging pedagogies to comfort a child in order to provide more support. The following conversation took place in April during free-play when a newcomer student arrived (see Table 9).

Table 8. Arrival time (May 13, 2017)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Emilio:	Volt születésnapom és én kaptam a legjobb ajándékot. Ki kell venni a játékokat, vannak benne cukorkák és ütni kell egy bottal. Az embereknek a kedvenc rajzfilmje van és ha megvered akkor cukorka és játékok jönnek ki.	I had my birthday and I got the best gift. The toys need to be taken out, it has sweets in it and you need to hit it with a stick. There are people's favorite cartoon and if you hit it, sweets and toys come out.
Janka:	Mi a neve ennek a játéknak?	How do we call this game?
Ivette:	Piñata.	Piñata.
Janka:	És mikor kapjuk a piñatát?	And when do we get the piñata?

Source: (Own elaboration)

Table 9. Arrival time (April 28, 2017)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Kinga:	*Hi Katalin! How are you?* Hogy vagy?	How are you?
Kamilla:	*Good.*	
Kinga:	Jól vagy?	Are you feeling good?
Kamilla:	(bólogat)	(nodding)

Source: (Own elaboration)

The teacher, Kinga, uses translanguaging in this interaction with a newcomer to make links between the home language (English) and the heritage language (Hungarian) to scaffold the understanding and learning of Kamilla. First, the teacher asked, '*How are you?*', and then, she repeated this sentence in Hungarian *'Hogy vagy?'* to give the newcomer student the freedom to express herself in the language of her choice. Since Kamilla was a newly arrived child, she chose to respond in English, '*Good.*' The teacher recognized and valued the child's identity and the competencies this child might have brought to the classroom.

Finally, teachers used translanguaging pedagogies to capture students' attention when it was urgent at times. The following conversation happened first thing in the morning in May as the teachers walked into the class with a huge basket of different Arts-and-Craft materials (see Table 10).

In this conversation, the word '*sticker-eket*' was used by Ilona, the teacher assistant, to motivate the students and get the students' attention heightened about what activity they were about to do that day. It is very unlikely that if the teacher used the Hungarian word *'levonó'* it would have been fully understood by all students what they were going to use in their Arts-and-Craft projects. Ilona also added to the English word *'sticker'* the Hungarian suffix *'-ek'* to indicate plural and the Hungarian suffix *'-et'* to indicate the direct object. The teacher used her unique linguistic repertoire to excite the students about the projects they were about to start.

Through the above-mentioned examples of teachers' translanguaging pedagogy it is unquestionable that this educational environment is optimal for multilingual learners' language development. Since the teachers encourage and support students to use all the features from their full linguistic repertoires on the lexical, syntactic and discourse level, providing equal opportunities for every child to develop their very own and unique translanguaging practices. In the future, it would be interesting to see how students' translanguaging practices might change without the teachers' guidance and/or presence in the multilingual classroom or during recess (free-play without teacher's supervision) and how students' translanguaging identities and socio-emotional development that promotes justice in the class might change as a result of that.

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The authors' solution and recommendation in dealing with the above-mentioned issues and problems is to familiarize teachers with the translanguaging pedagogy through professional developments, continued education in-service courses, conferences, and through discussion panels between teachers. More findings of future and current research are essentially necessary to be published in the literature so educators can hear it, learn it, and eventually follow these practices. It is every teacher's responsibility

Table 10. Arrival time (May 13, 2017)

	Transcription	**Authors' Translation**
Ilona	Kinga, lehoztad a kis sticker-eket?	Kinga, did you bring down the small stickers?
Kinga:	Le-le.	Yes, yes.
Ilona:	Adok mindenkinek.	I'll give everyone.

Source: (Own elaboration)

to support multilingual learners in their classroom, to be flexible when using the linguistic resources available to the learning community, to foster collaboration, meaning-making, and equity in the early childhood classroom to provide access to learning and equal opportunities to all children. The authors have no doubt that teachers will rise to the challenges and responsibilities of the future, and they expect a positive outcome of the implemented new translanguaging pedagogies for all students.

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

The findings underline that *bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively* as García (2009) stated before. Through translanguaging practices multilingual learners can show their linguistic creativity, their ability to play with language and break the linguistic conventional norms and rules accepted by homogeneous societies, and to select various features of the one linguistic repertoire shaped by the knowledge of multiple languages to let language itself flourish to convey the most accurate meaning of the "here and now".

The authors believe that in order to promote integrity in a super-diverse classroom, to provide access to learning and equal opportunities to all students, the translanguaging approach must be familiarized worldwide amongst teachers in various educational settings as the fundamental principle of anti-bias or culturally responsive education. Translanguaging includes finding ways to support children's home languages as an essential component of respecting and integrating all home cultures into early childhood programs and support multilingualism as an important aspect of children's cognitive development. Nurturing and valuing the home languages of the children while using translanguaging in early childhood education helps to foster the development of a positive cultural identity.

There is clearly a lot that should be done in the future, academically and in terms of advocacy, to promote translanguaging, to ensure multilingual speakers of non-standard, non-privileged languages such as Hungarian, are enabled a voice. There is a long way to go in this direction of global change, which will be only possible if we leave traditional concepts and boundaries behind so new perspectives will be able to emerge, along with the holistic understanding of the phenomena in question.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the authors have discussed the innovative language practices of students and the translanguaging pedagogies of teachers observed during free-play in a linguistically diverse Hungarian-English early childhood education classroom in New York City.

The authors' theory of translanguaging poses that there is only one linguistic system, with features that language learners integrate throughout their communication with others. It was clearly proven by the transcribed examples of conversations taken place during the six-month-long course of observations that these linguistic systems differ from person to person. Students and teachers use language differently, depending on who they are, who they are conversing with, what they are doing now, and how they might be feeling in the time of the conversation. It depends on the choices that the language-user makes about what features of the language (phonemes, morphemes, parts of speech, verb tense, case, gender, syntactic and discourse rules) he or she wants to use from his or her very own language repertoire. This

is formulated and stored in a unique way because of the languages the language-user was affected by during his or her lifetime.

The recorded data revealed that play is the key in this process of translanguaging since during playtime, emergent bilingual children feel free to use all their complex linguistic repertoire while they play and speak. They are not expected to perform according to the standards and norms of the national language usage; there is no need to separate the already acquired language features of different languages from one another, they can be left alone as one, big, integrated whole.

Teachers have an exemplary and essential role in the translanguaging process that impacts our future generation of multilingual and multicultural citizens. They demonstrated the effort to create risk-free and stress-free safe places to use the complex language features emergent bilinguals have. Through this process, they strengthen their sense of translanguaging identities and heritage, their sense of connectedness, and promote the common goal to preserve their minority language.

The analysis revealed that translanguaging has a strong pedagogical aspect that can scaffold learning, which hopefully can lead to a more successful and equitable integration of the officially recognized forms of multilingualism in early childhood educational settings.

It is still necessary to research, develop and spread more translanguaging practices in educational settings around the world. We are just at the beginning of making changes in language practices in order to create more translanguaging spaces in the near future. We need to stay optimistic and hope that more and more flexibly and effectively used practices will appear to be shared amongst future educators.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Anti-Bias Education: Anti-bias education is an approach to teaching and learning designed to increase understanding of differences and their value to a respectful and civil society and to actively challenge bias, stereotyping, and all forms of discrimination in schools and communities.

Cooperative Play: Children are engaged in play with a common goal and they work cooperatively to achieve the goal.

Heritage Language Education: Teaching of languages other than English as a subject to those who speak or understand the language due to a common ancestry.

Language Features: Lexical and structural features of language, such as, phonemes, morphemes, words, verb tenses, parts of speech, case and gender distinction, syntactic, and discourse structures.

Language Repertoire: The totality of linguistic features that the language user has without separating to which language they belong to.

Scaffolding: The support given during the learning process that is tailored to the needs of the student with the intention of helping the student achieve his or her learning goals.

Sociodramatic Play: Pretend play with a group in which children cooperate and take on complementary characters.

Superdiversity: It is some current levels of population diversity that are significantly higher than before in a given community. A diversity which exists not just in terms of where people come from and what languages they speak but also in other variables including a differentiation in immigration statuses, previous labour experiences, educational background, gender and age profiles, etc.

Translanguaging: The approach supposes that there is only one, unique language system that the language user has and that enables the language user to use all the complex language features from his or her language repertoire according to his or her free choice.

Translanguaging Practices: The term refers to trans-semiotic communicative practices that use various linguistic resources, symbols, images, codes, etc.