Multilingualism Doctoral School
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THE FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF PEDAGOGICAL TRANSLANGUAGING IN HUNGARIAN HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

A Case Study of Hungarian-English Emergent Bi-, and Multilinguals in Early Childhood Classrooms in New York City

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PhD Thesis

by

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THE FORMS AND FUNCTIONS OF PEDAGOGICAL TRANSLANGUAGING IN HUNGARIAN HERITAGE LANGUAGE EDUCATION

A Case Study of Hungarian-English Emergent Bilinguals in Early Childhood Classrooms in New York City

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Dissertation Abstract

There is limited research that investigates the translanguaging practices of emergent bi- and multilingual children in early childhood educational settings in general; and the research is even more limited in exploring the translanguaging pedagogy in low-incident heritage language schools in English mainstream societies. To fill the gap in research, this study focuses on exploring the translanguaging practices of emergent bi-, and multi-lingual Hungarian descendant heritage language learners in early childhood educational settings in New York City (USA) and the pedagogy that is currently being used in these settings.

The overarching aim of this study was to reveal some of the translanguaging practices that both students and teachers use in the diverse ethnic community of Hungarian descendant emergent bi-, and multilinguals living in the New York City metropolitan area, one of the most diverse English mainstream multilingual diaspora on Earth today. The study reports on the different attitudes and beliefs of Hungarian-English emergent bi-, and multilingual students' parents and teachers that foreshadows the need for the translanguaging pedagogy in heritage language and culture education.

On one hand, the study aims to understand how students and teachers in the Hungarian heritage language community get familiar with the diversity of different cultures and languages presented in New York City. Also, to see how the translanguaging pedagogy used in the Hungarian heritage language school occasionally promotes the acceptance and tolerance of others and the development of positive attitudes towards the cultural and linguistic diversity of New York City itself, and in Hungarian heritage language classrooms.

On the other hand, this study aims to illustrate the complexity of Hungarian heritage language maintenance in the New York metropolitan area and its relationship to the following components: personal histories, or counterstories; perceptions and attitudes; personal paradigms; and social, cultural, and economic factors. The study investigates if Hungarian heritage language maintenance is jeopardized and in danger of leading to possible language loss if the mainstream language (English) or other high-incident minority languages (Spanish, Chinese) are welcomed in the Hungarian heritage language classrooms while using the translanguaging pedagogy. Moreover, if the teachers' attitudes and perceptions towards bi- and multilingualism in general undermines heritage language maintenance and learning.

Moreover, this study also looks into the Hungarian descendant heritage language speaking parents' attitudes and perceptions of promoting and implementing the Hungarian language maintenance in an English mainstream society to contribute to the development of additive bi- or multilingualism in the life of their child (ren).

The study involved observing the research participants translanguaging practices during group sessions in the Hungarian heritage language school, conducting over-the-phone individual interviews with the participating Hungarian descendent Hungarian-English bilingual pedagogues, and collecting questionnaires from Hungarian descendent parents of emergent bi-, and multilingual learners attending the Hungarian heritage language school.

The translanguaging practices of the participants were observed over the course of two consecutive school years in two of the early childhood classrooms of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City. The collected data included transcriptions of dialogues of the participants, that later was analysed, and the findings were further organized within generative themes to be presented in this dissertation. The research concluded with an action plan to share the findings with the Hungarian heritage language school staff and the Hungarian parents interested in Hungarian heritage language education.

The study has key importance because it sheds light on the evident need for the development of the translanguaging pedagogy in the unique research context in which the translanguaging pedagogy would transmit an anti-biased mind-set not only towards social and cultural diversity in general, but also particularly towards the Hungarian heritage language community.

To My Loving Family

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CHAPTER I

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

In the era of globalization, technological innovations, and intensive migration, the number of emergent bi-, and multilinguals is rapidly increasing around the world. Different states, nations, and social minority groups have different histories, needs, challenges, and aspirations for their children; therefore, there is an indisputable need in today's super diverse societies for different educational options to reflect the complex multilingual and multimodal communicative networks of the 21st century. However, the decisions about creating these educational spaces in public formal education are highly political, and influenced by a variety of historic, economic, and socio-cultural factors (Wright, Boun & García, 2015). Meanwhile, in informal educational settings it heavily depends on the level of togetherness, common goals, and own resources of the ethnic community.

Bilingual education is one way to educate the children of today who are already speakers of two languages (or more), or are in the process of studying additional languages. Some students who learn additional languages are already speakers of the mainstream language(s) used in the society they live in. Sometimes they are immigrants, refugees, members of minority groups, or perhaps members of the majority group learning the mainstream language of the society in the public school simultaneously with additional languages. These second-, or foreign-language teaching programs are very popular amongst minority groups due to their aim of quickly learning the mainstream language(s) of the host society, so they can quickly become academically successful in English-Only settings.

The most well-known of them is the English as a Second Language (ESL) program, or English as a New Language (ENL) program as it is recently referred to in the United States. However, this program is the mostly preferred program in English mainstream societies, it differs from the traditional language education programs in the following aspects. It does not focus on language as a subject, but uses language as the medium of instruction. That is, they teach the content through the additional language rather than the primary language of the children. It follows the monolingual orientation that each language is a separate entity in the speaker's brain, and any language knowledge beyond the target language (English, in the United States) is irrevelant (Fu, Hadjioannou

& Zhou, 2019). As a result, the target language becomes the focus of instruction, and the teachers' efforts focus on the students becoming competent and confident users of the English language.

On the contrary, in traditional bilingual education programs there is more than one language, precisely two languages used for instruction, while in multilingual programs (recently becoming widespread in multicultural societies) two or more languages are used in the classroom, while instruction is still conducted through the additional language. English has been the most commonly taught second-, or foreign-language in public formal schools as part of the official curriculum, whereas complementary informal schools focus on teaching and preserving the heritage (home) language and culture of the minority ethnic communities in the mainstream society (see García, Zakharia & Otcu, 2013).

There are a wide variety of conflicting ideologies, theories, policies, and practices surrounding bilingual and multilingual education throughout our multilingual, multicultural and increasingly globalized world; therefore, multilingual education around the world has many different structural and pedagogical manifestations to teach the 'children of today'. This occurs because educators around the world aim to adapt to and support all students' needs. Their ultimate goal is to best prepare them for today's infinate number of linguistic realities in local and global contexts. As García (2009: 5) stated, "bilingual education is *the only way* to educate children in the twenty-first century". She expressed that the only way to provide meaningful and equitable education that builds tolerance towards other linguistic and cultural groups and fosters appreciation for the diversity of humanity is through acknowledging and celebrating the super diversity of complex societies. Since García (2009) first started to highlight the importance of bilingual education in the United States, a lot has changed in the past decade. As a result of the influx of the great diversity in today's educational settings, using the term multilingual, multicultural education is more accurate which includes numerous and diversified teaching practices that maximize learning and communication in the classroom.

I have spent the past thirteen years working as an English as a New Language (ENL) teacher developing and building effective teaching practices on my own in one of the world's most ethnically diverse educational settings, in the New York City public school system. Today it is reported that there are over 800 languages spoken across the five boroughs (Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, Bronx, and Staten Island). Nevertheless,

just in Queens alone, there are approximately 138 languages spoken, which holds the Guinness World Record for "most ethnically diverse urban area on the planet".[1] Therefore, the challenges that educators, like myself, face in these multilingual, multicultural formal educational settings are countless. Since students arrive on a daily basis from all parts of the world bringing their very unique linguistic and cultural backgrounds into the classrooms, pedagogues are in urgent need of cutting-edge teaching strategies. Still, providing the best education possible for the diverse pool of multilingual, multicultural learners in today's public schools is a very unique and quite challenging experience.

Based on her own teaching experiences, Csillik (2019b) specified five major issues and problem areas that today's educators working in multilingual, multicultural classrooms might find challenging. She mentioned the following issues and problem areas: (1) cultural and demographic, (2) teacher related, (3) language learner related, (4) curriculum related, and (5) assessment related. She further suggested the implementation of state-of-the-art teaching strategies in the culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms as a possible solution for these issues. For instance, creating a culturally welcoming environment, building background knowledge, using scaffolding strategies, creating cooperative learning groups, building vocabulary and academic language, allowing translanguaging in the classroom, and involving all families in the education of multilanguage learners (Csillik, 2019a).

Many other researcher's imagination has been captured around translanguaging and the translanguaging pedagogy in recent years (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Lewis *et al*, 2012a, 2012b, Canagarajah, 2013; Flores & García, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Garrity *et al*, 2015; Otheguy *et al*, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Paulsrud *et al*, 2017; Conteh, 2018; Gort, 2018; Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhuo, 2019; Rabbidge, 2019). They aimed to discover the characteristic features of translanguaging from the diverse multilingual and multimodal practices of bi-, and multilinguals in bilingual, English as a New Language (ENL), or English as a Foreign Language (EFL) formal educational settings.

In contrast, educators in informal complementary education settings advocate to protect the integrity of individual languages used in the ethnic community to preserve their ethnic identity despite their low status in the mainstream society. Therefore, while

[1] https://www.babbel.com/en/magazine/the-languages-of-queens-diversity-capital-of-the-world

they accept the existence of different languages in complex societies (e.g. New York in the United States), they cannot accept the so called ʽcontamination' of these languages in their own heritage community, as their purpose is to strictly preserve and maintain the minority language as an indicator of their ethnic or cultural identity (Hortobágyi, 2009). They rather follow the ʽcompartmentalization of languages', or the monolingual perspective, where the boundaries between languages, between languages and other communicative means, and between the minority language and other languages are constantly being reassessed and challenged.

Statement of Research Problem

Minority or heritage language shift and loss (functional reduction and/or simplification in the linguistic system) between generations of immigrant families weakens family communication patterns and cultural identity maintenance in the mainstream society (Bartha, 1995b). First generation Hungarian immigrant parents share stories of their own parents who do not speak fluent English, yet their American born children are resisting learning Hungarian, as their heritage language; they ʺrebel against their roots" (Navracsics, 2016: 16). School policies, teacher attitudes, peer relationships, and perceptions of English as language in higher status in the United States contribute to the younger generation's resistance to speak Hungarian at home. Consequently, Hungarian descendent American-born children have difficulty today in becoming fully bilingual (multilingual) and bicultural (multicultural) in the United States. They seldomly (or hardly ever) communicate with their Hungarian speaking grandparents in Hungarian or with other monolingual family members living in Hungary.

Language shapes our thoughts and embodies different ways of knowing the world. Therefore, having access to the home (heritage) language can provide a window into the home (heritage) culture apart from the mainstream culture. Immigrant parents understand the importance of integrating their children into the American society as quickly as possible (Wong Fillmore, 1991; Zelasko & Atunez, 2000; Yilmaz, 2016), and as the need and pressure to speak English persists, children continue to lose their heritage language skills. Few American-born children of immigrant parents are fully proficient in the ethnic language, even if it was the only language they spoke when they first entered the American public school. Once these children learn English to fully take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the mainstream society, they tend not to maintain or

develop the language spoken in the minority household (Velázquez, 2019), even if it is the only language their parents know. They very early on face that the key to acceptance in the mainstream society is English and they learn it quickly, so they can be part of the social life of their formal education. All too often, English becomes their language of choice long before they realize it, and they use it both in school and at home (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Wong Fillmore (1991) forewarned us that early exposure to English might lead to the loss of the home (heritage) language of minority children, and the younger the children in the family are the greater the loss could be compared to their older siblings.

Background and Need

Research from the field of Applied Linguistics focusing on the translanguaging pedagogical approach in bi-, and multilingual formal educational settings only started to appear in the past decade. In the United States of America while most of the research was done by Ofelia García (Flores & García, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017) and her followers (Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Otheguy *et al*, 2015; Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhuo, 2019). The bulk of the research was carried out in public middle schools and secondary formal educational settings emphasizing the importance of the translanguaging approach as a practical and innovative pedagogy for teachers working with multilingual learners (García, 2009). All the data from these research studies were collected during content-based classroom instructions. Following García's steps, Christina Celic and Kate Seltzer (2011) collected data from bilingual students in order to develop a very unique guide proposing a repertoire of translanguaging strategies that teachers working with multilingual learners can add to their everyday teaching practices. Their purpose was to create a welcoming and diverse multilingual classroom environment promoting multilingual learners' optimal multilingual development.

In the UK, Lauren Beer (2013) was one of the first researchers who carryed out a comprehensive study looking at attitudes and actions towards English as an Additional Language (EAL) of the press, school inspectors, and teaching staff to find the best methods of teaching literacy skills in multilingual classrooms. Her observations followed the idea of multilingual learners having separate language systems as opposed to García's view who recognised that bilinguals' linguistic resources are being stored in a single,

unified linguistic system or repertoire (like mixed greens in a salad bowl) (Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhuo, 2019). 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 multilanguage learners.

Only just recently, a collection of rich empirical research study by BethAnn Paulsrud, Jenny Rosén, Boglárka Straszer and Åsa Wedin (2017) was introduced to the field of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 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 writing practices in the global age; analysing social media postings and tweets of multilingual young people. Or, the role of the translanguaging teacher making connections between home and school; or, 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 pedagogy to make content more accessible.

The research that has been carried out are extremely limited in correlation with translanguaging in early childhood education (ECE) settings; almost none of the research meant to target translanguaging practices in emergent bilingual heritage language schools. At the same time as the current research was carried out, two researchers pioneered to expolre this field. Katja N. Andersen (2016, 2017) researched in a trilingual (Luxembourgish, German, French) Luxembourgish ECE setting to explore very young (2-6 years old) students' engagement during literacy practices when instruction was accompanied by pictures and reading in German. Her findings suggested that the usage of gestures and body language during translanguaging practices enabled multilingual children to make-meaning of rhymes accompanied by visual images.

Another research by Åsa Palviainen and fellow researchers (2016) was carried out in Finland, also at the same time. They examined the language practices of five bilingual pre-school teachers working within three different socio-linguistic settings; in Finland (Finnish-Sweedish and Russian-Finnish contexts) and in Israel (an Arab-Hebrew context). The observed children were between the ages of one and six; however, they were mainly interested in the teacher's use of languages in pre-school classrooms. They found that in each context the teachers reported modifications to an initial bilingual education model over time. They switched from a strict separation of languages to flexible

bilingual practices that accepted code-switching in the classroom. The study revealed the power of personal ideologies, in both changing one's teaching practices and challenging prevailing ideologies as represented by society and by supervisors.

The reason behind the insufficiency number of studies is that the term 'translanguaging' itself has only been used since the second half of the 1990s; meanwhile, the approach introduced and explored by scholars only started in the past decade, since 2010s. Also, the main focus of heritage language schools is to transmit and maintain the minority community's heritage language and culture to their descendants. Their language segregating policy limits the usage of other languages in the school. They solely focus on language separation in the form of "heritage language-only" monolingual policy following the fractional view of bilingualism that "the bilingual has (or should have) two separate and isolable language competencies" (Grosjean, 1989: 4). Therefore, informal educational settings were not in the focus of interest of the previous research studies as they stand against the wholistic view of bilingualism. That presumed "the bilingual uses two languages –separately or together- for different purposes, in different domains in life, with different people" (Grosjean, 1989: 6). Therefore, language contamination which occurs during code-switching in the translanguaging pedagogy is an unwelcomed phenomenon in heritage language schools. It is evident that the importance of the current study in the field of Applied Linguistics and Bi-, and Multilingualism is essential and necessary for several reasons.

Since I have been implementing translanguaging practices in my ENL classes on a daily basis in a New York City public elementary school in Maspeth, New York allowing my students to bring their primary heritage (home) language(s) (e.g. Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, etc.) in my classroom as one of the solutions for the different language and linguistic needs of multilingual learners' (Csillik, 2019a), I was curious to know what are the options for Hungarian descendent children to learn the Hungarian language as an additional language living in the New York City metropolitan area. The fact that I, myself, am Hungarian descendent and over the past thirteen years of my teaching career in Maspeth, New York, I have never come across a child with Hungarian origins in the neighbourhood made me suspect that Hungarian language education is most likely non-existent in the public school system of New York City. Due to the insignificant number of speakers living in one particular area of the city Hungarian language education remains accessible in informal educational settings in the New York City metropolitan area.

Therefore, I became more interested in researching in the Hungarian ethnic language community. So much the more that it recently appeared in the media that Hungarian is one of the fastest dying languages in the United States. The headline completely left me perplexed since even decades lasting longitudinal studies (De Bot & Clyne, 1989, 1994) have already proven that there is little or no attrition detected in immigrant communities due to the immigrants' strong affiliation with the native country and the increased pride in the native cultural background (Isurin & Wilson, 2017). Bátyi (2017) argued that language skills are constantly changing, and there is no end point or ultimate attainment; and the reduced accessibility of language components (e.g. words, rules) is "a normal and effective strategy of the cognitive system to use resources sparingly" (Bátyi, 2017: 267). The prevalent assumption is (still) that the native language, once completely acquired, is immune to change, except in extreme situations of long-term no use (Lahmann, Steinkrauss & Schmid, 2017, 2019; Schmid & Köpke, 2017).

There were just a few sociolinguistic comprehensive studies previously carried out in the United States targeting Hungarian-American communities up until the Millennium. Böröcz (1987) followed by Mocsary (1990) in Árpádhon, Lousiana; Kontra (1990) studied Hungarian-American's spoken language in South Bend, Indiana (see Kerek, 1992); followed by other researchers like Bartha (1995b) in the Delray neighbourhood of Ditroit, Michigan; Huseby-Darvas (2003) also in Michigan; Fenyvesi (1995) in McKeesport, Pennsylvania; and Polgár (2001) in the Birmingham neighbourhood of Toledo, Ohio (Fenyvesi, 2005). However, in the past two decades there were no studies carried out in the field of Bi-, and Multilingualism targeting Hungarian-American ethnic communities in the United States, not to mention that, yet, there has not been any research carried out in the Hungarian-American community residing around New York City.

All of the above mentioned reasons led me to start to find connections with other Hungarian descendent families through common acquaintances whose children were attending the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School (New York, USA), a complementary informal heritage language school, which functions as a community school for Hungarian descendent children on the Upper East Side of New York, NY. I especially was interested researching amongst the youngest groups of this school since I shared Lily Wong Fillmore's (1991) view that the younger the children are, the faster and more completely they can learn a new language. "At age 3 or 4, the children are in a language learning mode: They learn whatever language or languages they hear, as long

as the conditions for language learning are present" (Wong Fillmore, 1991: 325). Plus, she forewarned us (Wong Fillmore, 1991) that early exposure to English might lead to the loss of the home (heritage) language of minority children, and the younger the children in the family are, the greater the loss could be compared to older siblings of these children.

I also decided to target the pre-school ages due to the age factor in second language acquisition known as the critical period hypothesis (CPH) (Lenneberg, 1967). Supporters of this hypothesis believe in "the age-related benefits and constraints of language development both in the first and in additional languages" of the language learner (Navracsics, 2016: 6). Carmen Muñoz and David Singleton found that "in second language acquisition an early *starting age* leads to higher ultimate attainment" (in Singleton & Aronin, 2019: 213), while David Singleton suggested that in terms of long-term outcome "the earlier exposure to the target language happens, the better" (Singleton & Lengyel, 1995: 2).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the translanguaging practices of students and teachers in Hungarian heritage language informal education in the New York City metropolitan area. This study not only focuses on exploring the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging to discover the language practices of emergent bi-, and multilingual children in early childhood minority educational settings. But, it also seeks to understand to what extent the phenomenon of language maintenance is jeopardized if other languages are welcomed in the youngest age groups of heritage language classrooms. Ultimately the aim is to maximize the heritage language use and to familiarize the American-born children with the cultural heritage of the Hungarian ethnic community.

The focus of interest was particularly drawn to the learners in pre-school groups where children spontaneously make language choices between their primary and additional language(s). (Navracsics, 1999).

Finally, it was my hope that this study will inform those Hungarian families living in the New York metropolitan area or elsewhere in the United States who are struggling with home language maintenance, or those monolingual English speaking teachers and policy makers who are interested to introduce translanguaging practices in formal educational settings to appreciate and celebrate bi-, and multilingualism. Furthermore,

those who are curious to discover the linguistic and cultural background of Hungarian minorities living in the United States or elsewhere, or those who are interested in introducing pedagogical translanguaging in heritage language educational settings in minority communities.

Delimitations and Limitations

It was difficult to anticipate all of the delimitations and limitations of the study before the beginnings, but there were certain identifiable and potential weaknesses I considered in advance. This study limited its scope to a very small Hungarian community living in the New York metropolitan area – including individuals born in the United States and in Hungary; however, just a fraction of the Hungarian descendent immigrants who live around New York City actually send their child(ren) to the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, which is the only educational institution in the area. Therefore, this study does not aim to generalize findings to Hungarian groups in the United States in general, or in any other English mainstream countries where a Hungarian minority community prevails. The findings may not apply to Hungarian minority communities outside of this particular ethnic community in which my participant families worked and resided.

Furthermore, I have a very small sample size, due to the disintegrated nature of Hungarian descendant immigrants and to the fact that they live scattered throughout the five boroughs of the Big Apple. One of my goals was to address the problem (the difficulty of the Hungarian language preservation and maintenance in New York City) that many Hungarian descendent immigrant parents and their children experience. However, I could not control the size of the control group in the heritage language school in order to raise awareness of this issue.

Moreover, due to the school's limited budget and limited applicants to enroll in the Kindergarten and in the Pre-Kindergarten groups, in the second year of my observations school administrators decided that instead of two separate classes (one Kindergarten and one Pre-Kindergarten), each very low in numbers, they created one integrated class where they combined the Pre-Kindergarten and Kindergarten students in the same classroom. This unforeseen decision of the school community impected my observation sessions. I was unable to continue observing the same age group (5-6 years old) in the second year. Therefore, the participants' age was much younger in the

integrated class (3-5 years old) in the second year of observations than in the children observed in the first year (5-6 years old).

Also, I had previously developed relationships with several of the participating families and their children in my first year, thereby making my observations and reflections in my second year perhaps became less objective than those of a researcher who is not an active member of the community under investigation. Unfortunately, in the second year, I had to become an active member of the community by suddenly taking up the role of a participant observer in the class due to the unexpected death of one of the teacher participants. I strongly believe that this contributed to a less objective research.

Significance of the Study

This study of the language practices of Hungarian descendent children in New York City is important for several reasons. First, understanding the relationship between external pressures and language choice may help understanding and revealing the reasons why Hungarian descendent children are resisting the use of the Hungarian language in school and at home (Navracsics, 2016). On the other hand, exploring Hungarian descendent families' home language preservation and maintenance strategies in the New York City ethnic community may generate valuable insights for other Hungarian families living in the United States.

Secondly, teachers and school officials who recommend or require the use of Hungarian-only monolingual policy in the heritage language schools and classrooms, who might have limited experience with bi-, and multilingual learners of complex societies, might find the results of this study informative and thoughtful for the future. They could benefit from this study, which will provide insight into the cognitive advantages of bi-, and multilingualism, as well as, the link between language, culture, family ties, and cultural "cosmopolitan" identity (Navracsics, 2016: 13) formation in the 21st-century globalized world. Perhaps, more importantly, family members who aim to preserve and maintain their heritage language abroad, far away from the home (heritage) country, and thereby uphold cultural values and teachings, might also gain insight from this study.

Finally, old-fashionad teachers and language policy makers labeling emergent bilinguals as "English-deficient" instead of "other-language-abled", skilled communicators of diverse languages (Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhou, 2019) might recognise

emergent bilinguals' knowledge as an asset to any educational setting, and might inform policymakers about the importance of considering socio-cultural issues before enacting laws that could affect millions of bi-, and multilingual learners coming from ethnic minority groups.

Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into six chapters. This chapter, Chapter 1, states the research problem, the various reasons and need for the research, and the purpose of this study. It also lists the delimitations and limitations, and provides a list of definitions for terms used throughout the dissertation. Furthermore, it presents the research questions in relation to what we currently know about the translanguaging pedagogy. Chapter 2 details the theoretical frameworks that underlie the design of the research, and it also reviews the related empirical and theoretical literature. It further provides a description of how this study contributes to the existing literature and addresses two major knowledge gaps. In Chapter 3, the focus is on the research methodology and methods. The study design, the research site, and research context will be described, as well as, the participants will be introduced. The teacher-researcher role will be presented with detailed demographic information of the teacher participants and the classroom level demographic information. Then, the different sources of data will be described, how the data was collected, and the methods for data analysis. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's strengths and weaknesses. Findings are arranged in three chapters and are guided by the study's three research questions. In Chapter 4, results from the data analysis will be discussed focusing on the forms and functions of translanguaging in two Hungarian-English emergent bilingual early childhood classrooms. The forms and functions of languages presented in teacher and student translanguaging practices will be arranged into three categories. In Chapter 5, teacher and parent perspectives on translanguaging pedagogies will be presented combined together with the analysis and findings from Chapters 4 and 5 to make recommendations for pedagogical conditions that could support future translanguaging pedagogies. Chapter 6 will provide a final overview of the research, a discussion of its theoretical and practical contributions, its strengths and weaknesses, and suggestions for future research will conclude this dissertation.

Definition of Terms

Additive Bilingualism: relates to the linguistic objectives of the bilingual program as to provide students with an opportunity to add a language to their communicative skill sets (Lambert, 1975 in González, 2008: 10). The acquisition of L2 is not detrimental to one's L1, but is in fact, beneficial to the language user. The term "additive" is used as it portrays an addition to one's language repertoire. Total additive bilingualism occurs when one is highly proficient in both the cognitive-academic aspect and communication in both their L1 and L2. Total additive bilingualism is also said to be achieved when one is consistently able to hold onto and remain positive in their L1 culture whilst possessing the same attitude towards their L2. In addition, additive bilingualism usually occurs when one's L1 is of a higher status in the community as compared to the L2. As the L1 is of high status, the community would continue using it in daily activities and thus, it is less likely for one to lose their L1 as well as its culture while acquiring the L2 (Landry & Allard, 1993).

Americanization: the process of assimilation minority children in the school programs in the United States (e.g. Native American children) (Ovando, 2008: 42).

Acculturation: the social and psychological integration of the language learner with the target language group (Schumann, 1986).

Assimilation: a voluntary or involuntary process by which individuals or groups completely take on the traits of another culture, leaving their original cultural and linguistic identities behind, e.g. the absorption of European immigrants into U.S. society and their adoption of American cultural patterns and social structures (Ovando, 2008: 42).

Bilingualism: the native-like control of two or more languages (maximalist theory of Bloomfield, 1933), people with minimal competence in a second language (minimalist theory of Diebold, 1964), the everyday use of the two languages by individuals (Baker, 2001: 6).

Bilingual Education: the education of students who are already speakers of two languages or of those who are studying additional languages (Baker, 1993: 9).

Code-Switching: When individuals succeed in becoming fluent bilinguals, their sociopsycholinguistic competencies in the two languages overlap, creating a hybrid competence, in which code-switching is when speakers use both languages in the same conversation, an instrument that competent bilingual speakers use deliberately as symbols of group identity (Reyes, 2008: 80-81).

Complex Society: the term civilized or complex society is derived from agricultural developments, necessary division of labor, a hierarchical political structure, and the development of institutions as tools for control. Collectively, they create the conditions for a society of complex nature where there is a new kind of relationship between people emerges (Darwill, 2008).

Cultural Identity: identification with, or sense of belonging to, a particular group based on various cultural categories, including nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. Cultural identity is constructed and maintained through the process of sharing collective knowledge such as traditions, heritage, language, aesthetics, norms and customs. As individuals typically affiliate with more than one cultural group, cultural identity is complex and multifaceted. In the globalized world with increasing intercultural encounters, cultural identity is constantly enacted, negotiated, maintained, and challenged through communicative practices. (Chen, 2014)

Emergent Bilinguals: students who are at the early stages of bilingual development (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017: 2).

Heritage Language: is generally a minority language in a society typically learned at home during childhood (Valdés, 2000); refers to all languages, except aboriginal languages, brought to host societies by immigrants (Park, 2013: 31); languages spoken by ethnic communities (García, 2009: 60). Synonomous terms are ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, third language, non-official language, community language, and mother-tongue (Cummins & Danesi, 1990: 8).

Home Language: the language – often referred to as the native or heritage language spoken at home among family members whose native language is different from the dominant language (Schecter & Bayley, 1997).

Immersion Education Program: it can be either monolingual or bilingual setting in early years' education which operate through minority and/or majority language(s), and their objectives can range from language maintenance and/or enrichment to early second language learning (Hickey, 2013). What they share is that they offer preschool children a model of care and early education that brings with it a particular focus on language maintenance and/or enrichment (Hickey & de Mejía, 2013).

Immigrant: A person who permanently moved from his or her country of birth to another country. An immigrant may be documented or undocumented in the host country.

Language Maintenance: can take place within an individual or a community. It occurs when language shift is staved off, when speakers of a language (both adults and children)

maintain proficiency in a language and retain the use of the language in various domains. A good sign of language maintenance is when older generations continue passing the language on to their children (Lam, 2008: 476).

Language Loss: the process of losing proficiency –either limited or completely- in a language whether by an individual or a language community (Lam, 2008: 476).

Language Shift: a loss in language proficiency or a decreasing use of that language for different purposes. In a community the term refers to a change from one language to another (e.g., immigrants in the United States tend to shift from the use of another language to English). As the shift becomes permanent, fluency in and mastery of the first-acquired language –Spanish, Chinese, Korean, or other- usually declines (Lam, 2008: 476).

Mainstream Language: the language of the majority group members (Lambert, 1981) in the host country.

Minority Language: a language spoken by a minority of the population in a territory. Such people are termed linguistic minorities or language minorities in the mainstream society.

Multilingualism: is the presence of a number of languages in one country or community or city; is the use of three or more languages; and the ability to speak several languages (Singleton & Aronin, 2019: 3).

Multiculturalism: the presence of several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society. A multicultural society is composed of people from different ethnic backgrounds and cultures living and working together.

Multilingual/Multicultural Education: An educational setting with various social, cultural and ethnic groups in the macro-culture of the mainstream society. It promotes the understanding of different people and cultures in, includes teachings to accept and respect the normality of diversity in all areas of life, makes every effort to sensitize the learner to the notion that people naturally develop in different ways. (Csillik & Golubeva, 2020 in press).

One-Way Bilingual Education: the group of students participating in the dual language program as being all from only one of the two languages used in the program model. One-way programs support one language group of students to become bilingual, bi-cultural, and bi-literate (Csillik, 2019a, in press).

Simultaneous Bilingualism: Simultaneous early bilingualism refers to a child who learns two languages at the same time, from birth. This generally produces a strong bilingualism (see additive bilingualism).

Subtractive Bilingualism: relates to the linguistic objectives of the program as to insist that children participating in the bilingual program subtract their home language from active use and concentrate all efforts on rapidly learning and refining their English skills (Lambert, 1975 in González, 2008: 10). The acquisition of L2 would be detrimental to an individual's L1. This can be caused by the increased cognitive load due to L2 acquisition which consequently decreases competence in users' L1. This phenomenon is found to be experienced by minority groups, especially when they are not schooled in their L1. With the frequent usage of their L2, their L1 competence and culture is gradually replaced by the L2.

Successive Bilingualism: Successive early bilingualism refers to a child who has already partially acquired a first language and then learns a second language early in childhood (e.g., when a child moves to an environment where the dominant language is not his native language). This generally produces a strong bilingualism (see additive bilingualism); however, the child must be given time to learn the second language, because the second language is learned at the same time as the child learns to speak (Meisel *et al.*, 2008).

Superdiversity: a term that is basically synonymous with ‛diversity', or perhaps meaning ‟very much" ‛diversity' (Vertovec, 2017).

Translanguaging: multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds (García, 2009: 45).

Translanguaging Pedagogy: a multilingual language acquisition pedagogy in Bi-, and Multilingualism that considers the linguistic repertoires of the language learners as an asset, and sees translanguaging itself as a naturally occurring phenomenon for bi-, and multilingual students (Canagarajah, 2011b: 8).

Two-way Bilingual Education: The group of students participating in a dual language program as being from both of the languages used in the program model. Two-way programs support two language groups of students to become bilingual, bi-cultural, and bi-literate (Csillik, 2019a, in press).

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I review the relevant theoretical and empirical literature that guide this study. First, I review the origin of translanguaging, the theories of translanguaging, and the communities of practice. Next, I examine the relevant literature on translanguaging pedagogies focusing on the teachers' roles within these pedagogies. Thus, I introduce the present status of heritage language education in New York City with special regard to introducing the situation of the Hungarian heritage language community living around New York City. Moreover, I present the Hungarian ethnolinguistic community's sociolinguistic goals and its attempts towards a socio educational collaboration in the ethnic community to shape the making of heritage language usage, transmittance, and maintenance policy. Furthermore, I refer to the current implementation of the translanguaging pedagogy in Hungarian contexts. Lastly, I detail the need for a qualitative research that addresses the knowledge gaps presently existing in these areas by detailing the research questions.

Origins of Translanguaging

The term 'translanguaging' has not only appeared in the field of Applied Linguistics, but also, it rapidly entered in the field of Bilingual and Multilingual Education. Today it is known as "an approach to bilingualism that is centered not on languages, as has been often the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable" (García, 2009: 45). The word itself originated from the Welsh '*trawsieithu*' word introduced by the Welsh educator, Cen Williams (1994), who was the first to develop a bilingual pedagogy, in which students were asked to alternate languages for the purpose of receptive or productive use of two languages (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017). It meant that students might have been asked to read in English first and write in Welsh soon after (Baker, 2011). Williams stated "… translanguaging means that you receive information through the medium of one language (e.g., English) and use it yourself through the medium of the other language (e.g., Welsh). Before you can use that information successfully, you must have fully understood it" (Williams, 1994: 64). Sometimes the language choice was reversed in instruction, for instance, when the students read something in Welsh and the teacher then offered explanations in English. Williams saw these practices positively suggesting that they helped to maximize the learners' and the

teachers' linguistic resources in the process of problem-solving and knowledge construction (Wei, 2018).

Since Williams, the term has been extended by many scholars in the field (e.g. García, 2009; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011; Lewis, Jones & Baker, 2012a; García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhou, 2019; and Singleton & Aronin, 2019). Most of these scholars refer to both the complex language practices of bi-, and multilingual individuals and communities, as well as, the pedagogical approaches that use complex language practices (García & Wei, 2014; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2018; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2018; Gort, 2018; Andersen, 2016, 2017) in bi-, or multilingual settings.

Definitions of Translanguaging

Colin Baker (2011: 288) first defined translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages". Gwyn Lewis, Bryn Jones, and Colin Baker (2012b: 1) claimed that in translanguaging, "both languages are used in a dynamic and functionally integrated manner to organize and mediate mental process in understanding, speaking, literacy, and, not least, learning". Suresh Canagarajah's (2011: 401) definition of translanguaging goes beyond the usage of two languages. He sees it as "the ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system". Likewise, Adrian Blackledge and Angela Creese (2010: 109) mentioned flexible bilingualism "without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction". Canagarajah (2011) further argues that the translanguaging ability is part of the 'multicompetence' of bilingual speakers (Cook, 2008) whose lives, minds, and actions are necessarily different from monolingual speakers because two languages co-exist in their minds.

Ofelia García (2009: 140) shifted from the original definition as visible in the following statement, "translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential". She went beyond Grosjean's wholistic view of "bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one person" rather a "unique and specific speaker-hearer" who "has a unique and specific linguistic configuration" (Grosjean, 1989: 3). She and Li and Wei (2014) posited that bilinguals have "a single

language repertoire that gives them more tools, richer resources, and more flexible ways to learn knew knowledge, express themselves, and communicate with others" (Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhou, 2019: 6).

Following Vivian Cook's notion of "multi-competence" (Cook, 1991) as "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind" (2008: 11), or as "the knowledge of more than one language in the same mind or the same community" (in Robinson, 2015: 447), and as "the compound state of mind with two grammars" (1991: 112), the different languages a person speaks can be seen as one connected system rather than each language being seen as a separate system (Cook, 2003). This connectedness of languages in the same mind is considered to be part of a continuously changing dynamic system (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al*, 2005).

This lead Li Wei (2011) to the concept of multi-competence previously introduced by Cook (2012) and Jessner (2007). They aimed to capture the knowledge of the multilingual language user in a holistic way by accounting for all the languages known, as well as, the knowledge of the norms for using the languages in context. Furthermore, how the different languages may interact in producing well-formed, contextually appropriate utterances. Multi-competence refers to the languages of a multilingual individual as "an inter-connected whole–an eco-system of mutual interdependence" (García & Wei, 2014: 21). In her latest pronouncements, García recognised that people with more than one languages face particular constraints concerning where and when to use certain features, which led her to the notions of the translanguaging lens and the translanguaging space.

The translanguaging lens posits that "bilinguals have one linguistic repertoire from which they select features strategically to communicate effectively" (García & Wei, 2014: 22). That is, translanguaging takes the language practices of bilinguals as the norm (García, 2012), and not the language of monolinguals, as previously described by European nationalist grammarians (Gal, 2006; Bonfiglio, 2010) following monoglossic language ideologies. Thus, García sees translanguaging as "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009: 45).

According to Li (2018), there is a considerable confusion as to whether translanguaging could be an all-encompassing term for diverse multilingual and multimodal practices, replacing terms like code-switching, code-meshing, code-mixing, and crossing (Csillik & Golubeva, 2019a); or a term that is in competition with other

currently-used terms, such as polylanguaging (Jørgensen *et al*, 2011), multilanguaging (Makalela, 2018), heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1934-35; Bailey, 2007), hybrid language practices (Gutiérrez *et al*, 1999), or translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2017). Li Wei (2018) agrees that translanguaging differs from code-switching in a sense that in the case of a classic code-switching approach the multilingual speaker would be assumed to "switch back and forward to a single language default" (Li Wei, 2018: 14), which presumes that one language is being switched off while another language is being switched on instantly. The notion of the existence of separate language systems in the brain was followed by many researchers in the 1970s and 1980s (e.g. Padilla, Liebman, Bergman, De Houwer, Meisel). However, I tend to find this constant on-and-off conscious switching between separate language systems in the case of multilingual learners a difficult task to consciously follow. Other researchers in the past (e.g. Leopold, Swain, Wesche, Voltera, Taeschner) presumed the existence of one unique hybrid language system in the brain at first containing different lexical, morphological, syntactical elements of different languages. As multilingual learners are able to naturally tune in multiple languages at the same time depending on the linguistic background of their interlocutor(s), I not only consider 'translanguaging' a more up-to-date term to be used when a linguistic phenomenon of using different language characteristics from several languages in one single act of communication occurs, but it also suggests which line of notion I follow: a single or separate language system.

Li Wei (2011) understood translanguaging conclusively as going between and beyond different linguistic structures and systems including different modalities. Translanguaging includes the full range of linguistic performances of multilingual language users for purposes that transcend the combination of structures, the alternation between systems, the transmission of information, and the representation of values, identities, and relationships. Ultimately, Kramsch (2015) calls translanguaging as an applied linguistic theory of language practices of multilingual individuals.

Many researchers still follow deep-rooted beliefs against language contamination in order to preserve language in its purest form as the ultimate indicator of becoming a proficient language user. So, these researchers still separate language systems in the process of becoming multilingual global citizens. I, on the other hand, share Grosjean's (1992) bilingual (wholistic) view that the bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but "a unique and specific speaker-hearer" (Grosjean, 1985). Therefore, I believe that a multilingual person is not the sum of multiple complete, or

incomplete, language user, but *a unique and specific individual who is prone to languaging*. In this sense, simultaneous activation of two or more languages in fact are at work at all times while multilingual speakers and thinkers maneuver well between their system of languages.

The translanguaging space created for translanguaging practices where the act of translanguaging creates a social space for the language user (García & Wei, 2014). By bringing together different dimensions of the speakers' personal history, experience, and environment; their attitude, belief, and ideology; their cognitive and physical capacity in one coordinated, meaningful, and creative performance–in which language users push and break boundaries between languages and language varieties–language users claim social justice for the languages they know and use in their everyday life (Li, 2011).

The translanguaging instinct that drives humans to go beyond narrowly defined linguistic cues and transcend culturally defined language boundaries to ultimately achieve effective communication (Li Wei, 2018). Humans have a natural drive to combine all available cognitive, semiotic, sensory, and modal resources in language learning whereas language use is innate. For instance, infants naturally draw meaning from a combination of sounds, images, and actions, and the sound-meaning mapping in word learning crucially involves image and action. In bilingual first language acquisition the child learns to associate the target word with a specific context or addressees, as well as, contexts and addressees where either language is acceptable, thereby giving an opportunity for code-switching (Navracsics, 1999). In second language acquisition, the natural tendency to combine multiple resources drives language learners to look for different resources for different purposes. This behaviour of language users in fact is enhanced with experience over time (Navracsics, 1999). From the translanguaging perspective, comparing first and second language acquisition purely insignificant in terms of attainment. Instead, language learners should look for what resources are available for them to access (Li Wei, 2018).

Merrill Swain (2006) used the term to describe the cognitive process of negotiating and producing meaningful comprehensible output as part of language learning to mediate cognition and to problem-solve. She refers to languaging (the concept derives from Vygotsky's work which demonstrated the critical role language plays in mediating cognitive processes) as ‘a process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language' (2006: 97). Language and thought are not the same thing; in fact, Vygotsky (1986) argued that language completes thought.

Li Wei (2018) completely agrees with the connection between languaging and thinking, and cognizing and consciousness. It is evident that in the process of multilingual language users' way of 'talking-it-through' in multiple languages while using their linguistic repertoires rather than specific structures of separate languages. Li Wei (2018) further believes that by adding the *trans* prefix to languaging, he indicates the fluid and dynamic practices of multilingual language users for the following two reasons. First, multilinguals do not think unilingually, not even when they are in the 'monolingual mode' (Grosjean, 2001). Second, 'human beings think beyond language and their thinking requires the use of a variety of cognitive, semiotic, and modal resources of which language in its conventional sense of speech and writing is only one' (Li Wei, 2018: 18).

In the 'bilingual mode' (Grosjean, 1995) multilingual language users 'constantly switch between named languages, therefore it is hard to believe that they shift their frame of mind so frequently in one conversational episode let alone one utterance' (Li, 2018: 18). Li Wei (2018) admits that 'We do not think in a specific, named language separately. The language we produce is an idiolect, our own unique, personal language. No two idiolects are likely to be the same, and no single individual's idiolect is likely to be the same over time.' (Li, 2018: 18). If I follow this argument then I think in a language I speak, in my own idiolect, and not in a named language.

Jerry Fodor's (1975) 'The Language of Thought' hypothesis confirms that the language-of-thought must be independent of these idiolects. 'We do not think in Arabic, Chinese, English, Russian, or Spanish; we think beyond the artificial boundaries of named languages in the language-of-thought' (Li, 2018: 19), in our own, very unique idiolect. So, translanguaging from this sense is using one's idiolect, one's linguistic repertoire, without any kind of socially or politically defined language names and labels. Fodor (1975) fully grants that we cannot mentally represent carburetors at birth and that we come to represent them only by undergoing appropriate experiences. He agrees that most concepts are acquired, denying that they are learned. In effect, he uses "innate" as a synonym for "unlearned" (1975: 96). As Li Wei states, 'translanguaging foregrounds the different ways language users employ, create, and interpret different kinds of signs to communicate across contexts and participants and perform their different subjectivities' (Li, 2018: 22).

Li Wei (2018) believed that translanguaging reconceptualizes language as a multilingual, multisemiotic, multisensory, and multimodal resource for sense- and meaning-making, and the multilingual as someone who is "aware of the existence of the

political entities of named languages (Li, 2016) and has an ability to make use of the structural features of some of them that they have acquired" (Li Wei, 2018: 19). He goes the furthest in defining the term as "translanguaging is a Practical Theory of Language, therefore an Applied Linguistics theory, that comes out of practical concerns of understanding the creative and dynamic practices human beings engage in with multiple named languages and multiple semiotic and cognitive resources. It has the capacity to enable us to explore the human mind as a holistic multi-competence" (Li Wei, 2018: 27).

In today's rapidly growing research on translanguaging enables researchers to find their own definition for the linguistic phenomena under discussion. For example, Erika Mária Tódor defined translanguaging as "the different ways of being within and in-between languages" (Tódor, 2019: 2), while Éva Csillik and Irina Golubeva called it as "the act of using different languages interchangeably, in order to overcome language constraints, to deliver verbal utterances or written statements effectively, and, to ultimately achieve successful communication" (2019a: 170).

David Singleton (2019) further finds its difficulty in straying far from its fairly straightforward usage in the environment of pedagogy into a wide array of contexts and controversies. One has only to glance through the pages of recent treatments of multilingualism and of multicompetence (see Cook & Li Wei, 2016; Singleton & Aronin, 2019) to confirm it.

In my dissertation, following the notion of Ofelia García, the term translanguaging will be used to investigate, detect, and describe the linguistic phenomenon of using more than one languages in communication. I agree with Golubeva and Csillik's definition of the term (Csillik & Golubeva, 2019a) to determine translanguaging acts during communication. Based on their definition, I consider the translanguaging act as the interchangeable use of two or more languages in the communication of emergent bi-, and multilingual learners in order to effectively deliver verbal utterances to achieve successful communication.

This fast-growing term not only captured and applied in everyday social interactions, cross-modal and multi-modal communication, linguistic landscape, studies capturing identity formation, deaf culture, visual arts, and music, but also in recent years in pedagogy. This didactic and communication tool used consciously and purposefully is frequently seen by its proponents as a pedagogic strategy (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Blackledge, Creese & Hu, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Paulsrud *et al*, 2017; Rabbidge, 2019).

New Trends in Multilingual Education: 'Translanguaging' as Pedagogy

As I pointed it out before, the term translanguaging was once introduced to the field of bilingual education by Cen Williams (2002) in a Welsh-English educational setting where the language of input and output was deliberately changed from one language to the other. Williams (2002) understood that translanguaging in education referred to using one language to reinforce the other in order to ʽincrease understanding and augment the pupil's activity in both languages' (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a: 40). Lewis, Jones and Baker (2012a) summarize Williams' pedagogic theory (Williams, 1996) with the following conclusion. Since during the process of translanguaging various cognitive processing skills are used in listening and reading to assimilate and accommodate information accordingly, when choosing and selecting from the brain storage to communicate in speaking and writing, translanguaging requires a deeper understanding than just translating by finding parallel words between two languages to process and relay meaning-making and understanding.

In current education, translanguaging has been defined as a "a process by which students and teachers engage in complex discursive practices that include all the language practices of students in a class in order to develop new language practices and sustain old ones, communicate and appropriate knowledge, and give voice to new sociopolitical realities by interrogating linguistic inequality" (García & Kano, 2014: 261).

Angela Creese and Adrian Blackledge (2010) used the term ʽtranslanguaging' to describe a range of flexible bilingual approaches to language teaching and learning. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argued for a release from monolingual instructional approaches and advocated teaching bilingual children by means of bilingual instructional strategies, in which two or more languages are used alongside each other. In examining the translanguaging pedagogies used in complementary schools, Creese and Blackledge (2010: 108) stated, ‟both languages are needed simultaneously to convey the information, (...) each language is used to convey a different informational message, but it is in the bilingualism of the text that the full message is conveyed". They saw the pedagogic potentials in this ecological approach (van Lier, 2004; Herdina & Jessner, 2008) that allows ‟the development of new languages alongside the development of existing languages" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010: 104) as it increases inclusion, participation, the understanding of students in their learning process, gaining trust and empathy between participants, and scaffolds accomplishing lessons.

Following the dynamic model by Herdina & Jessner (2002) and later the dynamic system by De Bot *et al*. (2007) in communicative pedagogical practice, Li Wei (2018) believes that the term 'translanguaging' originated from the Chilean biologist and neuroscientist Humberto Maturana and his co-author Francesco Varela. Their view was that "there is no such thing as language, only continual languaging, an activity of human beings in the world" (Maturana & Varela, 1980: 34) revitalizing José Ortega y Gasset's argument that language should not be viewed as "an accomplished fact, as a thing made and finished, but as in the process of being made" (Ortega y Gasset, 1957: 242). Whereas, pedagogy is referred to and used as "the art, science, method, and practice of teaching" (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017: 2).

Many scolars on the field (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al*., 2007; Cook, 2016) emphasized that language learning is not a linear process and languages are not kept as separate entities in the speaker's mind. They argued for a dynamic view of language acquisition according to which multilingual language learning involves the influence of one or more language systems "on the development of not only the second language, but also the development of the overall multilingual system" (Herdina & Jessner 2002: 28).

Similarly, to the dynamic systems theory (DST) model developed by Jessner (2008b), multicompetence also emphasizes the dynamic interplay and interrelationship between languages in a multilingual person's mind (Cook 2016). This interplay of languages in a speaker's linguistic repertoire and prior language knowledge is said to have a facilitative effect on further language acquisition, so learners can benefit from these cross-linguistic associations (Jessner, 2008b; Bono, 2011; Jessner, Megens & Graus, 2016). From the DST perspective, translanguaging is a creative process that is the property of the speakers' way of acting in interactions, rather than belonging to the language system itself (De Bot *et al*., 2007). This means, multilingual speakers utilize various language practices in ways that fit their communicative situations in the classroom (García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

Mariana Bono (2011) argued that the "possibility to establish crosslinguistic associations based on the similarities and differences of known languages is a powerful tool that can be turned to the learner's advantage if certain conditions are met" (2011: 26). Research results (Jessner, 2008b; Bono, 2011) in the field pointed out that these conditions Bono (2011) mentioned are connected to metalinguistic awareness –in other words, cross-linguistic associations need to be complemented by metalinguistic

awareness in order for them to have a facilitative effect on language learning (Tódor, 2016).

As Nelson Flores and Jamie L. Schissel (2014) understood translanguaging not only (1) from a sociolinguistic perspective (it describes the fluid language practices of bilingual communities), but also (2) from a pedagogical perspective (it describes a pedagogical approach whereby teachers build bridges from the language practices and their desire to utilize them in formal school settings).

Cenoz and Gorter (2017: 314) further agreed to its pedagogical advantage " (…) we look at translanguaging as a pedagogical strategy examining its relationship to language awareness and metalinguistic awareness" to explain the execution and transfer of linguistic knowledge across languages (e.g. translanguaging). They believed that the analysis of translanguaging practices in the classroom reflects multilingual children's multicompetence, creativity and criticality (Li Wei & García, 2017), and how they become aware of their own sociocultural identity in a globalized world (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015). Crietavity (Li Wei & García, 2017) is about pushing and breaking the boundaries between the old and the new, the conventional and the original, and the acceptable and the challenging. Criticality (Li Wei & García, 2017) is the ability to use available evidence appropriately, systematically, and insightfully to inform considered views of cultural, social, and linguistic phenomena; to question and problematize received wisdom; and to express views adequately through reasoned responses to situations. They later noted the necessity of "bridging a language-as-resource approach" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015: 37) to multilingual education in which "linguistic diversity is seen as a societal resource that should be nurtured for the benefit of all groups" (Cummins *et al*., 2006: 299).

García and Li (2014) believed that education can be a translanguaging space where teachers and students can go between and beyond socially constructed language and educational systems, structures and practices to engage diverse multiple meaning-making systems and subjectivities, to generate new configurations of language and education practices, and to challenge and transform old understanding of structures. The notion of a translanguaging space is particularly relevant to multilinguals not only because of their capacity to use multiple linguistic resources to form and transform their own lives, but also because the space they create through their multilingual practices, or translanguaging, has its own transformative power. It is a space where the "cultural translation" (Bhabha, 1994) between traditions takes place; it is not a space where

different identities, values, and practices simply coexist, but combined together to generate new identities, values, and practices (Li Wei & García, 2017).

Translanguaging is mostly seen as an opportunity to build on emergent bilingual speakers' full language repertoires in order to scaffold language learning and make sense of the world around them (García & Wei, 2014). However, as a pedagogy, it also provides an opportunity for language learners to gain intercultural competence, as well as, to help them build bi-, or multicultural identities in linguistically diverse educational settings.

Research on translanguaging not only create the possibility that emergent bilingual students could use their full linguistic and semiotic repertoire to make meaning, but also that teachers would "take it up" as a legitimate pedagogical practice (Li Wei & García, 2017: 8). Rather than just being a scaffolding practice to access content or language, translanguaging is transformative for the child, for the teacher, and for the education itself, particularly for language education (Li Wei & García, 2017).

Translanguaging enables all bilingual students to participate actively in daily classroom life. By making space for students to language on their own terms and participate fully in academic conversations and activities. Also, translanguaging helps students to see themselves and their linguistic and cultural practices as valuable, rather than as lacking. With this, the monolingual version of society is challenged and the socially constructed boundaries are broken that stand between languages and create hierarchies of power between named languages (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

Through the translanguaging pedagogy language learners socio-emotional development is also fostered, which promotes social justice and equity in the classroom for minoratized students (García & Kleyn, 2016). Such as, all students can feel being present in a culturally diverse classroom environment by letting their voices being heard; which is overall a linguistic human rights agenda for all by providing linguistic freedom to students who speak a home language other than the mainstream language of the host society.

Over the years, the translanguaging pedagogy has been proven to be an effective pedagogical practice in a variety of multilingual educational contexts where the language of instruction in the mainstream society was different from the language(s) the language learners have known. By deliberately breaking the artificial and ideological divides between indigenous versus immigrant, majority versus minority, target versus home language, translanguaging empowers both the learner and the teacher, transforms the power relations, and focuses on the process of teaching and learning to make-meaning,

enhance participation and social-emotional development, create space for learner authority, and build positive identities (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Lewis et al, 2012a, 2012b; Flores & García, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Garrity *et al*, 2015; Otheguy *et al*, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Paulsrud *et al*, 2017; Conteh, 2018; Gort, 2018; Rabbidge, 2019).

The Translanguaging Classroom

The direct participants in all education activities in bi-, and multilingual classrooms are the students and the educators. The translanguaging classroom framework focuses on two dimensions: (1) the students' linguistic performances and (2) the teacher's pedagogy. On one hand, it pays attention to who the students are and what they can do with the language(s) used in the classroom, on the other hand, it focuses on how teachers draw on translanguaging strategies to teach and assess students' performance (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). García and Flores (2012) distinguished four types of language pedagogy (foreign language, second language, bilingual, and multilingual) where translanguaging might occur, but only multilingual instruction takes into account the learners' different linguistic profiles and practices to explore the "plurilingual potentials of students" (p. 235).

Translanguaging classrooms are constructed based on planned and structured activities by the teacher in interaction with the students, families, communities, ensuring that the students' entire linguistic repertoires are used. Teachers design their instructional units and their assessment system purposefully and strategically to enable all features of their students' linguistic repertoires to accelerate their language development, encourage their bi-, and multilingualism, strengthen their socioemotional development and bi-, and multilingual identities, and advance social justice and equity for them (García & Kleyn, 2016; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

Students' linguistic performances shift in very dynamic and creative ways depending on different contexts and factors. They cannot be measured only as a one-time performance. They rather could be viewed through a flexible model that García, Johnson, and Seltzer (2017: 26) calls as "the dynamic translanguaging progression". Teachers could look holistically at bi-, and multilingual students' general linguistic and language specific performances on different tasks, at different times, from different perspectives.

These progressions prove the dynamic system theory (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al*., 2007; Jessner, 2008b) because they provide evidence of how bi-, and multilingual students' language practices flow with experiences and opportunities. When schools legitimize students' translanguaging practices students need to understand the potential of their linguistic performances when they allow to use all the features of their students' language repertoires.

In the translanguaging classroom teachers have three strands of the translanguaging pedagogy they need to have, (1) the translanguaging stance, (2) the translanguaging design, and (3) translanguaging shifts (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017). The translanguaging stance refers to the philosophical, ideological, or belief system that by bringing forth bi-, and multilingual students' entire language repertoires they can transcend the language practices that schools traditionally have valued. Teachers with a translanguaging stance have a firm belief that students' language practices are both a resource and a right (Ruiz, 1984). They further believe that the translanguaging space must be used creatively to promote language collaboration.

Teachers in translanguaging classrooms purposefully design instruction and assessment opportunities that integrate home and school language and cultural practices to reduce the distance between the home and school. The design is the pedagogical core of the translanguaging classroom. In order to make the design flexible, teachers need to make room for their students' translanguaging shifts (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017).

The translanguaging shift refers to the moment-by-moment decisions that teachers make in the classroom. They reflect the teachers' flexibility and willingness to change the course of the lesson, as well as, the language use planned in instruction and assessment to support students' voices. These three interrelated strands enable the "translanguaging corriente" (García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017: 21) to flow through the daily life of the multilingual classroom. García uses this 'riverbank or terrain' metaphor to refer to the two different terrains or banks of a river signifying the target and the home language which from the surface seems distinct with different features both on its own, but at the bottom of the river the terrain is one, in fact, one integrated whole.

Heritage Language Learners and Speakers

Language is often referred to as "one of the most important factors for the maintenance of ethnic group membership in multilingual situations" (Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977

as cited in Park, 2013: 38). There are several other key factors like a system of shared beliefs, traditions, food, clothing, residential preferences, etc. that helps to maintain ethnic identity in the host society, but language is the most important. Montrul (2010: 4) defines heritage langauge speakers as individuals "of a linguistic minority who grew up exposed to their home language and the majority language". Valdés (2001: 38) further defines a heritage language speaker in the U.S. context as an individual who "is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken" and understands the language, who is to some degree bilingual in that language and in English. Minorities think that keeping their heritage language is a right in the host society based on the notion that every language is equally valuable and should be equally respected (Park, 2013). Current educational policies do not promote linguistic minority groups' right to develop and maintain their mother tongues in the field of education in general; therefore, the type of education that promotes this type of multilingualism in public education of the host society is typically overlooked.

Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) introduced the term "ethnolinguistic vitality" (p. 308), which makes a group behave as a distinctive and active entity in intergroup situations. It is influenced by "status, demographic, and institutional support factors" (p. 309). Linguistic minorities with more status are like to have more vitality compared to those minorities who have less status in the host society, thus less vitality (Park, 2013). Demographic factors, like concentration of group members, their distribution in the host society, and immigration trends also greatly impact the ethnolinguistic vitality of the linguistic minority group. The concentrated distribution of group members and the increase in the group population by higher birth rate and influxes of immigration vawes are demographis variables which provide group members with a better chance of maintaining ethnolinguistic vitality in intergroup situations. Giles *et al.* (1977) proposed that minority groups enhance the degree of their ethnolinguistic vitality through institutional support factors, including "the degree of formal and informal support a language receives from the government, community, religious institutions, and schools" (p. 315). It means that the more formal and informal support a minority group receives, it has a better chance to maintain the heritage language and culture of the minority group in the mainstream society.

Heritage Language in Institutionalized Education

The history of heritage language education[2] in the United States has come to pass in many waves of progression and regression based on the social climate over time. Nevertheless, it is only in the past decade or so that researchers have begun to specifically conduct empirical research on heritage language education. Their attention was directed to investigate the two-way relationship between learners'experiences with the heritage language, the role of educational policies and practices in shaping identity, and the ways in which speakers of heritage languages construct, negotiate, and perform their identities in various educational and extracurricular contexts (Leeman, 2015).

Originally, with the first Western-European settlers landing in what used to be the first thirteen colonies; private heritage language schools, particularly German-schools, were a common trend to open before the 1880s (García, 2009). The land was built up by the hands of immigrants, called for a sense of pride within one's own heritage, so language schools at first were not seen as problematic. However, later, during the 1880s, the government began to favor policies of isolation and looked to destroy the language systems among ethnic minorities (Wiley, 2005). In particular, the Native-American population received the brunt of the racial and ethnic cleansing carried out by the government to restrain home language use, through the opening of American assimilationalist boarding schools (Wiley, 2005). Children were taken from parents and their communities, forced to change their identities, to assimilate and reject their own heritage by the end of their American boarding school experience (Wiley, 2005). With each passing decade, tensions toward various ethnic groups spread causing fear and intolerance toward marginalized groups and the languages that represented them. For example, Deborah Palmer (2011) described bilingual programs in the United States as operating to help children overcome their 'bilingual problem' to transform into monolingual English speaking Americans.

In the current days, heritage language speakers are also considered to be multilinguals. In the process of becoming multilingual, one does not view languages as distinct, but instead consider all the language ability as a large collective vocabulary (Li Wei, 2011). When looking at an individual through a lens of multilingualism, both the

[2] Creese & Blackledge (2010) use the term "complementary school" (p.113) to acknowledge the work these schools do to complement the education of students attending them in relation to statutory education. I prefer using the term "heritage language school" (García, 2005) to acknowledge the status of low-, and high-incident languages of different ethnic groups residing in the United States.

home, or heritage language, and the mainstream language work together as linguistic resources to be used as the speaker sees fit in the daily demands of communication (Li Wei, 2011).

Currently, immigrant families can choose from the following programs across most states of the United States that promotes English language learning: (1) bilingual education program, e.g. transitional bilingual education (TBE) program, (2) dual language (DL) program, and (3) English as a New Language (ENL) program, that used to be called English as a Second Language (ESL) program (Csillik, 2019a, in press). These programs include the involvement of the different home (heritage) languages in mainstream educational settings in the United States. Most parents in formal public educational settings prefer the ENL program for their emergent bi-, and multilingual child with the purpose of their quick assimilation into the mainstream society. However, approximately fifteen to twenty parents preferably choosing the same multilingual program in two consecutive grades of the same educational facility obliges administrators and policy makers to create and open the preferred program choice of these parents (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Adopting translanguaging in these programs means that the language practices of all students can be used as a resource for learning (García & Kleifgen, 2018).

Bilingual programs in the United States are in huge popularity since they provide interaction between L2 and L1 speakers by including both the target and the home (heritage) languages. Instruction through each of the two languages may be divided up to 90% in the home (heritage) language and 10% in the target language. Children are expected to transition to English-only instruction while leaving the home language behind within three to five years.

TBE programs offer students with the same home (heritage) language the opportunity to learn to speak, understand, read, and write in English while continuing to learn academic content in their home (heritage) language (García & Kleifgen, 2018). The students' home (heritage) language is used in the classroom to help them progress academically in all content areas while they acquire English. The goal of a TBE program is to provide students with the opportunity to transition to a monolingual English classroom setting without additional support once they reach proficiency (García & Kleifgen, 2018). Even though the amount of English instruction students receive will increase over time, in the TBE program, there should always be home language

instruction and support allowing students the opportunity to develop bilingually (Csillik, 2019a, in press) and biculturally.

Dual Language (DL) programs seek to offer students the opportunity to become bi-, and multilingual, bi-, and multiliterate, and bi-, and multicultural while improving their academic abilities (García & Kleifgen, 2018). In the majority of DL programs, the students receive half of their instruction in their home (heritage) language (e.g. Mandarin Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, Jiddish, etc.), and the remainder of their instruction in the target language (English), the language they additionally learn. The goal of these programs is for students to develop literacy and language proficiency in English and, at the same time, in their primarily home or heritage language (Csillik, 2019a, in press).

Instruction in the ENLprogram emphasizes English language acquisition through pull-out (stand alone) and push-in (integrated) models as a state mandated service (García & Kleifgen, 2018). In the ENL program, language arts and content-area instruction are taught in English using specific ENL instructional strategies. Some content area classes are taught as integrated ENL classes, where students receive core content area and English language development instruction at the same time, including the use of the home (heritage) language as appropriate instructional support to enrich comprehension.

Integrated ENL classes are taught by a teacher dually certified in the content area and ENL, or are co-taught by a certified content area teacher and a certified ENL teacher. In a stand alone ENL class, students receive English language development instruction taught by an ENL teacher in order to acquire the English language needed for success in core content areas (García & Kleifgen, 2018). This program typically serves English language learners (ELLs) and/or multilanguage learners (MLLs) from many different minority ethnic backgrounds. Their only common language is English and, therefore, they cannot participate in a dual language program. Also, due to their insufficient number (less than 15-20 families of the same minority ethnic group, e.g. Hungarian, Slovak, Czeh, Nepali, Tibetan, etc.) in the same area, it is unlikely that such a program will be created and open in the same educational institution (Csillik, 2019a, in press).

Still, just a sizeable number of mainstream teachers acknowledge the home (heritage) language(s) of their students, either as a linguistic resource, or as a uniquely advantageous asset to build classroom instruction on. In fact, teachers often exemplify subtractive attitudes toward home (heritage) language; marking it as either a barrier that obscures a students' path to speedy English language acquisition, or as an inferior and inflexible form of communication (Yilmaz, 2016).

Many well-meaning educators in mainstream schools insist that parents only speak English in the home due to the popular myths that have associated bilingualism with linguistic delay and confusion (Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Francis, 2005). At large, American school teachers feel that home (heritage) language maintenance is the job of the parents, often leaning on the claim that they do not have enough time in their classrooms to promote the home (heritage) languages, or are in agreement that a cultural celebration day, for example, is enough to promote culturally responsive teaching in their classrooms (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

For most mainstream school teachers and their administrators, the goal remains the same; to provide ELL with opportunities to become functional in regular English speaking classes within three years. The overall objective is to teach students how to read, speak, and write in English in order to get these students up to speed in their content classes (Suarez, 2002).

Lee and Oxelson's (2006) study showed that teachers attitudes greatly affected students' attitudes. Teachers who had training in ESL, or were bilingual themselves, were more likely to exemplify additive attitudes towards home (heritage) languages in the classroom, and used teaching practices that affirmed the students' home (heritage) cultures and the subsequent maintenance of their home (heritage) language(s) (Lee & Oxelson, 2006).

Sadly, there is limited funding on the government's part to back bilingual or ENL programs in formal public education (Wiley, 2005). In general, the lack of any legislation with regards to home languages is a strong symbolic indicator of how little value is placed on the bi-, and multilingual ability of future generations of the American society. Even though there has been increasing support for language preservation of heritage languages two decades ago (e.g. two-way immersion dual language programs as part of the "Improving America's Schools Act" (IASA) of 1994, Title VII, Part A, Sec. 7102(a)(14)(A and B) and 7102(c)(2), Sec 7116(i)(1), and Sec. 3125(1)), the "No Child Left Behind Act" (NCLB) of 2001, and the latest "Every Student Succeeds Act" (ESSA) of 2015 focused more on the assimilation of heritage language learners (Czeglédi, 2017). For example, NCLB left out the word "bilingual" from the entire law, or two-way immersion programs absolutely disappeared from the ESSA (Czeglédi, 2017). Many researchers (Cummings, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 1991) previously pointed it out that younger generations of immigrant families fail to maintain their heritage language(s) in the host society. This occurs because of the influence of public education (heritage

language learners are forced to assimilate into the host society through a rapid acquisition of the mainstream language), peer and social pressure, and the lack of resources supporting heritage language maintenance (Park, 2013).

One of the most important factors causing immigrant students' language loss, or a language shift between generations of immigrants, is parents' choice of the home language (Park, 2013). As immigrant parents' level of proficiency grows in English, so does the likelihood of replacing the heritage language with English as the language of the home in immigrant families, this is even more the case in mixed marriage families.

Heritage Language Education in Complementary Schools[3]

Globalization has brought significant changes not only to educational settings of mainstream societies, but also to education in minority ethnic communities. Immigrant families belonging to a certain minority ethnic group in the United States face challenges on a daily basis to preserve and maintain their heritage language. English as the mainstream language is not only considered, but still preferred as a means of communication in public educational settings (Yilmaz, 2016).

The monolingual intent of the U.S. laws can further be seen by constraints on the use of students' home (heritage) languages in public educational settings (García & Kleifgen, 2018). In the sheltered or structured English immersion classrooms, only just a limited use of the home (heritage) language is being made and all instructional materials to teach content or literacy are still mostly in English. The recommendation that school districts place English language learners from different ethnic backgrounds together in the same ENL classroom further seeks to limit the use of home (heritage) languages in the multilingual classroom (Csillik, 2019a, in press).

In contrast of this governmental English-only norm, according to the 2013 U.S. Census, the number of people speaking a language other than English at home is estimated to be around 60 million, making up 21% of the population of the United States (Mori & Calder, 2015; García & Kleifgen, 2018). Furthermore, 13% of the United States population is foreign born and over 188 languages are spoken by them (Choi, 2013). With regards to education, currently 20% of students enter the general education mainstream system speaking a language other than English (LOTE) at home; and this number is predicted to double by 2030 (Choi, 2013). The following questions still remain the same:

[3] Also known as heritage language schools, supplementary schools, and community language schools.

Why does the United States government take minimal interest in low-incidence heritage language transmittance and maintenance in general? What options immigrant families belonging to a low-incidence ethnic community have to maintain their heritage language and culture?

Whether English language learning children of low-incidence heritage language speaking families are placed in a bilingual (TBE or DL) or an English as a New Language (ENL) program in formal educational of the host (mainstream) society, the survival of the heritage language and culture in the young generation of these low-incidence ethnic communities strongly depend on the effort and motivation of the ethnic community itself, and overall on the attitudes and motivation of the minority families (Mori & Calder, 2013). On the basis of previous research results (Gardner & Lambert, 1959; Gardner, 1985; Dörnyei, 2005) on attitudes and motivation in language learning, Singleton (2014) strongly believes in the key role of motivation in language learning. He firmly stands behind that good results can be achieved in second language learning at any age if the language learner persevers. Erika Mária Tódor and Zsuzsanna Dégi (2016) suggested that attitudes and motivation are strongly intertwined. Following their findings, a positive attitude towards the language itself and to its speakers could lead to increased motivation to learn the language; which then would result in better learning achievement and a positive attitude towards learning the language (Tódor & Dégi, 2016).

It is important to mention the increased attention to revitalize heritage language teaching and learning in recent years (Kondo-Brown, 2005; Peyton, Ranard, & McGinnis, 2001; Valdés, Fishman, Chavez, & William, 2006; Li Wei, 2011). Most heritage language classes that are offered through formal schooling in the mainstream society involve classes for college students, although high schools are still offering classes for native speakers of high-incident heritage language(s) or world language speakers (e.g. Spanish, French) (Roca & Colombi, 2003; Thiery, 2019).

In most cases, however, for school-age children heritage language maintenance efforts are community-based and hence fall outside the realm of federal or state educational policies. The growth in the number and range of heritage language programs or community-based language schools illustrates the value and the importance that parents and ethnic communities continue to put on heritage language and cultural maintenance, despite the pressure of quick assimilation from the host society (Cho, Shin, & Krashen, 2004).

All in all, heritage language schools have an essential role in the education of the children of high-, or low-incidence minority ethnic families and in the maintenance and transmittance of their heritage language and culture. I prefer using the term 'heritage language school' to acknowledge the fact that these schools are established by members of the minority ethnic community. Their purpose and goal is to primarily strengthen the maintenance and transfer of heritage language and culture to the members of the younger generation of the ethnic community. So, the quality of education in heritage language schools plays an even more significant role in the survival of the heritage language and culture in the ethnic community due to the language shift that occurs between generations of immigrant communities (Bartha, 1995a, 2005). Paulston (1994) reported about a very common assumption according to which mother-tongue shift in immigrant setting reaches its end over three generations.

Heritage language schools are community-based schools, formed voluntarily and work on their own without any governmental funds from the host country to maintain the minority ethnic group's language and culture far away from the home country. In most cases, they use compulsory government-prescribed curriculum and government-certified textbooks from the home country (Doerr & Lee, 2009). Their aim is not only to teach language, but also to develop the proficiency and use of reading and writing in the heritage language.

In these heritage language schools, the limitations are countless, e.g. limited number of students, limited number of skilled pedagogues, limited time, space, and resources for instruction, and limited financial resources. Their budget depends on low tuition fees, collected donations, raised funds, or funds coming from tenders from the home country. Due to the extreme limitations that heritage language schools face, classes are formed by immersing minority ethnic students with different linguistic backgrounds, so, most likely different students' different language repertoires get in contact with each other.

In low-incident heritage language immersion programs (where the heritage language is the target language), it occurs regularly that L1 speakers are mixed together with L2 speakers based on their age and not on their linguistic competence (Hickey, 2001; Hickey *et al*., 2014) as a result of the low number of attendees and their wide dispersal in the host country. However, the mixing of native heritage language speakers (L1) with heritage language learning English speakers (L2) in an immersion program offers both an opportunity and a challenge for all participants. While providing an opportunity for L2

learners to interact with native heritage language speakers (L1), it presents a challenge to pedagogues have to support and enrich the L1 mainstream language skills of the native speakers in a situation of language contact.

Hickey (2001) found that the linguistic composition of immersion programs significantly affects the frequency of heritage language usage by the L1 speakers and bilingual speakers. However, it has less effect on the use by English (L2) speakers compared to their L1 speaking counterparts.

Wong Fillmore (1991) discussed this problem of heritage language speakers L1 being gradually eroded as a consequence of learning English. She suggested to provide the development of mother tongue skills in early education programs before introducing English to these students.

Jones (1991) observed that when primary school L1 speakers of Welsh were mixed with L2 learners, the Welsh speakers tended to accommodate to the interlanguage of the learners, rather than the L2 learners adapting to the norms of the L1 speakers. L1 minority students tended to be more motivated to acquire and switch to the higher status language than the L2 learners (struggling with their low-level competence in the lower status target language) were to learn the target language.

Li Wei (2011) concludes that however most heritage language complementary schools follow either the One Language Only (OLON) or the One Language at a Time (OLAN) ideology, both the teachers and the students use a great deal of English as they frequently code-switch. They exploit the full sets of their linguistic and modal resources to showcase their flexibility and creativity, which the heritage language school's safe environment makes it possible (see Blackladge & Creese, 2010).

Heritage Language Preservation and Maintenance in the United States and in the Big Apple

Fishman's publications (1966a, 1966b, 1985, 1991) on ethnic minority language maintenance and language shift before the Millennium have shed light on the ignorance and negligence of the American society and government toward the perseverance of non-English languages of its immigrant and native populations. Until recent years, low-incident heritage languages have had a peripheral place not only in the American society, but also in its multilingual classrooms. Perhaps, they were exposed to a slow decline in the number of speakers, or worst, this decline might even have led to an irreversible language loss these low-incident minority language groups might have suffered over time.

Due to socio-economic and socio-political reasons, low-incident heritage languages in the United States are in a vulnerable status. The possibility of promoting the learning of minority heritage languages (e.g. Hungarian, Slovak, Czeh, Tibetan, Nepali, etc.) as an additional foreign language in the public school systems is less desired than the most frequently chosen high-incident heritage languages (e.g. Spanish, Chinese, or Arabic).

The National Center for Education Statistics reported the following top ten most commonly spoken heritage languages of multilingual learners (MLLs) in the United States of America[4]. Spanish was the home language of 3.79 million MLLs (76.6%), Arabic of 129,386 MLLs (2.6%), Chinese of 104,147 (2.1%) speakers, and Vietnamese of 78,732 (1.6%) MLLs. English was the fifth most common home (heritage) language for 70,014 (1.4%) MLLs who live in multilingual households, or was adopted from other countries, who were raised speaking another language, but currently live in households where English is spoken primarily. The next most commonly reported home (heritage) languages of multilingual learners were Somali of 38,440 speakers (0.8%), Russian of 34,843 speakers (0.7%), Hmong of 33,059 speakers (0.7%), Haitian/Haitian Creole of 31,608 speakers (0.6%), and Portuguese of 28,214 speakers (0.6%) (see in Csillik, 2019a, in press).

In New York City, for example, during the 2016-17 school year the following top ten home (heritage) languages were reported in the English Language Learners Demographic Report by NYC DOE, Division of English Language Learners and Student Support. Spanish was the home language of 27,666 MLLs (65.7%), which is four times as many as Chinese, the home language of 4,803 MLLs (11.4%), followed by Arabic of 2,351 MLLs (5.6%), Bengali of 1,679 MLLs (3,9%), Haitian and Haitian Creole of 786 MLLs (1.9%), Urdu of 773 MLLs (1.8%), and Russian of 749 MLLs (1.8%) in public school classrooms in New York City. The next most commonly reported home languages were Uzbek of 499 students (1.2%), French of 429 students (1%). and Punjabi of 213 students (0.5%). Meanwhile, 112 other languages remained unidentified and counted as

[4] Institute of National Sciences, National Center for Education Statistics, English Language Learners in Public Schools. Last updated May 2019.
Reference Tables: Table 204.27 (Digest 2018): English language learner (ELL) students enrolled in public elementary and secondary schools, by home language, grade, and selected student characteristics: Selected years, 2008-09 through fall 2016.
Retrieved on January 20, 2020 from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d18/tables/dt18_204.27.asp

one group of 2,124 MLLs (5.05%) (see in Csillik, 2019a, in press) where most likely Hungarian, as a low-incident heritage language, would fall.

The data presented above shows that the first three most commonly spoken heritage languages nationwide in the United States and citywide in the public schools of New York City are Spanish, Chinese, and Arabic. All other ethnic groups' spoken languages are considered as low-incident heritage languages and their maintenance are most likely to be supported and advocated by local minority ethnic group activists across the country.

It is not surprising that transmitting a low-incidence heritage language (e.g. Hungarian) in the United States, precisely in New York City, is challenging and an adventure on its own. The maintenance of low-incidence heritage languages is not just a transfer of language and literacy skills from one generation to the next, but it is rather a matter of transferring and installing a love and admiration of one's cultural heritage in the form of the previous generation's mother tongue (Csillik & Golubeva, 2020). It is an unfamiliar process for the children of immigrants who are trying to make a bond to a low-incidence heritage language belonging to a distant land that some of them have never seen before and may not be able to see it ever, or not any time soon (Csillik & Golubeva, 2020). The secret to the vitality of a low-incidence heritage language through generations is to learn to appreciate what it means to belong to a particular minority ethnic group. It is the transfer of cherished memories and heritage, and the hopes of its survival in future generations.

Heritage language transmission and maintenance have been a struggle for many immigrant families, especially for the first and second generations (Nesteruk, 2010). First and second-generation children are growing up in environments that are foreign both to themselves, due to their relatively young age, and to their parents. The severity of the situation is even more intensified when children are born in mixed-marriage families where the mainstream language (e.g. English) overpowers the heritage languages of the parents (Navracsics, 2016). Ideally, heritage language speakers' parents reserve using the low-incidence heritage language when communicating with their children in order to feel that they still relate to the "home" through their first language (heritage language). But, this is not always the case in these families. It often happens that the usage of the heritage language is not carried over to the offspring due to family dynamics that the parents of the child(ren) prefer the mainstream language for communication in the household. Meanwhile, caregivers' attitudes towards the mainstream and heritage languages vary

from household to household (Velázquez, 2019), it still considered to be one of the strongest factors of heritage language transmission and maintenance (Nesteruk, 2010).

Each heritage language family has their own possible alternative to tackle language and cultural learning related questions and issues. One possible alternative that first and second-generation immigrants choose to cope in the host country is a rapid acceptance, adaptation and integration (Shaules, 2007) into the new culture of the host country where the dominant language, English, is spoken in the mainstream society. Assimilation involves the learning of the mainstream society's language and norms as soon as possible even if it means leaving behind their heritage language.

Language transmission in a heritage community changes over three generations (Bartha, 1995a, 2005). Members of the first generation go through instrumental acculturation; they speak some English, but preferring to use their heritage language at home. Members of the second generation speak English in school and with friends, and increasingly answer in English at home; however, they become limited bilinguals, whose language choice is English most of the time (Navracsics, 2016). Often, the assimilation "learning process of both generations is embedded in a co-ethnic community of sufficient size and institutional diversity to slow down the cultural shift and promote partial retention of the parents' home language and norms" (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001: 53-54). Members of the third generation are most likely to lose the remains' of the first generation's native language due to the lack of support for it at home, and in the host society (Nesteruk, 2010).

Another possible alternative an immigrant minority family might choose is to live in isolation to preserve the heritage language and culture that usually true to the old generation of pioneer immigrants (Bartha, 1995b). The complete denial of the new culture and its influence to push the mainstream language on the heritage language to ultimately defend the minority group's heritage language and culture (Shaules, 2007) is not rare amongst first generation immigrant families.

Combined institutional supports and ethnic social networks increase the probability of balanced bilingualism in the second generation (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). Those immigrants in the United States who have an extensive social network, have frequent opportunities to use their heritage language in the minority ethnic group, consequently have a better chance of maintaining their heritage language; even though their children tend to use English more with each other (Nesteruk, 2010).

The Hungarian Ethnolinguistic Community –The Origins

Researchers like Géza Kende (1927), Joshua A. Fishman (1966b), Csilla Bartha (1995b, 2005), and Anna Fenyvesi (2005) touched upon the waves of emigration of Hungarian descendent people to the United States. Their wide range of socio-economic statuses and attitudes towards the home country and to the Hungarian language are represented among the major migration waves in the past one hundred years (see Fishman, 1966b for a detailed description).

Hungarians have been living in the United States since the first waves of immigration started around 1849-1850, when the so-called "Forty-Eighters" fled from retribution by the Austrian authorities after the defeat of the Hungarian War of Independence (1848-1849). About 900.000 immigrants were roughly estimated to arrive in the United States of America at the time; however, more than half of them ultimately returned to their homeland and then later re-emigrated to the United States (Fishman, 1966b; Fenyvesi, 2005). These first settlers arrived in New York City as their final destination and wished to continue to be Hungarians in a Hungarian fashion (Kende, 1927). The Hungarian Association of New York was founded to foster fraternal understanding among Hungarians living in the United States, as well as, to maintain interest and sympathy towards the affairs of the Hungarian nation, its language and literature (Fishman, 1966b).

The next wave of Hungarian immigration happened during the last decades of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century. Approximately 650.000-700.000 ethnic Hungarian speakers streamed into the United States (Fishman, 1966b). Unlike the educated classes who formed the core of the first wave, the second Hungarian wave was mostly poor and uneducated immigrants seeking a better life in America (Fenyvesi, 2005). Most of these immigrants did not plan to remain permanently in the United States, they believed that they were only destined to stay in the United States temporarily for better financial security upon their return to the homeland. They wished to save up enough money through available jobs (e.g. mining, farming, working in the industrial manufacture field) at the time around the mining and factory towns of Virginia, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, and Pennsylvania (Fishman, 1966b; Fenyvesi, 2005). Generally, they felt rejected socially by their American fellow workers and stayed with their church community and other Hungarians. At this time, the first Hungarian-American church was completed in Pittsburg and the first Hungarian Catholic education center was established

near McKeesport, Pennsylvania (Fenyvesi, 2005). They were able to prepare nuns for Hungarian language instruction on a parochial elementary school level to teach all subjects (religious, secular) in Hungarian. Around 1900, the first Hungarian library was established by Jewish, highly educated immigrants in New York (Fishman, 1966b). Since most of these immigrants planned on staying temporarily, the social segregation was not considered to be a major concern of these families. Family life was conducted in the Hungarian language, children played in Hungarian and studied Hungarian in schools, societies, or in other small groups established by Hungarian families. Fishman (1966b) saw the first wave of Hungarians in the United States as,

> 'a lonely group of people in a strange and not necessarily friendly land, trying to make the most of their lives and at the same time trying to establish a way of life consistent with the Hungarian life they had known and loved before crossing the Atlantic' (Fishman, 1966b: 7).

The First World War forced many Hungarians to stay in the United States much longer than they had originally planned (Fenyvesi, 2005). After the Treaty of Trianon Hungarian-Americans tended to solidify and strengthen their Hungarian ethnic life in the United States (Fishman, 1966b). Thus, the twenties may properly be referred to as the 'golden age' of Hungarian-American language maintenance efforts. This wave of Hungarian immigrants often spoke more 'purely' than their parents, had greater familiarity with Hungarian literature. Roman Catholic Hungarian-Americans vigorously expanded their churches and parochial schools during this period in the name of "save the second generation" (Fishman, 1966b: 9). The following initiatives had been taken: (1) more Hungarian parochial schools opened, (2) Hungarian collection of books in public libraries appeared, (3) more libraries opened in Hungarian societies, (4) more Hungarian organizations and churches were established, (5) newly formed theatre groups (New York and Chicago) started regularly touring around America, and (6) Hungarian periodicals started to be published regularly supporting the language maintenance efforts of the second generation (Fishman, 1966b). Regardless of these new initiatives, the second generation increasingly lost contact with the homeland. Social differentiation started developing between the first and second generations built upon educational, social, and economic prestige factors. Teachers frequently Americanized the family names of the second generation students (Böröcz, 1987), and ridiculed the Hungarian-American culture, or implied that the Hungarian culture was unworthy of maintaining. All in all, the Hungarian-American community was unable to satisfy the needs of the younger

generation for skills and cultural values necessary in the competitive environment of American life that was attractive for the second generation (Fishman, 1966b).

The life of American-Hungarians in the 1920s-1930s (during the Great Depression) was quite challenging (Fishman, 1966b). It left about fifty percent of the Hungarian working class unemployed, their savings melted away, previously taken mortgages were foreclosed, churches, schools, cultural institutions were left without any financial support. Some Hungarians returned to the homeland, but many who stayed faced an intensified discrimination against foreign laborers. Family life suffered together with the Hungarian heritage maintenance. Churches opened their doors to Americanization programs, so Hungarian language schools were pushed into the background and Hungarian activities were played down. The Hungarian-American life was at a low ebb.

During World War II and the Post-War period, an increased number of immigrants from Hungary was again observed a significant percentage of whom were Jewish (Fishman, 1966b). The position of the Hungarian language further weakened among Hungarian-Americans at this time. Organizational life within the churches was frequently suspended entirely, or partially. Hungarian women also started working jobs leaving them with less time to organize activities in the ethnic community. Normal contacts weakened between parents, children and grandparents due to wartime travel restrictions. Family life weakened, and language use and cultivation also weakened. When the young ones returned after the war, their interests were concentrated on finding a job and on getting the education suspended due to the war. They found new homes frequently in distant neighbourhoods depending on where they found the job, or where they went to finish their education. As a result, the normal centers of Hungarian language instruction, the churches, the Hungarian-American organizations and their meeting halls were all at much greater distances from the homes of the younger generation than ever before.

The third wave of Hungarian immigration arrived between 1948-1952, the so called "DP"s (desplaced persons) fled Hungary for political reasons (Fishman, 1966b). They had no relationship with communist Hungary and were not interested in the concerns and activities of Hungarians in a lower status (Bartha, 2005). As a result, they either passively entered into already existing Hungarian-American institutions, or ultimately assimilated into the general American society and lost their Hungarian identity.

The circumstances of the fourth wave of immigration had much in common with the first wave. In 1956, Hungary was again under the power of a foreign state, the Soviet Union; and again, Hungarians rose up in revolution. Like the 1848-1849 Hungarian War

of Independence, the 1956 Hungarian Revolution also failed and led to the emigration of the "56-ers" fleeing persecution after the revolution (Fishman, 1966b; Fenyvesi, 2005). 40.000 of them found their way to settle in the United States. This wave included mostly immigrants in their twenties and thirties (some even in their teens) and they were not incorporated into the activities and goals of the previously emigrated older Hungarian-American groups. They were scattered into areas where there were few, if any, other Hungarians; and even when they settled in suburbs in the major Hungarian-American concentrations in the US, their contacts with the Hungarian community usually remained limited. They quickly established themselves as part of the American middle class (Bartha, 2005). No wonder that in a matter of three or four years their children hardly spoke or understood the Hungarian language. They sought to learn English regarding it to be a necessary and normal aspect of life in America (Fishman, 1966b). Therefore, they contributed relatively little, much less than hoped for, to the strengthening of Hungarian language maintenance efforts in the United States.

The fifth wave of Hungarian immigration started as a renewed economic migration around the 1990s and 2000s after the end of communism in Hungary due to (again) the dissatisfaction of the economic and political climate at the time. This last wave of Hungarian immigration has not yet been stopped ever since, and even today many Millennials decide to 'seek the American dream' and economic prosperity. According to the 2000 U.S. Census[5], there were 1,563,081 persons of Hungarian ancestry in the United States as of 2011, with 1,398,724 of them indicating Hungarian as their first ancestry, which shows 0.5% of the total population of the United States (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Ancestry, 2000) (also see Fenyvesi, 2005). In New York, according to the 2000 U.S. Census, there were 137,029 persons of Hungarian ancestry registered as of 2016, which shows a definite decline from the 1990 U.S. Census, which registered 186,898 persons of Hungarian ancestry in New York State (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Hungarians in the United States, 2000) (also see Fenyvesi, 2005). The trend in the Hungarian language and culture maintenance and transmittance to the younger generation of Hungarians followed the one of the "56-ers" in the current wave of immigration.

As a result of the last two waves of Hungarian immigrants' attitudes and efforts to quickly assimilate into the American society and culture, second and/or third generation Hungarian descendent children have had proportionately greater difficulties in

[5] As mandated by Article I, Section 2 of the the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Census counts its population once in each decade. The next U.S. Census is anticipated to be taken place in May 2020.

maintaining the Hungarian heritage language and expressing their Hungarian ethnicity. Not only previously detected habits of Hungarian immigrants continue in the Hungarian ethnic community of today (e.g. return to the homeland upon financial security, scattered settlements due to distant jobs, quick assimilation into the host society), but many of them choose a quick Americanization by entering to the American Armed Forces, to American colleges and universities, and to the American professional life. Most of today's Hungarian descendent adults living in the United States establish mixed-marriages which contribute to the language shifts of their second and/or third generation children (Böröcz, 1987; Falk-Bánó, 1988; Bartha, 1995b, 2005; Polgár, 2001; Fenyvesi, 2005). Young professional Hungarian Americans find employment quickly and are given greater opportunities to assimilate quickly in the professional sphere of the American society than ever before. Due to their full-time jobs, busy and success oriented lives, and their personal choice to establish mixed-marriage families, they devote less desire to regularly participate in the life of the Hungarian ethnic community. So, they require more assistance in perpetuating their own and their second or third generation children's bilingualism, biliteracy, and biculturalism than it was the case in any of the earlier immigrant waves. Even if they appear to have conscious language maintainance efforts reversing naturally occurring language shifts in the family and in the wider Hungarian ethnic community, regardless of their efforts and motivation Hungarian descendent second and/or third generation children are not prone to maintain their Hungarian heritage; if they are, a functional reduction of the heritage language is inevitable (Bartha, 2005).

Overall, it is difficult for such a low-incidence heritage language, like Hungarian is, to survive in the "jungle" of languages found in today's diverse classrooms across the United States. Without significant governmental (either U.S. or Hungarian) or ecclesiastical support; even in New York City, in one of the world's most populous and superdiverse megacities (United States Census Bureau, 2018), it is a challenging task for the Hungarian ethnic minority. Therefore, the survival of the Hungarian language depends largely on the self-sufficiency, motivation, and enthusiasm of the Hungarian minority ethnic community itself.

Sociolinguistic Goals and Socio Educational Collaboration in the Hungarian Ethnolinguistic Community

At the present time, Hungarian is used regularly by members of the older generations, the "56-ers", who are in their eighties nowadays. In most instances, interference from English

is noticeable, both lexically and structurally. Nevertheless, Hungarian continues to be used in their organizational life. They still attend the services of churches in Hungarian where they are still active. The members of the older generation continue to use Hungarian with their children, but less frequently with their grandchildren and/or great grandchildren. In many cases their older offsprings speak Hungarian quite well; whereas their younger children successively speak less and with less accuracy. They are unable to communicate in Hungarian with their grandchildren and/or great grandchildren.

This older generation used to use Hungarian as a means of communication with their parents and friends, e.g. in the household, in the Hungarian ethnic community, or in Church. However, most of them were under the direct influence of the English language. English made further inroads into the Hungarian-American community and became the preferable choice of communication particularly among the younger generations. Meanwhile, the older generation (first) did not mix readily with immigrants from other ethnic communities, the younger (second, third) generations tend to be more open to mixing interculturally with other ethnic groups.

The younger generation found itself in the frustrating position of being American by birth, still bearing the stigma that was normally considered with the immigrant status. For instance, the second generation had to face that linguistic or cultural heritages were long ignored in their immediate environment, and began to express a sense of responsibility to discover the language, history, literature and culture of their grandparents and/or great grandparents.

The need to help more recently arriving Hungarian immigrants in the United States also mobilized the interest and cooperation of many members of the second generation. This interest is also reinforced by the new educational climate in the United States to utilize culturally responsive pedagogy and teaching in public education. Bringing in the home languages, diverse cultures and traditions of multilingual learners into the formal educational settings (for example, available books, magazines, resources on the home (heritage) language, guest speakers with diverse background, culturally responsive topics and materials) helps the young generation to cultivate their ethnic heritage.

The prevalent attitude of the U.S. government to encourage the mastery of minority, immigrant and foreign languages (Czeglédi, 2017) has also made it possible for the younger generations of Hungarian-Americans to be interested in learning Hungarian without encountering the stigma that was attached to it as a language of immigrants in the

earlier years of immigration. The younger generations are urged to participate in the life of the "once-established-and-survived-over-the-years" Hungarian heritage language organizations. The young generations most frequent activities related to the Hungarian heritage is via the Hungarian scout movement in the United States[6].

The Hungarian Scout Association represents a unique attempt to offer not only recreational activities for members of the younger generations, but also to offer formal training in Hungarian language and culture. Their language activities include conducting meetings in Hungarian; studying selected Hungarian poems and prayers; learning about Hungarian folklore, history, traditions, customs in Hungarian; and singing folk songs passed down from generations to generations.

A few special attempts have recently been made to provide language training for the children of currently arriving immigrants usually in Saturday school programs under the organization of the Reformed and Presbyterian Church and the Roman Catholic Church. In some instances, the organization of Saturday morning classes has been followed by the organization of Hungarian folk dance groups, the Hungarian theatre group, and Hungarian choirs made up of Hungarian children and youth ranging from the age of four to the early twenties.

Present Status of the Hungarian Language in the United States

Hungarian is not mentioned as a significant heritage language either nationwide or citywide in New York City due to the insignificant number of speakers neither in the population composition of the United States or in New York City itself (the most populous city in the United States) (US Census Bureau, 2018). There is no evidence found that Hungarian is in the ten most commonly reported home languages of bi-, and multilingual learners in the United States of America according to the National Center for Education Statistics (2018) or in the English Language Learner Demographics Report for the 2016-17 School Year collected by the Division of English Language Learners and Student Support Unit of the Department of Education in New York City. Thus, the United States government has neither political nor economical significant interest in supporting the establishment of Hungarian complementary schools, or introducing Hungarian as a foreign language to be taught in formal public education across the United States.

[6] http://www.kmcssz.org/vindex.php

Moreover, currently the Hungarian language has been reported as one of the rapidly declining languages in the United States apart from Italian since the number of Hungarian speakers living in the United States rapidly decreasing.[7] From 2001 to 2017, the number of Americans speaking Hungarian at home dropped from 104,000 to 64,000, an incredible 38% reduction in just 16 years according to the data of the US Census[8]. The rapid decline of the number of Hungarians living in the United States is due to two major factors. One factor is that there are many fewer Hungarian-born residents in the United States today than a decade ago. Old generation Hungarians are on the verge of dying and their desccendants are considered as "semi-speakers" (Fenyvesi, 2005). They inquired mixed-marriages, so they primarily speak English in the family. Thus, the number of Hungarian speakers dwindles further. Most Hungarian descendent residents has already assimilated into the mainstream society and failed preserving their Hungarian language. The other factor is the lack of mass migration to the United States as it was like a century ago. The increasing prosperity of the European Union and its Schengen visa-free travel policy within membering countries made it appealing for Hungarian citizens to immigrate to the United Kingdom, Germany, and Austria instead of the United States.

Hungarian Institutional Domains in New York City

I continue my dissertation with introducing the currently existing Hungarian ethnic communities in New York City that welcome Hungarian descendent immigrants and their children to reinforce the maintainance and preservation of the Hungarian (heritage) language and culture.

Hungarian Religious Communities

There are still some Roman Catholic parochial schools remained in the United States, which used to be conducted by Hungarian priests holding Hungarian services in the Hungarian ethnic community. However, by recent years, the word 'Hungarian' mostly remained symbolic in the names of these institutions. Meanwhile, the Hungarian language is rarely taught in any of these remained parochial schools, in the language of their services Hungarian is seldomly used. Therefore, the preservation of the Hungarian language is in a particularly critical position in New York City.

[7] https://qz.com/1476819/italian-is-the-fastest-dying-language-in-the-us/
[8] https://qz.com/1476819/italian-is-the-fastest-dying-language-in-the-us/

For example, the Church of St. Stephen of Hungary was established in 1902 by Lászlo Perényi, a Catholic priest from Hungary, to serve the growing Hungarian immigrant population in the city at the time.[9] The growth in the parish led to the building and opening of a new church and school in the Yorkville neighbourhood of Manhattan in 1928.[10] Today St. Stephen of Hungarian School is still open, welcomes students of all religions, races, and creeds,[11] but much has changed since its opening in 1928. The standards upon which the school was founded remained the same regardless that the Hungarian aspect of the school has only symbolically remained solely in its name. In 2014, the parish of St. Stephen of Hungary was announced to be one of the 31 parishes in New York City to be merged into other parishes.[12] Today it functions as part of the Roman Catholic Parish of St. Monica, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Stephen of Hungary, but it does not hold anymore Catholic services in the Hungarian language. After the merging in 2015, the Hungarian Catholic population is serviced in the Hungarian language in St. Joseph's Church, in the Yorkville quarter of Manhattan, which was originally founded in 1873 and serviced the German speaking Catholic population ever since.[13]

The First Hungarian Reformed Church served as an important gathering place for the Hungarian immigrant community, whose arrival in New York City swelled between 1890 and 1910. Around 1913, many Hungarians migrated to Yorkville seeking employment at Ehret's and Ruppert's Breweries, and the East 79th Street of Manhattan became known as the "Hungarian Boulevard".[14] Later, as the descendants of the original immigrants gradually assimilated and moved to Queens or the suburbs, new immigrants attended the church. These new immigrants also often settled outside of Manhattan, but the church remained in use by the Hungarian community. Services in Hungarian are held every Sunday till this day.[15]

The First Hungarian Baptist Church is also located in the Yorkville quarter of Manhattan, on the 80th street. It opened in 1957, after the building itself housed the Hungarian Girls Club for several decades. Originally, the American Female Guardian Society built a new school in 1918, and sold the building to the New York City Baptist

[9] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Stephen_of_Hungary_Church_(New_York_City)
[10] https://www.saintstephenschool.org
[11] https://www.saintstephenschool.org
[12] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St._Stephen_of_Hungary_Church_(New_York_City)
[13] https://www.stjosephsyorkville.org/history/
[14] http://6tocelebrate.org/site/the-first-hungarian-magyar-reformed-church/
[15] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/First_Hungarian_Reformed_Church_of_New_York

Mission Society, which altered it with a church on the ground floor, Pastor's apartment on the second floor, and bedrooms for young women on the top floor.[16]. Today the church community is still active and worship services in Hungarian are held every Sunday together with Sunday school for children, choir practice, and youth programs and services.

Hungarian Non-Religious Communities

Hungarian House of New York

Today, the Hungarian House is the only active Hungarian cultural center in New York City. Therefore, one of the most important bridgeheads of the local Hungarian community. It was founded in 1963 by five members of the Hungarian community (Peter Schell, Ede Neuman de Végvár, Károly Pulvári, Ferenc Chorin, Tibor Eckhardt) from the Széchenyi István Society, the Hungarian Catholic League, and the American Hungarian Library and Historical Society, who first established the American Foundation for Hungarian Literature and Education (AFHLE).[17] They considered it important to establish a community center for the Hungarian-American diaspora living around New York City, one of the world's largest metropolises, where Hungarians could experience and maintain their Hungarian cultural identity, cultivate the Hungarian language and culture, and also create a bridge between Hungarian, Hungarian-American, and American societies as they present the Hungarian culture, art, and science.[18] With the generous support of their founding members, the three organizations purchased the building of the Hungarian House from the German athletic club in 1966. Over the years, the Catholic League handed over its ownership rights to the local Hungarian Franciscans, who passed it onto the Hungarian Scout Association in Exteris. The founders of the Hungarian House of New York made sure that the House would always stay in the hands of the Hungarian ethnic community. The operating costs are covered by personal donations, facilities rentals, and proceeds of fundraising events, or received benefits from estates.

The Hungarian House has welcomed thousands of newly arrived immigrants over the past decades. Numerous programs (concerts, film screenings, productions, folk dances, exhibitions, dinners and gatherings, Hungarian and English language classes, etc.) took place between its walls from the very beginning. Times have changed since its

[16] http://6tocelebrate.org/site/industrial-school-no-7first-hungarian-baptist-church/
[17] www.hungarianhouse.org
[18] www.hungarianhouse.org

opening, but visitors and supporters of the Hungarian House have been active over the past decades. Today's immigrants and visitors come from different backgrounds and have different needs than the previous Hungarian waves of immigrants. Yet, the goal remains the same. First and foremost, to maintain and preserve the Hungarian culture and ethnic community life in New York City and to familiarize members of the American society with it.

Hungarian House of New York currently provides community space for Hungarian traditional activities organized by the Széchenyi István Society, the Social Circle, the Hungarian Mommy and Me group, and the Hungarian folk dance association. As part of the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris, the #46 Banffy Kata Hungarian Girl Scout Troop and the #7 Eros Gusztav Boy Scout Troop have been providing weekly scout programming for over 60 years in the Hungarian House of New York. Moreover, the Hungarian Library offers 6,500 volumes of books. One of the partner organizations of the Hungarian House of New York serving the education of Hungarian descendent children from birth up to high school is the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School. It operates every Saturday morning in the Hungarian House of New York from the beginning of September till the end of May.

Hungarian Informal Language Education in New York City

The goal of the two currently operating Hungarian instutions where Hungarian language education is conducted is to establish basic language competency and understanding of the Hungarian history and culture. Language proficiency is best acquired in meaningful contexts of activities and tasks in which the language is used. Language courses focus on acquiring basic grammar, vocabulary, and conversation skills in these institutions. Hungarian language education currently is conducted by the following two organizations in New York City. Industrial School No. 7 is operated by the First Hungarian Baptist Church, meanwhile the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School is run by the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris.

Industrial School No. 7/First Hungarian Baptist Church

As previously mentioned, a new school was built in 1918 and was sold to the New York City Baptist Mission Society. The Society primarily served Yorkville's growing Hungarian immigrant community, especially young women seeking employment. For

several decades the building housed the Hungarian Girls Club till 1957, when it was sold to the First Hungarian Baptist Church.[19] Today, the church educates the children of the Hungarian Baptist community on Sunday mornings as they consider their mission to preserve the Hungarian language and culture in the community. Apart from their worship services, choir practices, youth and bible teaching programmes, the congregation is also interested in supporting Hungarian domestic and foreign mission projects.[20]

AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School

AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School was first established in 1963 by a handful of enthusiastic educators and former members of the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris.[21] The program has grown considerably since its humble beginnings, and it now educates children from infancy through middle and high school. Today, AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School is the only Hungarian educational organization in the New York City area that teaches the Hungarian language curriculum of the home country. Their primary goal is to maintain the Hungarian language, teach Hungarian literacy skills (reading and writing) to the younger generations; as well as to familiarize the Hungarian cultural heritage with the young Hungarian-Americans attending the school.

They focus is on the teaching of the Hungarian language particularly by developing Hungarian listening, speaking, reading and writing skills. They concentrate on the transmit and maintenance of Hungarian traditions and customs, and the introduction to history, geography, folk and functional arts of the Hungarian nation. In addition, the celebration of the Hungarian holidays, such as the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, Farsang (Carnival), Mikulás (St. Nicholas Day), Luca Day, Christmas, Busójárás[22] (Busó-walking), Easter, Mother’s Day etc., helps to bring the Hungarian descendent children closer to the heritage language and culture of their parents, grandparents, and/or great grandparents.

Furthermore, they support the establishment of a community of Hungarian descendant children to foster the establishment of close friendships in the Hungarian

[19] http://6tocelebrate.org/site/industrial-school-no-7first-hungarian-baptist-church/
[20] https://www.firsthungarianbaptistchurchnyc.com/
[21] http://hungarianschoolnyc.com/
[22] An annual celebration in the town of Mohács, Hungary, held at the end of the Carnival season, ending the day before Ash Wednesday, when people wearing traditional masks (Busós) to masquerade, parade and dance.

ethnic community. Many parents believe that it is important to have the opportunity to let their children practice the Hungarian language freely with same-age peers, this way they can "shield their children from the alienation from the first language's culture" (Navracsics, 2016: 16).

Translanguaging Pedagogy in the Hungarian School Culture

Translanguaging pedagogy has appeared not long ago in the Hungarian school culture. There are two remarkable projects in the Hungarian context that involve the introduction and development of the translanguaging pedagogy in minority ethnic communities where the Hungarian language intended to be the target language to be acquired.

János Imre Heltai and his research team implemented the translanguaging pedagogy with Hungarian-Romani language learners in Tiszavasvár (HU). Their project started in the 2016/17 school year. The essence of their project was to base the progress of the students on the whole of their background knowledge, where not only just the Hungarian, but also the Romani language was valued and appreciated in the learning process. They expected that the linguistic and academic development of the students would remain unbroken since the school work was being carried out by using the existing knowledge of the students. One result they found is that Romani speaking students felt better at school, had more success, and learned more enthusiastically when they were able to use their first language, Romani. Another result they found was that their way of Romani speaking at home was presented at school which contributed to reducing the social stigma around Romani people. The third result was that their whole language repertoire developed together with their standard Hungarian language skills.

Closely connected to the Tiszavasvári project, Petteri Laihonen launched a Hungarian revitalization program with the marginalized Csángó community in the Moldavian territory of Romania. The Moldavian Csángó community have faced serious oppression in Romania. Their way of speaking was associated with the Hungarian language. However, the Csángó community was officially recognised by the Council of Europe in 2001 -- the same year the Hungarian language revitalization program was launched. Romanian and Hungarian national ideologies do not accept an independent Csángó identity, whereas the Council of Europe seems to insist on the existence of such identity. The Csángós seemingly have no voice in the discourses on their identity and language. The Csángó Educational Program has the goals to revitalize Hungarian in

Moldavia, and to enable secondary level studies in Hungarian medium institutions in Transylvania, and in higher educational institutes in Hungary. Laihonen found that the oral language practices and ways of speaking of the Csángó vary widely, depending on the teacher. For instance, the speaking of the Moldavian-born local teachers differs from the speaking of the standard monolingual Hungarian-born teacher primarily used in the Hungarian language speaking territory of Hungary. Through translinguaging, participants in the educational program could achieve continuous communication with Moldovan children in the Csángó language, their use in the educational program slightly enhanced the Hungarian language versions used in Moldavian villages, and further intensified the Moldavian Hungarian, or Csángó identity.

The Tiszavasvári project and the Csángó case are great examples for successfully implementing the translanguaging pedagogy in Hungarian heritage language contexts. All in all, introducing translanguaging pedagogy with minority bi-/multilingual language learners in a Hungarian (minority) context, such as in the New York City diaspora, is highly recommended because it could reach its benefitial potentials in language learning.

Research Question(s) and Hypotheses

Not only researchers' opinions are divided in terms of allowing translanguaging practices and pedagogy in heritage language schools, but also the members of the heritage language community have separate views on the phenomenon. Those who follow the "translanguaging-as-right" orientation believe that translanguaging provides an opportunity for heritage language speakers to speak freely in their ethnic communities even if in the society they live in, outside of the heritage language community, the mainstream language dominates every aspect of life. For example, if heritage language speakers insert language codes from the heritage language into the mainstream language, or vice versa, during their language interactions, the heritage language is still being present and their voices are still being heard in the wider community, which is a social justice for all.

At the same time, those who follow the "translanguaging-as-problem" orientation believe that translanguaging might be a threat for minority ethnic communities and their heritage language survival. One might see this phenomenon the way as heritage languages are forced to immerse in the dominant language of the given society. By allowing translanguaging practices in heritage language communities not only the transmit, but

also the quality of the maintenance of the heritage language might be jeopardized. This way a restriction of adequate heritage language maintenance might occur in the ethnic community as a result of wide-ranging and intensive periods of language contact between the heritage and mainstream language.

I believe that the Hungarian heritage language community of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, on one hand, helps second and/or third generation Hungarian descendent emergent Hungarian-English bi-, and multilinguals living in the New York metropolitan area to maintain and develop their Hungarian heritage language competency and, on the other hand, contributes to preserve their Hungarian cultural identity.

I also believe that there is a shift in current first and second generation Hungarian immigrant parents' attitudes. Previously, the attitudes and efforts of the older generations towards the Hungarian heritage language and culture maintenance and preservation was inadequate due to the "DPs" and "56ers" negative attitude towards the home country. Instead of neglecting the Hungarian language and culture and quickly assimilating into the English speaking society, I believe that today's younger generations are trying to put an ample amount of emphasis on the Hungarian heritage language and culture's maintenance and preservation in the United States.

Therefore, my hypothesis suggests that the more translanguaging practices and pedagogy are allowed and welcomed in the Hungarian heritage language school in New York City, the more cross-linguistic influence occurs in the process of Hungarian language acquisition. This will promote acceptance and tolerance towards diversity in young emergent bilinguals, who further will gain intercultural competence that will contribute to forming their bi-, and multilingual, and bi-, and multicultural self in today's globalized world (see Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001).

This hypothesis also suggest that more difficulty will be encountered to preserve the Hungarian-only language policy in the Hungarian heritage community. I have previously accentuated the status of Hungarian as a very low-incident minority heritage language in the United States. The fact that the number of Hungarian descendent speaker decrease year after year due to their return to the home country, or that the Hungarian descendent first generation professional Americans most likely choose to assimilate due to college admittance, competitive jobs, and their choice of establishing mixed marriage families, their second generation offsprings are heavily exposed to the phenomena of language shift between first and second generations of Hungarian descendent immigrants.

Therefore, their every day language practices mirror their every day realities of living with multiple languages in a multilingual household, ethnic community, and society.

In order to determine that the above-mentioned hypotheses can be proven either way the following research questions will further guide this dissertation:

RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging in early childhood heritage language educational settings?

RQ#2 To what extent do teachers' attitudes and perceptions of translanguaging influence the language practices of emergent bilinguals in early childhood heritage language educational settings?

RQ#3. To what extent do parents' attitudes and perceptions of bi-, and multilingualism influence the language practices of emergent bilinguals in the home and in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City?

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This qualitative research study examines how emergent bi-, and multilingual students and their teachers in early childhood educational classes in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) participated in translanguaging pedagogies over the course of two consecutive academic school year. In this chapter, I describe the research design, the context of the research, the research sites, the rationale behind choosing the research sites, the research participants, and my role as a researcher at the research sites. Next, I present the data sources and the methods used for data collection. Here, I compare and contrast some of the similarities and differences in research design between the first and second year of my longitudinal research. At last, I introduce the methods used for data analysis, and the procedures how I analyse the collected data leading to discussion about the translanguaging phenomena under discussion.

Research Design, Research Context, Research Sites, Site Rationale, Participants, Ethical Parameters, and the Role of the Researcher

This section describes the design of the research and the rationale for the design. I further detail the context in which the research was conducted. Then, I describe the sites and participants and my rationale for choosing these particular participants on the site. Last, I conclude this section with describing the ethical guidelines I followed and my role as a researcher at the research sites.

Research Design

Drawing upon traditions of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) I design to explore the relationships between translanguaging participants and contexts in the early childhood classrooms of AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA). The rationale behind the research design is to generate an understanding about not only what translanguaging in this emergent bilingual classrooms consists of (forms), but also to reveal what conditions make translanguaging occur (functions) in this heritage language community.

There are three major reasons that justify the use of qualitative methods in my research (Sántha, 2009). First, as Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant (1992: 142) pointed it out, communication must be understood within the “complex and ramifying

web of relationships between individuals in specific contexts of reception”. In other words, language production is never an autonomous act, and therefore, it must be examined with careful attention to the values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of those that produce it in context (Charmaz, 2006).

As a naturalistic researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I design the research in the Hungarian ethnic community living in New York City as the context of the research. Considering the fact that I, myself, am also a Hungarian descendent immigrant living in the New York City metropolitan area in the past thirteen years, I also belong to this ethnic community. I use the triangualtion method (Sántha, 2015) to develop a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under discussion. I draw on observations, interviews, and other sources of descriptive data (e.g. questionnaire), and additionally on my own subjective experiences (e.g. field notes) to create rich, expressive descriptions and interpretations of the pedagogical translanguaging phenomena in question. Through methods of the constructivist grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), the planned research explores translanguaging as it relates to individuals and the contexts in which they are, and in which they communicate.

Second, as little is known about introducing the translanguaging pedagogy in heritage language spaces, this qualitative analysis offers the opportunity to explore the phenomenon from multiple perspectives –that of the researcher, the participants (administrators, teachers, emergent bilinguals), and the parents of the participating children– that will add both depth and breadth to the rapidly growing research on translanguaging.

Lastly, the research design might offer an opportunity to explore new directions of inquiry both during and after the completion of research. Since practices continuously change as a result of the shift of tools, goals, and identities within the community of practice (Wenger, 1998), the research methods for data collection and analysis might also need to shift to accurately represent the phenomena under study. Both the participants and I (the researcher) might shape the questions being asked, the data being collected and analysed, and the theory being generated at the end. This reflexive design offers possibilities for the teachers and I (the researcher) to further set directions continueing the research in a way that might have not been anticipated when the research is being planned.

Partial findings from this qualitative research have been reported in the form of book chapters and conference articles previously (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik &

Golubeva, 2019b; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020 in press), where some excerpts of this longitudinal study were briefly introduced. Ultimately with the present dissertation, I seek to generate substantive-level theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of the translanguaging pedagogy in general, as well as, to contribute to middle level theories about introducing translanguaging pedagogy in heritage language classrooms.

Research Context

The AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) is a melting pot for first, second and third generation of Hungarian descendent immigrant families living in the New York City urban and suburban areas. On one hand, many of the children attending this school come from mixed-marriage families where one of the parents is Hungarian descendent, but English is the dominant language of the household because the other parent has another language knowledge other than English; for example, Spanish, Mandarin, Russian, Korean, or Vietnamese. Some of the children also learn a third or a fourth language from extended relatives, or from long-time baby-sitters; such as Spanish or French. On the other hand, some children come from households where both parents are from Hungary and they have just recently emigrated to the United States, but after paving a better financial existence, they intend to return to the home country. For these parents, the main reason for attending the school is to nurture their children's Hungarian language skills. They believe that upon returning to the home country, their children will be able to continue their education without facing any major language difficulties in the Hungarian public educational system. As a result, all students attending the school have different Hungarian language skills and proficiency levels.

Some children are born in the United States and some recently arrived from Hungary; however, all children are in the process of forming their Hungarian social and cultural identity hand-in-hand with their US-American social and cultural identity (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2019b; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020 in press).

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 earliest possible. This program requires active parent involvement while the children learn Hungarian games, nursery rhymes, and children's songs. Later, students can continue in the Nursery, Preschool, and Kindergarten programs between the ages of 3 to 6 following the Montessori teaching method, which indeed is quite popular in

Hungary. In these early childhood years, it is beneficial for students to learn through sensory-motor activities, working with materials that develop their cognitive power through direct experiences: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling, touching, and movement through Hungarian Folk Dancing. Children spend up to three hours weekly with two certified teachers and a teacher helper in these groups to develop social-emotional and communication skills while learning about Hungary itself (geography, climate, history, art, music), the Hungarian culture, and about Hungarian traditions (customs, songs, games, food, clothing, celebrations, etc.) (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Next, students can continue their studies in the Elementary, Middle, and High School programs from the age of 6 till the age of 18. The primary goal of these groups 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 the public schools in Hungary. For example, the ones published 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 (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018). Attending students from these groups are encouraged to also join and participate in the life of the #46 Bánffy Kata Hungarian Girl Scout Troop and the #7 Erős Gusztáv Boy Scout Troop. They assemble in the afternoon in the school building. These scout meetings involve learning practical scouting skills, along with Hungarian folklore, history, traditions, customs, and folksongs passed down from generation to generation.

The school's goal goes further beyond just educating Hungarian descendent second and third generation children to help them maintain their Hungarian roots in New York City's 'superdiverse' milieu. In this welcoming heritage language school, students, parents, and teachers form true, lifelong friendships which strengthens their Hungarian ethnic belonging in the Big Apple (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Research Sites

The sites for this research were two of the pre-school classes in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) located on the Upper East Side of Manhattan, New York. Today, this area is no longer the center for Hungarian immigration as it used to be a century ago; however, the school preserved its location

where it originally was established in 1962. The number of students enrolled in the school is approximately between 45-60 students yearly[23]. Each age group has its own class where maximum 12-15 students are registered with one head teacher, one assistant teacher and one teacher helper. Overall, this Hungarian community converges approximately 20-25 Hungarian descendent families each year. All students in the research site are "emergent" Hungarian-English bilinguals (García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017: 2) (see Bialystok, 1988).

The selected participants were pre-schoolers enrolled in two different classes of slightly different age groups. In the 2016/17 school year, I followed students from the Kindergarten Brummie Group ("Maci Csoport") between the ages of 4 and 6; meanwhile in the 2017/18 school year, I followed the Pre-K Ladybug Group's students ("Katica Csoport") between the ages of 2.5 and 4.

The combination of the two target groups was different; not only in age, number, language skills and proficiency, but also in their educational goals. There were twelve children enrolled in the Kindergarten group in the first year; whereas out of the twelve children nine participants came from New York (four resided in Manhattan, also four in Queens, one in Brooklyn, and another one in the Bronx), two participants commuted from the surrounding states, such as New Jersey and Connecticut. In the second year, ten children were enrolled in the Pre-Kindergarten group, where nine participants came from New York (three from Manhattan, two from Queens, four from Brooklyn), and one commuted from Connecticut. Since only three (from the Ladybugs) and four (from the Brummies) participants lived in Manhattan, where the school is situated, the attendance of the children varied. Due to the long commute in the extreme weather conditions and occurring illnesses during the winter, the attendance was unpredictable. In the Kindergarten group all children had a basic Hungarian knowledge and understand basic directions and everyday language in Hungarian. In the Pre-Kindergarten group this was not the same. Six out of the nine attending children were complete beginners in Hungarian and had difficulty understanding and following simple directions and instructions in Hungarian.

In both sites, the curriculum was built on the Montessori method, a child-centered educational approach that values the human spirit and the development of the whole child –physical, social, emotional, and cognitive well-being (Morrison, Woika & Breffni,

[23] In the 2016/17 school year 47 students were enrolled, in the 2017/18 school year 52 students, in the 2018/19 school year 55 students, and currently in the 2019/2020 school year 59 students attend the school on a weekly basis.

2018). They followed self-directed activities, hands-on learning, and collaborative play. In these Montessori classrooms, children made creative choices in their learning while the classrooms themselves together with the bilingual pedagogues offered age-appropriate activities to guide the learning process of these emergent bi-, or multilinguals.

Site Rationale

I was inclined to switch the research site in the second year for two reasons. On one hand, the majority of the participants did not return to the school in the following year and, on the other hand, the very few students who did return started first grade in this school, and play was no longer included in the strict first grade curriculum. When I selected the research sites, I mainly focused on the age of the participants considering the critical period hypothesis (CPH) (Lenneberg, 1967; Singleton & Lengyel, 1995; Muñoz & Singleton as in Singleton & Aronin, 2019).

First, I was interested to see two different age groups of the pre-school years for two reasons. First, by following Barry McLaughlin's (1984) idea that age three is a critical point in bilingualism, I was curious to see the two different age groups (before and after the age of three) to compare and contrast the similarities and differences (if any) between these different age groups. McLaughlin (1984) distinguished between children who learn two languages simultaneously and children who learn one language after their first language is already established. Because so much of language development occurs before the age of three, the usual convention is to divide children at that point (McLaughlin, 1984). If the second language is introduced before age three, children are thought to be learning the two languages simultaneously; after the age of three, they are engaged in sequential bilingualism (McLaughlin, 1984).

Second, the younger the participants are, the more they are involved in play in the pre-school years, and the more "naturally" they speak in the classroom environment (Weisberg *et al.*, 2012; Fisher *et al.*, 2011; Singer & Singer, 1990). I also believe that during play children learn to use their language repertoires for different purposes in a variety of settings and with a variety of peers. Talking in play settings allows young children to practice the necessary forms and functions of language (Halliday, 1975) and helps them think about the different ways to communicate with one another. Moreover, play offers multiple opportunities for children who are bi-, and multilingual learners by building upon their multiple language skills and by practicing fluency in their multiple languages in the safe and informal setting that play can provide (Owocki, 1999).

Elementary and pre-school children get involved in different forms of play (e.g. associative play, cooperative play, make-believe play, constructive play, sociodramatic play, games with rules, rough-and-tumble play, and free-play (Berk, 2013)). During these forms of play, young children build their very own language that the play requires to satisfy all parties participating in the 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 (Vygotsky, 1967), socio-emotional (Ashiabi, 2007), and physical development, but also to their creative and language and literacy development (Berk, 2013).

Overall, play is an optimal setting for children to practice translanguaging without any consequences to pay for (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2019b). Playing with other children and adults sets a child up to learn new words and sentence structures because they are deeply involved in the situation of play (Weisberg *et al.*, 2012). Children talk more, speak in lengthier utterances, and use more complex languages than when they are engaged in other activities (Fisher *et al.*, 2011; Singer & Singer, 1990). By the age of three, young children can converse with strangers, make their desires and opinions clear, ask questions, and discuss the past and the future (Weisberg *et al.*, 2012). Young children who establish the fundamentals of their vocabularies and syntactic skills are well-equipped to enter elementary school and to succeed there socially and academically.

All in all, I have chosen to study translanguaging in these two Kindergarten and Pre-Kindergarten classes for four major reasons. First, children at this age are particularly sensitive to learning a second language (McLaughlin, 1984; Collier & Thomas, 1989; Navracsics, 1998; Cummins, 1976; Bialystok, Moreno & Hermanto, 2011) and they start to form the linguistic foundations that will later encourage their cross-linguistic transfer (Cummins, 2000). Their language learning depends on certain factors, like prior exposure to the heritage language and other foreign languages (Jessner, 2006, 2012). Jim Cummins (1991) argues that if there is support for the development of children's first language, a foundation is built not only for first-language literacy learning, but also for second language acquisition and for second-language literacy learning. Yelland, Pollard, and Mercuri (1993), for example, show that a small amount of exposure to a second language generated metalinguistic benefits for young children (Bialystok, Moreno & Hermanto, 2011; Jessner, 2008a, 2008b, 2016). Bialystok, Moreno & Hermanto (2011) also shares

this view. August and Shanahan (2008) argue that even a limited foundation in a child's heritage language can promote language learning and cognitive benefits (Cummins, 1976, 1991; Bialystok & Barac, 2012).

Second, teachers of children in the early childhood years have the opportunity to begin students' processes of bilingual competence (Genesee, 2002). As children get older, this competence, or ability to strategically draw from resources in multiple languages to achieve communicative purposes, grows if students are given adequate opportunities to develop this competence (Reyes, 2012). For example, older students are able to code-switch for more complex purposes than younger students, but this ability is often lost through subtractive schooling practices (Valenzuela, 1999). Reyes (2012) notes the importance of teachers as one facet in a constellation of literacy practices that can maintain, encourage, and develop students' bilingualism and biliteracy (Verspoor (2017).

Furthermore, there is a shortage of research that explores translanguaging pedagogies that teachers can employ in early childhood educational settings. None of the currently carried out research studies was collected during free-play of bi-, and multilingual learners. Instead most of them were collected during classroom instruction time. Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer, and Wedin (2017) introduced to the field of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education the immense potential of the translanguaging phenomenon in educational settings across Europe (e.g. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, and France), such as translanguaging in writing practices, analysing social media postings and tweets of multilingual youngsters, or the role of the translanguaging teacher making connections between home and school.

Only just a couple of ethnographic studies were similar to the research in question. One of these studies 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, there is a significant difference between the two research. Mary and Young collected their data through video-recordings, they focused on translanguaging practices during instructional time, and they only were interested in the teacher's translanguaging practices (e.g. 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 on the classroom context). The current research, on the other hand, collects data through note-taking (in the 2016-2017 school year) and voice recordings together

with note-taking (in the 2017-2018 school year), the data is collected during free-play, and I am equally interested in the bilingual teachers' and the emergent bilingual students' translanguaging practices to ultimately identify the forms and functions of the translanguaging pedagogy in heritage language schools.

Another study was reported by Katja N. Andersen in a trilingual (Luxembourgish, French, German) mainstream educational setting in Luxembourg. Her study was similar to the research under discussion in two aspects: (1) the age of the participants (2-6 years old emergent multilingual students) and (2) the setting of the research (early childhood educational setting). However, the two research differed in several aspects. Andersen was interested in the translanguaging phenomenon during literacy practices when instruction was accompanied by pictures and reading in German in a mainstream educational setting in Luxembourg; how very young learners used translanguaging to make meaning when learning rhymes with supporting visual images. The current research under discussion though targeted how teachers and emergent Hungarian-English bilinguals used the translanguaging phenomenon during free-play in a Hungarian heritage complementary school in New York City.

Lastly, Gumperaz, Cook-Gumperaz and Szymanski (1999) hold that children's use of multiple languages is a reflection of their linguistic knowledge and not a reflection of their linguistic deficiency. To build on this knowledge and challenge deficit notions of emergent bilinguals, it is vital that we explore translanguaging pedagogies at an early age as young students begin forming ideas about the forms and functions of language (Halmari & Smith, 1994). It is also important to understand linguistic prestige and appropriateness (Reyes, 2012) in early childhood education.

To conclude, it is important to note that though my participation in these two pre-school classes, I purposefully chose to examine translanguaging in the early childhood school years (Kindergarten, Pre-Kindergarten). This choice was determined by the spotty empirical literature on translanguaging in the early childhood years; nevertheless, in a heritage language ethnic community. My past work experience in early childhood education in the public school system of New York City influenced my decision to consider this direction and focus on how languages other than English are used minimally in the English dominant classes (Pacheco & Smith, 2015; Daniel & Pacheco, 2016). In an effort to raise awareness of the inappreciable usage of low-incidence heritage languages in English-dominant societies (e.g. United States), I consider to explore the

forms and functions of translanguaging pedagogy in a low-incident heritage language (e.g. Hungarian) ethnic school community.

Student Participants

In both classrooms most children came from mixed marriage families where either the father or the mother identifies as a Hungarian descendent first or second-generation immigrant (see Participant Data Profiles in Tables 4 and 5). In the Kindergarten group, four children came from English-Spanish speaking households, five children came from households where one of the parents is an English native speaker, one child came from a Hungarian-Vietnamese household, and two students came from Hungarian-only households. The following year, this tendency was similar in the Pre-Kindergarten group. Hungarian descendent parents married either English native speakers, English-Mandarin, English-Spanish, or English-Russian bilinguals. Only one child came from a household where both parents are first generation Hungarian monolingual speakers.

In the Kindergarten group eleven children were born in the USA out of the twelve participating children, and only one was born in Hungary. Three participants have older siblings, five participants have younger siblings, and four participants have no siblings at all. One participant attended the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in the past four years, two attended the school in the past three years, five participants attended the school in the past two years, and also two participants attend it for the first time in the year of the research. Only one participant was a newcomer who was enrolled in the group less than 6 months. In the Pre-Kindergarten group all children were born in the USA. Out of the ten participants, three participants had older siblings also enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, one participant had a younger and a new-born sibling at home, and six participants had no siblings at the time of the research. All participants attended the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School for the first time; whereas one participant was a newcomer enrolled on a trial basis at the time of the research.

As far as the language skills of the participants, both sites were extremely diverse. In the Pre-Kindergarten group five participants had English as their dominant language (L1), learning Hungarian as their second language (L2) to preserve their Hungarian family heritage; four participants had no dominant language since they equally were fluent in English and in Hungarian, they were considered as true Hungarian-English bilinguals. One of these four participants confidently used three languages with different

speakers in the family, such as Hungarian, English, and Russian. Only one participant had Hungarian (L1) as a dominant language learning English as a second language (L2). On the contrary, in the Kindergarten group the year before, seven participants had English as their dominant language (L1) learning Hungarian as their second language (L2) to preserve their Hungarian family heritage. Three participants had no dominant language since they equally were fluent in English and in Hungarian, and one of them was considered as a plurilingual child using English, Hungarian, French, Mandarin and Russian with extended family members, baby-sitters, and with friends and neighbours. Two participants had Hungarian (L1) as their dominant language and they were learning English as a second language (L2) since both parents are Hungarians and they only use Hungarian at home.

In the Kindergarten group, all students had early literacy (reading and writing) skills in English since they all were enrolled in an English-only public elementary school during the weekdays. All children were able to write their names independently without mistakes in Hungarian or in English. Differently, in the Pre-Kindergarten group many of the children had no early literacy skills either in English or in Hungarian. Only three children were able to write their names without mistakes in Hungarian or in English, which they learned from older siblings.

Teacher Participants

The Kindergarten group was run by two Hungarian-English bilingual kindergarten teachers and by one Hungarian-English bilingual kindergarten teacher assistant. One teacher and the teacher assistant were first generation Hungarian immigrants graduated as teachers (Art teacher, nursery teacher) in Hungary; meanwhile the other teacher graduated from Law School in the Hungarian higher education system. The two teachers were in their late 20s and early 30s, yet the teacher assistant was in her mid-40s. They were unmarried, and without any family relations tight in the United States. It is important to note that all participants' linguistic proficiency fell on a spectrum of bilingualism, as theorized by Cook (2002) and Hornberger (2003). Additional language knowledge the teachers possessed were German and French.

On the other hand, the Pre-Kindergarten group was run by two Hungarian-English bilingual nursery teachers. Both teachers were first generation Hungarian immigrants graduated as nursery teachers in Hungary, but had been living in the New York City suburbs over thirteen years. Therefore, both teachers fluently spoke English as their

additional language. They both were in their mid-40s, one married and the other had previously been married. They both resided with one teenager in New York who also attended the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in different classes.

Neither of them was fully monolingual, and each of them possessed diverse competencies in languages other than English (Russian or German).

Ethical Parameters

During the research process, I strived to establish a good working relationship with the teachers and administrators based on open dialogues. The research was based on constructive ethics; the model that facilitates opening up inner ideas to help the implementation of a successful qualitative study. The teachers taking part in the study were being familiarized with the objectives of my research, the time schedule, the methodological framework, and also it was clear for all participants that anonymity was guaranteed at all times in my research.

In order to protect the identity of the participants in my research, I have changed their names and replaced them with fictitious names. Moreover, parents who participated voluntarily in the questionnaires also remained anonymous at all times. In addition, the research was set to only be carried out with the consent of the parents of minors participating in the research. So, a written statement of their consent was obtained for future reference. The management and disclosure of results always followed the formalities of ethical expectations.

Despite the participating teachers' knowledge of the objectives of my research (to explore the different forms and functions of translanguaging pedagogies), teachers were not required or influenced purposefully by me or by the endorsing administrators at any given point during this research to incorporate translanguaging purposefully in their teaching practices during the school's instruction sessions.

The Role of the Researcher

As a naturalistic researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), I had to decide on the observational role I was going to take during the classroom observations. Both school years, I planned on taking the role of an observer-participant (Sántha, 2009), which means to primarily observe and only participate to a limited extent in classroom interactions. I stayed as an observer-participant of the class most of the time. My main goal as an observer-participant was to gain entry, establishing rapport, and spend enough time with research

participants to be able to later answer my research questions. However, I was aware that the presence of an observer in the classroom might have affected how teachers enacted pedagogies. As work in classroom ecologies shows, individuals within a classroom actively form linguistic spaces and tools for communication (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Wei, 2011). When a student asked me a question, for example, my response might have indeed influenced the linguistic norms of the classroom. As this reality is unavoidable and unforeseen to happen, my role then switched to a participant observer (Sántha, 2009). As the opportunity offers "to hear, to see, and to begin go experience reality as the participants do" (Marshall & Rossman, 2006: 100), I decided to factor these instances in my analysis when I noticed that my presence directly influence "student-led translanguaging" in the class (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

My primary responsibility within each classroom was to collect different forms of data. A secondary responsibility was to debrief with teachers about their teaching practices after each observation session. I was also aware that my own history, biases, and positionality might influence how the interactions between me and the teachers would occur, as well as, how classroom interactions with students would take place, how these interactions would be captured, and analysed at the end (Chiseri-Strater, 1996). I was also aware that my role as a Hungarian, English, and Spanish trilingual speaker might have influenced the language norms of each group. I also brought with me extensive experience working in early childhood educational settings (Grades 1 and 2), but I was never an "insider" in these particular ages (Kindergarten and Pre-Kindergarten) and I have never taught in a heritage language classroom. All of these factors could influence how the data was produced, collected, and later interpreted.

Research Methods, Data Sources, and Data Collection

This section describes the research methods and the rationale for the methodology being chosen for implementing this research. I further detail the variety of data sources. Then, I describe the rationale behind the usage of every source of data and how they confirmed their use. Last, I conclude this section by describing the process of data collection.

Research Methods

To answer the research questions in relation to the procedures and techniques used to support, correct, or disprove the results of the research, I combined data by

methodological triangulation (Sántha, 2009; 2015). Validity, authenticity and credibility were provided by the sequential application of the different methods. Thus, based on Kálmán Sántha's (2015) sign system, a three-phase sequential methodology model containing complex systems was created as follows: KVAL → kval → KVAL. Sequence, in what order these methods were carried out during the research matters the following way.

It is advisable to learn as much as possible about the participants, their language production in the classrooms, in the family, and in the wider community of the family. As a result, I used classroom observations with the participants, as a KVAL method (see Sántha, 2015), together with in-depth interviews with the participating pedagogues, also as a KVAL method (see Sántha, 2015). These were the two main methods of the frame of this research. The qualitative questionnaires with the parent participants, as a kval method (see Sántha, 2015), was embedded in between the two main qualitative methods, KVAL-KVAL (see Sántha, 2015), as an additional method. It is essential to also gain knowledge about the language transmit and maintenance strategies used outside of this classroom, in the everyday life of the participants. Parents' responses to the questionnaires targeted to explore this additional information about their attitudes and perceptions towards heritage language learning and bi-, and multilingualism.

The research plan (see Table 1) shows how these three methods for data collection were planned to be carried out in practice. The data revealed from classroom observations could be further supported by the returned questionnaires and by the information taken from the in-depth interviews with teachers and administrators.

Data Sources

In the following section, I describe the different sources of data planned to be used during the research. Data collection planned to occur twice during the longitudinal research. First, over a six-months period from December 2016 to May 2017, and secondly, over a six-months period from December 2017 to May 2018. Table 2 below gives an overview of the different data that I then collect and analyse.

Primary sources of data included audio recordings and field notes of classroom observations, reflective interviews with teachers after observation sessions, semi-structured interviews with teacher participants at the end of each data collection period, semi-structured interviews with administrators, and questionnaires with parents. Table 3 shows how the different data sources correspond with my research questions.

Table 1: *Research Plan*

Sept 2016	Oct	Nov	December	January 2017	February	March	April	May	June	July	August
Preparation Phase #1 *Develop: Semi-structured interviews with teachers, Semi-structured interviews with administrators*			**Data Collection Phase#1** **RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging in Hungarian heritage language school?** **RQ#2 What are the teachers' attitudes and perceptions of pedagogical translanguaging?** *Sources: Classroom Observations, Field notes, Post-observation teacher reflections, Semi-structured interviews with teachers, Semi-structured interviews with administrators*						**Data Analysis Phase#1A Transcription of collected data (Data Collection Phase #1)**	**Data Analysis Phase#1B** **RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging in Hungarian heritage language school?** *Sources: Classroom Observations, Field notes, Post-observation teacher reflections,* **RQ#2 What are the teachers' attitudes and perceptions of pedagogical translanguaging?** *Sources: Semi-structured interviews with teachers, Semi-structured interviews with administrators*	
Sept 2017	Oct	Nov	December	January 2018	February	March	April	May	June	July	August
Preparation Phase #2 *Develop: Questionnaires with parents*			**Data Collection Phase #2** **RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging in Hungarian heritage language school?** **RQ#2 What are the teachers' attitudes and perceptions of pedagogical translanguaging?** **RQ#3 What are the parents' attitudes and perceptions of heritage language maintenance?** *Sources: Classroom Observations, Field notes, Audio recordings, Post-observation teacher reflections, Semi-structured interviews with teachers, Questionnaires with parents*						**Data Analysis Phase#2A** **RQ#3 What are the parents' attitudes and perceptions of heritage language maintenance?** *Sources: Questionnaires with parents*		
Sept 2018	Oct	Nov	December	January 2019	February	March	April	May	June	July	August
Data Analysis Phase#2B **Transcription of collected data (Data Collection Phase #2)**									**Data Analysis Phase#2C** **RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging in Hungarian heritage language school?** *Sources: Classroom Observations, Field notes, Post-observation teacher reflections* **RQ#2 What are the teachers' attitudes and perceptions of pedagogical translanguaging?** *Sources: Post-observation teacher reflections, Semi-structured interviews with teachers*		

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 2: *Total Data Collected and Analysed*

Data Collected	**Kindergarten**	**Pre-Kindergarten**
Field notes from classroom observations	8 observations	13 observations
Audio recordings during classroom observations	0 recordings	13 recordings totaling approximately 19 hrs
Post-observation teacher reflections	8 times of debriefing, approximately 80 min	13 times of debriefing approximately 130 minutes
Semi-structured interviews with teachers	2 times approximately 40 min each	1 time approximately 40 minutes
Semi-structured interviews with administrators	2 times approximately 40 min	0 times
Questionnaires with parents	0 questionnaires	17 questionnaires

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 3: *Relationship between Data Sources and Research Questions*

Data Source	**RQ1: forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging**	**RQ2: teachers' attitudes and perceptions**	**RQ3: parents' attitudes and perceptions**
Field notes from classroom observations	√	√	√
Audio recordings during free play	√	√	√
Post-observation teacher reflections		√	
Semi-structured interviews with teachers		√	√
Semi-structured interviews with administrators		√	√
Questionnaires with parents			√

Source: Own elaboration.

Data Collection

In this section, I describe the different methods used during the process of data collection (e.g. classroom observations together with post-observation reflections, in-depth interviews, questionnaires) and the reason for each method being chosen for my research. I further demonstrate step-by-step each method being used during data collection.

My purpose of introducing a variety of methods during data collection was to develop a deep understanding of how Hungarian descendent individuals living in the New York metropolitan area perceive their social realities and, in consequence, how they act within their social world. There were two major strategies used while collecting data on this naturalistic inquiry: (1) direct classroom observations, and (2) in-depth interviews

with participants. Naturalistic observational research entails going “into the field” to observe everyday activities (Sántha, 2009), such as free-play, as much as possible, focusing on understanding the natural way of the participants’ way of communication, such as translanguaging.

Apart from these two major methods, I also used a third submethod to obtain an even wider insight of this small community: (3) questionnaires with voluntarily participating parents of the research participants. Questionnaires are a very convenient way of collecting comparable data from a number of individuals in a short period of time for various reasons (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). It can be contacted at a relatively low cost, they are simple to administer, and the respondents have some time to think about their answers (voluntarily participating parents of the research participants could take the questionnaires home and send them back to me electronically) (Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010). The format is easy to follow and familiar to most respondents. I also decided to use questionnaires as a third submethod because they can be used for sensitive topics which the responders might feel uncomfortable speaking to an interviewer about. In using questionnaires, the anonymity of the respondents was guaranteed and genuine feedback on sensitive topics might have been collected.

Classroom observations

During classroom observations there was no pre-planned monitoring scheme. The time course for each occurance of the translanguaging phenomena could not be accurately planned in advance. This way, the longitudinal nature of the research allowed for cyclic sampling. Real results of live speech interactions between participants were recorded during the observations. The full text of the speech interactions between the participants were recorded by the observer in the form of note-taking (see samples of Extracts in Chapter IV). In my notes, I commented on what I have seen and heard; denoted the emotional state of the speakers, explaining the individual moments of the speakers, and the intonation of the speech. These additional field notes were also recorded during note-taking. Later, after the observations were completed, I typed and transcribed the recorded speeches together with my notes. Then, I prepared the data collected for data analysis.

As the data being collected at different times (temporal dimension) and from different subjects (personal dimension), the diversity of data types in the research was ensured. Later during the data processing phase of the research, I was able to exclusively

focus on analysing the specificity of the translanguaging phenomenon being under investigation.

Classroom observations in the Kindergarten group first took place once a week on Saturdays between December 2016 and May 2017 once or twice a month during this course of time. In total, eight observation sessions were conducted and at the first time data was collected through note-taking. I recorded multiple (three to four) conversations between participants (students, students and teachers, and teachers and teachers) during the 3.5 hours of observation sessions each time. Since I fluently speak all three languages used in the classroom, namely Hungarian, English, and Spanish, I encountered no difficulties during the process of recording the participants' spoken interactions. By taking-notes on what exactly was being said in any of the languages spoken by the participants during free-play, the data corpus was compiled as a written text right away that lead quicker to the categorization and analyzation phase of the research. During this first round of data collection, the data was semi-prepared right away when the observation sessions took place. I stayed as a marginal member of the group most of the time, but the complete refusal of minimum interaction with the participants was impossible to carry out during data collection. However, I tried to be as objective as it was possible in the given circumstances, and noted if and when I made some minimal interaction with the participants.

After the completion of the first round of observation sessions, I decided that I might want to shift the method of note-taking to audio recording of the data being collected in order to even more accurately and precisely represent the language production of the participants. Following Regula Fankhauser (2016), who believes in the key importance of videography and that their analysis could be the key in remaining possibly the most authentic observer during the process of data collection, I decided to change my original design and use an audio-recording device.

In the Pre-Kindergarten group, the following year, I conducted classroom observations between December 2017 and May 2018, thirteen observation sessions were recorded in total. Data was collected first via the iPhone 7's Voice Memo function and later via an EVISTA digital voice recorder. The audio-recording device made it possible to record multiple (four to five) conversations between the participants each time in any of the languages, namely English and Hungarian, which were spoken by the participants during the observation sessions. I found that the greatest advantage of the audio recording was to be able to transcribe the data at a later time, instead of right away. The disadvantage

of this method of data collection was that participating children tended to start interacting with me more. Their curiosity did not stop them asking about the electronic device –even when it was placed out of their sight. This data collection method compromized my role as an observer participant to become a participant observer.

These classroom observations allowed me to better understand the contexts in which teachers and students participated and used translanguaging. Through 3.5 hours' observations on a regular basis, I gleaned an in-depth understanding of how teachers implemented the translanguaging pedagogy, how they related to their students through it, how administrative factors influenced their instruction of implementing it more often, and how language norms, ideologies and their attitudes influenced both student and teacher language use in the groups. The recorded instances of teacher and student translanguaging were further transcribed and analysed in conjunction with my field notes and the teacher's post-observation reflections.

Post-observation teacher reflections

After each observation session, the audio recordings together with my field notes further served as stimulus for post-observation teacher reflection sessions (see Appendix A). During the first round of observation sessions in the Kindergarten group, I carried out eight times a 10-minutes (approximately 80 minutes) verbal debriefing with one or both of the teachers. Meanwhile, during the second round of observation sessions in the Pre-Kindergarten group, I carried out 13 times a 10-minutes (approximately 130 minutes) verbal debriefing with one of the teachers.

The purpose of these quick (10-minutes) verbal debriefings with the teachers were to recapture the outcomes of their teaching after each observation session for multiple reasons. First, to better understand the teachers' attitudes towards the translanguaging phenomenon in heritage language classrooms; then, to understand what advantages and disadvantages implementing translanguaging pedagogies in the heritage language community they found as they reflected on their own practices. For example, if I saw the teacher translanguage during a lesson, I then collected classroom artifacts that relate to this pedagogy and asked specific interview questions about this pedagogy in the post-observation reflection discussion. Some of the questions I was interested in were the following; how the teachers' perceptions of using the Hungarian-only monolingual view in the classroom —that they were required to follow—might have shifted to a multilingual view as they implemented the translanguaging pedagogy in practice. Second,

the verbal debriefing sessions allowed me to better understand the rationale behind teachers' motivations and choices for using translanguaging pedagogy instead of insisting the usage of the Hungarian language at all times.

Semi-structured teacher interviews

In-depth interviews were used to collect information from a relatively small, representative sample, so that generalizations could be made about the population under research (Sántha, 2015). There were several questions that needed to be considered before carrying out the interviews with participants prior to data-collection. For instance, whom to interview, in what way (one-on-one interview, in a team, in person, or over the phone), what questions to ask in order to gain the necessary information to answer the research questions, and what format should be followed in the interview.

My aim with conducting interviews with participating teachers was to investigate the participants' current linguistic ability, prior linguistic development, and their linguistic background, while I also wished to collect information about their attitudes towards using multiple languages in heritage language classrooms and their perception of the community's ultimate goal to preserve and maintain the heritage language in the Hungarian ethnic community.

Furthermore, I wished to collect information from administrator participants about the origins of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, the current and future efforts and goals of the school in heritage language preservation and maintenance, and about how these goals differ from the Hungarian ethnic population's (those families who attend the school) goals.

I constructed two different types of interviews; one for participating teachers and one for administrators of the school. An 11-questions semi-structured interview was planned to be carried out with participating teachers, and also, a 15-questions interview was planned to be carried out with two administrators. Interviews were semi-structured and planned as an over-the-phone interview due to time and place convenience. It took approximately 40 minutes each time. During the interviews, I also planned to take notes to record factual answers shared with me.

Over-the-phone interviews were conducted with teachers at the beginning of data collection phases (see Appendix B) and with administrators at the end of the last data collection phase (see Appendix C). The purpose of these interviews was to learn more about the knowledge, practices, and dispositions of the school in the ethnic community's

life. During the interviews, I took notes in a pre-prepared table (see Tables 4 & 5) to filter out the required data from the answers I have received to the asked interview questions.

Table 4: Participants Data Profiles, 2016-2017 (Data table includes pseudo names)

Name	Age	Place of Birth	Mom's heritage	Dad's heritage	Dominant language	Hungarian language acquisition level	Other language(s) spoken	Location	Years spent in AraNY	Sibling(s)
Miki	6	USA	HU	USA (AR)	ENG	low-intermediate	N/A	NYC	2	2 older, 1 twin
Lehel	6	USA	HU	USA (AR)	ENG	low-intermediate	N/A	NYC	2	2 older, 1 twin
Emma	5.5	USA	HU	USA	N/A	proficient	N/A	Bronx	3	1 older
Erika	5.5	USA	USA	HU	N/A	proficient	SP (low-intermediate)	Greenwich, CT	3	1 younger, 1 older
Iris	4	USA	USA (VE)	HU	ENG	high-intermediate	SP (high-intermediate)	NYC	1	1 younger
Maggie	5	USA	HUN	USA	ENG	low-intermediate	N/A	Queens	1	N/A
Sarah	5.5	USA	USA (VN)	RO (HU)	ENG	low intermediate	VN (beginner)	Brooklyn	2	1 younger, 1 older
Áron	4.5	USA	HU	HU	HU	proficient	ENG (high-intermediate)	Queens	2	N/A
Ervin	5.5	USA	HU	HU	ENG	high-intermediate	ENG (high-intermediate)	Queens	2	1 younger
Kamilla	5.5	USA	HU	USA (MX)	ENG	beginner	SP (low-intermediate)	Queens	1	1 younger
Cathy	5.5	USA	HU	USA	N/A	proficient	FR, MN, RU	NYC	4	N/A
Édua	5	USA	USA	HU	HU	proficient	ENG (high-intermediate)	Jersey City, NJ	2	N/A
Emil*	5	USA	USA (CO)	HU	ENG	high-intermediate	SP (high-intermediate)	Queens	0	1 younger

Source: Own elaboration.

Table 5: Participants Data Profiles, 2017-2018 (Data table includes pseudo names)

Name	Age	Place of Birth	Mom's heritage	Dad's heritage	Dominant language	Hungarian language acquisition level	Other language(s) spoken	Location	Years spent in AraNY	Sibling(s)
Lina	3	USA	USA	HU	N/A	proficient	N/A	Greenwich, CT	1	2 older
Evelyn	3	USA	USA (MN)	HU	ENG	beginner	N/A	NYC	1	N/A
Zalan	3	USA	HU	USA	ENG	beginner	N/A	Brooklyn	1	2 younger
Domokos	3	USA	HU	HU	ENG	proficient	N/A	Brooklyn	1	N/A
Lujzi	3	USA	HU	USA (VE)	N/A	proficient	N/A	NYC	1	N/A
Anett	2.5	USA	HU	USA (MX)	ENG	beginner	N/A	Brooklyn	1	N/A
Ella	2.5	USA	RU	HU	N/A	high-intermediate	RU (high-intermediate)	NYC	1	N/A
Linda	3	USA	HU	USA (MX)	ENG	beginner	SP (beginner)	Brooklyn	1	1 older
Gina	3	USA	USA (IT)	HU	ENG	beginner	N/A	Queens	1	N/A
Rudi*	2.5	USA	USA (VE)	HU	ENG	high-intermediate	SP (high-intermediate)	Queens	0	1 older

Source: Own elaboration.

These interviews helped me to understand more about the participants' educational and linguistic backgrounds. However, the major goal of these interviews was to understand how teacher attitudes of the translanguaging pedagogy impact their practice. For example, if one teacher had some knowledge of another language and understands the challenges of learning another language, this might have influenced her abilities to empathize with her students' difficulties in learning a new language. Similarly, if the teacher participant felt the need to follow a monolingual, Hungarian-only view, that was pressured on her by administrators, she might have felt challenged in enabling translanguaging pedagogies in her classroom. After completion of the in-depth interviews, I then prepared the resulting data for analysis and added newly gained information to students' profiles to clarify accuracy of information gained previously during the field notes of the classroom observations and from post observation reflections to further find answers for the research questions.

Parent Questionnaires

In the methodological triangulation (see Sántha, 2015) of the research the third method used was the questionnaire (see Dörnyei & Taguchi, 2010) in order to receive more information about the habits and attitudes of heritage language transmittance in the families attending the school and their efforts of maintaining the heritage language in the family and in the wider ethnic community. This method was embedded in the two main methods (classroom observations, in-depth interviews) in order to receive information in relation to my research questions.

The questionnaires served to explore the language skills and language usage in the families (Part 1), linguistic and educational development and background of parents (Part 2), and their attitudes and beliefs about bi-, and multilingualism and Hungarian language maintenance (Part 3) both in the home and in the wider community (see Appendix D).

In addition, the questionnaires provided information on the linguistic background of the family members (parents, grandparents, siblings, etc.). In a separate part of the questionnaire named as "Parent Demographic Data Form" (see Appendix E), the age, sex, and the parents' highest level of education were asked.

The questionnaires were given out face-to-face and electronically via an email attachment (in case volunteers misplaced them, or preferred to fill it out electronically) to the parents of participating students. Because the questionnaires were completed independently, clear instructions were included, thinking of those volunteering

participants who might possess low literacy skills. Therefore, a greater proportion of closed questions was used with pre-coded answers and open-ended questions at the end of Part 3.

I expected both parents to return these questionnaires, for example, approximately 24 from the parents of the target research group. Unfortunately, the returned and completed questionnaires fell short on my previously high-expectations. Instead of both parents returning the questionnaires from the target research group, only one questionnaire was returned per households as an average result. Overall, I have received 12 questionnaires back from the target group and additional 5 questionnaires from the wilder community of the school. Upon receiving the questionnaires back from the families, the process of data analyzation started.

Data Analysis Procedures

This section describes the procedures of the data analysis and concludes with a discussion of the trustworthiness of the research. All procedures for analyses follow a cross-case study design (Stake, 2006; Yin, 2009). First, I define the case at the classroom level. Next, I seek to achieve density in understanding each case separately by following to respond each research question in my analysis. Then, I describe what I learn within each case to generate a substantive level theory for each classroom community of the translanguaging practice and pedagogy (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). After that, I seek to achieve abstraction where I compare findings across cases to summarize my datasets, or I give "a general explanation that fits each of the individual cases, even though the cases will vary in their details" (Yin, 1984: 108). In other words, I move towards a middle-level theory about each research question by comparing findings across cases that can be extrapolated to other classroom contexts.

Data analysis occurred in two major phases following the two major stages of data collection. I separated five smaller intervals of data analysis (Data Analysis Phase 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B, and 2C) corresponding with the research questions and the time intervals of the two data collection phases (see Table 1).

The first phase of analysis, which examined the forms and functions of translanguaging, occurred after Data Collection Phase #1 in two steps. On one hand, Data Analysis Phase#1A analysed field notes embedded into the verbal utterances of the participants previously recorded during the observation sessions using the constant

comparative method (CCM) (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). To examine the forms and functions of translanguaging from the altogether recorded 5,358 words, I used the discourse analysis method (Gee, 2011).

At this time, I also used first-order explanations, that is, the explanations of the research participants (in the form of semi-structured interviews and post-observation teacher reflections). Moreover, I used second-order explanations, that is, my own explanations. The purpose of the process of analysing data was theory development and building grounded theory. Some researchers analyse data deductively to see if data conforms to their expectations, some researchers use analytic induction to infer meanings from the data collected to look for emerging patterns. In contrast, I used the Grounded Theory where generalizations could be inferred from the collected data (constant comparative method, see Sántha, 2009).

On the other hand, Data Analysis Phase#1B included the analysis of the teacher interviews and the post-observation teacher reflections using again the discourse analysis method (Gee, 2011) to uncover teacher perceptions of the translanguaging pedagogy. In this phase, when I was analysing the qualitative data collected through the different methods, I viewed the analysis of the data as an ongoing process. First, I reduced the collected data in order to further analyse it and relate it to my research questions. At the end, I explained the meaning of the findings and how they strengthen my previously formed theory.

The second phase of data analysis, still examined the forms and functions of translanguaging pedagogy occurred after Data Collection Phase#2. This phase examined multiple data sources to construct a bricolage of the classroom community (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and how the participating teachers and students used translanguaging during free-play in the Pre-Kindergarten classroom. I again used discourse analysis (Gee, 2011) and the CCM method for analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

I started my Data Analysis Phase#2A with analysing the responses of the parents from the returned questionnaires. It was possible to carry out some simple hand counts manually since I have only received 17 questionnaires back. Therefore, a computer program analysis was needless at this time. Telly marks were used instead for each given answers of each respondent's answer choice for the open-ended questions (Part 1: Language Usage in the Family). Since the majority of the questions were open-ended questions in Part 2 (Educational Information on your child(ren)), I first evaluated the open-ended questions, then reviewed the responses of the participants, and finally tried

to categorize them into a sufficiently small set of broad categories, which then was coded. I prepared a simple grid to collate the data provided in Part 3 (Attitudes towards Bi-, and Multilingualism and the Hungarian Language). I entered the data onto diagrams and calculated the proportion of respondents answering for each category of each question (see findings demonstrated on diagrams in the next chapter).

Only the parent demographic data form contained close-questions. The information revealed additional statistical information about the participants (e.g. age, sex, level of education, languages spoken, immigration status, and reason for immigration if not born in the US) from their answers, but ultimately this information was unnecessary to know in relation to my research questions.

I continued my data analysis with Data Analysis Phase#2B. Since my data was recorded by either iPhone 7's Voice Memos function or by the EVISTA digital audio recorder, the total length of recorded spoken interactions was 18 hours 56 minutes and 42 seconds; altogether 43,871 words were transcribed for analysis (see samples of Extracts in Chapter IV).

The data corpus was analysed alone based on the Glaserian version of Grounded Theory (Glaser, 2005), the same way as in Data Analysis Phase#1A, yet, the available data corpus was kept separately; so, contamination of the two corpus was completely excluded.

I distinguished three sequential coding mechanisms, in sequence: (1) open coding, (2) axial, and (3) selective coding (Sántha, 2015). First, during the open coding process, I assigned appropriate concepts to the text where I detected the phenomenon of verbal habits between languages. Then, I categorized them by separating verbal habits of the students (student-led translanguaging) from the verbal habits of the teachers (teacher-led translanguaging). Subsequently, during axial coding, various aspects of a category were analysed by creating subcategories. Here, I looked at the relationships between categories. Finally, in selective coding, I looked at the causal relationships between the existing main and sub-categories and compared the sub-categories to find the difference between the student category and the teacher category. My theories were cyclically generated, so I expected to draw clear conclusions at the end of the process.

The third and final phase of data analysis (Data Analysis Phase#2C) involved an analysis of the teacher's in-depth interviews and the post-observation teacher's reflections (Gee, 2011) collected during Data Collection Phase#2 to further uncover teacher

perceptions of the usage of the translanguaging pedagogy in the heritage language classroom.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

In this chapter I summarize the collected data, how it was analysed; and then, I present the results of the study leaving the interpretation of these results for the next chapter. When analysing the collected data, I follow the order of the research questions, such as (1) RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in Hungarian-English emergent bilinguals in early childhood heritage language classes? (2) RQ#2 To what extent do teachers' attitudes and perceptions of translanguaging influence the language practices of Hungarian-English emergent bilinguals in early childhood heritage language educational settings? and (3) RQ#3 To what extent do parents' attitudes and perceptions of bi-, and multilingualism influence the language practices of emergent bilinguals in the home and in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City? Under each research question, I present the results obtained after data processing. To conclude this chapter, I further support the obtained results by demonstrating examples of the processed data.

RQ#1: Forms and Functions of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

The objective of this first phase of data analysis was to understand the different forms and functions of the translanguaging pedagogies used in two early childhood pre-school classes of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA) over the course of two consecutive school years. The primary data sources for this phase included (1) the field notes from classroom observations, and (2) the manual and audio recordings of the verbal utterances of the participants during free play. Essentially, the questions of language choice I am seeking answers to are the followings: Who uses what choice of language; with whom; about what; in what setting; for what purpose; and in what context of what communicative act or event? Below, I describe how I first established codes to describe the forms and functions of the translanguaging phenomena. First, I present a sample transcript and detail the different codes that I have used during analysing the data collected to determine the forms of translanguaging. Next, I describe how I established codes to describe the functions of translanguaging using the same sample transcript.

The examination of the first research question was guided by Hymes' (1974) ethnography of communication. Hymes (1974) recommends attending to speech acts, speech events, and speech activities in this method. With understanding that all

transcription is based on theory (Ochs, 1979), I first transcribed the collected data in terms of audible language produced by the participating teachers and students. While the translingual practices suggest that multiple semiotic resources are used in communication (including gesture, intonation, body language, and other embodied resources) (Canagrajah, 2013), I was primarily concerned with how divergent codes are used within the verbal communication.

The audio and manual recordings were transcribed by using the following symbols (see Table 6) to directly capture participants' verbal utterances.

Table 6: Summary of Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Description
Italics	Utterance in a language other than Hungarian
CAPITAL LETTERS	Increased volume
" "	Quote, repetition of what was being said
(...)	Pause
xxx	Inaudible utterance
!	High-rise in intonation (showing excitement, anger)
?	High-rise in intonation (asking a question)
[ ]	Phonological transcription of pronounced phoneme or word
( )	Gestures, actions, body language,
' '	Vocabulary teaching in Hungarian, naming
{ }	English translation

Source: Own elaboration.

I was interested in detecting languages other than Hungarian in the participants' speech. Since a communicative event is a bounded entity of some kind, it is essential to recognise the boundaries between the entities for the identification (Saville-Troike, 2003). First, I had to identify speech acts in which languages other than Hungarian were used (e.g. English, Spanish, Russian, etc.). Following Saville-Troike's (2003: 24) concept, I identified the speech act as "an utterance containing a single interactional function, such as a statement, a request, or a command, and may be either verbal or nonverbal". I demonstrated how they were separate entities by using the correct punctuation (., ?, !) at the end of the detected speech acts. After identifying the speech acts, I decided whether in the speech act I detected teacher-led (T) or student led translanguaging (S). I then analysed the speech events in which these speech acts occurred. Following Saville-Troike's (2003: 23) concept, I defined the speech event as "a unified set of components throughout, beginning with the same general purpose for communication, the same general topic, and involving the same participants, generally using the same language variety, maintaining the same tone or key, and the same rules for interaction, in the same

setting”. Through examining the speech acts in relation to the speech events, I coded the form of the translanguaging act (i.e. question, statement, response, etc.) as per Bloome and Egan-Robertson’s (1993) guidelines for describing message units.

At the level of individuals and groups interacting with one another, the functions of communication are directly related to the participants’ purposes and needs of communication (Hymes, 1974). To be able to determine the functions of the translanguaging acts in the verbal utterances of the research participants, I followed M. A. K. Halliday’s (1975) concept. Halliday identified the seven functions of language that children use in their early years. For Halliday, children are motivated to develop language because it serves certain purposes or functions for them. The first four functions help children to satisfy physical, emotional and social needs. Halliday calls them, instrumental (expressing needs), regulatory (to give orders and control the behaviour of others), interactional (to make contact, socialize, and relate to others by empathy and solidarity), and personal (to convey feelings or emotions, expressing personal views) functions. The next three functions are heuristic (to gain knowledge about the environment), imaginative imaginative (reference to language itself, tell stories and jokes), and representational (to convey content, facts, information), all helping children to come to terms with their environments. When I coded the functions of the translanguaging acts, I followed Halliday’s categories and I also indicated the functions of the speech acts (i.e. request, provide information, agree/disagree, ignore, initiate a topic, affirm/reject) within the speech events.

While a function may coincide with a single grammatical sentence, it often does not or a single sentence may simultaneously serve several functions. The functions or practices of a language provide the primary dimension for characterizing and organizing the communicative processes and products in a particular society. “Without understanding why a language is being used as it is, and the consequences of such use, it is impossible to understand its meaning in the context of social interaction” (Saville-Troike, 2003: 14). While I coded all message units within each speech event, I reported on the forms and functions of instances when a language other than Hungarian was used by participating teachers and/or students. All transcripts were coded manually.

In Extract 1, I provide a sample speech event that shows the forms of translanguaging as per Bloome and Egan-Robertson (1993) in the left column, and the functions of translanguaging as per Halliday (1975) in the right column. In this sample, I also indicate if the speech act was the production of a teacher (T) or a student (S). I further

show the form of the translanguaging act (i.e., question, statement, response, etc.) by including correct punctuation at the end of each of the translanguaging act. Through Extract 1, I show how I coded a sample transcript for determining the forms and functions of the translanguaging act within the sample speech event (see Extract 1).

Extract 1. Sample speech event with form and function codes
(*Free drawing/colouring*; April 28, 2017)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Janka:** És milyen állat a kakas felesége? {And what animal is the wife of the rooster?}	Heuristic (request knowledge)
Response (S)	**Emma:** Csirke. *Chicken*.	Representational (inform)
Response/Request (T)	**Janka:** Az a gyereke. A kakas felesége a … {That is its baby. The wife of the rooster is…}	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Emma:** Tyúk. *Hen*.	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Janka:** És hogy hívjuk a gyerekeiket? {And how do we call their children?}	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Sarah:** *Baby chickens*.	Representational (inform)
Request (S)	**Emma:** Na, Sarah, most magyarul kell beszélni! {So, Sarah, now we have to talk in Hungarian!}	Regulatory (manage behaviour)
Response (S)	**Sarah:** *But I can't.*	Personal (disagreeing)
Response (S)	**Emma:** De meg kell próbálni, most a magyar iskolában vagyunk. {But we have to try it; now we are in the Hungarian school.}	Regulatory (making request)

Source: Own elaboration.

It is evident in the above sample that English (L1) was used repeatedly in the responses of Sarah, a participating student. The fact that only single words were used in some of the translanguaging acts of Emma, another student, has to be considered. This is due to the fact that the data sample consists translanguaging acts of very young children whose language output is generally limited.

While analysing the collected data, translanguaging acts between participants (e.g. student-student, student-teacher, teacher-student, teacher-teacher) were detected 132 times in the Kindergarten early childhood class and 727 times in the Pre-Kindergarten early childhood class. The main function of teacher-led translanguaging was to provide, negotiate, clarify and request information, as well as to affirm students' responses. On the other hand, the main function of student-led translanguaging was to display information, demonstrate knowledge about language, and provide information for cross-language comparisons.

After data analyses, I detected three narrower categories where the analysed forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging could be classified based on the purpose of the translanguaging phenomena. These categories are (1) translanguaging for meaning making, (2) translanguaging for bridging language gaps, and (3) translanguaging for gaining intercultural competence. In the next section, I demonstrate various examples of the analysed translanguaging acts to explain the numerous purposes of why translanguaging was used in the early childhood emergent heritage language classes and of why the usage was justified to occur.

Translanguaging for Meaning Making

From an outsider's view, language can be seen as a cultural object that is societally allocated to one language or to another. However, from the bilingual speaker's perspective, language is seen as one linguistic repertoire of various language features belonging to one individual speaker's idiolect, that is deployed to enable communication (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015). Colin Baker (2011) refers to translanguaging as the use of two languages to make meaning, gain understanding, and gain knowledge. Thus, translanguaging acknowledges the varied linguistic repertoires of young children's various language features, that they bring into the bi-, and multilingual classroom, and which allows them to use all varied features of the different languages they previously acquired (García & Flores, 2015: 233). They use translanguaging acts for expression and meaning making "without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (…) languages" (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015: 283). The process of education viewed through the translanguaging lens allows children to use their varied linguistic repertoires of diverse language features they possess as they express themselves and make meaning.

I now introduce multiple examples of the translanguaging act, how emergent Hungarian-English bilingual students in the early childhood classrooms of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA) used their unique repertoires of linguistic features when they participated in free-play. The results show that there were five different occasions when translanguaging acts were used to make meaning.

First, it appeared that young emergent Hungarian-English bilingual or multilingual children in the two observed early childhood classes used multiple resources (for example, fluid language practices and body language) to make meaning of the verbal

utterances of their peers or their teachers while they were engaged in meaningful play. It was evident in the analysed data that the children flexibly used their resources to fulfill the communicative situation while they were talking in small groups about the play itself. In the following example (see Extract 2), recorded in the Pre-Kindergarten class, the children were using plasticine to play with as they were making meaning of the Hungarian word, ʽcsiga' [tʃiga:] {snail}.

Extract 2. *Playing with Play-Doh* (April 14, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Edit (rolling):** És én ezt most fel fogom gurigázni és ilyen csigát csinálok. Nézd, csiga. {And now, I am gonna roll this up and make a snail like this. Look, a snail.}	Representational (inform)
Resquest (S)	**Zalan:** *What is this?*	Heuristic (request information)
Response (T)	**Edit:** Csiga-biga. Csiga-biga. Csiga-biga. {Snail. Snail. Snail.}	Imaginative
Response (S)	**Zalan (rolling):** *Snail. Snail. This is a snail. Snail.*	Representational (inform)
Response, declarative (T)	**Edit:** Igen, az egy csiga. { Yes, that's a snail.}	Representational (affirm)
Resquest (T)	**Alma:** Mond, hogy ʽcsiga', Zolika. {Say ʽcsiga', Zolika.}	Regulatory (give order)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** Csiga. [tʃiga:] {Snail.}	Representational (inform)
Response, declarative (T)	**Alma:** Csiga. {Snail.}	Representational (affirm)

Source: Own elaboration.

Their communication about making a snail out of plasticine appeared to be multimodal as children connected their physical contact with the plasticine (tactile stimulation through touching Play-Doh) to their language use. The hands on aspect of this play, helped the children make meaning of the Hungarian word, ʽcsiga' [tʃiga:] {snail}. While playing with the Play-Doh, they were able to connect the Hungarian word, ʽcsiga', to their L1 equivalent, ʽsnail'. That is how they ultimately made meaning of the same slimy animal; they realized that ʽcsiga' in Hungarian (L2) means ʽsnail' in English (L1). This finding coincided with Andersen's findings that "body language seems to be significant; it can be considered one of the multiple resources that help the very young learners fulfil the communicative situation" (Andersen, 2016: 175). In this example, the student, Zalan, made meaning by establishing physical contact with the Play-Doh and by also using body language that ultimately helped him understand the meaning of ʽcsiga' [tʃiga:] as ʽsnail'.

It appears that these moments of play in combination with the flexible use of linguistic features enabled the children to make meaning of this context.

Second, the flexible use of language features appeared to be important in moments of linguistic creativity. In the following example (see Extract 3), also recorded in the Pre-Kindergarten class, the constructive play itself stimulated the linguistic imagination of the children.

Extract 3. *Constructive play/Playing with blocks* (February 10, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (S)	**Zalan:** *This is our water tank!*	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Fly, fly, fly, fly…whoooooosh!*	Imaginative (express fantasy)
Response (S)	**Lina:** Nézd, nézd. {Look, look.}	Regulatory (give order)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Weeeeeeee! I can skate like I am flying.*	Imaginative (express fantasy)
Response, declarative (S)	**Linda:** *Yay!*	Representational (affirm)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *I have a plan. You can skate with this.*	Representational (inform)
Request (S)	**Evelyn:** *Why?*	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *I am fast like this. Weeee, I am flying. Skate this fast!*	Imaginative (express fantasy)
Request (S)	**Evelyn:** *Oh-oh. What is that, Lujza?*	Heuristic (request information)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Evelyn, *be careful, not so hard!* Evelyn, *stop! Stop, please. Thank you!*	Regulatory (give order)
Response (S)	**Linda:** Brrrrrr, brrrrrr, brrrrrr.	Imaginative (express fantasy)
Response (S)	**Lina:** *R-O-A-R!*	Imaginative (express fantasy)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Lion, I found the lion.*	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Lina:** *Stop!*	Regulatory (give order)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *I got the big one, I found a big one. Boom, boom, fire, boom.*	Imaginative (express fantasy)

Source: Own elaboration.

They started using onomatopoeia, the formation of a word that phonetically imitates, resembles, or suggests the sound that it describes (e.g. whoosh, splash, boom, etc.), to show their linguistic creativity. The more they interacted with each other and got engaged in the onomatopoeia play, the more linguistically creative they became and engaged in translanguaging. This example shows that moments of linguistic creativity occurred in young children's translanguaging acts as they formed different kind of sounds and played

with these sounds. The linguistic creativity of the participants enabled by the translanguaging act allowed these children to impersonate the characters of the play. These children pretended to be various things while they role played, like a lion (Lina), a water tank (Evelyn), a skateboarder (Zalan), or a plane (Linda). They came up with these roles while they were in the process of play building a farm with blocks for their animal figures (e.g. sheep, cow, chicken, cat, etc.). They all had a role in the game that moved the play forward. As they were playing together, they used their vivid imagination while pretended to be an animal (roaring lion scaring the animals), a skateboarder (skateboarding, flying), or a stealth bomber (flying, firing the animals, drinking from the water tank). The following onomatopoeia words were created in this creative play: "Whoosh" (Zalan), "Weee" (Zalan), "Brrrr" (Linda), "Boom" (Evelyn), "Roar" (Lina).
This example further showed that young children rely on their L1 (English) while playing alone in a naturalistic environment; as if they were playing in a mainstream (English) classroom, or in their homes. At this point, the majority of the students in the Pre-Kindergarten class was not yet able to play in the L2 heritage language (Hungarian). Only Lina was "Nézd, nézd. {Look, look.}", who also switched to English to stay in the game mostly played by L1 (English) students. This view is supported by the teacher's speech act when she managed the students' behaviour as she gave orders also in the children's L1 (English).

Being a meaning-making resource by itself, gestures seemed to be part of the translanguaging act during play. In many cases, these multimodal moments happened in connection with the flexible use of the children's linguistic features. One could almost say that the flexible use of language features without regard for boundaries occured particularly when the communication involved the children's body language. As they held up the plane in the air pretended that it was flying, or as they made the lion pretended to jump on the plane, or as they held up a piece of block pretended to be a skateboarder who was skating so fast that he was flying, they were acting out the play. This tells us that multimodalities (such as gestures and acting) are significant, and translanguaging not only refers to the free deployment of one's linguistic repertoire, but also to the 'acting' aspect of the play. On this basis, it can be assumed that body language is another resource in translanguaging. This coincides with Anderson's findings (Anderson, 2017) that body language during translanguaging is crucial for meaning-making.

Third, the flexible use of linguistic resources allowed the children to participate in oral discussions with their teachers and to make meaning of the context as they played.

The following example (see Extract 4) shows how children appeared to use their linguistic repertoires for meaning-making particularly when the participants themselves used their language features and background knowledge to communicate.

Extract 4. *Free play* (March 17, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Alma:** Tavasszal mi bújik ki a földből? Finom illata van. {What comes out of the ground in the Spring? It has a sweet smell.}	Heuristic (request knowledge)
Response/Request (T)	**Alma:** Hát a virágok, nem? {Well, the flowers, no?}	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Jaj, de ügyes vagy, ez pont ide illik: "Bogyó és Babóca Virágai". {You are so clever, this fits right in here: "The Flowers of Bogyó and Babóca".}	Interactional (make contact with others)
Response (S)	**Lina:** *Looking for the queen.*	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Nem keresünk semmilyen *queen*-t. {We are not looking for any queen.}	Regulatory (giving order)
Response (S)	**Lina:** Nem, neki *spike*-ja van. {No, it has a spike.}	Representational (inform)
Request (S)	**Alma:** Kinek? {Whom?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Lina:** *Looking for the queen*. A *queen*-nek.	Personal (disagreeing)
Request (T)	**Alma:** De milyen *queen*-ről beszéltek? {But what "queen" are you talking about?}	Regulatory (making request)
Response (S)	**Anett:** Virág. Virág. Virág. {Flower. Flower. Flower.}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Ti most a méhecskékről beszéltek? {Are you talking about the bees?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Lina:** Van egy virág ami megszúrta a kezét. {There is a flower that hurt her hand.}	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Edit:** Az a rózsa. {That's the rose.}	Representational (inform)
Response/ declarative (T)	**Alma:** A rózsának vannak tüskéi. Jaj, nagyon kell vigyázni, hogy meg ne szúrjanak. {The rose has spikes. Ouch, we have to be very careful not to get hurt.}	Representational (affirm/inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

One child, Lina, first associated spring with flowers, but was unable to express the word by using the Hungarian (L2) word ʽvirág'. Instead, she used her linguistic repertoire to refer to flowers in general. She mentioned "queen" (the queen bee that she previously must have seen landing on flowers). The translanguaging act of this child helped her participate in the conversation by using her background knowledge as she was making meaning. Another child did the same. She whispered "spike" to Lina. This participant used the same method as the previous child. She was making meaning by thinking of the

flower with spikes (rose), however was unable to use the Hungarian (L2) equivalent word ʽvirág'. A third child, Anett, remembered the Hungarian (L2) word ʽvirág' and shared it with the group, ʺVirág. Virág. Virág." Now, after Anett shared the Hungarian word ʽvirág', Lina was able to carry on the conversation in Hungarian (L2) and express the process of meaning making of the second child, ʺVan egy virág, ami megszúrta a kezét. {There is a flower that hurt her hand.}" This example showed that young children make meaning by participating in oral discussions with involving their linguistic repertoires and their background knowledge, or previous experiences, into the conversation.

Fourth, translanguaging comprising body language and the flexible use of language features enabled young children in the Kindergarten class to connect to their personal experiences. The following example (see Extract 5) shows how one child, Emil, was able to recall his experience with foodcolouring. It was undoubtable that this child had had a personal experience with foodcolouring before because he knew that the flowers will change colours as soon as the teachers add drops of foodcolouring into the water. He used translanguaging to make meaning. The usage of the English word ʺfoodcolouring" in his translingual act suggested that this child must have used this product in the kitchen; most likely while cooking or baking something, because he knew the English word for this process.

Extract 5. *Colouring Flowers for Mother's Day* (May 13, 2017)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Kinga:** Képzeljétek el, hogy ma varázsolni fogunk. {Imagine that we are going to do magic today.}	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Emil:** Ez *foodcolouring*. {This is foodcolouring.}	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Kinga:** Ez magyarul ʽételfesték'[eitælfæʃteik]. {It is called ʽételfesték' in Hungarian.}	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Emil:** Én tudom hogy. Színes lesz a virág. {I know how. The flowers will be coloured.}	Representational (inform)
Response/ Response (T)	**Kinga:** Úgy fogunk varázsolni, hogy belecsepegtetjük az ételfestéket a vízbe és bennehagyjuk a virágokat a vízben. Kis idő elteltével majd meglátjuk mi történik velük. {We are going to do magic by dropping the foodcolouring in the water and we keep the flowers in the water. After a little while we'll see what happens to them.}	Representational/ Representational (inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

As students were playing in the group, they were encouraged to subsequently use moments of translanguaging freely in the classroom, which enabled young children to

relate to their own experiences and background knowledge (see Extract 4 and 5) to the activity of play. This example, among similar ones, led to the assumption that the children's sentences were rich and unfettered when they translanguaged, and that the free deployment of the individual linguistic resources enabled the emergent bilinguals to express their affiliations to the context of communication.

Fifth, it seems that translanguaging enabled the children to illustrate their thoughts in a vivid manner, and that sentence constructions were more complex when young children were able to translanguage and were allowed to use their L1 (English) in the classroom (see Extract 6a).

Extract 6a. *Playing with blocks* (May 5, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	Translanguaging Speech Event	Function (Halliday, 1975)
Initiation (S)	**Zalan:** *Brrrrrrrrrrrrrrr. Tvvvv. Tvvvv. Tvvvv. I can't put it there.*	Representational (inform)
Request/ Response (T)	**Edit:** *Evelyn, let him share it with you, ok? Let him share a little bit.*	Heuristic/Regulatory (give order to regulate behaviour)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *That's a door.*	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Yeah. It could be in the front of the country.*	Representational (inform)/
Response/ Request (S)	**Zalan:** *Not that door, that one. Good, huh?*	Representational (disagreement)
Response (S)	**Gina:** *I don't know if it could be over there.*	Representational (disagreement)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Don't put it there. Don't put it there.*	Regulatory (give order)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *That's my walls.* **(…)**	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Aw, aw, aw, aw, aw. I bumped myself. Aw, aw.*	Personal (express own feelings (got hurt))
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Clean the buildings.*	Representational (inform)
Response/ declarative (T)	**Edit:** *Oh, you are cleaning the building.* Nagyon szép tiszta lesz. {It's gonna be very nicely cleaned.}	Representational (affirm/inform)
Response (T)	**Edit:** Tiszta. *Shiny.*	Representational (inform)/

Source: Own elaboration.

Extract 6a shows how Edit, the teacher, explicitly showed appreciation for the child's flexible use of linguistic resource as she adapted to the child's choice of L1 (English). By saying, "Oh, you are cleaning the building.", she affirmed Evelyn, the child, in the process of meaning-making. She continued to use L1 (English) in the translanguaging act as she co-languaged, "Tiszta. Shiny." The teacher accomodating the emergent bilingual child by

allowing the children L1 (English) in the classroom resulted in the children developing the usage of more complex sentence construction in their L1 (English) as opposed to restricting children for using L2 (Hungarian) only, which most likely would have resulted in the children staying quiet or seldomly participating with one word utterences in their L2 (Hungarian).

This attempt resulted in a new speech event (see Extract 6b) right after. Extract 6b shows a translanguaging act where participants discussed how many languages each of the participants knew. The participating children, Evelyn and Zalan, assumed that the teacher, Edit, was a monolingual Hungarian (L1) speaker.

Extract 6b. *Playing with blocks* (May 5, 2018)

Form (Bloom&Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Edit:** És Zalan, te mit csinálsz az épülettel? {And Zalan, what are you doing with the building?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Request/ Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Do you know English?*	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (T)	**Edit:** *Yes, I know English. I teach English. Not here, but in another school.*	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Oh!*	Interactional (relate to)
Request (S)	**Evelyn:** *You speak English and Hungarian?*	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (T)	**Edit:** *And Spanish.*	Representational (inform)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Oh. That's neat!*	Interactional (affirm)
Request (T)	**Edit:** *What do you speak, Evelyn?*	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *I speak English, half Hungarian, half Chinese.*	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Edit:** *Do you speak any Chinese or not?*	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *I don't speak Chinese, but I do know how to groan.*	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Edit:** *You understand?*	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *Aham.*	Representational (affirm)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Um, um, my friend speaks Chinese. A different Chinese.*	Representational (inform)
Responses (T)	**Edit:** *A different one? It's hard. It's hard.* Nagyon nehéz. {Very hard.}	Interactional/Representational (repetition, inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

Extract 6b further shows how Edit, the teacher, explicitly appreciated the children's L1 (English) just like Extract 6a did. Once Zalan asked if Edit knew English offering the translanguaging act to switch the code between languages and ultimately use English in the conversation. Zalan and Evellyn relied on their L1 (English) and the switch between

the languages enabled them for the flexible use of their linguistic resources. The teacher, Edit, adapted to the children's language choice (English) as Zalan clearly asked for that. The conversation shows the participants admiration for multilingualism and their comfort of being around multilingual and multicultural individuals in the Big Apple. Zalan refers to his close friend who speaks Chinese and Emily identifies herself as a child with multiple identities.

The above analysed sample extracts coincide with the findings of current works on the field (Jones, 1991; Szabó-Törpényi, 2010; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Blackledge, Creese, & Hu, 2015; Mori, & Calder, 2015; Pacheco & Smith, 2015; Andersen, 2016, 2017; Daniel & Pacheco, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Mary & Young in Palsrud, Rosén, Straszer, & Wedin, 2017; Tódor & Dégi, 2018). Translanguaging in this sense seems to enable young children to articulate their thoughts and to make meaning of the context they are in. In particular, the use of different meaning-making resources seem to enable young emergent bilingual children to achieve various goals, i.e. fulfill the communicative situation, contribute their own experiences, illustrate thoughts in a vivid manner, participate in oral discussions and meaning-making by using their background knowledge. These positive impacts of translanguaging have to be considered against the fact that not all children actively participated in all the recorded and analysed translanguaging acts.

Translanguaging for Bridging the Language Gap

Csillik & Golubeva (2020) defined language gap as a communication gap between L1 monolingual speakers learning L2 and L2 monolingual speakers learning L1. They suggested that it often occurs that bi-, and multilingual speakers lack an understanding of each other either in their conversation due to a deficit in shared vocabulary or in a difference of the speakers' intercultural competence. Bi-, and multilingual speakers face these language gaps for two reasons. On one hand, language gaps take place when the multilingual speakers' linguistic competency and previous experiences with the languages involved in the communication differ from one another (e.g. missing vocabulary or lexical gap). On the other hand, when the cultural identity (values, habits, attitudes, beliefs, etc.) of the speakers are distinct from one another (e.g. missing cultural terms) (Csillik & Golubeva, 2020).

There were several strategies that bi-, and multilingual speakers could use to remedy the occuring lexical gaps during their communication while they were engaged

in free-play. For instance, some of these strategies are (1) adaptation, (2) lexical borrowing, (3) calque (loan translation), (4) compensation, (5) omission, (6) description, (7) equivalence, (8) explication, (9) generalization, (10) literal translation or word-to-word translation, (11) modulation, (12) particularization, (13) substitution, (14) transposition, and/or (15) variation (Munday, 2001; Jannsen, 2004; House, 2009; Darwish, 2010; Shabanirad, 2011). The collected data revealed multiple translanguaging acts when teacher participants in the Hungarian-English bilingual pre-school classes used one of these strategies to help emergent bilinguals bridge their existing language gaps.

In the following examples, I demonstrate how teachers helped emergent bilinguals (Hungarian (L1) speakers learning English (L2), Hungarian-English fluent bilinguals, and English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2)) to bridge existing language gaps. The first example (see Extract 7) shows how teachers' beliefs and attitudes alter from one another in relation to identifying a language gap and in the way how they tackle it.

Extract 7: *Colouring/Playing with puzzles* (January 27, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Alma:** Hát szia! Szeretnél *puzzle*-ozni vagy szinezni szeretnél? {Hi! Do you want to do a puzzle, or you rather colour?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Request (T)	**Edit:** Kirakóznál? {Do a puzzle?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Kirakózni vagy szinezni szeretnél? {Do you want to do a puzzle or colour?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Gyere megmutatom, mit szinezünk: békát. {Come, I'll show you what we are colouring: a frog.}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Ezt szeretnéd vagy a *puzzle*-t? {Do you want to do this, or the puzzle?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (P)	**Parent:** A *puzzle*-t nagyon szereti. {She loves puzzles very much.}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Melyiket szeretnéd?{Which one do you want?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Mutass az asztalra! {Point to the table!}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** *Puzzle*-t? {The puzzle?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)

Source: Own elaboration.

The difference in selecting a strategy to bridge the language gap between the two teachers (Alma, Edit) came from the different view of what each of them considered as a language gap. One teacher (Edit) offered to use the Hungarian word, 'kirakó' (n) and

ʽkirakózni’ (v) in the conversation while the other teacher (Alma) relied on the loanword, "puzzle" (n), and used "puzzle"-ozni (v) as a calque, adding a Hungarian suffix at the end of the English word. This example demonstrates that regardless of the Hungarian word was available for Alma (since her colleague, Edit, introduced it in the conversation), she kept the loanword and calque instead of using the Hungarian word. The word "puzzle" is accustomed and socially accepted in Hungary; therefore, when both the English and Hungarian words were offered in the conversation, the parent chose the word "puzzle" to respond.

The following conversation shows how an emergent bilingual student tackled a language gap on her own by inventing a new lexeme in Hungarian (L2) (see Extract 8). The student was glueing a sticker of a polar bear on the necklace she was making during the arts and crafts activity she chose during free-play.

Extract 8. *Arts and crafts activity during free play* (March 18, 2017)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Ilona:** *What are you doing now*, Erika?	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Erika:** Ragasztom a nyakláncomat. {I am glueing my necklace.}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Ilona:** És milyen állatot ragasztasz a nyakláncodra? {And what kind of animal are you glueing on your necklace?}	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Erika:** ʽHómacit’. {Polar bear.}	Representational (inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

The teacher, Ilona, addressed Erika, the student, in English (L1); however, the student felt comfortable responding in Hungarian (L2), by doing so, she expressed her Hungarian cultural identity. Once the teacher asked her to name the animal she was glueing, she faced a language gap and chose to invent an original Hungarian lexeme ʽhómaci’ [hɔ:mətsI] to bridge the gap. ʽPolar bear’ is equivalent in Hungarian with ʽjegesmedve’ [jægæʃmædvæ] that the child did not know at that moment. Instead, using her background knowledge that polar bears’ habitat is cold and snowy, she used the Hungarian word ʽhó’ [hɔ:] ("snow") as the first part of the compound word she later created. The second part of the compound word, ʽmaci’ [mətsI] ("bear"), came from the diminutive form of the Hungarian word ʽmedve’ [mædvæ] ("bear"). She not only used all her linguistic repertoire and background knowledge to bridge the language gap, but also her creativity as she chose between following and flouting the rules, push and break boundaries between

the old and new, the conventional and original, the acceptable and challenging (see Wei, 2011) made her tackle successfully this gap in the conversation.

The following conversation (see Extract 9) shows that not every child in the younger years was able to solve the problem of facing language gaps. Many times students relied on the teachers and the strategies they offered to tackle these language gaps in their conversations. When coming across a language gap, many students simply asked directly for the literal translation of the missing word. The next example shows how an emergent bilingual student, Domokos, asked the teacher for the meaning of "volcano" directly while he was speaking in Hungarian.

Extract 9: *Free constructive play/Playing with blocks* (February 3, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (S)	**Domokos:** Mi magyarul a *volcano*? {What is "volcano" called in Hungarian?}	Representational (inform)
Response/ Request (T)	**Alma:** 'Vulkán'. Mi van a vulkánokkal? {'Vulkán'. What's with volcanos?}	Representational (inform)/Heuristic (request information)
Response (T)	**Domokos:** Nagyon meleg. {Very hot.}	Imaginative
Response, declarative/Request (T)	**Alma:** Így van. Tudod, hogy mi jön ki belőle, Domokos? {That's right. Do you know what comes out of it, Domokos?}	Representational (affirm)/Heuristic (request knowledge)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Mert az a forró tűz meg tud téged égetni, ami kijön a vulkán pocakjából, a gyomrából, a vulkán mélyéből. {Because that boiling fire can burn you that comes out of the volcano's belly, from its stomach, from the depths of the volcano.}	Representational (affirm)

Source: Own elaboration.

Alma, the teacher, not only used the lexical borrowing of the English word ("volcano") as 'vulkán' in Hungarian, but she also used this opportunity for explication, or reinforcing clear meaning-making when she explained that boiling fire comes out from the magma chamber of the volcano to the surface of the volcano which can burn the child. She said, "Mert az a forró tűz meg tud téged égetni, ami kijön a vulkán pocakjából, a gyomrából, a vulkán mélyéből" {Because that boiling fire can burn you that comes out of the volcano's belly, from its stomach, from the depths of the volcano}. This example of the translanguaging act clearly shows how the teacher used explication to help Domokos, the struggling student, to bridge the language gap he faced.

The next example (see Extract 10) further supports the teachers' efforts in helping their students to come across lexical bridges in their communication. Alma and Edit, the

teachers, chose the strategy of repetition when they repeatedly used the Hungarian word, ʽtejbegríz' [tæjbægrI: z] {cream of wheat}to bridge the lexical gap Zalan, the child, had. They repeated three times in different sentences the Hungarian word, ʽtejbegríz' [tæjbægrI: z]. "Én is ʽtejbegrízt' ettem tegnap vacsorára, mert nagyon szeretem. {I also ate cream of wheat for dinner last night because I like it very much.}", "Ki szereti még a ʽtejbegrízt'? {Who else likes cream of wheat?}", "Ella, szereted a ʽtejbegrízt'? {Ella, do you like cream of wheat?}". The child only knew the English equivalent phrase, ʽcream of wheat', but the teachers' repetition strategy helped him get familiar with the Hungarian word, ʽtejbegríz' [tæjbægrI:z].

Extract 10: *Playing with Play-Doh* (May 12, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (S)	**Zalan:** *I ate cream of wheat.*	Representational (inform)
Request/ Request (T)	**Alma:** Ezt el tudod mondani magyarul? Mit ettél? {Can you say that in Hungarian? What did you eat?}	Heuristic/Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *Cream of wheat.*	Representational (inform)
Response, declarative (T)	**Alma:** *Cream of wheat.* Az tejbegríz. Mondd azt, hogy ʽtejbegríz'. {Cream of wheat. That's ʽtejbegríz'. Say ʽtejbegríz'.}	Representational (affirm/inform)/ Regulatory (give orders)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** Tejbegríz. [tæjbægrI:z] {Cream of wheat.}	Representational (convey information)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Én is tejbegrízt ettem tegnap vacsorára, mert nagyon szeretem. {I also ate cream of wheat for dinner last night because I like it very much.}	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Edit:** Ahhhhhh, az nagyon finom. {Ahhhhhh, that's very delicious.}	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Ki szereti még a tejbegrízt? {Who else likes cream of wheat?}	Heuristic (request information)
Request (T)	**Edit:** Ella, szereted a tejbegrízt? {Ella, do you like cream of wheat?}	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Zalan:** *I like very much* ʽtejgegríz'. [tæjgægrI:z]	Representational (inform)
Response (T/T)	**Alma & Edit:** Tejbegríz! [tæjbægrI:z] {Cream of wheat.}	Representational (affirm)

Source: Own elaboration.

After the teachers' strategy of repetition, the child not only got familiar with the Hungarian word, but he started repeating it after the teachers. At the end, Zalan independently utilized this newly acquired word in his English sentence. "*I like very much* ʽtejgegríz'." Even if he switched the third consonant in the word (a velar [g] consonant instead of a bilabial [b] consonant), he still used the Hungarian (L2) word in an English

(L1) sentence as he translanguaged. He showed authority of his metalinguistic awareness of the L2 in this translanguaging act. These examples showed that the role of the pedagogues was key in helping emergent bilinguals facing language gaps (see Extract 9 & 10) while participating in the translanguaging act itself.

The following example (see Extract 11) shows that when the translanguaging act turned into a habit that students adopted, English (L1) learners became easily uninterested in applying Hungarian (L2) language features in their conversations.

Extract 11: *Playing with Play-Doh* (March 10, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (T)	**Alma:** Evelyn, *do you need to go to the bathroom? Nope?*	Heuristic (request information)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *I want wash hands.*	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Alma:** *We are gonna wash hands after the dance, okay?*	Representational (inform)
Response, declarative (S)	**Evelyn:** *Okay.*	Representational (affirm/inform)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Megmossuk a kezünket a tánc után. {We'll wash our hands after the dance.}	Representational (convey information)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** *And then we'll get snack.*	Representational (inform)
Response/ Request (T)	**Alma:** Igen, utána eszünk *snack*-et. Megpróbálod magyarul, Evelyn? Alma segít neked, jó? {Yes, we'll eat snack after. Can you try it in Hungarian, Evelyn? Alma will help you, okay?}	Representational (inform)/Heuristic (request information)
Response/ declarative (S)	**Evelyn:** Jó. {Okay.}	Representational (affirm/inform)
Request (T)	**Alma:** Mondjad akkor. Mondjad magyarul. {Say it in Hungarian then. Say it in Hungarian.}	Regulatory (give orders)
Response (S)	**Evelyn:** Magyarul. {In Hungarian.}	Representational (repetition)
Response/ Request/ Request (T))	**Alma:** Mondjad te, amit szeretnél mondani magyarul. Nehéz neked mondani magyarul? Álmos vagy? **{**Say what you want to say in Hungarian. Is it hard for you to say it in Hungarian? Are you sleepy?}	Representational (affirm)/ Heuristic (request information)
Request (S)	**Evelyn:** Álmos vagy? {Are you sleepy?}	Heuristic (request information)
Response (T)	**Alma:** Én kérdezlek téged. Mond, hogy "Álmos vagyok". **{**I ask you. Say, "I am sleepy."**}**	Regulatory (give orders)
Response (S) (Initiation)	**Evelyn:** *I have a* kutya *at home.* {I have a dog at home}	Representational (inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

Extract 11 shows how Evelyn, the Hungarian (L2) learner, repeated the teacher's last words in Hungarian, but had no context clues to understand and make connection to what was being said. At the beginning of the conversation Evelyn was enthusiastic to participate in the speech act, but after Alma switched to Hungarian (L2) Evelyn started

repeating the last words of Alma in Hungarian; the ones she could easily remember to at the moment. She got easily discouraged and after two trials of an interaction she gave up completely. She switched back to English (L1) and initiated a conversation about her dog, "I have a kutya at home. {I have a dog at home}". The excerpt shows how this emergent bilingual student understood directions in Hungarian and following routines in the class. For example, when Alma stated "Megmossuk a kezünket a tánc után. {We'll wash our hands after the dance.}", she immediately replied in English "And then we'll get snack." carrying on with the conversation. The translanguaging phenomenon made it possible for Evelyn to participate in classroom interactions; and even if she had multiple language gaps to further bridge in the future, she was able to become an accepted and valued member of the heritage language class community.

It was evident that when teachers used several occasions to co-language in the classroom and translate from Hungarian (L2) to English (L1), English (L1) speakers learning Hungarian (L2) seemed not to make any effort to listen to the Hungarian (L2) language. It easily became a habit of the teachers to repeat the communication in English (L1); therefore, L1 dominant students easily became uninterested in the L2. They already knew that they would hear the "translation" of what was being said (English (L1) equivalent), so they easily lost their interest and focus in listening and later learning Hungarian (L2) as a heritage language.

The analysed data coincided with previous findings on the field (Jones, 1991; Wong Fillmore, 1991; Hickey, 2001; Lowman *et al.*, 2007; Llurda, Cots & Armengol, 2013; Andersen, 2016, 2017; Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020) and further verified that through translanguaging acts students acquire the additional languages as they bridge existing lexical gaps between their L1 and L2.

The analysed data further suggested five reasons why teachers felt motivated to use the teacher-led translanguaging phenomenon in the early childhood emergent bilingual classrooms; (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 honour and develop bi-, and multicultural identities through the translanguaging act; (4) to provide social and emotional support to comfort emergent bilinguals; and (5) to capture students attention or correct unwanted behaviour (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

Additionally, the examples revealed how the attitudes of the three pedagogues encouraged language learners' translanguaging acts to tackle occurring language gaps in

their conversations. They were not only two-way interpreters (they insured the accurate and complete flow of communication) and clarifiers (they ensured resolution of any confusion or miscommunication due to the syntax and vocabulary usage of the speaker); but also they were cultural brokers or mediators between cultures (they shared and exchanged cultural information to ensure clear communication between speakers). They enabled emergent bilinguals to experience the benefits of their bi-, and multicultural identities as they promoted the teaching of the heritage language (Verspoor, 2017). Their role required extremely high tolerance for differences, understanding for the relativity of values (no culture's values are better or worse than others), and expertise in cultural knowledge and language proficiency.

Translanguaging for Gaining Intercultural Competence

Through language people get to know one another, such as, their different attitudes, behaviours, values, beliefs, worldviews, customs, traditions, lifestyles, arts, music, achievements, etc. (Byram, Gribkova, & Starkey, 2002). As Li Wei previously stated, language and culture are so intimately related in the sense that the latter is part of the former, that "a particular language is the mirror of a particular culture" (Wei, 2005: 56). In this sense, bi-, and multilingual learners are not only exposed to learning the target language, but also the culture of the target language (Csillik, 2019b). However, it is a simultaneous, long-lasting process, in which acquiring cultural competence goes beyond reaching language proficiency (Nieto, 2010; Liddicoat *et al.*, 2003; Kramsch, 2006; Byram *et al.*, 2002; Byram *et al.*, 2017). In the process of gaining intercultural competence, bi-, and multilingual learners sooner or later may find out that cultural terms are unique and differ language to language.

The importance of language and culture learning is tremendous in today's diverse educational settings around the world. The earlier language and culture learning starts in a diverse society, the better it is for its citizens. Therefore, it is especially crucial in early childhood classrooms where young learners' cognitive and social-emotional development is in the centre of attention (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010) to address this need. Gaining intercultural competence while being in the process of identity formation, young children are influenced very early on in bi-, and multilingual/ bi-, and multicultural settings to shape their unique bi-, or multicultural identity.

Young children naturally bond with one another, constantly learn from one another, and communicate freely with one another in the classroom regardless of their

cultural, ethnic, or religious backgrounds. Enabling young language learners to engage in social and interactive learning opportunities (e.g. play) allows them to explore more about themselves (who they are; what values, traditions, attitudes, etc. they have; who they want to become), more about others (who the rest of the class are; what customs, traditions, values, attitudes, etc. others represent; how different these portrayed customs, traditions, values, attitudes, etc. are compared to the ones they already know and have), and more about the world of today (Berk, 2013). They build stronger awareness, acceptance, and tolerance of the self, of other people, of other countries, and of other cultures.

The translanguaging act enables participants from different backgrounds to gain and express intercultural competence, such as, (1) be aware of one's world view, (2) develop positive attitudes towards cultural differences, and (3) gain knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews (Byram *et al*., 2002). Katan (2012) classified six categories where language learners could find lexemes that are ambivalent, or do not exist in other cultures. These categories contain differences in (1) environment (e.g. physical environment, ideological environment, space, climate, time, clothing, and food), (2) behaviour (e.g. way of greeting, eye-contact, personal space, habits), (3) communication (e.g. intonation, tone/pitch of voice, non-verbal communication), (4) values, (5) beliefs (e.g. proverbs), and (6) identity.

Translanguaging practices promote the acceptance of diversity and differences; therefore, it ensures inclusion of all participants in classroom activities (Li, 2011). In the case of first-generation immigrant students who are transitioning from one culture to another in a very short period of time, Éva Csillik and Irina Golubeva recommended introducing translanguaging practices as early as possible since these students could easily find a close link in the new environment to the "home" that was left behind and missed tremendously in the first couple of months upon arriving to the new society. It is considerably comforting at first since they might face a 'cultural shock' upon arrival (Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Csillik, 2019b; Csillik & Golubeva, 2019b; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020; Csillik & Golubeva, 2020 in press).

I selected the following examples to highlight how the translanguaging act made young learners learn about diversity, how it broadened their horizons, increased their tendency of acceptance and tolerance, and how through translanguaging they acquired sensitivity to talk and interact with different people from different cultures when they viewed the world with a different lens. The following example (see Extract 12) shows how teachers helped to fill up the cultural gap of their students.

Extract 12: *Making a porcupine from apples and spaghetti* (January 20, 2018)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (S)	**Lina:** Nézd, nézd. Disznó, ez disznó! {Look, look. Pig, it's a pig!}	Representational (convey info)
Request (S)	**Evelyn:** Az mi? {What's that?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Request/ Response (T)	**Alma:** Hallottad mit mondott? Azt mondta, "Az mi?" {Did you hear what she said? She said, "Az mi?"}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)/ Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Ilona:** Az egy sündisznó, aminek nagy a tüskéje. {That is a porcupine that has huge quills.}	Representational (inform)
Response/ Response (T)	**Alma:** Ez egy *porcupine*. Ez egy amerikai fajta sündisznó amelyiknek ilyen nagy a… {This is a porcupine. It's an American type of porcupine that has a huge…}	Representational (inform)
Response (T)	**Ilona:** Tüskéje van neki. Nagyon ügyesek vagytok ma. {It has quills. You are so good today.}	Representational (affirm information)
Response (S)	**Gina:** *Spaghetti. Spaghetti.*	Representational (inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

Since the animal children were making to play with was very different in the Hungarian and American culture, emergent bilinguals in the Pre-Kindergarten class had to bridge this gap. The animal in question was referred to as ʽsündisznó' in Hungarian, but "porcupine" in English which means ʽtarajos sül' in Hungarian. Porcupines and hedgehogs are prickly mammals and they are often easily confusable because they both have sharp, needle-like quills covering their body. However, that's the only similarity between the two animals. The confusion between these two occurs due to the differences in their physical features and their living habitat. The cultural gap occurred because Hungarian (L1) children might have never seen a porcupine since only hedgehogs live in Hungary, but the English (L1) children might have seen both animals before, but were unaware that porcupines do not live in the territory of Hungary. Alma and Ilona helped the students to bridge this cultural gap by using the strategy of explication. They described where the animal lives and how it looks like (e.g. {That is a porcupine that has huge quills.}, {This is a porcupine. It's a kind of American porcupine who has a huge…}). One of the teachers, Alma, also came across a lexical gap not knowing the Hungarian equivalent of ‟quill". The other teacher, Ilona, came to the rescue when she bridged the language gap by offering the Hungarian word, ʽtüske', as a linguistic borrowing (e.g. Tüskéje van neki. {It has quills.}). The teachers used the dynamic translanguaging

pedagogy when they honoured students' different languages, cultures, and identities as they constantly participated in translanguaging acts in the classroom. At the end, Gina made connection to the spaghetti that was used to make the quill of the porcupine by using a translanguaging act. The collected data suggests that within groups of young and very young learners (like Gina is) in diverse contexts, translanguaging occurs as insertions of single words of another language into sentences, depending on the level of the language competency of the L1 and L2 the learner possesses.

The next example (see Extract 13) shows that the teachers not only celebrated the students' various languages, but also their various cultural backgrounds.

Extract 13: *Free drawing and colouring* (May 13, 2017)

Form (Bloom & Egan-Robertson, 1993)	**Translanguaging Speech Event**	**Function (Halliday, 1975)**
Initiation (S)	**Enzo:** Az egyik *cousin*-nak volt egy... {One cousin had a ...}	Representational (convey info)
Response (T)	**Janka:** Unokatestvér. {Cousin.}	Representational (information)
Response/ Response/ Response (S)	**Enzo:** 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 inside and you need to hit it with a stick. There are people's favourite cartoons and if you hit it, sweets and toys fall out.}	Representational/ Representational/ Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Janka:** Mi a neve ennek a játéknak? {How do we call this game?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (T)	**Enzo:** *Piñata*.	Representational (inform)
Request (T)	**Janka:** És mikor kapjuk a *piñatá*-t? {And when do we get the piñata?}	Heuristic (acquire knowledge)
Response (S)	**Enzo:** Május harmadikán volt a testvérem születésnapja. {May 3rd was my sister's birthday.}	Representational (inform)

Source: Own elaboration.

Extract 13 shows how Janka, the teacher, used the Spanish word 'piñata' to honour the students', Emilio and Ivette's, Spanish speaking language background and Mexican cultural identity in the Kindergarten class. Janka, the teacher, initiated a translanguaging space by further talking about the 'piñata' in the following sentence, "'És mikor kapjuk a piñatát? {And when do we get the piñata?}". Both emergent multilingual students felt safe and ready to open up about their daily life and feelings by sharing how they usually

celebrate their birthdays. 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. In this case translanguaging created an environment for anti-bias education (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010), where children's cultural identity and diverse languages were respected, valued, and highly appreciated in the multilingual and multicultural class.

Meanwhile, language speakers might be able to come up with strategies on their own to remedy lexical gaps during communication as we have seen it before (see Extract 8), finding solutions for cultural gaps is a more complex and slow process that often requires help from someone else, who is more familiar with the cultural differences behind both languages, and who can function as an intercultural mediator. The analysed data further shows how the translanguaging phenomena provided young emergent bilingual children various opportunities to develop intercultural competences while exploring other cultures, traditions, customs, beliefs, and worldviews represented in the two early childhood emergent bilingual classrooms. When language learners are very young, they are unable to understand the cultural differences and shifts. It is also difficult for them to face the cultural adaptation challenges; therefore, they heavily rely on their parents and teachers to help them bridge the cultural gaps they encounter. As in recent years, the number of young children who are enrolled in bilingual/bicultural and/or multilingual/multicultural educational settings around the world increased, the number of young learners who are exposed to developing bicultural/multicultural identities are also increased in parallel (Csillik, 2019b). When this happens, young children not only learn to cooperate and communicate with one another effectively by using all their linguistic repertoires, but also they develop intercultural competence that helps them notice, understand, and adapt to various cultures at the same time as they form their cultural identity.

Outcomes

After analysing the collected and transcribed data in the first phase of my analysis, I understood the various forms and functions of the translanguaging acts used in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA). The benefit of using these translanguaging acts in these bi-, and multilingual heritage language educational settings

was to enable young emergent bi-, and multilingual students and their teachers to make meaning rapidly accessible, to bridge existing language gaps smoothly between the Hungarian (L2) and English (L1) language, and to gain intercultural competence successfully.

I further determine from the analysed data that heritage language maintenance was not at risk in regards to the fact that translanguaging spaces were created in this heritage language school. The exact contrary was proven. By providing more opportunities to include emergent bi-, and multilingual students' full language repertoires (English, Hungarian, Spanish, Chinese, etc.) in the early childhood classes, Hungarian as the heritage language together with additional languages (e.g. English, Spanish) were successfully maintained. This finding is essential to be shared with the community if indeed the community's ultimate goal is to foster additive bi-, and multilingualism parallel to preserve the Hungarian language in the ethnic community.

Emergent bilingual students with low-incidence home languages (e.g. Hungarian) have no voices in the English-dominant programs (Csillik, 2019b). Therefore, translanguaging practices in complementary heritage language schools (e.g. AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School) provide an opportunity to (1) liberate these children's marginalized voices, (2) to maintain their heritage language(s) by selecting language features from their unique language repertoires with the purpose to meet their communicative needs, (3) to participate in the immediate activity of the classroom through their background knowledge and prior experience, and ultimately (4) to increase their ownership over multiple languages by utilizing their ability to judge suitability of the platform of their communication.

Translanguaging practices included all the previously established and newly acquired language practices of emergent bi-, and multilinguals; it helped new language practices to develop, old language practices to be sustained; it brought richer learning opportunities, knowledge, imagination, innovation, and the freedom of choice as in the dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al.*, 2007; Jessner, 2008a; Verspoor, 2017). I argue that translanguaging afforded opportunities in the heritage language school to learn more languages, learn more about languages, and learn the heritage language through other languages. These findings confirmed my previous hypothesis and provided answers to RQ#1.

RQ#2: Teachers' Perceptions and Attitudes of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

The objective of the second phase of data analysis, that occurred after each data collection phase, was first to understand the teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards translanguaging and then towards bi-, and multilingualism in general in the ethnic community of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA). The primary data sources for this phase included 1) post-observation teacher reflections, and 2) in-depth interviews with participating teachers and administrators. Fundamentally, I was seeking to know the attitudes and perceptions of the teachers and administrators about language choices made in the heritage language early childhood classrooms through the following questions:

1. What are the teachers' perceptions and attitudes in general about allowing the students' different languages into the heritage language classrooms?
2. What are some of the challenges that the teachers and the school community face in allowing the usage of different languages in the Hungarian heritage language classes?
3. How do the teachers meet the occurring challenges, if any?

To operationalize my understanding of teachers' perceptions and attitudes, I used Gee's (2011) methods of discourse analysis to understand how individuals register important practices, social relationships, identities, and social goods within their conversations. This method helped me achieve an understanding of teachers' perceptions of language use in the class community, and how these class communities shaped the language use of the larger school community.

In my analysis, I attended to exhibit conversation features from the following discourses. For example, (1) larger discussions in the classroom or in the school community in which the teachers participated in; (2) conversations between co-teachers that they percieved as valuable in their classes and in the school community; (3) social languages or socially constructed features within language that was particular to their classrooms and the school community. This discourse analysis helped to establish a "conceptual guide" for understanding the relationship between the translanguaging phenomenon and the context (Corbin & Strauss, 2015: 102) by drawing attention to how teachers viewed their contexts for translanguaging, what types of instruction they valued in their classrooms, what relationships they had with their students and co-teachers, and what goals they had for future instruction in the class. The goal of this section is to present

examples of teachers' discourses that reflect the perceptions on the translanguaging phenomena in the different classrooms.

Based on my prolonged engagement and prior analysis of the translanguaging acts in each classroom, I present the findings from previously introduced examples (see previous section) to illustrate the teachers' common practices in each of the classrooms. My main goal is to show the different attitudes and perceptions towards translanguaging and towards bi-, and multilingualism in general. It was found that teachers' purpose of code-switching from Hungarian (L1) to English (L2) was (1) to gain student's attention, (2) to ensure understanding, and (3) to prevent boredom in the class. Once attention was caught, the teachers switched back to the target language. The following examples show the devided approaches not only between classromms, but also between teachers in the same classroom.

Extract 8 shows a positive attitude in the Kindergarten class. Ilona used English (the student's L1) when initiated a conversation with Erika, the student, about what she was doing at the moment. Regardless that Erika answered in Hungarian (L2), this example shows a positive perspective on code-switching in the classroom.

Extract 13 also showed a welcoming, positive point of view of another teacher, Janka, in the Kindergarten class. After the student introduced the Spanish word,'piñata', in the conversation, Janka borrowed this new word and continued the conversation by embedding this new word, 'piñata', in the conversation. She also added a Hungarian suffix to the word. This example showed her metalinguistic awareness and how she broadened her linguistic repertoire. The teacher's linguistic expertise extended beyond a simple binary of "knowing" or "not knowing" Spanish as an additional language. At first, she was challenged when she could not offer the students the vocabulary in Spanish; however, she grabbed the opportunity to learn from the translanguaging student and increased her own linguistic competency.

For these Kindergarten teachers, using languages other than Hungarian (e.g. English, Spanish) in the heritage language classroom was an opportunity to learn more about their students, their students' backgrounds, their students' language repertoires, and more about themselves and their very own language repertoires. Recognizing and then leveraging competencies in languages other than Hungarian was part of a mutual engagement in class conversation. These teachers' showed exemplary open-minded attitudes towards translanguaging in these heritage language classrooms that other fellow-pedagogues could observe, learn from, and eventually follow in their own practices and

classes. They recognised the expertise in students that otherwise was excluded in the heritage community where the accepted pedagogy is to encourage student participation along monolingual norms. They viewed students as capable language users not as limited language learners. They structured opportunities for them to demonstrate their linguistic capabilities, and as a result, they then were able to teach them new features from the Hungarian heritage language. They wanted emergent bilinguals to experience language practices as something natural, mirrorring the pedagogy that bi-, and multilingualism in the 21st century calls for (García, 2009: 309). This coincided with Palviainen *et al.*'s (2016) findings.

I also found that some teachers had a very different perception towards the translanguaging phenomena then the teachers mentioned above. Extract 11 was a great example to show one of the teacher's negative attitudes in the Pre-Kindergarten class. Here, Alma insisted on using the Hungarian language with a child, who was a newcomer, therefore she had no basic Hungarian knowledge (e.g. directions and instructions in Hungarian). The child repeated Alma's last words in Hungarian, but was unable to make meaning of what was being asked from her, or instructed her to do. As a result, she was unable to participate further in the conversation and she switched back to her primary language, English (L1). The teacher's negative attitude towards switching codes in the classroom not only transmitted an unwelcoming atmosphere, broke down the student's motivation and interest, but also discouraged the newcomer student to participate and listen to what was going on in the class.

On the other hand, Figure 6 was another example from the Pre-Kindergarten class where I noticed the opposite attitude of Alma's. Her co-worker, Edit, had a positive attitude in the same class. Edit used English (L1) with the children several times encouraging them to talk freely. She eventually ended up co-languaging to introduce the Hungarian (L2) language in the conversation. Her goal was to expose emergent bilinguals to the target language. In this class the two teachers' attitudes and perceptions towards the potentials of translanguaging differed. The teacher in the second example used translanguaging as a means to engage students with limited proficiency in Hungarian in the conversation and described using languages other than Hungarian as a means to students' metalinguistic awareness. Edit reported that she had never been directed by administrators in the school to follow the Hungarian-only policy in the classroom and she felt that she had the opportunity to support all language learners by allowing them to use whatever language they chose in the moment in order to let them participate in class.

These examples highlighted how teacher's perceptions and attitudes could afford or constrain the development of the translanguaging space in the classroom.

Extract 1 showed another important factor in the creation of the translanguaging space in heritage language classes, the students' attitudes and perceptions. Emma, the student, in Extract 1 also insisted on the usage of Hungarian-only in the heritage language classroom. Her attitude might have come from two sources. First, the student might have been directed in the home about the purpose of attending the heritage language school (to practice the Hungarian language with Hungarian descendent peers and other members of the Hungarian ethnic community). Second, the school itself might have reinforced the usage of the Hungarian language (teachers repeatedly instructed and reminded the students to the monolingual, Hungarian-only view). Alma, for instance, continuously reminded the students and Edit to speak in Hungarian while being in class and in the heritage language school.

The analysis of the post-observation teacher reflections and the in-depth teacher interviews in the Kindergarten class revealed that the teachers indeed had a positive attitude towards welcoming different languages in the heritage language classroom. What made this class successful in implementing translanguaging pedagogies was not just the teachers' ability to welcome, but their willingness to collaborate with students when they supported to introduce translanguaging pedagogies. They were open to learn more about the primary language(s) of the children and what these languages could or could not accomplish in their classroom. Rather than seeing this as a limit to students' meaning-making potentials, these teachers (Ilona, Janka, and Kinga) reified translanguaging as a specialized tool with very specific affordances for promoting students' participation in class activities. On the contrary, teachers in the Kindergarten class found it challenging to implement the translanguaging pedagogy wittingly by planning in advance when to use it during instruction. Their translanguaging practices mostly derived from improvisations that occurred in the heat of the moment. They code-switched or co-languaged when no other strategy worked.

The analysis of the post-observation teacher reflections and the in-depth teacher interviews in the Pre-Kindergarten class revealed that the teachers had different perceptions and attitudes from one another towards translanguaging. Meanwhile, both teachers (Alma and Edit) saw translanguaging as a way to engage emergent bilingual students in specific activities, Edit had a positive, but Alma had a negative attitude towards the translanguaging phenomena in their heritage language class.

For Edit, who showed a positive attitude towards translanguaging, it was challenging to implement a curriculum that encouraged students to translanguage in the heritage language class when she was constantly reminded and "micro-managed" by Alma, who had a negative attitude towards introducing languages other than Hungarian in their class, to sustain the usage of the Hungarian language. Edit felt that the translanguaging act aroused the interest of the new-comer students to learn the Hungarian language. She felt that they participated more in class activities as they transferred their English (L1) knowledge in the process of acquiring the Hungarian (L2/L3) language. Therefore, she encouraged children to speak their L2 (English) in class.

Meanwhile, Alma believed in the monolingual view and encouraged the "Hungarian-only" rule in class, putting aside the linguistic needs of her audience. She considered her mission to focus solely on the Hungarian heritage language and culture teaching in the classroom. She followed through with prioratizing the school's policy of Hungarian heritage language preservation and maintenance making the students' needs secondary. She left the cultivation of the childrens' languages behind in the classroom.

It was difficult for both teachers to collaborate in the classroom with one another if they could not find a common ground in their attitudes and perceptions towards the pedagogy of language teaching and learning in general. Regardless of Alma's discarding attitude towards the translanguaging pedagogy, she was still forced to use co-languaging in the class because she shortly realized that there was no other strategy that worked with the linguistically diverse student body they had in their class. However, instead of positioning student language repertoires as markers of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977), she rather viewed this situation as the failure of the monolingual, Hungarian-only, norm. She focused on the linguistic deficiency of the students instead of counting on their languages as a positive resource. Both teachers agreed that attention, visuals, body language, and gestures were important factors in managing conversations in the class and in ensuring students understanding of different tasks. Moreover, they both discussed how their different views afforded and constrained the development of the translanguaging pedagogy in the classroom that further led them to facing the challenges they encountered.

A major theme that emerged from teacher's discourses was the way that teacher perceptions and attitudes towards the translanguaging pedagogy in the classroom community was related to the perception and attitudes in the larger school community. This larger community of practice was indexed in teachers' discourse through teachers' descriptions of their relationships with other teachers, and their descriptions of school-

wide curricular initiatives. All teachers discussed how these micro and macro communities at the teacher, peer-teacher, and school level afforded and constrained the introduction of a common language pedagogy in the classrooms.

Administrators revealed through the in-depth interviews that the Hungarian ethnic community has drastically changed since the school opened its doors in the 1960s. In the beginnings, the majority of the students who attended the school knew Hungarian, but not well-enough to attend the meetings of the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris. Their parents taught them the Hungarian language since Hungarian was the only language they used in the home. Therefore, at that time, the schools' mission was to maintain the heritage language by improving the Hungarian linguistic deficiencies of the members of the Scouts Association. They practiced Hungarian reading and writing with voluntary teachers and other peers in the school.

Today, the situation has changed and the school's mission is completely different from the beginnings. Administrators explained that Hungarian descendent families, who enroll their child(ren) in the school today, expect the school to teach the Hungarian language to their child(ren) for the first time. Many parents have no interest, motivation, time to teacher their children the Hungarian language in the home. Due to their choice of establishing mixed-marriages and their busy life style, Hungarian language teaching in the home is increasingly limited. In most cases, the family chooses English (mainstream language) as their channel of communication in the household and uses little or no Hungarian at all in the home. Parents from the new immigration waves see the school as the primary institution to provide the Hungarian heritage language education. Recently, the school itself is started to be seen as a service to provide Heritage language teaching, rather than a community to practice the heritage language, as it used to be. The different viewpoint on the goals and function of the Hungarian school are equally challenging for school administrators and teachers, as well as for parents too.

Outcomes

It is evident that over 60 years, since the school has opened its doors, a lot has changed. My findings suggest that it is time for a comprehensive change in the heritage language community. Accepting new ideas and viewpoints, implementing new policies and regulations with special attention to the needs of the young members currently enrolled in this heritage language community is the only solution to create a more cohesive

minority ethnic community in the Big Apple to ultimately preserve the Hungarian heritage language and culture. The future of the youngest generation of Hungarian descendents depends on the decisions we make today. For them to become successful citizens anywhere in today's globalized world heavily depends on the attitudes and perceptions of today's school administrators and teachers and their parents. Fostering their education can only be achieved with the joint collaboration of school officials and parents that should start with mutual respect, acceptance, tolerance, empathy, and unity. Collective unity in the mindset of the Hungarian ethnic community living in the New York metropolitan area in the United States. As Helen Keller once said, "Alone we can do so little; together we can do so much."

My findings suggest that this community could benefit from the introduction of the translanguaging pedagogy. School administrators and teachers could benefit from the usege of the translanguaging pedagogy in the early childhood classrooms due to the increased number of newcomers who do not know a word of Hungarian. Through offering professional development series and training sessions for teachers to leverage the various challenges this school community is currently facing. My findings suggest that despite the community's efforts of constraining translanguaging by limiting the language choices in the classroom and in the wider school community, today's reality proves that insisting on the usage of the Hungarian-only policy as the basics of their pedagogy is rather an out-dated utopist theory in today's complex societies as the United States is.

One way of preparing teachers to meet the existing challenges in their classrooms and in the larger school community could be to design a comprehensible translanguaging pedagogy that would complement the existing curriculum in the school, but would include the linguistic realities and goals of the students in this ethnic community. My recommendations for alleviating the current challenges would be to implement integrated classes in the school community with collaborating teacher teams. One teacher could be assigned as the responsible person for curriculum instruction in the classroom, while the other teacher could be assigned as a language specialist responsible for the Hungarian as a foreign language acquisition in the class.

Evidence from teachers' discourses showed the conflicting views that teachers had about the learners' different languages and the heritage language. I argue that one way of enacting a non-deficit view of emergent bilingual learners in the classroom is through teachers explicitly taking up the position of learners and collaborators within the classroom. When students can take up the role of a teacher, when they can challenge one

another's language choices, when they can show expertise of content in languages other than their primary language; teachers could do the same. They could demonstrate their full range of linguistic expertise and the value associated with it. My recommendations is to change the schools' perception of the Hungarian-only policy to a bi-, or multilingual policy that particularly focuses on the Hungarian as a foreign language instruction, rather than Hungarian as a heritage language instruction. This change in the mindset of the administrators and school personnel could solve the existing dilemma of different views, attitudes, and perceptions in this school community. It would take time to achieve the desired change and align this change with of the objectives of the heritage community.

Above, I described my findings about the teachers' and administrators' attitudes and perceptions of the translanguaging phenomena. Furthermore, I presented sample of examples I have collected during the data analysis phase. I also indicated some of my recommendations on how administrators and teachers of this school could reduce the occurring challenges they face these days. Now, I describe my findings about the parents' attitudes and perceptions of bi-, and multilingualism in the home and in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City. These findings confirmed my previous hypothesis and provided answers to RQ#2.

RQ#3: Parents' Attitudes and Perceptions of Bi-, and Multilingualism in the Home and in the Hungarian Ethnic Community in New York City

The objective of this third phase of analysis was to understand the parents' perceptions and attitudes of bi-, and multilingualism in the home and in the wider Hungarian ethnic community in the host society. The primary data sources for this phase included (1) questionnaires with parents, (2) in-depth interviews with participating teachers and two administrators. Essentially, I wanted to understand the attitudes and perceptions of the parents about the language choices used in the homes possibly affecting the children's language choices in the heritage language classrooms and in their wider ethnic community. I was seeking answers to the following questions. What are the parents' perceptions and attitudes in general about their children learning different languages, about maintaining their heritage language in the home, in the school, and in the mainstream society? I was also looking to explore some of the challenges emergent bi-, and multilingual children face in the AraNy János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) and in the host society; and overall how they face these challenges.

Below, I describe my findings about the parents' attitudes and perceptions towards language learning in general and towards the Hungarian language preservation and maintenance in the home, in the Hungarian ethnic community, and in the American mainstream society (see Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). The first part of the parent questionnaire (Language Usage in the Family) revealed that, according to the parents, all 17 children understood and spoke English (as L1), 16 children understood Hungarian (as L2/L3), one child understood Chinese (as L3), and three of them also understood Spanish (as L2/L3). In general, 14 children out of the 17 children, who spoke English as their L1, also spoke Hungarian (L2/L3) and two of them further spoke Spanish (L2/L3) as well. Ten students were able to read and write in English (L1), seven students in Hungarian (L2/L3), and one child also in Spanish (L2/L3).

Twelve out of 17 parents indicated that the family spoke English (L1) at home most of the time. Twelve parents claimed they spoke English (L2) to their spouses most of the time, while five of them claimed they spoke Hungarian (L1) as well. Two parents indicated they spoke some Spanish (L3) to their spouses. Only five parents indicated they spoke English (L2) to their children most of the time and twelve parents claimed they spoke Hungarian (L1) to their children most of the time. One parent further indicated speaking Spanish (L3) most of the time to their children.

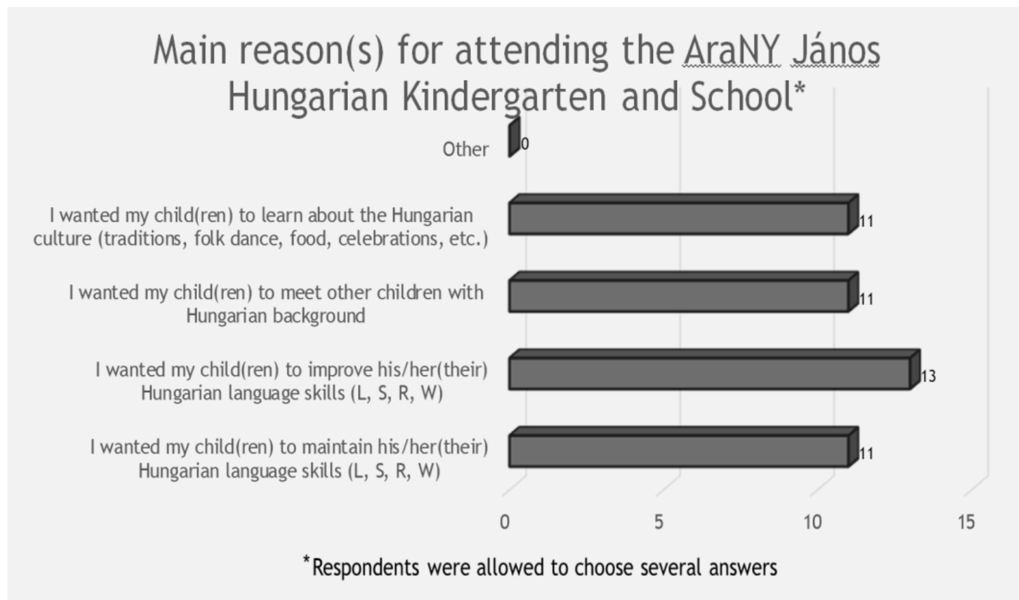
On the other hand, parents indicated that ten children spoke English (L1) to them and to their siblings most of the time, three parents indicated their child spoke Hungarian (L2/L3) to siblings, and one parent indicated that Spanish (L2/L3) was also a common language between the siblings in the family. Five parents indicated their child spoke English (L1) to grandparents, and 11 parents indicated Hungarian (L2) and one parent claimed Spanish (L2/L3) as the language chosen by their children when communicating with grandparents. Four parents reported grandparents speaking English (L1/L2) to their grandchildren, 12 parents reported Hungarian (L1), and two of them reported Spanish (L1). All 17 parents reported English (L1) as their child's language choice in the mainstream school and a language choice with friends. Five parents reported Hungarian (L2/L3) and one parent claimed Spanish (L2/L3) as the language choice of their children with friends. The language of extended family was reported as English (L1/L2) by nine parents, Hungarian (L2/L3) by 13 parents, and Spanish (L2/L3) by one parent. In the responses above, parents were able to mark all that applied to their family; therefore, some parents checked multiple answers for the same question.

The second part of the parent questionnaire (Educational Information on your Child(ren)) revealed that for ten families this was not the first time that their child(ren) attended the school; however, eight of them indicated it was their child's first time. Out of the ten children who previously attended the school, one child attended for five years, another child was enrolled for four years, four of them for three years, and also four of them in the past two years. All 17 children were enrolled in daycare (e.g. HeadStart) or in pre-school at the same time in the mainstream society where instruction was conducted in English (L1). None of the children attended education in another country.

The third part of the questionnaire (Attitudes towards Bi-, and Multilingualism and the Hungraian Language) revealed the most common reasons why parents decided to enroll their child(ren) in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) (see Figure 1). Furthermore, this part revealed why it was important for parents that their child(ren) learned the Hungarian language (see Figure 2). It also revealed what parents did to encourage the Hungarian language in the home and outside of the home (see Figures 3 and 4). Moreover, it showed what parents thought about improving the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) and what challenges they faced in order to maintain the Hungarian language in their family (see Figure 5). Last, it suggested what plans parents had to maintain the Hungarian language in New York City, and how they felt about their chid(ren) becoming bi-, and multilingual learners. I present my findings through sample examples I have collected during the process of data analysis.

The chart in Figure 1 indicates parents' responses to Question 1.

Figure 1: Main Reasons for attending the AraNY János Kindergarten and School



Source: Own elaboration.

The main reason why parents enrolled their child(ren) in the Hungarian heritage language school was because they wanted their child(ren) to improve their Hungarian language skills (Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing). All the other reasons were equally important to parents, such as, learning about the Hungarian culture (traditions, folk dance, food, celebrations, etc.), meeting other Hungarian descendent peers, and maintaining their current Hungarian language skills.

Figure 2: Importance of Learning the Hungarian language

Category	Responses
It is (very) important for me…	"that my child get to know the roots we have, to be able to communicate with grandparents and Hungarian relatives."
	"that my child get to know where we are from."
	"because me, my parents and my sibling are Hungarians."
	"because I am Hungarian and I raise my child as Hungarian. He/She only understands me completely if I pass my mother tongue and my culture on."
	"to learn the Hungarian language so she/he can communicate with grandparents and other family members who do not know English."
	"because we feel ourselves Hungarians (mom and dad), our relatives live in Hungary and speak Hungarian (nobody speaks English)."

Source: Own elaboration.

Question 2 revealed why it was important for parents that their child(ren) learn the Hungarian language (see Figure 2). The chart in Figure 2 indicates that it was important for parents that their child(ren) learned Hungarian for many reasons. Some parents found it important that their child(ren) got to know their roots where they came from. Some wanted them to be able to communicate with grandparents and extended family members living in Hungary (aunt, uncle, cousins, other family members). Furthermore, some wished their child(ren) to understand the parents' and grandparents' mother tongue and culture to fully understand one another and where they came from. Some wished to communicate to their child(ren) in their mother tongue believing that child(ren) could only understand their parents completely if they knew the parents' mother tongue and culture; while some wanted to pass on their strong feelings of what it means to be Hungarian in the world.

The answers for Question 3 reported what parents did to encourage their child(ren) to use the Hungarian language in the home (see Figure 3). The most popular activity to encourage the Hungarian language usage in the home was reading stories in Hungarian. Thirteen parents chose this option.

Figure 3: Ways of Encouraging the Usage of the Hungarian Language in the Home

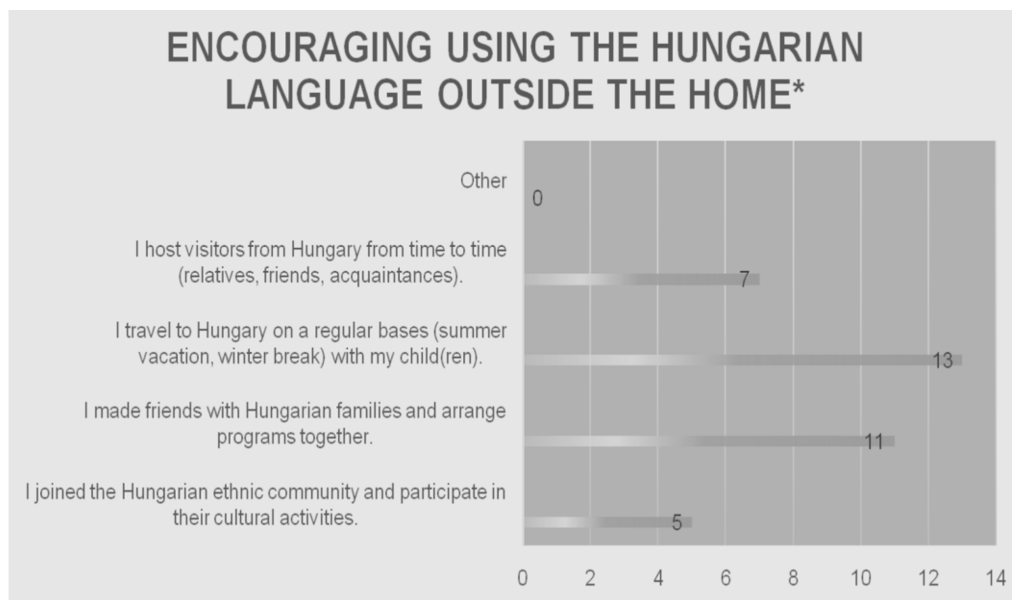
Source: Own elaboration.

Twelve parents claimed that they followed the Hungarian-only policy in the home and they solely spoke Hungarian to their child(ren). They expected their child(ren) to also solely answer them in Hungarian. Furthermore, eleven parents let their child(ren) play Hungarian language games and use Hungarian applications on cell phones and tablets.

Ten parents reported to let their child(ren) watch Hungarian television channels or movies. Also, ten parents reported to sing Hungarian songs and chant Hungarian riddles in the home. Only one third of the responders claimed that they arranged playdates with Hungarian peers from the Hungarian ethnic community. Moreover, only 1/6 of the responders encouraged their child(ren) to use Hungarian in another way (e.g. speak Hungarian words and phrases they knew to their children–in the case of a parent who is not Hungarian descendent–; hire a Hungarian speaking babysitter, or attend activities and events in the Hungarian ethnic community, etc.).

The answers for Question 4 reported what parents did to encourage their child(ren) to use the Hungarian language outside of their home (see Figure 4). The most popular activity to encourage the usage of the Hungarian language outside the home was to travel to Hungary on the regular basis (summer vacation, winter break, spring break, etc.). Eleven parents indicated that they made friends with other Hungarian descendent families living in the New York City metropolitan area, and they arranged free time activities together. Furthermore, seven parents indicated that they hosted visitors from Hungary on a regular basis (relatives, friends, acquaintances).

Figure 4: Ways of Encouraging the Use of the Hungarian Language Outside of the Home



Source: Own elaboration.

Last but not least, five parents reported that they joined the Hungarian ethnic community in the New York City metropolitan area to participate in Hungarian cultural activities and events.

The answers for Question 5 revealed that twelve parents were satisfied with the Hungarian heritage school's program, one parent was only partially satisfied because there was no group on the child's level and the school placed this child in a more advanced group. Hence, this parent indicated that the instruction was not meeting this child's needs. Four parents did not answer to this question.

The answer for Question 6 revealed parents' future expectations for the school. Parents indicated that they would liked to see changes in the educational policy of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA). Some wished to see a regular school program in Hungarian run from Monday to Friday during regular school hours. Some wished that the school administrators and teachers were more welcoming towards non-Hungarian speaking parents. Some preferred to see more focus on the Hungarian language itself instead of completing arts and crafts projects or including folk dance practices during regular instruction time. These parents would have rather liked a maximized Hungarian language teaching instruction during school hours. Overall, parents' feedback concluded that they wished to see more focus on the Hungarian language teaching rather than on cultural programming, celebrations, and shows.

The answer for Question 7 revealed parents' perception on the greatest challenges in maintaining the Hungarian language in the home and in New York City (USA) (see Figure 5).

Figure 5: The Greatest Challenge(s) in Maintaining the Hungarian Language in the Home

Category	Responses
The greatest challenge(s) I face in order to maintain the Hungarian language in the family…	"Everyone speaks English around me."
	"My level of Hungarian speaking."
	"My child will go to English school full-time next year and will hear more English than Hungarian."
	"My children speak English amongst themselves."
	"Hungarian is not my native language."
	"Finding opportunities to practice speaking Hungarian with other native speakers."
	"The American society is against the Hungarian language and bilingualism in general. They want to assimilate everyone. The school is expensive and it is challenging to convince my American spouse to pay for it."
	"Using Hungarian in the house with a non-Hungarian spouse."
	"Since my child spends most of his/her time in an English speaking school, he/she does not want to speak Hungarian at home in the every days."

Source: Own elaboration.

Some parents found it difficult to maintain the Hungarian language in the home because

English was the family's chosen language in the home, amongst family members, and in the wider society of New York City. Some parents also found it difficult to find Hungarian descendent acquaintances who speak Hungarian in the New York City metropolitan area. Some further found it challenging that they were not Hungarian (L1) descendent speakers and they found it also difficult to learn the Hungarian language.

Question 8 revealed the parents' plans to maintain the Hungarian heritage language in the family in the future. Some responded that they wished to spend more time watching Hungarian shows and movies on television, or read books in Hungarian. Some parents thought of spending more time on teaching the Hungarian language in the home. Some wished to strictly use the Hungarian-only policy in the future with their child(ren). One parent participant considered to hire a Hungarian speaking babysitter, and one parent even considered to eventually move back to Hungary. All participants indicated to visit Hungary more often and spend more time with relatives in the future.

Answers for Question 9 indicated that all 17 parents had a positive attitude and perception towards raising a bi-, and multilingual child in New York City. They expressed the importance of bi-, and multilingualism in today's society and they further disclosed their gratitude, proudness, and contentment of being able to raise a bi-, and multilingual child in the New York City metropolitan area.

Some of the interesting additional information I gained from the Parent Demographic Data Form attached to the parent questionnaires are the followings. Nine male and eight female parents returned the questionnaires. The age of the participants was as follows. Three participants (two female+one male) were between 30-39 years old, 14 (six females, seven males, one unspecified) parents were between 40-49 years old. The first language (L1) of the participants were as follows. 13 parents indicated Hungarian, three of them indicated English, and one parent had Spanish. As far as their second language (L2), two parents claimed Hungarian, 12 parents had English, one parent had Romanian, another one had Cantonese, and also one parent had Spanish. Furthermore, as a third language (L3) one parent indicated Hungarian, also one had French, another one had English, one more parent had German, and two parents had Spanish. Based on the responses, one participant was considered as a polyglot because this parent indicated French, English, Spanish, Latin, and Hebrew at the same time as L3s.

As I examined all the answers of the parents, I concluded my findings with the following statement. The majority of the Hungarian descendent families participating in the life of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA)

were bi-, or multilingual. Most parents spoke two languages the least, but there were families where either one or both parents spoke multiple languages (Mandarin, Spanish, Vietnamese, French, Russian, German, Romanian, Hebrew, etc.).

Therefore, I understood, that the children of these Hungarian descendent families came from families where language learning is highly valued and the transmit and maintenance of the Hungarian heritage language to their children (besides English and other languages) is encouraged and remarkably well-supported.

Outcomes

The participants perceived heritage language preservation and maintenance as an important goal regarding family communication, relationship building, participation in the heritage community, culture preservation, and better opportunities in the professional world. An important finding of this research is that the social and linguistic process of language shift is proven to be considerably slower than it was expected. It seems that various Hungarian subgroups in the heritage language community are still in operation and parents are still interested in participating in Hungarian social activities, events, and reunions.

Hungarian descendent parents wish to raise (a) bi-, and multilingual child(ren) in the New York City metropolitan area, who also know(s) the Hungarian heritage language. These parents wished their child(ren) carry on their family's Hungarian origins, traditions, culture, and language. However, they most likely prioratized the learning of the Hungarian language first over the Hungarian ethnic cultural programming (e.g. arts and crafts, folkdance, traditions). These outcomes confirmed my previous hypothesis and provided answers to RQ#3.

Concluding Thoughts

Emergent bi-, and multilinguals used their languages –separately or together‒for different purposes, in different domains of their life, and with different interlocutors. They were switching between being in total monolingual speech mode when they conversted with monolingual speakers. Then, they deactivated one language the best they could and only activated the language their monolingual interlocutor used. As well as, they were switching between being in the bilingual speech mode where they used all their linguistic

repertoires and skills as they used translanguaging with bi-, and multilingual interlocutors. This time, both or all of their languages remained activated.

The teachers' perceptions and attitudes of translanguaging, thereby bi-, and multilingualism, influenced the children's efforts towards Hungarian heritage language maintenance and preservation. Highlighting the existance of the Hungarian-only language policy, which urged the usage of "proper Hungarian" within the school space, this research revealed the contradictory objective of the parents and the school personnel in the Hungarian ethnic community. In addition, the research revealed that the ethnic and social identities of the voluntarily participating parents had an impact on their own language choices, but not necessarily on the language choices of their children. The Hungarian ethnic group's heritage language maintenance and preservation strategies contributed to an additive bi-, and multilingual environment in this Hungarian minority community living around New York City.

To conclude, I hope that the outcomes of this research will encourage other researchers and educators in the field to move beyond the binaries of monolingualism, bi-, and multilingualism, "Hungarian-only" and "proper Hungarian", proficient and deficient. There is a lot to do in this Hungarian ethnic community towards, (1) understanding the classroom mechanics of evolving translanguaging spaces, (2) considering a spectrum of translanguaging language users with varied language proficiencies and different linguistic resources as an additional virtue to language learning, (3) developing and implementing a translanguaging pedagogy in order to learn and make meaning of different contexts and contents in the translanguaging classrooms.

In this study, Hungarian, English, and Spanish were used by participating teachers and students as means to not only make sense of the language and the contexts, but also to participate in the classroom community. It is my hope that this study's focus on the forms and functions of translanguaging offers further opportunities for other classroom communities in mainstream societies, or in heritage language communities, to build upon the meaningful and valuable use of all available linguistic resources in today's superdiverse classrooms.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, CONTRIBUTIONS, REFLECTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter is a continuation of Chapter IV (Data Analysis and Results) where I analysed the collected data and presented the findings of the research. After a brief recapture of the essential theoretical and methodological starting points presented in Chapters I and II (Research Problem, Theoretical Framework and Literature Review) of this dissertation, I present how my research contribute to the understanding of the topic under discussion, and how my findings further contribute to the existing body of knowledge on the topic. I further explain the several ways how the outcomes of this research is important and relevant in today's field of research. Lastly, I provide a comprehensive summary of reflecting thoughts about this research and recommendations for further future research in the field of Bi-, and Multilingual/Bi-, and Multicultural Education. This leads to the final part of this dissertation; the conclusion.

Discussion

By recognizing multiple gaps in the literature, this research not only aimed to fill these gaps, but also to offer new meanings to the translanguaging phenomena in early childhood educational settings of heritage language schools in mainstream societies. With the goal of exploring some of the translanguaging practices students and teachers demonstrated in the diverse ethnic community of Hungarian descendent emergent bi-, and multilingual learners in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA), the research was guided by the following three research questions:

RQ#1 What are the forms and functions of translanguaging in Hungarian-centric emergent bilingual heritage language early childhood classes?

RQ#2 To what extent do teachers' attitudes and perceptions of translanguaging influence the language practices of emergent bilinguals in early childhood heritage language educational settings?

RQ#3 To what extent do parents' attitudes and perceptions of bi-, and multilingualism influence the language practices of emergent bilinguals in the home and in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City?

To find answers to the above-mentioned questions, I analysed the data collected over the course of two academic school years during free-play, in which translanguaging practices were introduced in one Kindergarten and one Pre-Kindergarten classes of the

AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) (see Chapter IV).

From this qualitative analysis of the translanguaging pedagogy in the two Hungarian-centric classrooms, this research provided important insights for understanding the translanguaging phenomena and its potentials in bi-, and multilingual heritage language classrooms. In the following section, I outline the contributions that this research made first to theories of translanguaging, and then, to bi-, and multilingual classroom practices. Last, I provide a summary of the findings contributing to the existing body of knowledge on the topic.

RQ#1: Forms and Functions of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

In line with the current discourse on translanguaging competence within the bi-, and multilingual heritage language classrooms (Szabó-Törpényi, 2010; Li Wei, 2011; Beer, 2013; García, Zakharia, & Otcu, 2013; Garrity, Aquino-Sterling, & Day, 2015; Andersen, 2016, 2017; Palviainen *et al*., 2016; Mary & Young, 2018; Tódor & Dégi, 2018; Velázquez, 2019), this research supported the use of multimodal and multilingual communication in early childhood educational settings.

The findings suggest that the different languages stay in the "game", as García (2013) expressed it, when young emergent bi-, and multilingual children communicate in groups during free-play. García's (2013) outline on translanguaging as a dynamic interplay of all speakers' languages was also suggested by the findings of this research. Furthermore, the findings proved Canagarajah's (2011b) notion that translanguaging is a naturally occurring phenomenon for multilingual students and it cannot be completely restrained by monolingual educational policies. It occurs even if there is minimal pedagogical effort from teachers.

The findings also suggested that Hungarian descendent emergent bi-, and multilingual students used translanguaging practices for three main reasons: (1) to make meaning, (2) to bridge existing cultural and language gaps, and (3) to gain intercultural competence. My findings coincide with Colin Baker's (2011) findings who first defined translanguaging as "the process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (2011: 288). It also confirmed Csillik and Golubeva's definition that translanguaging is "the act of using different languages interchangeably, in order to overcome language constraints, to deliver

verbal utterances or written statements effectively, and to ultimately achieve successful communication" (2019a: 170) between interlocutors.

Through my findings it was revealed that very young emergent bi-, and multilingual children rely on translanguaging when they make meaning. Their body language, gestures, previous personal experiences, background knowledge, linguistic creativity due to their immense linguistic repertoires, and the use of their dominant or home language not only helped them gain understanding and knowledge of the target or heritage language but also the context of free-play.

Moreover, my findings are aligned with Grosjean's (1989: 3, 1992) bilingual (or wholistic) view that the bilingual is not "the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals, but a unique and specific speaker-hearer". All participating emergent bi-, and multilingual students were unique and specific "speaker-hearers" in the pre-school classrooms. My research proved that ***a bi-, or multilingual person is not the sum of two or multiple complete or incomplete language user, but a unique and specific individual who is proned to languaging***. This natural ability of languaging of the participating emergent bi-, and multilingual students was demonstrated through the example extracts in Chapter IV.

These example extracts provided proof for bi-, and multilingual students' natural ability to simultaneously activate two or more languages when they languaged with bi-, and multilinguals like themselves. Their different language systems were at work at all times while they maneuvered well between their repertoires of languages. Additionally, my findings also showed that even though very young learners mostly used one-word-utterances in their language production, they used their very own idiolect, their unique linguistic repertoire, without any kind of socially or politically defined language names and labels, as Li Wei (2018) suggested.

Also, my research proved G. E. Jones's (1991) findings who observed that when primary school L1 speakers of Welsh were mixed with L2 learners of English, the Welsh speakers tended to accommodate to the interlanguage of the L2 learners, rather than the L2 learners adapting to the norms of the L1 speakers. In Jones's research L1 minority students tended to be more motivated to acquire and switch to the higher status language than the L2 learners (struggling with their low-level competence in the target language being in lower status) were to learn the target language. Exactly the same happened in my research. Participants in the Pre-Kindergarten class since Hungarian (L1) speakers tended to switch more to their L2 (English), the English (L1) speakers were less motivated to

acquire and switch into the L2 (Hungarian) target language. In the Kindergarten class it was also evident that even if the majority of the students knew Hungarian and English fluently, they still chose to switch to English amongst themselves, and only spoke Hungarian if a teacher or a peer reminded them of doing so.

These findings also match up with Baker and Jones' (1998) findings. Three to four years old pre-school children had not attained complete competence in the mother tongue of their parents and were consequently very vulnerable to the influence of English at the nursery school. So, they tended to shift using English quite quickly that felt more natural in their conversations. Besides, these nursery-aged children were also vulnerable to the high social status and predominance of the English language, which made them code-switch very commonly. This showed that very young children also leveraging the majority (English) language in the Hungarian heritage school further supported their L1 (English) development together with their L2 (Hungarian) development.

The findings also recognise and identify the needs and responsibilities of skilled language teachers in early childhood bi-, and multilingual heritage language schools. Besides drawing attention to this unique setting and the achievements of this small heritage community, my findings also show a gap between the present situation and the future potentials of heritage language schools in mainstream societies.

RQ#2: Teachers' Perceptions and Attitudes of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

My findings proved that the majority of the teachers saw the potentials in using translanguaging in the early childhood classes. They saw the translanguaging act as an opportunity to build on emergent bilingual speakers' full language repertoires in order to scaffold language learning in general, and make sense of the world around them, as García and Wei (2014) previously stated.

My findings further support the view of translanguaging being an opportunity for language learners to gain intercultural competence, as well as, to help them build bi-, or multicultural "cosmopolitan" (Navracsics, 2016: 13) identities in linguistically diverse educational settings, as Csillik and Golubeva (2020, forthcoming) reported. This further supported Verspoor's (2017) notion that it is imperative to promote the teaching of heritage languages in order to enable bi-, and multilingual individuals experiencing the benefits of their multiple identities. My findings suggest that all participating students felt being present in a culturally and linguistically diverse classroom environment by

participating in translanguaging acts and by letting their voices being heard; which is ultimately a linguistic human right providing social justice and equity equally for all participants in the classroom.

Furthermore, my findings also suggest that teachers' positive perceptions towards the translanguaging phenomena helped emergent bi-, and multilingual learners to bridge their linguistic and culture gaps as reported by Csillik and Golubeva (2020). Also, teachers' positive attitudes towards the translanguaging act made it possible for emergent bi-, and multilingual learners to build stronger awareness of their self, of other people, and of other cultures. Through accepting and tolerating linguistic and cultural diversity in the heritage language schools, children from very early on start preparing for becoming successful global citizens, as Csillik and Golubeva (2020, forthcoming) previously stated. The hope is that as adults they will be more aware of and understand the wider world, and their place in it. They will be able to take an active role in their community, work with others to make our planet more equal, fair, and sustainable.

Describing students' dominant (home) language(s) as both a crutch and a resource, some teachers showed conflicting, or multidimensional, and nuanced perceptions on the value of various languages in the classroom and in the heritage school community. Similarly, they also described these dominant (home) languages as being access points to the target (Hungarian) language and to classroom content. They also used them as resources to themselves develop. For these pedagogues, the approval of the usage of translanguaging indicated both successes and challenges in the classroom and in the wider ethnic community.

My findings only partially coincide with the findings of Palviainen *et al*., (2016). First, I found that teachers chose code-switching in the classroom for the same purpose as the teachers chose code-switching in Palviainen *et al*.'s research. They all used the translanguaging pedagogy to gain student's attention, to ensure understanding, and to prevent boredom in the class. Once attention was caught, the teachers switched back to the target language the same way as the teachers did in the research of Palviainen *et al*. However, my research findings differed partially from their findings. As both studies strengthen the power of personal ideologies (positive, negative attitudes) and challenging prevailing ideologies represented by the school community and the supervisors, still, they had separate outcomes. The teachers who demonstrated positive attitudes towards the translanguaging phenomenon confirmed Palviainen and fellow researchers' findings that they naturally and flexibly used two languages in the classroom. This demonstrated the

plurilingual values of today's globalization. They each made modifications from the strict separation of languages, to flexible bilingual practices. They negotiated, constructed and reconstructed classroom language practices. Even if they all were instructed to solely use the target (Hungarian) language with the students, they shortly found that this method did not promote children's understanding. They quickly found out that the monolingualist view was not working in their linguistically diverse settings. The teacher in my study who presented negative attitudes towards the translanguaging phenomena preferred 'co-languaging' while she code-switched. She was unaware of the effect on the L2 language learners. In contrast, Palviainen and fellow researchers knew the effect of 'co-languaging' on young language learners and they completely avoided it during their research. They believed that direct translation as a main strategy led to L2 learners passively waiting for translation instead of being actively involved in L2 learning; which my study also confirmed. Ultimately, both my findings and Palviainen *et al.*'s findings confirmed that teachers required to have a positive rather than a negative attitude towards students' diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and needs. They rather should celebrate the opportunity that diversity brings into their classrooms and they rather should recognise the linguistic and cultural gifts bi-, and multilingual learners hold.

My findings serve as evidence that the primary function of translanguaging in the early childhood classes of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) was to scaffold content for better understanding and meaning-making. My findings suggest that the participating pedagogues used translanguaging as a strategic tool rather than a pedagogy. They ascertained to help young heritage language learners in the spare of the moment when a need was detected, but they were unaware of the characteristics of translanguaging as a well-planned, well-developed, institutionalized pedagogy. They lacked the knowledge that translanguaging as pedagogy presumes the knowledge and awareness of the collaborative aspect of different linguistic resources of various language repertoires─that participants possess prior to instruction─to support the successful, seamless, and enjoyable education of their language learners. These findings emphasize the importance of further developing the occasionally occurring translanguaging acts in early childhood classes as opportunities for introducing a new, state-of-the-art language teaching pedagogy in the Hungarian ethnic community. Teachers could share, view, and implement the new ideologies on language learning in general, on becoming bi-, and multilingual individuals in today's globalized world, and on developing the translanguaging pedagogy in their classes. My hope is that my findings

will bring the school community together in realizing the renewal of the current educational program in place to meet the needs of the realities of today's children and the expectations of the 21st century, which would include the institutionalized teaching of the Hungarian language by nurturing the other languages of the children brought into this heritage educational setting.

RQ#3: Parents' Attitudes and Perceptions of Bi-, and Multilingualism in the Home and in the Hungarian Ethnic Community in New York City

My findings also prove previous researchers' concepts on language shift between first and second generation immigrants. For example, as Navracsics (2016: 15) reported on first and second generation immigrants' identity, "In immigration, the ethos part of their personality is very strong, and they wish their offspring to continue the family traditions even in situations where it is not very attractive for the second generation.". My findings have proven the strong will of first generation Hungarian descendent parents to transmit the Hungarian heritage language to their second generation children; even if second generation children were not interested in learning the heritage language of their parents since their reality was to use English on a daily basis with their families, friends, and acquaintances in the home, in the mainstream school and society. My results further confirmed that "the first generation's desire is not always met with pleasure by the second generation" as Navracsics (2016: 16) pointed it out.

My findings further coincided with Navracsics' (2016) point of view on growing up in a bilingual family. Most participants came from mixed-marriage families where the parents spoke two or more languages, were aware of two or more cultures, and belonged to two or more different ethnic minority groups. This showed the participating students that two or more different languages and cultures could peacefully co-exist together in one person, "and that person can love equally both of their parents, both their languages, and both their cultures" (Navracsics, 2016: 21).

"What parents may share is a common belief that young children 'pick up' or absorb languages effortlessly, even though the research evidence points to advantages from starting young for acquiring a native-like accent in the L2, rather than for speed of acquisition per se" (Singleton and Ryan, 2004 as in Hickey & de Mejía, 2014: 2). My findings coinside with Singleton and Ryan's (2004) perception because Hungarian descendent parents in this ethnic community believed that "young children 'pick up' or

absorb languages effortlessly", hence they initiated their child(ren)'s Hungarian heritage education the earliest possible, at the age of 2.5.

Based on my findings, it is also suggested that the Hungarian language was the key indicator to determine group membership in the Hungarian community living around the New York City metropolitan area. Bartha's (2005) findings suggested the same about the Hungarian-American immigrant community living in New Brunswick, New Jersey, where only the "skillful, proper usage of Hungarian" (p. 23) was accepted. Also, similar to Bartha's (2005) findings, the Hungarian community in New York City demonstrated "a considerably slower than expected social and linguistic process of language shift" (p. 31). In both communities, language shift was less rapid and not as extensive than in other immigrant communities due to the conscious language maintenance efforts reversing language shift (see Fishman, 2009). The New Brunswick, NJ and New York City Hungarian ethnic communities are closely interrelated and profoundly intertwined; therefore, the similar results of slow language shift between first and second generation immigrants were expected. Hungarian is the dominant language in several local institutional domains in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City that collaborates tightly with the New Brunswick, NJ Hungarian ethnic community to organize Hungarian events. Not only religious, but also secular gatherings are held in this ethnic community. Hungarian weekly service exists in three different churches (First Hungarian Reformed Church of New York City, First Hungarian Baptist Church, St. Joseph's Church by St. Stephen of Hungary Catholic Community) in New York City. Furthermore, the Hungarian House of New York, the Balassi Institute Hungarian Cultural Center, the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, the Hungarian Scouts Association in Exteris, the American Hungarian Library and Historical Society, the Pilvax Players, and the Hungarian Idea Exchange recently established non-profit organizations welcome the Hungarian descendent immigrants in New York City.

It was also concluded by Fenyvesi (2005) that Hungarian-Americans as a group are undergoing language shift along the classic three-generation model in the United States similarly to many other immigrant groups. My findings coincided with Fenyvesi's (2005) suggestions that newer and socioeconomically more diverse communities present slightly better chances of language maintenance and preservation of Hungarian as heritage language.

Overall, my findings suggest that bi-, and multilingualism is highly valued in the Hungarian ethnic community residing in the New York City metropolitan area. The

transmit and maintenance of Hungarian as heritage language in the family and in the wider ethnic community is important and continuously encouraged by the parents. They wish to raise (a) bi-, and multilingual child(ren) in the New York City metropolitan area, who know(s) the origin of his/her/their parent(s), who is familiar with the Hungarian language, traditions, and culture.

Contributions to Theory and Practice (Theses)

The following seven theses were found suggesting how the findings of this research contributes to the theory and practice of the academic field:

Thesis #1: The forms and functions of translanguaging in hungarian centric emergent bi-, and multilingual heritage language classes proved that meaning making during free-play was tightly intertwined with the usage of body language, gestures, visual displays, and mimicry.

Thesis #2: The forms and functions of translanguaging in hungarian centric emergent bi-, and multilingual heritage language classes proved that bridging language gaps during free-play required young learners to either rely on the help of their more experienced peers (and teachers) functioning as two-way interpreters, clarifiers, and cultural brokers; or on the help of more experienced adults (teachers/parents) functioning as intercultural mediators.

Thesis #3: The forms and functions of translanguaging in hungarian centric emergent bi-, and multilingual heritage language classes proved that gaining intercultural competence during free play required young learners to embrace and value the cultural diversity in their class.

Thesis #4: Teachers' positive perceptions and attitudes of translanguaging in hungarian centric bilingual heritage language early childhood classes increased very young emergent bi-, and multilingual learners' attention, motivation, and participation.

Thesis #5: Teachers' negative perceptions and attitudes of translanguaging in hungarian centric bilingual heritage language early childhood classes decreased very young emergent bi-, and multilingual learners' attention, motivation, and participation.

Thesis #6: The parents' positive attitudes and perceptions on their children's bi-, and multilingualism in the home promoted their very young emergent bi-, and multilingual children learning their heritage language to be able to participate in various translanguaging acts in the heritage language school.

Thesis #7: The parents' positive attitudes and perceptions on how their children becoming bi-, and multilingual speakers in the hungarian heritage language school promoted these young emergent bi-, and multilingual learners to participate in various speech acts with interlocutors from diverse linguistic backgrounds in the heritage language community, in the mainstream society, and in other communities around the world.

The Researcher's Reflections

From this qualitative analysis of translanguaging practices in two Hungarian-centric heritage language classrooms in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA), this research provides important insights for understanding the translanguaging phenomena in general and its potentials in pre-school classrooms of heritage language complementary schools. In this section, I outline the different contributions that this research makes to theories of translanguaging and to classroom practices.

First, findings from this study support and expand García's (2009) notion of bilingualism as a dynamic system (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al.*, 2007; Jessner, 2008a; Verspoor *et al.*, 2008; Verspoor, 2017), where individuals utilize linguistic resources throughout interactions with one another. Along with the growing body of research (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Canagarajah, 2011b; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b; García, Zakharia, & Octu, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Blackledge, Creese, & Hu, 2015; Pacheco, David, & Jiménez, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; Palviainen *et al.*, 2016; García, Johnson, & Seltzer, 2017; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer, & Wedin, 2017; Andersen, 2017; Conteh, 2018; Golubeva & Csillik, 2018; Gort, 2018; Tódor & Dégi, 2018; Fu, Hadjioannou, & Zhou, 2019; Rabbige, 2019), this study suggests that these resources can be further developed and applied by individuals that are simultaneously acquiring the heritage language and other languages. This study expands on the notions of dynamic bilingualism (García, 2009). It not only considers how these resources are utilized in response to individual speech acts or speech events, but also how they are used in response to other activities in the heritage language classroom. In other words, this study emphasizes that the understanding of dynamic bilingualism (Flores & Schissel, 2014) must include attention to how individuals apply their various linguistic

resources in response to one another and to the contexts of deployment (García & Wei, 2014).

Second, findings from this study support and extend Canagarajah's (2011b) argument that all individuals, regardless of language proficiency, can use multiple yet divergent codes to negotiate meaning. Differences in how bi-, and multilingual individuals code-switched with each other and how they used languages such as English and Spanish to make sense of different contexts while they were playing, were differences in degree and not in kind. Emergent bi-, and multilinguals used their communicative competence and metalinguistic awareness as they translanguaged, but they did so in their very own and unique ways.

Lastly, this research supports the idea of teachers, despite their monolingual Hungarian-only view, participating as multicompetent language users in the heritage language classroom (Li, 2011). Both teachers showed evidence of multicompetence by using Spanish and English in a variety of classroom activities. However, the research also points to a tension within this language use. To be a multicompetent language user, teachers must recognise their own linguistic limitations and emerging proficiency. Consistent with other work with communities of practice in immersion classrooms (Hickey, 2001), it can be challenging for them to take up these new roles; especially in classrooms where expertise is signaled by proficiency in the Hungarian heritage language. This research suggests that teachers can participate as multicompetent language users, but their language use is afforded and constrained by teacher relationships to their communities of practice.

As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, a major goal of this dissertation was to better understand how bi-, and multilingual teachers and students could productively participate in Hungarian-centric heritage language classrooms in New York City. An important step in meeting this goal was to describe how these pedagogies could support using all students' language repertoires in the classroom. This study directly contributes to a growing body of literature on translanguaging that suggests the power of leveraging the different languages in a bi-, and multilingual classrooms. Whereas prior studies have centered largely around interactions between bi-, and multilingual individuals in mainstream classrooms, this study suggests that teachers and students can participate in translanguaging in heritage language complementary schools just as likely.

Some of the major findings on the functions of the translanguaging phenomenon in heritage language immersion classrooms were to clarify procedural information, demonstrate expertise, deepen understandings of vocabulary, and promote students' metalinguistic awareness in multilinguality, multimodality, and multicompetence (see Li, 2011). Sharing these findings and different activities with teachers that are in the process of learning to support emergent bi-, and multilingual students in their classrooms is one step towards implementing translanguaging as a pedagogy in heritage language schools where the ultimate goal of instruction is to preserve and maintain the heritage language, culture, and its beliefs and traditions.

This research further contributes to the understandings of how translanguaging pedagogies can be implemented in similar heritage language contexts as a practice. For researchers and administrators that seek to support teachers in implementing translanguaging pedagogies in heritage language classes in today's multilingual and multicultural societies, addressing classroom heritage language use along with the usage of additional languages should be a recommended policy to begin with.

Similarly, this research contributes to understanding some of the challenges that teachers face when planning on implementing translanguaging as a pedagogy in their specific context of heritage language classrooms. If the translanguaging pedagogy takes hold in similar educational settings, administrators and teachers could work towards structuring activities that recognise and celebrate students' linguistic expertise. As Canagarajah (2013) has noted, effective multilingual activities demand more, not less, from multilingual students. The translanguaging pedagogy encourage heritage language learners to demonstrate their linguistic expertise through activities and through adjustment. In this sense, linguistic expertise is not a product to display, but a tool to sharpen through use.

Though the mainstream (English) language (L1) can serve a variety of functions in the heritage (Hungarian) language (L2/L3) classroom (Cummins, 1991), such as (1) helping to establish social relationships necessary for classroom interaction (Clawson, 2002), (2) assissting meaning-making (Garrity, *et al.*, 2015), or (3) deepening the understanding of the heritage (Hungarian) language (L2/L3) structures (Doerr & Lee, 2009). Thus, approaches in communicative language teaching have stressed the importance of privileging the heritage language (L2/L3) to participate in meaningful classroom activities, and thus, encourage educators to limit the L1 use (Francis, 2005).

Sequential bi-, and multilingual learners will always reference what they already know from their first language (L1) when working on acquiring their second language (L2). Furthermore, these language learners will also reference what they already know from their L2 when working on acquiring their third language (L3), or additional languages (Ln) (Jessner, 2006, 2008a, 2012). This helps these students to process the information and improve communication in their L2, L3, or in their additional language(s). While providing an opportunity for L2/L3/Ln learners, translanguaging pedagogy presents a challenge to pedagogues who are determined to support the enrichment and preservation of the L1. Scaffolding is resommended to actively incorporate and include the full range of students' linguistic resources from existing language structures of their L1, L2, L3, or Ln.

More language research in bi-, and multilingualism should continue to investigate how to strategically incorporate students' linguistic abilities and resources in bi-, and multilingual education in heritage language educational settings.

Strengths and Limitations of the Research

In the following section I will discuss some of the strengths and limitations of this research. There are three major strengths of this study. One arises from the variety of sources and methods of data collection I used during this longitudinal study.

First, as qualitative research demands the researcher to act as a bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) that constructs a multifaceted and dynamic version of the phenomena being studied, I used a variety of data sources that gave me varied and multiple perspectives on classroom translanguaging. Through observations of teacher instruction, for example, I was able to apply my own professional experience as a language teacher working in multilingual early childhood ENL classrooms in the public education system of New York City. I was able to identify moments when teachers used translanguaging, and began to theorize these instances as they call for a well-developed pedagogy. Then, I compared the affordances and constraints of these instances compared to my own professional teaching experience and practice in multilingual/multicultural ENL early childhood educational settings. Through the post-observation teacher reflections, I compared and contrasted my own professional experiences about what pedagogies and practices teachers used in the research sites, and then I contextualized these practices within the classroom through weekly observations.

The second significant strength of my research is that while some of the literature on translanguaging has used similar methods to describe the translanguaging phenomena, no work (to my knowledge) has yet explored the contextualized nature of translanguaging during free-play in the pre-school classes of early childhood Hungarian heritage language education in New York City.

The third major strength of this study is not only to fill a major gap in the literature on classroom translanguaging, but also to collaborate with and support the teachers in responding to the local needs of the participating school community in which the research was conducted. On multiple occasions, participating teachers expressed a desire to familiarize themselves with language learning strategies and adapt these strategies in their weekly practices because the number of parents requesting a Hungarian language learning program for new-comer students. Currently, the school is facing an increased number of new-comer students registering in the school with very little or no Hungarian language knowledge at all. As an English as a New Language teacher, I was able to share some of the language teaching practices and scaffolding strategies I use in my own everyday practices to support English language learners in the public school system of New York City with the heritage language teachers who were very interested in developing new, innovative ideas on how to support their Hungarian heritage language learners.

This research has some unforeseen limitations as well that I was unable to avoid in advance. For example, during recording, it was not clear when the research participants will be using translanguaging; therefore, the audio recordings were fully recorded which resulted in a lengthy transcription phase. It became time-consuming and postponed the analyses procedures.

Also, as I mentioned it before, what the observer is able to record manually, as opposed to what an audio (or audio-video) recorder is able to document is not comparable. Realizing this fact, I had to switch the previously planned method of recording from the first year of observations to the second year in order to collect a more authentic and reliable data. Instead of continuing with the note-taking method that appeared in the preliminary phase of the research, I chose to use an audio recorder in the second year of the classroom observations, but the received data definitely has limitations in the measurement of comparison. The format of the annotation in my first year might have been controversial because of the potential loss of information and data during the sampling process. Although I completely tried to eliminate the information loss, but I might not have been able to succeed on that.

Moreover, as I planned the observation sessions at different times, the question arises whether the class showed its same face during the observation sessions or not. Different pictures of the class were encountered during every observation session while sampling which occured due to the fact that a change in the independent variable (presence of participants) might have influenced a change in the dependent variable (language performance of the participants). This was the result of the choice of using purposive sampling in this case study due to specific field and the small size of sampling, in which each case entered the analysis in order to gain data specifically related to the particular small population (Hungarian descendent emergent bi-, and multilingual young children (ages 3-6) attending the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School).

Regardless of the presence of the same participants was planned prior to classroom observations, in reality, the research heavily relied on who was available as participant at the moment of sampling. This can be seen as a sampling error and the reason why the usage of a purposive sampling was preferred over a non-probability sampling is debatable in this research. Non-probability sampling is widely used in qualitative research; therefore, the research would logically have required the use of this type of sampling. However, I chose to use the purposive sampling in the research where I took the sample based on who I thought was appropriate for the study. This was used primarily because the interest of the research was on a specific field (translanguaging during free-play), on a small group (Hungraian descendent pre-schoolers), and there was only a limited number of Hungarians to be considered to participate in the research. Here, I would like to emphasize that the Hungarian language is a less-widely spoken and taught language. I was aware of the fact that the sample size is extremely small, but I was able to identify the best possible place in the educational setting with the largest Hungarian population in the heart of New York City – AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School – where Hungarian is currently being taught.

The absence of participants due to weather conditions, illnesses, or lateness (interruption in the flow of the day) might have affected the language performance of the participants. For example, if a particular participant with an "out-going" personality who was considered to be very talkative during free-play in the classroom was absent per say one day, it changed the dynamics of the group during that day. Other students, who might not have been considered as talkative as the particular "out-going" child who was absent, might have started participating more. Furthermore, the participants were clearly aware

that they were being monitored or recorded, which might have further influenced their behaviour.

Unfortunately, after the sudden decease of one of the teacher participants in the second year of the research, I was left with no other choice than taking the role of a participant-observer during the remaining part of the research. Since the school could not find any qualified teacher to take over the teaching position in such a short notice, I became fully involved as one of the teacher participants in the classroom.

Moreover, it is recommended to perform in-depth interviews at 90-minute intervals at a time. This is often time-consuming and impractical during a telephone interview. Care should be taken not to bother the interviewees, so the over-the-phone sessions were planned for 40-45 minute intervals at a time, which is less than recommended by the literature. Still, some might say that this time interval is debatable in order to fully explore the phenomenon being studied.

Data processing was also difficult for a single researcher due to the fact that it was extremely time-consuming to analyse the data single-handedly. Although significant progress could have been made in the time of processing the collected data, but due to the small amount of sampling the introduction of computer programs (e.g. SPSS, ATLAS.ti) was redundant.

Recommendations for the Future

An interdisciplinary dissertation like this may open different directions for future research into the academic field. The recommended areas would be mostly linguistic and pedagogical.

My research provides several directions for further studies. One possibility would be to further analyse my data and to attend to the different functions of individual translanguaging speech acts in relation to one another within the set of speech events. In order to do this, I will need to look at instances when translanguaging speech acts were used as questions, statements, or responses, and attended to their different functions (i.e., request, provide information, initiate a topic). I then will use the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2015) to generate categories to describe how teachers and students participated in these translanguaging events.

It could also be instructive to compare the operation of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA) with other Hungarian heritage

schools in mainstream societies with a similar profile, e.g. bilingual, multilingual, ethnic minority pre-schools, or elementary schools. With the application and extension of the present results such studies would shed further light on this underrepresented area of language pedagogy and could enhance innovation both in the theoretical and practical sides of early childhood bi-, and multilingual education in heritage language schools.

Another possibility could be to evaluate in what forms the implementation in early childhood education of the factors described above leads to the enhancement of young bi-, and multilingual children's engagement in literacy instruction instead of free-play in early childhood classrooms.

Moreover, further research could be carried out on whether groupings of children according to the same or different home languages encourage or discourage translanguaging in heritage language schools and whether the educators' L1 would further influence the complexity of the children's translanguaging acts.

Finally, the sample needs to be enlarged to guarantee representative status. It would be interesting to explore the existance of the translanguaging phenomena in a bigger sample size, possibly comprising more classes of early childhood educational setting in other Hungarian as heritage language communities in New York City (if any), in New York State, or potentially in other locations in the United States. Researching on the use of translanguaging as a pedagogy in connection with heritage language bi-, multillingual education in mainstream societies around the world could be another direction to scrutinize.

I argue for the development of a multilingual teaching pedagogy that is premised on this worldview to advance theory and practice by using translanguaging as a language learning pedagogy. Future research possibilities are highlighted, as well as pedagogical implications for bi-, and multilingual classrooms are considered to be adapted in comparable contexts.

Actions in the Community

Given the likelihood that the current situation of grouping L1 (Hungarian) speakers with L2 (English) learners will continue in this Hungarian heritage language school. The differing needs of the children within these mixed classrooms in early childhood education must be addressed explicitly in order to promote mother tongue enrichment of the Hungarian (L1) children, as well as to encourage Hungarian (L2) acquisition of

English (L1) speakers. An adequate response to these needs requires the development of appropriate teacher training, curricula, and work organization, as well as the resourcing of extra personnel to allow regular grouping by language ability of the students enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA).

In order to address the needs of all the children attending this school, school administrators must first explore the issues such as the real meaning of "child-centredness" and introduce flexible grouping by language ability and the importance ascribed to mother tongue enrichment for L1 speakers. As Baker and Jones (1998) have emphasized, it would be beneficial to provide sufficient resources to cater to the different language needs of such mixed groups in heritage language classrooms in order to allow some separate teaching of L1 minority language speakers, as well as combined with L2 language instruction. These separate teaching periods would allow for more linguistically challenging activities such as story-telling, drama, and discussion among the L1 children, while L2 learners could benefit from basic heritage language comprehension tasks, vocabulary acquisition, and phonemic and phonological awareness activities. Clearly, it would be desirable to develop a general curriculum with graded objectives for the different language ability groups.

In mixed-classes where the majority of children are L2 learners, there is a need to maximize input from the teacher, since she/he is the main source of the learning input of the target language. Children who are sufficiently competent in the target language may have a different balance between teacher-led activities and student-led activities if they are supported by regularly being grouped with other L1speakers. Thus, support for the target language requires intervention beyond the teacher-student(s) interaction in order to promote use of that language in student-student(s) interaction as well. This would further require a shift in focus from de facto prioritization of L2 learning to give equal regard to promoting L1 maintenance and enrichment.

Future Directions to Design a Plan of Action for Modernizing Hungarian Education in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, New York City (USA)

The following suggestions to design a plan of action for modernizing the Hungarian education would be necessary to be considered by local and state language policy makers with the future goal in mind to meet the learning needs of the diverse population of Hungarian descendent emergent bi-, and multilingual students in the Hungarian ethnic

community in New York City. The modernization innovations suggested on two levels (macro-, and micro levels) in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA). First, the following modernization initiatives are recommended at the level of the school culture (macro level):

(1) Readdressing, Redefining, and Determining Educational Goals in the Hungarian Ethnic Community

The discrepancy on the educational goals of the school between the school personnel and the parents needs to be readdressed, redefined, and a new common ideology towards education in the Hungarian ethnic community needs to be determined emphasizing the new language realities of bi-, and multilingual Hungarian descendent students. Both Hungarian language preservation, maintenance, and revitalization efforts to teach, learn, preserve, and maintain the Hungarian language needs to be addressed, as well as including the children's home languages in their education and in the life of this ethnic community. The current educational goals in this Hungarian ethnic community is in place since the 1960s and by now they became out-of-date. As Shohamy (2006) has argued, language policy is based on language ideologies of individuals and groups who typically have political, social, and economic goals. It is essential then to determine the language policy towards the Hungarian language due to the increasing number of students in the early childhood classes who is learning the Hungarian language as a Foreign (New) Language in the presence of other languages. The community then needs to decide on the policy towards handling the "hybrid practices" of the children's linguistic skills. What also comes to the fore is the ironies and paradoxes around language repertoires, standardization, and heteroglossia, especially in the current context of globalization (see Bloomaert 2010)[24], that the community further would need to address.

(2) Developing a Comprehensive Institutionalized Language Plan

After determining educational goals in the Hungarian ethnic community, on one hand, the purpose of modernization (e.g. language maintenance, language preservation, language revitalization, etc.), and on the other hand, the language acquisition process (e.g. product-, or process oriented) has to be determined. The duration of the full implementation has to be determined with developing short-, and long-term goals of this

[24] Blommaert, J. (2011). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

modernization project. Above all, how the implementation of the project would take place, including new ideologies on how educators can raise awareness of implementing a new language learning pedagogy and how progress can be measured as a bottom-up initiative. A design for advancement in the school macro and micro culture (e.g. technological innovations, linguistic landscape) should further be added.

(3) Professional Development Training SSeries: Introducing Translanguaging Pedagogy in Theory

Introducing the principles and methods of the translanguaging pedagogy to the teaching staff followed by question and answer sessions has to be planned meticulously. Various efficiently implemented projects could be demonstrated as examples and the successful results of these projects could further be shared. Guest speakers could be further invited to attend these professional development sessions where successful implementations of already existing modernization project could be shared, discussed, and further advices learned from experiences could be given.

(4) Model Teaching Series: Introducing Translanguaging Pedagogy in Practice

Introducing the translanguaging pedagogy in practice to the teaching staff followed by question and answer sessions has to be designed carefully in various classroom settings. It is essential to model the implementation of new strategies, to model exposure to different type of students and grade levels, and to share ideas amongst staff members about the translanguaging pedagogy. Perceptions, questions, and comments may be addressed leading to professional educational discussions about the implementation of the translanguaging pedagogy.

(5) Determining Inquiry Teams and Creating Project Blueprints

It is essential to determine the blueprints of the project (e.g. which classes exactly would start implementing the translanguaging pedagogy, if implementation would be a bottom-up or bottom-down initiative), and to prepare for the implementation of the translanguaging pedagogy. Creating inquiry teams (vertical, horizontal), where representatives would meet on a regular basis and work collaboratively in order to identify problem areas, is important. An inquiry team should collaborate on setting inquiry goals by identifying strategies to address areas of need, by looking at student work samples and the designed curriculum to discuss strategies to be put in action, or to analyse student

work if already implemented strategies worked or not, and by closing out inquiry cycles by reviewing and reflecting on whether students acquired the necessary skills for success or not.

(6) Translanguaging Pedagogy Implementation

Starting to introduce the translanguaging pedagogy gradually in 1-2 classes at the beginning of the implementation of the project, on a voluntary trial basis, and monitoring closely and continuously the results is also key. Hungarian as a Foreign (New) Language learners should be integrated to the heritage language classes based on their home languages or their proficiency levels in Hungarian. Furthermore, an initial language identification test should be designed and administered upon registration to determine program placement (e.g. stand-alone, integrated classes). Later on, depending on the success of the project the translanguaging pedagogy could be extended to more classes following the bottom-to-top model gradually until the whole entire school would implement the new pedagogy.

The following innovation initiatives at the level of the classroom (micro level) are recommended to improve the quality of teaching in this Hungarian heritage community (see Csillik, 2019a, in press)[25]:

(1) Language Identification and Program Placement
(2) Know your Students, Cultural Awareness, Creating a Welcoming Environment
(3) Building and Activating Background Knowledge
(4) Using Scaffolding Strategies in the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD)
(5) Cooperative Learning Groups and Peer Tutoring
(6) Vocabulary Unpacked: Building Vocabulary through Authentic and Meaningful Experiences with Words
(7) Culturally Responsive Teaching Practices
(8) ‘Translanguaging’ Practices
(9) Family Involvement
(10) Using Alternate Forms of Assessment

[25] Csillik, E. (2019a, in press). Effective Practices for Meeting the Learning Needs of ‘Superdiverse’ Multi-Language Learners in Early Childhood Classrooms. *Acta Academiae Beregsasiensis*, XVII, (2019/1), pp. 23. Available at http://kmf.uz.ua/kiadvanyaink/

I would like to indicate that my list of suggestions to design a plan of action for modernizing the Hungarian education is built on considering the current teacher resources of the school. For optimal results, it would be recommended to contract Hungarian as a Foreign Language and/or English as a Foreign Language teachers or skilled-pedagogues who could implement the above-mentioned teaching strategies with ease. The implementation of the Translanguaging Pedagogy project presumes financial resources that are extremely limited at the moment either on the part of the Hungarian or the United States.

Furthermore, it is recommended to inform the members of the Hungarian community about the language policy of New York City following the New York State educational guidelines. All of the above suggestions towards the modernization of this particular school would truly require a strong collaboration between the community members, and a change of the mindset and attitudes of those who volunteer in order to increase the prestige of the Hungarian heritage in the New York City metropolitan area.

Limitations for Modernizing the Hungarian Education in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School, New York City (USA)

Hungarians living in the United States in general are considered to be on the periphery of imperium (European Union) and state (Government of Hungary). Given the magnitude of the geographical distance to the "imperial" (Council of Europe, Strasbourg) and "national" (Ministry of National Resources, Budapest) capitals, where economic and political decisions including language policies are made, this area is forgotten when decisions on minority language policy issues are made. It is so far away from the region of the homeland that the Atlantic-ocean even separates it from the European continent. Moreover, the minority status of these immigrants residing in New York City is originated from a personal choice of migrating to the United States. It was not a result of a territorial affiliation of several political decisions (e.g. Transcarpathia) (Csernicskó & Laihonen, 2016).

The Hungarian minority ethnic group living in the New York City metropolitan area is not eligible to benefit from the language maintenance and revitalization programs and policies of the Council of Europe compared to other indigenous language groups on the European continent (e.g. Sámi language revitalization projects in Sweden (Fjellgren & Huss, 2019)). Therefore, this small minority ethnic group is subject to extremely limited local or global resources. For instance, in the United Nations Declaration on the

Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities, the opt-outs and alternatives permit a reluctant state to meet the requirements in a minimalist way[26]. In this sense, New York City following the New York State English language acquisition policies[27] comply with this minimalist policy. New York City allows to open either a one or two-way dual language (DL) or a transitional bilingual education (TBE) program in public schools if there are minimun 15+ families officially registered in the same school building of the same school district. It further requires that the home languages of all the children of these registered families determined to be Hungarian (HU). Then, these families can exercise their rights to select a program for their child(ren) to acquire the English language. It also requires that these registered families with Hungarian determined as their home language choose the same program (DL or TBE) for their child(ren) to reach English language proficiency. Only then, a Hungarian-English dual language or transitional bilingual program would be opened in that particular public school of that particular school district.

However, the Hungarian minority group is unaware of their educational rights due to their choice of a "quick assimilation policy into the American society". Those who indeed speak Hungarian at home are not concentrated in the same school district in New York City. Hungarian families settle strongly in convenience of affordable living cost sor based on the location of the employment of the parents. Still, even if the Hungarian minority families living in New York would be concentrated in one particular area, the state may claim, for instance, that a provision was not "possible" or "appropriate", or that numbers were not "sufficient" or did not "justify" a provision; ultimately leading the Hungarian minority ethnic group at their own cost.

For all of this above-mentioned reasons, the survival of the Hungarian language education in New York City is compromised and heavily rely on its own, as well as on state resources from the Hungarian government. Disappointingly, the Hungarian government is not so invested in making significant efforts to revitalize and preserve the Hungarian language in New York City (or in the United States). This area is again forgotten when decisions on minority language policy issues are made on the state level in Hungary compared to other regions where the Hungarian language is spoken in a

[26]https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/saami-languages-present-and-future
[27]http://www.nysed.gov/bilingual-ed/guide-parents-english-language-learnersmultilingual-learners-new-york-state

minority ethnic community, by a larger population (e.g. Transylvania, Transcarpathia) or in the form of a hybrid version, e.g. Csángó (Bodó, Fazekas, & Heltai, 2016), Romani (Heltai, Jani-Demetriou, Kerekesné Levai, & Olexa, 2017; Heltai & Kulcsár, 2017).

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSION

Traditionally in the past, schools have followed a monolingual language policy of strict language separation in the school curriculum, by establishing clear boundaries between two or more languages. Their goal was to avoid cross-linguistic influence and code-switching, or code-meshing, in order to protect and develop proficiency in minority heritage languages. These ideologies of language separation have been highly criticized in recent years (Grosjean, 1985; Cook, 1999; Cummins, 2007; García, 2009; Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Li, 2011; Canagarajah, 2011; Gort, 2018) and considered out-dated in terms of bi-, and multilingual education in today's superdiverse complex societies.

A new paradigm has been shaping the interest of current researchers on the field of Applied Linguists due to today's fast-changing world. As a result of globalization, ubiquitous technology use, and worldwide immigration, bi-, and multilingual educational settings became the melting pots of languages, as well as the myriad of cultures (Navracsics, 2016). Instead of separating language systems from one another in these educational settings, there is a fast-growing trend towards the co-existance of two or more languages in bi-, and multilingual classrooms (Suarez-Orozco & Boalian Qin-Hilliard, 2004; García, 2009; Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, 2015; Csillik, 2019a in press, 2019b).

Several terms have emerged in recent years that attempted to challenge the deficit framing of bi-, and multilingual communities associated with the double monolingualism of monoglossic language ideologies. Some of these terms include translanguaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; García, 2009; Li Wei, 2018), polylanguaging (Jørgensen, Karrebaek, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), metrolingualism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), transidiomatic practices (Jacquemet, 2005), and translingualism (Canagarajah, 2013). All of these scholars are in the process of moving away from viewing languages as discrete objects and following the conceptualization of *languaging* as a fluid, complex, and dynamic process (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; De Bot *et al.*, 2007; Jessner 2008b; Verspoor *et al.*, 2008; Verspoor, 2017).

After all, translanguaging became an accepted pedagogy in bi-, and multilingual educational settings of multilingual and multicultural developing societies. Although it is a natural linguistic phenomenon for emergent bi-, and multilingual speakers to use all of their linguistic resources, or language repertoires (García, 2009), to communicate and make-meaning of the content in different contexts (Baker, 2011; Otheguy, García, &

Reid, 2015), it is still a challenging task for pedagogues working in diverse classroom settings to support these diverse langauge learners with adequate strategies (Csillik, 2019b).

Introducing heteroglossic language ideologies that acknowledge the dynamic aspect of language learning of bi-, and multilinguals is the current approach in demand that leads to successful bi-, and multilingual education in complex societies. In short, translanguaging can be understood on two different levels. From a sociolinguistic perspective it describes the fluid language practices of bi-, and multilingual communities. From a pedagogical perspective it describes the process whereby teachers build bridges between the realities of language practices and the language practices desired in formal educational settings. In other words, instead of seeing language blending, mixing, and co-existing as a problem that needs to be eliminated, dynamic bi-, and multilingualism position these fluid language practices, or translanguaging acts, as legitimate forms of communication. It enables emergent bi-, and multilinguals to develop metalinguistic awareness that can be used as a starting point for adding new language practices to their existing ones.

In today's diverse formal educational settings of bi-, and multilingual societies, minority heritage language schools are at high risk of compromising their out-dated language separation policies still targeting the education of the pure and perfect form of the heritage language. However, it has been already proven by many scholars on the field (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; Celic & Seltzer, 2011; Lewis *et al.*, 2012a, 2012b, Canagarajah, 2013; Flores & García, 2013; García & Wei, 2014; Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Garrity *et al.*, 2015; Otheguy *et al.*, 2015; García & Kleyn, 2016; Palviainen *et al.*, 2016; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2017; Paulsrud *et al.*, 2017; Conteh, 2018; Gort, 2018; Fu, Hadjioannou & Zhuo, 2019; Rabbidge, 2019) that this monolingual approach is not only out-dated today, but also poses a threat to the emergence and spread of bi-, and multilingual language learning strategies and pedagogies.

As a consequence, ample amount of tension might undesireably occur between members of minority ethnic communities. Including pedagogical translanguaging strategies in heritage language schools depending on the attitudes and beliefs of the pedagogues, administrators, and parents of heritage language learners can further influence the language power between the heritage (target) language as being the weaker language and the mainstream (dominant) language as being the stronger language; or vice versa (Conteh & Brock, 2010). Moreover, while different attitudes and notions might

occur between the heritage language school personnel over the usage of L1/L2/L3/Ln in heritage language classrooms; on the other hand, different attitudes and perspectives might also occur between the parents and the personnel of ethnic minority schools in mainstream societies. There might be an occurring discrepancy in recent years about the different understandings on the purpose of the existence and educational goals of heritage language schools in mainstream societies. Meanwhile parents expect to focus on heritage language education as the sole purpose of heritage ethnic schools, school personnel still insist on heritage language, culture, and tradition maintenance as their primary educational goal.

One way to address this tension is to first consider the needs of bi-, and multilingual heritage language learners of today's superdiverse complex societies. Then, to consider the parents and heritage language school personnel collaboration towards establishing common goals on how to further support the education of bi-, and multilingual heritage language learners in order for them to become successful members of not only the minority ethnic community, or the developing mainstream society, but also today's globalized world.

Therefore, there is still much to do in the field of Bi-, and Multilingual Education in order to develop a more up-to-date, culturally responsive, multilingual world for our diverse bi-, and multilingual students. What language teachers in mainstream or in complementary schools need to do is to create intercultural dimensions in their classrooms. This does not mean to acquire more knowledge of other cultures, their languages and traditions, but to gain an overall understanding of the need for implementing the translanguaging pedagogy in today's bi-, and multilingual classrooms. Teachers in complex societies should implement their knowledge-based expertise of the translanguaging pedagogy while simultaneously promoting an anti-bias environment that propagates the acceptance of all language speakers and learners regardless of their cultural, educational, and linguistic backgrounds. That is the only promising currently existing paradigm how educators around the world would be able to successfully meet the diverse educational needs of today's bi-, and multilingual learners.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

Fényképezési Engedély (Photo Consent)

Ezúton engedélyezem, hogy az Arany János Magyar Óvoda és Iskola gyermekemről / gyermekeimről fényképet / videófelvételt készítsen. Egyúttal arra is engedélyt adok, hogy ezen fényképeket / videófelvételeket az Arany János Magyar Óvoda és Iskola nyilvános/információs/közösségi és oktatási célokra felhasználja.

Kártérítésre vagy díjazásra nem tartok igényt. Az Arany János Magyar Óvoda és Iskola , valamint a Magyar Szülői-Tanári Egyesület felé az ezen a fényképek / videók használatából eredő semmiféle követeléssel nem lépek fel.

I give permission for my child's/children's photograph/video to be taken and used by the Arany János Hungarian School. I also give my permission for such photographs/videos to be used by the Arany János Hungarian School for publicity/informational/community/educational purposes.

I expect no compensation or remuneration. I will not hold the Arany János Hungarian School and the Hungarian Parent Teacher Association liable for any claims and demands that arise from usage of such photographs/videos and other media.

....

Dátum/Date *Szülő Aláírása/Parent's Signature*

Appendix B

Post-Observation Teacher Reflections

Teacher's Name________________________ Date ___________________________

1. How do you feel about today's lesson? How did it go?

2. What went well for you/your students when using Hungarian/English?

3. What challenges did you/your students face using Hungarian/English?

4. What do you think students learned today? How do you know?

5. What would you do differently next time?

Appendix C

Semi-structured in-depth interview

Teacher's Name__________________________ Date __________________________

1. Tell me about your teaching education.

2. Tell me about your experience learning or speaking a foreign language.

3. What do you think in general about allowing kids different languages into the classroom?

4. What do you think about bringing kids different languages into your classroom in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School?

5. What are some challenges you face in allowing the usage of other than the Hungarian language in your class?

6. How do you meet these challenges?

7. What's one memorable success in doing so?

8. In your opinion, what were students first languages most helpful for? What were they not helpful for?

9. How do you think your students feel about using English/Spanish in your class?

10. Anything else you think is important and you would like to share with me?

11. Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your students' background one-by-one. What is the Age, place of birth, mother's first language, father's first language, languages spoken and their levels (Hungarian/English/other), the child's dominant language in the class if you can specify the number of years the child enrolled in the school, current location where the child lives, and the number of siblings the child has?

Appendix D

Semi-structured in-depth interview

Administrator's Name_________________________ Date _________________________

1. Tell me about the times when the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School was established.
2. How was the Hungarian ethnic community in the 1960s?
3. What was the purpose of the establishment of the school? When? How was it functioning?
4. Why was it important for the founding fathers to establish the school?
5. How was Hungarian language teaching in the school at the time?
6. How important was Hungarian language transmittance and maintenance for the Hungarian families living in New York at the time?
7. How many children were registered in the school when it first opened? How many families participated in the school's life?
8. What was it like to transmit the Hungarian language in the family? What efforts parents made at the time to do so? Did the efforts differ from generations to generations?
9. What methods parents used in the home to preserve the Hungarian language?
10. What methods parents used outside the home to preserve the Hungarian language?
11. How close Hungarian descendent families were to one another at the time? How close were their children to one another?
12. What was the future picture of the Hungarian descendent families living in New York at the time? (assimilation, return to home country, etc.)
13. Were there any other associations at the time that assembled Hungarian families?
14. What were the biggest challenges at the time that Hungarian families faced?
15. Looking back today, what do you think, did it worth establishing the school or it did not? What is the future you see for the school?

Appendix E

Parent Questionnaire

May 3, 2018

Dear Parent/Guardian,

Please, kindly see attached the following "Multilingualism Questionnaire" that is a key component of my PhD dissertation study on "*Translanguaging Practices in an Early Childhood Emergent Hungarian-English Class*". I am currently enrolled in the Multilingualism PhD program at the University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary and the aim of this questionnaire is to gain background information on the multilingual students enrolled in the AraNY János Hungarian School and Kindergarten this year. The current study focuses exclusively on language, culture, attitudes towards multilingualism, and on heritage language maintenance practices amongst Hungarian speakers living in the New York City metropolitan area. I am especially interested in how parent attitudes and their perception of multilingualism influence the students' practices to switch between languages during free play in the early childhood emergent class.

By filling out this questionnaire you give your consent to participate in the study. Study records will be kept confidential. I will handle and use all collected data completely anonymously in my research. Individual identities will not be used in publications resulting from the current study, and pseudonyms will be used throughout the study. Participation in this study is VOLUNTARY, you may decline to be in the study, or to withdraw from it at any point. There will be no financial costs on your part if you decide to participate in the study. Upon participation, please fill out the questionnaire at your earliest convenience according to your best knowledge and send it back to me by email or bring it in person on 5/5/18 or 5/12/18 the latest.

It is my hope that by conducting this study and reporting the results of this study back to the administrators of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School the quality of Hungarian heritage language education will improve to meet the needs of the multilingual students enrolled in the school. Also, I hope that I will be given the opportunity to start promoting multilingualism and language learning and maintenance in general.

If you have any questions or comments regarding this study or the questionnaire, or would like to be informed about the results of this study, please kindly reach out to me via e-mail or phone, and I will be happy to provide you with further information.

Thank you very much for your help, cooperation and time! I highly appreciate your participation in this study!

Best Wishes,
Eva Csillik
Multilingualism PhD Student
University of Pannonia, Veszprém, Hungary
evacsillik@yahoo.com
(718) 419 8781

Part 1: Language Usage

(In this section you will find general questions about the nature of language use at your home. Please mark all that apply with √ or X.)

	ENGLISH	HUNGARIAN	OTHER LANGUAGE(S): (Please specify)
1.What language(s) do you understand?			
2.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) understand?			
3.What language(s) do you speak?			
4.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak?			
5.What language(s) do you write?			
6.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) write?			
7.What language(s) do you read?			
8.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) read?			
9.What language is spoken at home most of the time?			
10. What language(s) do you speak to your partner most of the time?			
11.What language(s) do you speak to your child(ren) most of the time?			
12.What language(s) do you speak to your parents (the child(ren)'s grandparents) most of the time?			
13.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to you most of the time?			
14.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to other sibling(s) most of the time?			
15.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to your parents most of the time?			
16.What language(s) your parents speak to your child most of the time?			
17.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to his/her/their friends at school?			
18. What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to his/her/their friends in their spare time?			
19.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to other (extended) relatives (e.g. cousins, aunts, uncles etc.) most of the time?			
20.What language(s) do(es) your child(ren) speak to other caregivers (babysitters) most of the time?			

Part 2: Educational Information on your Child(ren)
(In this section you will find questions about your child(ren)'s previous education and the language(s) used for instruction. Please, write your answers on the lines provided. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions, you may write "I do not wish to answer".)

1. Is this the first time your child(ren) has/have attended AraNY János Hungarian School and Kindergarten?
   ____
   ____
2. If not, how many years has/have your child(ren) attended before this school year?
   ____
   ____
3. Is there any other institution (daycare, preschool) your child(ren) has/have attended previously in the United States?
   ____
   ____
4. If yes, what language(s) was/were used for instruction?
   ____
5. How long has/have your child(ren) attended this school?
   ____
6. For how many hours per day?
   ____
7. Is there any institution your child(ren) has/have attended in another country outside of the United States?
   ____
8. If yes, what language(s) was/were used for instruction?
   ____
9. How long has/have your child(ren) attended this school?
   ____
10. For how many hours per day?
   ____

Part 3: Attitude towards multilingualism and the Hungarian language
(In this section you will find questions about how you feel about multilingualism, the Hungarian language and language maintenance. Please, choose all relevant answers or write your answers on the lines provided. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions, you may write "I do not wish to answer".)

1. What is the main reason(s) why your child(ren) has/have attended AraNY János Hungarian School and Kindergarten this year?
- □ I wanted my child(ren) to maintain his/her(their) Hungarian language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing)
- □ I wanted my child(ren) to improve his/her(their) Hungarian language skills (listening, speaking, reading, writing)
- □ I wanted my child(ren) to meet other children with a Hungarian background
- □ I wanted my child(ren) to learn about the Hungarian culture (traditions, folk dance, food, celebrations)
- □ Other (Please specify).

____

2. Is it important for you that your child(ren) learn the Hungarian language? Why or why not?
(Please kindly explain).

____
____
____

3. What do you do at home to encourage using the Hungarian language among your child(ren)?
- □ I solely talk to them in Hungarian and expect them to speak to me in Hungarian.
- □ We watch movies/TV shows together.
- □ I read him/her/them stories in Hungarian.
- □ I let him/her/them play Hungarian language games or apps.
- □ We sing children's songs; chant riddles together.
- □ I arrange playdates with other Hungarian children at home.
- □ Other (Please specify).

____

4. What do you do outside your home to encourage using the Hungarian language among your child(ren)?
- □ I joined the Hungarian ethnic community and participate in their cultural activities.
- □ I made friends with other Hungarian families and arrange programs together.
- □ Travel to Hungary on a regular basis (summer vacation, winter break).
- □ I host visitors from Hungary from time to time (relatives, friends, acquaintances)
- □ Other (Please specify).

____

5. How do you feel about your child(ren) using multiple languages every day?

____
____
____

6. Did AraNY János Hungarian School and Kindergarten meet your expectations this year?
   Why or why not? (Please explain).
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

7. If not, what could AraNY János Hungarian School and Kindergarten change to improve?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

8. What are the greatest challenges you face in order to maintain the Hungarian language in your family?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

9. What steps do you plan to help maintain the Hungarian language in your family?
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

10. Comments/Suggestions
   ____
   ____
   ____
   ____

Appendix F

Parent Demographic Data Form

This final page is not part of the questionnaire. It will be processed completely anonymously. Please mark all that apply with √ or X or write your answers on the lines provided. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions, you may write "*I do not wish to answer*".

1. What is your age?

□ 18-29 □ 30-39 □ 40-49 □ 50+

2. What is your sex?

□ Male □ Female □ Prefer not to say

3. What is your highest level of education?

□ High School graduate □ Associate's degree □ Bachelor's degree
□ Master's degree □ Post Graduate □ DoctorateProfessional degree
□ Some college □ Other □ Technical/Vocational School

4. Language(s)

Please indicate the level of your language knowledge. Use from the following to indicate your level of language knowledge: B=basic (A2), C=confident (B1/B2), F=fluent (C1).

Languages	Understand	Speak	Read	Write
Hungarian				
English				
Other (Please specify). ________________				
Other (Please specify). ________________				

Please mark all that apply with √ or X.

Languages	First language (mother tongue)	Second language	Additional language(s)	Dominant language
Hungarian				
English				
Other (Please specify) ________________				
Other (Please specify) ________________				

5. **Are you first, second, or third generation immigrant living in the United States?**
□ I am first generation
□ I am second generation
□ I am third generation
□ I have not immigrated to the United States
□ My ancestors came a long time ago
□ I do not wish to answer

6. **What was your/your family's reason for immigrating to the United States?**
□ Job opportunity
□ Economic opportunity (Wanted a better life/better future)
□ Political freedom
□ Political refugee (Escaped political persecution or war)
□ Natural disasters (earthquake, flooding, hurricane, etc.)
□ Religious freedom
□ Family reunification or marriage
□ "The American Dream"
□ Other ____
□ I do not wish to answer

7. **How long have you been living in the United States?**
□ 1-3 years □ 3-6 years □ 7-10 years □ 10-15 years □ 15+ years
□ I was born in the United States □ I do not wish to answer

Thank you again for your time and participation!

In case you are interested and would like to be informed about the results of this research, please, kindly reach out to me via email at evacsillik@yahoo.com, or phone call at (718) 419-8781, so I can send you further information. Thank you!