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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

PhD Theses Booklet
by

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.1 The Research Problem	1
1.2 Background and Need for the Research	2
1.3 Purpose of the Research	2
1.4 Research Questions	3
2. Literature Review	3
2.1 Origins of Translanguaging	3
2.2 Definitions of Translanguaging	4
2.3 Translanguaging as Pedagogy	4
2.4 Heritage Language Education	5
2.5 Hungarian as Heritage Language Education	5
3. Research Methodology	6
3.1 Research Design	7
3.2 Research Methods	7
3.3 Data Sources, Data Collection, Data Analysis	7
4. The Main Findings and Theses of the Dissertation	8
4.1 Forms and Functions of Translanguaging	8
4.1.1 Translanguaging for Meaning Making	8
4.1.2 Translanguaging for Bridging the Language Gap	9
4.1.3 Translanguaging for Gaining Intercultural Competence	10
4.2 Teachers' Perceptions and Attitudes of Translanguaging	10
4.2.1 Positive Attitudes and Perception	10
4.2.2 Negative Attitudes and Perceptions	11
4.3 Parents' Attitudes and Perceptions of Bi-, and Multilingualism	11
5. Reflections and Future Directions	12
5.1 Strength and Limitations	13
5.2 Future Recommendations	14
5.3 Suggestions for Future Modernization	14
6. Conclusion	14
References in the PhD Theses Booklet	16
Own Publications Related to the Topic of the PhD Dissertation	21

1. Introduction

In the era of globalization, technological innovations, and intensive migration, the number of emergent bi-, and multilingual students is rapidly growing. As a result of the influx of great diversity in today's educational settings, using the term 'multilingual'/'multicultural' education is more accurate when describing the realities of 'superdiverse' societies. Meanwhile, different states, nations, and social minority groups have different educational options to reflect the complex multilingual and multicultural networks of diverse classrooms; there are no standard pedagogy in use in multilingual/multicultural educational settings. Today's pedagogues follow numerous and diversified teaching practices to meet the educational needs of their students to maximize learning and communication in these classrooms.

In recent years, many researcher's imagination has been captured around the term 'translanguaging' and the pedagogy built upon the principles of translanguaging as one of the alternatives to educate today's bi-, and multilingual students in diverse educational settings (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; Rabbidge, 2019). In formal public education, pedagogues aim to discover the characteristic features of translanguaging from the diverse multilingual and multimodal practices of bi-, and multilingual students in programs, such as transitional bilingual education (TBE), dual language (DL), English as a New Language (ENL), or English as a Foreign Language (EFL). Through the translanguaging pedagogy, different heritage (home) languages of bi-, and multilingual students are welcomed and used in the classroom to scaffold the content.

In contrast, the focus is on preserving the heritage language and culture of minority ethnic communities in informal complementary schools of mainstream societies (see García, Zakharia & Otcu, 2013). Here, educators advocate for protecting the integrity of the heritage (target) language used in the ethnic community in order to preserve the ethnic identity of the minority community; despite the low-status of the heritage language in the mainstream society. Therefore, while they accept the existence of different languages in the mainstream society, they are not ready to accept the 'contamination' of such languages in their heritage language community. They follow a 'compartmentalization of languages' educational policy, a monolingual perspective, where the boundaries between languages are constantly being challenged following the linguistic realities of today's heritage language learners.

1.1 The 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, 1995). First generation Hungarian immigrant parents share stories of their own parents who do not speak fluent English. Yet, their American born children (grandchildren) resist learning Hungarian as their heritage language; they "rebel against their roots" (Navracsics, 2016: 16).

School policies, teacher attitudes, peer relationships, and perceptions of English as the language in higher status in the United States contribute to the younger generation's resistance to speak Hungarian. 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). They very early on face that the key to acceptance in the mainstream society is

knowing English, and they learn it quickly. According to Wong Fillmore (1991), early exposure to English leads 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. Consequently, Hungarian descendent families living in the United States face difficulties to transmit the Hungarian (heritage) language to their American-born English speaking children.

1.2 Background and Need for the Research

In the United States, thanks to Ofelia García and her followers, the research focusing on the pedagogical aspect of translanguaging in bi-, and multilingual formal educational settings only started to develop in the past decade. They investigated the meaning making aspect of the translanguaging pedagogy in middle and high schools. In Europe, a collection of rich empirical research was introduced by BethAnn Paulsrud and co-researchers (2017) to explore the immense potential of translanguaging in educational settings, where English was not the dominant language (e.g. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, and France). Katja N. Andersen (2016, 2017) researched in a trilingual (Luxembourgish, German, French) Luxembourgish early childhood setting to explore the engagement of very young students during literacy practices. Åsa Palviainen and fellow researchers (2016) also 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 (Arab-Hebrew context). They observed very young children to examine the teacher's language practices in pre-school classrooms. Apart from the above mentioned projects carried out in formal educational settings, the research has been extremely limited in correlation with translanguaging in early childhood education, which led me to find a gap in the research. None of the previous research projects targeted analysing the translanguaging phenomena during free-play in contemporary heritage language schools of a mainstream society.

1.3 Purpose of the Research

The main purpose of my research was to:

1. Explore the forms and functions of the translanguaging phenomena in order to discover the language practices of emergent bi-, and multilingual children in early childhood Hungarian heritage educational settings in New York City
2. Understand to what extent the phenomenon of language preservation and maintenance of the heritage language is jeopardized in the Hungarian ethnic community if other languages are welcomed in the youngest age groups of heritage language classrooms
3. Explore future directions to maximize Hungarian heritage language usage in the youngest age groups of the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City
4. Explore future directions to familiarize Hungarian descendent children with the Hungarian cultural and ethnic identity
5. Inform policy makers in the Hungarian ethnic community in New York City and/or in the home country about the realities and educational needs of today's Hungarian descendent emergent bi-, and multilingual students
6. Inform those who are curious to discover the linguistic and cultural background of the Hungarian ethnic minority living in New York City, or those who are interested in learning about the benefits of introducing pedagogical translanguaging in heritage language education in minority communities

1.4. Research Questions

The closest to examine the topic of the dissertation was the case study research, as this scientific framework is strongly exploratory, no preliminary research is required or the establishment of hypotheses to be verified. The number of Hungarian researches that choose to discuss the educational aspects of translanguaging is small (Heltai & Kulcsár, 2017; Laihonon, 2018), so the formulation of valid hypotheses is difficult to undertake due to the lack of information. The dissertation seeks answers to the following research questions, which are not hypotheses due to the specifics of case study research.

- 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?

2. Literature Review

In bi-, multilingual classrooms, typically more languages are used (home & target) at the same time considering the diverse backgrounds of bi-, and multilingual students. During free play, emergent bi-, and multilingual students naturally switch between their languages. This natural way of representing the language practices of bi-, and multilingual students were viewed in two different ways. Previously, this switching between languages phenomenon was not welcomed in traditional classrooms, and there was a common (false) belief that such code-switching was due to an insufficient knowledge of the target language (Reyes, 2004). Fortunately, in recent years, the academia and the wider public admit that language choice depends on a given communicative context. According to Zentella (1997), for example, in certain situations, bi-, and multilingual speakers choose the language in which they can convey the meaning in the most accurate way. Thus, nowadays it is becoming increasingly accepted to employ code-switching in today's classrooms. However, when this phenomenon is referred to as a pedagogical practice, it is usually called 'translanguaging' (Creese & Blackledge, 2010); which is still applied limitedly in today's bi-, multilingual classrooms.

2.1 Origins of Translanguaging

The word 'translanguaging' itself originated from the Welsh '*trawsieithu*' word introduced by the Welsh educator, Cen Williams (1994). He 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 (Li 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; 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 in bi-, or multi-lingual settings (García & Wei, 2014; Paulsrud, Rosén, Straszer & Wedin, 2017; García & Kleyn, 2018; García, Johnson & Seltzer, 2018; Gort, 2018; Andersen, 2016, 2017). Prof. Dr. Kees de Bot and David Singleton argued that the term ‘translanguaging’ has become so popular in recent years and used in so many ways in the academic field that it has no meaning at all anymore and it is just another way of saying that ‘anything goes’ in multilingual situations.

2.2 Definitions of Translanguaging

The following definitions were previously used in the field of Bi-, and Multilingualism to introduce ‘translanguaging’ as a term:

- * “A process of making meaning and shaping knowledge and experience through language” (Swain, 2006: 97)
- * “The process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages” (Baker, 2011: 288)
- * “The ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah, 2011: 401)
- * “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” (García, 2009: 140)
- * “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)
- * “The different ways of being within and in-between languages” (Tódor, 2019: 2)
- * “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” (Csillik & Golubeva, 2019: 170)

I used the following definition in my dissertation based on Csillik and Golubeva’s (2019: 170) interpretation, “*the interchangeable use of two or more languages of emergent bi-, and multilingual language learners to effectively deliver verbal utterances in order to achieve successful communication*” (see dissertation p. 23).

2.3 Translanguaging as Pedagogy

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

García and Li (2014) also believed that education can be a translanguaging space where teachers and students can go between and beyond socially constructed language and educational systems, or structures and practices to engage diverse learners in multiple meaning-making systems. These spaces can generate new configurations of language and education practices and can challenge and transform old understanding of structures to make new ones. The translanguaging classroom 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 provides an opportunity for language learners to gain intercultural competence, as well as to help these students build their bi-, or multicultural identities in these linguistically diverse educational settings. The translanguaging pedagogy enables all bi-, multilingual students to participate actively in the daily classroom life. Also, it helps students to see themselves and their linguistic and cultural practices valuable rather than something they lack of. Through the translanguaging pedagogy all language learners socio-emotional development is fostered, which promotes social justice and equity in the classroom for minoritized students (García & Kleyn, 2016). Cenoz and Gorter (2017: 314) further agreed to the pedagogical advantage of translanguaging as “(...) 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.

2.4 Heritage Language Education

Even though there had been an increasing support for language preservation of heritage languages in the United States 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 quick assimilation of heritage language learners (Czeglédi, 2017). Many researchers (Cummings, 2001; Wong Fillmore, 1991) previously pointed it out that the younger generations of immigrant families fail to maintain their heritage language in the host society. This occurs because of the influence of public education, peer and social pressure, and the lack of resources supporting heritage language maintenance (Park, 2013). As a result, the monolingual intent of the U.S. laws is seen by constraints on the use of students’ home (heritage) languages in public education (García & Kleifgen, 2018).

2.5 Hungarian as Heritage Language Education

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 (US Census Bureau, 2018¹). 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)². It is neither mentioned

¹ United States Census Bureau. Ancestry 2000 Census Data. Data Set: Census 2000 Summary File 3 (SF 3) - Sample Data. Retrived on January 20, 2020 from https://web.archive.org/web/20111125030840/http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=01000US&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_QTP13&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U&-_lang=en&-_sse=on

² 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

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, it is clear that 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.

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.³ The rapid decline of the number of Hungarians living in the United States is due to two major factors. One is that there are fewer Hungarian-born residents in the United States today than a decade ago. Old generation Hungarians are on the verge of dying and their descendants are only considered as "semi-speakers" (Fenyvesi, 2005). Hungarian descendent immigrants conduct mixed-marriages, so they and their offsprings primarily speak English in the family (Navracsics, 2016). Another factor is that mass migration to the United States has stopped. The increasing prosperity of the European Union and its Schengen visa-free travel policy within member countries made it appealing for Hungarian citizens to immigrate to the United Kingdom, Germany, and Austria instead of the United States.

3. Research Methodology

To explore the topic of the dissertation, I chose a theoretical framework for case study research based on the theoretical principles described by Duff (2008), Nunan-Bailey (2009), Stake (2005), and Yin (2014). The data recorded during the case study were analyzed according to the constructivist analysis direction of the grounded theory. The interpretive nature of this direction gave the central character of the analysis, which focused on empirical data collection, and the interpretation framework of the phenomenon being created starting from the data set (Charmaz 2006). When examining a data set, the "well-founded theoretical researcher focuses exclusively on the data, looking for samples" that are "organized into a pattern that creates an analytical network" (Charmaz 2006: 82, 132). From the actions and language production of the research participants, an analytical field of interpretation could be formed. The developed codes and their grouping gave the analytical categories, which are realized in the thematic narrative pattern. The choice of the theoretical framework is further strengthened by the fact that the analytical generalization principle of case study research could be realized as a result of the narrative analysis of empirics, and the combination of the two created a strong external validity.

The selection of the participants in the case study involved two of the four sampling types presented in the presentation of the theoretical framework: on the one hand for a case with a specific characteristic, on the other hand for strategy-free selection, chose from cases in its environment, (Duff, 2008; Miles & Hubermann, 1994). During the selection of the case, I visited different educational sites in the institution where I knew the teachers and the inclusive nature of the school, e.g. there were Hungarian pre-school children with multiple language background.

The description of the nature and characteristics of the case was formed simultaneously with the definition of the research questions. To ensure reliability, I developed a data collection and research protocol (Héra-Ligeti, 2005; Yin, 2003) that was used for all interviews. The systematic storage of the collected data is solved both electronically and in paper-based form, in the case of sound recordings it was recorded

³ <https://qz.com/1476819/italian-is-the-fastest-dying-language-in-the-us>

Italian is the fastest dying language in the US. *Quartz*. Published on November 30, 2018 by Dan Kopf. Retrieved on January 13, 2020

on several storage devices. These techniques allowed direct data access, thus guaranteeing reliability.

3.1 Research Design

Drawing upon traditions of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) I designed to explore the relationships between translanguaging participants and contexts in the early childhood classrooms of AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA) by using triangulation (Sántha, 2009 & 2015), a linguistic and ethnographic methodology. As little is known about introducing the translanguaging pedagogy in heritage language spaces, this research design offered an opportunity to explore the translanguaging phenomenon in Hungarian heritage language education from multiple perspectives –that of the researcher, the participants (administrators, teachers, emergent bilinguals), and the parents of the participating children– that added both depth and breadth to the rapidly growing research on the academic field.

3.2 Research Methods

Based on Kálmán Sántha's (2015) sign system, a three-phase sequential methodology model containing complex systems was created:

KVAL → kval → KVAL.

The sequential application of the different methods provided validity, authenticity and credibility to the design. Sequence, in what order these methods were carried out during the research, mattered the following way:

- (1) To learn as much as possible about the participants, their language production in the classrooms, in the family, and in the wider community, I used *classroom observations* as a "KVAL" method (Sántha, 2015).
- (2) *In-depth interviews* with the participating pedagogues were planned also as a "KVAL" method (Sántha, 2015). These were the two main methods of the frame of this research design.
- (3) Qualitative *questionnaires* with the parent participants, as a "kval" submethod (Sántha, 2015), were embedded in between the two main methods (Sántha, 2015).

3.3 Data Sources, Data Collection, Data Analysis

3.3.1 Data Sources

Primary sources of data included audio recordings and field notes of classroom observations (free-play), 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 the parents of the student participants.

3.3.2 Data Collection

Data collection planned to occur twice during the longitudinal qualitative 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. All data was collected during these two time intervals of the research.

3.3.3 Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred in two major phases following the two major stages of data collection. When I analysed the collected data, I followed the order of my three research questions. The main objective of the first phase of data analysis was to explore the forms and functions of the translanguaging phenomenon in the AraNY János Hungarian

Kindergarten and School in New York (USA). 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. I used distinctive symbols to transcribe the audio and manual recordings (e.g. *Italics* when languages other than Hungarian was detected).

Since a communicative event is a bounded entity of some kind, it was 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) concept, I demonstrated how the detected speech acts were separate entities by using the correct punctuation (., ?, !). 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. 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. 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) seven functions of language that children use in their early years.

The objective of the second phase of data analysis was to understand the teachers' perceptions and attitudes towards translanguaging first, and then to explore the attitudes and perceptions towards bi-, and multilingualism in general and in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York (USA). To operationalize my understanding of teachers' perceptions and attitudes, I used Gee's (2011) methods of discourse analysis. This method helped me achieve an understanding of teachers' perceptions of language use in the class community, and in the larger school community.

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. I prepare a simple grid to collate the data provided in the questionnaires. Design a simple coding system. In it, I carefully wrote down the number of questions following the answers I have received. I evaluated the open and closed questions of the questionnaires by reviewing the responses and categorising them into a sufficiently small set of broad categories, which then was coded.

4. The Main Findings and Theses of the Dissertation

In the following, I present the main findings and theses of the dissertation. I present them according to the research questions on which these findings were primarily discovered. Under each research question, I present the most important theses.

4.1 Forms and Functions of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

After data analyses, I classified the main findings into three narrower categories according to the forms and functions of translanguaging used in the classrooms. Based on the purpose of the translanguaging phenomena, I determined the following categories:

4.1.1 Translanguaging for Meaning Making

Translanguaging acknowledged the varied linguistic repertoires of young children's various language features, that they brought into the bi-, and multilingual heritage language classrooms, and which allowed them to use all varied features of their different languages that they previously acquired in order to make meaning, gain understanding,

and gain knowledge (see Golubeva & Csillik, 2018). Through translanguaging young bi-, and multilingual heritage language learners were able to articulate their thoughts and to make meaning of the context they were in. Meaning was not only made by using the home languages of these children, but also by using translanguaging in collaboration with other scaffolding tools, e.g. body language, gestures, visual display, and mimicry.

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.

4.1.2 Translanguaging for Bridging the Language Gap

It often occurred that bi-, and multilingual heritage language speakers lacked an understanding of each other due to a deficit in shared vocabulary or in a difference of their cross-cultural competence. Bi-, and multilingual heritage language speakers faced these language gaps for two reasons. On one hand, language gaps occurred when the bi-, and multilingual speakers' linguistic competency and previous experiences with the linguistic background of languages present in the communication differed from one another (missing phonemes, morphemes, lexemes, etc). On the other hand, when the cultural identity (e.g. values, habits, attitudes, beliefs, etc.) of the speakers were distinct from one another (e.g. missing cultural terms), Then, language gaps occurred. The research proved that young emergent bilingual heritage language learners found difficulties in six categories where lexemes were ambivalent or did not exist at all in the different cultures. These were the following categories: (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) (see Csillik & Golubeva, 2020).

The research revealed how the attitudes of pedagogues encouraged or discouraged language learners' translanguaging acts to tackle occurring language gaps in their conversations. Young heritage language learners heavily relied on the help of adults, or more experienced peers, to bridge occurring lexical and cultural gaps in their communication. These linguistically more advanced speaking partners 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) as they were switching between the codes of the different languages; but they also functioned as cultural brokers or mediators. They shared and exchanged cultural information to ensure clear communication between speakers. Their role required extremely high tolerance for differences, diversity, values, and expertise in cross-cultural competence and language proficiency. Meanwhile, the results showed that finding solutions for cultural gaps ultimately was a more complex and challenging process for very young heritage language learners. It often required the help of teachers and parents, who could effortlessly function as an intercultural mediator.

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.

4.1.3 Translanguaging for Gaining Intercultural Competence

The research further showed how the translanguaging phenomena provided young emergent bi-, and multilingual children various opportunities to develop intercultural competences while exploring other cultures, traditions, customs, beliefs, and worldviews represented in the classroom. Through translanguaging acts, emergent bi-, and multilingual speakers as engaging in social and interactive learning opportunities (e.g. play) were able to explore more about themselves, more about others, and more about the world around them. They built stronger awareness, acceptance, and tolerance of the self, of other people, of other countries, and of other cultures (see Csillik & Golubeva, 2020 in press). The translanguaging act enabled these emergent bi-, and multilingual speakers from different backgrounds to gain and express intercultural competence, such as, (1) be aware of one's world view, (2) develop positive attitudes towards different cultures and diversity, and (3) gain knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews.

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.

4.2 Teachers' Perceptions and Attitudes of Translanguaging in Hungarian Emergent Bi-, and Multilingual Heritage Language Classes

The research revealed that the community's efforts rather constrain than encourage translanguaging. By insisting the sole usage of the Hungarian language in class instruction and in the school community, today's reality of the language choices of bi-, and multilingual emergent heritage language learners are not met. The results showed several discrepancies in this minority community. There was a discrepancy between the attitudes and perceptions of the translanguaging phenomena between the pedagogues of the heritage language school; not only in different, but also in the same pre-school classes. The teachers' different perceptions and attitudes of translanguaging influenced the children's efforts towards Hungarian heritage language learning in positive and negative directions. Still, regardless of teachers having a positive or negative perceptions and attitudes towards the translanguaging phenomena, the results revealed that they all used code-switching and co-langauging in the heritage language classrooms for the following purposes: (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 heritage (target) language.

4.2.1 Positive Attitudes and Perceptions

A positive attitude towards welcoming different languages in the heritage language classroom promoted students' participation in various class activities. It also provided more opportunities for teachers to learn more about their students, their students' backgrounds, and their students' language repertoires. They also learned 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 conversations to built on. The exemplary open-minded attitudes towards translanguaging recognised the expertise in students whom otherwise were excluded from classroom activities. Students were rather considered as capable language users than limited language learners. The research further revealed five reasons why teachers felt motivated to use translanguaging in their early childhood emergent bi-, and multilingual classes: (1) to convey information and reinforce meaning; (2) to create translanguaging spaces when

asking for the meaning of the word 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 (see Golubeva & Csillik, 2018).

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.

4.2.2 Negative Attitudes and Perceptions

A negative attitude towards welcoming different languages in the heritage language classroom decreased students' interest and participation in various class activities. This negative attitude towards switching the codes in the classroom not only transmitted an unwelcoming atmosphere, broke down the student's motivation, but also discouraged newcomer students to further listen to the teacher and participate in class activities. It was difficult for teachers with different attitudes and perceptions towards the translanguaging phenomena to collaborate in the same 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, it made the students feel puzzled that led to an even more reserved attitude towards heritage language learning.

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.

At the time of the research, all teachers found it challenging to implement translanguaging as pedagogy wittingly in advance by carefully planning when to use it during classroom instruction. Their translanguaging practices mostly derived from improvisations that occurred in the heat of the moment. They code-switched or co-linguaged when they noticed that no other strategy was working to keep students' attention and motivation to participate in class activities.

4.3 Parents' Attitudes and Perceptions of Bi-, and Multilingualism in the Home and in the Hungarian Ethnic Community in New York City

The list of discrepancies continued in the wider Hungarian ethnic community. There was discrepancy between the attitudes and perceptions of the translanguaging phenomena not only just between the pedagogues of this heritage language school, but also between the school personnel and the parents in the wider Hungarian community. Highlighting the Hungarian-only policy by urging students for the "proper Hungarian" usage was not only a discrepancy within the school space, but also in many of the Hungarian families belonging to this minority ethnic community. The results showed that those children who were encouraged and prompted to use the target (Hungarian) language in the home with their parents and siblings were more successful heritage language users in the heritage language school community than those students who were not. But, there was another discrepancy between the composition of the families where these emergent bi-, and multilingual heritage language learners came from. The results showed that today many Hungarian descendent young children grow up in mixed-marriage families where they lack the opportunity to learn and practice the Hungarian language.

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.

All parents agreed that due to the very unique situation of their diverse family ethnic backgrounds, the role of Hungarian heritage language education in the Hungarian ethnic community is key. However, the more emergent bi-, multilingual newcomer students 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 leading to more difficulties to preserve the Hungarian-only language policy currently being followed.

Another discrepancy was detected between today's first and second generation Hungarian immigrant parents' attitudes and perceptions compared to the attitudes and perceptions of the "Founding Fathers" of this heritage language school. This discrepancy further showed that recently there was a shift between the purpose and goal of this heritage language school. Today's parents and school personnel disagree on the role of this ethnic heritage language school. While the former wished to see the school as the primary source of acquiring the Hungarian language, the later considered the school as the primary source of preserve, transmit, and maintain the Hungarian language. The results showed that parents preferred the learning of the Hungarian language first in the heritage language school community, over the Hungarian ethnic cultural programming (e.g. arts and crafts, folkdance, traditional celebrations).

All parents perceived bi-, and multilingualism as an important goal for their child(ren) regarding family communication, relationship building in the heritage community and in other language communities, heritage language and culture preservation, and future competitiveness on the labor market. They wished to raise (a) bi-, and multilingual child(ren) in the New York City metropolitan area, who also knew Hungarian as their parent(s)' heritage language. These parents further wished their child(ren) to carry on their family's Hungarian origins, traditions, culture, and language so they can maintain family relations in Hungary.

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.

It was proven that various Hungarian subgroups were still in operation in the Hungarian minority community in New York City. This gave parents who were interested in participating in Hungarian social activities, events, and reunions to bring their young ones with them to practice the Hungarian language with other Hungarian descendent peers. Therefore, an important finding was that the social and linguistic process of language shift between generations of Hungarian speakers was considerably slower than it was predicted before.

5. Reflections and Future Directions

It is evident that 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, it heavily depends on the attitudes and perceptions of today's school administrators, teachers, and their own parents. Fostering their education can only be achieved with the joint collaboration between the school officials and the parents. This modernization process should start with mutual respect, acceptance, tolerance, empathy, and unity. There is a need for a collective unity of the Hungarian ethnic community living in New York City. As Helen Keller once said, "*Alone we can do so little; together we can do so much.*"

This Hungarian heritage language community living in New York City could benefit from the introduction of the translanguaging pedagogy. School administrators and teachers could benefit from the usage of the translanguaging pedagogy in the early childhood classrooms due to the increased number of newcomers who yet struggle with learning basic Hungarian. 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 plan of action for implementing the translanguaging pedagogy that would complement the existing curriculum in the school. This could include the linguistic realities and goals of the students in this ethnic community.

5.1 Strength and Limitations

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. The second derives from the fact that 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 is to collaborate with and support the teachers in responding to the local needs of the participating Hungarian heritage school community in which the research was conducted. 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.

This research has some unforeseen limitations as well. The transcription of audio recordings resulted in a lengthy, time-consuming transcription phase; however the transcribed data provide many possibilities for future analysis. Furthermore, 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 has limitations in measurement of comparison. Unfortunately, the sudden decease of one of the teacher participants in the second year of the research, changed my role of an observer-participant and my role was switched to being a participant-observer. Also, the over-the-phone interview sessions with teachers and administrators were planned for 40-45 minute intervals at a time, which is less than the recommended 90 minutes interview sessions. Finally, due to the very small sample size and sampling challenges (non-probability sampling) based on the very unique nature of Hungarians living around New York City who has been attending the heritage language school, some might find my research findings very specific to this small ethnic community.

5.2 Future Recommendations

The results of my research provides several directions for further studies. It is recommended to (1) further analyze the transcribed data from a different perspective, (2) to compare the operation of the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School 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 multilingual/multicultural education in heritage language schools. Moreover, (3) to evaluate in what forms the implementation in early childhood education of the factors described above leads to the enhancement of the young multilingual children's engagement in literacy practices. Regardless, (4) the sample could be enlarged to guarantee representative status. Of interest would be to examine further Hungarian heritage language education in mainstream societies, e.g. in a bigger sample comprising more classes of early childhood education in the same school, or in other Hungarian as heritage language communities in New York City, in New York State, and potentially in other locations of the United States (or elsewhere) where Hungarian ethnic minorities are settled.

5.3 Suggestions for Future Modernization

The following modernization initiatives are recommended at the level of the school culture (macro level) in the AraNY János Hungarian Kindergarten and School in New York City (USA):

- (1) Readdressing, Redefining, and Determining Educational Goals in the Hungarian Ethnic Community
- (2) Developing a Comprehensive Institutionalized Language Plan
- (3) Professional Development Series: Introducing Translanguaging Pedagogy in Theory
- (4) Model Teaching Series: Introducing Translanguaging Pedagogy in Practice
- (5) Determining Inquiry Teams and Creating Project Blueprints
- (6) Translanguaging Pedagogy Implementation (bottom-up model)

The following innovation initiatives at the level of the classroom (micro level) are recommended to improve the quality of teaching (see Csillik, 2019a, in press):

- (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 (oral, written)
- (9) Family Involvement
- (10) Using Alternate Forms of Assessment

6. Conclusion

In today's diverse mainstream societies, complementary heritage language schools are at high risk of compromising to follow their language separation policies in order to preserve the purest form of the heritage language. However, it has been already proven by many scholars on the field (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; Rabbidge, 2019) that the monolingual approach is not only out-dated in today's complex societies, but it also poses a threat to the increase of the number of bi-, and multilingual speakers. What language teachers in formal and in complementary schools need to do is to first 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 needs of their students.

The case study nature of my dissertation proved that the translanguaging pedagogy in today's bi-, and multilingual classrooms is in high demand since it has a strong pedagogical aspect that can scaffold learning to promote meaning-making, can bridge existing language and culture gaps, and help to gain intercultural competence. Teachers have an exemplary and essential role in the translanguaging process that impacts our future generation of multilingual and multicultural citizens. Through culturally responsive teaching, they strengthen their sense of identities and heritage, their sense of connectedness, and promote the common goal to preserve heritage languages. The positive attitudes and perceptions of the teachers on translanguaging in early childhood classes increases young emergent bi-, and multilingual learners' attention, motivation, and participation in class activities.

Parents have a key role to play in creating the rising generation of future bilingual and multilingual global citizens. They set examples for our young generation today, as they influence their children's relationship with the school as a social institution, with other peers and members of the school community and the wider society, and set examples for the exploitation of the intellectual and financial possibilities their family has. Their key role to motivate their young children to become the next successful leaders of the future.

The dissertation sought to answer the research questions raised in the hope that the concrete case study, the qualitative methods exploring the forms and functions of pedagogical translanguaging, the teachers' perceptions and attitudes of translanguaging, the parents' attitudes and perceptions of bi-, and multilingualism, and the proposed solutions could make heritage language learning more effective. The problem examined, which initially seemed unique on the students' side, also highlighted the general factors of language integration, successful communication in a foreign language and school integration; from an institutional point of view, it also raised the importance of factors in the organization of education, the flow of information and in-service teacher training. As a specific supplementary methodological proposal, on the one hand, it formulated a complex language level survey to determine the direction of development when entering school, and on the other hand, it highlighted the need for supporting newcomer beginner heritage language learners. This empirical research was motivated by the principle of practical utility.

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