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ABSTRACT

This article examines the use of translanguaging as a pedagogical tool to support learning within bilingual classrooms in schools in Wales. Translanguaging is considered within non-pedagogic and pedagogic school contexts; hence, a distinction is made between universal and classroom translanguaging. Translanguaging has evoked debate surrounding the needed protection of the minoritized language; for example, in some designated Welsh-medium schools in predominantly English-speaking areas of Wales, there is a growing concern among teachers that allowing the use of majority language texts for translanguaging purposes might be a stepping-stone for increasing the use of English. This article asserts that bilingual education for the empowerment of minoritized languages, such as Welsh, must protect a space for the minoritized language, while simultaneously creating a bilingual space in which Welsh can interact with English. Hence, this article argues for the benefits of translanguaging in Welsh bilingual education and demonstrates instances in which this occurs.

KEYWORDS

Bilingual; bilingual education; immersion education; minority languages; teacher education; translanguaging; Wales

This article focuses on translanguaging in the context of bilingual Welsh-English education in Wales, United Kingdom. Welsh is one of the regional minority languages that is officially recognized and used in education. The concept of translanguaging was used for the first time in Wales and has spread to other educational contexts. In this article I look at the bilingual situation in Wales and translanguaging in bilingual classrooms.

After an increase in the number of Welsh speakers between 1991 and 2001, since 2001 the number has decreased. Whilst there was a significant increase, of over 74,000, in the number of Welsh speakers from 1991 to 2001, the 2011 Welsh census (Welsh Government, 2012) indicates that between 2001 and 2011, there was a decrease in the proportion (from 20.8% to 19.0%) and the number (from 582,000 to 562,000) of people age three years and over who are able to speak Welsh. The decrease was attributed to demographic changes in the population, in-migration of non-Welsh speakers, out-migration of Welsh speakers, and changes to people's language skills between censuses (Welsh Government, 2012). The proportion of people able to speak Welsh varies remarkably from area to area across Wales. The proportion of people age three years and over able to speak Welsh in 2011 was at its highest in the North West Wales local authorities of Gwynedd (65.4%) and the Isle of Anglesey (57.2%) and at its lowest in the South East Wales local authorities of Blaenau Gwent (7.8%) and Merthyr Tydfil (8.9%).

The Welsh Language Commissioner's 5-year Report, *The Position of the Welsh Language 2012–2015* (Welsh Language Commissioner, 2016), covers a wide range of different aspects including an analysis of efforts to create new Welsh speakers and an examination of the use of Welsh in specific contexts. The report states that it is difficult to analyse how successful the education system has been in producing more-fluent Welsh speakers who have the confidence to use the language on a daily basis and explains that recent Welsh government intervention to increase the number of Welsh speakers (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010) has had limited success.

In the next sections, I will explain the role of Welsh in schools and the way schools are categorised according to the use of Welsh-medium provision, bilingual education practices, and classroom translanguaging in primary and secondary schools.

Welsh in schools

The definition of bilingual education is complex and covers a variety of situations. The Welsh Government's document *Defining Schools According to the Use of Welsh-Medium Provision* (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007), categorises schools according to Welsh-medium provision. The Welsh Assembly Government (2010) acknowledges that the term *bilingual provision* is used to refer to a wide range of teaching and learning settings that include varying amounts of Welsh language in the delivery. Bilingual schools can include those for which a large measure of the curriculum is delivered through the medium of Welsh, those in which there are Welsh-medium and English-medium streams taught separately (sometimes called *dual stream* schools), and those wherein only a few elements of the curriculum or only a small number of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh (Welsh Assembly Government, 2010).

The Welsh Assembly Government (2010) recognises that the linguistic outcomes of different types of bilingual provision will vary significantly. It is said that when pupils from a Welsh-speaking background attend a bilingual school, a balanced curriculum through the medium of Welsh and English can be effective in ensuring fluency in both languages. However, it is also stressed that where learners' linguistic skills in Welsh are not reinforced by family or community, learners are unlikely to achieve full fluency and confidence in Welsh when learning in a bilingual setting. The Welsh Assembly Government (2010) states:

Bilingual provision, therefore, does not always ensure that an individual becomes a bilingual speaker. It is important that all policy developments are planned on the basis of a detailed understanding of the wide variety of outcomes for learners from bilingual provision. Bilingual settings should aim to provide as much provision through the medium of Welsh as is necessary for learners to achieve fluency in two languages. (p. 9)

The home language of pupils in Welsh-medium and bilingual schools could be categorized broadly as pupils who speak only Welsh at home, pupils who speak only English at home, pupils who speak both Welsh and English at home, and pupils who speak other languages besides Welsh or English at home. Classrooms often include pupils displaying varying degrees of bilingual competences—for example, pupils with parallel age-related competence in Welsh and English, pupils with appropriate competence in Welsh but who need to reinforce some aspects of their linguistic skills in English, pupils with appropriate competence in English but who need to reinforce some aspects of their linguistic skills in Welsh, pupils with appropriate competence in English but who do not have the appropriate age-related skills in Welsh, and pupils without appropriate age-related skills in either language (Gwynedd County Council, 2014).

Five categories are identified for primary schools, which are referred to as (1) Welsh-medium primary school; (2) dual stream primary school; (3) transitional primary school: Welsh-medium with significant use of English; (4) predominantly English-medium primary school but with significant use of Welsh; and (5) predominantly English-medium primary school (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007).

Although there is no reference to a “bilingual school” within the primary schools categorisation, the Welsh Assembly Government (2010) policy is to ensure that all primary school learners become bilingual. For example, in Welsh-medium primary schools,

All pupils in the Foundation Phase (3–7 years old) experience the areas of learning through the medium of Welsh. Welsh is the main teaching medium at Key Stage 2 (7–11 years old) with at least 70% of the teaching through the medium of Welsh. English is introduced formally as a subject at Key Stage 2 and is taught through the medium of English, and English may occasionally be used for some aspects of some subjects. (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007, p. 8)

In predominantly English-medium primary schools:

All pupils in the Foundation Phase experience the areas of learning mainly through the medium of English. English is the main teaching medium at Key Stage 2. Welsh is taught as a second language in KS2, and some aspects of some subjects may be taught in Welsh. Less than 20% of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh. (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007, p. 9)

Secondary schools are categorised according to four groups: (1) Welsh-medium secondary school; (2) bilingual secondary school, which includes different categories (2A, 2B, 2C, 2Ch); (3) predominantly English-medium secondary school with significant use of Welsh; and (4) predominantly English-medium secondary school.

In Welsh-medium secondary schools, all subjects, apart from English, are taught through the medium of Welsh to all learners, although some schools may introduce English terminology in one or two subjects, such as in science and geography. The bilingual secondary school category has four subsections according to the percentage of subject taught through the medium Welsh and whether there is parallel provision in English. The Welsh Assembly Government (2007) indicates that the categories and definitions do not reflect the number or proportion of pupils who take advantage of provision in Welsh in a school; for example, in Category 2A, at least 80% of subjects apart from English and Welsh are taught only through the medium of Welsh to all pupils. One or two subjects are taught to some pupils in English or in both languages. In Category 2B, at least 80% of subjects (excluding Welsh and English) are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English either translanguaging or using separate modules. In Category 2C, between 50% and 79% of subjects (excluding Welsh and English) are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English. In Category 2Ch, all subjects except Welsh and English are taught to all pupils using both languages. In predominantly English-medium secondary schools, learners are mainly taught through the medium of English, and Welsh is taught as a second language up to Key Stage 4 (14–16 years old). One or two subjects (which would include Welsh first language) may be taught as an option through the medium of Welsh or using both languages. Therefore, the use of Welsh can be relatively significant in some schools but not in others.

Estyn (a Welsh verb meaning *to reach* and also the name for Her Majesty's Inspectorate for Education and Training in Wales), commented that the current categorization of schools according to Welsh-medium provision does not give a clear picture of the extent to which pupils are taught through the medium of Welsh or English or bilingually. There is also criticism that some designated Welsh-medium schools offer many subjects to pupils through the mediums of English and Welsh (Estyn, 2014). Although there is no direct reference to bilingual methodology within the bilingual secondary school categories, the definitions provided for categories 2A, 2B, and 2C suggest a monolingual approach to bilingualism, whereas Category 2Ch suggests a flexible language approach with all subjects (except Welsh and English) being taught to all learners using both languages. There is no reference to bilingual education methodology including classroom translanguaging within any of the language categories provided for both primary and secondary schools.

Practices in bilingual education in Wales

Bilingual education in Wales involves a variety of practices wherein languages are often separated for teaching and learning or are used flexibly alongside each other. The term *separate bilingualism* and *flexible bilingualism* was introduced by Creese and Blackledge (2010) to represent the idea of language separation and concurrent language approaches in the classroom. Despite Wales having a progressive tradition in bilingual education, it is the case that, at the classroom level, there tends to be some degree of language separation rather than a considered approach to translanguaging (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2013). This partly relates to varying sociolinguistic communities and contexts wherein safeguarding the Welsh language is often dominant in policy and practice.

Research into language arrangements within bilingual classrooms in Wales demonstrated that some bilingual education programmes blend language-separation arrangements with flexible language arrangements; for example, when Welsh is the intended language of instruction for the whole

class but the teacher will translate to offer instructional support for L2 pupils (Jones & Lewis, 2014). The following categories can be identified to represent the various language arrangements in bilingual schools in Wales (see also Jones, 2016):

- (1) Learning through two languages. This can include:
 - (a) *separate bilingualism* (i.e., using one language in the classroom to promote bilingualism)—for example, offering some subjects in Welsh and the others in English or presenting one module in Welsh and the following module in English within specific subjects—or
 - (b) *flexible bilingualism* (i.e., using two, or more, languages in the classroom)—for example, translanguaging—and
- (2) Learning through one language—for example, separate Welsh- and English-medium classrooms or Welsh- and English-medium groups within the same class (co-languaging).

These bilingual categories are illustrated further in [Figure 1](#), which presents a classification based on the organisational pattern of the bilingual curriculum in both Welsh- and English-medium schools in Wales. Translanguaging is particularly evident in classrooms that encourage pupils to use both languages within the same lesson rather than in classrooms in which a monoglossic approach to bilingualism (i.e., language separation) is being promoted. *Learning Through Two Languages* is defined as an attempt to develop each pupil's bilingual and biliteracy skills within a bilingual classroom and is achieved either through a language separation approach—for example, presenting one module in Welsh and the other in English—or through a concurrent language approach (i.e., using two languages in the same lesson—e.g., translanguaging). *Learning Through One Language* refers to situations in which pupils have chosen to complete academic work in either Welsh or English—for example, in separate Welsh- and English-medium classrooms or in separate Welsh and English groups within the same class. The linguistic outcomes of different types of bilingual provision will vary considerably ([Figure 1](#)), and pupils who are educated within bilingual settings are not necessarily bilingual and biliterate.

[Figure 1](#) is an attempt to present a typology of language arrangements in bilingual classrooms in Wales; nonetheless, it must be emphasised that the linguistic complexity evident in bilingual classrooms makes the production of a conclusive typology extremely difficult. Estyn (2014) explained that there is a range of teaching strategies in place in bilingual schools and that it is possible to categorise teachers' teaching methods by the organisational pattern of the bilingual curriculum in three ways, firstly, to deliver through the medium of one language alone but with materials available in both languages; secondly, to deliver in Welsh, in the main, but paraphrase core or complex ideas in English; and thirdly, to deliver everything word-for-word in Welsh and in English. The next section will refer in more detail to translanguaging practices in Welsh-medium and bilingual schools in Wales.

Classroom translanguaging in Wales

There is not a single definition of translanguaging as its meaning is becoming more refined and increasingly clarified, conceptually and through further research (Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012a). Translanguaging receives increasing attention in scholarship conducted in different academic disciplines and social domains. According to Li Wei (2015), translanguaging derives from the psycholinguistic notion of *linguaging*, which refers to the process of using language to gain knowledge, to articulate one's thought, to make sense, and to communicate about using language. For Otheguy, García, and Reid (2015), translanguaging is viewed as using one's unique linguistic repertoire (idiolect) rather than the traditional socially and politically named languages. Translanguaging occurs naturally in bilingual and multilingual classrooms where pupils use all their language practices spontaneously and pragmatically (García, 2009).

For the basis of this article, translanguaging is the process of establishing meaning and shaping experiences, understandings, and knowledge through the use of two languages (Jones & Lewis, 2014). The Welsh term "*trawsieithu*" was first coined in the 1980s by Cen Williams (Jones, 2016; Jones & Lewis,

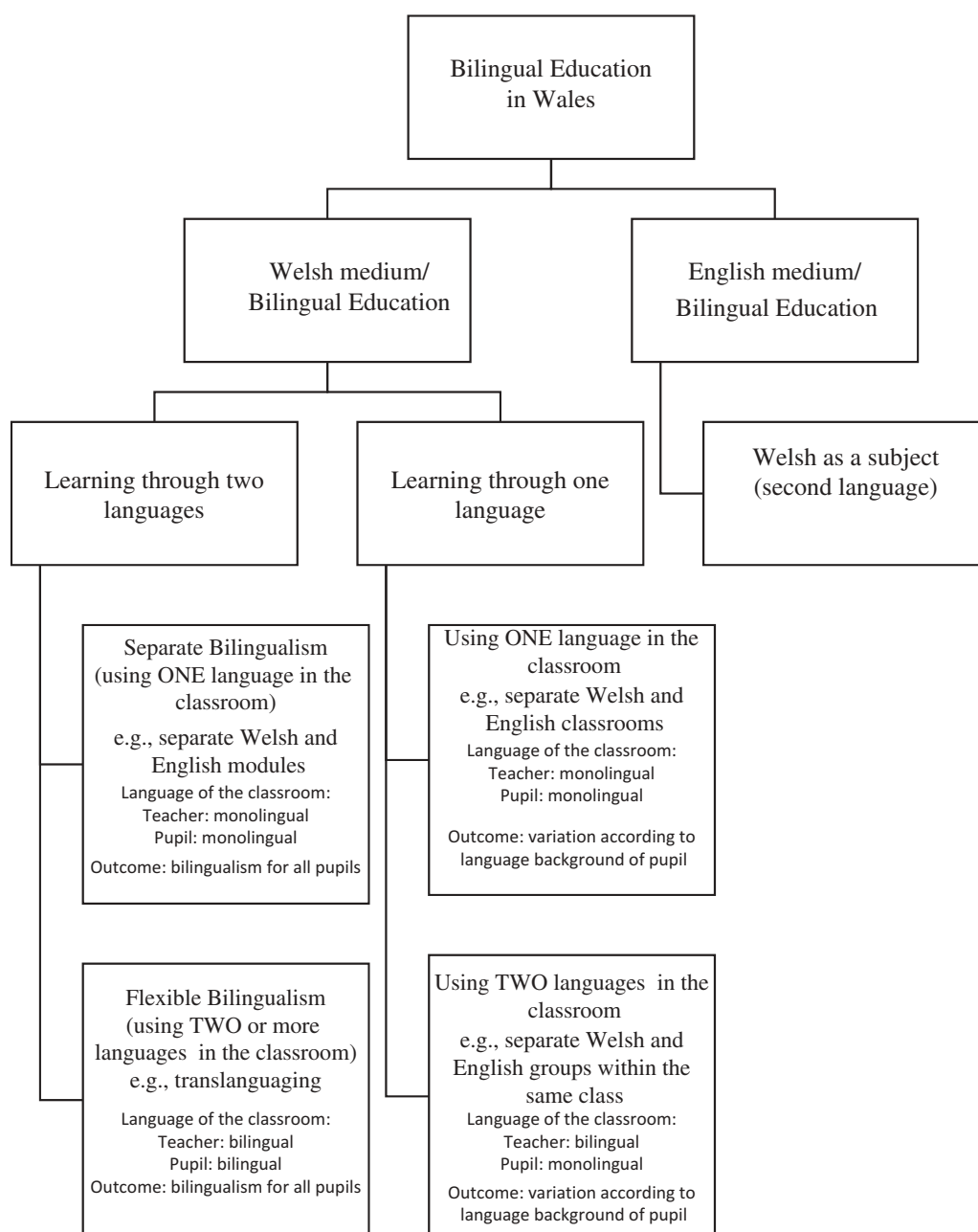


Figure 1. Typology of bilingual education in Wales (based on Jones, 2016; Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012b).

2014; Lewis et al., 2012a). Williams' (1994, 2002) original conception of translanguaging refers to a pedagogical practice that alternates the use of Welsh and English for input (reading and/or listening) and output (speaking and/or writing) in the same lesson, and this can be systematically varied. For example, pupils gather information from English and Welsh sources, discuss the content in Welsh and English and complete written work in Welsh, which could include some English vocabulary and terminology.

Language alternation practice in classrooms in Wales is mostly characterized by pupils using English sources (majority language) to develop their language competence in Welsh (minority

Table 1. Classroom translanguaging in bilingual schools in Wales.

Classroom translanguaging	
Input (receptive language skills)	Output (productive language skills)
English (L1)	Welsh (L2)
English (L2)	Welsh (L1)
majority language	minority language
Welsh (L1)	English (L2)
Welsh (L2)	English (L1)
minority language	majority language

language); less evident is the practice of using Welsh sources to develop their English language skills (Jones & Lewis, 2014). This translanguaging preference is illustrated in Table 1 and contrasts with translanguaging within majority languages contexts—for example, using Spanish to develop English competence in multilingual classrooms in New York City (García, 2009).

Translanguaging has been generalised from school to street, from pedagogical practices to everyday cognitive processing, from classroom lessons to all contexts of a bilingual’s life (Cenoz & Gorter, 2015; Lewis et al., 2012a). Lewis et al. (2012a) distinguish between classroom and universal translanguaging wherein (a) *classroom translanguaging* (planned and serendipitous) has a pedagogic emphasis and (b) *universal translanguaging* has cognitive, contextual, and cultural aspects. While universal translanguaging includes the classroom as one context among many, retaining classroom translanguaging enables a discussion about learning and teaching style and curriculum planning.

Two models of classroom translanguaging became apparent based on research findings into language arrangements within Welsh–English bilingual schools in Wales (Jones, 2010; Lewis, 2008). The first model could be classified as *teacher-directed translanguaging* (which can be classified as a planned activity by the teacher for both emergent and more-competent bilinguals). For emergent bilinguals, the teacher attempts to scaffold the translanguaging activity—for example, by choosing appropriate reading material and providing writing frames. It was observed in some bilingual classrooms in Wales that the teacher presented “translanguaging cues” to instruct both emergent and competent pupils how to complete translanguaging activities (Jones & Lewis, 2014). The teacher provided “cues” (either orally, in written form, or both) to indicate the target language for input (receptive language skills) and output (productive language skills).

The second model could be classified as *pupil-directed translanguaging* (which can be classified as translanguaging activities undertaken independently by more-competent bilinguals). Pupils work independently and choose how to complete the translanguaging activity—for example, gathering information from the Internet in English, discussing the content in Welsh, and completing the written work in Welsh. In a similar vein, Williams (2012) referred to *official translanguaging*, which is designed and conducted by the teacher, and *natural translanguaging* for more-independent, pupil-directed acts of translanguaging.

Apart from the distinction between classroom and universal translanguaging and teacher directed versus pupil directed, other distinctions have also been proposed. Paulsrud (2014), who works in the context of English-medium instruction in secondary schools in Sweden, presented a bipartite distinction between *pedagogic translanguaging* (e.g., language alternation for content and language learning) and *non-pedagogic translanguaging* (e.g., for social cohesion and as a marker of identity). Classroom translanguaging as defined in this article can encompass both pedagogical translanguaging (for teaching and learning that may be teacher directed and/or pupil directed) and non-pedagogic translanguaging (i.e., translanguaging in non-teaching and learning situations both inside and outside the classroom setting). Non-pedagogic translanguaging transpires in both social language use and classroom management, as the pupils and teachers make use of their linguistic repertoires in a bilingual context (Paulsrud, 2014). Cenoz and Gorter (2017)

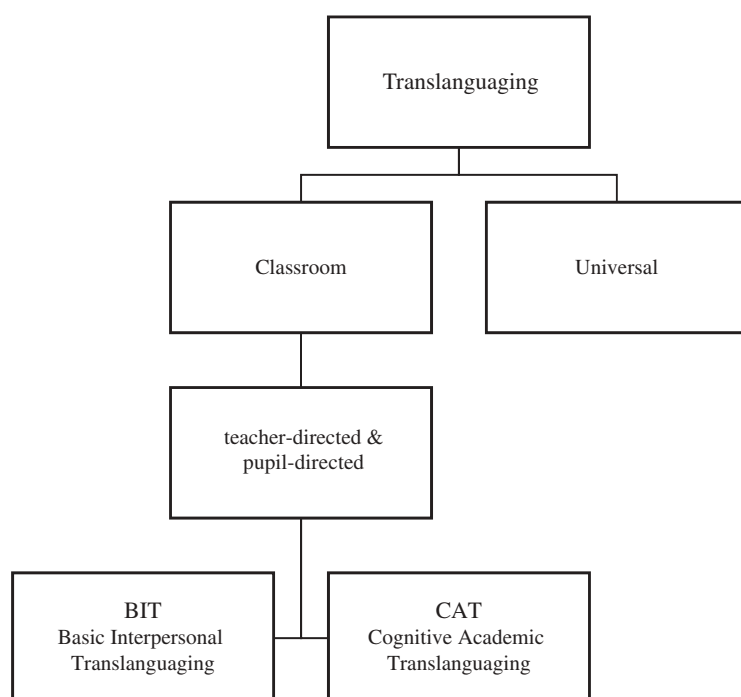


Figure 2. A typology of translinguaging (based on Lewis et al., 2012a; Paulsrud, 2014).

distinguish between spontaneous and pedagogical translinguaging. *Spontaneous translinguaging* would be similar to universal translinguaging but as it can take place inside and outside the classroom it would also be part of classroom translinguaging. However it does not have to be “non-pedagogical” because learning can take place by translinguaging in a spontaneous way. *Pedagogical translinguaging* would refer to intentional translinguaging in the classroom and embrace instructional strategies that integrate two or more languages. These strategies have been planned as part of the learning process. As it can be seen there are slightly different views when looking at types of translinguaging.

The two basic types of translinguaging can be aligned to the work of Cummins (1979), who introduced the distinction between Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). The BICS/CALP distinction is useful to conceptualize current classroom translinguaging practices. Based on the BICS/CALP distinction, the distinction between classroom and universal translinguaging (Lewis et al., 2012a), a basic typology of translinguaging (Figure 2) is presented to demonstrate current classroom translinguaging practices. Translinguaging without a specific learning goal (either teacher directed or pupil directed) can be identified as *Basic Interpersonal Translinguaging* (BIT), includes translinguaging for personal interaction, social cohesion, classroom management, and so forth. Translinguaging for teaching and learning (either teacher directed or pupil directed) can be identified as *Cognitive Academic Translinguaging* (CAT), with emphasis on academic language and subject-specific terminology.

Classroom translinguaging posits that there are no clear-cut boundaries between BIT and CAT; there is much overlap and they may co-exist in the same space, and teachers need to ensure that pupils have opportunities to translinguaging in both pedagogic and non-pedagogic contexts.

Translinguaging in the primary classroom

The following classroom activities illustrate various translinguaging practices whose purpose is to enhance content and language learning in primary Welsh-medium and bilingual schools in Wales.

The data were obtained from my various research projects involving bilingual teaching and learning in schools in Wales, including the Bilingual Education in Schools in Wales Research Project (Jones & Lewis, 2014), research into the views of post-16 education teachers and lecturers on Welsh- and bilingual-medium education in Gwynedd and Anglesey (Roberts et al., 2015), and secondary data that were obtained from the Estyn (2014) report on linguistic progression and standards of Welsh in 10 bilingual schools.

As it has already been said, classroom translanguaging in Wales is largely perceived as a pedagogical practice that deliberately switches the language mode of the input (receptive language skills: listening/reading/remembering) and output (productive language skills: speaking/writing/signing). Use of Williams's (1994, 2002) original translanguaging model of language alternation is still evident in bilingual classrooms in Wales. Current translanguaging practice encompasses instances of using both Welsh and English languages for both input and output; for example, a pupil could read English and Welsh information on the Internet and discuss the content in Welsh and/or English. In the rest of this section several examples of translanguaging in the primary classroom will be discussed.

The following example in a primary school mathematics lesson on percentages for 7- to 11-year-old pupils shows how presenting bilingual terminology enables teachers in primary schools to develop pupils' cross-linguistic awareness and to support content learning.

Example 1

The teacher showed information about percentages on the internet in English. The Welsh term *canran* was presented orally for percentage. The teacher explained that the Welsh term *canran* could be split into *can(t)* [hundred] and *r(h)an* [part] and that *rhan o gant* [part of a hundred] would help [pupils] to understand the meaning of *percentage*. The teacher explained, "*Mae canran yn golygu rhan o gant.*" [Per cent means out of a hundred].

Thus, translanguaging in this context included decoding bilingual terminology (reading words by looking at letters and parts of words) to facilitate conceptual understanding. Additionally, providing bilingual terminology can facilitate effective home-school cooperation and promote the pupils' translanguaging skills (Jones & Lewis, 2014).

In the context of bilingual education in Wales, the umbrella term *classroom translanguaging* encompasses instances of code-switching, which can be identified as intrasentential switches (in which the switch occurs within the sentence or a clause) and intersentential switches (in which the switch occurs outside the sentence or a clause).

Within classroom translanguaging, instances of code-switching and translation are viewed through a translanguaging lens—that is, from a speaker's internal, reasoned communicative system rather than the traditional monoglossic conceptualization or the societal external approach.

The learner is encouraged to use his or her whole linguistic repertoire within translanguaging spaces, which often includes acts of code-switching and translation but is not viewed as two separate languages. Therefore, code-switching and translation are considered instances of classroom translanguaging, as is illustrated in Figure 3.

The following geography and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship (ESDGC) lesson for a mix of L1 and L2 Welsh learners between 7- and 9-years old, in a Welsh-medium primary school in North Wales, demonstrates that classroom translanguaging encompasses a range of language arrangements including code-switching, translation, and language alternation for the receptive and productive language skills.

Example 2

The teacher reminded the pupils (in Welsh) about previous work about buying Fair Trade products, and explained that the lesson would be about purchasing Fair Trade bananas and questioned whether this would impact on the farmer's standard of living (see Figure 4).

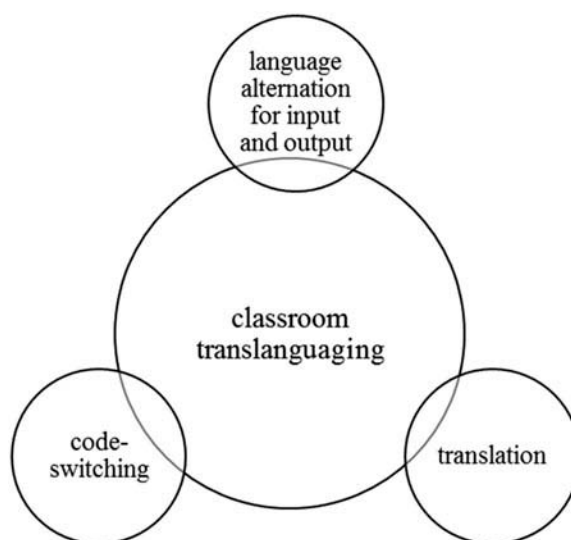


Figure 3. Instances of classroom translanguaging (based on Jones, 2016; Jones & Lewis, 2014).

Teacher: *Oes pwrpas inni brynu bananas masnach deg? Ydy o wedi gwella ansawdd bywyd y ffermwr?* [What's the purpose to buy fair trade bananas? Has this improved the farmer's quality of life?]

Teacher: *Byddwn ni'n edrych ar ba effaith mae bod yn aelod o grŵp Masnach Deg yn ei gael ar y ffermwr* [We will look at what the impact of being a member of the group Fair Trade group has on the farmer].

Teacher: *Rydwn ni'n edrych ar safwe Oxfam* [We're looking at the Oxfam website].

Pupil 1: *Mae siop Oxfam fel siop charity* [Oxfam shop is like a charity shop]

Teacher: *Be ydy pwrpas siop elusen?* [What's the purpose of a charity shop?]

Pupil 2: *Mae nhw fel ailgylchu* [It's like recycling].

The teacher asked all the pupils to read the internet information about Fair Trade (in English) and then asks the pupils to explain some terminology in Welsh.

Teacher: What does benefit mean?

Pupil 3: It helps them.

Teacher: George works for the company that exports bananas from the Windward Islands. Exports bananas, *be ydy'r gair Cymraeg?* [George works for the company that exports bananas from the Windward Islands. Exports bananas, what's the Welsh word?]

Pupil 4: *Allforio* [export].

Teacher: Farmers do plant other crops. What does crops mean?

Pupil 5: *Maen nhw'n planu ffrwythau eraill* [They plant other fruits].

Teacher: *Beth ydy'r gair Cymraeg am environment?* [What's the Welsh word for environment?]

Figure 4. Translanguaging in a geography and ESDGC lesson.

The teacher asked the pupils to complete a worksheet “Bananas Blasus Masnach Deg. Prynwch rail! Pam?” [Tasty fair trade bananas. Buy some! Why?], and to explain the benefits of buying fair trade bananas. Key terminology was provided bilingually to support the writing activity, such as *cefnogi ffermwyr* [to support farmers], *pris teg* [fair price], and *ehangu'r farchnad* [to expand the market].

Instances of responsible code-switching to clarify lesson material (e.g., Exports bananas, *be ydy'r gair Cymraeg?*/Exports bananas, what's the Welsh word?) is evident throughout the translanguaging process and instances of translation (e.g., *pris teg*/fair price) and in the planned alternation of language mode for the input (e.g., English for developing the receptive language skills of listening and reading) and output (e.g., Welsh and English for developing the productive language skills of speaking and writing).

Another concept that is interesting in translanguaging practices is *translanguaging cue*, which is information about language use in the classroom provided by the teacher (Jones & Lewis, 2014). Translanguaging cues (in oral and/or written form) serve as a signal/prompt/reminder to the pupils about which language to use during a translanguaging task. The use of cues in teacher-directed translanguaging is important in the context of a minority language to ensure that the pupils use both Welsh and English—and not only English, the majority language. Bilingual education for the empowerment of a minority language must protect a space for the minoritized language, while at the same time creating a bilingual space in which the minority language (Welsh) can interact with the majority language (English).

Thomas and Roberts (2011) explained that one of the main challenges confronting minority language education is related to pupils' disinclination to transfer their classroom-based L2 linguistic knowledge into the wider social domain. Although Welsh is the language of education, it is not the language of interpersonal communication and often does not transfer into more informal contexts (Thomas & Roberts, 2011). According to Baker (1993, p. 28), there is a danger of Welsh becoming

the language of the school, and English the language of the street, screen and shop. Rather than Welsh being a school-only phenomenon, it needs to penetrate an individual's whole way of life ... and be present in everyday active, participatory culture.

The need to protect the minority languages in the context of translanguaging has also been discussed in the context of the Basque Country (Cenoz & Gorter, 2017), where Basque is used as a minority language (see Cenoz, 2008; Leonet, Cenoz, & Gorter, this volume). The use of translanguaging cues is illustrated in Example 3.

Example 3

The following translanguaging activity which includes a mix of Welsh L1 and L2 speakers between the ages of 9–11, was situated within a Welsh-medium primary school in South East Wales, the teacher provided translanguaging cues (Figure 5) to support the pupils' translanguaging in a history lesson about education in Victorian times. Translanguaging cues (Jones & Lewis, 2014) are information about language use in the classroom provided by the teacher. Translanguaging cues (in oral and/or written form) serve as a signal/prompt/reminder to the pupils about which language to use during a translanguaging task (e.g., history lesson about the Victorians).

- Read the information sheet in English (input).
- Read the key terminology in Welsh and English (input).
- Discuss the information in Welsh and English (output).
- Complete written work in Welsh (output).

The pupils were asked to read information provided by the teacher in English about education for children in Victorian times. Figure 6 illustrates the English-medium reading material presented to the pupils.

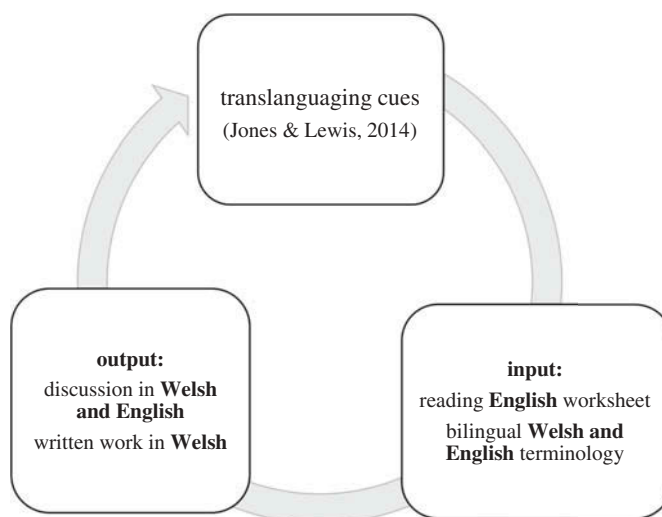


Figure 5. Translanguageing cues presented in a primary school history lesson.

Pupils will need access to subject-related terminology to complete translanguageing tasks successfully and often access subject-related vocabulary by consulting dictionaries, glossaries, or specific vocabulary sheets prepared by the teacher (Jones & Lewis, 2014). In this case, the teacher provided specific bilingual Welsh and English terminology for the pupils to support the written task in Welsh; the terminology is shown in Figure 7.

The teacher explained to the pupils that they were to read both the information sheet (Figure 6) and bilingual terminology (Figure 7) to produce a summary about education for children in Victorian times in Welsh. The pupils had to decide which information was most relevant; Figure 8 shows one pupil's writing in Welsh and a translation is provided in Figure 9.

This example demonstrates that classroom translanguageing functions to engage learners in higher-order thinking skills to facilitate content learning and for cross-linguistic transfer and metalinguistic awareness.

Translanguageing in secondary schools

After showing examples of translanguageing in primary school in this section we summarize the situations of secondary school where translanguageing is not used very often. Teacher-directed translanguageing is less common for secondary school pupils who choose a particular language of instruction in either a Welsh stream or English stream (Jones & Lewis, 2014). The aim of the Estyn report (2014) was to evaluate the effectiveness of curricular models and teaching methods in bilingual schools and to identify and share good practice in relation to bilingual education. The report was based on visits to 10 schools in local authorities where most bilingual teaching occurs—namely, Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Anglesey, and Gwynedd authorities. Additional data were obtained via interviews with local authority representatives, analyses of school performance data, and evidence from inspection reports. For the purposes of the report, the definition of a bilingual lesson is one that includes elements of teaching and learning through the medium of Welsh and English.

Estyn (2014) reported that pupils develop a good awareness of subject-specific terms in bilingual lessons by using Welsh- and English-medium resources and claim that “this has a positive effect on

Sut oedd hi i fod yn blentyn yn ystod Oes Fictoria?Ysgol

Who went to school during the Victorian times?

In **early Victorian** England, most children never went to school at all and grew up unable to read or write. Instead they were sent out to work to earn money for their families. Only the upper and middle class children went to school.

Rich Children

Children from rich families were taught at home by a governess until they were 10 years old. Once a boy turned ten, he went away to Public schools like Eton or Harrow. There were very few schools available for girls, however, until near the end of the Victorian times. Wealthy girls were mostly educated at home.

Where did poor children go to school?

Poor children went to free charity schools or '**Dame**' schools (so called because they were run by women) for young children. They also went to **Sunday Schools** which were run by churches. There they learnt bible stories and were taught to read a little.

Why go to school?

The Victorians soon realised that it was important for people to be able to read and write and education became more important. The Church of England became active in the field and erected '**National Schools**' which taught children reading, writing, arithmetic and religion.

Important Dates

In 1833, the government awarded grants of money to schools. Not everyone who ran the schools were able to read themselves so the standard of education was not very good.

In 1844, Parliament passed a law requiring children working in factories be given six-half-days schooling every week. '**Ragged Schools**' were set up to provide free basic education for orphans and very poor children.

In 1870, Parliament passed the Forster's Education Act, requiring all parts of Britain to provide schools to children aged 5 to 12. However, not all these school were free so many could not afford the 'school's pence' each week. As it was not mandatory to attend school many children still didn't go to school. They worked and earned money for the family instead.

When did attending school become mandatory?

It wasn't until 1880 that schooling became mandatory. All children had to attend a school until they were 10 years old. In 1889, the school leaving age was raised to twelve, and in 1891, the school's pence fee was abolished and schools became free.

Figure 6. Reading material *Sut oedd hi i fod yn blentyn yn Oes Fictoria? Ysgol* [How was it to be a child in Victorian times? School].

pupils' linguistic proficiency and on their confidence when discussing and writing in Welsh and English" (p. 6). It was claimed that only in a few lessons do teachers plan purposefully to develop pupils' translanguaging skills. However, the best tasks set a challenge for pupils, by paraphrasing or adapting text for a different audience, by summarising information, or by using specific websites to translate text and then correct linguistic errors. Further, Estyn (2014) stated,

In a very few lessons, teachers draw pupils' attention to the linguistic origin of technical words and ask them to explain the link between the English and Welsh terms. This practice has a positive effect on pupils' grasp of subject terms in Welsh and English. (p. 16)

A recent unpublished research report by Roberts et al. (2015) highlights the views of individual teachers/lecturers regarding their experience of planning and delivering Welsh- and bilingual-

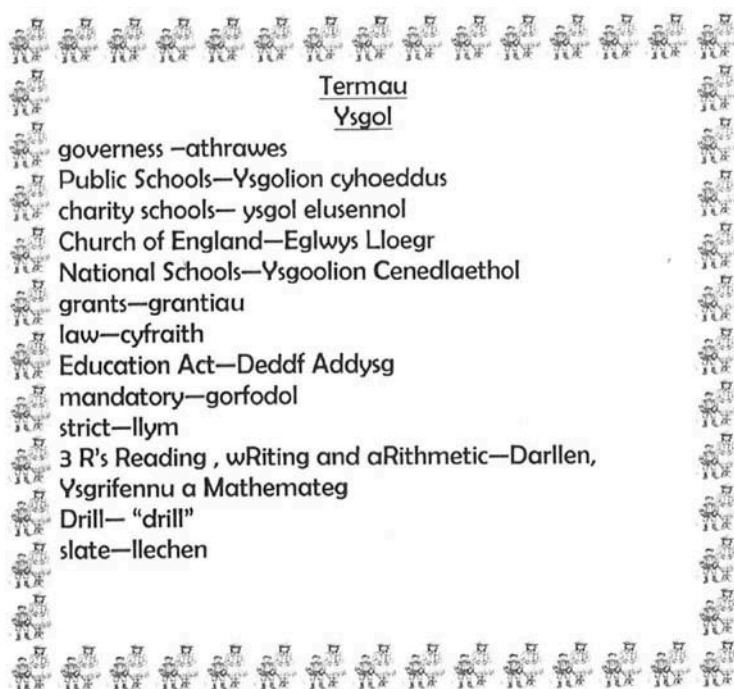


Figure 7. *Termau Ysgol* [School terminology].

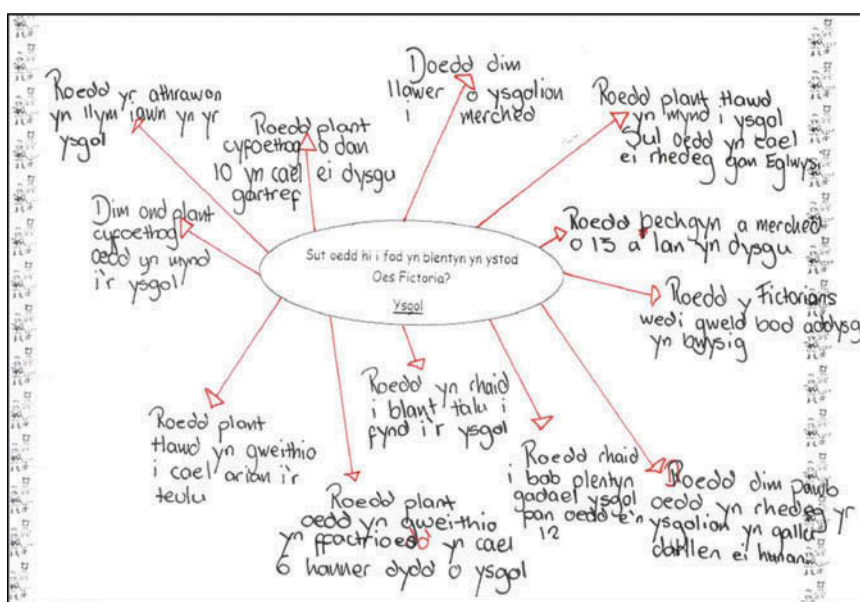


Figure 8. Pupil's written work in Welsh: *Sut oedd hi i fod yn blentyn yn ystod Oes Fictoria? Ysgol* [What was it like to be a child in Victorian times. Education].

- Roedd yr athrawon yn llym iawn yn yr ysgol / *The teachers were very strict at school*
- Roedd plant cyfoethog o dan 10 yn cael ei dysgu gartref / *Rich children under 10 were taught at home*
- Doedd dim llawer o ysgolion i merched / *There weren't many schools for girls*
- Roedd plant tlawd yn mynd i ysgol Sul oedd yn cael ei rhedeg gan Eglwys / *Poor children went to Sunday school which was being run by the Church*
- Roedd bechgyn a merched o 13 a lan yn dysgu / *Boys and girls of 13 and above taught*
- Roedd y Fictorians wedi gweld bod addysg yn bwysig / *The Victorians saw that education was important*
- Roedd dim pawb oedd yn rhedeg yr ysgolion yn gallu darllen ac ysgrifennu / *Not everyone who ran the schools were able to read and write*
- Roedd rhaid i bob plentyn gadael ysgol pan oedd e'n 12 / *Every child had to leave school at 12 years of age*
- Roedd yn rhaid i blant talu i fynd i'r ysgol / *Children had to pay for school*
- Roedd plant oedd yn gweithio yn ffatrioedd yn cael 6 hanner dydd o ysgol / *Children who worked in factories had 6 half days in school*
- Roedd plant tlawd yn gweithio i cael arian i'r teulu / *Poor children were working to get money for the family*
- Dim ond plant cyfoethog oedd yn mynd i'r ysgol / *Only rich children went to school*

Figure 9. Text (the spelling is as it appeared in the original text): *Sut oedd hi i fod yn blentyn yn Oes Fictoria? Ysgol* [What was it like to be a child in Victorian times. Education].

medium education to pupils/students ages 16 to 19, during the September 2013–July 2014 academic year. The data are quite limited because only 38 questionnaire responses were received by staff members across 11 educational establishments.

Respondents were asked to identify which language strategies they used in the classroom to promote bilingualism. The most common bilingual strategies in the classroom were to present bilingual terminology and, to a lesser extent, translanguaging and translation. According to the data, teachers have minimal experience of benefitting from initial/follow-up training on the use of Welsh and English in the classroom (Roberts et al., 2015). It was significant that 71% of teachers and lecturers have had no initial/in-service training regarding the use of both languages in the classroom. The need to devise and implement a robust Welsh language policy in each establishment was evident, especially on the basis of a general lack of training, advice, and guidance at a national, regional, and county level. In terms of identifying priorities to improve Welsh-medium and bilingual provision, the need for teacher training in bilingual classrooms, obtaining more Welsh-medium education resources and forging closer links with the higher education sector were highlighted.

Another issue related to the situation of Welsh can be seen in example 4 (Figure 10). Pupils are often familiar with bilingual academic terminology and are competent to translanguge on a cognitive level (CAT) but are less familiar with communicating in Welsh in nonacademic contexts (BIT).

The following extract (Figure 10) from an interview with a headteacher in a Welsh-medium secondary school in anglicised North East Wales, demonstrates that some pupils are competent in using academic terminology in Welsh but had less command of Welsh in informal contexts. The headteacher realised that the pupils were competent to translanguge on a cognitive academic level (CAT) but lacked opportunities to practise their basic interpersonal translanguaging skills (BIT).

Example 4

Headteacher:

Be mae'r plant yma yn brin ohono fo yn aml iawn ydy iaith bob dydd yn y Gymraeg, lle fydda plentyn yn gwybod beth ydy 'equilateral triangle' yn Gymraeg, ac yn gofyn iddo be ydy 'bathroom' yn Gymraeg fydda ganddo fo ddim syniad. [What the children here are often short of is everyday language in Welsh, a child knows what an equilateral triangle is in Welsh, but would not have an idea about 'bathroom' in Welsh].

Interviewer:

Iaith yr addysg a'r termau sy'n Gymraeg, wrth gwrs.
[The language of education and the terms are Welsh, of course].

Headteacher:

Dyna oedd yn fy nharo i, roeddwn i yn addysgu mathemateg i grŵp bach o flwyddyn 7, ac un o'r tasgau oeddem ni yn osod oedd gwneud cynllun wrth raddfa o'u cartref. Doedd yna ddim trafferth gyda'r fathemateg o gwbl, ond wedyn dod i labelu'r ystafelloedd, fanno oedd y broblem; 'dining room' ynde, dim syniad am 'ystafell fwyt'. Oherwydd dydy'r defnydd o'r gair yna ddim yn codi yn eu profiad nhw o'r Gymraeg, ac mi wnaeth hynny fy nharo i ar y pryd.

[That's what struck me, I teach mathematics to a small group of year 7, and one of the set tasks was to make a scale plan of their home. There was no trouble with the mathematics at all, but there was a problem when they were asked to label the rooms; 'dining room', no idea about 'ystafell fwyt'. Because the use of the word does not feature in their experience of Welsh, and that struck me at the time].

Figure 10. Interview with the headteacher of a Welsh-medium secondary school.

Conclusion

In this article and in other recent research, studies on language arrangements within bilingual classrooms in Wales demonstrate that some bilingual education programmes blend language-separation arrangements with flexible language arrangements (Jones & Lewis, 2014). Significantly, despite Wales having a progressive tradition in bilingual education, it is the case that, especially at the secondary school classroom level, there tends to be some degree of language separation rather than a considered approach to translanguaging (Estyn, 2014; Lewis et al., 2013). This partly relates to varying sociolinguistic communities and contexts in which safeguarding the Welsh language is often dominant in policy and practice. Consideration is given in bilingual classrooms in Wales to safeguard the minority language, and this is especially apparent in Welsh-medium schools in anglicised areas, where the promotion of translanguaging could easily encourage pupils to focus more on the majority language (English). To carve a space for Welsh in bilingual classrooms, translanguaging cues are presented by the teacher to safeguard the use of the minority language (Welsh).

Our conception and understanding of classroom translanguaging is derived both from global perspectives and the local contexts we operate within and experience on a daily basis. To allow pupils to translanguage effectively in minority language classrooms, the teacher needs to plan the strategic use of two languages with consideration to key translanguaging factors that operate both inside and outside the classroom. Translanguaging factors outside the school include the sociolinguistic context, the status of language in the local community, the languages spoken by pupils at home, aspirations of the parents regarding bilingual and multilingual education, language planning on the national and local authority levels (Welsh Language Commissioner, 2016). Translanguaging factors *inside* the school include the language of instruction in the classroom, the implementation of the school's bilingual policy, pupils' bilingual/multilingual competence, teachers and support workers' bilingual/multilingual competence, teacher's training for bilingual classrooms, and the statutory and nonstatutory assessment requirements. Therefore, translanguaging opportunities are dependent on specific features of our sociopolitical context and on more common characteristics that are evident in an international and global setting.

Despite classroom translanguaging having featured centrally within research into bilingual education in Wales, it was recently reported that only within a few lessons do teachers plan purposefully to develop translanguaging skills (Estyn, 2014). Few schools have a teaching policy that provides guidelines to teachers on using Welsh and English in their teaching in bilingual classrooms (Roberts et al., 2015), and training of teachers for bilingual and multilingual classrooms, with international comparative research, is much needed (Lewis et al., 2013; Roberts et al., 2015). In Wales there is a paucity of research into translanguaging in classrooms that embrace pupils from a wide and diverse linguistic spectrum—for example, how do ethnic minority pupils translanguage in linguistically diverse classrooms where teachers are in general Welsh-English bilingual mode? To what extent is translanguaging as a pedagogy generally known among classroom teachers in English-medium schools to support emergent Welsh speakers? Are teachers aware of translanguaging opportunities in both pedagogic and non-pedagogic contexts? Enabling teachers to fully comprehend the potential benefits of creating translanguaging spaces, both inside and outside the classroom, is pivotal if we are to successfully break away from the “multilingual solitudes” in language education.

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