8-21-2024

Promoting emergent literacy in preschool through extended discourse: Covert translanguaging in a Mandarin immersion environment

Robin E. Harvey
New York University

Kevin M. Wong
Pepperdine University

Recommended Citation

Promoting emergent literacy in preschool through extended discourse: Covert translanguaging in a Mandarin immersion environment

Robin E Harvey
New York University, New York, NY, USA

Kevin M Wong
Pepperdine University, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Abstract
Rich oral language practices, including the opportunity and ability to participate in cognitively and linguistically challenging extended discourse, are foundational to early literacy development. To meet children's needs in their first exposure to the languages of schooling, educators may engage students in extended discourse *multilingually*. The current study focuses on student-centered *translanguaging conversations* to examine strategies that preschool teachers employ to support young children's emerging bilingual and biliteracy development in a Mandarin immersion preschool serving primarily non-heritage learners of Mandarin in the United States. Findings indicate that, despite the school's Mandarin-only policy, teachers engaged in *covert translanguaging practices* to extend and deepen discourse. Specifically, teachers used 13 discourse strategies across two critical areas of schooling: translanguaging for (1) socializing students not just into the Mandarin language but into the norms of schooling; and (2) focusing not just on Mandarin language but also on content area learning. The study concludes with implications for schools and teachers.

Keywords
Preschool, Mandarin immersion, early literacy, emergent literacy, dual language, translanguaging

Corresponding author:
Robin E Harvey, New York University, 690 Washington Street, Apt 2A, New York, NY 10014, USA.
Email: robin.harvey@nyu.edu

Introduction

Preschoolers enter classrooms with oral language and background knowledge informed by their everyday experiences at home and in the community. Rich oral language practices, including the opportunity and ability to participate in cognitively challenging and linguistically challenging extended discourse, are foundational to early literacy development (Dickinson and Tabors, 2002). In extended discourse—discourse with multiple conversational turns—students make predictions and inferences, build comprehension skills and vocabulary knowledge, and make personal connections to learning while using complex language structures (Yu and Pine, 2008).

To promote multilingual development through extended discourse, educators may consider engaging students in extended discourse *multilingually* where educators and children draw from their multilingual repertoires to converse and make meaning in cognitively challenging and linguistically inclusive environments (Gort and Sembiante, 2015). This process, known as translanguaging (García and Li, 2014), centers the fluid languaging practices of multilingual speakers, allowing children to actively participate in extended discourse. The current study focuses on these student-centered *translanguaging conversations* to examine the strategies that preschool teachers employ to support young children's emerging bilingual and biliteracy development.

This study is set in a Mandarin immersion preschool that serves primarily non-heritage learners of Mandarin. The past decade has seen a proliferation of Mandarin immersion preschools in the U.S. (Wang and Wong, 2021). These preschools offer full language immersion to maximize children's exposure to the Language Other Than English (LOTE) and support multilingual development, recognizing that children will be exposed to English at home and/or in the community. As children transition into elementary school, they will receive English language instruction in increasing increments until both the LOTE and English are balanced (Palmer et al., 2019). Parents are increasingly choosing to enroll their children in these programs to develop their bilingual and biliterate proficiency in Mandarin, recognizing its importance as a global language and language of business. Bilingualism is also associated with cognitive advantages such as enhanced problem-solving skills and cognitive flexibility (Bialystok, 1991), and can enhance academic achievement (Padilla et al., 2013) and cultural competence (Palmer et al., 2019). Longitudinal research indicates that students enrolled in early Mandarin immersion programs in the U.S. develop high levels of oral language proficiency and literacy in Mandarin and demonstrate success on elementary school standardized tests in English (Padilla

et al., 2013). At the same time, most research in early immersion education has focused on Spanish-language settings, not Chinese.

The current study aims to address this gap by examining how Mandarin immersion preschool teachers engage emergent bilingual students in extended discourse where children employ their full linguistic repertoires. The study specifically examines the discourse practices employed by preschool teachers to support children's bilingual development in the face of a 100% Mandarin allocation policy. We hone in on "translanguaging moments" to investigate how and when teachers employ these discourse strategies throughout the school day. Specifically, the research questions guiding this study are:

1. What discourse practices do preschool immersion teachers employ to support children's bi/multilingual development while leveraging their fluid languaging practices?
2. When do teachers employ these practices during the school day?

Literature review

We begin by exploring literature that highlights the importance of oral language development and extended discourse in preschool classrooms. Next, we examine the challenges teachers and students encounter when engaging in extended discourse in settings where students do not share the language of instruction. Finally, we investigate the potential of translanguaging to aid teachers and students in constructing meaning in a new language.

Oral language development and the connection to literacy

In early childhood classrooms, teachers are models and guides for development of children's language and literacy practices. Language development depends heavily on the linguistic input that teachers provide (Gámez et al., 2017; Huttenlocher et al., 1998). The connection between oral language development and literacy development has been well-documented in monolingual English classrooms (Roth et al., 2002; Snow et al., 1995) and in Spanish bilingual education classrooms, where measures of Spanish oral language predict reading scores in Spanish, just as English oral language predicts English reading scores; these effects also occur across languages (Davison et al., 2011; Miller et al., 2006).

Teacher facilitation of, and student participation in, extended discourse (e.g., discussing personal experiences, making predictions, drawing inferences) is

one of the strongest predictors of early language and literacy development (Dickinson and Tabors, 2002). In extended discourse, teachers and students work together to analyze and understand new ideas and texts and construct meanings and understandings. Children take charge of their learning as they attempt new ways to question, predict, compare, contrast, and make connections to what they already know (Taylor and Leung, 2020). In both monolingual and multilingual classrooms, teacher use of high-level discourse strategies has been shown to predict vocabulary growth (Gámez et al., 2017; Gómez et al., 2017) and expressive vocabulary (Gonzalez et al., 2014). Extended discourse features, such as the complexity of the teacher's language and the use of gestures, predicted student language and vocabulary growth for both monolingual and emergent bilingual learners in dual language settings (Gámez et al., 2017).

In a study exploring practices surrounding read-alouds in monolingual preschool classrooms in China, Yu and Pine (2008) found a strong correlation between the types of strategies that teachers employ in classroom discourse and those that their students deploy.

Moreover, Yu and Pine found that teachers relied on lower-level cognitive strategies as they facilitated discussion, focusing on factual information, checking for understanding, and classroom management (see also Rosemary and Roskos, 2002). Higher-level discourse strategies were more rarely used.

Challenges in bilingual classrooms

Children in preschool immersion programs come to school with varying degrees of exposure to both the language of immersion and their home language, which informs their moment-by-moment languaging decisions (Wang et al., 2021). As emerging languagers, young children naturally rely on all of their meaning-making resources to interact with teachers and peers and to have their needs filled. These resources primarily include their home language, gestures, and vocabulary, and chunks of language in the language of school.

Similarly, teachers in Mandarin immersion classrooms have various levels of training and resources, particularly in preschool immersion classrooms (Wang and Wong, 2021). Teachers report challenges in the form of a lack of training and materials, along with competing priorities to integrate language and content. At times, even simple tasks appear challenging to teachers, some of whom report difficulties in using Mandarin to get students to line up (Chen et al., 2017), let alone to guide students through extended discourse in Mandarin.

Language allocation policies enforcing strict separation of languages can lead to a breakdown in classroom communication. Without previous exposure to the requisite vocabulary and structures in the immersion language, children are often unable to express their thoughts and ideas in the immersion language. When teachers are not permitted to allow students to access all of their linguistic resources due to strict language separation policies, classroom discourse can be reduced to discussing factual information, using simple vocabulary, and even remaining in silence. This, in turn, may impede the development of children's linguistic, literacy, and cognitive skills.

Translanguaging to promote extended discourse

Translanguaging is a sophisticated language practice in which speakers leverage their multilingual repertoire for meaning-making and self-expression (García and Li, 2014). In translanguaging spaces, teachers model and scaffold comprehension, vocabulary, and metalinguistic strategies. Students can demonstrate a fuller picture of their academic performance, develop deeper content understandings, build cross-linguistic connections (Tian, 2022), and express themselves in more complex language, all of which supports language and concept development.

Even those who propose a more strict separation of languages recommend that time be set aside for translingual practice. Beeman and Urow (2013) propose that teachers in dual language programs carefully and intentionally plan for a "bridge" time when teachers and students analyze, compare, and contrast the two languages to build metalinguistic awareness. Escamilla et al. (2014) note that scholars are beginning to move away from the strict separation of languages and recommend the strategic use of both languages to clarify challenging concepts, activate prior knowledge, make personal connections, and allow children to process information they hear in one language in the other.

Despite language allocation policies that resist or forbid translanguaging spaces, translanguaging is part of the social and curricular reality of an early childhood dual language classroom. Teachers who teach against a backdrop of strict language separation may *covertly* allow children's home languages into the classroom to support meaning making. Quietly circumventing the language allocation policy, teachers sometimes permit students to utilize all of their linguistic and meaning-making resources to construct extended discourse.

To summarize, the literature emphasizes the vital role of developing oral language skills and engaging in extended discourse to promote early literacy in

multilingual classrooms. Adopting translanguaging offers a hopeful approach to addressing the realities of multilingual classrooms, allowing educators and learners to construct richer, more meaningful interactions to enhance both language and literacy development in preschool education.

Methods

Research context

This study was designed to understand the early bilingual and (bi)literacy practices of preschoolers in a Mandarin immersion elementary school. The school, Zhongmei Charter School 中美小学 (pseudonym), is a public charter school in an urban area in the Northeastern U.S. that serves children from PreK-3 to grade 5 (i.e., aged 3–11 years old). The school is a world language dual language immersion school, with language allocation policies that mandate 100% Mandarin immersion in PreK-3 and PreK-4 classrooms and 50%-Mandarin/50%-English from Kindergarten to Grade 5. In other words, the language allocated to classrooms in preschool is Mandarin; according to the school language policy, English and other non-Mandarin languages are not to be used in the preschool classroom. Zhongmei is one of the most racially diverse schools in the city. Recent demographic reports indicate that approximately 37% of the student population is Black non-Hispanic, 29% is White non-Hispanic, 17% is Multiracial, 11% is Asian or Pacific Islander, and 6% is Hispanic/Latino; more than 90% of students are not heritage speakers or learners of Mandarin.

Participants

Four PreK-3 and four PreK-4 classes participated in the study, each comprising 17–20 students. Classes were taught by one head teacher and one teaching assistant who were Mandarin-speaking and had varying levels of English proficiency. Most head teachers were transnational individuals who immigrated from China, Taiwan, or Hong Kong. The study was approved by the university's ethics committee, with consent obtained from teachers and parents.

Data collection

Data was collected at three time points in the 2018–2019 academic year: early fall, winter, and spring, offering researchers a cross-sectional perspective on

bilingual and biliterate language development in classroom contexts. Video cameras were set at the back of the classroom to capture circle time. Videos ranged from approximately 10–33 min in length, averaging 18.5 min. Although 24 videos were collected in this study, only 23 videos were used for analysis, as one video was rendered mute. Videos were analyzed by a research team led by the authors, all of whom are Mandarin-English multilingual speakers. Videos were first transcribed and verified by the research team in the languages represented in the recording (i.e., Chinese was written when Mandarin was spoken; English was written when English was spoken; transcripts were not translated). Video characteristics were then collected by the research team, noting the types of activities captured by the recording (e.g., pre/during/post-reading pedagogy, morning meetings, transitions, song, snack time, etc.).

Data analysis

This study honed in on translanguaging moments, defined as conversations that incorporated children's full linguistic repertoires of English and emerging Mandarin. Translanguaging moments were classified as moments when students or teachers participated in extended discourse in Mandarin or English. Translanguaging moments were the unit of analysis because, despite the strict Mandarin-only language policy, the authors observed consistent and *covert* moments of translanguaging that warranted further investigation.

The research team first identified when translanguaging moments occurred in the videos. Each video was independently analyzed by two members of the research team to increase the reliability of identifying translanguaging moments. When English was spoken in a conversation, we noted the time, identified the pedagogical interaction (e.g., book discussion, classroom transition), and explored the broader context of the translanguaging interaction.

After identifying translanguaging moments, the research team iteratively created a codebook to identify discourse practices employed by the teacher, using both Yu and Pine's (2008) codebook on discourse strategies employed in early childhood classrooms in China as well as codes we developed to specifically address the immersion context (e.g., bilingual recasts, chunks of language). The codebook (see Figure 1) included the broader area, or classroom context, of the interaction (e.g., translanguaging moments with focus on content, language, management, or informal conversation), the type of interaction (e.g., an extended multilingual conversation, a student expressing a need, a teacher getting students' attention), and then specific discourse practices
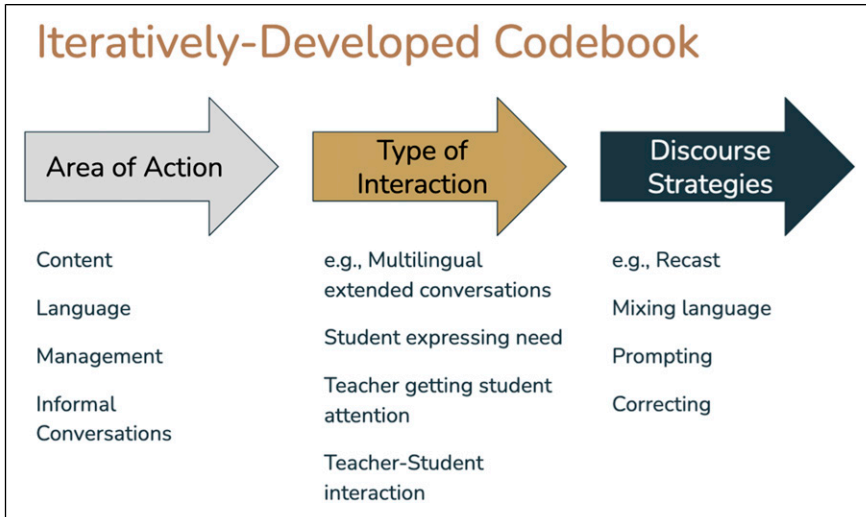
Figure 1. Iteratively-developed codebook, including area of action, type of interaction, and discourse strategies.

(e.g., bilingual recast, prompting). After coding videos, we approached the corpus of data with a thematic analysis (Saldaña and Miles, 2013), examining trends and patterns among the codes. Both coding and the thematic analysis were conducted independently, followed by meetings to discuss and reach consensus. Three overall themes were identified, which dictated our choice of excerpts for this paper (see RQ 2 below).

Findings

We will first identify the main types of discourse strategies, with examples, that teachers employed to support children during translanguaging moments. Next, we will explore when teachers employed these practices during the school day, contextualizing the discourse strategies within the overarching themes, areas of interaction, and types of discourse.

Discourse strategies represented during moments of translanguaging (RQ 1)

Findings illuminate the multifaceted discourse strategies that Mandarin pre-school teachers employed to navigate translanguaging moments within the classroom setting. These strategies were instrumental in extending

conversational discourse to foster environments that included the linguistic and cultural assets of multilingual children, even as they flouted the school's Mandarin-only policy.

A total of 13 discourse strategies from the classroom videos were identified (Table 1). These strategies ranged from bilingual recasts (the most frequently used, at 40%), think-alouds (11%), elaboration (3%) and prompting (4.7%) to more "language-focused" strategies like chunking, repetition and prescribing L2 structures (the least used strategies, at less than 2.5% each). By integrating these techniques, teachers effectively supported and extended conversational discourse. The following examples provide representational illustrations of many of the 13 strategies within the context of translanguaging moments.

The first example focuses on a translanguaging moment where the teacher (T) and teacher's aide (TA) both incorporate Mandarin and English to set expectations and repair a situation. In this interaction, the teachers approach Cash and Lad (pseudonyms) and ask them to pay attention and to apologize to another student, Nina. Discourse strategies employed include repetition, re-direction and bilingual recasts.

T: Cash, Cash, 你看我。你看我们在做什么?Lad, 看!
(Cash, Cash, look at me. Can you see what we're doing? Lad, look!)

Lad: Sorry.

TA: 'Sorry, Nina.' 你可以一起sorry, ok?
('Sorry, Nina.' You can together say sorry, ok?)

T: Cash 起來, 腿放好. Cash and Lad, I really want you to play the ball with me. But you need to sit down. 你要坐下來可以玩球.

(Cash get up, put your legs together. Cash and Lad, I really want you to play the ball with me. But you need to sit down. You need to sit down and then you can play ball.)

In this excerpt, both the TA and teacher decided to break the 100% Mandarin policy to prioritize the act of apologizing over the need to apologize in the immersion language. The TA recognizes that the students are aware of the need to apologize, as Lad already said "sorry" in English, and uses *repetition* of the child's English "sorry" instead of the Mandarin equivalent when asking Cash and Lad to apologize together to Nina. Interestingly, the teacher also engages in translanguaging with parallel recasted expressions in English and Mandarin as she redirects Cash and Lad to sit down before playing with the ball. Considering

Table 1. Discourse Strategies Employed by Preschool teachers During translanguaging Conversations With Counts and Proportions.

Discourse strategy	Example of teacher discourse	Counts	Proportion(%)
Bilingual recasts	T repeats what the student has said, rephrasing or translating the student's English sentence into Mandarin.	268	39.5
Think-aloud	T and students engage in speculation and prediction	83	12.2
Redirection	T moves to return students to topic/activity, linguistic redirection	58	8.5
Gestures	T points, acts out meaning, etc.	47	6.9
Compliments	T says, "Good idea. Tell me more!" or "That's right!"	46	6.8
Clarification	T asks student to clarify, clear up meaning	41	6.0
Activate background knowledge	T connects to other knowledge/content/language: "When are you angry?"	36	5.3
Prompting	T starts sentence in Mandarin and waits to let student finish the sentence. "When I…"	32	4.7
Elaboration	T asks student to tell more, this is generally content related	20	3.0
Prescribing L2 structure	T asks student to use specific structure in Mandarin "You can speak Mandarin	20	3.0
Repetition	T repeats the student's utterance (sometimes with error) either to validate meaning or to point out error	13	1.9
Together (choral response)	T has students repeat chorally, usually in Mandarin, for new vocabulary/language form practice	9	1.3
Chunks of language	T uses set phrases with habitual responses: e.g. 准备好了吗?准备好了!(Ready? Ready!)	6	0.9
Total		679	

the context of classroom (mis)behavior, translanguaging with the students' L1 (English) allows these messages to be clearly and efficiently communicated with the students.

In the following example of a translanguaging moment which occurred while the teacher was engaging students in read-aloud, teachers used *compliments, chunks of language, bilingual recasts, activation of prior knowledge,* and *repetition* to encourage both collective responses and individual uptake of new language forms. The class has just finished reading the book "好餓的小蛇" (*The Hungry Snake*).

T: 他好饿好饿，就吃了好多好多的东西。我们不可以吃好多好多的东西。你觉得很有趣，喜欢吗，小朋友们喜欢这本书吗?
        (He is very hungry, so he ate a lot a lot of things. We can't eat a lot a lot of things. Do you think it's interesting, do you like it, students do you like this book?)

All S: 喜欢
        (Like)

T: 喜欢, 好谢谢大家
        (Like, thank you everybody)

Rita: He looks like a caterpillar

T: 它看上去和一个毛毛虫一样, 谢谢 Rita 告诉我它看上去也和毛毛虫有一点点像但是它不完全一样对不对, 它的头, 它有什么不一样?它的头在这里, 它的身子很长, 它是一节一节一节对不对, 好谢谢小朋友们 [comparing 2 books covers] 那我再最后问一句, 这个是有生命还是没有生命的?
        (He looks like a caterpillar, thank you Rita for telling me that he looks like a caterpillar a little bit but not completely alike right, his head, what is different? His head is here, his body is long, he has lots of sections, right, ok thanks students. OK, now last I will ask, is it alive or not alive?)

All S: 有生命
        (alive)

T: 谢谢大家, 大家都非常棒, 你说棒棒我真棒
        (Thank you everybody, everyone did a good job, let's say 'I am great!')

All S: 我真棒!

In this excerpt, the teacher asks students if they found the book interesting. The teacher says to the class, "喜欢吗, 小朋友们喜欢这本书吗?, (Like it? Students, did you like this book?). The students respond with a previously learned *chunk of language* "喜欢" (like). This choral response sets the tone and expectation that Mandarin should be used to communicate with the teacher. Then, after the teacher thanks students for their response, one student, Rita, says in English—her L1—that the creature on the book cover "looks like a caterpillar." Accepting the student's non-Mandarin response, the teacher first *bilingually recasts* (underlined in the transcript) the student's idea into Mandarin, repeating the vocabulary word "毛毛虫" (caterpillar) twice to reinforce and support language development. The teacher then elaborates upon science content knowledge. She puts the book covers of 好饿的毛毛虫蟲 (*The Very*

Hungry Caterpillar) and the 好饿的毛毛虫 (*The Very Hungry Snake*) side-by-side to make comparisons between a caterpillar and a snake. She asks whether the snake is a living or non-living object, reflecting the science concept of biotic and abiotic factors in an ecosystem. Students chorally respond that the snake is a living organism. Finally, the teacher *compliments* the students, telling them they are great, and reinforces this compliment with the *chunk of language* "我真棒" (I am great). The students reply chorally, "我真棒" (I am great).

While an environment with a strictly enforced 100% Mandarin language policy would have dissuaded this student from sharing her observation that the snake looked like a caterpillar, a decision by the teacher to welcome this student's home language allowed the teacher to (1) offer the vocabulary word for caterpillar in Mandarin through bilingual recasting; (2) engage in early literacy skills through a book comparison that activates prior knowledge, and (3) reinforce science content knowledge through the essential question about biotic and abiotic elements. In other words, the teacher used multifaceted bilingual recasting as a discourse strategy during a translanguaging moment to extend the conversation between herself, the student, and the whole group.

A final example of discourse strategies employed during translanguaging moments includes teachers' use of *gestures, bilingual recasts, elaboration, prompts* and *prescription of L2 structures* to extend discourse and promote multilingual uptake by students. The following excerpt is from a PreK–4 class in April, when students have been in the classroom together for approximately 8 months.

Jax: There's lion.

T: 哦,狮子 [指向狮子]。
      (Oh, a lion. [points to lion])

Jax: 它不会把它吃掉, because it smiles at it.
      (He can't eat it, because it smiles at it)

T: 因为它在跟他笑。他不喜欢读书, 不喜欢学习, 整天爬来爬去 [扭动
      手来表示爬来爬去]
      (Because it smiles at him. He doesn't like reading, doesn't like studying, all
      day he climbs up and down [uses gestures to demonstrate climbing up and down])

Jax: 它在笑, 那个lion… 嗯…
      (It is smiling, that lion..uh)

T: 狮子怎么样?
      (What about the lion?)

Jax: scared.

T: 我觉得…
(I think…)

Jax: 我觉得它很伤心。
(I think it's sad.)

T: 哦, 伤心啊, 它为什么伤心?
(oh, it's sad; why is it sad?)

Jax: 可是还害怕.
(but also scared.)

This translanguaging moment begins when a student, Jax, identifies a lion in an image, saying in English, "There's lion." The teacher agrees with Jax, using *gestures* as she points to the lion and *bilingual recasts* to reinforce Jax's idea and the Mandarin word "狮子" (lion). Jax then elaborates in extended discourse, sharing in both Mandarin and English "它不会把它吃掉, because it smiles at it" (he can't eat it, because it smiles at it). The teacher again accepts Jax's English utterance and replies with the *bilingual recast* "因为它在跟他笑", before using Mandarin and *gestures* to show that the lion climbs all day. In the next conversational turn, Jax uptakes the verb smile (笑) but not the previously recast "狮子" (lion), stating in Mandarin, "它在笑, 那个lion…嗯" (he is laughing, that lion…uh). The teacher encourages Jax to *elaborate*, bilingually recasting the word lion while asking, "狮子怎么样?" (What about the lion?). When Jax responds using the English word "scared," the teacher *prompts* the child by *prescribing a structure,* the sentence starter, "我觉得…"(I think…), to allow Jax to (1) communicate ideas more fully; and (2) communicate ideas using Mandarin. Jax uptakes this stem and offers a complete sentence in response, "我觉得它很伤心" (I think it's sad). Jax further elaborates "可是还害怕" (but also scared), using the Mandarin word for scared even though 害怕 was not a target of the teacher's bilingual recasts.

Engaging in these discourse strategies offers additional semiotic inputs to support comprehension, engage young children, and keep the conversation moving forward. Collectively, these strategies are pivotal in creating a dynamic learning atmosphere that encourages linguistic exploration and expression, demonstrates the teachers' commitment to nurturing multilingual competence in their students, and results in meaningful extended discourse.

Tensions in content, language, and schooling that influence extended discourse (RQ2)

Three overall themes were identified around when teachers employ these discourse practices during the school day: tensions between socialization into schooling and socialization into language, tensions between focusing on content and focusing on language, and tensions between the language allocation policy and the linguistic realities of the preschool immersion classroom. Tensions between the language allocation policy and the linguistic realities of the classroom underlie and interact with the other two tensions.

Teachers in this study faced the tension of promoting extended discourse in Mandarin in a preschool setting where students possessed the cognitive skills and knowledge to participate in said discourse but were still acquiring the Mandarin language skills needed to do so. This tension was exacerbated by the school's language allocation policy, which required instruction to be 100% in Mandarin. In the face of this policy, teachers adopted what we call a *covert translanguaging stance,* which permitted them to allow students to use all of their linguistic resources to participate in classroom discourse. The teachers employed 13 identified discourse strategies during translanguaging moments, as described earlier in this paper. The strategies were deployed to facilitate a variety of types of interaction, e.g., multilingual extended conversations, students expressing needs, and teachers getting students' attention.

Explorations of *when* teachers engaged in translanguaging conversations further revealed that shifts occurred during four main areas of action during the school day: content-focused instruction, language-focused instruction, classroom management, and informal conversations. These "areas of action" created additional tensions for the teachers as they balanced the need to socialize students not just into the Mandarin language but into the norms of schooling (e.g., lining up, transitioning to the carpet) and to focus not just on Mandarin language learning but also on content area learning. The following section explores how the teachers navigated these tensions across these areas of action. We will first explore the tension between socialization into schooling versus socialization into language.

Socialization into schooling versus socialization into language

Preschool is often a child's first experience in schooling. They must learn the norms and expected behaviors of schooling and, in bilingual and immersion programs, must learn how to perform these norms in a new language. The

teachers in the Mandarin immersion preschool in this study faced a tension between socializing students into the norms of preschool and socializing them into the Mandarin language. Our findings indicate that translanguaging moments focused on socialization into schooling often occurred in the context of classroom management. Teachers often prioritized the language allocation policy, speaking exclusively in the language of immersion (Mandarin) unless the need to engage with students outweighed the language policy.

Socialization into schooling. The following translanguaging moments occurred early in PreK−3 when children who were predominantly three-years-old first entered formal schooling. In this first exchange, the teacher is managing a transition with the children that requires them to put their toys away and come to the carpet.

> T: Gina, 来Gina, 回来了。Lou, Lou, Lou, 你要放在你的兜兜里。[老师做放在口袋里的姿势] 请你放在兜兜里。...Hurry up 回来。我们一起数: 五, 四... 把玩具给我。谢谢你 Trevor。哇, 我数到四Trevor就回来了。我看还有谁。Lewis, Lewis 好棒!Lewis, Lewis 好棒! Lewis今天也回来了.
>
> (Gina, come, Gina, come back. Lou, Lou, Lou, put it in your pocket. [Teacher gestures: putting something in her pocket.] Please put it in your pocket. Hurry up, come back. Let's count together: 5, 4,... give your toy to me. Thank you, Trevor. Wow, I counted to 4 and Trevor came back. Let's see who else. Lewis, Lewis, great! Lewis, Lewis, great! Lewis also came back today.)

The teacher begins by adhering to the language of immersion, using student names and gestures to attract their attention. After several attempts, the teacher breaks the language policy, calling out, "Hurry up, 回来! (Come back!)" to students. The act of breaking the language policy by shifting to English allowed the teacher to instill a sense of urgency by offering input in a language that children are deeply familiar with. The teacher then begins a countdown, saying "五, 四…" (5, 4) to try to get the students to hurry, but abandons that in favor of praising students who have already returned, reinforcing their receptive skills in Mandarin.

In the next exchange, a teacher and student engage in a translanguaging moment where the student uses English to express a specific need, and the teacher uses Mandarin and English to respond to this need. This exchange was

classified as "classroom management" as the teacher sought to socialize students into the norms and practices of schooling.

> T: Tommy 你可以坐下么? 坐下。
> (Tommy, Can you sit down? Sit down.)

> Tom: I can't, I can't. Teacher. I can't.

> T: 哦, 没关系。来, 腿伸直。腿伸直。
> (Ah, it's ok. Come, straighten your legs. Straighten your legs.)

> Tom: I can't.

> T: It's ok.

In this exchange, the student, Tommy, communicates that he cannot sit down. Recognizing that the student understands the teacher's request but cannot perform the task, the teacher actively chooses to ignore the language allocation policy, validating the student's need for comfort. Instead, the teacher allows the child to express their needs using their full linguistic resources, at one point speaking English herself to remind the child that "It's ok."

Socialization into schooling and language.   The previous examples illustrated children's socialization into schooling multilingually; there were no instances of socialization into language alone. In the following example, which takes place during a transition when the teacher is asking students to wash their hands to get ready for snacktime, the teacher integrates socialization into schooling with socialization into language. The teacher leans on two discourse strategies to invite students to participate in the norms of schooling using Mandarin and English. These strategies—repetition and prescribing the immersion language structure—are illustrated below.

> T: 来, 我拿一下点心。Eric的妈妈给我们带了他的cookie!
> (Come, I'll get you a snack. Eric's mom brought us his cookies!)
> …..

> Pat: I need to wash my hands.

> T: 请给我点心。(Please give me a snack)

> Jon: 请给我点心。(Please give me a snack)

> T: Nav说请给我点心。(Navia say 'please give me a snack')

Nav: 请给我点心。(Please give me a snack)

T: Luo, Luo,你等一下, 我给你的。(Luo, Luo, wait, I will give you one)

Luo: Teacher

T: Dia说请给我点心。请给我, 点心。Okay, 先去洗手。
       (Dia say please give me a snack. Please give me… snack. Okay, go wash
       your hands)

Dia: I want my 点心。(I want my snack)

T: 好, 说请给我点心。Tai,说请给我点心。
       (Ok, say 'please give me a snack.' Tai, say 'please give me a snack')

The teacher in this translanguaging moment calls each student individually to
wash their hands. As each student steps up to get their snack, she models and
prescribes the immersion language structure "请给我点心" ("Please give me a
snack"). Students repeat the request in the immersion language and receive their
snack. Through discourse practices of repetition, chunks of language and
prescription of the immersion language, the teacher effectively allows students
to participate in the norms of schooling (i.e., washing hands and making
requests), which are authentically contextualized and meaningfully performed
in the Mandarin language. Importantly, the teacher does not limit discourse to
the language of immersion. She welcomes student-initiated translanguaging
interactions so that children can meaningfully express their needs and wants.
Her (covert) translanguaging stance is rewarded when children willingly
engage multiple linguistic resources to participate in class, knowing their
socioemotional needs will be met. In one instance, she chooses to break the
100% immersion policy to emphasize Eric's emotional connection with his
mom, integrating the word "cookie" from his home language into the im-
mersion language ("Eric的妈妈给我们带了他的cookie!"). One student also
demonstrates developing metalinguistic awareness, expressing their needs with
a translanguaging shift, stating, "I want my 点心" ("I want my snack"). The
teacher accepts the request and bilingually recasts it into the language of
immersion, allowing extended discourse to occur.

Focus on content versus focus on language

A second area of tension teachers faced related to content and language in-
struction. We identified translanguaging moments where the instructional
focus leaned towards language instruction, with nods towards content;

interactions where teachers emphasized content instruction, with less attention paid to language usage; and interactions where the teacher focused on the integration of both content and language learning. In this section, we will provide examples from each of these areas of focus, identify the discourse strategies used therein, and explore how the choice of strategies positively or negatively influenced extended discourse.

Focus on language. The following example illustrates a translanguaging moment where the teacher prioritized the teaching of the Mandarin language. This exchange took place in early October in PreK–3, when children were new and becoming familiar with the school environment. Most children had no exposure to the Mandarin language before entering the school. In the following excerpt, which took place during circle time, the teacher primarily focused her attention on language forms rather than content. Although language cannot ever be fully divorced from content, the interactions in this excerpt take on a more traditional "language education" Initiation-Response-Feedback sequence that utilizes language pattern drills to model and reinforce form and accuracy. Discourse strategies used by the teacher include repetition, language prompts, and prescribing the immersion language structure.

T: 我叫黄老师, 你叫... (I am Teacher Huang. You're called…)

AK: 我叫... (I'm called…)

T: 哎, 我叫黄老师, 你叫什么名字? (Oh, I am Teacher Huang. What's your name?)

AK: 我叫Akash。 (I'm called Akash)

T: 我叫Akash, 你叫什么? (I'm called Akash, what are you called?)

JN: John。

T: 非常好, 嘘。 (Well done!)
    [continues four more times]

T: OK, 你几岁? 黄老师问你, 你几岁?
    (OK, how old are you? Teacher Huang asks, how old are you?)

AK: 我三岁了。
    (I'm 3.)

T: 非常好, 我三岁。OK, 我要问另外一个小朋友, 你几岁Dan?
    (Great, I am 3. OK. I'll ask another student. How old are you, Dan?)
    [repeats with 3 more students]

T: 下面呀, 我们来看看今天是几年几月几日, 好不好?
(Next, let's look at what day it is today, ok?)

JN: What about me?

T: 哦, 对不起, 你几岁?
(Ah, sorry. How old are you?)

MR: You forgot me.

JN: 我三岁。(I'm three)

T: 非常好, 我已经问你了, 没有忘记你。好不好, 好, 预备开始。先来跟我说一次, 今年是...
(Great! I already asked you; I didn't forget you, OK? OK, let's get ready. First, say with me, this year is….)

In this exchange, the teacher starts the morning meeting by (re)introducing herself to the class, stating, "我叫黄老师" (My name is Teacher Huang). A student responds, "我叫Akash" (My name is Akash). Teacher Huang uses repetition to affirm the accuracy of the student's response before continuing the language sequence, "我叫Akash, 你叫什么名字?" (My name is Akash. What is your name?). To support language use, Teacher Huang also uses positive reinforcement to praise students for their linguistically correct responses.

After each student states their name, the teacher moves on to age. Interestingly, although the teacher does not indicate any transition of topic, the first student to participate recognizes the transition and responds correctly, stating "我三岁了" (I am 3 years old). It seems clear that students are accustomed to this sequence of questioning. The teacher follows the same pattern as before, praising the accuracy of student responses by repeating the utterance "非常好, 我三岁" (Great, I am 3 years old). Finally, the teacher moves onto the next topic: the date. John responds in English, "What about me?" and another student, Mary, says, "You forgot me!" in English. Although engaging in a language exercise, students demonstrate a desire to share their responses (i.e., the content of their age) with peers despite the routine of the production of name, age, and date in Mandarin. Still, responding to students, the teacher repairs the mistake and asks their age, to which the student responds using the accurate form of Mandarin.

While it is important for children to converse about names and ages, the interaction focuses on accuracy in language use at the expense of higher-level discourse that engages students in authentic meaning-making. At the same time, the teacher's repetition of students' statements, saying, for example, "My name

is Akash," further decontextualized the child's statement from authentic communication. Opportunities for extended discourse were, therefore, short-circuited in this exchange that focused so heavily on accurate Mandarin language production.

Focus on content. The following example offers a more dynamic approach in the context of a morning meeting discussion. Specifically, the focus of the teacher is on content, and we can see extended multilingual conversations in which translanguaging practices, bilingual recasts, and teacher prompts help students extend their ideas. While the session below took place just 1 month later in the school year than the previously described interactions around name and age, the discourse facilitated by this teacher is more complex, extended and meaningful.

T: Ash, 它们需要一个大猴子对不对, Carl, 怎么办? (Ash, they need a big monkey, right, Carl, what can they do?)

Carl: They need a daddy monkey, daddy monkey will...

Doug: They need a ladder; they need a ladder stand.

T: ...哦哦, 我听到 Doug 有一个好主意, Doug 刚才说它们需要有一个梯子，有一个梯子然后你可以爬上去。就可以拿到了。还有什么办法呢? Kiki? (Oh, Doug has a good idea, Doug just said they need a ladder, with a ladder than can climb up and get it. What other good ways are there? Kiki?)

Kiki: That's the 爸爸 monkey。 (That's the daddy monkey)

T: 猴子爸爸 (Daddy monkey)

Kiki: That's the 妈妈 monkey。 (That's the mommy monkey)

T: 猴子妈妈, 你觉得是猴子妈妈, 我们来看一看是谁... (Mommy monkey, you think it's the mommy monkey, let's see who it is…)

In this extended translanguaging exchange, the teacher prompts students to brainstorm strategies and solutions for monkeys who need to reach something up high. The teacher states that they need a big monkey and asks what they should do (怎么办?). Carl responds that they need a daddy monkey, while Doug suggests that they need a ladder. The teacher responds, stating that Doug's suggestion to use a ladder is a good idea. The teacher then asks students for other suggestions (还有什么办法呢?), using the same question structure as

previously. Finally, Kiki points out what they believe are the monkey parents: "That's the 爸爸 monkey" and "That's the 妈妈 monkey." The teacher affirms the student's statements with a bilingual recast (i.e., "猴子爸爸", daddy monkey), and, in Mandarin, prompts the students to think about who it might be, stating, "You think it's mommy monkey; let's see who it is."

Here, the teacher engages in syntactically and cognitively complex discourse that is designed to elicit higher-order thinking skills such as speculation and prediction. She welcomes responses in English, then uses bilingual recasts to affirm their suggestions, and builds on and extends on their ideas through questions and prompts (i.e., 还有什么办法呢?, What other ways?). The children use critical thinking skills to generate ideas. For example, Kiki exhibits metalinguistic awareness by creating the bilingual formulation "That's the 爸爸 monkey." In this utterance, the student demonstrates growing knowledge of both English and Mandarin by using the Mandarin vocabulary word 爸爸 (daddy) in the place where the English word "daddy" would go. Importantly, the teacher praises the content of the children's ideas, not the form of their utterances, providing them with encouragement and a safe environment within which to engage in complex thinking and speaking related to content.

Focus on content and language. Finally, the following example represents an integrated approach focusing on both content and language. Similar to the content-focused multilingual conversation described above, this interaction engages students in higher-level extended discourse. This example takes place in the fall of PreK–4, when students have returned to school for just 1 month after summer vacation. The teacher activated students' background knowledge in a pre-reading activity, using many of the same practices (bilingual recasts, prompts) as the teacher whose focus was more on content. In addition, the teacher in this exchange engaged in more specifically language-focused practices, including choral response and prescribing the language structures of immersion. The complex, extended, and meaningful discourse that this teacher facilitates encourages student participation and uptake.

T: 我有一个问题。(I have a question.)

Ss: 是什么问题? (What is the question?)

T: 你为什么会生气? (Why do you get angry?)

Pat: 下雨时。(When it rains.)

T: 为什么? (Why?)

Pat: 因为我要玩。(Because I want to play.)

T: 哦, 就像这个小朋友一样, 他想出去课间活动, 可是外面下雨了。谢谢大家在安静的听他说话.你什么时候会生气? (Oh, just like this child, he wants to go out for recess, but it's raining outside. Thank you all for listening quietly while I talk. When do you get angry?)

Fin: When I'm…

T: 我觉得你可以用中文, 你试一下? (I think you can use Chinese, give it a try)

Fin: 不可以 (I can't)

T: 那你试一下 (Give it a try)

Fin: When I am…

T: 当我… (When I…)

Fin: 当我和一个人… 一起玩… 然后他生病了… 就不能一起… (When me and a person...play together…then he gets sick…we can't be together.)

T: 哦, 当你的好朋友生病了, 你不能和他一起玩。 (Oh, when your friend gets sick, you can't play together.)

In the excerpt above, recorded in PreK-4 in November, the teacher engages in translanguaging extended conversation around a book, "我会生气" (*I Get Angry*). In this multilingual conversation, the teacher engages the students using a think-aloud strategy to activate background knowledge. The teacher starts by engaging students in a question and answer routine that provides a transition from one stage of class to another, stating, "I have a question." The students respond chorally: "What is the question?". This discourse strategy, called chunking, prepares students to listen for the teacher's next question, which will be the subject of the think-aloud. Next, the teacher asks the organizing question: 你为什么会生气? (Why do you get angry?). The first student, Pat, responds in Mandarin, "When it rains," and the teacher asks Pat to elaborate. When the teacher asks Fin the same question, Fin responds in English, "When I'm…" The teacher then uses Mandarin to encourage the student to try to say it in Mandarin, to which the student responds, "不可以 (I can't)." The teacher tries once more to encourage Fin to try, yet Fin again responds in English. Finally, the teacher employs the discourse strategy called prompting, providing Fin with a sentence starter: "当我… (When I…)." Working from the sentence starter, Fin responds with a complete utterance in Mandarin. The prompt has resulted in uptake, which allows conversations to be extended and language skills to be reinforced.

Finally, the teacher recasts Fin's ideas for clarity of thought and language (e.g., "哦，当你的好朋友生病了，你不能和他一起玩。/Oh, when your friend gets sick, you can't play together"). The teacher thus validates the students' ideas and encourages elaboration. Next, student Jan shifts the discussion by pointing to and talking about a picture in the book. Here, the teacher takes a (covert) translanguaging stance by accepting the student's English utterance.

Jan: So... so.. That lady over there... [pointed to the picture on the book]

T: 她怎么啦?她很生气，所以她可以找一个毛绒玩具。你可以找一个毛绒玩具 (What's up with her? She is angry, so she finds a stuffed toy, you can find a stuffed toy.) [the teacher takes out a stuffed animal and squeezes it hard]

Jan: no, no you cannot do that.

T: 为什么? (Why?)

Jan: because you can hold them and lay down.

T: 哦对书中也提到了，你也可以抱着它，去躺下去睡觉。 (Ah right, the book also mentions this; you can hug them and go lie down to sleep). ....

T: 当你生气的时候你会做什么?当我生气的时候，我会深呼吸。 (When you are angry what can you do? When I am angry, I can take deep breaths)

Tan: 游泳。(Swim)

T: 当我生气的时候，我会… (When I am angry, I can...)

Tan: 我会游泳。(I can swim)

In this extended multilingual discussion, complete with gestures and realia, Jan shares her ideas in English, while the teacher accepts her responses and responds in Mandarin. The teacher squeezes a stuffed animal hard while suggesting in Mandarin that the lady in the picture can squeeze a stuffed animal when the lady is angry. Jan demonstrates receptive proficiency by reminding the teacher (in English) that the lady should not squeeze the animal hard, and then states (again in English) the solution presented in the Mandarin language read-aloud: to hug the stuffed animal while lying down. The teacher acknowledges the student's idea ("right!") and recasts the solution back into Mandarin. Finally, the teacher returns to the original discussion question of the day, asking again, "当你生气的时候你会做什么?" Student Tan responds with one word, "游泳" (swim). The teacher prompts Tan to use a full sentence,

"当我生气的时候, 我会… (When I am angry, I can…)"; Tan demonstrates uptake in their response: "我会游泳 (I can swim).

The multilingual conversations described in this section demonstrate how teachers' choices of discourse practices facilitate extended discourse, which integrates both content and language development. The chosen discourse practices allow the teacher to navigate the demands of both content and language.

Discussion

This study explored the translanguaging shifts made by teachers and children in a preschool Mandarin immersion program with a 100% Mandarin allocation policy. The purpose of this language allocation policy has been to reinforce the importance of learning the immersion language. This language allocation policy did not permit teachers to enact a translanguaging pedagogy (Garcia et al., 2017); they could not take a formal *translanguaging stance* that would permit the use of all linguistic or meaning-making resources in the classroom or employ a *translanguaging design* to plan for when and how translanguaging practices might be used strategically to facilitate content and language development and extended discourse. However, the teachers demonstrated what we term a *covert* translanguaging stance by making decisions to allow translanguaging shifts throughout the school day. Through these shifts and the discourse strategies teachers employed in these moments, the teachers expanded and extended teacher-student discourse.

Strict language allocation policies may prevent immersion programs from reaching their goals (Sánchez et al., 2018) of bilingualism and biliteracy. In a preschool environment in which students come to school with varying levels of exposure to language and generally minimal exposure to the language of immersion, like that in this study, a strict immersion-language-only policy necessarily limits teacher-student interactions, and particularly student participation in these interactions. Our study revealed that teachers encountered tensions between adhering to the language policy and the realities of the immersion preschool classroom, a tension that underlies the tensions between socialization into schooling and language as well as between content and language instruction—aligning with the 'socially-aligned' and 'instructionally-relevant' purposes for translanguaging identified by Sembiante et al. (2022).

Within the context of socialization into schooling (transitions, classroom management, etc.), we found that teachers' choices depended upon the task at hand, for example, washing hands and dispensing snacks, repairing rifts

between students, or supporting students in distress. In some more emotionally fraught situations, teachers tipped the language balance in favor of the children's home language, accepting and even using English in order to resolve an issue quickly; for example, using English to tell a student it was OK if he was unable to sit properly on the carpet. In other, more routine situations, teachers tipped the balance to the immersion language, as demonstrated during snack time when the teacher prescribed chunks of language in Mandarin as she asked each student to repeat the phrase "请给我点心" (please give me a snack)—one might even suggest that the teacher was relying on children's desire to get snacks to improve their linguistic output. In general, interactions during times of socialization relied on syntactically simple, low order questions and statements in the immersion language, the prescription of chunks of language, and gestures. In turn, this simple language provided necessary input to strengthen oral language skills, vocabulary growth, and metalinguistic awareness, all of which support literacy development (see Gámez et al., 2017; Huttenlocher et al., 1998; Roth et al., 2002; Snow et al., 1995).

By contrast, within the context of content instruction, we found that some teachers took a more traditional, decontextualized language instruction approach that seemed to focus on the acquisition of language forms and accuracy (for example, Teacher Huang who asked each student their name and age). Other teachers facilitated more extended discourse, choosing to allow students to use either their home language or Mandarin to participate and share concepts and ideas. The teachers used strategies including bilingual recasts, prompts and elaboration, and think-aloud to extend and build on both language and content in a multilingual discussion. Translanguaging shifts permitted students to take charge of their learning, share their experiences, make predictions and speculations, and brainstorm new ideas in extended discourse, even early in PreK-3, which they may not have been able to do if the teacher adhered to the language allocation policy and required that they speak only in Mandarin. According to Dickinson and Tabors (2002), participation in higher-level, extended discourse, which these teachers facilitate, is a strong predictor of early language and literacy development.

Overall, findings from this study illustrate the complexity and nuanced decision-making required by teachers in Mandarin immersion preschool settings, where adherence to strict language policies may hinder student engagement and limit opportunities for linguistic and cognitive development. By strategically, and perhaps covertly, allowing translanguaging shifts, teachers were able to foster richer interactions and support students' language

acquisition and content understanding, highlighting the potential benefits of flexible language practices in immersion education.

Implications

Analysis of teacher practices in these videos revealed that even under a strict 100% Mandarin language allocation policy, teachers recognized the linguistic realities of their multilingual classrooms and welcomed student use of multiple linguistic resources to facilitate classroom interactions and extended discourse. As such, it is recommended that schools and teachers bring these covert translanguaging practices into the light by adopting a translanguaging stance to allow for teachers to develop a translanguaging classroom.

Teachers must be trained in the balancing act of integrating language, content, and socialization into schooling. The discourse strategies identified in this paper provide a starting point to best support student cognitive, linguistic, and social-emotional development. Bilingual recasting, the most frequently used strategy, is a valuable tool for extending discussions, serves to reaffirm student ideas, and allows them to hear the correct forms for expressing their ideas. Often, though, young children attend only to the meaning of bilingual recasts and not to the form (Lyster, 1998). (See, for example the earlier teacher recast of the student utterance "爸爸 monkey.") Bilingual recasting must therefore be supplemented by other strategies, including routinized chunks of language (for transitions, classroom routines, etc.) and prompts (which integrate content or socialization and language), which have been shown to result in uptake (Lyster, 2004).

An oral language continuum, including (1) series of chunks of language for classroom management, transitions, etc., that become part of the daily repertoire and (2) sentence starters and other structures which can be integrated into content-area discussions, can support teachers in implementing strategic linguistic support for socialization into both schooling and content. In all cases, discourse must be embedded within meaningful context, whether requesting snacks, sharing things that make us angry, or discussing the latest read-aloud text.

Conclusion

This study emphasizes the intricate decision-making process of instructors in a Mandarin immersion preschool environment. They encountered the simultaneous dilemma of following a stringent language policy while also

acknowledging the need to promote students' linguistic and cognitive growth. Teachers effectively utilized translanguaging techniques to improve communication and promote students' active involvement in both language learning and subject matter, showcasing the advantages of adaptable language approaches in immersion education.

Findings from this study illustrate how teachers were taking a covert translanguaging stance, which enabled them to prioritize the importance of the immersion language while also creating room for the use of all available linguistic resources. This position, although not explicitly acknowledged by language allocation policies, was essential in facilitating significant educational experiences that honored and leveraged the varied linguistic backgrounds of students. By strategically navigating this balance, teachers not only upheld the immersion program's objectives but also fostered an inclusive and supportive learning environment that catered to the varied linguistic needs of their students. This covert translanguaging practice suggests a path forward where language policies in immersion settings could be re-envisioned to better accommodate and leverage the natural multilingual competencies of students, thus enhancing their overall language development and supporting early literacy development.

ORCID iD

Kevin M Wong 🆔 https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6237-0427

References

Beeman K and Urow C (2013) *Teaching for Biliteracy: Strengthening Bridges between Languages*. Philadelphia, PA: Caslon Publishing.

Bialystok E (1991) *Language Processing in Bilingual Children*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Chen Y, Yang T and Chen HL (2017) Challenges encountered in a Chinese immersion program in the United States. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher* 26(3-4): 163–170. DOI: 10.1007/s40299-017-0337-2.

Davison MD, Hammer C and Lawrence FR (2011) Associations between preschool language and first grade reading outcomes in bilingual children. *Journal of Communication Disorders* 44(4): 444–458. DOI: 10.1016/j.jcomdis.2011.02.003.

Dickinson DK and Tabors PO (2002) Fostering language and literacy in classrooms and homes. *Journal of the National Association for the Education of Young Children* 57(2): 10–18.

Escamilla K, Hopewell S, Butvilofsky S, et al. (2014) *Biliteracy from the Start: Literacy Squared in Action*. Philadelphia, PA: Caslon Publishing.

Gámez PB, Neugebauer SR, Coyne MD, et al. (2017) Linguistic and social cues for vocabulary learning in Dual Language Learners and their English-only peers. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 40: 25–37. DOI: 10.1016/j.ecresq.2017.01.003.

García O and Li W (2014) *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*. London: Palgrave Pivot.

García O, Johnson S and Seltzer K (2017) *The Translanguaging Classroom: Leveraging Student Bilingualism for Learning*. Philadelphia, PA: Caslon.

Gómez LE, Vasilyeva M and Dulaney A (2017) Preschool teachers' read-aloud practices in Chile as predictors of children's vocabulary. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology* 52: 149–158. DOI: 10.1016/j.appdev.2017.07.005.

Gonzalez JE, Pollard-Durodola S, Simmons DC, et al. (2014) Enhancing preschool children's vocabulary: effects of teacher talk before, during and after shared reading. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly* 29(2): 214–226. DOI: 10.1016/j.ecresq.2013.11.001.

Gort M and Sembiante SF (2015) Navigating hybridized language learning spaces through translanguaging pedagogy: dual language preschool teachers' languaging practices in support of emergent bilingual children's performance of academic discourse. *International Multilingual Research Journal* 9(1): 7–25.

Guerrero M (2023) Gauging the adequacy of translanguaging allocation policy in two-way immersion programs in the U.S. *Journal of Latinos and Education* 22(4): 1427–1441. DOI: 10.1080/15348431.2021.1971086.

Huttenlocher J, Levine S and Vevea J (1998) Environmental input and cognitive growth: a study using time-period comparisons. *Child Development* 69(4): 1012–1029. DOI: 10.2307/1132360.

Lyster R (1998) Recasts, repetition, and Ambiguity in L2 classroom discourse. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 20(1): 51–81. https://www.jstor.org/stable/44486383

Lyster R (2004) Differential effects of prompts and recasts in form-focused instruction. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 26(03): 399–432. DOI: 10.1017/s0272263104263021.

Miller JF, Heilmann J, Nockerts A, et al. (2006) Oral language and reading in bilingual children. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice* 21(1): 30–43.

Padilla AM, Fan L, Xu X, et al. (2013) A Mandarin/English two-way immersion program: language proficiency and academic achievement. *Foreign Language Annals* 46(4): 661–679.

Palmer DK, Cervantes-Soon C, Dorner L, et al. (2019) Bilingualism, biliteracy, bi-culturalism, and critical consciousness for all: proposing a fourth fundamental goal for two-way dual language education. *Theory into Practice* 58(2): 121–133.

Rosemary CA and Roskos KA (2002) Literacy conversations between adults and children at child care: descriptive observations and hypotheses. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education* 16(2): 212–231. DOI: 10.1080/02568540209594986.

Roth FP, Speece DL and Cooper DH (2002) A longitudinal analysis of the connection between oral language and early reading. *The Journal of Educational Research* 95(5): 259–272. DOI: 10.1080/00220670209596600.

Saldaña J and Miles M (2013) *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

Sánchez MT, Garcia O and Solorza C (2018) Reframing language allocation policy in dual language bilingual education. *Bilingual Research Journal* 41(1): 37–51. DOI: 10.1080/15235882.2017.1405098.

Sembiante SF, Bengochea A and Gort M (2022) Morning circle as a community of practice: Co-teachers' transmodality in a dual language bilingual education pre-school classroom. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy* 0(0): 146879842211442.

Snow CE, Tabors PO, Nicholson PA, et al. (1995) SHELL: oral language and early literacy skills in kindergarten and first-grade children. *Journal of Research in Childhood Education* 10(1): 37–48. DOI: 10.1080/02568549509594686.

Taylor SV and Leung CB (2020) Multimodal literacy and social interaction: young children's literacy learning. *Early Childhood Education Journal* 48(1): 1–10.

Tian Z (2022) Challenging the 'Dual': designing translanguaging spaces in a Mandarin-English dual language bilingual education program. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 43(6): 534–553. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2022.2085732.

Wang SC and Wong KM (2021) Surveying Chinese immersion preschool programs and teachers in the United States: 2020-2021. In: Wang SC and Peyton JK (eds) *CELIN Briefs Series*. New York, NY: Asia Society.

Wang SC, Harvey R and Peyton JK (2021) An emerging field: Chinese immersion preschool education. In: Wang SC and Peyton JK (eds) *CELIN Briefs Series*. New York, NY: Asia Society.

Yu Z and Pine N (2008) *Discourse Strategies in Early Childhood Book-Related Activities in China*. Orlando, FL: National Reading Conference.