Part I
Language and Translanguaging

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Language, Languaging and Bilingualism

Abstract: *This first chapter explores the shifts that have recently taken place as traditional understandings of language and bilingualism are transformed. After reflecting on views of language, the chapter introduces the concept of languaging, and follows its emergence among scholars and as it has developed in the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic literature. The chapter then reviews traditional concepts of bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism as they have been studied from monolingual perspectives that view them only as double- or many-monolingualisms. It then reviews more dynamic views of these phenomena, arguing that to capture this complexity more is needed than the term languaging. It proposes translanguaging as a way to capture the fluid language • practices of bilinguals without giving up the social construction of language and bilingualism under which speakers operate.*

Reflecting on language

To most people, language is what we speak, hear, read or write in everyday life. And we speak, hear, read and write in what are considered different languages, such as Arabic, Chinese, Spanish and Urdu. In the theoretical discipline of Linguistics, however, tensions and controversies abound as to how language is conceptualized. One of the founding fathers of modern linguistics, the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, famously described language as a system of signs. Moreover, linguistic signs are arbitrary, that is, a linguistic sign is an association between a sound image and a concept, and the sound-meaning association is established by arbitrary convention for each language. This conventionality accounts for the diversity of languages. Following this line of argument, for example, early 20th-century structural linguists demonstrated how, historically, cultural assumptions informed the development of such structures as word orders, gender morphologies and event reporting in different languages.

Saussure's ideas of signs and the relationship between the signifier and the signified gave rise to the field of *semiotics*, the study of signs and sign processes, and the acknowledgment of the social dimensions of language. But within Linguistics, his insistence that language could be analyzed as a formal system of differential elements, apart from the messy dialectics of real-time production and comprehension, and in particular, his distinction between *langue*, the abstract rules and conventions of a signifying system independent of individual users on the one hand, and *parole*, the concrete instances of the use of *langue* by individuals in a series of speech acts on the other, led to the divergence of interests in two very different directions. One trend pursued universal structures across human languages; the other followed how human beings put to use their linguistic knowledge in real-life contexts.

Noam Chomsky refashioned the *langue* versus *parole* distinction in terms of *competence* versus *performance*, the former referring to the tacit knowledge of the language system and the latter, the use of language in concrete situations. For Chomsky, Linguistics should be concerned with what all languages have in common, what he called Universal Grammar (UG). Yet, the goal of the UG enterprise is to abstract away from the diversity, the details and the plurality of human languages. In fact, Chomsky (1995: 54) suggests that the main task of linguistic theory 'is to show that the ... diversity of linguistic phenomena is illusory'. There is an inherent problem with

Chomsky's logic, as Burton-Roberts (2004) points out. That is, if UG is supposed to be about all languages as Chomsky seems to want it to be, then it cannot be conceptualized as a natural, biological, genetic endowment, as particular languages, as we know them (e.g. Arabic, Chinese, English, Spanish), are historically evolved social conventions; and if UG is about something entirely natural, biological or genetic, then it cannot be a theory of actual languages that human beings use in society. But the main issue we have with Chomsky's line of inquiry is that he sets the discipline of Linguistics against the reality of linguistic diversity, a historical fact that has been further enhanced by the globalization of contemporary society.

Mikhail Bakhtin's formulation of *heteroglossia* in the early 20th century challenged the structuralist conception of language by Saussure and the strictly mentalist conception of Chomsky, both of whom removed language from context of use. Bakhtin posited that language is inextricably bound to the context in which it exists and is incapable of neutrality because it emerges from the actions of speakers with certain perspective and ideological positioning. To make an utterance, says Bakhtin, means to take language over, 'shot through with intentions and accents' (as cited in Morris, 1994: 293). Another close associate of Bakhtin after the Russian revolution was Valentin Nikolaevic Vološinov, a Marxist philosopher of language, who strongly supported Bakhtin's dialogic position on language. Language, Vološinov says, acquires life 'in concrete verbal communication, and not in the abstract linguistic system of language forms, nor in the individual psyche of speakers' (1929/1973: 95). A shift was occurring that led to the coining of the term 'languaging'.

The emergence of languaging

Perhaps the first scholars to talk about 'languaging' were not linguists but the Chilean biologists Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela who in 1973 posited their theory of *autopoeisis*. Autopoeisis argues that we cannot separate our biological and social history of actions from the ways in which we perceive the world. Our experience, Maturana and Varela say, is moored to our structure in a binding way, and the processes involved in our makeup, in our actions as human beings, constitute our knowledge. What is known is brought forth through action and practice, and is not simply based on acquiring the relevant features of a pre-given world that can be decomposed into significant fragments. As Maturana and

Varela (1998: 26) say: 'All doing is knowing, and all knowing is doing'. Their autopoeisis view of biological life leads to their observations about language:

> It is by *languaging* that the act of knowing, in the behavioral coordination which is language, brings forth a world. We work out our lives in a *mutual linguistic coupling*, not because language permits us to reveal ourselves but because we are constituted in language in a *continuous becoming that we bring forth with others*. (1998: 234–235, italics added)

Language is not a simple system of structures that is independent of human actions with others, of our being with others. The term *languaging* is needed to refer to the simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves and of our language practices, as we interact and make meaning in the world.

Another scholar who early on used the term 'languaging' was A. L. Becker. Writing about translation, Becker (1988) further posited that language is not simply a code or a system of rules or structures; rather what he calls *languaging* shapes our experiences, stores them, retrieves them and communicates them in an open-ended process. Languaging both shapes and is shaped by context. Becker (1995) explains: 'All languaging is what in Java is called *jarwa dhosok*, taking old language (*jarwa*) and pushing (*dhosok*) it into new contexts' (185). For Becker, language can never be accomplished; and thus *languaging* is a better term to capture an ongoing process that is always being created as we interact with the world lingually. To learn a new way of languaging is not just to learn a new code, Becker says, it is to enter another history of interactions and cultural practices and to learn 'a new way of being in the world' (1995: 227). In appealing to the concept of languaging, Becker is shaping what he calls 'a linguistics of particularity' (1988: 21) within the Humanities.

Using Becker's definition of languaging, the Argentinean semiotician Walter Mignolo (2000) reminds us that language is not a fact, a system of syntactic, semantic and phonetic rules. Rather, Mignolo says, *languaging* is 'thinking and writing between languages' and 'speech and writing are strategies for orienting and manipulating social domains of interaction' (226). Mignolo's reference to 'manipulation' reminds us that all languaging is enmeshed in systems of power, and thus, can be oppressive or liberating, depending on the positioning of speakers and their agency.

Languaging, sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics

New patterns of global activity characterized by intensive flows of people, capital goods and discourses have been experienced since the late 20th century. These have been driven by new technologies, as well as by a neoliberal economy that with its emphasis on the marketization of life has destabilized old social and economic structures and produced new forms of global inequalities. With interactions increasingly occurring in what Mary Louise Pratt (1991) refers to as 'contact zones' (often virtual ones) between speakers of different origins, experiences and characteristics, language is less and less understood as a monolithic autonomous system made up of discrete structures (as in Saussure) or a context-free mental grammar (as in Chomsky). We have entered 'a new way of being in the world' (Becker, 1995: 227), a world with Other spaces that are neither here nor there in a *heterotopia* as Foucault (1986) has called them.

With the rise of post-structuralism in the post-modern era, language has begun to be conceptualized as a *series of social practices and actions* by speakers that are embedded in a web of social *and* cognitive relations. Furthermore, a critique of nation-state/colonial language ideologies has emerged, seeking to excavate subaltern knowledge (Canagarajah, 2005; Flores, 2012, 2013; Makoni and Makoni, 2010; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Mignolo, 2000; Pennycook, 2010; Rosa, 2010). Post-structuralist critical language scholars treat language as contested space – as tools that are re-appropriated by actual language users. Ultimately, the goal of these critiques is to break out of static conceptions of language that keep power in the hands of the few, thus embracing the fluid nature of actual and local language practices of all speakers (Flores, 2013; Flores and García, 2013). The focus on language practices of language users has been signaled by the adoption of the term *languaging* by many sociolinguists (Canagarajah, 2007; Jørgensen and Juffermans, 2011; Juffermans, 2011; Makoni and Pennycook, 2007; Møller and Jørgensen, 2009; Shohamy, 2006), emphasizing the agency of speakers in an ongoing process of interactive meaning-making.

These new ways of being in the world have produced alternative understandings of the sociolinguistics of globalization; languages are *mobile resources* or practices within social, cultural, political and historical contexts (Blommaert, 2010). Languages are seen by post-structuralist sociolinguists as 'a product of the deeply social and cultural activities in which people engage' (Pennycook, 2010: 1) with meanings created through

ideological systems situated within historical moments (Foucault, 1972). Pennycook (2010) adds: 'To look at language as a practice is to view language as an activity rather than a structure, as something we do rather than a system we draw on, as a material part of social and cultural life rather than an abstract entity' (2). That is, language is seen neither as a system of structures nor a product located in the mind of speaker. What we have is languaging, 'a social process constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors' (Canagarajah, 2007: 94). Shohamy (2006) uses the term 'languaging' to refer to 'language as an integral and natural component of interaction, communication and construction of meaning' (2). We are all *languagers* who use semiotic resources at our disposal in strategic ways to communicate and act in the world, but which are recognized by the bilingual speaker, as well as by others, as belonging to two sets of socially constructed 'languages'. Thus, Jørgensen and Juffermans (2011) refer to the human turn in sociolinguistics, by which the traditional Fishmanian question 'who speaks (or writes) what language (or what language variety) to whom, when and to what end' becomes '*who languages how and what is being languaged under what circumstances in a particular place and time*' (Juffermans, 2011: 165). The human turn in sociolinguistics, Juffermans argues, is 'toward language (in singular or as a verb) as a sociolinguistic system that is constructed and inhabited by people' (165).

As sociolinguists have become more interested in the cognitive side of language practices, psycholinguists are also considering the social aspects of cognitive engagement (e.g. see studies in Cook and Bassetti, 2011; Javier, 2007; Pavlenko, 2006). Thus, post-structuralist psycholinguists have also referred to languaging as 'a process of using language to gain knowledge, to make sense, to articulate one's thought and to communicate about using language' (Li Wei, 2011b: 1224). That is, the focus is on the speaker's *creative and critical use* of linguistic resources to mediate cognitively complex activities (Swain and Deters, 2007). As Swain has said, languaging 'serves as a vehicle through which thinking is articulated and transformed into an artifactual form' (Swain, 2000: 97). This is consistent with Cook's notion of *multicompetence* (Cook, 2012; Cook and Li Wei, forthcoming), which focuses on the intertwining of language and cognition: multicompetence is not confined to the language aspects of the mind but is also linked to cognitive processes and concepts. This means, on the one hand, not putting barriers between language and other cognitive systems, and on the other, denying the no-language

position that language is simply an artifact of other cognitive processes. Extending Maturana and Varela (1973), all languaging is knowing and doing, and all knowing and doing is languaging.

One of the differences between the orientations of post-structuralist sociolinguists and psycholinguists with regards to *languaging* is that whereas sociolinguists focus on the context of use of languaging, psycholinguists look at languaging as the property of individuals, not situations; although recently Cook, for instance, has extended his notion of multicompetence to communities as well (see, e.g. Cook, 2012; also Brutt-Griffler, 2002). Regardless of the difference, the emphasis on languaging today by both sociolinguists and psycholinguists extends our traditional understandings of languages. The next section discusses bilingualism and related phenomena, while starting to ponder how languaging further impacts our understandings of bilingualism.

Bilingualism, multilingualism, plurilingualism

It was the Saussurean vision of language as a self-contained system of structures that permeated the vision of language in early studies of bilingualism. Haugen (1956) gave an early definition of the term *bilingual*: 'Bilingual is a cover term for people with a number of different language skills, having in common only that they are not monolingual…. [A] bilingual…is one who knows two languages, but will here be used to include also the one who knows more than two, variously known as a plurilingual, a multilingual, or a polyglot' (9). Uriel Weinreich (1974) provided a similar definition: 'The practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism, and the persons involved, bilingual' (1). *Bilingual* has thus come to mean knowing and using two autonomous languages. The term *multilingual* is often used to mean knowing and using more than two languages. The Council of Europe has proposed that the term *plurilingual* be reserved for the individual's 'ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes' (2000: 168), whereas the term *multilingual* be used only in relationship to the many languages of societal groups and not of individuals.

Despite their different emphases, the terms bilingualism, multilingualism and plurilingualism have one thing in common – they refer to a plurality of autonomous languages, whether two (bilingual) or many (multilingual), at the individual (bilingual/plurilingual) or societal level

(multilingual), and do not suggest the concept of 'languaging' presented above. Traditional notions of bilingualism and multilingualism are *additive*, that is, speakers are said to 'add up' whole autonomous languages or even partial structural bits of these languages (as in the Council of Europe's concept of plurilingualism). When societies and classrooms are said to be bilingual or multilingual, what is meant is that people in these places speak more than one language. There are also more extreme positions by some theoretical linguists, who, following Chomsky, believe that a speaker has a set of mini-grammars for different lexical domains, leading to different representations in the speaker's mind. Bilingualism is then understood as the representation of these mini-grammars, hence the term Universal Bilingualism (Roeper, 1999).

Bilingualism as dual

Precisely because of the structural treatment of languages as separate codes with different structures, the literature on bilingualism points to the problems 'of keeping the two languages apart' (Haugen, 1956: 155). Weinreich (1953: 1), an early scholar of bilingualism, talks about 'linguistic interference' as 'deviations from the norm of either language that occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language'. The linguist's task is then defined as identifying all cases of interference resulting from language contact. For example, the process of code-switching, that is, what has been defined as going back and forth from one language belonging to one grammatical system to another, has received much attention in the literature on bilingualism (see, e.g. Auer, 1999; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Code-switching behavior is often stigmatized, although recent research has questioned this deficit orientation (see, among others, Auer, 2005; Zentella, 1997). In psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics, language differentiation of bilingual speakers has been made into a core research issue for laboratory investigations. Different languages are said to be represented by different neural networks in the bilingual brain, resulting in differential access in speech production (Costa and Santesteban, 2004; Fabbro, 2001; Goral, Levy, Obler and Cohen, 2006; Kim, Relkin, Lee and Hirsch, 1997). There is a preoccupation by experimental designers to focus on the ability to distinguish and separate languages as a telltale performance indicator of a bilingual's linguistic proficiency, even competence (Bosch and Sebastian-Galles, 1997; Dijkstra and Van Heuven, 2002). And a great

deal of effort has been made in search of a biologically rooted 'language switch' in code-switching that would actually signal when a separate language comes on (Hernández, Dapretto, Mazziotta and Bookheimer, 2001; Hernández, 2009).

Early in the study of bilingualism, Cummins (1979) posited that the proficiency of bilinguals in two languages was not stored separately in the brain, and that each proficiency did not behave independently of the other. With the concept of the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) explained through the image of the dual iceberg, Cummins proposed that although on the surface the structural elements of the two languages might look different, there is a cognitive *interdependence* that allows for transfer of linguistic practices. More recently, neurolinguistic studies of bilinguals have confirmed, and gone beyond, Cummins's hypothesis, showing that even when one language is being used, the other language remains active and can be easily accessed (Dijkstra, Van Jaarsveld and Ten Brinke, 1998; Hoshino and Thierry, 2011; Thierry et al., 2009; Wu and Thierry, 2010). Research on cognition and multilingual functioning has also supported the view that the 'languages' of bilingual speakers interact collaboratively in listening or speaking (De Groot, 2011). The view of bilingualism as simply dual is beginning to shift to a more dynamic one.

Bilingualism as dynamic

Grosjean (1982) argued that bilinguals are not two monolinguals in one person. Heller (2007) then debunked the concept of bilingualism as two autonomous languages and defined it as,

> sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones. (15)
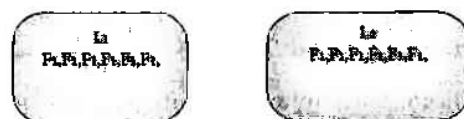
Heller's definition pays attention to ideologies surrounding language and moves us towards *processes* surrounding our languaging.

Related to Cummins's view of linguistic interdependence, but squarely centered on more integrative sociolinguistic practices as in Heller, and not on mentalist definitions of proficiency, García (2009a) proposed that bilingualism is *dynamic*, and not just additive, as had been conceptualized by Wallace Lambert in 1974. Unlike the view of two separate systems that are added (or even interdependent), a dynamic conceptualization of bilingualism goes beyond the notion of two autonomous languages,
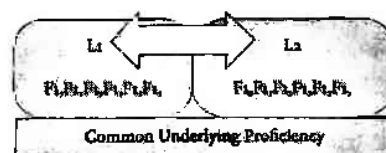
of a first language (L1) and a second language (L2), and of additive or subtractive bilingualism. Instead, dynamic bilingualism suggests that the language *practices* of bilinguals are complex and interrelated; they do not emerge in a linear way or function separately since there is only one linguistic system. Dynamic bilingualism goes beyond the idea that there are two languages that are interdependent as in Cummins (1979); instead, it connotes one linguistic system that has features that are most often practiced according to societally constructed and controlled 'languages', but other times producing new practices. Figure 1.1 delineates this difference between traditional understandings of bilingualism, those of Cummins's interdependence and those of dynamic bilingualism.

In Figure 1.1, the view of traditional bilingualism is rendered by two separate rectangles that represent two languages and separate linguistic systems (an L1 and an L2) with different linguistic features (F1 and F2). The Linguistic Interdependence proposed by Cummins is depicted in Figure 1.1 by bringing closer the two linguistic systems and proposing that there is transfer between the two, stemming from a Common Underlying Proficiency (depicted by the rectangle below), but still delineating separate L1 and L2 and separate linguistic features. The Dynamic Bilingual Model that is related to our theories of translanguaging (which will be the subject of the next chapter) posits that there is but one linguistic system (rendered in Figure 1.1 by one rectangle) with features that are integrated (Fn) throughout. Not depicted in the figure is the fact that these linguistic features are then, as we said before, often used in ways that conform to societal constructions of 'a language', and at other times used differently.

In general, our position is compatible with the *language-mode* perspective favored by Grosjean (2004), though it differs from it in one important respect. In their recent analysis of Hispanic bilingualism, García and Otheguy (forthcoming) explain:

> With Grosjean, we see bilinguals selecting features from their linguistic repertoire depending on contextual, topical, and interactional factors. But we do not follow Grosjean when he defines a language mode as 'a state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language-processing mechanisms' (2004: 40). In our conception, there are no two languages that are cognitively activated or deactivated as the social and contextual situation demands, but rather, as we have proposed, a single array of disaggregated features that is always activated.

The process by which bilingual speakers engage in order to select the societally appropriate features to conform to contextual, topical and interactional factors is related to Althusser's concept of *interpellation* (1972), the idea that institutions and their discourses call us, or hail us, into particular identities through the ideologies they shape. Societal forces, and in particular schools, enforce a call, an interpellation, by which bilingual speakers are often able to recognize themselves only as subjects that speak two separate languages. In so doing, bilingual speakers become complicit in their own domination as they often conform to monolingual monoglossic practices that constrain their own bilingualism to two separate autonomous languages, although at times they may resist by engaging in fluid language practices. The interpellation of bilingual subjects in societies that view languages as separate systems requires that speakers act 'monolingually' at times. But this does not mean that bilinguals possess two language systems. In effect, the research by Bialystok, Craik, Klein and Viswanathan (2004) suggests that it is the constant use of the bilinguals' brain Executive Control System in having to sort through the language features that gives bilinguals a cognitive advantage.

Traditional bilingualism:
Two autonomous linguistic systems

Linguistic interdependence:
Jim Cummins

Dynamic bilingualism:
Translanguaging

*L = Linguistic system
F = Linguistic feature

FIGURE 1.1   *Difference between views of traditional bilingualism, linguistic interdependence and dynamic bilingualism*

As García (2009a) has said, dynamic bilingual practices do not result in either the balanced wheels of two bicycles (as in the concept of additive bilingualism) or in a unicycle (as in the concept of subtractive bilingualism). Instead dynamic bilingualism is like an all-terrain vehicle (ATV) with individuals using their entire linguistic repertoire to adapt to both the ridges and craters of communication in uneven (and unequal) interactive terrains (see García, 2009a; García and Kleifgen, 2010), and to the confines of language use as controlled by societal forces, especially in schools. García (2009a) uses the image of a banyan tree to capture the reality of dynamic bilingualism. Banyan trees start their lives when seeds germinate in the cracks and crevices of a host tree and send down roots towards the ground which envelop the host tree, also growing horizontal roots. These horizontal roots then fuse with the descending ones and girdle the tree, sometimes becoming the 'columnar tree' when the host tree dies. Dynamic bilingualism emerges in the same way, in the cracks and crevices of communication with others who language differently, gradually becoming in and of itself a way of languaging through complex communicative interactions. Dynamic bilingualism is then both the foundation of languaging and the goal for communication in an increasingly multilingual world (see also Clyne, 2003).

Beyond and with bilingualism: transformations

Psycholinguists have also recently proposed that the co-adaptation of language resources in multilingual interactions is related to psychologically and sociologically determined communicative needs, while suggesting that language resources are thus transformed. To become bilingual is then not just the 'taking in' of linguistic forms by learners, but 'the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situation, which is, in turn, affected by learners' adaptability' (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron, 2008: 135). In so doing, the language-using patterns affect the whole system, as they generate emergent languaging patterns. A Dynamic Systems Theory allows us to reconcile psycholinguistics with sociolinguistics, offering an integrative approach. As Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008) explain:

> A complex systems approach takes a view of the individual's cognitive processes as inextricably interwoven with their experiences in the physical and social world. The context of language activity is socially constructed

> and often dynamically negotiated on a moment-by-moment basis. (155, emphasis added)

Dynamic Systems Theory (Herdina and Jessner, 2002) holds that there is interaction between internal cognitive ecosystems and external social ecosystems; thus, languaging is always being co-constructed between humans and their environments. A translanguaging approach, as we will see later, relates to this position of Dynamic Systems Theory, although it insists on transforming, not simply dismissing, the concept of bilingualism.

In a convincing book, Makoni and Pennycook (2007) have debunked the concept of a language, arguing that the idea of a language is a European invention, a product of colonialism and of a Herderian 19th-century nationalist romanticist ideology that insisted that language and identity were intrinsically linked. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) state:

> Languages do not exist as real entities in the world and neither do they emerge from or represent real environments; they are, by contrast, the inventions of social, cultural and political movements. (2)

But Makoni and Pennycook (2007) also insist on dismissing the concepts of bilingualism, plurilingualism and multilingualism because they reproduce 'the same concept of language that underpins all mainstream linguistic thought' (22). Just as the concept of language needs 'disinvention', separate languages with different labels, given by linguists and others but often unknown and unused by their speakers, are questioned as serving nation-state interests (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007). English is regarded as a language only in comparison with the existence of other languages such as French, Spanish or Chinese. None of these languages exist on their own, and all languages are in contact with others – being influenced by others, and containing structural elements from others. As Canagarajah (2013) says: 'To turn Chomsky (1988) on his head, we are all translinguals, not native speakers of a single language in homogenous environments' (8). Moreover, national 'languages' are constituted with resources from diverse places and times. Thus, Makoni and Pennycook propose that 'languaging' might be a sufficient term to capture plural linguistic practices. Our position, however, on the question of bilingualism is different. We think that a term other than just 'languaging' is needed to refer to complex multilingual situations. As Hall, Cheng and Carlson (2006) have said: 'multilinguals' amount and diversity of experience and use go beyond that of monolinguals' (229).

Multilinguals can also draw on 'more modalities of signification than one single symbolic system' (Kramsch, 2009: 99). Mignolo (2000: 229) reminds us: 'You may or may not have a "mother tongue" as Derrida argues, but you cannot avoid "being born" in one or more language(s), to have them inscribed in your body.'

We argue that the term *translanguaging* offers a way of capturing the expanded complex practices of speakers who could not avoid having had languages inscribed in their body, and yet live between different societal and semiotic contexts as they interact with a complex array of speakers. A translanguaging approach to bilingualism extends the repertoire of semiotic practices of individuals and transforms them into dynamic mobile resources that can adapt to global and local sociolinguistic situations. At the same time, translanguaging also attends to the social construction of language and bilingualism under which speakers operate. It is to a more extended discussion of translanguaging that we now turn.

2
The Translanguaging Turn and Its Impact

Abstract: *This chapter traces the development of a translanguaging theory from its origins in Wales. It draws differences between translanguaging and code-switching, describes it as the discursive norm among bilinguals, and considers the speakers' construction of a translanguaging space. The chapter also looks at the relationship of translanguaging to Dynamic Systems Theory, to multimodalities and to writing. Finally, the chapter considers the contributions of translanguaging to Linguistics theory and the concept of linguistic creativity. The chapter ends by reviewing concepts and terms that have recently proliferated to emphasize the more fluid language practices of bilingual speakers and to relate and differentiate translanguaging from these.*