

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

TRANSLANGUAGING FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

SPEAKING ROMANI AT SCHOOL

*Edited by János Imre Heltai
and Eszter Tarsoly*

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

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Translanguaging for Equal Opportunities

Contributions to the Sociology of Language



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Translanguaging for Equal Opportunities



Speaking Romani at School

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9. Creative innovation in writing
10. Enhancing the prestige of Romani within the group
11. Translanguaging in teachers' interactional practices
12. "Translanguaging corriente"
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34. Intercultural reflection: Parents, teachers, and school language
35. Translanguaging in everyday practices

Link to the video repository

<http://www.kre.hu/romanitranslanguaging/index.php/video-repository/>

Transcription conventions

Hungarian orthographic symbols used in representing data from Hungarian and Romani

(1) Consonant inventory and orthographic symbols of contemporary standard Hungarian¹

| | bilabial | labiodental | alveolar | palato-alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal |
|-----------------|----------|-------------|----------|-----------------|---------|-------|---------|
| plosive | p | f | t | | ty [c] | k | |
| | b | v | d | | gy [j] | g | |
| nasal | m | | n | | ny [ɲ] | | |
| fricative | | | sz [s] | s [ʃ] | | | h |
| | | | z | zs [ʒ] | | | |
| affricate | | | c [t͡s] | cs [t͡ʃ] | | | |
| | | | dz [t͡z] | dzs [d͡ʒ] | | | |
| trill | | | r | | | | |
| approx. lateral | | | l | | j | | |

(2) Additional symbols in Romani translingual or heterographic data

| | bilabial | alveolar | velar | velar/uvular |
|------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| aspirated plosive | ph [p ^h] | th [t ^h] | kh [k ^h] | |
| fricative | | | | [x] or [χ] |
| heterographic variants | p, ph | t, th | kh, h | k, kh, h, ch |

¹ IPA symbols are provided when the Hungarian orthographic convention is different from IPA.

(3) Vowel inventory and orthographic symbols of contemporary standard Hungarian

| | short | | back | | long | | Back | |
|------|-------|-------|------|-------|--------|--------|------|--------|
| | front | | | | front | | | |
| | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R |
| high | i | y <ü> | | u <u> | i: <í> | y: <ű> | | u: <ú> |
| mid | e <é> | ø <ô> | | o <o> | e: <é> | ø: <ő> | | o: <ó> |
| low | ε <e> | | | ɒ <a> | | | | a: <á> |

(4) Vowel inventory of local Romani and heterographic variants²

| | front | | back | | | |
|------|-----------|----|------|----|------------|-------|
| | -R | +R | -R | +R | -R | +R |
| high | i | | | | | u <u> |
| mid | e <e> <é> | | | | | o <o> |
| low | | | | | a: <a> <á> | ɒ <a> |

(5) Brackets and other non-orthographic symbols

- Angle brackets < > mark (1) letters as written symbols and (2) overlaps in dialogue in the transcripts;
- Square brackets [] mark (1) letters representing sounds, (2) brief editorial comments on, or supplementation of, cited data, (3) translation of foreign-language titles in references, (4) omissions from quotations;
- Hash symbol # marks segments of discourse which are unclear and impossible to transcribe in recorded data (the number of hash symbols corresponds to the number of unclear syllables)

² Shaded background indicates vowels of uncertain phonemic value, which are likely the outcomes of contact.

Glossing abbreviations

| | |
|------|----------------------------|
| 3PL | third person plural |
| 3SG | third person singular |
| ACC | accusative |
| DAT | dative |
| IMP | imperative |
| INS | instrumental |
| PFV | perfective verbal particle |
| PL | plural |
| SG | singular |
| SUBJ | subjunctive |
| SUBL | sublative |

Li Wei

Foreword

Translanguaging as resistance

A few years ago, while doing our Translation and Translanguaging project (<https://tlang.org.uk/>), I attended a public event organised by the Eastern European Roma Support Group in London to celebrate their achievements. As there were people who did not have direct contacts with Roma people, the Group organisers arranged a number of speakers to give general introductions to Roma history, culture, and of course language. The community worker who talked about language issues made the statement that “Roma people speak Romani, which is a non-standard, mixed language”. She may well have got it from some written text somewhere. But it was not quite what I understood of the language. I must confess that I have always found the idea of “mixed languages” odd because it assumes the named language ideology and furthermore “standard” language ideology.

Here is a story that I was told by a field linguist in China in the 1980s: he and a team of language documentation researchers were tasked to help minority ethnic groups in remote mountain villages in Yunnan province in the southwest of China to (re)construct their languages by designing writing systems, compiling dictionaries and writing grammar books. They recorded some chants from the elders of one of the ethnic minority communities and tried to construct a lexicon and the grammatical rules for that language. In analysing the data, this field linguist noticed words and phrases that did not seem to belong to the language that he was studying – some had known origins in other named languages, so they were classified as “borrowings”, but others had no known origin, not to this linguist at least. So, he asked the community elders, “What language is that?” referring to transcribed words and phrases. The people just looked at him, and said, “You tell us; we thought you were the linguist”. So, the linguist asked, “what does it mean?”. “Ah, that’s a different question”, the people said. “We know exactly what they mean”. But it was clearly not their job to know and even to care about which language the words and phrases belonged to and what name the language should have.

Named languages are socio-politico-ideological constructs, a key argument that translanguaging scholars have been making. They do not reflect psycholinguistic or even sociolinguistic realities in the sense that different named languages are not ‘represented’ differently or separately in the human mind and bilinguals and multilinguals do not switch between different named languages when they are speaking; they speak by drawing on their entire communicative repertoire which comprises elements that could be labelled in terms of different named languages. Moreover, the naming of sets

of linguistic features as language, or dialect, or something else has serious social, political, and of course, educational consequences – wars have been fought and blood has been shed over the naming and categorisation of languages. Likewise, the naming of certain structural features as “standard language” is a top-down construct with inherent power differentials. It is hegemonically imposed by dominant social classes and its social and educational impact has been largely discriminatory. In the context discussed in the present volume, bilingual Roma speakers come up against standard ideologies in two named languages: the official language of the nation state, Hungarian, and a standard variety of Romani, a transnational language with multiple centres of standardisation. The former determines, and possibly limits, their chances in formal education, while the latter frames, and possibly limits, the success of language activism and the ways talking about language rights can be imagined at all.

A serious consequence of the political naming and labelling of languages is that users of different languages are assigned different sociopolitical status and put into different social categories. Languages that have been designated as “immigrant language” and/or “non-standard minority language”, have little chance of being used as the language of instruction in formal education contexts in any country. In the 2021 UK census, only one language can be identified as the “main language” at home. We expect that hundreds of British-born children in the education system whose home language is not English will be identified as EAL (English as an additional language) learners even though they may be using English as their primary language of communication outside the family domain. Will they be supported or discriminated against as a consequence? To be a user of a “mixed language” often implies that their language is non-standard, and that they do not know any language with proper names, specifically national names, properly. What are the social and educational consequences of such labelling? Similar to the London context, the idea of a “mixed language” appears critically in the field explored in the present volume, resulting in a devaluation of local linguistic practices. This volume addresses these challenges by offering alternatives to standardisation whereby local languages can be made part of learning at school.

In the above-mentioned Translation and Translanguaging project, we followed a karate instructor as one of our key participants, who identified himself as London-Polish-Roma and who lived a translanguaging and transcultural life. His son, who grew up in London and speaks Polish and Romani, regards English as his primary language and acts as an interpreter for the Eastern European Roma Support Group. He identifies himself, simply, as a Londoner. In one of our conversations with him, we asked if he would object to people calling him Polish, or Roma, or Polish-Roma, and here’s what he said,

I won't correct them, because my dad is Roma from Poland and my mom is Polish. But I don't know what it actually means. I grew up here. I'm a Londoner. I went to a normal school. I have a British passport. I have Polish and Roma roots. But I feel British as much as I can feel it. But sometimes I feel I'm not allowed to feel the way I feel. I don't belong to a single group. I don't want to belong to a single group. I can't belong to a single group. I can belong to all these groups. But I'm also me.

Roma people have long resisted narrow ethnic, national, and social categorisation, as well as the imposition of standard language and literacy norms. Their lived experience is a translanguaging one, and they have heterographic literacy, as discussed in this volume, too, in Chapter 14. Heterographic literacies defy neat, convenient categories, which linguists and educators are so used to. This presents a real challenge, not just to society and its institutions and policies, but also to researchers and practitioners who have a professional concern for the wellbeing of Roma people. Can we use a despised “mixed” language as a recourse for learning? Can we adapt the school space and turn it into one that connects well with the learners' everyday lived experiences, that enables and empowers the learners' voice, and that makes good use of community-based knowledge? These are some of the questions that are being addressed by contributors to the present volume, with rich empirical evidence and deep analytical insights. They are also questions that are core to socially inclusive and culturally transformative pedagogies.

Translanguaging seeks to resist and reject the imposition of monolingual, named, and standard language ideologies as well as raciolinguistic categorisation. It also seeks to reconceptualise education. Education can give us a wealth of knowledge in terms of information and awareness. But effective and transformative education develops the learners' understanding that goes beyond knowing facts, to be able to interpret information presented to them, and come to a view in a specific context. Understanding naturally leads to more questioning and further explanation and interpretation. Translanguaging aims to help the learner, and the teacher, to gain understanding, make sense of it all from their own context and through their own affective and sociocultural meanings.

A distinctive strength of the present volume, and the project upon which the present volume draws, is its participatory approaches. The contributors and researchers took an active and meaningful part of the participants' social life for data collection and interpretation. They also acted with *translanguaging shifts* as they followed complex lives and ways of languaging of the multilingual learners in various contexts. Consequently, they gained much better understanding of the linguis-

tic and cultural practices of the participants, of the tensions between policy and practice, of the struggles Roma people experience in schools and society and in transforming their own subjectivities. The research that underpins the chapters of this volume therefore is not only an analysis of translanguaging practices observed, but an example of transformative translanguaging in itself.

Eszter Tarsoly, János Imre Heltai

1 Introduction. Collaborative research writing: Multiplicity of realities, texts, and translanguaging

This multi-authored volume is the first comprehensive, book-length discussion, complete with a set of online resources, to present evidence-based research on a translanguaging approach to bilingual Roma children's learning in fundamentally monolingual school systems. Based on years of ethnographic research, the discussion takes as a starting point our observation that multilingual Romani speakers perceive language boundaries differently from speakers whose primary socialisation occurs in monolingual environments. In the context of the present study, teachers of multilingual Roma pupils are characterised by a monolingual background, which has important consequences for these children's schooling. Alongside the authors' ongoing participatory ethnographic research, a collaborative pedagogical implementation project was undertaken in Hungary and Slovakia, in which a group of primary-school teachers and bilingual Roma children and their parents, supported by researchers, university students, and teacher trainees, jointly developed a translanguaging approach to learning and, more broadly, to interacting in school. What enabled us to undertake the last stages of research, implementation, and most of the writing was an Erasmus-funded project, which lends its title to the present volume: Translanguaging for equal opportunities: Speaking Romani at school (hereafter the acronym TRANSLANGEDUROM will be used with reference to this project).

Our primary research site is a small town in Hungary (Tiszavasvári), where our long-term ethnographic research is based, and where the translanguaging project was executed in partnership with a local primary school called Magiszter. Our secondary research site is a village in Slovakia (Szímő in Hungarian, Zemné in Slovak) and its Hungarian-medium primary school, which was included in the TRANSLANGEDUROM project in order to review the effectiveness of our approach in a different setting. Both locations are characterised by bilingual practices in the intersection of a standardised, official state language, Hungarian and Slovak, respectively, and local ways of speaking Romani. These contexts, however, reflect a pattern which is detectable in numerous localities across Europe.

1.1 Methods: Participatory research and collaborative writing

The book delineates translanguaging education practices in a holistic manner. All chapters are based on the same project and they each bring a different aspect of translanguaging pedagogy to the fore by exploring empirical data from our research sites. Alongside ethnographic observational material, our data includes 35 short films, each consisting of video-recorded translanguaging classroom moments and commentaries on them. This repository (<http://www.kre.hu/romanitranslanguaging/index.php/video-repository/>) allows the reader to witness classroom moments directly, without having to rely merely on the researchers' accounts. To take full advantage of the observational data available in the repository, chapters begin with a detailed analysis of classroom moments, thus moving inductively from the specific and empirically observable details to the broader theoretical points that can be brought to bear on the analyses. Due to this structure, the book is a suitable resource for practicing teachers who wish to adopt a translanguaging stance in their pedagogical toolkit.

Our intention was to unpack the complexities of developing an approach which embraces and engages the entirety of learners' linguistic repertoires. Developing a pedagogical practice based on this commitment is essentially reflexive in nature; hence, it does not lend itself easily to be summarised in a step-by-step practitioner's guide. Practice needs to build on the intricate local specificities of codified and practised language policy, the broader sociolinguistic and language-ideological environment, and the ways of speaking that characterise local stakeholders such as teachers, learners, and their families. Therefore, instead of devoting separate parts to research and practice, we structured the chapters of this volume in a way which recognises that pedagogical practice emanates from empirical evidence, and that teaching and research mutually build on, and enhance, each other through reflexivity, in all contexts.

The texts in this book are co-written by academic and non-academic participants, thus evoking the voices of the latter within the traditions of academic writing. Authors include teachers who, thanks to their long-standing commitment to the project, gathered the broadest range of experience with implementing translanguaging approaches; teacher trainees, university students, and doctoral researchers who participated in data collection and project implementation; local parents who were engaged in translanguaging activities due to their commitment to the school and the project. Research-active authors represent a variety of disciplinary perspectives, such as education science, teacher training, applied linguistics, and sociolinguistics.

The most important methodological commitment of the volume is that it regards members of all participant groups as co-authors whose contributions extend the scope of the discussion by providing a variety of perspectives on the questions covered. This methodological stance determines the non-linear and non-hierarchical structure of the volume: the chapters are all connected with each other in multiple ways and introduce different but equally important features of translanguaging. A system of cross-referencing allows the reader to absorb the findings discussed in the book, alongside the materials in the video repository, in the order and manner most relevant to them. Our commitment to representing various forms of knowledge, including academic and local knowledges, as equal in importance and interpretative strength, meant that all contributors were involved in the writing process and their writings are included in the main body of the text, without being marked to stand out typographically (e.g., by italicisation, quotation marks, spaces, or similar devices). This explains the high number of co-authors of this volume. Each chapter had a main author who was responsible for co-ordinating other contributor's work, which included organising writing workshops, going over drafts, collecting and discussing the texts written by members of other contributor groups.

The consequences of these writing methods for the two editors' tasks were threefold. First, while being main authors or co-authors of several chapters, we were also mindful of creating an overarching narrative for the entire book. Second, the largely coherent narrative, and the fact that the volume discusses findings from a single project, resulted in a text genre which exhibits features typical of monographs. At the same time, each chapter is an independent, individual research paper with a coherent subject matter and methodological approach. Third, texts included in the volume represent a variety of genres, including case studies, reflections, field notes, descriptive passages, as well as analytical expository prose. By bringing in multiple perspectives and text genres, our aim is to reflect on the diversity of knowledge practices within the participant groups. Our decision to present the various authors' voices in the same body of text, without singling them out typographically or in the analysis, means that the transition between the different writing styles might feel abrupt or unsettling for the reader. This is, however, a sense of ambiguity which we intended to maintain in the hope that it may invite reflections on what knowledge is, and whose voice is validated by social conventions to articulate it.

The materials provided in this volume and in the online video repository are intended to support researchers, postgraduate students, pre- and in-service teachers of Romani-speaking learners in Europe and, more generally, experts working with pupils whose home language practices are different from the teachers' or the school curricula's. The book brings the results of current trends in translanguaging theory to bear on specific, live school situations and illustrates translanguaging as a stance on a rich collection of field materials. The chapters report on

the possibilities of translanguaging in a Central European context characterised by monolingual ideologies. Translanguaging is described as an opportunity for speakers of Romani, a language with only sporadic literacy, to enhance their success at school. Romani is the home language of hundreds and thousands of learners across Europe. These students are always taught, everywhere in mainstream school systems, in a language which is different from the language of their home, that is, in the official language of education in the country or region where they live. Romani is neither an official language nor the language of public administration or schooling anywhere in the world. This situation is in some respects similar to contexts of the global south, where students often speak local non-standardised language(s) different from the language of the school system.

What we label as “the project”, is made up of various activities undertaken by various participants, embedded both in Tiszavasvári and in Szímő (Zemné) in particular sociocultural environments and surrounded by different ideologies circulating at local, national, and supranational levels. The TRANSLANGEDUROM project is, at the time of writing, nearing its end, but local participants continue their activities, just as they did prior to the project. Over the years, many of the activities have evolved or expanded. As a result of TRANSLANGEDUROM, the pre-existing collaboration between local schools and families started to include translanguaging among its foci in addition to other activities that these communities of practice had undertaken prior to the project. The range of participants has broadened as a result of the project, to include an increasing number of teachers and local parents. Some of these learning communities will continue expanding, while others may shrink after the completion of the project. It is possible to sustain the pedagogical good practices discussed in this volume as long as there is a will and a clear commitment on behalf of local actors to do so. This commitment can be made only if local actors, for instance the school’s leadership, are convinced that translanguaging as a pedagogical stance yields real results, impacting the life of their learners positively, even if its implementation stretches the limits of what is expected of educators in mainstream schools. This conviction, however, is more easily theorised than implemented in practice: educators and their leaders often come up against deep-rooted preconceptions and ideologies both in the administrative realities surrounding them – and of their own. The activities undertaken in the TRANSLANGEDUROM project were linguistic ethnographic in nature, but with language pedagogical implications, relating to minority language practices and to issues of language planning. The consequences of the work carried out so far shaped reality in the project sites. Linguistic ethnographic work will continue beyond the school’s walls after the publication of this volume (the details of this work are discussed in the conclusions).

1.2 Conceptual grounding and theoretical considerations

The key concept of the TRANSLANGEDUROM project is translanguaging, seen as a practical theory (Li 2018) in the description of human linguistic practices and the pedagogies built around them. The present volume centres on the connectivity of this concept, approaching translanguaging from different angles and highlighting its various features which came to the fore through our diverse project activities, ranging from ethnographic work and translanguaging pedagogy to story-book writing and theatre production. Below we shall discuss the conceptual framework which allowed us to collect, organise, and interpret data produced through such a broad range of activities in an interconnected, transdisciplinary, and coherent way.

Our team includes, apart from applied linguists, teachers, teacher education specialists, and local citizens with no specific linguistic or sociolinguistic training. The project is based on ethnographic research methods and on participatory approaches. A synthesis of academic (e.g., linguistic, pedagogical, etc.) and local knowledge emerged during project activities. The perspectives of all participants influenced the way we understand translanguaging. Rather than defining the pedagogy of translanguaging and the possibilities of its implementation among local Roma pupils, education theorists contributing to our project were concerned with the ways in which translanguaging complements insights gained from contemporary pedagogical approaches. As a result, project members see translanguaging at the schools as a stance which is part of contemporary pedagogical approaches and practices, and which reshapes teachers' work and the ways they think about their work (cf. Chapter 15 on adaptive schooling). The activities involving non-academic participants, such as local Roma parents, have increasingly encouraged all participants to think of translanguaging not only as a pedagogical concept for schools, but as a possibility for organising cultural and social life as a whole (cf. Chapter 13 on community-based knowledge and culturally transformative education).

Models and analytical concepts whose ambition is to capture complex and diverse realities necessarily exhibit interdisciplinary characteristics. They reveal the fading boundaries between the various disciplines and remind us that individual research is always part of complex systems (cf. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008). A position paper by the Douglas Fir Group (2016), a transdisciplinary research network made up of mainly SLA theorists and practitioners, presents such a holistic model of applied linguistics research in the field of language learning and teaching. The authors map the social environmental factors that influence second language acquisition on three levels (a micro level of social activity, a mezzo level of sociocultural institutions and community, and a macro

level of ideological structures). Hult (2019), recognising the virtues of this model, proposes an approach based on nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004), which emphasises the embeddedness of applied linguistic research in complex realities, and highlights how elements of reality interrelate, with dynamic interactions and relationships within a single complexity. Social actions, which are at the heart of the proposed model, are embedded in the history of a person's experience (historical body), in the normative systems of the person's conversations with other persons (interaction order) and in the spaces and localities where these interactions take place (discourse in place). With this model, inter- and transdisciplinary research can not only take all these dimensions into account, but can treat them in their interconnectedness, as parts of a single integrated system. Hult argues that the nexus analysis approach can be extended beyond ethnographic description to the analysis of any social action and its context, in any field of applied linguistics (2019: 142).

The metaphor we have chosen to guide our thinking in both structuring this volume and representing our project activities as part of translanguaging shares many features of nexus analysis, and it helps us view translanguaging as an integrated but multi-faceted system. The proposed metaphor is that of the rhizome, which was brought into social-scientific thinking by Deleuze and Guattari (1987). *Rhizome*, a term in biology, describes a type of root system, which lacks a central stem and consists of multiple interconnected small roots, as seen in various types of grasses. These root systems have no boundaries: they have an extent, but no beginning and no end. Regarding their internal structure, they can't be traced back to a single unit: there is no trunk or main root as in the case of many other plants. Rhizomatic root systems cannot be divided into clearly separable parts. When detaching a part of any size, a new rhizome is created. The rhizome is open in all possible directions due to the complex system of the small roots. As a result, it can come into contact with its environment in many ways.

In the introduction of their work *A Thousand Plateaus* Deleuze and Guattari (1987) claim that facts and phenomena of the world, instead of being structured into hierarchical order, are arranged in a rhizomatic way, with multiple and variable connections. This claim is ambitious yet simple, which is both its strength and its weakness. It aspires to explain how practically everything in the social world operates, and focuses on easy-to-understand characteristics: everything is connected, nothing is central, nothing is hierarchical, and there is no traceable ultimate unity. (Compare this to the term heterarchy, "where due to homologous dynamics, influence extends in both/many directions among the components of a complex system, rather than top-down or bottom-up" Larsen-Freeman 2019: 68). Certain aspects of this conceptual metaphor have become popular in the last

decades of sociolinguistic thinking. The image of the rhizome was used to describe the organisation of discourses (Pietikäinen 2015; Leppänen and Kytölä 2017), classroom practices (Prinsloo and Krause 2019) linguistic landscape (Milani and Levon 2016), the language performance of individuals (Canagarajah 2018), research methods (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018), and translanguaging and translanguing practices (Heltai 2021).

The rhizome-metaphor foregrounds that translanguaging is a concept in constant development, with interconnected theoretical and practice-oriented underpinnings, including its bearings on pedagogical issues and questions of language policy. It is also a tool to understand the relationship between the chapters in this volume. The diversity of voices and activities that characterise the project, which we intended to make an important feature of this book, can be both captured and understood by the metaphor of the rhizome. By adopting the rhizome as a metaphor, we reflect on our practice whose aim is not so much to capture the elements of reality, but the interconnectedness of phenomena: the transitions rather than the dimensions of reality. To mention but two examples, we think of translanguaging not as a particular reified way of speaking in the classroom, but as a practice which involves shifting in and out of various ways of speaking including translanguing ways. Furthermore, ways of speaking within a particular group never evolve in isolation. They are embedded in a complex web of social practices, in which shift in a particular component, such as the children's way of speaking in school, can happen only if a transformation is taking place simultaneously in other domains, such as the parents' language ideologies about proper speaking at school and the entire community's relationship to schooling as a whole.

We adopted translanguaging as a key concept of our working methods because of the failures, on the one hand, in the relationship of bilingual Roma communities and monolingual school systems, and, on the other, in the implementation of standardised Romani as the language of instruction. Standardisation is an endeavour of Roma intellectuals and, in most contexts, it has little appeal to those living in marginalised settings. The term translanguaging was originally coined as a concept of teacher-guided multilingual learning organisation (Williams 1994), promoting the use of two languages in a complementary way. The reshaped concept (García 2009; García and Li 2014; Blackledge and Creese 2010) has seen in the last decade a vigorous development and influenced thinking about both multilingualism and multilingual pedagogies.

The core idea of translanguaging is the unity of the linguistic repertoire (Vogel and García 2017), which suggests that multilingual speakers have a complex repertoire of linguistic structures at their disposal, which is not organised into named languages or language systems (Matras 2009: 4). Through a process of linguistic socialisation, involving a broad range of social activities, repertoire

components come to be associated with various types of activities, sets of interlocutors, topics, and institutional settings. The concept of the linguistic repertoire is helpful in developing our understanding of the ways in which a person operates all resources and skills which are needed for speaking and meaning making, and that these operations always occur in collaboration with other speakers. This means that the repertoire is not only psychologically embedded but also strongly linked to intercorporeality (Busch 2012a, 2012b) and interpersonal relationships. Translanguaging scholars promote the view that bi- and multilingual speakers do not have double, triple etc. repertoires according to the number of languages they speak. That is, the languages spoken by a person do not divide the repertoire into separate units. Instead, every single speaker has only one repertoire, independent from the number of languages she or he speaks. The unitary repertoire consists of many different linguistic resources (words, syntactic structures, stress patterns, phonological rules, etc. – cf. Blommaert and Backus 2013: 6; Matras 2009: 4), and, more broadly, semiotic resources. The latter includes non-verbal resources such as gestures, facial expressions, distance and even silence between the interaction partners. In our thinking, these resources are assigned to one or more languages, but also to situations, interlocutors, and types and subject matters of communicative events. This assignment defines when and how to combine repertoire components, but the repertoire itself is unitary. This is a point corresponding to the image of the rhizome, which is also a single unit consisting of different, multiply connected components, both unitary and diverse at the same time.

People speak in diverse ways. They all make use of different linguistic and semiotic resources. When speaking, speakers pay no attention to meta-linguistic constructs, such as “language systems”, or to the number of such constructed and labelled units (known as “named languages”) from which they select their resources. Instead, they select them in a way which is best suited for their communicative goals and intentions, their discourse strategies, and their processing capacities (cf. Matras 2009: 3), which are all involved in the process by which they come to be understood by their conversation partners. The unitary nature of the repertoire, however, does not mean that boundaries between languages and varieties do not exist; on the contrary, these boundaries are very real. This is, however, a social and cultural reality: the boundaries are formed due to social and cultural processes. As a result, these boundaries are in constant flux and evade clear delimitation, thus remaining open for being interpreted differently in different communities. Languages and varieties are seen as social inventions, resulting from social and cultural traditions (Makoni and Pennycook eds. 2006; Blommaert and Rampton 2011; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015; Kleyne and García 2019). Translanguaging scholars argue that the boundaries between named languages are social in nature without corresponding mental representations: our cognitive system is structured, but this structuring does not correspond to the way in which languages structure social reality (Otheguy,

García, and Reid 2019: 626–627). The metalinguistic construct of named languages does not have a psycholinguistic reality.

This argument has far-reaching pedagogical consequences. Translanguaging scholars propose to acknowledge and to make use of learners' entire repertoire in education, not only because it is socially just (García and Kleyn 2016: 24–25) but also helpful in learning. They recommend developing the whole repertoire in a holistic way (Blackledge and Creese 2010) instead of supporting only one or the other language exclusively. Translanguaging in pedagogy is the conscious utilisation of all linguistic resources that make up learners' repertoires. It can be implemented by learners and/or initiated by teachers and often results in new language policy solutions in classrooms and schools (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Prinsloo and Krause 2019).

In this volume, we consider translanguaging not as pedagogy *per se*, but as a pedagogical stance, an insight on behalf of educators that acknowledging learners' unitary repertoire means to acknowledge their full personality. In our view, translanguaging as a pedagogy is based on a moment of recognition and change, a shift in behaviour and thinking, connecting entrepreneurial teachers with new pedagogical possibilities. These possibilities occur in many different areas of a teacher's work. In the ten main chapters of this volume such areas will be explored. This volume introduces translanguaging as a rhizomatic multiplicity, constantly changing in nature, depending on local linguistic and cultural practices and broader policy and ideological environments.

1.3 Structure and scope of the study

The volume is divided into three main parts. The first one of these introduces the research sites and the social and language ideologies and practices characterising the people living in them. The second part introduces our working methods and theoretical commitments. The third part consists of chapters discussing a specific perspective on translanguaging educational practices in our project sites.

Chapter 2 reviews historical and contemporary language policies in Europe in general and in particular in Central Europe, in the context of global trends in language-policy making. It highlights that non-standardised and translanguaging ways of speaking exist on the margins of institutional frameworks in the monolingual and double monolingual contexts of Hungary and Slovakia, dominated by the named languages adopted as official languages (Hungarian and Slovak) of the states. Chapter 3 distances our analytical stance from named languages and focuses on ways of speaking involving Romani, describing them in a translanguaging framework as parts of heterogeneous repertoires. The chapter explains why

standardisation attempts targeting Romani are controversial and argues that the introduction of translanguaging-based education offers a more realistic chance for speakers of Romani to enhance their success in school. Considerations on concept and analysis are also introduced in this chapter, particularly the way in which the metaphor of the rhizome shaped our thinking about translanguaging and influenced the way we structured this book. Chapter 4, the last section of Part I, describes the main project site, Tiszavasvári, a town in Eastern Hungary, focusing on the intersubjectivities of people living in this setting. Synergies in the description unfold across three perspectives: that of the researcher, of a teacher representing the local majority's experience, and of parents whose voice represents the local minority's vantage point. The other project site, Szímő (Zemné), a village in Southern Slovakia, is described from a local teacher's and a researcher's perspective.

Part II focuses on methodological considerations. In Chapter 5, we discuss linguistic ethnographic research activities and pilot projects which laid the foundations of our participatory approach and led to the launch of the TRANSLANGEDUROM project. The features and distinctive parts of this project are described alongside methodological and ethical considerations of data collection. Chapter 6 focuses on three aspects of data processing. First, we describe the principles and processes of surveying and selecting translanguaging classroom moments for filming. Second, we expand on the way we thematised the 35 short films based on the features of translanguaging which emerged from the raw recordings. The role of online working, which was largely due to Covid-19, and ethical and practical considerations on translation are explained here.

Part III of the book is divided into ten chapters, each thematising a different aspect of translanguaging. While looking at a particular chapter, the reader encounters a core element of translanguaging, but these are interconnected with other core elements discussed in other chapters. This structure is reinforced by the video material, as, for example, different chapters may refer to the same video recording from a different angle. Chapter 7 discusses the features of the linguistic repertoire specific to multilingual Roma through the example of the Tiszavasvári Roma neighbourhood, addressing also the question of how teachers' translanguaging stance can be aligned to learners' complex repertoire. Chapter 8 traces the ways in which a translanguaging stance restructures existing hierarchies in interactional practices in the classroom. Analysing discretely selected classroom moments, we uncover how exactly this restructuring happens. The impact of transformative classroom dynamics is discussed with regards to both the teacher and the learners, with special attention to how translanguaging serves as a tool of reflective pedagogical practices and increases intrinsic motivation in both educators and children. Chapter 9 elucidates types and tokens of cultural mediation and linguistic creativity in the translanguaging classroom. By activating construction patterns acquired in a set of contexts (e.g. the learners' home) in

other contexts (e.g. the school), learners accommodate and appropriate technical discourses within their own ways of speaking, thereby reshuffling the boundaries of those discourses. Such practices are discussed through specific examples and with special consideration to the learners' agentive role as mediators between their home- and institutional settings. Chapter 10 surveys the various forms of teachers' translanguaging interactional practices and their reverberation in the classroom: the ways in which teachers' translanguaging utterances and translanguaging shifts enhance learning. We pinpoint the effects of teachers' translanguaging on the learning process in the changing partnership between teachers and learners, as their relationship becomes more supportive, built on shared trust rather than hierarchy. Chapter 11 elaborates how even just a few teachers' translanguaging stance can influence attitudes and policy in the entire school, extending the scope of translanguaging beyond the classroom. The chapter includes the results of a translanguaging pilot assessment test evaluating children's readiness for school, which showed that bilingual language socialisation does not influence disadvantageously emergent bilingual learners' performance in an institutional setting which is increasingly welcoming towards translanguaging ways of speaking.

In Chapter 12, we explore the connection between translanguaging and the schoolscape: the types of interaction between learners and the learning environment, which fosters learners' communicative competence in multi-modal ways. A critical evaluation of the visual and physical components of the learning environment highlights ways in which translanguaging approaches contribute to reshaping the schoolscape. Chapter 13 surveys possibilities for community-based learning, which takes into account local knowledge practices and epistemologies in the context of school-based learning activities. We exemplify through a variety of extra-curricular projects and recorded classroom moments the ways in which ethical care and transcultural learning approaches are instrumental in education, and argue that community-based translanguaging approaches to education contribute to decolonising the curriculum at local levels. Chapter 14 describes local literacy practices and deals with issues of standardisation and heterographic writing. We highlight the potential that lies in reading and writing Romani texts using the Hungarian alphabet, already known to the pupils. Thanks to this approach, teachers can focus on developing literacy skills as general linguistic competences which are not tied to a particular named language. We shall discuss the children's creative experience when given the opportunity to read and write texts in Romani. In Chapter 15, based on the videos, we analyse the ways in which translanguaging and effective learning organisation mutually support each other. Learners' home language practices are present in teacher-led learning situations as well, but in a covert way. In learner-centred activities, such as pair- and group-work, pupils' home language practices are necessarily brought to the surface and teachers can build on them to a greater extent.

The discussion explores translanguaging learning approaches in the context of adaptive schooling. In chapter 16, we elucidate the potential of evoking a variety of voices in educational contexts. We look at translanguaging moments which involve stylisation of the other, such as pupils imitating adults' speech, parents impersonating teachers and *vice versa*. Parents' and teachers' voices are analysed from a heteroglossic perspective, mapping them against social speech types (or social voices). School activities in which stylising occurs provide the opportunity for practising teachers, learners, and parents to adopt a reflexive approach to their own roles and positionality.

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Part I: **Romani and translanguaging: Theoretical considerations**

Petteri Laihonon, János Imre Heltai

2 Non-standardised ways of speaking and language-policy regimes

One third of the world's Roma population live in the Carpathian basin in close proximity to speakers of Hungarian among other ethnicities (Szuhay 2011: 620). The foundations of the educational language policies of our fieldwork sites in Hungary and in Slovakia were laid down in the Kingdom of Hungary (as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) in the 19th century, when public education was established in most parts of Europe. The Kingdom of Hungary was multilingual and education was fundamentally multilingual, too, often with different functions for different languages: Latin was the language of law, monastic culture and education, and Latin and/or German was used in administration, German was also the dominant language of urban bourgeoisie and trade, while local languages were limited to (e.g. Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak) everyday interactions, typical of vernacular languages elsewhere in Europe.

In the process of 19th century nation building, a single common language was developed for each nation state through language reforms and standardisation, which meant formal and official unification (Kamusella 2012). This idealised variety was conceptualised as the basis for the nation's existence and served as a justification for the desired independence of states. In this process, the language of "one's own" or "mother tongue" gradually became a distinguishing factor between people in the modern era, alongside origin, status, and religion. This idea was effectively spread among the masses in the context of censuses in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (cf. Anderson 1991; Gal 2011: 42).

Towards the end of the 19th century, as language became more and more viewed as a distinguishing characteristic uniting as well as dividing the masses, monolingual ideologies of education became dominant in the parts of the Monarchy ruled by Hungary. Gal (2011: 33) describes the monolingual ideologies of the 19th century as intellectual views according to which: "monolingualism is the natural condition of ordinary people; learning a second language supposedly endangers the first one cognitively." Politically, multilingualism was seen as raising the dangerous "possibility that speakers had loyalties to more than one state." (Gal 2011: 33; cf. also Stergar and Scheer 2018). Such views arrived to the Kingdom of Hungary from Western Europe, where monolingualism was established as part of "civilisation" and "modernisation" (Gal 2011: 33), where linguistic minorities generally remained on the margins of public education, and at the same time, previous multilingual practices disappeared over time. A public and equal school

system gradually spread in Europe in the 19th century at the same time as the notion of a national language became accepted as the unifying and distinguishing factor for people.

2.1 Language standardisation, monolingualism and education in Europe

The concepts of majority and minority are linked to a critical interpretation of language policy, in which language policy refers to a language-based division of power and resources between different groups. The majority is roughly at the top of the hierarchy, the minorities at the bottom. In particular, the choice of language of instruction is at the heart of language education policy (cf. Tollefson 2013). As an important European example of a multilingual region, in the Hungarian Kingdom, the language of education was unified towards the 20th century with emphasis on Hungarian medium education and on basic education in the languages of the recognised nationalities (e.g. Romanians, Slovaks, Germans etc.), which included the teaching of “patriotic” subjects (e.g. History and Geography) in Hungarian (cf. e.g. Berecz 2013). In the peace treaty closing the First World War, Hungary lost two thirds of its territory and more than two million Hungarian speakers ended up as minority language speakers in the surrounding countries, which reciprocated the same language policies towards Hungarians. Post First World War Hungary still contained relatively large groups of minority language speakers including over half a million German speakers and numerous Romani speakers, however, as Szarka notably constitutes (2011: 85) “no official cognizance was taken of the [. . .] Gypsy languages” in 1920s Hungary.

Today, minority languages may be taught in minority language revitalisation and maintenance projects, when so required by minority groups, but they rarely serve as the (official) language of instruction, which is most often associated with majority-only collective language education policy rights (cf. eg. Extra and Gorter 2008: 31–32). The ideologies of monolingualism still prevail in European language education policy. Those deviating from the norm represented by the imagined majority – white, middle-class European citizens, speakers of official and national languages – are in a weaker position in many ways. Piller (2016) cites such vulnerable areas as fundamental rights, education, security, and gender equality. In addition, mental well-being, employment status, social status and living standards are often endangered, especially in situations where linguistic difference is combined with, for example, a different skin color (Piller 2016).

The standardisation of languages has been seen as a prerequisite for the emergence of larger, “imagined communities” (Anderson 1991). Unification has meant reducing intra-linguistic variation. The elimination of variation can be linked to the ideology of enlightenment and modernisation, which emphasises the practicality of a common language: advanced ideas and technological developments can be rapidly disseminated among big crowds living in large areas. The purity of language, in turn, is related to the national idea: clear “boundaries” between languages also draw boundaries between groups of speakers. Separating and valuing languages is always ultimately about valuing speakers. In Europe’s multilingual and intra-linguistically diverse reality, language ideological processes have separated people, while linguistic standardisation processes have favored certain groups of speakers.

The place for linguistic unification and the cherishing of separation and purity has been primarily the school. Recently, however, alternative developments have been seen, with a particular emphasis on pedagogies based on interlingualism and heteroglossia, such as translanguaging, which highlights the lowering or eliminating of language boundaries in multilinguals’ speech (cf. Blackledge and Creese 2014). At the same time, the idea of the “mixed use” of languages as an avoidable phenomenon still lives on in European education at large. Spolsky (2021: 200), summarises the present language educational thinking containing, on the one hand a “recent growing sentiment for allowing diversity in the classroom, celebrated by the new term translanguaging”, and, on the other hand, a mainstream tendency, where “policy makers [. . .] and teachers generally prefer certainty, holding a belief that there is a correct and desirable version of named languages.”

2.2 Multilingual speakers and non-territorial, non-standard languages in education

In Europe, people tend to talk about ethnic and linguistic belonging in terms of separable groups. This way of thinking, determined by ideologies rising parallel to the emergence of European nation states in past centuries, is labelled by Brubaker as groupism (2002, 2004). Under this approach, most people speak for example Hungarian in Hungary and Slovak in Slovakia. At the same time, there are also ethnic minority groups who speak, alongside the national language, a language „of their own”, mostly standardised languages, spoken as official languages elsewhere: for example, in Hungary a part of the population is ethnic Slovak, Romanian, and German; what is more, ethnic Hungarians live in Slovakia in large numbers. Members

of these ethnic and linguistic minorities are mostly regarded as bilingual, but we can find relatively easily monolingual speakers of a minority language (for example Hungarians in Slovakia with no or little knowledge of Slovak).

Members of these groups often perceive language(s) as well-defined, homogeneous entities, clearly separable from each other, having a pure and idealistic realisation (a standard variety), which is an important part of their identity, to be guarded and cherished in its “clean” or “pure” form, “sheltered” from the influence of other languages. This way of perceiving linguistic practices has a long and strong historical tradition; people consider language mixing or any kind of influence of another language on their own language as dangerous and harmful (Li 2018: 14). Under these circumstances, bilingualism is often assumed as the side by side coexistence of two languages in speakers’ mind and social life. This kind of bilingualism is called double monolingualism, parallel monolingualism (Heller 2006 [1999]: 34) or separate bilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2010), expressing the idea that people have two monolingual selves and social lives. This is a general concept about bilingualism in European thinking, influential also in 20th century linguistic approaches.

In today’s Europe, “official state languages” (Extra and Gorter 2008; on the use of terms cf. Spolsky 2021) have the highest recognition, and the most financial resources allocated to them as official languages of European countries, the European Union and other international organisations. Extra and Gorter in their typology of “regional minority languages” in Europe, group languages in five categories. The final, fifth group of languages they mention, is “non-territorial languages”; this group includes “Romani and Yiddish” as “most prominent” languages (Extra and Gorter 2008: 28). This group gets little mention later in Extra and Gorter’s otherwise detailed description of language status and educational policies in Europe. The label “non-territorial language” indicates that the Roma are on the margins of European language-based national movements (cf. e.g. May 2012), which are underpinned by the same ideological commitments as the creation of contemporary nation states in Europe, and which create an ideological link between territory and language. Language rights (in education) are usually granted to minority groups which identify with, and are recognised speakers of, “territorial languages with a historical base” (Piller 2016: 35) such as the Sámi in the Arctic or the Basque in the Basque country, an autonomous region in Spain. Especially the latter indicates that language rights are often coupled with political representation and power in the given regions. Therefore, Romani is not only a blind spot for European education (in which sign languages are an even less recognised category) because of European standard-based, monolingual traditions, but Romani is at odds even with the more recent approach which seeks to promote plurilingualism. The political approach of plurilingualism promoted by the Council of Europe (1992) is, thus, unable

to accommodate Romani within its framework, and to provide (linguistic) rights for Romani speakers (cf. Vallejo and Dooly 2020).

In addition to having a territorial base, a language often needs standardisation in order to be recognised and granted a status in society and education. Tamburelli and Tosco (2021: 7) observe that the existence of a prescriptive, literary variety is too often interpreted as “the only viable dimension along which “languages” can be defined”. Standardisation of a language has been an important part of constructing imagined communities (Anderson 1991) in Europe which are the basis of most current nation states, which then typically invest further in the standardisation process of official state languages (national languages). It is a typical idea, that for a language to be used in school it has to have a widely accepted standardised variety, which will then constitute the language of school (target language or language of instruction). In most cases, according to Spolsky (2021: 41), the school mandates “[the] use of the standard language even though students (and often teachers) normally speak a stigmatised vernacular variety”.

In this manner, following the European ideology of spreading (Gal 2011), cherishing and developing the national standard languages through schooling, in most education systems there is a normative language of education, a variety or register, which is different from the home language or local variety. Through such language education, the (standardised) unity of the nation is achieved, which is deemed economically advantageous as well (Spolsky 2021).

2.3 Conclusion: The responsibility of language education and sociolinguistics

Romani speakers are multilingual all over Europe. As a result of its monolingual habitus (Gogolin 1997), European education serves multilingual populations poorly (cf. e.g. Piller 2016; Gorter and Cenoz 2017). Elite multilingualism, consisting of speaking several European prestige languages (similar to that Rosa and Flores [2017] termed as white languages) is often celebrated, whereas “the other” linguistic diversity “is associated with a range of social ills, and is seen as something to be contained, possibly even something to be fearful of” (Piller 2016: 2). Research in applied linguistics has not been successful in addressing the challenge of multilingualism and growing language diversity in education either. For instance, the main focus of second language acquisition (SLA) studies has been the acquisition of English (Cenoz and Gorter 2019: 130). This has been aggravated by the fact that, in most countries globally, the so-called “second” or “foreign” language education has

been limited to English without any consideration to the languages that learners might speak or might wish to learn.

The challenge of linguistic inequality Romani speakers face lies in the intersection of unfavourable and exclusive language-education policy trends regarding language diversity, in the conceptual frameworks and ideas about language in education, and in European mainstream pedagogies which are based on monolingual norms of communication (Pennycook 2018; Cenoz and Gorter 2019; Piller 2016; Ortega 2019). Despite all this, according to May (2012: 44) “Roma across Europe continue to reproduce their ethnicity [including language] even when it reduces their chances of attaining prosperity and political power”. Accordingly, our responsibility as sociolinguists, applied linguists, and educationalists consists of seeking alternatives to improve the inclusion of Romani speakers in education.

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3 Romani and translanguaging

In this chapter we elaborate our theoretical stance, which is to distance ourselves from groupism-based approaches to the treatment of Roma identity questions and linguistic practices, and focus on ways of speaking linked to Romani, presenting them as parts of heterogeneous repertoires. Groupism labels a way of thinking based on the idea of fixed ethnic and linguistic categories (Brubaker 2002, 2004). In the lack of a defined territory, nation state or a state-like entity, the mainstream groupism-based identity politics becomes particularly problematic, and the socially constructed nature of ethnic categorisation (Ladányi and Szelényi 2001) is more striking than in the case of other ethnic groups in Central-Europe. By contrast, from an anthropological viewpoint, Stewart argues that Gypsies “who always live immersed inside and dispersed among majority populations and are invariably bi- or multilingual, do not fit the ‘one culture, one territory, one social structure’ model at all” (2013: 417).

Roma cultural and identity politics in Eastern and Central Europe (e.g. Mirga and Gheorghe 1997; Marushiakova and Popov 2001, 2021) often follow groupism-based nation-state patterns, not only in the matter of standardisation, but also in the attempts to create political unity (for a critical overview from an anthropological point of view, cf. Fosztó 2003). From a groupism perspective, Marushiakova and Popov, for example, define the Roma as an “intergroup ethnic community”, which is “divided into a widespread archipelago of separate groupings, split in various ways into metagroups, groups and subgroups” (2001: 33). Such political movements achieve modest results (Barany 2002), while the corresponding scientific approaches are challenged by anthropological viewpoints (e.g. Fosztó 2003; Surdu 2016; Law and Kováts 2018), underlining the nationalist roots and the contradictions of Roma ethnic struggles (for a critical analysis of related debates, cf. Acton 2018). The intended systematicity and homogeneity of groupism-based approaches is challenged by a variety of factors, most prominently by the disruption of ethnically constructed entities by social categorisations.

3.1 The challenges of ethnic and linguistic categorisations

Besides ethnicity, the term *Roma* denotes belonging to a certain social category across Europe and in Hungary. Social belonging has been connected to poor

socioeconomic status, but also to certain occupations or non- or semi-sedentised (peripatic) ways of life (Törzsök 2001; Janko Spreizer 2013; Mirga 1992). Furthermore, racialised appearances also come into play in the construction on the Romas' difference from majority society members. Dark skin colour and black hair are frequently connected to the Roma by the majorities and sometimes by the Roma themselves. Accordingly, questions such as who is a Roma and who can decide who is a Roma are evergreen topics. Both self-identification and classifications by outsiders are based partly on ethnic, racial, social, or habitual criteria, all of which are often linked to issues of stigmatisation (cf. Lucassen 1991). There are studies showing that in times of economic crises, members of the most marginalised social groups are seen as Roma a generation later (Nagy 2007, 2015, 2020). There are also examples of the reverse: persons that have reached the living standards of the middle classes often dissociate themselves (and are dissociated) from the Roma in social discourses.

Groupism-based ideas permeate to a certain extent Romani studies, too, and result in academics retaining the idea of bounded groups in their arguments. Tremlett (2014) suggested that superdiversity is a helpful theoretical construct in revealing the complexity of discourses and social practices which contribute to the construction of an ethnic group, and it “allows a direction in Romani studies that moves beyond a fixed or limiting notion of ‘ethnicity’” (844). It follows from our rejection of groupism that we see it neither practicable nor necessary to give the number of Roma or Romani speakers, either in Europe or in Hungary. The size of these numbers depends on the ideologies along which we construct an ethnic and/or linguistic group. Deleuze and Guattari highlight in their essay about rhizomatic multiplicities (1987) that “the number is no longer a universal concept measuring elements according to their emplacement in a given dimension, but has itself become a multiplicity that varies according to the dimensions considered” (8). We emphasise the rhizomatic multiplicity of social realities: instead of bounded groups such as “Roma” or “Romani speaking Roma” we see qualities of belonging which pull subjects in various directions with variable strength at different points in time. For instance, a young male student at university, with a Vlach Roma father and a Hungarian mother considers himself a Carpathian Rom, which linguistically and in its origins represents a different group from the Vlach Roma. He studied music in Budapest with a group of Carpathian (Hungarian) Roma and identifies fully with this group, and the fact that he has no Carpathian Roma roots has little significance both for himself and his music teachers.

But just as there is no universal answer to the question of who is, and who is not, a Roma, it is also beyond our remit to decide what the linguistic practices linked to Romani are. Many Roma speak Romani only in specific environments and contexts. Many Roma conceptualise their language as not pure, consisting of

a mix of languages. Many weave into their everyday practices linguistic resources that they consider Romani without calling their speech Romani. Many Roma grow up in families where Romani is present but prefer other linguistic resources in their speech. The non-Roma remain often unaware that the Roma living in their environment speak Romani, including their teachers and interviewers completing census or research questionnaires. For these reasons, we find statistical data irrelevant to the study of the Roma's identity and linguistic practices. To indicate the extent of the issues we are dealing with here and the proportion of the population concerned, the number of speakers who (also) incorporate Romani resources into their everyday practices is in the millions in Europe, with hundreds of thousands of speakers in the Carpathian basin (For an overview of Romani languages in Europe cf. Matras 2002).

In addition to the challenges of the referential complexities of the term *Roma*, the term *cigány* 'Gypsy', widespread in Central and Southeast Europe, reveals further challenges to ethnic categorisation. In Hungary, Romania, and Serbia many people labelled by others as Gypsy are considered bilingual, speaking the national language and Boyash (in language typological terms described as an Eastern-Romance variety, e.g. Tálos 2001; Landauer 2009), and claim a Boyash identity (Sorescu-Marinković, Kahl, and Sikimić 2021). Since the ethnonym *Roma* is seen as a Romani word for 'people' (the plural of *Rom* 'man'), Boyash speakers in Hungary label themselves with the ethnonym *cigány* 'Gypsy' and not *Roma*. Scientific discourses in Hungary have also adopted this practice and understand *Gypsy* as an umbrella term labelling a larger group than the term *Roma*, including also the Boyash. In addition, many people who are seen as Gypsy/Roma and who also self-identify as Gypsy/Roma, speak neither Romani nor Boyash but the national language. (For an analysis of linguistic ideologies in the scientific classification of Roma, cf. Bodó 2016: 159–174).

Except for small children or socially highly isolated persons, Romani speakers usually follow multilingual practices: besides Romani they speak the majority languages of the region they live in. Their Romani is usually not oriented toward a single prestige variety (standard), and it is often perceived as a language with a high proportion of elements from other languages. Research on mutual linguistic influences between Romani and other languages has a long tradition (Boretzky 1989; Bakker and Courthiade 1991). Para-Romani (Matras 2002: 242–248), following the paradigm of variational linguistics, is "a generic term for a set of contact varieties, in which most of the lexicon is from Romani, but most of the grammatical system is from another language" (Bakker 2020: 353). Secret languages and jargons focusing on lexis are also often associated with Roma and Romani (Matras and Tenser 2020), particularly in Western Europe. In Central and Eastern Europe, Roma communities are often socio-linguistically more salient and Romani can be

made available as a school subject with language examinations available in it. The varieties and typological diversity of Romani have been described in depth, and their discussion remains beyond the scope of the present volume (Matras, Bakker, and Kyuchukov 1997; Boretzky and Iglá 2005; Bakker and Courthiade 1991; Matras 1995, 1998).

In Hungary, most of the Romani-speaking Roma are called Vlach-Roma and they speak, according to a diachronic approach, several varieties of the Vlach-Romani dialect group with a high proportion of words of Romanian origin (Bakker and Matras 1997: xvii). From a language-historical perspective, Romani and Romanian are both Indo-European languages, but despite of the similarity in their name they belong to entirely different branches, Romanian belonging to Eastern-Romance, thus closely related to Italian or French, while Romani has no such close affines in Europe. For speakers at our research site in Tiszavasvári, Hungary, older, for example Romanian contact features in the local Romani remain unnoticed. However, the Romani speakers in Tiszavasvári are very much concerned with the frequency and presence of words with a noticeable Hungarian origin. That is, resources due to earlier contacts with Romanian and other languages are seen as parts of the language, as it is understood and constructed by speakers in the present day, but results of recent and ongoing contact with Hungarian is assessed as a loss of the pure form of old Romani (cf. Abercrombie 2018).

There are classification attempts of Romani varieties from a language typological perspective, such as scalar-based decoupling of Romani and Para-Romani, as well as a genealogical and a diffusion model to describe a Romani variety spectrum (Bakker and Matras 1997; Matras 2005; Boretzky 2007; Elšík and Beníšek 2020: 390). A wide range of Vlach-Romani varieties are registered in Hungary (Szalai 2007; Baló 2017), constituting units of both dialectal and ethnic bonding, going back to original tribal groupings (Erdős 1959). These exploratory models often provide a very detailed, multi-faceted overview of the diversity and stratification of varieties and contact phenomena. However, the contradictions described above underline that Romani, similar to Roma ethnicity, hardly fits into groupism-based categories. Sometimes the theorists themselves, such as Baló (2017) stress regarding the situation in Hungary the difficulty, inconsistency, and imperfection of categorisation: “the Roma tribes outlined by Erdős (1959), which, in his view, correspond to language varieties, are either sporadically documented or not documented at all. [. . .] However, more recent data collected by myself show that, because of the type and extent of the variation, both the delineation of the tribes (in case they still exist) and the one-to-one correspondence between groups and language varieties is questionable” (Baló 2017: 220–221, translated by János Imre Heltai). Our experience in Tiszavasvári underlines Baló’s observation. Vlach-Romani speakers at our research site do not mention any dialectal/ethnic

differentiation regarding their language and ethnic belonging, only that they speak Romani. Romani speakers at our other research site in Slovakia, Szímő (Zemné), live in a Hungarian speaking environment (a minority village); they also speak a variety classified as Vlach-Romani. We are unaware of any perceptions among them of specific ethnic or dialectal distinction of their language.

There are attempts of standardisation of Romani in several European states. These have mostly an impact on national or local level. They are conducted by a narrow group of intellectuals and activists, often with civil or academic support (Halwachs 2020) and (in lack of a state or state-like power centre) they are carried out in a decentralised and pluralistic way (Matras 2015). In Hungary for example, there is a possibility to take a school leaving exam or a language proficiency exam in the standardised Romani variety (a Vlach-Romani variety called Lovari). People might make use of this language certificate to meet requirements at university or in job search, as it is seen as an easier option than other languages such as English or German. In any case, most Roma in Hungary usually do not comply with standardisation efforts and the resources they provide. The Roma might be aware of some standardisation attempts, for instance, the Roma at our research sites might have a Romani translation of the Bible or some other printed materials, but their own Romani practices maintain a noticeable distance from standardised forms (cf. Acton and Klimová 2001; Abercrombie 2018).

Due to the lack of institutional use of Romani (such as schools and other social institutions using standardised Romani), Romani speakers do not have an interest to follow standard forms and adapt their ways of speaking to a standard variety (Busch 2012a). In the countries where they live, social progress and competitiveness in education is based on the standard variety of the given national language and not a Romani standard. Nevertheless, living in societies shaped by strong monolingual and standard ideologies, Romani speakers are affected to a great extent by standard-language ideologies as well. As a result, speakers perceive their own non-standard Romani practices increasingly as not pure, mixed and therefore less worthy. Centres of standardisation fail to spread standard linguistic forms, but they successfully circulate standard ideologies (Abercrombie 2018). The Roma in Tiszavasvári typically assume that a pure Romani variety exists somewhere else, even if they are not familiar with it. They located this pure variety in discussions in various ways. Some of them linked it to surrounding villages, others to Budapest.

In Hungary, in the few cases Romani is present in education it features as a heritage or a foreign language, typically as a by-product of national or local standardisation attempts. Romani was provided in the first decade of this century in a dozen schools as foreign or heritage language (Lakatos 2012; for a critical analysis cf. Orsós 2015; Lakatos 2018), and the situation did not change significantly since

then. As there is no teacher training for Romani teachers, Romani is taught by Roma or non-Roma teachers holding a language certificate and a degree in another field. The few teaching materials in Romani follow an alphabet developed in the Romani standardisation project in the 1980s (Choli Daróczi and Feyér 1988; Rostás-Farkas and Karsai 1991; for an analysis, cf. Heltai 2020 and Chapter 14.1), containing letters which do not belong to the Hungarian alphabet. Texts based on this standardised orthography are not easily readable for the Roma who were taught the Hungarian alphabet at school (Réger 1995: 86). Additionally, authors or translators of these materials make use of individual word creations or use words which are part of their local vernacular but unfamiliar to others.

The above considerations reveal tricky and tenacious problems. The next part of this chapter argues that the concept of translanguaging, replacing *named language* with the notion of *repertoire*, offers a starting point to the resolution of some of these problems.

3.2 Translanguaging as an alternative to standardisation

Standardisation attempts of Romani, resulting from prevailing monolingual and standard ideologies in Europe, are ongoing, yet controversial. Hence, it remains problematic to introduce Romani into educational settings. Translanguaging-based education offers a more realistic chance, than the introduction of a standardised Romani variety as language of instruction, for speakers of Romani to enhance their success in school.

Translanguaging as understood in this volume is a concept based on the assumption that speakers' repertoires are not divided into named languages: they are unitary (García 2014; Vogel and García 2017); thus, the knowledge about languages and the consciousness about being a mono- bi- or multilingual person is a result of social learning. Languages exist as social facts (Kleyn and García 2019; Otheguy, García, and Reid 2015), but, translanguaging scholarship argues, it is not necessary to assume "a cognitive duality corresponding to the social duality" (Otheguy, García, and Reid 2019: 626–627). Further important features of translanguaging include multimodality, that is, human communication including body language and gestures (García and Otheguy 2020: 25) and the interconnectedness of cognitive systems (Li 2018: 20). This volume addresses the multimodality of learners' experience in a translanguaging educational environment. Translanguaging scholars view the diversity of speaking not as a system of languages and varieties, but as the dynamic combinability of linguistic resources appearing in speakers' repertoires. Category-

creating procedures concerning language boundaries develop in dynamic and complex ways in speakers' everyday life, and have a central role in this approach.

Translanguaging investigates the speakers' perspective on the connection between different languages and their linguistic resources, thus providing an alternative way of understanding spoken Romani and the everyday practices of Romani speakers. It is a concept for both describing human linguistic practices and building pedagogies based on such new perspectives. Auer (2019: 16) criticises translanguaging scholarship claiming that “disconnected phenomena of language contact and highly diverse bilingual practices are all subsumed under the new term”. In our view, translanguaging is not a substitute for language typological approaches; it does not compete with research on language contact and variation. It is a suitable theoretical framework for understanding speakers' language practices and the ideologies underpinning them: it allows us to grasp how speakers make use of different linguistic forms, the way they combine, manipulate, and evaluate them.

These procedures have special characteristics among Romani-speaking Roma, often living in great numbers on the margins of societies in the nation states of Western, Central and South-Eastern Europe. They are, just like all other European citizens, experiencers of various national and European language policies. At the same time, they speak their non-standardised Romani along with other (mostly national) languages. Their multilingualism fits neither the (parallel) monolingual national nor the plurilingual European policies. Their multilingualism is surrounded by language ideologies of otherness, which project the non-Roma view of the Roma's marginalised social position on their linguistic practices. This is underpinned by speakers' own perceptions of Romani's status as a “mixed” language, becoming increasingly apparent as it is undergoing continuous change from generation to generation. It is also often claimed to be restricted to domestic domains (as a home language) and to community-internal language practices (such as secret languages). Translanguaging allows us to describe the linguistic practices of these (bi- or multilingual) speakers in a way which is detached from such ideologies.

Linguistic repertoire is a basic unit in the translanguaging approach. From a cognitive perspective, translanguaging is based on the assumption that the linguistic repertoire is unitary and not divided into languages (García 2014; Vogel and García 2017). The repertoire is a theoretical construct to model mental processes and representations, and as a result it cannot be photographed or documented in any way (Kovács and Téglás 1999: 221). Thus, the repertoire is not a tangible part of the observable biological reality. Therefore, the unitary nature of the repertoire is an assumption, not a proven biological fact.

Linguistic resources are basic units of complex repertoires. They include words, multi-word phrases, phonological realisations, etc. They can be both specific (concrete units of speech, such as words) and schematic (abstract patterns of

speech, such as syntactic units), or often a combination of the two (Blommaert and Backus 2013: 6). In addition to shared resources, communication assumes that speakers have a shared knowledge about how their resources are valued by others in order to avoid being treated as ridiculous or strange. People evaluate their abilities to speak depending on their environment; they use resources others understand and appreciate.

In an early conceptualisation, the repertoire was imagined as an inventory of resources (Gumperz 1964). The model has changed as research into linguistic ideologies has come to the fore, and today the repertoire is seen as constantly evolving in speakers' intersubjectivity, and not as an objectified unit (Busch 2012b, Blommaert and Backus 2013). This approach is based on Bakhtin's often cited idea: "our speech is filled with other people's words" (Busch 2012b cites Bakhtin 1979 [1934–1935]: 185; Milani and Jonsson 2012 and Blackledge and Creese 2014 cite Bakhtin 1981). Resources of a person's repertoire are common property, shared with other speakers. Others, but not necessarily everyone, in their environment are familiar with these resources, too.

Speakers making use of resources have a common (and constantly changing) knowledge of their resources' social meanings. This knowledge is multifaceted and complex. It includes, for instance, thoughts and judgements about which language a particular resource belongs to. In Tiszavasvári, for example, pupils are convinced that some words of which their teachers think as Hungarian words with a Romani suffix are actually Romani words. In this case, the judgements of the non-Roma and Roma are different about the belonging of certain repertoire components to one language or the other. Such evaluations often change with time, depending on various factors, such as speakers' desire to distance themselves from, or come closer to, other speakers or communities. Discourses of togetherness, which make use of evaluative statements about language, characterise groups of speakers of various size and create cohesions across these groups.

The linguistic resources of the Roma in Tiszavasvári and Szímó (Zemné) are linked by outsiders to more than one language. Most of them speak at home in ways which are considered to be Romani and Hungarian, and in Szímó (Zemné) also Slovak. The Roma in Tiszavasvári experience their repertoire differently from the ways speakers of standardised languages do. They often formulate statements which reflect the unitary nature of their repertoire. In our ethnographic fieldwork, when we tried to inquire about the use of Romani and Hungarian as the dominant named languages in the speakers' practices, our attempts often failed, because we received answers such as "we speak Romani and also Hungarian" and even "we speak Romani, that is, Hungarian". In similar fieldwork situations regarding the children's language acquisition we often asked the parents how they speak to the children at home. One of the typical answers was that they spoke both Romani and

Hungarian. Another usual response included examples of the Hungarian phrases they teach children before they go to nursery, such as “I’d like a glass of water” and “I need to go to the bathroom”. However, the nursery teachers’ perception of how well the children know Hungarian differs from parents’ reports.

This difference in judgements reflects a mismatch in what is perceived as Hungarian by the bilingual families and the monolingual nursery teachers. As the Roma do not sense the boundaries in their Romani and Hungarian resources in the same way as Hungarian monolinguals do, they believe that they speak Hungarian, and they speak it well, in situations when monolingual Hungarians do not necessarily think so. The language ideologies underpinning such judgements have an impact on everyday life, on Roma’s ways of speaking and the children’s linguistic behaviour in and outside of school. In situations which are dominated by the monolingual norm, such as everyday interactions in shops, classrooms and other spheres of public life, the differences in evaluative judgements about language lead to the silencing of ways of speaking characterising the Roma. The non-Roma often remain unaware of the Roma’s Romani competences and translanguaged ways of speaking, which they have difficulties substituting with double monolingualism. Translanguaging as a pedagogical stance is instrumental in revealing children’s fluid linguistic practices and the unitary nature of their repertoire. It is thus a helpful approach to overcoming the silencing of Roma pupils’ ways of speaking at school.

Pedagogies applying a stance based on translanguaging, that is, the multiple but unitary repertoire of the learners, challenge monolingual pedagogies (Creese and Blackledge 2010; García 2014) and seek to develop learners’ verbal and learning skills based on their whole linguistic repertoire (García and Kleyn 2016). In this way, “translanguaging theory helps teachers separate *language-specific performances* in the named language (. . .) – from *general linguistic performances*, that is, the pupils’ ability, for example, to argue a point, express inferences, communicate complex thoughts, use text-based evidence, tell a story, identify main ideas and relationships in complex texts, tell jokes, and so forth” (García and Kleyn 2016: 24, italics in the original). A teacher adopting a translanguaging stance includes all languages spoken by the pupils and concentrates on these general linguistic competences instead of competences linked to a single language.

Translanguaging in school helps acknowledging students’ spontaneous linguistic practices and integrate them in everyday learning activities, even in classes conducted in a monolingual way. Cenoz and Gorter argue that pedagogical translanguaging in the United States has “more of a social justice focus and is seen as empowering minority students” (2021: 5, referencing García and Lin 2017). They highlight that in the original Welsh context (Williams 1994), the aim was different inasmuch as it was to extend competences in the minority language (cf. Baker 2003). Translanguaging in

this context is, thus, a pre-planned, teacher-guided activity, and a policy which introduces the use of several named languages in the same class (Williams 2002, 2012). The focus is not so much on the development of learners' unitary repertoire as on the development of their minority language competences in order to strengthen minority language practices in a community. Thus, the approach based on William's work questions the tradition of the strict separation of languages in particular classes, but it serves mainly to support and promote successful minority language policies in education (Cenoz and Gorter 2017).

Cenoz and Gorter remind us that Williams (2012) differentiated official and natural translanguaging (2021: 8), where the former is planned and systematic, while the latter occurs at school when the students' competences in the majority language are not yet sufficient. Jakonen, Szabó, and Laihonon (2018) investigate similar practices in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classrooms. Cenoz and Gorter differentiate, similar to Williams, pedagogical and spontaneous translanguaging as follows: "Pedagogical translanguaging is a pedagogic theory and practice that refers to instructional strategies which integrate two or more languages. Spontaneous translanguaging refers to the reality of bilingual usage in naturally occurring contexts where boundaries between languages are fluid and constantly shifting. A continuum can represent these two types of translanguaging rather than a dichotomy because there can be intermediate situations" (2021: 18, cf. also 2017 and 2020).

García and her colleagues consider it a key feature of translanguaging that it rejects abyssal thinking based on raciolinguistic ideologies (García et al. 2021: 203); thus, for them, translanguaging has a strong political and social commitment (García and Kleyn 2016: 24–25) and it is dedicated to those who are not among the winners of nation-building and global capitalism (García and Otheguy 2020: 28). This reframed interpretation of translanguaging (García 2009; García and Li 2014; Li 2018) shifts the focus from the minority language to learners' repertoires. Cenoz and Gorter contrast both approaches, labelling them also in geographic terms such as 'Welsh' and 'US-concepts'. This volume adopts the US-approach which regards as a basic feature of translanguaging in language pedagogy that it concentrates on speakers instead of issues of language maintenance or revitalisation.

3.3 Summary: Translanguaging stance and student-centred education

The efforts to implement education which is inclusive of Romani speakers have not proven successful and the education of multilingual Roma learners remains a

typical example of language-based difficulties in the implementation of a just education (New and Kyuchukov 2018). Education for the Roma takes place all over Europe in languages other than Romani as non-standard ways of speaking have no place in European school systems. Romani is not used as the language of instruction (Gažovičová 2012). This situation is a necessary consequence of the controversies around standardisation: in the lack of a standard, Romani cannot be the language of instruction in a way standardised national languages fulfil this role.

Translanguaging pedagogies do not necessarily require standardisation prior to, or parallel with, their application. In this way, translanguaging pedagogy can bring Romani into school even in its non-standardised form and to mediate the school- and home-language practices of the students. A translanguaging stance enables teachers to make use of Romani resources despite its non-standardised status and to introduce it into written activities despite its non-academic literacy traditions. Our project has shown that it is possible to overcome teachers' monolingual and standard ideologies, and thus launch a gradual transformation of the institutional environment.

The shift from monolingual ideologies in teachers' stance is supported by learner-centred pedagogical approaches. In addition to the differences between Williams' original approach to translanguaging and García's reframed one, the difference in their respective foci and purpose is also striking: extending competences in a minority language through new classroom policies vs. "leveraging students' bilingualism for learning", as formulated in the sub-title of García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer's volume (2017). This difference overlaps with differentiations between teacher-guided and student-centred approaches. In this respect, our volume considers both teacher-guided and student-centred approaches as interdependent parts of translanguaging in the classroom.

Translanguaging pedagogy, according to its US-proponents has a strong potential to support bilingual victims of racism (García et al. 2021), or, more broadly, speakers living on the margins of nation states and/or at the peripheries of global capitalism (García and Otheguy 2020: 28). The transformative power of translanguaging (Li 2018: 23) is, however, not self-evident: success in education depends on a set of factors, and education is part of a complex social system. Language is only one of the factors which can prevent or facilitate success (Jaspers 2018). This volume evaluates translanguaging as a pedagogical stance and as part of inclusive and culturally transformative pedagogies, which have the potential to re-organise participants' interpersonal relations. At the same time, transformation achieved through translanguaging is multi-faceted and not only political in nature: changes in students' and teachers' self-confidence and well-being are all important factors

in the transformation. In our volume, we reflect on our experience of translanguaging pedagogies, including the dilemmas as well as achievements.

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4 Perspectives on friction and collaboration in Tiszavasvári

This chapter focuses on connections between spaces and places and those who inhabit and interact with them in the primary project site in Tiszavasvári (a town in Eastern Hungary) and in Szímő (Zemné; a village in Slovakia), which features as a case study in the project. On the basis of teachers' and parents' accounts as well researchers' and teacher trainees' observations in Tiszavasvári, we discuss linguistic practices, interactions between Roma and non-Roma and the children's use and perceptions of the geographic locations and spaces surrounding them. We did not want one particular voice, that of the academic writer or researcher, to dominate the discussion of the places which they only temporarily inhabit compared to those, such as the teachers and the parents, who live permanently in Tiszavasvári. Hence, the three descriptions of Tiszavasvári stand alongside each other, as we wanted each voice to speak of the particular participants' interpretative practices and illustrate the peculiarities of narration and description which characterise various participants in our project. Thus, the three analyses are presented alongside each other below, with unavoidable overlaps between them, but all three with equal weight in our understanding of social relationships in Tiszavasvári. Our research site in Szímő (Zemné) is described from the perspective of a researcher and a local teacher.

In Tiszavasvári, peripherality in geographical terms is linked to social marginalisation, while the struggle against marginalisation and the hopelessness of poverty is linked to movements towards the city centre and, at the same time, towards higher social status. Movement towards the centre have implications for linguistic practices, too. The spaces perceived as non-peripheral and more prosperous suggest a Hungarian monolingual profile, while the periphery is seen as inhabited by those who are bilingual. Those families or individuals who do physically move to the city center take their translingual practices with them, but it is unforeseen and unpredictable to what extent these are visible in the new environment. Our research concentrated on the periphery: the roma settlement and its translingual linguistic practices rather than the town as a whole.

The chapter merges three viewpoints in the discussion of spaces and places in the lives of the Roma in Tiszavasvári: i) that of non-local researchers having an external viewpoint, ii) that of Hungarian monolingual teachers working and living in Tiszavasvári, and iii) that of bilingual Roma parents living in Tiszavasvári. The chapter

begins with a researcher's outsider perspective introducing both sites' social circumstances in broad terms (4.1). It continues with a teacher's perspective, giving voice also to a caring local non-Roma (4.2). The Tiszavasvári-based teacher co-authoring this chapter provided a detailed discussion of her own perspective, which the main author incorporated in this chapter with minor adaptations. This is followed by writings by local Roma participants, reflecting on the relations between spaces, places, and those who inhabit them from an insider's perspective. These texts were produced as part of a one-week collaborative writing workshop in Tiszavasvári: researchers, students and local Roma parents created texts for the present volume. Because of the limited fieldwork opportunities in Szímő (Zemné), due to the pandemic, no such close collaboration was possible there with local parents. The local teacher whose perspective has been incorporated in the description of Szímő (Zemné) alongside the researcher's, however, works closely not only with the children but also local families, thus acting like a first point of contact between the Hungarian- and Slovak-speaking institutions and the pupils' typically Romani-speaking homes. In Tiszavasvári, local and non-local participants always worked together, mainly according to the following pattern: local Roma participants formulated their ideas in detail, students wrote down their words with careful consideration to detail, and read them back to local participants. The two parties finalised the expository prose passages together but according to local participants' views and priorities. In this way, project participants separated the formulation of the text from writing it down. Chapter 4.3 presents a selection of the prose passages thus attained.

4.1 Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné), our research sites

The Roma in both Hungary and Slovakia live in diverse social circumstances and are parts of different social strata. However, many of the people considered to be Roma live in poverty and exclusion (Virág and Váradi 2018; Rochovská and Rusnáková 2018), and Roma are often considered by non-Roma as people plagued by poverty and social handicaps. Roma at our research sites appear for local non-Roma at first glance as homogeneous communities, and vice versa. Members of these communities are often identified in local discourses of non-Roma in social and/or geographical terms as marginalised people, usually in a stigmatised way, although empathetic voices do exist. Roma people are highly vulnerable, suffering from persistent social depression leading to incapacities for social innovation (for Tiszavasvári cf. Lengyel 2013). At the same time, they also face everyday discrimination, such as being seen as *persona non grata* in certain eateries, bars, or at the

playground. Nevertheless, there are considerable differences in the financial situation and the social habits of the Roma families, and there are also important differences between the two locations. In local discourses at our research sites, the judgements about being Roma or non-Roma are mostly drawn along certain social (low socio-economic status) and cultural (recognition and experience of belonging to Roma communities) characteristics of the place of residence and/or way of life, with people considering themselves to be non-Roma typically mentioning socio-economic characteristics, and people considering themselves to be Roma emphasising rather cultural characteristics in discourses about the Roma. For example, low socio-economic status is associated with day-to-day subsistence, a lack of medium- and long-term financial planning, and occasional jobs (e.g. day labouring) and a pattern of consumption without accumulation. Distinctive cultural characteristics include a sense of belonging to a marginalised community, the retention of certain ways of dressing (long skirts, slippers), leisure activities, nutritional habits, and rituals (e.g. those connected to funerals and celebrations).

Szímő (in Slovakian Zemné), a village in Southwestern Slovakia, has c. 2150 inhabitants, the number of the Roma is estimated by local authorities around 400 (cf. Atlas 2019), the number of inhabitants whose first language is Slovak is estimated between 200 and 300. During the 1947–48 expulsions and resettlements (Hungarian-Czechoslovak population exchange, cf. Murashko 2000; Rieber 2000; Waters 2020), nearly 300 people were resettled in Hungary and the Czech Republic. Slovak families from Hungary were resettled in Szímő (Zemné), but most of them later moved to areas of northern Slovakia, with no ethnic Hungarian population, and the Czech Republic. About 50 to 60 Slovak ethnic families remained in Szímő (Zemné), most of whom also spoke or learned Hungarian. Today, Slovak first-language speakers move to the village mainly through marriage. At the same time, Szímő (Zemné) has many houses for sale with affordable prices, which attracts young Slovak ethnic families to the village in growing numbers. Such new families make little effort to learn Hungarian (personal communication with the mayor of Szímő [Zemné], January 2022).

There are two elementary schools in the village; there is a Slovak-medium school for the Slovak speakers. Ethnic Hungarians use Hungarian in the everyday at home and in the village in general; most of their children attend the Hungarian-medium primary school in Szímő (Zemné) and Hungarian-medium secondary schools in nearby towns. The reason for this is, on the one hand, that ethnic Hungarians often have only limited competence in Slovak and, on the other hand, that Hungarian-medium schools support ethnic Hungarians' maintenance of Hungarian as a mother tongue. The Roma speak mostly a Romani vernacular at home. Roma children in Szímő usually grow up as Romani-Hungarian bilinguals with limited Slovak competence (Roma children attend exclusively the Hungarian-medium school). However, as

local Roma have family ties and business relationships with Slovak-Romani bilingual Roma groups from Northern Slovakia and often trade across the country, Roma adults usually have some level of Slovak competence. Ethnic Slovaks or Hungarians rarely speak Romani.

The few hundred members of the local Roma community live in different streets scattered around the village. Despite this, they constitute a relatively closed local community with their own social events and customs. For example, during our one-week fieldwork carried out in September 2021, Roma community members were kept in suspense by the aftermath of a family conflict, which the parties involved had presented to a community elder to resolve. This was discussed in all Roma families visited by the research team, while local non-Roma knew close to nothing about the conflict. In financial terms, most local Roma are considered to be part of the lower middle class as blue-collar workers or to have unemployed status, representing lower social ranks than the non-Roma co-villagers, with whom the Roma maintain little contact. Roma without employment often trade all kinds of goods (from vegetables to plastic products) across Slovakia and Hungary.

Generally, the Roma in Szímő (Zemné) live on the margins of society both locally and in the national sense. Two examples illustrate this. First, during the yearly village festival, a local Roma association receives municipal funds to organise parallel events for the Roma. We have not managed to verify whether the municipal funding was an incentive to organise a separate Roma event in order to exclude the Roma from the main festival or a compensatory response to the Roma's spontaneous exclusion from the central event. When researchers asked a member of the association about this practice, he was more concerned about the Roma events being underfunded than the ethnic separation itself. Second, there is separation in pre-school education. In Slovakia, attending one year of kindergarten is compulsory for all, but in Szímő (Zemné) Roma children do not always attend, without any further consequences. In fact, the absence of the Roma from kindergarten has become more significant due to Covid-19 restrictions since 2020.

The village operates two separate schools located in the same building, one with Slovak and one with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The Slovak-medium school is attended by c. 60 pupils, the Hungarian medium school by c. 100 pupils. In the Hungarian school, approximately 70% of the pupils are Roma. Many Hungarian families choose the Slovak-medium school or take their children by car to other Hungarian-medium schools in nearby towns. 40 from the 70 Roma pupils have been diagnosed with a learning disability. We were not able to establish if this is a fair diagnosis based on psycho-motor and intellectual abilities or rather a poverty-related outcome. What is striking, however, is that despite the high number of children with a diagnosis only a few teachers are qualified to teach students with learning disabilities. The school, however, operates with

small classes, which creates possibilities for teachers to innovatively engage with the challenges faced by the pupils and turn the challenges to advantage. Individual learning plans developed by the teachers and tailored to each student's needs are an effective way of breaching the gap between institutional provisions and individual needs. The learning plans include, alongside an anamnesis describing the learners' developmental background and providing evidence of their psychomotor developmental needs, the goals which can be realistically set to a particular pupil at a particular point in time, as well as the tools and activities teachers may employ to assist the learners in reaching these goals. Through such individual learning plans teachers have a chance to take into account, and respond to, each and every pupil's personal needs and strengths, allowing the pupils to progress in their own pace. A local teacher described the transitional phase at the beginning of schooling and the role of Romani within it as follows.

I allow the use of Romani during classes. It affords an unmissable opportunity for learners to assist each other. When I came across translanguaging as part of the TRANSLANGEDUROM project, it impressed me entirely to see what our colleagues in Tiszavasvári can achieve with their learners. It also resonated with my own experience. So, I started developing a translanguaging stance in my first-year class, which consists of eight pupils. Children were helping each other to interact, to communicate. They acted as interpreters to their peers. We practised texts, dramatised narrative tales, we focused on language in various ways in order to overcome and transcend what was previously seen as a difficulty: the learners' linguistic background. We tried to turn it into an asset, rather. We also developed a practice called *szóforgó* 'word-around'. At the start of each day we sit around on the floor and talk about things: what happened at home, how they slept, what the learners' plans are for the day. The use of all the languages is allowed here, too. This practice conveys the world of home in the school setting, and it allows me to see better the motivations and feelings with which the pupils come to school on a particular day, while also allowing them to feel free to express themselves in whichever language they want, and share anything they wish to talk about. This is not only a liberating practice. It also bridges the gap between home and school, between early learning years and school-based education.

At our other research site in Tiszavasvári, the non-Roma locals estimate the number of the Roma usually between 3.500 and 4.500 of the 13.459 inhabitants according to the last census data from 2011 (KSH 2011). The town was established in the 1950s by merging two villages. One of the villages was home to a group of people categorised in local discourses as monolingual Hungarian-speaking Roma, while the other was inhabited by Romani-Hungarian bilingual families. This has not changed ever since, currently there are, according to local perceptions, at least 1000 Hungarian-speaking Roma at one end of the town and 2500 bilingual

Roma at the other end. Almost all of them belong to lower social strata, although the monolingual Hungarian-speaking Roma are in a more favourable situation regarding education, employment, and housing. Bilingual Roma live in a poor neighborhood on the edge of the town. In this area, consisting basically of two main thoroughfares called *Keskeny utca* ‘narrow way’ and *Széles utca* ‘broad way’, most houses were built as state-run social policy initiatives in the 1980s and 2000s. In the 2000s in particular, houses with relatively large floor areas of 80 to 90 m² were built very close to each other without precise land-registry measurements of the plots. These buildings were of poor quality from the outset and are now, according to our ethnographic observations, mostly falling apart, often giving shelter to more than 15 people each.

Tiszavasvári has become the scene of socio-political battles. The most recent incident took place in 2015, when the far-right mayor in office invited paramilitary troops in the town under the slogan of maintaining order. In actual fact, the campaign was directed against the local Roma (Hain 2019: 14). The non-local paramilitary groups envisioned a permanent patrolling in the Roma neighbourhood. Following nationwide outcry and protests, this activity was soon halted, but it severely damaged local relationships between the Roma and the non-Roma.

Social tensions in the town spark on an everyday basis, too, usually manifested in heated discussions about confrontations during everyday encounters. The local non-Roma complain about Roma misbehaviour in the supermarket or at the doctor’s office (e.g. that the Roma jump the queues, they are not well-groomed, etc.). The local Roma in turn complain about everyday discrimination and humiliation in the same places. These mutual complaints are the result of the significant difference between the social situation of the Roma and the non-Roma, and of the fact that the non-Roma are unaware of the Roma’s situation. A high proportion of Roma families live in deep poverty and social depression (cf. Lengyel 2003, 2004, 2013). For example, most of the Roma families’ houses lack running water and many inhabitants of the neighbourhood have to fetch water from the public wells which are few in numbers. Among Roma adults functional illiteracy rates are high and the completion rate of basic education is low. The Roma are, in a high percentage, employed through non-market-determined state-sponsored employment programmes, if at all (This employment is called public work and it is designed to help individuals enter the labour market through temporary, usually municipal, employment). Some adults work as day labourers or in factories. Even if they have the qualifications, Roma are often unable to find jobs in the region. One reason for this is the discrimination they face everyday. Another reason is that they lack the social skills, the social networking ability, and the capacity for mobility, which is needed for non-casual employment. The few

entrepreneurial Roma families run several businesses. Thanks to the recent economic upturn, state aid schemes and Roma integration policy (for a review cf. Hornyik 2020), some Roma families have seized the opportunity to buy a house outside the narrowly defined settlement around Széles utca ‘broad way’. They purchased properties in the streets surrounding the settlement, which is separated from the rest of the city by a railway line. This area is called Külső-Majoros ‘outer Majoros’. However, this new trend has led to a rapid fall in real estate prices in the streets concerned, as the neighbours are afraid that the Roma would violate their behavioural norms with, for example, noisy festivities, unkept gardens, and so on.

With few exceptions, bilingual Roma children from the settlement attend a kindergarten and an elementary school run by the Pentecostal church and avoided by the non-Roma. The school used to be an institution attended mostly by middle class children whose parents worked in the local pharmaceutical factory, which started to decay after the fall of Communism. At that time Roma children were schooled in a separate building. This blatant segregation was eliminated after a major scandal, which was covered by national media (cf. Kóczé 1997). At the same time, non-Roma children stopped attending the school, and it has thus become “spontaneously” segregated a few years ago. This is the school, attended by almost 500 Roma pupils, where our project activities are carried out. Non-Roma middle class families avoid both sharing neighbourhoods with the Roma and sending their children to schools with Roma pupils.

There is only another primary school in Tiszavasvári. Monolingual Hungarian-speaking Roma and a small proportion of the bilingual Roma (living mostly in a nearby settlement called Józsefháza, where they moved in the 1990s from the Outer Majoros neighborhood) attend this other, state-run school. This school is similar in size to the one run by the Pentecostal church, but the proportion of Roma pupils, as estimated by a teacher, is about 40%. (There are no official numbers regarding the ethnicity of the learners. Unlike in Slovakia, public bodies generally do not produce statistics on Roma ethnicity). Some non-Roma children attend this school, while others are driven to nearby towns. There was a third school, which was attended only by monolingual Roma pupils in the so-called Büd settlement, but it was merged into the state-run school in the centre of the city, further away from the settlement of the monolingual Roma. This was an initiative by a non-local pro-Roma NGO (cf. Kerülő 2018). Today, both Roma and non-Roma parents are dissatisfied with the situation, the former mostly because of the distance children have to travel to get to school, which involves bus transfer. As a result of the above circumstances, among under-18s, a majority-minority situation has arisen (Geldof 2018: 45), that is, the proportion of the “othered” minority is greater than that of ethnic Hungarians.

The next sections discuss local circumstances in Tiszavasvári from local, insider-perspectives. 4.2 is written by the headteacher of the school where our project is based, and 4.3 is written by the Roma participants of the week devoted to the writing workshop in summer 2021. (N.B., as discussed in the Introduction, all contributors' writing is presented as being of equal weight and importance in the representation of the knowledge we gained in our project.)

4.2 Living and teaching in Tiszavasvári

Tiszavasvári is located at a distance of 210 km from Budapest. The present-day town was created with the unification of two villages in 1950. Inhabitants still use the terms *búdi* 'of/from Búd' and *szentmihályi* 'of/from Szentmihály', with reference to the two former villages. Tiszavasvári's society is characterised by a three-fold division. Those who live on the outskirts of Búd are called *magyar cigány* 'Hungarian Gypsies, Romungros' by locals. Those who live in the outer areas of Szentmihály (in the so-called *külső majorosi* 'Outer Majoros' neighbourhood) are *oláh cigány* 'Vlach Gypsies'. In the inner city are the relatively wealthier inhabitants. At a new location, also on the outskirts, a third, closed community is being established, the so-called *Józsefháza* settlement. Its inhabitants belonged originally to the Vlach Roma but they are increasingly distancing themselves from this group.

However, in the 1990s, the factory started to decline and the educated professionals working for the factory moved out of the city. The issues of the Roma population, now living in three closed communities in town, have always been a major challenge for the non-Roma population of Tiszavasvári and the city administration.

What is more, the Hungarian Gypsies in the Búd area and the Vlach Gypsies in the Szentmihály area are unable to collaborate with each other. The Hungarian-speaking Roma in Búd consider themselves to be superior to the Vlach Roma in Szentmihály. The Roma in Búd have a broader social layer, which is relatively better educated and wealthier than those in Szentmihály (cf. Lengyel 2004). People in Búd, nonetheless, live in poverty, with low standards of living, but overall they are less marginalised than the population of Szentmihály, who live in the deepest poverty. Those in Búd are also better accepted by the non-Roma urban population. This explains why marriages between the two Roma communities are rare.

In terms of numbers and poverty indicators, it has always been the people living in the old Szentmihály, in the Outer Majoros settlement, who have been in a more difficult situation (cf. Lengyel 2004). Outer Majoros, where there was a

historic manor house with farm buildings and servants' dwellings which serviced it, is separated from the rest of the town by a railway line. In the 1950s, Roma families who had previously lived in other peripheral areas of the town were moved to Outer Majoros. There was first a street here called *Széles utca* 'broad way', which gave its name to the entire neighbourhood and its bilingual Roma inhabitants, who are referred to as *Széles utcaiak* '[the people] of broad way'. Later another street (*Keskeny utca* 'narrow way') was opened in this neighbourhood. Poor-quality, comfortless houses were built on the two streets. In the following years and decades, the houses in the surrounding streets were also bought by Roma families. Today, a railway line separates the Roma families' neighbourhood from the rest of the city. There is no precise data about the population of Outer Majoros today, but the number of inhabitants must be around 2000–2500. This number is more likely to be higher, but neither census data nor local calculations are accurate.

Roma families have also moved into other parts of the city, but their numbers there remain low. Members of the Roma community see the possibility of purchasing houses in the surrounding streets, just outside the *Széles* and *Keskeny* roads, as a step forward in improving their living standards. The houses here have bathrooms and several bedrooms. Most of the houses have boilers, which make heating with gas possible, if the residents pay their bills. These families have already distinguished themselves from those living on the *Széles* and *Keskeny* roads, but have not left the community behind. The families that could afford to move up in this way were those where the father had been permanently employed in a factory or other workplace, and not in public works. Thus, people who can buy a house outside *Széles* and *Keskeny* roads are those who earn relatively better than others, have a secure job, and can therefore receive the available state subsidies or borrow from a financial institution.

Purchasing houses outside the narrowly defined settlement indicates that many families would like to break out from the closed community what is seen as a slum area. Owning houses with a higher level of comfort, purchased in the neighbouring streets around the settlement, is an important first step in this direction: only a first step, yet a significant one. The reasons why upwardly mobile families opt for these houses, close to the settlement, are twofold. First, they are cheaper than property across the railway lines and nearer the city centre. Second, they do not want to break away from the community entirely: they lack confidence to untie their bonds with their family, and relatives. Part of the reason for this is that the wealthier urban middle class population looks down on them and fears them, and Roma families are reluctant to expose themselves to these prejudiced attitudes. They feel safer in their own community. Non-Roma urban populations are also afraid of the Roma moving into the centre of town because, according to local

stereotypes, the Roma do not keep their properties clean and music blasts from their houses even at night. They do not respect their neighbours, and if they are asked to collaborate they respond aggressively. I have been personally following two families who have moved into town, and I cannot confirm the negative framing of the Roma's behaviour based on that. Those who are ready for the challenge of moving into town are well aware of the stereotypes and are prepared to counter them with their own behaviour.

Most of the Vlach Roma still live in the Majoros settlement, forming a separate micro-society within the town, preserving their own way of life and their beliefs. The core of this area are the two main streets, 'Narrow Way' and 'Broad Way', described above, but the neighbourhood today includes all surrounding streets on this side of the railway lines, which were previously inhabited by non-Roma but where most houses belong to Roma owners today. There are signs of the gradual desintegration of this closed community, similar to all other communities which undergo structural changes. Such changes might be only periodical, but the community usually reacts differently to economic downturns and booms. In the cyclical repetition of upward and downward economic trends, however, the community reacts differently in each cycle. Increasing national labour shortages in the 2010s have led to increased mobility among members of the community, especially among men. This is further exacerbated by state support schemes that encourage childbearing and support families with a high number of children in case one parent is employed. As a result, men leave the settlement to find employment in other cities, while women typically stay at home and take care of the family. Children react sensitively to the absence of fathers, particularly the boys. When another economic downturn comes, which is unavoidable because of the cyclical nature of economic growth, those who work in other cities and relatively wealthier middle-class families are likely to experience the crisis differently from before, when such economic downturns hit them in the midst of several decades of unemployment. On the one hand, they have invested their higher wages into better housing, and, on the other, they might now view the economy differently on the whole. It is likely that they will look for ways to secure their families' living standards. This certainly implies a different way of thinking, based on forward planning, from earlier ways of dealing with crises. The fear is that those who are not flexible enough may sink back to their previous poverty levels.

At the same time, the gaps are growing greater in the society of the Outer Majoros settlement, too. The wealthier families, who are better off than member of their extended family, are reluctant to help their poorer relatives. In the Majoros community this is not a matter of bad moral or guilty conscious: as family ties are countless and complex, no individual family member can help everyone. Among members of extended families, too, there are patterns of who is richer

and who is poorer. Members of the entire community (of about 2500 people) share only seven or eight surnames. When mentioning surnames associated with large extended families, people often add the financial status of the micro-family in question. In Outer Majoros, this uneven dynamic also involves the poorer people playing up to the richer ones. The acts of playing up (Hu. *csicskázás*) become a form of modern-day slavery and involve delivering substantial amount of work and favours to someone else without being paid for it. Such free work might be delivered in exchange for debt or to obtain shelter and food.

In terms of belonging in the cultural sense, however, the people living in Outer Majoros, whether rich or poor, still feel more at home here, within the community that keeps their traditions alive. Although external influences are increasingly penetrating the previously closed community, there are still traditions and customs which inherently characterise the people who live here. For example, to this day, girls and women do not cut their long hair because they believe it will bring them bad luck. The wake for the dead is also an important and biding custom. Traditional clothing is no longer worn, but most women wear only skirts, even if they wear leggings or tight trousers underneath. There are countless nuanced differences of this kind between the Roma and the non-Roma. These are minor differences, and those who are unfamiliar with the community may not even notice them. For locals, however, they are part of the close ties that unite them and through which they recognise each other.

4.3 Centre and periphery

My father and my grandfather travelled from village to village because they were tin-workers, you know, this was how they earned their living. Sometimes my father took me with him. I enjoyed seeing how he put patches on leaky pots, pans, bowls, kettles, cooking stoves – things you would throw out today. But these are still valuable things, and working with them was also beautiful. So, I would like my grandchildren and also others to know about such things.

In the old days, we had a better sense of togetherness, we understood each other better, even though we lived much poorer. We walked everywhere; we made everything by hand. For example, if one of us didn't have flour or something, and I did, I would divide my flour between us. My mother and I used to go to spend time with Hungarians and talk to them. We can't do that anymore. I miss that, because the old people used to tell us stories, and we listened so quietly, and I still hold this dear to me, this tradition. I am not going to let it be forgotten. I still behave sometimes as in the old days. I bake a little Gypsy bread, or, when I

go shopping, I put my bundle on: everything fits into it, things I have to carry. I tie it up, put it on my back, tie it across my two shoulders, and it makes it easier for me to carry the bags home and everything. I also wear the long skirts and aprons: I am not ashamed of it. You shouldn't feel ashamed of the old traditions either.

With my parents we used to live further down. Here, in the Gypsy settlement, but not in the same area where I live today. We lived in an adobe house which was built by my parent. It was a nice one-bedroom house. Then, when I left my parents' house, I first lived at my mother-in-law's, but theirs was also made of adobe, it was built by my father-in-law. They also had a room, a kitchen, and a nice little porch. My parents' house no longer stands. After I gave birth to my third child, we also made a house of adobe, my husband and I, with our own hands, yes. We made adobe, and we also built a room and a kitchen for ourselves. And that's where we lived. Not any longer, though, because state-supported constructions started. A builder was commissioned, and they built a house, for me, too, in which there are four rooms, a bathroom, a toilet, and that's where we live now.

Gypsies are very far away from Hungarians, separated, and it would be good if they could come closer to each other, for example in the workplaces or if they could be neighbours. If we could spend a week talking about this with Hungarian women next summer [i.e. in the workshop organised by researchers and students], that would be good. We would talk about our past, what kind of work we do at home, how we keep ourselves busy, where we work, what we all do, how many children we have and how many grandchildren, and about cooking. This would be a conversation in which we all take part. It could also include what's happening at the GP's surgery. Some people would say yes, they agree with me, because we are all Hungarian citizens; the fact that I am a Roma is another matter. But there may be some who would say that I am wrong. I would talk to them about what I have experienced. When one lady came to the doctor's waiting room and looked around to see how many Roma were there, she took her phone out and called the doctor as if to make an appointment. She came back to the waiting room and the door was immediately opened for her. I don't know if we could organise a whole afternoon to talk about this. We could do it on a first-come, first-served basis at the doctor's. Then there would be no conflict between the Hungarians and the Gypsies.

Now school is much different from what it used to be because teachers are now appreciative of Gypsy ways of speaking, and even talk to the children in Gypsy. They have learned a lot from the children and from us. I worked here at the school for three years. I don't know if the teachers just picked up the language, but we had discussions with them. There were times when we sat in the

headteacher's office. And there they asked me, for example, how do we say *bowl* in Gypsy, and I said *čaro*. She said, "how do we call a *pot* in Gypsy?" – *piri*. Then she said "how do we say *bread* in Gypsy?" – *manro*. "How to eat?" When we say that we eat, I say to my little grandchildren and my child, "Életem xas?" [lit. *élet-em* 'life'-1SG 'my life'; an endearing form of address common in Hungarian, too; *xa-s* 'eat'-2SG 'you eat']. Yes, we used to say things like that. Or the *skirt*, how do we say it in Gypsy? In Gypsy we say *coha*. For the *apron*, this one here, *ketrinca*. For the *blouse*: *zubunu*. We said things like this to them. The *hair* – *ba[a]*.

My children and grandchildren rarely talk to me about what happened at school. They do not like gossiping. They come home from school, eat, take a bath, go to their room, study, watch TV. The older ones read their phones. But now they can speak Gypsy in school. They say it is very well because they can speak Gypsy. They do talk about that. They also asked me, "Grandma, when you went to school, did you speak Gypsy?" I said "yes". And "what did the teachers say?" "Well, I was told off." "Not now! We can talk." I said, "well, you're lucky". Not all schools are like that. One of my son's children does not go to Magiszter, he goes to Kabay, and they cannot speak Gypsy there. Absolutely not. But they do not speak at home either. They rarely speak Gypsy, and their behaviour is not like ours at home. They do not live in the settlement. They stand out with their manners, they are so proud, so elegant. They keep to themselves. Like, when I go down to their house, they don't call me *mama* 'grandma', they call me *nagyi* 'nona'. It was also difficult for them at first at school, because they did not speak Hungarian at home either, only Gypsy. But then their father took them under his wing; he always spoke Hungarian to them and interpreted the Hungarian words for them. He told them not to speak Gypsy at school, because there are no Gypsies there, only Hungarians, but to speak only Hungarian, and the children got it into their heads that they should speak only Hungarian.

My heart's dream is to move out of Keskeny road. There are too many Roma there. It has always been like that but I got very tired of it. I would like to have Hungarian neighbours, and I would like to be on good terms with them. Keskeny road has changed a lot, and so did the Roma. There are many more of them close together than there used to be. Before, there weren't this many people living in a single house, and we did not live this close together. The houses built with state support were put too close to each other. Between the adobe houses there was more space, we were further from each other, we were not tied together in this way, nor were the children. Children were able to play alone, on their own plot of land. Now the children are always mixed up with the neighbours' kids. Before, everyone was on their own plot, further away from each other. Today, the children start fighting with each other more easily.

Tiszavasvári is a small town. For the most part, Gypsies live separately from Hungarians. The central area is very nice and cheerful. The Roma settlement is neglected, unkept, unsuitable. I like living here, I was born here, but I would like to move out with my children and my companion. Some people live among the Hungarians. Some are good neighbours, but most Hungarians are anti-Gypsy. They look down on Gypsies very much. They ostracise us in most places. There are Hungarians who welcome us. But they are very few. So, they don't even let us adapt to them. The small children all go to Gypsy kindergartens, and there are only Gypsy children in school. At work, in the public works, there are only Gypsies. There are places where they don't even let us in. In the shop we can't shop normally because they follow us behind our backs. Then we feel ashamed in front of others. In the doctor's office, we are often treated less favourably than Hungarians. They even refused to examine our children on several occasions. We can't take our children to the playground because we are chased away.

It is rare for Gypsies to go to the water park [a much-loved attraction in Tiszavasvári]. Roma women do not have the habit of bathing in public. In shops there are people who welcome Roma customers, but there are also those who treat Roma in a patronising way. In general, when there are Gypsies in the doctor's office, they behave reservedly, they are withdrawn. In several shops, we can speak only Hungarian because the shopkeeper is averse to even Gypsy talk. There are Roma who live next to Hungarians and are loved by Hungarians. Here in Tiszavasvári only Gypsies work in public works; Hungarians, if they are hired, do only office work. There are pubs and bars where Gypsies are not allowed to enter, it is forbidden.

I usually like making friends among Hungarians. There are Hungarians who are very likable, but there are also Hungarians who look down on Gypsies, because they lump all Gypsies together. But there are Hungarians with whom we are friends. It would be good to have relationships between Hungarians and Gypsies in order to overcome the hostilities. There are people who like being friends with us. But there are those who do not receive us well. I would like them to speak to us nicely, because we speak to them nicely. We expect them to respect Gypsy culture. For example, if we go somewhere, to the market, for instance, and we use both languages, they look down on us. I don't understand why. Because we were born Gypsy.

4.4 Conclusion: Being in between

In Tiszavasvári, there are places associated with the Roma. These are geographic locations on the peripheries of the town, filled with meaning and special value (Gieryn 2000) for both the Roma and non-Roma. One of such places (Külső-Majoros, ‘Outer Majoros’, and the core of the neighbourhood, Széles road) is where bilingual Roma live. Discourses among local bilingual Roma construct a close link between spaciality and being (Horner and Dailey-O’ Cain 2019: 4, with reference to Soja 1989: 80). They evaluate Külső-Majoros as a place of suffering; there is a positive attitude towards the city of Tiszavasvári as a whole, but there are negative connotations related to Külső-Majoros. Külső-Majoros is often described as a crowded and dirty place, where too many Roma live too tight together. The phrasing in the third account presented above “There are too many Roma there” mimics dominant narratives with regards to this issue, while we learn elsewhere from the Roma author that houses are built too close together and people live in poor conditions with limited infrastructure and limited chances in life. Most non-Roma inhabitants of Tiszavasvári have never been near Külső-Majoros or Széles road, let alone walking through it. For the non-Roma, it is not only an unknown place, but also a space constructed in local discussions (LeFebvre 1991) as dangerous and chaotic, that is, an area better to be avoided.

Spaces where encounters between Roma and non-Roma take place are dotted all across the town; they can be places at any location, such as shops and the doctor’s office. The Roma usually do not feel safe or comfortable in such places. They are ashamed of speaking the way they speak at home or they feel being treated with suspicion. What is more, there are also spaces of unambiguous segregation: for example, there are pubs and restaurants in town where the Roma are unwelcome to enter. Streets and squares of the city become spaces of suspicion and unfair encounters or outright segregation.

Local festivals and programmes are organised mostly in the town centre or at a recreational area at the opposite end of town, far away from Külső-Majoros. In the summer of 2021, we observed an open-air film screening in the town center. The programme was free of charge and the city had placed chairs for the audience in front of the screen on the main square. People sat in rows or stood around the buffet tables. Some Roma men, held in high esteem, some of them with families, and a few curious teenagers were present from the settlement on the event. They were not sitting on the chairs, nor were they enjoying snacks at the buffet – they were standing and chatting on the roadside around the square. In the second half of the programme, some families and independent men came into the middle of the square but did not sit on the chairs. Our observation underlines our earlier case in point: the Roma enter spaces of encounter with the non-

Roma with uncertainty and fear; these spaces are associated for them with bad experience and humiliation.

Similar processes and phenomena are described on other levels, for instance, on that of housing issues and residence. There are spaces of encounters and confrontations (e.g. streets with lower real estate prices on the Külső-Majoros side of the railway), to which the Roma have access only if they embark on a path of social mobilisation. There are also spaces (practically all other parts of the town) linked to middle class status, to which Roma have access only in exceptional circumstances. Spaces which the Roma enter, both through everyday encounters or social mobility at large, are comparable to concentric circles. After leaving the geographic location of Külső-Majoros, the Roma come across new opportunities. But they also encounter challenges when trying to navigate these spaces as fully fledged citizens. During an economic boom, opportunities are expanding for all. Some can take advantage of such moments, others less so. New economic and cultural opportunities exist also in hard times, but only the more fortunate and stronger are able to access them. All this leaves its mark on the cultural heritage and everyday life of the local bilingual Roma, whose society is undergoing transformation. They have to come to terms with the fact that social mobility means detachment from their own cultural background, which entails not only poverty and social depression but also security and belonging. Moving into new spaces also means changing their relationship with the old ones.

Language plays an important role in all this. The Magiszter school is an exceptional place: it has been transformed by the translanguaging project. This is an important transformational space in the lives of bilingual Roma: children encounter non-Roma society and its values and norms here for the first time. This institution of the majority society is a safe place for Roma pupils. It is also the first place where Romani-linked ways of speaking have gained a positive connotation outside the Külső-Majoros settlement. This safe place is provided by non-Roma teachers, supporting, or at least recognising, the customs and limited opportunities of Roma families. Nonetheless, Roma pupils do not meet either non-Roma pupils or majority parents in the school environment.

Elsewhere in town the situation is different. Spaces of encounters constitute a constant challenge for the Roma. The ways of speaking of the bilingual Roma are just as stigmatised as the speakers themselves. Recognising that attitudes towards Romani are intertwined with the appreciation of the person, the Roma feel uncomfortable and insecure in places where Romani ways of speaking are unwelcome. An important source of social conflict and segregation lies in the practice of silencing certain speakers in socially constructed spaces of encounters.

In-betweenness, abandoning traditional cultural, social and economic patterns as well as facing challenges of economic and cultural transformation is

familiar not only to the Roma in Tiszavasvári or to the Roma across Europe, but also to members of minority communities, which are not necessarily, or not exclusively, organised according to the requirements of modern nation states or post-industrial societies. People living in-between, wherever they are geographically, are forced to break new paths, and find their voices through new ways of speaking (in often new languages) to construct resources for their daily life formed by the frameworks of nation states and global capitalism.

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Part II: **Methodological approaches:**
Translanguaging and participatory
ethnography

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5 Data collection: Linguistic ethnographic research and participatory approaches

The beginnings of the project presented in this volume date back to 2016. Over the years, the range of participants has changed considerably, but one trend has remained constant. The project, which began as multi-sited linguistic ethnographic research (cf. Marcus 1995), has gradually developed a participatory nature, which was at least in part due to our adoption of a translanguaging approach. This is not necessarily a straight development from A to B, but evolves in parallel with certain conditions and complementary processes. Linguistic ethnography investigates how local circumstances and individuals' experience are manifest in abstract structures of communication (Rampton, Maybin, and Roberts 2015: 16–17), and approaches these phenomena in their complexity. It endeavours to grasp the multiplicity of reality by recognising characteristic features of localities and of speakers and their ideologies. Commitment to, and responsibility towards, the “researched” subjects has a strong tradition since Labov's theorem of the observer's paradox. We understand participatory research as a further step towards the “other person”, inasmuch as it softens the hierarchical distinction between the researchers and the researched, by positioning all participants as parts of the same reality. The researchers no longer “investigate” the world of the researched; instead, they work together in their shared world and on the same questions. In this sense, participatory approaches go beyond participant observation: they are based on collaboration, involving all participants in research activities and in a shared commitment to a cause (Rappaport 2008). In participatory approaches, the researchers' role is conceived not as dissecting the “outside” world into analytical categories and explaining it; researchers, too, form a dimension of local reality, albeit a more remote one. This approach also questions traditional value appropriations to categories such as “vulnerable” local communities and “expertised” researchers. By operating through the joint involvement of both parties, participatory research renders the notion of vulnerable communities relative (cf. Marino and Faas 2020).

Participatory approaches have increasingly gained ground in ethnography, cultural anthropology and economics since the turn of the millennium (Reason 1998; Lamphere 2004; Balakrishnan and Claiborne 2017; Duke 2020), and they have two important characteristics. First, they assume mixed methods of data collection and interpretation, without limiting the epistemological possibilities to traditional academic methodologies, and treating local knowledge and knowledge

practices as equally valid forms of knowledge construction (Lykes and Hershberg 2007; Schubotz 2019). Second, the participatory approaches themselves can be very diverse. There is no agreement on their criteria, but issues of initiative, theme, interests and goals are of great importance (cf. Lajos 2017). In an idealistic participatory research, participants initiate and define through collaboration the themes and the goals of the research, which serves the interests of all parties involved.

For academic actors, research is a necessity, and their proactive role is evident. It is a far more complex question whether and to what extent a civil initiative considers the possibilities of research. This is one of the most serious dilemmas in the implementation of participatory research: how is it possible to ensure that the initiative does not come from the academic side, but that academic (research) activities play an important role in the process. In this respect, participatory research approaches are not always readily separable from action research (Whyte, Greenwood and Lazes 1991; Greenwood and Levin 2007), in which socio-political objectives and even political activities are more clearly pronounced (regarding Roma-related issues in Hungary see for example Málovics, Méreiné Berki, and Mihály 2021).

One way of resolving the above dilemma is to broaden our notion of research methods and epistemologies, to include, alongside methodologies and outputs validated in the academic world, other, “non-academic” activities and outcomes as equally valid approaches and outcomes of research. For example, our project included activities such as theatre and filmmaking, as well as collaborative writing and translation involving local participants (cf. Chapters 9.4 and 13.2.2), which were all an outcome of our interest in representing local translingual ways of speaking in as many environments as possible (e.g. on stage, book pages, and films available online). None of these are classic research activities or outputs but they were important parts of the research project as they supported the linguistic ethnographic and translanguaging pedagogical activities in- and outside of the school. Another way to resolve the above dilemma is to make various compromises concerning the four criteria of participatory research (initiative, theme, interests, goals). We have opted for the latter in the case of this book, which is a classic academic volume both in its structure and most of its writing style, but the academic genre-specific requirements have been reshaped as a result of our participatory approach to writing, which occurred in a collaborative way, involving all parties concerned, such as teachers, teacher trainees, and community members.

5.1 Participatory characteristics of the activities in Tiszavasvári

Our project, as a whole, was initiated by academic participants. Later on, in different sub-projects, an increasingly wide range of participants became involved. Academic participants, students, and teacher trainees, local teachers, Roma learners, and, even later, Roma parents were mobilised for various project-related tasks. These actors were all involved in the tasks of data collection, data processing and data interpretation, and their activities became increasingly diversified. Of particular importance is in this regard the contribution of local Roma parents as in general the Roma's inclusion in research projects is limited. At the beginning of the project we have two workshops and discussion groups with Roma parents who were active and involved in school activities and in earlier projects. We introduced key concepts of translanguaging, drawing their attention to both the potential and the pitfalls of developing a translanguaging stance at school. During our ethnographic work too, we have discussions about such topics of an academic nature, which enabled the local Roma to understand better how to contribute to data collection; for instance, in an earlier filming project in 2019 (cf. chapter 13.2.2), the local youth put themselves in charge of filming and interviewing the adults. In a 2017 survey, which we conducted to evaluate how the monolingual Hungarian tests fall short in providing a realistic image of the bilingual Roma pupils' abilities, we also involved parents: they provided Romani-language texts for the translanguaging test and they took part in conducting it in order to ensure that translanguaging ways of speaking were adopted throughout. Finally, the parents took an active part in the interpretation and evaluation of translanguaging education practices at the school: first, through numerous discussions in which they informed us of their childrens and their own feelings about the approach, including its potential shortcomings; second, in providing reflexive commentaries which were incorporated in this book.

The authors of this volume include academic staff, teachers from Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné), university students and teacher trainees, and parents from Tiszavasvári. The contribution of each of these actors to the present volume is considered to be of equal value. Therefore, texts written by these participants are not presented in a box or frame but as part of the main text. This volume is, therefore, one of the important outcomes of our research, which is increasingly seen as participatory. In this chapter we describe the steps that led to its creation. Some sub-projects based on participatory approaches are described in detail in other parts of the volume and are cross-referenced here.

The project is based on pedagogical activities which were implemented gradually since 2016 in Tiszavasvári, and 2019 in Szímő (Zemné), but which were in part informed by pre-existing innovations in the schools. School managements and teachers experimented even prior to the project with pedagogical approaches which involve not only pupils but also their families in school activities. Teachers and schools aimed to establish and maintain a collaborative relationship with parents and other local Roma. The main focus of these, however, was identity building and to achieve better learning outcomes among the learners, and not translanguaging. Below, we describe some examples of the pedagogical approaches and programs, initiated by the school in Tiszavasvári prior to the translanguaging project.

In the Tiszavasvári School, Magiszter, the current management has been in place since 2009. It was around that time that the school started working on a complex life careers programme, which is still in operation, and which reaches beyond the immediate remit of the school. A kindergarten is included in the same complex institution alongside the primary school. This complex institutional framework is capable of providing support for those in need from birth until the very end of life. The nursery has a separate professional management, but the advantage of operating within the same institutional framework is that the school and the nursery can coordinate better their pedagogical goals and commitments. The school completed a plethora of consecutive projects funded from external sources. Each project provided a different framework to implement systemic improvements in the institution. As early as 2009, a programme was launched to target young people (aged 17 to 25) of a disadvantageous social background. This activity was successful in showing that the school is committed to formulating a programme which goes beyond its boundaries as an institution. The programme was intended for young adults who graduated from the primary school, many of whom dropped out from secondary school. This programme tried to reach in their local neighbourhood young people who were gifted in some way. The programmes (football, painting, parent clubs, camps) all helped young people on the margins of society to find a new purpose. They had somewhere to go and a community to belong to. Meanwhile, the programme's designers kept in touch with families and parents. For instance, they organised talent shows and competitions; on these occasions the organisers had a chance to get to know the families living in the area the school services. Later, in 2012, the organisers developed a multi-stage, gradual school starters' programme in order to support the transition from nursery to primary education, which was followed by the designing of a modular curriculum, enabling young people to spend their free time in the afternoon constructively. The school's team also developed leisure time programme plans; they organised family days and leisure activities (for further details, cf. also Kerekes-Lévai's comments in Heltai 2020: 131).

While our project built strongly on these achievements of the school in Tiszavasvári, there were similar programs in Szímő (Zemné) too, but the interconnectedness of such prior projects and our translanguaging project was less pronounced, given the shorter duration of our collaboration with that school. The school in Szímő (Zemné) adapted small group teaching as a working method which allows teachers to focus on differentiated skills development, adapting to learners' individual abilities, in the early years of primary school, and has completed a programme whose aim was to enhance teachers' sensitivity to the cultural specificities of Roma pupils. In Slovakia, only one year of pre-primary education is compulsory, but local children rarely participate even in this one year fully. When they start school, they have to learn not only Hungarian but also the official state language, Slovak. Moreover, they might face intolerance reinforced by negative stereotypes. The main reason for the educational failure of Roma children in Slovakia is the difference between traditional forms of community education practices among the Roma and the official education system, which makes school a place of fear and persecution in the Roma's imagination. School subjects and their specific discourses are unfamiliar to Roma children when they start going to school, although in their home environment they communicate without the slightest difficulty, in fact, they "never stop talking". To help mediate this difference, the school jumped on the opportunity to employ a teaching assistant, an adult member of the local community, who knows the community's language well. This had several advantages. The assistant helps with teacher-student and teacher-parent communication, which resulted in the better integration of the children and a smoother transition from kindergarten to school. These steps are vital to compensate for the lack of substantial pre-school education.

With a student research group, János Imre Heltai visited Tiszavasvári in 2016, for the first time. Tiszavasvári as a research site proved to be particularly well suited for testing translanguaging practices in education for two reasons: on the one hand the town has a large Hungarian-Romani bilingual population, and on the other, the headteacher of the school attended by most bilingual pupils was open to introducing translanguaging. In the months and years that followed, the research group had spent 115 days in the town by the time the Erasmus partnership began in November 2019. Krisztina Majzik-Lichtenberger and Eszter Tarsoly also joined the team prior to the beginning of the Erasmus activities. In this period, students and researchers carried out linguistic ethnographic fieldwork. They conducted interviews and non-guided conversations with more than 70 participants (teachers and parents) resulting in 24 hours of recorded discussions. They attended various activities and events such as church services, family and community gatherings, extra-curricular educational activities etc. They also observed over 90 taught classes in the school. The main language of interactions

was Hungarian, and non-bilingual participants developed increasing familiarity with the translingual ways of speaking of local bilinguals relying on local Romani. Developing this familiarity involved work similar to the position of the ethnographer as language learner discussed e.g. in (Roberts et al. 2001; Gobb, Tremlett, and Danero Iglesias 2020).

Based on the first findings related to the bilingual practices of local Roma (cf. Heltai 2020: 89–112, 2021), and in close collaboration with headteacher Erika Kerekes-Lévai, participants organised workshops (20 workshops by November 2019, over 20 hours of recorded material) with local teachers to discuss the research group's findings and to explore possibilities to introduce translanguaging as a pedagogical stance in the school. The joint work started with a situation analysis and an exchange of ideas in which various participant groups shared their experience. The participants produced and reviewed a “Translanguaging Catechism” (Heltai 2022). This document outlines some of the basic tenets of translanguaging as a pedagogical stance, addresses the monolingual ideologies prevalent in Hungary, and analyses the prestige relations of Hungarian and Romani, pointing out that these can be reshaped to the benefit of the latter through conscious teacher reflection. Simultaneously with this work, researchers, students, and teachers prepared jointly approximately 15 pilot lessons involving learners' local Romani practices, in order to gain experience for developing translanguaging practices in teaching.

The first outcomes of our exploratory work were discussed in meetings organised with the participation of local Roma parents to allow them to familiarise with the new concept and (as we hoped) to win their support. This was necessary because, due to ruling language ideologies, Romani was suppressed both in- and outside of the school and local Roma internalised ideologies related to monolingual Hungarian schooling. The experiments with translanguaging, while reflecting actual language practices in the Majoros neighbourhood, contradicted the school-based practices of the past decades. Thus, local speakers needed to be reassured that the development of Hungarian language competences remains an important goal and that translanguaging can contribute to a greater success in this, too. Students and researchers became part local everyday life in the school and beyond, as they appeared repeatedly at events organised by the school or by other local organisations. Participants, researchers, students, teachers and local Roma children and parents, carried out in summer breaks extra-curricular projects built around activities involving translanguaging. In 2018, a theatre play was staged based on a Roma tale and with a bilingual script written jointly by university students and the local children; it was performed twice to local audiences and once in the capital (cf. Chapter 13.2.2). In 2019, with the involvement of local adults and children, participants made short films presenting content relevant to local cultural practices and

with the intention that the films could be used in school-based learning and classes (cf. Chapter 13.2.2). In 2020, participants produced a storybook which can be used at home and at school, based on local Romani ways of speaking and writing (cf. Chapter 9.4). In 2021, participants organised a project week to work together with local adults on the present volume. The aim of these projects was threefold. We considered these activities important to ensure the success of the new translanguaging educational approach, and to make the new stance and school language policy known and accepted among local Roma. A further aim of these joint activities was to build the potential for participatory research. Finally, the projects were intended to underline that translanguaging was not offered in its weak or scaffolding version (García and Lin 2017: 20; García and Kleyne 2016: 21), whose aim is to facilitate the learning of Hungarian, but in a transformative version, which includes among its goals the reshuffling of the local prestige relations between languages and their speakers (cf. for example García et al 2021).

Alongside these activities, participating researchers and teachers launched the activities serving as the basis for the present volume, the Erasmus+ project entitled *Translanguaging for equal opportunities: Speaking Romani at school* (TRANSLANGEDUROM). Originally planned for 24 months, the project was extended to 30 months, due to the Covid pandemic. Participants undertook to produce two intellectual outputs: this volume and a video repository on which the volume is based. The latter consists of 35 video items, each approximately 5 to 10 minutes in length. The videos consist of three parts. There is a translanguaging classroom scene in focus, highlighting important moments of learning and teaching. Each translanguaging classroom moment is preceded by an introduction, typically by the teacher whose class is shown in the recording, and accompanied by reflections by teachers, researchers, and teacher trainees. The videos received English subtitles.

The school in Szímő (Zemné) joined the project in November 2019, at the beginning of the Erasmus-funded strategic collaboration. Activities (interviews, roundtables, workshops) similar to those in Tiszavasvári were planned in the first project period, in collaboration with local Roma and teachers from the school. However, Covid-19 restrictions thwarted our plans, prompting us to rethink the role of Szímő (Zemné) as a case study rather than a site for full-scale comparison.

In December 2019, teachers from Szímő (Zemné) visited the school in Tiszavasvári, but later joint activities were limited to online working. In monthly online workshops, 3 (of about 15) committed educators from the school learned about translanguaging, based on best-practice examples from Tiszavasvári. In September 2021, members of the research group spent a week in Szímő (Zemné) and carried out on-site activities. They reached out to local Roma families, talked to adults

from the community, and attended classes at school. In addition, a study session was organised for all teachers in the Szímő (Zemné) school, where researchers and students reported on the most important achievements in Magiszter. Furthermore, approximately twenty parents attended a workshop, discussing where and how local Romani is present in the village. During the same week, alongside the project-implementation activities described above, we made the recordings of translanguaging classroom moments in the school. 30 films in our repository are based on classroom scenes made in Tiszavasvári and 5 in Szímő (Zemné).

5.2 Ethical considerations

As explained in Chapter 4, both in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné) most Roma live on the margins of local societies and are vulnerable due to multiple social dependencies. Conducting linguistic ethnographic research among them and initiating translanguaging in schools attended by their children required project participants to consider the following ethical questions during the data collection processes: 1. How to avoid strengthening social dependencies and how not to reinforce segregation; 2. How to ensure that research activities become accepted by local Roma, in other words, how to establish a sensitive approach to providing them with information about project goals and how to involve them in research activities with participatory approaches; 3. Much of our work which was originally designed to take place face-to-face was transferred to an online communicative space because of the circumstances brought about by the pandemic. This raised methodological as well as ethical issues. Below we discuss how the ethical considerations listed under 1 and to 2 were addressed, and we elaborate on 3 in chapter 6.

As the project is based on classroom video recordings, we provide all personal rights defined in the GDPR Law of the European Union. Legal integrity was important in the making of the films and in the protection of the pupils and other community members filmed. All parents signed a consent form to allow the filming. The content of the consent form and data protection notice was verbally explained to parents and they were also given a copy of the information sheet on request. The pupils and parents in Tiszavasvári were familiar with and trusted the members of the research team due to previous activities, and they knew that their presence was related to Romani language practices. In order to protect local learners, project participants decided to include only those classroom moments in the video repository which portrayed them in a positive light, which showcase

their minor or major successes at school, and which do not open the door to racist or other stereotype-based attacks and degrading opinions.

During their joint activities, researchers, students and teachers sought to reduce the stigmatisation of Romani and argued that the parallel activation of Romani and Hungarian resources leads to stronger general language competences (García and Kleyn 2016: 24), thus reinforcing Hungarian language skills. Despite the support of the school's leadership not all teachers felt that they would benefit from participating in the project, which testifies to the difficulties of rewriting deep-rooted ideologies and stereotypes. Many teachers, confronted every single day with learners' Romani practices, refused to embrace, or even learn about, a translanguaging stance. Tendencies to resent the presence of Romani and the lack of appreciation for its speakers are even stronger outside school than in the school environment. As a result, local Roma might feel that they would become more vulnerable if translanguaging practices were established: the denial of Romani competencies has a long tradition in this hostile environment and is strong among Romani speakers, who have the habit of hiding their Romani competences. As part of our commitment to the ethical considerations mentioned under 1 and 2 above, our translanguaging project is committed to bringing about changes in this environment, where non-Roma often strive to distance themselves from Roma in every respect. Members of the non-Roma majority usually deny all responsibility for the social tensions present in the town. They are anxious to keep all their positions in a majoritised minority situation, where the number of the inhabitants considered to be Roma will be greater than that of non-Roma, which is, assuming a continuation of current trends, in the process of unfolding.

Under these circumstances, members of the project took special care to avoid engaging in open warfare on several fronts against social injustices which are undoubtedly present. Even in situations where the researchers' positions differ substantially from the dominant discourse context of local non-Roma society, we avoided labeling local attitudes and practices. Instead, we endeavoured to interpret the various stakeholders' stance from their own perspectives. Focusing on the overlaps rather than contributing to generating potential sources of conflict, we sought to achieve subtle and gradual changes in current social conditions based on professional activities (on ethnicity and race in sociological research cf. Tremlett and Harris 2016). Our way to address these injustices was to create translanguaging spaces (Li 2011) with the promise of transformative power, which "combines and generates new identities, values and practices" (cf. Li 2018: 23). Project team members organising these activities launched a new project in 2022 to reach out to an increasing number of people in the town, to invite them to think about these issues, and, depending on their openness to new ideas, to collaborate with them to improve conditions.

The reception of the movies was tested continuously throughout the project. Researchers showed some of the short films to university students in teacher training in Finland and Hungary and evaluated them together. In the UK, the first completed films were shown to university students specialising in Central European area studies, some of whom chose to write their term papers on the subject, reflecting on the transformative potential of translanguaging. In Hungary, there is a network of institutions called *Roma Szakkollégium* ‘Roma college (network)’, connecting Roma students in higher education with each other. This tertiary education network aims to support Roma students of deprived sociocultural background (Biczó 2021). In 2021, Heltai showed films to Roma students in higher education in one of the network’s institutions. Some of their feedback highlighted that the pupils shown in the films are extremely vulnerable. Many of the Roma higher education students remembered their childhood difficulties and humiliations while watching the films. This occasion was also an important reminder for project participants that viewers’ perspectives can differ significantly, and these differences need to be taken into account; thus, in our discussion of the films while in the making included a variety of possible vantage points from which they could be viewed. We find it imperative to point out that the films, while not shying away from showcasing the challenges, deliberately avoid focusing on the children’s potential difficulties and failures. Our intention is not to hide these but to bring into focus the learners’ sense of success, abilities, and potential.

5.3 Filming classroom scenes

The presence of a camera is unusual in classrooms both for the learners and the teacher. Even the youngest learners, who were in the third grade (aged 8 to 9) at the time of filming, took part in countless open days and peer-observed lessons since they started school, and were, thus, accustomed to having visitors in class. It was noticeable that there were pupils who enjoyed the additional attention and became more active in the presence of observers. There were, however, shier pupils who became more withdrawn when there were outsiders in class. Initially, the camera was one such outsider and had a similar impact on the learners. At the outset, it required special effort to balance the behaviour of the two types of learners: those who enjoyed performing for the camera had to be held back, and those who were intimidated by it had to be encouraged. Co-operative tasks and activities proved to be helpful in this: they allowed introvert learners to stay in the background as group work did not require them to be in the limelight, while extrovert learners could come to the fore and perform while solutions were

checked with the whole class. Thus, gradually, the camera became a familiar object, as if it were a piece of classroom furniture, for both pupils and teachers.

The mood seemed relaxed in the classroom moments which researchers saw. Even if at times there was tangible excitement on the part of the learners, which might have been, at least in part, due to the camera's presence, there is ample evidence to suggest that the recordings were not staged. On the recordings and on the films based on them there is a variation in the intensity of pupils' engagement depending on a number of factors, which include working in groups v. individual or frontal work; at times when they were encouraged, or decided by themselves, to speak as they do at home v. in Hungarian-only classroom moments; and on occasions when they were confident in their interactions as opposed to feeling challenged by trickier tasks. This variation was obvious to researchers who could view the classroom scenes only through the camera's lens due to Covid restrictions, and it testified to the authenticity and genuineness of the recordings.

5.4 Outlook: The reconciliatory potential of translanguaging beyond the school

As a result of our translanguaging and participatory research activities, several changes are visible at the school. Teachers unanimously report that pupils are increasingly speaking Romani not only during lessons but also in breaks and after-school activities. Teachers who are not active in the project are beginning to adapt to this situation. Parents' attitudes have also changed: after having experienced the inclusion of their home language practices in school, Hungarian monolingual approaches no longer have exclusivity in their ideas about what schooling should achieve with their children. There have been changes in the linguistic landscape of the school. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent and in which ways these achievements are sustainable in the long run. Without the direct incentive of contributing to partly externally initiated project activities and the motivating presence of those outsiders, such as teacher trainees and researchers, who were eager to make themselves part of the school's community, it might be challenging for local teachers, learners, and their parents to adhere to the good practices laid down during our joint work. In order for this to happen, the changes initiated at the school need to develop a broader appeal in local society, outside of the school's community and its immediate environment. As a translanguaging stance is particularly suited for implementation in educational environments, this was the right way to approach participatory project activities which focused on the children's and their teachers' language practices. However, all this

has little or no effect on the circumstances and attitudes concerning Romani in Tiszavasvári. Project participants disseminate the activities in the local and national press. We have a responsibility to see whether and how the processes we initiated in the school context and its immediate environment might have an impact on the conditions of social life outside school. Therefore, we constantly reflect upon our activities in this framework and broaden our methodological approach beyond the one adopted in the TRANSLANGEDUROM project. The project currently led by Heltai, starting in 2022, explores possibilities of navigating (in)securitised conditions (e.g. Rampton, Silva, and Charalambous 2022) in the town, by forging alliances with scientific tools between the Roma and non-Roma.

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6 Data processing: Retaining multiple perspectives and voices through abduction, in analysis, and translation

This chapter elucidates the principles of data processing with regards to three aspects of our work in the TRANSLANGEDUROM project. The first (6.1) focuses on the compilation of the video repository, which consists of 35 short films, and discusses the thematisation and classification of translanguaging lesson plans which served as a starting point for the videos. The second area of data processing discussed below (6.2) concerns online working. As a result of the Covid 19 pandemic, several project components had to be either abandoned or considerably modified to accommodate the methods and possibilities available in the online communicative space. Having to work for over half of the project's duration online meant that classroom observations, workshops, filming, and the processing of raw material filmed in classes needed to be re-thought. Turning this challenge to advantage, we acknowledged early on that while some aspects of the project will necessarily be carried out with a reduced scope compared to what was originally planned (most particularly the level of involvement of the newly recruited school in Szímő (Zemné), Slovakia, had to be compromised) some aspects of our work benefited from online working. While the online communicative space reduced to some degree the complex immersive experience that all ethnographic work involves, it prompted participants to place greater emphasis on phenomena observed on camera-recorded scenes and on their interpretation from multiple perspectives.

The third question of data processing concerns the role of translation in the representation of our data (6.3). In the first instance, this concerned subtitles to the films, and in the second phase of the project, the translation of passages written by non-English-speaking project participants (contributors from the local community in Tiszavasvári, local teachers in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné), and some university students and teacher trainees). Translators unavoidably face the task of giving voice to those whose texts are originally formulated in a language other than the language of publication. The conscious choice between one named language or the other (García et al. 2021: 216) is nowhere as obvious as in translation. This is a particular challenge for representation in three specific areas. The first one of these is the representation of translanguaging data through translation in situations where the language resources involved in translanguaging (in our case mostly Hungarian and Romani) have no overlaps with the language in which the data is represented

(English). The second challenge concerns ideologically and (language-)politically mediated attitudes towards specific elements of language. This includes the treatment of “key words” for which even assumed “equivalents” are lacking because of cultural, social, and political mismatches between the language of the source and the target text. The third challenge concerns the problems of translation which have been actively contested in the context of post-colonialism (Gal 2015: 234; cf. also Clifford 1997, 2013; García 2020). All translation involves interpretation (e.g. Moll 2017) in which the translator brings to bear her experience with linguistic and cultural forms of expression and her social responsibilities on the choices she makes. Translating texts produced by people who are often denied the chance, because of social prejudice and hostilities, to speak for themselves even in their own language(s) involves particular responsibilities (Bosseau 2021; Deane-Cox 2013; Glowacka 2012). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language (Li 2018) has among its goals the potential of bringing such vulnerable voices to the fore, and this has implications and dilemmas for the representation through translation of translingual data.

6.1 Compilation of the video repository

This section focuses on the methods applied in the completion of the 35 short films showcasing and reflecting on translanguaging classroom moments. These are classroom scenes of varying length, stretching from only just a few moments to several minutes, in which translingual practices can be clearly evidenced in the classroom. The many contributors involved directly or indirectly with this process included pupils, parents, teachers, researchers, and university students. These participants came from different social and professional backgrounds and brought to bear on the selection and analysis of classroom moments their different ways of seeing and knowing. Our work was guided by a cooperative spirit, rooted in reciprocity and mutual dependence on each-other’s expertise, which meant that the roles of the different participants were equally important.

The compilation of the video repository started in the 2019–2020 academic year. Researchers and student researchers created a rubric which teachers used to document and systematise their experience of translanguaging classroom moments as and when they occur in class. The rubric was based on a number of observation criteria concerning learning organisation and activity type (e.g. whether the classroom in question is teacher-led or student-initiated, whether translanguaging is planned or spontaneous, whether it occurs in writing or speaking, etc.). The ninety classroom moments which teachers collected in this way served as starting points for the thematisation of the films of the video repository to be made.

During the review of the 90 classroom moments, the observational and classificatory criteria used in the rubric was found to be only partially relevant to their systematisation. Instead of insisting on the binary organisation of criteria, project participants decided that it was more helpful to focus on the effects of translanguaging in particular classroom moments, such as enhancing the comprehension of tasks or the material taught, bringing learners' existing competences to the fore, shaping student-teacher relationships, displaying identity processes or expressions of belonging, etc. This meant that the outlines of classroom moments were grouped by features of translanguaging and not exclusively by pedagogical criteria as originally planned. The resulting typology indicated the types of classroom moments participants wished to record for the films; of the 90 outlines, 30 translanguaging classroom moments were established in Tiszavasvári. Another 5 films were made in Szímő (Zemné).

As a next step, teachers in the Magiszter school recorded some of their lessons, trying to achieve situations similar to the 30 selected moments. Teachers made reasonable adjustments to the plans depending on the school years, groups of learners, and stages of the curriculum which they taught at the time of the recording. In order to preserve the educators' integrity and the intimacy of the classroom, teachers and researchers agreed that the raw recordings would be reviewed only by the project manager and one other researcher, not the entire team. The project manager and his immediate collaborator selected and cut from the raw recording the parts of the classes which were most relevant for the production of the short films. These 10 to 15-minute clips were then presented to all participants as raw materials to be further shortened and interpreted for the films.

Compiling a video repository of translanguaging classroom moments was part of our original project design; so was the analysis of camera-recorded data. What we could not have planned at the outset is that a partly new, online working group will be formed around these activities. In 2019 the (face-to-face) opening meeting of our project took place almost at the same time as the virus that causes Covid 19 was born. In March 2020, a week before the restrictions were brought into effect, we held another training event on-site in Nitra, Slovakia. In the face of the pandemic, the entire project had to be rethought: research seminars and training events to discuss and edit the classroom moments had to be held online. We were unable to visit the schools where our classroom data was recorded for approximately a year.

The project design in the new situation was as follows. As long as primary schools could remain open and operate (but not to be visited by outsiders such as researchers and university students), teachers regularly sent video recordings of entire lessons to the project leader. After the initial screening of these recordings, classroom activities of varying length were shown to the entire team on two, weekly online research seminars, which took place approximately for a year from

November 2020. Each seminar focused on one or two recordings, deciding which parts to include in a final excerpt. The short recordings were reviewed again by the entire team. During the review stage, members discussed the central idea which unfolded from the abridged recording, possible interpretations of it, and each and every reflective comment to be recorded by individual team members. The purpose of these detailed discussions was to leave room for individual interpretations while arranging them around a central theme that emerged from each recorded and edited class excerpt.

The recording of classroom moments in Szímő (Zemné) required a somewhat different approach because project-implementation work was partially interrupted by the circumstances related to the Covid 19 pandemic. While online knowledge-sharing events continued with the participation of the teachers, it was impossible to start recording classroom scenes without the ethnographic ground work in the community. The easing of restrictions in September 2021 temporarily allowed a number of researchers and university students to spend a week on site, and, in addition to the linguistic ethnographic activities mentioned in Chapter 5, they filmed classes during the last two days of their visit. The criteria for the selection of classroom moments were agreed before the visit, based on discussions on the ongoing online seminars.

The completed short films consist of three main parts: first, teachers contextualise the the translanguaging moment which features in the video, providing the details necessary to understand the scenes. This is followed by the recorded classroom scene or scenes. Finally, commentaries provided by teacher trainees, researchers, parents or the teachers themselves complete the film. All commentaries introduce a different analytical insight concerning the classroom scene, and the creators encourage viewers to elaborate on these or add their own analytical angles while discussing the films on seminars in teacher training or on translanguaging.

6.2 Methodological implications of working online

While both virtual ethnography and online class observations are well-established research practices (e.g. Hine 2000), their applicability to our project was limited. The follow-up work of filming was originally designed to take place face-to-face, building on a tradition of translanguaging and linguistic ethnography research seminars going back six years. Thus, members of the project team, particularly those who had limited prior exposure to the field sites, found themselves in a

transformed communicative space (Nguyen et al. 2020), whose main features can be summarised as follows.

- (1) Instead of observation undertaken in classrooms, our experience of translanguaging teaching and learning practices originated from video recordings, and was, thus, mediated by the camera.
- (2) Instead of training events with teachers, teacher trainees, and researchers, we shared experience on online training events.
- (3) Instead of face-to-face weekly seminar sessions, designated for the analysis of the materials recorded in classrooms and for the recording of commentaries, online research seminars were held twice a week, and commentaries were either recorded individually or on the online seminars.

The above alterations raised several questions concerning the possibilities of data collection and observation. It was uncertain whether the altered methods of data collection, observation, and filming were suitable as a way of ethnographic working. Our main question was whether they allowed us to make an immersed attempt to understand the teachers' and learners' experience in the same way as face-to-face immersion would (Hammersley 2018). We shall now review the three points of alteration outlined above in light of the answers we gained to these questions.

The most important dilemma arising from our online working was whether the classroom images viewed through the camera's lens would amount to the kind of immersive experience that is part of any ethnographic work. What was at stake here was our ability to engage with, and especially unpack, the layers of meaning associated with teachers' and learners' interactions, motivations, and attitudes in the translanguaging educational space they established. To this ethnographic challenge layers of uncertainty were added because not only the observers' gaze was guided, and in some respect perhaps limited, by the camera, but also the pupils' behaviour.

Insights gained from the teachers' reflections on the classroom moments were of utmost importance in helping us contextualise the excerpts we were seeing, thus broadening the perspectives that were narrowed by the camera's lens. Teachers' reflections influenced the theoretical framing of classroom moments, underpinning researchers' interpretations. Another source of practical insights was the teacher trainees' initial comments on the unabridged, 10 to 20-minute classroom moments we watched. Most teacher trainees had extensive experience working with the pupils in Magiszter over several years of fieldwork (cf. Chapter 5, Chapter 9.4, and Chapter 13.2.2). As to the pupils' behaviour, which could have been substantially altered by the camera's presence, after the first few recordings we watched we were reassured: thanks to careful planning of lessons and the trusting relationship between the learners and the teachers, the camera seemed to have little impact on classroom interactions.

After having developed confidence in our online working methods, we found that there were two important advantages to observing the classes through the camera's lens. First, the scenes recorded by the camera allowed the observers to have a narrower, therefore more specific focus: all observers had precisely the same visual vantage point in the moment of viewing the recordings. The sameness of this perspective, however, was underpinned by a diversity of our experience in the field site and of our analytical approach, with some observers having a stronger theoretical background and others more practised in applied research. The second advantage was precisely the multiplicity of perspectives which came in handy when we felt we lacked the multifaceted immersive experience which real-time-and-space observation would have allowed.

Working out what behaviours might mean is the stuff of ethnographic data collection and interpretation. The video-recorded and online nature of our field site provided fewer opportunities for both the serendipity of ethnographic encounters and checking our interpretations with teachers and pupils shortly after the event. However, the multiplicity of possible interpretations, which were repeatedly tested against each other as recorded scenes were viewed and reviewed several times, resulted in explanations of various degrees of specificity of each classroom moment. This approach to analysis enabled us to develop a working method based on abductive reasoning in our commentaries on the classroom moments.

Abductive reasoning is a logic of enquiry which has gained increasing recognition in the social sciences (e.g. Blaikie 2019) and applied linguistics (e.g. McKinley 2019, 2020; Rose, McKinley, and Briggs 2020) in recent years. Abduction in the original, Peircean sense is a type of hypothetical reasoning, which, similar to induction, uses the observation of data as a starting point and comes to conclusions which are always tentative, with the intention that they can be tested (Blaikie 2019: 2). The “tentative conclusions” are inferences to the best explanation, which are grounded in an idea, or *force majeure*, and a method of testing its consequences (Gabbay and Woods 2005: 81). Our testing ground was the teachers' descriptive account of the classroom scenes, to which we shall return below. The definition of abduction in applied linguistics (Rose and McKinley 2017; Rose, McKinley, and Briggs 2020: 258) is also applicable to the way we worked. We established hypothetical premises and interpretations (e.g. in video 2 [*Teachers' questions in transformation*], a pupil appears in the role of interpreter or language assistant to the teacher thanks to his use of Romani in class), which were based on observations of recorded events in the classroom (the pupil mentioned above translates into Romani on his own initiative what the teacher said). We then pursued various theories (most prominently translanguaging theory) to explain our interpretations (e.g. the scene witnessed above was interpreted, in line with Li 2018, as an occasion when translanguaging brings fluid practices to the

fore, *transcending* reified language boundaries and *transforming* traditional roles and hierarchies in the classroom).

Abduction in social scientific enquiry is used to construct theory grounded in social actors' actions, language, and interpretations (Blaikie 2019: 3). Social actors' own accounts of their everyday practices, including the symbolic meanings, motives, ideologies, and rules that underpin their actions, is "abducted": reformulated into social scientific accounts and typologies but with the research participants' consent and cooperation. Abduction is, thus, particularly well suited for the *deconstruction* of everyday knowledge (including typifications, stereotypes, and ideologies), and for their *reconstruction* into theoretical concepts, by generating the most likely understanding and explanation of observable phenomena. For this reason, abductive reasoning aligns well with participatory research approaches, too. Chapter 8 argues that reflection on one's own motivations, practices, and ideologies is an ideal starting point for educators' professional development, and the implementation of a translanguaging stance is both preceded by and results in a reflexivity of this kind. The teachers' commentaries in the films are important not only as the teachers' reflections on their own practices but also as a testing ground for the researchers' and teacher trainees' hypothetical explanations of the "surprising phenomena", in Peirce's words (1934: 90), which was observable on the video recordings.

This takes us back to the second alteration of our planned methods, which meant that interactions between teachers and researchers took place in a "transformed communicative space" either in the form of online consultations (project meetings) or by researchers being sent video recordings of the teachers' detailed reflections. These reflections were discussed and edited in a way similar to our processing of the recorded classroom moments. The unavoidable slowness of processing allowed teachers and researchers more room for reflection. First, the time-lapse made it possible for teachers to develop a better understanding of the researchers' perspective: before preparing their commentaries, teachers were shown the short, 5-minute classroom excerpts selected on the online research seminars. On one of our online consultations a teacher mentioned that she was initially surprised by the researchers' choice of the particular classroom scenes, as she did not believe that they were remarkable in terms of learning organisation in any way. Such exchanges of views provided real learning points for participatory approaches in our ethnographic work insofar as such exchanges juxtapose the teachers' and researchers' different focus. For the former, the main observational criterium is how well information is conveyed and how much knowledge is transmitted, whereas for the latter the question is in which moments learners feel liberated and relaxed. After seeing the scene that was selected and hearing researchers' and teacher trainees' commentaries, however, she understood the rationale behind the selection, and this understanding informed her own reflections on her work (Zita Tündik, personal communication, May 2021).

Second, the teachers' commentaries functioned for the researchers as points of compass to orientate themselves in the recorded classroom scenes. (N.B. Researchers and teacher trainees initially interpreted the classroom scenes without having received the teachers' reflections; these were sent only once the 3-5-minute classroom scenes were shared with the teachers.)

6.3 Subtitling the movies, translating texts for the book

The last phase of the work with the short films in our video repository was subtitling them in English. This was followed by translating Hungarian contributions to the book into English. Below, we briefly describe the three most sensitive issues with regards to translation, and list some examples to illustrate how we addressed them.

The first translation challenge is the representation of translingual data in translation. Translation and translanguaging are often juxtaposed as terms and activities with different histories and epistemologies (García 2020: 85). It was suggested that in certain situations of conflict, and in contexts where speakers' everyday lives are fraught with tension, such as in our fieldsite, translanguaging is a better suited metaphor than translation to describe and influence the perception of difference (Brink-Danan 2015: 189). Translation moves along a spatio-temporal axis from *there-to-here* and *then-to-now* as it shuttles across different systems of semiosis, language, and cognition (Baynham and Lee 2019: 35). Translanguaging, in contrast, is imagined spatio-temporally as a vibrant assemblage (Pennycook 2018: 46, cited in Baynham and Lee 2019: 36), in the *here and now*, of language resources which were previously kept apart by the separation of social spaces and practices associated with them. Translation steers towards an end product, or *terminus*, which is referenced with the name of the same word as the process itself (as in *a translation*), while translanguaging has no aspirations to produce an outcome. Although one can speak of the effects and outcomes of translanguaging, these originate from the practice itself and lack embodiment in the form of an end-product. Both translation and translanguaging operate in the borderlands, or "hybrid sites of meaning" (Bhabha 1994: 234), but there is an important difference in speakers' consciousness of the borders when engaging in one or the other. Baynham and Lee juxtaposed translation and translanguaging precisely with regards to their relationship to borders, arguing that translanguaging destabilises language borders, turning them into sites of creative and critical potentialities, while translation "regards language borders with absolute seriousness, as the entire business of translating hinges on their resolution" (2019: 41). As a result, both the

written representation of translingual data and the translation of that representation involves, schematically, the superimposition of fixed borders on something that is in flux, inasmuch as it sets up divisions within, and thereby objectifies, transitional, in-the-moment phenomena (cf. Baynham and Lee 2019: 38–44).

The theoretical tensions between translation and translanguaging had to be resolved in practice in the subtitles for the short films and in translating written representations of translanguaging discourse both in texts produced by local contributors and in texts presented as data in the book. In order to do so, a hearer-centred perspective of translanguaging (Makalela 2019: 237) was applied because this accommodates the social construction of named languages in the way they are conceived from the hearer's (or reader's) perspective, as opposed to the assemblage of communicative resources which disrupt these constructed boundaries in individual speakers' practices (cf. a speaker-centred approach). When presenting translingual data, utterances perceived from a monolingual Hungarian perspective as Romani are indicated in capital letters in order to contrast them with what would be perceived as Hungarian utterances. When utterances are perceived differently by monolingual Hungarian hearers and Romani speakers, we adopted the latter's perspective (e.g. lexemes of local Romani, which are interpreted as Romani by bilingual speakers and as Hungarian by monolingual Hungarian speakers). For example in the sentence *O pásztori opre találingya po ikri* 'the shepherd found the twins' (cf. Chapter 7) the word stems *pásztor* 'shepherd', *talál* 'find', and *iker* 'twin' are, from the perspective of a Hungarian speaker, transparent loans from Hungarian, but the utterance as a whole is perceived by speakers of local Romani as Romani. So, when providing the English translation of this sentence, we used all capital letters to indicate that the utterance as a whole is seen by local Roma as Romani.

Limitations of space were less strict in translingual data cited in the book. A systematic and comprehensive discussion of the various ways in which translingual data was represented in writing and in translation is impracticable here because of limitations of space. It is important to underline, however, that whenever boundaries had to be established to make decisions about translation or graphic options possible, we adopted the hearer's perspective from the point of view of the speaker who produced the utterance and not merely the perspective of the "white listening subject" (Flores and Rosa 2015; García et al. 2021) – monolingual Hungarian majority speakers. In future work, parallel texts may be a helpful technical tool in representing both what multilingual speaking subjects (in our case, Roma children and their parents) *say*, using their entire repertoire, and what Hungarian-monolingual listeners, such as the teachers, *hear*, when they make sense of those utterances. The monolingual hearer's perspective is different from that of multilingual hearers with regards to socially constructed language boundaries.

The second and third ethical issue with regards to translation has to do with the problem of equivalence in terms of both lexico-semantic and social-ideological representations across different semiotic systems (including socially constructed named languages). Gal (2015: 233) describes the problem of equivalence as the expectation, ingrained in Euro-American ideologies of communication, of maximal correspondence between word-labels across languages and what is “assumed to be a separately available real world”. Gal compares the workings of these ideologies to baptismal moments between terms from two named languages or semiotic systems. According to the ideologies Gal mentions, one-to-one correspondence is assumed in translation between elements of two (or more) naming traditions. Language experts and traditions of official translation strive to create such standardised equivalents and for the authority to legitimise them. The processual dynamic of translation, however, is very much unlike the supposed systematic correspondence between assumed, and potentially standardised, equivalents. It is, instead, a series of tentative approximations achieved through “the accrument of a series of intercultural moments in time” (Baynham and Lee 2019: 40), which create a translanguaging space within each moment of the process of translation. The series of transcultural and translingual events which dwell in the process of translation are organised by meaning making based on indexicality. “One starts by identifying a system of indexical signaling in one lingua-culture and then finds a way of ‘doing’ a signaling of roughly the same sort in another lingua-culture” (Silverstein 2003: 89–90; cited also in Gal 2015: 235).

Instead of ascribing to trends which seek to standardise practices in translation (“regimes of equivalence”), we preferred variation which captures subtle differences in style, register, and voice, expressed in lexical choices, characterising the original text. Our decisions concerning the translation of two of the key words of this book, Hu. *cigány* v. *roma* illustrate this. Both terms have established “equivalents” in English: ‘Gypsy’ and ‘Roma’, respectively. In most European languages, historically rooted prejudices led to the development of a derogatory, pejorative meaning for the former; hence, political correctness usually licenses only the latter. In Hungarian monolingual contexts, however, although the derogatory connotations and the subsequent proscription of *cigány* in discourses of political correctness exist, they are less pronounced than in some other languages. But, importantly for the present discussion, *cigány* is also the more intimate of the two terms, given that *roma* is associated with formal, official discourses, precisely because of its positive markedness for political correctness. In the Magiszter School and other social settings which Roma and non-Roma co-habit both teachers and learners use *cigány* to refer to both the ethnicity and the language. Researchers and teacher trainees, although they are members of the extended community organised around the school, usually refer to the members of the Majoros settlement as *roma*, although even in their practices there are discrepancies regarding the name of the language; participants often

warned themselves and each other to refer to the language as *romani* and in adverbial form as *romaniul* instead of *cigány* and *cigányul*. Teachers and learners in the classroom use, practically without exception, *cigányul*. The negative markedness of *cigány* for political correctness is irrelevant in contexts of intimacy. Sherwood provides a detailed review of the grammatical features of the derivability of ethnonyms, which supports our observation that historic or areal and cultural intimacy between Hungarian speakers and another named ethnic group plays a part in the way ethnonyms operate in the nominal derivation system of Hungarian (Sherwood 2002). The English noun *Gypsy* may have positive value attributions, too, which increasingly typify contemporary discourses, but these do not reflect an intimate v. formal opposition. The following OED (s.v. “Gypsy”) definition shows the simultaneous negative v. positive value attributions in English: “a person who possesses qualities or characteristics supposed to be typical of Gypsies; (a) a person who acts in a disreputable, unscrupulous, or deceptive manner (*obsolete*); (b) (in later use) a person who is free-spirited and carefree, or who travels to many places”. According to (b), the English noun *Gypsy* can be used even with reference to potentially wealthy and eccentric globe trotters. Neither the obsolence of the pejorative use nor the specific features of the positive associations are the same in Hungarian for *cigány*.

The above analysis reveals what Clifford (2013: 48) explained as follows: “[t]ranslation is not transmission. Something is brought across, but in altered forms, with local differences. There is always a loss or misunderstanding along the way. And something is gained, mixed into the message”. Our decision was to use *Gypsy* in English when translating writings or utterances by members of the Tiszavasvári Roma community and they used the Hungarian term *cigány* with reference to themselves; we mostly used the same strategy when translating text by local teachers (i.e. contexts when *cigány* is positively marked for intimacy). When *roma* was used in the Hungarian by any of our contributors, this was rendered as *Roma* in English without exception. We followed the same procedure with regards to the name of the language: *cigányul* (*cigány-ul*: *cigány* ‘Gypsy’ suffixed with the adverbial *-ul*), when used by speakers of local Romani in their Hungarian speech or writing, was rendered as ‘in Gypsy’ because this reflects their practice better than ‘in Romani’. The latter was used when *romaniul* occurs in the Hungarian text (mostly in texts by researchers).

Translators’ ethical responsibilities are multiplied in situations of conflict, where being misunderstood is likely to be of profound concern for research participants and other parties who produce the texts to be translated (cf. Deane-Cox 2013: 312). Our videos contain classroom scenes involving children from a precarious community and their teachers; thus, careful attention to detail in representing them in the subtitles was imperative. Teachers’ work and ways of speaking must be understood in the context of local circumstances. The learners in the recordings display their linguistic and school-related cultural practices freely, even

though these practices are often stigmatised. It is impossible to convey such broad social-contextual information in the subtitles, but playing into the stereotypes must also be avoided.

In subtitling a certain degree of reductionism is unavoidable. Learners often exchange glances with one another or the teacher, they grin, smile, turn back to look at one of their peers, etc. These reactions are often subtle but, if the processing of verbal language is based on auditory input, it is possible for the viewer to process visual information alongside it. When relying on subtitles, it is more difficult, and often impossible, to detect in a busy and animated classroom scene precisely to which passage of the text the learners reacted, while the viewer has to read the subtitles, too. Importantly to our study, the time it takes to process visual input of two kinds (subtitle and classroom events) might also make it more difficult to detect when the learners, and not the teacher, initiate a particular classroom activity. Similarly, the role of pauses in speech, phatic language, suprasegmental elements, and the expression of emotions is difficult to convey in subtitles. The representation of these, however, has an impact on how certain reactions are interpreted by the viewer. For instance, in video 13 (video 13: 1.10) the teacher uses *húha*, a phatic expression without clear propositional meaning, which can be translated as ‘whoa, wow, uh oh, all right! careful! woops!’ depending on the context. The teacher’s intonation makes it entirely clear to Hungarian-speaking viewers that her intention is to gently warn the pupils that something is not quite right in their answer, which is best conveyed by ‘careful!’ or ‘woops!’. Opting for one or the other solution contributes to the representation of the teacher’s entire personality and attitudes towards learners.

The translator’s responsibility towards the speaker or writer is twofold. First, their aim is to find the best close approximation in the text resulting from translation of the message in the original. Their secondary aim is, however, to avoid fictionalising a writer’s or speaker’s voice in the process of complex cultural recontextualisation, which would mean stripping the original off its identity and authenticity in order to accommodate the listeners’ and readers’ linguistic and cultural expectations in the translated text (cf. the adaptation of texts to the “white listening subject’s” expectations in colonial contexts; García et al. 2021; García, Aponte, and Le 2020). In order to satisfy both kinds of responsibility which seemingly grind against each other, three domains need to be navigated simultaneously: the cognitive domain of concepts, the linguistic and cultural domains of expression, and the social domain of liabilities and responsibilities, alongside the attempted alignment of value-attributions across ideologies, moral systems and socio-political structures in two separate systems (named languages) (cf. Pöchhacker 2008: 14–16).

We look at two last examples to illustrate the above dilemmas. The design of the central national curriculum in Hungary organises subject knowledge and subject-specific communication around the teaching and learning of key words (cf. Chapter 9). As a result, elicitation of such terms is a core part of teaching, as is learners' correct use and understanding of them. This is a domain which teachers and teacher trainees have limited scope to navigate, but its benefits for knowledge development can be harnessed through dialogic teaching, which leads learners in a questions-and-answers format towards the "correct answer" (ie. the key words taught). In teachers' and teacher trainees' accounts of a successful translanguaging teaching event, we decided to reformulate the Hungarian for, e.g., "teachers help learners arrive at the *correct answer* (Hu. *helyes válasz*)" as "teachers help learners to formulate more clearly what they wanted to say" or similar. Given the limitations of space in our writing to expand on such reformulations whenever they happen, we compromised through such adaptations of the original in order to avoid conveying the impression that the teacher supports the senseless and unexplained regurgitations of the lexical material taught.

The last example is taken from text produced by one of our local contributors in Tiszavasvári. Describing one of her own teachers, she says, in Hungarian, *nagyon rendes tanár volt* 'he was very caring' lit. 'he was a very nice/supportive/good teacher'. The lexical choices listed in the second translation attempt, labelled as *lit.* for *literal*, show that the Hungarian adjective *rendes* (approximately: 'orderly', adjective derived with the suffix *-es* from the noun *rend* 'order') is difficult to convey with either of the possible "equivalents" listed above. The contributor's intended meaning has to do not with the primary meaning related to orderliness but with kindness, an accommodating, supportive, caring attitude. In English, the adjective *supportive* would have been available, and, out of the specific context of our contributor's writing this would have been a commendable option. We opted for *caring* for two reasons. On the one hand, *supportive* would have suggested that the speaker admits her vulnerability and subordination by saying that the teacher provided the support she needed (this is, in fact, what happened; cf. Chapter 13.1). Our contributor's positioning of herself, however, was the opposite. While speaking with gratitude about the teacher's work, she assumed a morally strong position, which gave her the ground to evaluate the teacher's behaviour in general, instead of being merely a passive recipient of his benevolent actions. On the other hand, this story is told in the context of our discussion of caring and transcaring (Noddings 1986; García et al. 2012) in the Magiszter School. The concept of care was also applied in indigenous research writing (Gutturum et al. 2021: 118), in which it specifically foregrounds the encounters between indigenous and local societies and academia. Our own disciplinary context and its discourses underpinned our choice of translating *rendes* as 'caring'. In addition to our *care* given to specific

lexical choices, when translating local community members' and teachers' contributions we worked with a “thick translation” approach in mind (cf. Appiah 2000; cited also in Bachmann-Medic 2016: 179), preserving as much of the original writers' voice as an accessible rendering in English allowed.

6.4 Conclusion: Rethinking academic texts and knowledge production

The above discussion surveys our methodological considerations and findings with regards to three core-components of our data processing: the compilation of the video repository, the consequences of working online in a pandemic, and the ethical and practical considerations influencing translators' choice in the subtitles and in the volume. The discussion in this chapter serves not only to highlight the consequences of online working on our methods of collecting and interpreting data but also as a guide for those practitioners and researchers who will use the video repository alongside the book in the future. These users will likely approach the materials without having had field experience in our field site, thus, they will also gain exposure to it solely through the videos. The abductive methods of enquiry and stages of reflection, which resulted, at least in part, from the lack of opportunity to do off-line fieldwork or to hold face-to-face project meetings, are imprinted on the short films in our repository.

The reflexive stages of the overall process yielded important insights especially in the following areas. Working in a pandemic required to adjust our methodological approach to both making and processing the video recordings of classroom scenes: collaborating teachers were entirely in charge of this process without immediate feedback from researchers, and the interpretation of video recordings involved extended periods of reflections. As a result, teacher and teacher trainee contributors were empowered as they were in charge of making decisions regarding filming, camera positions, and interpreting what we see in the recording. The reflexive cycles during the processing of the recordings, in turn, contributed to reshuffling the power relations between other participant groups, due to researchers' increased reliance on learners' and teachers' multiperspective interpretations.

The reflexivity characterising our online working was extended to off-line workshops organised with the purpose of involving local parents as co-authors in the volume. This is an experimental feature of this volume and contributes to empowering local voices inasmuch as it highlights their distinctiveness in the process of interpretation. Interpretation is, thus, no longer an exclusive project of the researchers based in academic centres: reflections from all participants are an important feature

of every empirical chapter. The multiplicity of voices invites us to rethink what an “academic” text is and how the socially constructed boundaries of the genre can be broadened, or dismantled, in order to accommodate writing by those who so far have been the “researched” subjects, indigenous, migrant, and various other local populations.

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Part III: **Perspectives on translanguaging
educational practices in the Tiszavasvári
Roma neighbourhood**

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7 Linguistic Repertoire: A despised “mixed” language as a resource for learning

The linguistic repertoire of the Roma in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné) is linked to more than one named language. At home, most of them speak in ways which most monolingual listeners would identify as Romani and Hungarian, and in Szímő (Zemné) also as Slovak. This chapter shows, based on observations in Tiszavasvári, that local Roma experience their repertoire somewhat differently from speakers of standardised languages. They formulate statements about the unitary nature of their repertoire, for instance they emphasise that children acquire Romani and Hungarian simultaneously. Generally speaking, they are not preoccupied with drawing boundaries between these two named languages. Local Roma share the opinion that the Romani they speak is not proper, not the ideal form of the language. This is illustrated by metalinguistic statements such as: *Hát roma nyelvet, de nem a tiszta roma nyelvet beszéljük. Hanem ugye itt már nem is úgy beszélnek, mint például Budapesten, vagy másfele*; ‘Well, it is Romani, but we don’t speak pure Romani, well, you see, here they don’t speak the way they do in Budapest or elsewhere’; *Akik már nincsenek, öregek, elmentek, vagy elköltöztek már, nincsenek már az élők sorában, tehát igazából ők tisztán tudták beszélni* ‘Those who are no longer with us, the elderly, they are gone, they have left, they are not among the living, they really knew how to speak it purely’ (also cited in Heltai 2020a: 102–103). This language ideology underpins everyday life and the Roma’s ways of speaking and their linguistic behaviour in and outside of school. It can be traced in our classroom recordings, too.

This chapter consists of four parts. 7.1 summarises Heltai’s (cf. 2020a, 2020b, 2020c for more detailed accounts) recent ethnographic work on local understandings of current sociolinguistic processes and practices among the Roma in Tiszavasvári. 7.2 discusses the consequences of these perceptions at school. 7.3 elaborates possible pedagogical responses whose aim is to engage with the learners’ entire repertoire. This is followed in 7.4 by an overview of pupils’ reflections on their own repertoire. Finally, 7.5 gives an outlook on how the points discussed in this chapter are relevant to educational contexts where the children’s monolingual repertoire is partly based on elements which are different from the standard language of education.

7.1 The linguistic repertoire of the Roma in Tizzasvasvári

Groupism (which assumes clear and separable ethnic groups [Brubaker 2002, 2004] with their respective distinct languages, cf. Chapters 2 and 3) has had less influence among Roma speakers in Tizzasvasvári than among most other, non-Roma speakers in Hungary and Central-Europe. In academic categorisations regarding Roma ethnicity, it can be a complicated issue to establish and distinguish Roma groups and subgroups (cf. Chapter 3). However, this is different in Tizzasvasvári. When asked in Tizzasvasvári, people state that they are Roma, eventually adding, that they are “Vlach Roma”. Any further subgrouping is avoided. What is more, local Roma always stress the diversity of their ways of speaking, adding examples of dissimilarity in language use. People said for example, that they speak differently in one part of the neighbourhood than in the other. They also voiced an opinion that Roma with different surnames speak differently. (Most of the more than 2000 bilingual Roma in Tizzasvasvári share six or seven surnames. These are names pointing to old Roma occupations, and in Hungary people generally associate these names with the Roma.) Local Roma also stated that language practices in the community are different in several ways. They highlighted that there are differences between the young and the elderly, between the poor and the wealthy, or for example between those who were born in the town and those who were not. A further dimension of difference was mentioned between those who have a spouse from the town and those who do not. In this community, the relationship of languages is conceived differently from mainstream European standard-language and double-monolingual ideologies. Rather than citing typical European dualities like “either-or” and “and”, the local Roma describe the tensions and dynamics of their speech and highlight its heterogeneity, presupposing a unity of the repertoire (cf. Heltai 2020a: 90–91). For example, a grandfather spoke about the language socialisation of his grandchild as follows: *Ő már cigányul sírt, mikor beszélünk hozzá cigányul. Tehát ugyanúgy magyarul is. Tehát a kettőt egybe tanulja meg. Nem külön-külön a magyart meg a cigányt.* ‘He used to cry in Gypsy when we spoke to him in Gypsy. So, in the same way as in Hungarian. So, he learns two in one, not separately Hungarian and Gypsy’ (also cited in Heltai 2020a: 96).

Speakers mentioned in interviews and conversations that not everybody among the local Roma speaks Romani. Discussion partners often mentioned that they also speak Hungarian in the family. There are differences between families, due to a range of factors such as place of residence within the settlement, financial situation, or the family’s memories about one or more non-Roma ancestors (grandparents or great-grandparents). Some families register also “Hungarian Roma”

ancestors. According to local opinion, those are the people who consider themselves Roma but do not speak Romani. (This does not necessarily coincide with the category of “Karthian” or “Hungarian Roma”, also called “Romungro”, mentioned in the scholarly tradition of Romani studies in Hungary as a group with longer residence in the area of the historical Hungarian Kingdom and coined on the basis of a distinct, today mostly forgotten Romani dialect, cf. Erdős 1958, 1959; Vekerdí 1981; Réger 1988; Szalai 2006). The term Hungarian Roma used by the Roma in Tiszavasvári does not reflect ethnic and historical distinctiveness as a separate group; it expresses instead social status and synchronic cultural closeness to non-Roma Hungarians.

Local Roma usually say that their language is not identical with the language they call *Romani* or sometimes *Lovari*. *Lovari* is the name of the standardised Romani variety in Hungary, named in this way because the variety spoken by the people identifying themselves as “lovar vlach Roma”, served as a basis of the standard (Szuhay 2005). Most of the Roma proponents of standardisation in Hungary are Lovar Vlach Roma. (For more on this topic cf. Chapter 14). The Roma in Tiszavasvári say that real Romani is spoken “elsewhere” or by the “old folks” of bygone times (see above). They also highlight that the local Romani is different from everything else; it has a different pronunciation; it is a special local language, and it is not a pure way of speaking. There is no consensus about whether the local Romani is a new, emerging way of speaking or it has always been the way it is today. Speakers estimate the proportion of Romani-dominant conversations among local Roma much higher than that of Hungarian-dominant conversations. These percentages reflect two different domains. First, speakers describe the proportion of conversations in Romani compared to Hungarian-language conversations. They usually estimate that the proportion of Romani is more than 70%. Second, they often illustrate the proportion of Hungarian resources within their Romani-dominant conversations by calling their way of speaking a “mixed language”. They consider that the proportion of Romani resources is 50% or more (for details, cf. Heltai 2020a: 89–126, 2020b).

Speaking Hungarian, or at least conveying the image of speaking Hungarian, is linked to breaking away from stigmatised and marginalised life in the Roma neighbourhood. According to our observations among young Roma in the school and kindergarten, speaking Hungarian in local Roma families is a discursive trope rather than reality. Linguistic socialisation takes place typically in Romani but people always add that Hungarian plays an important role in it. People mentioned two different strategies regarding this topic. First, that family members speak Romani with the child, but before attending the compulsory kindergarten (from the age of 3 in Hungary), they teach them some Hungarian with conscious and controlled effort. The second strategy involves communication linked to both languages. In this way children are bilingually socialised and speak Hungarian from kindergarten age.

It is difficult to establish categories of named languages regarding linguistic socialisation and practice among local Roma families. Utterances of local Roma are organised according to the momentary dynamics in the local context. However, metalinguistic activity is based on the notion of languages, just like elsewhere in the western world. In this way, reports on linguistic practices focus on the mixing of languages and the proportion of their presence in different utterances. Linguistic practices are organised in a dynamic and unitary way but ways of speaking about them follow the binary logic of groupism. The result of this is that participants' accounts are often contradictory, variable, or even confusing. Below, three examples illustrate these strategies (cited and discussed also in Heltai 2020a: 96–98).

In excerpt 1, Zorán, a grandfather, and Ildikó and Jázmin, who are young mothers, talk with János Imre Heltai in a recorded conversation. A few younger mothers and their children are present in the same classroom, picking up the children after school. Names of local participants are pseudonyms.

- (1) Zorán *Nem hát ez úgy van, hogy- tegyük fel, nekem már van egy- nem csak egy, a 16 közül most csak egyet említenék meg, 8 hónapos kis unoka, hogy ő már cigányul sírt, mikor beszélünk hozzá cigányul. Tehát ugyanúgy magyarul is. Tehát a kettőt egybe tanulja meg. Nem külön-külön a magyart meg a cigányt.*

'No, well, the way it is, is that let's assume I have one – not just one but out of 16 I am mentioning only one now, so, an 8-month-old grandchild, he cried in Gypsy when we spoke to him in Gypsy. So, in the same way as in Hungarian. So, he learns two in one, not separately Hungarian and Gypsy.'

János *Igen, persze, értem. És így volt maguknál is?*

'Yes of course, I see. So, was it like that with you as well?'

Ildikó *Igen.*

'Yes'.

Jázmin *Így- így- így születik szerintem az ember.*

'That's it, I think that's the way people are born.'

Ildikó *És ugyanúgy rátalál a cigány nyelvre is, mint a magyar nyelvre.*

'And you find your way to the Gypsy language in the same way you find Hungarian.'

Zorán claims that the child “cries” in Romani when they speak to him in Romani. Then he says that the two (languages) are learned “as one”. This language ideology is shared by the mothers present in the conversation. Statements such as

those cited above refer to local linguistic practices as united, without separating languages in the socialisation process.

In excerpt 2, an older woman, Zsófia speaks with János Imre Heltai:

- (2) János *Minden unoka, a kicsik is tudják, és jól? Úgy akkor itt a telepen minden gyerekek cigányul beszél?*
 ‘All grandchildren know it, even the little ones, and they speak it well? So, here in the settlement all children speak Gypsy?’
- Zsófia *Minden gyerek. Nincs az a gyerek, ha ne tanuljon cigányul, de van köztük olyan [##], akinek- azok magyarul beszélnek- egymás- az anyjukhoz.*
 ‘All children. There are no children that do not learn Gypsy, but there are such that- they speak Hungarian – among each other – to their mothers.’
- János *Kik?*
 ‘Who?’
- Zsófia *Az anyjukhoz, az apjukhoz, akik-*
 ‘To their mothers, to their fathers, who-’
- János *De érteni mindegyik megérti?*
 ‘But they all understand, don’t they?’
- Zsófia *Igen, de mink már így [###] cigányul beszélünk.*
 ‘Yes, but we speak in this way [###] we speak Gypsy.’
- János *És akkor a gyerekek többségével otthon cigányul beszélnek, vagy magyarul?*
 ‘And so do you speak Gypsy or Hungarian with most children at home?’
- Zsófia *Cigányul. De tudnak a gyerekek is magyarul.*
 ‘Gypsy. But the children know Hungarian as well.’

This speaker also uses the concept of named languages to describe the local practices but it is difficult for her to describe the linguistic reality in such terms. When asked whether all children speak Romani, she considers it important to add that some also speak Hungarian. To the repeated query, whether most children are spoken to in Hungarian or in Romani, she again delivers an ambiguous answer. Her statements suggest that language questions are not “either/or” choices in the local context. Excerpt 3 is from a discussion between János Imre Heltai and a young married couple in the couple’s home.

- (3) Gabi *Ha százalékokban mondanám, szerintem ők [a településrész „felső” végén lakó, magukat „magyarabbnak” tartó családok] 70 százalékban beszélnek cigányul, mondjuk Zsolték, vagy lentebb, a Keskeny utca lentebbik felén*

mondjuk- mondjuk 85 százalékban. Szóval nem olyan nagy a különbség egyébként . . .

‘If I would say it in percentages, I think they [the families on the upper end of the settlement, who hold themselves as “more Hungarian”] speak 70 % in Gypsy, let’s say Zsolt’s family, or those at the lower end say 85 %. So the difference is not so big, actually . . .’

Zsolt *Így van, így van.*

‘True, true.’

The couple speaking in excerpt 3 lives outside the Roma settlement, in the city centre. Gabi is non-Roma and Zsolt is Roma, his family members live in the Majoros settlement. Gabi tries to compare the percentages of Romani-dominated conversations in families who consider themselves “more Hungarian” with conversations in families which do not claim that, and establishes that the difference is actually not a big one and linguistic practices can be characterised as Romani dominant in all families.

Local views about the proportion of Romani and Hungarian in local conversations can hardly be treated as clear-cut. What is more, local Roma conceptualise the belonging of resources to one or the other named language differently from local non-Roma. There are many resources in local Romani talk which are described by speakers of Hungarian as Hungarian words with a Romani suffix. From the perspective of historical and contact linguistics, they can be described as “borrowings” or “loan words” of Hungarian origin. For local Roma children, however, they are Romani words. The Roma often perceive them as part of both Romani and Hungarian, as we will see the following excerpts. Excerpts 4 and 5 (cf. Heltai 2020a: 94) display a discussion between the researchers and the mothers, where one of them, Magda talks about this topic as follows:

- (4) Magda *A- mi cigányul beszélünk, majdnem egyforma a magyarral. Tehát vektesszik. Valamit cigányul elmondunk, és azt megérti a magyar is, hogy én most mit mondtam. Igen. Hát mondjuk van egy, mondjuk ez pohár. Mi cigányul is annak mondjuk.*

‘Wh-e we speak Gypsy, it is almost the same as Hungarian. They are equal. We say something in Gypsy and the Hungarians understand what I just said. Yeah. Lets’ say that is a *pohár* [glass]. We call it in the same way in Gypsy.’

Later in the conversation, the other mother, Móni, considers these elements to be not Hungarian words, but words which are *like* Hungarian words:

- (5) Móni *Mert mink, van olyan kifejezésünk, hogy magyar. Mintha magyarul mondanánk el, csak másként. De magyarok is megértik.*

‘Because we, we have such expressions which are Hungarian. As if we said it in Hungarian, just differently. But the Hungarians understand it too.’

In a recorded discussion with some Roma men in a yard the question of how to say *broom* in Romani was raised (excerpt 6). Three expressions were mentioned, one of them, *seprüvo* appears to be of clearly Hungarian origin for Hungarian speakers (Hu. *seprű* ‘broom’). It also contains a Romani suffix marking grammatical gender which Hungarian does not have (for details, cf. Heltai 2020a: 106–107).

- (6) Endre *Na most például egyszer megfogtam egy cigányembert ott Máriapócs-on [nevezetes roma búcsújáró hely]. Azt mondja a feleséginek ott árulták a seprüket. hogy vegyen egy- mondja cigányul, hogy kin ekh motora.*

‘So for example I heard a Gypsy man in Máriapócs [a small town which is the most famous Roma pilgrimage site in and around Hungary]. He says to his wife- they were selling brooms there, that she should buy one, she should say it in Gypsy, BUY A BROOM’

Ferenc *De itten már, itten mifelénk azt mondják, seprüvo. Már maga is-*

‘But here, where we live, they say, SEPRÜVO. Already that-

Endre *Neeem úgy mondják, aki tudja!*

No, that’s not how they say it, those who know [it]

Andor *Hogy kell mondani a seprűnek akkor?*

‘What should we call a broom then?’

Ferenc *Hogy mondod a seprűnek? Sepreget anyád, cigányul, mondd ki! [valaki közbeveti:] seprüvo. Na tessék, fél magyar!*

‘How do you say broom? Your mother is sweeping with a broom, in Gypsy, say it! [someone says:] BROOM] There you go, it’s half-Hungarian!’

Endre *Hát mer magyarul van tisztán!*

Well because that is pure Hungarian!

Ferenc *A cigányul a seprűnek lehet mondani silágyi.*

‘In Gypsy we can say SILÁGYI to a broom.’

Endre *Na! Ez a cerhar.*

‘Yep. That’s Cerhar [a vlach Roma identity category and a variety of Romani].’

- Ferenc *Na tessék. Köszönöm szépen!*
 ‘There you go. Thank you very much!’
- János *És azt itt nem mondja senki?*
 ‘And nobody says that here?’
- Endre *Nem.*
 ‘No.’
- János *És akkor maga honnan tudja?*
 ‘And then how come you know it?’
- Ferenc *Azért mert tanultam.*
 ‘Because I learnt it.’
- Endre *Ez az eredeti, silágyi.*
 ‘That’s the original, BROOM.’
- János *És maga is ismeri ezt, silágyi?*
 ‘And do you know it as well, BROOM?’
- Andor *Most hallottam.*
 ‘This is the first time I hear it.’

The term *silágyi* is introduced by Ferenc, who moved into the community and was not brought up in Tiszavasvári. For the others, the term *silágyi*, which he brings into the conversation, is new. They use the term *seprüvo*. In the discussion, this resource is evaluated in three ways. Ferenc categorises it as half-Hungarian. The elder, Endre, notes that it is actually Hungarian. It is interpreted by other speakers as part of Romani, as is clear from the answer to Ferenc’s question (probably by Andor). This illustrates the lack of a group consensus and the fluidity of language boundaries in speakers’ mind.

7.2 Consequences at school

The video recordings illustrate that pupils share the view that some resources belong to more than one language. They include new resources in their Romani with ease. They use, and make sense of, these resources in the same way as the adults in above examples: as Romani words which are alike or similar to Hungarian words. Video 13 (*The teacher as language learner in the translanguaging classroom*) contains an excerpt from a history lesson in the fifth grade. The teacher, Tünde, has written four Hungarian words on the board: *király* ‘king’, *szolga* ‘servant’, *pásztor* ‘shepherd’ and *ikrek* ‘twins’. The words have to do with the foundation myths of Ancient Rome, which the class covered in previous lessons. The pupils’ task was to build sentences using the words on the board, in Romani or in Hungarian, as they

wish. After completing this task, the pupils reported their sentences as follows (excerpt 7, video 13: 0.59–2.32):

- (7) Tünde [egy diák utolsó mondatát ismételve]: *O ikri pasztora hile. Nem értem. Kérhetek segítséget?*
 [repeating the last sentence of a learner]: ‘THE TWINS WERE SHEPHERDS. I don’t understand. May I ask for your help?’
- pupil 1 *Azt mondta, az ikrek pásztorok.*
 ‘He said that the twins were shepherds.’
- Tünde *Húha! Tegyük rendbe ezt a mondatot! Hogy kapcsolódnak egymáshoz a pásztor meg az ikrek? Igen?*
 ‘Oh, careful! Let’s sort this sentence out! What does the shepherd have to do with the twins? Yes, please?’
- pupil 2 *A pásztor rátalált a két ikerre.*
 ‘The shepherd found the twins.’
- Tünde *A pásztor talált rá az ikrekre. Emlékszel? Akkor most így mondj nekem egy cigány mondatot!*
 ‘The shepherd found the twins. Do you remember now? Now then, tell me a Gypsy sentence like this!’
- pupil 3 *O pasztori opre találingya po ikri.*
 ‘THE SHEPHERD FOUND THE TWINS.’
- Tünde *Na, ez már így nagyon jó! És akkor, hogyha átjavítod a mondatodat, akkor pipálhatod, jó?*
 ‘That’s it. This is very good. And if you correct your sentence here, you can tick it off, ok?’
- pupil 4 *O pásztori sungye vorbi- roven o ikri*
 ‘THE SHEPHERDS HEARD THE TWINS CRY.’
- Tünde *Húha! Segítesz, kérlek?*
 ‘Whoops! Are you going to help me, please?’
- pupil 5 *A pásztor azt mondta, hogy . . . a pásztor meghallotta, hogy az ikrek sírtak.*
 ‘The shepherd said, that . . . the shepherd heard the twins cry.’
- Tünde *Nagyon ügyes vagy! Köszönöm a fordítást. Jó. Következő?*
 ‘Well done! Thank you for the translation! Okay. Next Please!’
- pupil 6 *A pásztor vette magához az ikreket.*
 ‘The shepherd took in the twins.’
- Tünde *Ügyes vagy. Igen?*
 ‘Good! Next, please!’

- pupil 7 *A pásztori rakja e beáto.*
‘THE SHEPHERD FOUND THE CHILDREN.’
- Tünde *És ez mit jelent?*
‘And what does this mean?’
- pupil 7 *A pásztor megtalálta a gyerekeket.*
‘The shepherd found the children.’
- Tünde *Ó, de nagyon ügyes vagy! Szuper! Most mondd! Igen?*
‘Great, well done! Super! Now you, please!’
- pupil 8 *O pasztori sajnálingya e ikrek.*
‘THE SHEPHERD FELT SORRY FOR THE TWINS.’
- Tünde *Azt jelenti, a pásztor megsajnálta az ikreket. Tudtam! Kitaláltam! Ügyes voltam! Nagyon jó volt a mondatod, tényleg így volt. Jöhet a következő!*
‘It means that the shepherd felt sorry for the twins, right? I knew it! I figured it out! Well done me! Your sentence is very good, this is exactly what happened. Next, please!’
- pupil 9 *O királyi phengya e szolgake te csude andre ando pányi e ikrek.*
‘THE KING TOLD THE SERVANTS TO THROW THE TWINS INTO THE WATER.’

Among the outcomes of this task are five Romani-based sentences (written with capital letters). The pupils incorporated the four Hungarian words that were provided by adding to them Romani suffixes. They did not attempt to find a Romani word for them. The word *ikri* ‘twins’ appears in sentences 1, 2, and 3 with Romani suffixes (*ikr-i*, in plural), in sentences 4 and 5 it has even retained its Hungarian form (*ikr-ek*, also in plural). There are two more verbs in the sentences which speakers of Hungarian would identify as words with a Hungarian root, *találingya* (Hu. *talál* ‘find’) and *sajnálingya* (Hu. *sajnál* ‘regret’, both verbs in past tense singular third person). The pupils use these forms in the task for formulating the sentences both Hungarian and Romani. The use of words viewed as Hungarian by the teacher in a Romani sentence is in line with the statements in excerpt 4 and 5, which argue that there are words in Romani that are very similar to Hungarian.

Resources linked to school subjects are often transformed by the pupils in similar ways. In most Hungarian schools, lessons begin with a so-called “report” in which the pupils present to the teacher who are absent from class. Every week, two pupils are responsible for facilitating classroom activities, and one of their duties is to deliver the report. The expressions in this speech act follow a decades old formula, which constitutes shared knowledge of all generations across Hungary. Everyone stands up, the two pupils on duty come to the front of the classroom, and

turn towards the class and the teacher. This little ceremony at the beginning of classes is part of a fixed school practice. Teachers often employ it as it helps children to calm down after the break. The report, delivered loudly and in chorus by the two pupils in charge but in first person singular, consists of the following text in Hungarian (excerpt 8).

- (8) pupils on-duty *Osztály vigyázz! A tanárnőnek tisztelettel jelentem, hogy az osztály létszáma 22, ebből hiányzik hét tanuló. Az osztály a rajzórára készen áll.*
 ‘Class, stand up! I respectfully report to Miss [teacher] that the total number of pupils is 22, of which seven are missing. The class is ready for drawing class.’

In video 16 (*Translanguaging in a fixed school practice*), the pupils on-duty are given the freedom to deliver the report in Romani, and they take the opportunity. However, the structure of the passage remains the same. The pupils add only some Romani suffixes to perform it in Romani (excerpt 9):

- (9) pupils on-duty *Tanár néninek tisztelettel jelentinav, hogy az osztályi létszáma huszonkettő.*
 HU Tanár néninek tisztelettel jelentem, hogy az osztályi létszáma huszonkettő.
 EN To Miss I respectfully REPORT that the number of LEARNERS IN CLASS is 22.
 pupils on-duty *Ebből hiányzinél hét tanulóvo, az osztályi rajzórára készen áll.*
 HU Ebből hiányzik hét tanuló, az osztály rajzórára készen áll.
 EN Of this, seven learners are ABSENT, the CLASS is ready for art lesson.

The pupils incorporate newly learned subject-specific terminology into Romani in a similar way. In video 7 (*Technical terms for school subjects*) pupils demonstrate their knowledge. Given the chance to use Romani, they follow the same strategy, and employ words like Hungarian *adózik* (‘pays taxes’), *harcol* (‘fights’) or *nemesek* (‘noblemen’) complemented with Romani suffixes as *adózingya* (‘PAID TAXES’), *harcolingya* (‘FOUGHT’), or *nemesi* (‘NOBLEMEN’). In this way they have the opportunity to incorporate new, subject-specific terms into their repertoire and follow their local language practices at the same time. This practice of Romani vocabulary extension supports the development of their repertoire in Hungarian, too, as new

words (including new technical terms) become part of their repertoire in both languages. A further benefit is that their monolingual Hungarian teachers have a better chance to follow their utterances in Romani through such “shared” keywords.

The often despised “mixed language” of the local Roma has clear advantages at school. Hungarian monolingual teachers with a translanguaging stance can understand it to some extent. It can also be transformative as it allows learners to embrace new language resources learned at school. Due to their translanguaging awareness regarding languages, local Roma children are open to embed new subject-specific terminology taught in Hungarian into their Romani utterances. This is not a unique practice among bi- and multilingual Roma in Europe. There may be differences in the detail of such practices, but the tendencies are similar in various parts of Europe. In a similar manner, in video 32 (*Multisensory approach to language learning*), recorded in Szímő (Zemné), a boy repurposes a Slovak saying about the typical autumn weather (excerpt 10, video 32: 1.39–1.55):

- (10) pupil 1 *Del o bris- (. . .) nem!*
 ‘IT’S RAIN- (. . .) Not!’
 teacher *Na? Fúj a hideg szél!*
 ‘So? The cold wind is blowing!’
 pupil 2 *Phurdel i bálvál sugyrész.*
 ‘THE COLD WIND IS BLOWING.’
 pupil 1 *Phurdel i bálvál.*
 ‘THE WIND IS BLOWING.’
 pupil 2 *Sugyrész.*
 ‘COLDLY.’
 learner 1 *Del o brisind táj téle hullin o falevelula.*
 ‘ITS RAINING AND THE LEAVES FALL’.

Hungarian speakers view words in the last sentence as Hungarian words with Romani suffixes: *Hullin o falevelula* ‘the leaves fall’ is ‘hullanak a falevelek’ in Hungarian.

7.3 Teachers’ translanguaging stance: Activating the whole repertoire

Over the past few years, teachers in Tiszavasvári have developed a translanguaging stance to adapt to the needs of the sociolinguistic situation introduced in Chapter 7.1. This chapter, focusing on questions of pedagogy, provides examples

from our video repository which illustrate how to make teaching more efficient and enjoyable by exploiting learners’ bilingualism and their language ideologies. The chapter looks at three areas that can be used to mobilise learners’ full linguistic repertoire: opportunities for translation, text composition, and classroom performances.

The most common activity is translation. There are several classroom examples in the repository, and three such videos are analysed here. In the classroom scene shown in video 5 (*Translanguaging in Maths Class*), pupils are assigned to work in groups. The teacher first gives the instructions in Hungarian and then asks a pupil to summarise the essence of the task in Romani (video 5: 0.42–2.28). The translation appears in this video as a part of the procedure setting the task. Repeating the task in Romani helps to consolidate the information, on the one hand, and, on the other, to interpret the task for both the translator and the learners listening. During the translation, the content already uttered (in Hungarian) is repeated, so, the pupils are given the opportunity to rethink the task. After translating the task into Romani, the pupils summarise the main points of the task in Hungarian. In this way, after they hear the translation, pupils have the opportunity to interpret the instructions in Hungarian, too.

In video 10 (*Enhancing the Prestige of Romani within the group*), the translation takes place in a task summarising the content of a fairy tale. The teacher distributes the text of a Roma tale in Hungarian. Pupils are asked to summarise the passage in two rounds: first in Hungarian, and second, in the language of their choice (video 10: 0.37–1.12; video 10: 1.21–2.28). It is important that this is done twice, in Hungarian and Romani, because in this way the children perform an activity which develops a general language competence (summarising texts) in two different ways. Summary as a general language competence (cf. García and Kley 2016: 24) is an abstract activity in which speakers highlight, systematise, and articulate essential points, in this case on the basis of a particular text. Translingual tasks of this kind are well suited for developing skills related to general language competences in a multilingual environment: giving pupils the opportunity to summarise the text in their local ways of speaking allows them to mobilise resources in the language of instruction.

Video 13 (*The teacher as language learner in the translanguaging classroom*) shows a history lesson in which the teacher provides a list of words referring to the most important historical events related to the founding of ancient Rome, and asks the pupils to make sentences in either Romani or Hungarian (video 13: 0.42–2.42). In cases where learners formulate a Romani statement, the teacher uses two strategies: either asks another learner to translate the sentence into Hungarian, or repeats the essence of the sentence based on the language resources she understands. In this case, she asks pupils to confirm that she understood the

sentence (video 13: 5.02–5.18). In this exercise, the teacher becomes a learner of not only Romani but also the pupils' translingual ways of speaking, and what translanguaging is like in general. The possibility of translating helps learners to report on their pre-existing knowledge in a way which is not tied to a named language. In such instances communication is not constrained by language barriers. Translation helps to shed light on whether the information absorbed is correct and to provide further details when answers need to be improved. The teacher not only indicates when one of the learners is making an inaccurate statement, but also ensures that the correction is done collaboratively and that the clarified formulation is repeated in Hungarian and Romani. In sum, translation, while time-consuming, has its advantages: the teacher can keep track of learners' knowledge because learners dare to say what they know; uncertainty in how best to formulate something in Hungarian does not hinder learners' interventions. Furthermore, learners improve their competence in translation itself.

Text composition, like translation, is a general language competence which cannot be linked to individual languages, so its development is not related to a single language spoken by learners. We mention two classroom moments, video 24 (*Composing written texts in Romani*) and video 25 (*Community-based learning methods and cultural relevance in the translanguaging classroom*). In the videos we can see two parts of a lesson. The recorded history lesson covers the settlement of Hungarians and the Roma in the Carpathian Basin. During this class, pupils working in groups describe some customs that are still characteristic of the Roma (video 24: 0.56–2.25; video 24: 1.22–3.45). Romani and Hungarian appear in various ways in the pupils' writings. On the one hand, translanguaging helps learners to systematise their knowledge and thoughts in writing; this is illustrated by the length of learners' Romani texts: they create relatively long texts during group work. On the other hand, the ability to take notes can be developed more effectively in a translingual way as the focus is not on the difficulties with the named language but on organising the knowledge to be acquired through writing. Developing the ability to compose texts and take notes in a translingual way enhances learners' competence in applying these general language abilities with confidence later in their life. They also develop their understanding of different written text genres and what is appropriate in different situations, such as taking notes during lectures, writing essays, and writing notes before an oral exam.

In the life of a school, special attention is paid to the plays and scenes performed by the learners. In Hungarian schools, these are usually associated with ceremonies or drama classes. There are two examples of the latter in our video repository: one is video 21 (*Imitating Romani "adult speech" at school*), where pupils act out a market scene (video 21: 1.01–2.27), the other is video 33 (*Creative*

engagement in translingual learning), where pupils tell a story in both Hungarian and Romani (video 33: 1.44–4.06).

In video 21, we see two pupils performing a spontaneous scene of bargaining between the customer and the seller at a horse fair. The dialogue in the bargaining scene took place in Romani between two pupils and it was watched by the rest of the class. The improvised performance develops the learners’ ability to create a text independently. The bargaining scene is connected to the fairy tale they have been reading but the pupils still had to come up with a text of their own as they take turns in the role-play. This task improves situational awareness and the features of adult speech in the learners’ home language. In video 33 we see a theatre play about King Matthias. The text is based on a Hungarian folk tale, which learners translated into Romani. Then they learnt both the Hungarian and the Romani version by heart. (Matthias Corvinus, the ruler of the Kingdom of Hungary between 1458 and 1490, appears as a just king in numerous legends and fairy tales; the most prosperous years of the Kingdom are tied to his reign). All pupils in the class participated in the performance, everyone had a role to play. Memorising texts develops the learners’ long-term memory and language skills. The development of these skills was facilitated by the fact that the learners, together with the teacher, translated the text into Romani during class work, and the scene was learned and performed in both Hungarian and Romani.

These scenes, whether spontaneously acted out (video 21) or performed after a long period of preparation (video 33), allow for the emergence of non-standard local language practices in school situations in which the advantages associated with the standardised language of instruction disappear. Both tasks were based on literacy activities linked to literacy (reading and translating stories), but the tasks themselves focused on the oral skills. (In video 21, the class read a story in Romani from a storybook produced jointly by parents, researchers, pupils, and teachers in the course of the translanguaging-project (cf. Chapter 9.4). In video 33, the story that was acted out was translated by the children from a Hungarian folk tale. These oral tasks made everyday situations (though in the case of video 33 embedded in a historical context) part of the meaning making process. In both scenes, the children experienced that the work could be done just as successfully in Romani as in Hungarian. Performance and role-play is successful tool in translanguaging classrooms.

7.4 Pupils' reflections on their repertoire

The repertoire and the ways in which it is operated are largely determined by the linguistic ideologies that surround it. These are covered in the videos 29 (*Children's Language Ideologies*) and 30 (*Children's opinion about translanguaging at school*). In video 29, when asked by the teacher who prefers to speak Romani (video 29: 1.15–1.20), half of the children answered yes. According to the ideologies prevailing outside the community, the teacher's question assumes and separates the two languages as closed units. During the response, the children also followed this ideology, or at least tried to meet the expectation in the question, that is, to choose the language they prefer.

The question of whether it is good to be able to speak Romani at school was answered in the affirmative by the children. Their answers were based on the following arguments: 1) they were born as Roma, 2) they like speaking Romani, 3) they speak Romani at home (video 29: 1.24–2.00). The first answer testifies that for the respondent, Romani and identity processes associated with being Roma presuppose each other. The second answer, which emphasises a positive emotional attitude, does not make it clear why the pupils like speaking Romani. According to the third answer, family members also speak in this way, so, Romani reinforces belonging to this community. In the family, the children's language practices are not subject to linguistic correction either.

To ask the pupils whether they speak Romani at home is to assume they separate the two languages in their mind. The question pre-supposes the answer, whether it is Romani or Hungarian (video 29: 2.04–2.09). Since most pupils follow translanguaging practices at home, it is not easy for them to answer the teacher's question along monolingual ideologies. The following answers were given (excerpts 11 to 14, video 29: 2.11–2.42):

- (11) pupil 1 *Anyukámmal cigányul, apukámmal pedig magyarul*
'We speak Gypsy with my mother, Hungarian with my father'
- (12) pupil 2 *Anyukám mindkét nyelven beszél, apukám is, meg a négy testvérem is.*
'My mother speaks both languages, so does my father and my four siblings, too.'
- (13) pupil 3 *Nekem a családom mind cigányul beszél.*
'My whole family speaks Gypsy.'

- (14) pupil 4 *Mi nem szoktunk cigányul beszélni.*
 ‘We usually don’t speak Gypsy.’

What they say in class does not necessarily reflect their real language practices. Their responses reflect what affects them at the moment of speaking. One such influencing factor is that the questioning takes place in the system of a named language. As a consequence, two languages appear in the pupils’ answers, thus meeting the expectation inherent in the question, regardless of their actual language practices or of their metalinguistic reflections on them (cf. 7.1).

The teacher’s next question is whether Romani is worse than Hungarian, and whether we can talk about good and bad language at all (video 29: 2.49–2.59). According to one student, Romani is worse because Hungarians do not understand it. Although children feel emotionally closer to Romani, some associations it evokes make them interpret it as a low-prestige language.

The answers to the question “Is it good to be bilingual, to speak two languages?” (video 30: 0.46–0.58) in video 30 (*Children’s opinion about translanguaging at school*) show that bilingualism is perceived as neither beneficial nor disadvantageous. Bilingualism is seen simply as a feature of their lives and as everyday reality. In their answers, pupils are unable to take a stand on whether it is good to be bilingual. Rather, they provide a type of response that touches on the frequency of use of languages and their relationship to them. The outcome of the teacher’s translanguaging stance can be witnessed in the videos: the Romani answers to the question (video 30: 1.39–1.48; video 30: 2.14–2.22; video 30: 2.31–2.41) show that pupils are used to talking to the teacher in classes using their home-language resources. Normally, children rely primarily on their Hungarian-language resources at school; views which advocate that speaking Romani may be better could be present because Romani utterances are not related to the experience of being corrected and feeling inadequate. This might explain why pupils find their Hungarian worse than their Romani. Hungarian, spoken in a strongly norm-oriented speaker community, is also the sole language of the school subjects. In the school environment learners are used to definite-oriented spontaneous assessments of their behaviour: they can be seen as good or bad, right or wrong, clever or incompetent – including also in their language practices. In Romani, used largely in informal situations, such expectations and norms are not present. In addition to the experience pupil gain at home and in their bilingual community, their opinions about languages and speech were influenced by the monolingual ideologies represented by the teacher and her questions, coupled with the pupils’ desire to meet the assumed expectations.

7.5 Outlook: Translanguaging pedagogical stance in monolingual and multilingual classrooms

Translanguaging scholarship usually concentrates on multilingual situations. However, Vogel and García highlight that the concept provides a label for all users of language (2017: 2). Li argues that translanguaging is not necessarily a concept that can be applied only in multilingual situations: “Translanguaging is using one’s idiolect, that is one’s linguistic repertoire, without regard for socially and politically defined language names and labels” (Li 2018: 19). As Otheguy, García, and Wallis (2015) argue, a bilingual person’s idiolect consists of lexical and grammatical features from different socially and politically defined languages, just as: “a so-called monolingual’s idiolect would consist of lexical and grammatical features from regionally, social class-wise, and stylistically differentiated varieties of the same named language“ (Li 2018: 19).

The translanguaging practices of bilingual Roma learners draw attention to procedures which are less obvious in situations described as monolingual and in which the language practices of the speakers are related to more than one mode of speaking. Such heteroglossic situations are interpreted along the duality of speaking in the standardised way or in a “sub-standard” way. Research outside the translanguaging paradigm also points to the benefits of supporting the simultaneous development of learners’ competence in the standard and their home variety (Parapatics 2019, who cites here Vangsnes et al. 2017).

The language practices of speakers considered to be bidialectal are judged in a negative way in societies with a strong orientation towards a centrally regulated linguistic norm. In the spirit of a homogenising linguistic ideology, actors in public education assume that all children entering school speak the same way. However, as Li (2018, see above) states, a monolingual child also has his or her own idiolect, and the features of this particular way of speaking form an essential part of the child’s selfhood and personality.

In the case of children who acquire at home competencies and resources that are predominantly Romani-related, teachers perceive a lack of knowledge of a named language, which serves as the language of instruction. In the case of children who acquire a particular regional or social variety of Hungarian at home, however, teachers perceive a lack of knowledge of a particular variety, that is, standard Hungarian. The teachers’ perception does not prompt her to teach the standard, but rather to eliminate resources that are different from the standard. In the case of bilingual children, teachers with a monolingual ideological stance might endeavour to silence linguistic resources which to their mind are linked to a language which is different from the language of education. In the case of monolingual children, a

similar pedagogical and linguistic process occurs, but one in which the “incorrectness” of particular language elements or ways of speaking is flagged up. In both situations, a child who speaks his or her idiolect, is regularly confronted with the ideology that “his or her language” is somehow wrong. This has important consequences on their personal development and self-confidence. A translanguaging stance therefore, can be beneficial in monolingual heteroglossic situations as well.

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8 Transformation and translanguaging: Evolving student-teacher roles

The aim of this chapter is to pin down the elements of the pedagogical process which play a part in the transformative forces associated with translanguaging education. It is particularly difficult to measure what is necessary for an educational setting to be suitable for, and receptive towards, a translanguaging pedagogical attitude, and the specific changes generated by its application. Pedagogical situations are always unique, and human factors specific to the individuals involved make it difficult to objectively assess, beyond the obvious changes in linguistic behaviour, the innovations in pedagogical practice induced by a translanguaging pedagogical attitude. Describing changes is also difficult because a translanguaging stance is not a method, or technique, or a required procedure, but an internal decision and conviction on the part of the teacher, which is interlinked with his or her views on, and beliefs about, learning, learners, and the role of the teacher.

Views and beliefs emerging in teachers' minds while applying a translanguaging stance in the classroom evolve and are refined as a result of their experimentation with a translanguaging approach, but at the same time certain views and convictions are necessary preconditions of the teachers' decision to engage in translanguaging. A teacher is likely to adopt a translanguaging stance if she defines herself as a facilitator, placing learning and the learners at the centre her work. Such educators are guided by the principles of positive psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihályi 2000; O'Brien and Blue 2017), although often instinctively rather than consciously, and believe that students can learn faster if positive emotions are maintained in class. Elements of a positive learning climate, such as intrinsic motivation and a sense of being accepted contribute to students' accomplishments and well-being.

Pedagogical convictions concerning positive emotions overlap with the principles of constructivist learning theory. Such principles include: the importance of taking prior knowledge into account, building bridges, and ensuring that the learning situations are lifelike and the materials taught reflect lived experience, wherever possible (Nahalka 2002; Richardson 2003). In Chapter 15 we further expand on constructivist learning theory, which views the construction of knowledge as an individual process, influenced by our pre-existing cognitive schemas, and, as a result, always a deductive process. The teacher must, therefore, build a bridge between the newly acquired material and the students' existing knowledge (Glaserfeld 1995). Because of the fluid linguistic practices of Roma pupils in

Tiszavasvári, a translanguaging pedagogical attitude is helpful in linking existing cognitive structures to the materials to be learnt. This assumes that teachers are able to overcome the ideology of a single language in the classroom and respond openly to the learners' non-standard ways of speaking in school. Transformation or change, therefore, begins *before* translanguaging as an educational practice is fully embraced.

8.1 Instances of transformation in classroom moments

In our work with pupils and teachers in the Magiszter Primary School, we have found ample evidence of the transformative potential of translanguaging pedagogy and its benefits in the learning process. In this section we shall explore a number of classroom moments which illustrate best practice in teachers' translanguaging attitudes and strategies, thus rendering everyday pedagogical practices visible, and bringing about important changes in the learning environment and in the general mood in the classroom.

Video 4 (*Shifting roles*) shows a class of first-grade students reciting together a children's rhyme beginning "Here are my eyes, and here's my mouth . . .", accompanied by pointing to the body parts mentioned in the text. The recitation is first performed in Hungarian, and then, to the learners' delight, in Romani. At the beginning of the scene, the traditional classroom set-up makes the power relations between students and teacher visible: the class faces the teacher who gives instructions, thus revealing, both formally and in practice, the hierarchical relationship between herself and the students (cf. Zhang 2021: 4–5). Recitation of rhyming texts in chorus is an oft-repeated exercise in primary education in Hungary. Both the recited texts and the activities or choreographies accompanying them need careful planning. It is possibly part of the teachers' preparation, or at least the outcome of a consciously adopted posture on her part, that she indicates before the recitation that students can say the rhyme in Romani, too, after the first, Hungarian recitation. The mentioning of this possibility plays an important part in motivating the children (video 4: 1.20–1.35).

After the class recites the poem in Hungarian in chorus, one of the pupils, picking up on the teacher's promise, asks "Now in Gypsy too . . . ?" The teacher then asks the whole class if they would like to recite the poem in Romani, to which the class responds unanimously with an enthusiastic *igen* ('yes', video 4: 2.04–2.10). The hierarchy characterising a traditional classroom setup, and the relationships within it, which often work against pupils' potential initiatives, is challenged here:

at this point in the lesson, the choice of the task is based on a joint decision between the pupils and their teacher. The children's motivation is enhanced because they start the Romani recitation at their own initiative, not following the teacher's instructions (although supported by the teacher). If students have a say in the way classroom activities are carried out, the tasks become self-rewarding and enjoyable duties, which benefits the effectiveness of learning (Lee, Cawthon, and Dawson 2013: 85–86).

In order for this to happen, an important gesture from the teacher was needed: when she set the scene for the task, she mentioned that there would be an opportunity to recite the rhyme in Romani, in a version that the class had previously learned alongside the Hungarian text. The translation was the work of a teaching assistant working in the school. The children's enthusiastic response and the success of the task shows, however, that despite the additional time and resource implications such innovations involve, they also yield great returns. The democratisation of classroom relationships occurs based on the children's linguistic needs. The enthusiastic recitation of the rhyme in Romani is noticeably louder and shows greater momentum than the Hungarian performance. The transformation of classroom hierarchies is tangible in the reversal of roles: while in the Hungarian version the pupils follow the teacher's pointing, in the Romani version it is the other way around. Thus, the key to the teacher's effectiveness is not her established authority but her ability to relinquish power and control. A key component in the departure from the educator's position as the omniscient mediator of knowledge is that the teacher has less knowledge of Romani than her students and must be ready to assume the role of the learner. After the first, Hungarian-language recitation of the rhyme, she comments (video 4: 2.10–2.14): "I got the pointing wrong a little, you should try to get it right". This reflects a genuine and sincere attitude, a pre-condition of developing a translanguaging stance, which acknowledges that the teacher's knowledge has limitations, and this recognition does not need to be concealed. Admitting mistakes is a way to establish a partnership with the learners, who will see the human side of the educator all the more. A translanguaging pedagogical stance, thus, necessarily establishes a student-centred approach in the classroom, and can play an important role in democratising classroom relations. Creating opportunities for learners to have a say in the course and form of classes and tasks will contribute to the development of autonomous and independent learners.

Video 13 (*The teacher as language learner in the translanguaging classroom*) illustrates the successful exploitation of the new classroom roles, brought about by translanguaging, and the ways in which these affect the learners. In the scene captured on the recording, we see a history lesson, in which fifth-grade students are asked to create sentences using word pairs related to the foundation of

Ancient Rome written on the blackboard. Although on the board there are only Hungarian words, the teacher stresses that she welcomes answers in Romani (video 13: 0.43–0.50). The teacher’s initiative is taken on by the learners, the first one of whom answers in Romani. Although the teacher does not initially understand the Romani-language answer, she repeats it to herself in Romani after a translation is provided by another learner: “the twins were shepherds”. As the sentence does not reflect correctly what was learned in class, the teacher turns to other learners for help to reword the sentence so that its propositional content will match the material taught. Students successfully produce a sentence together, now with the correct content: “the shepherd found the twins”. It is essential that after the correct Hungarian sentence is produced, the teacher does not ignore the pupil who answered first: she asks him to translate the Hungarian answer back into Romani, which he does (video 13: 0.55–1.30). Thus, the comprehension of the subject content is aided by the fact that the material is reflected on both in the students’ home language and the language of instruction.

A significant aspect of the scene in relation to the learners’ classroom tasks is the emergence of a new student role: that of the translator, who interprets between Romani and Hungarian, helping both her/his peers and the teacher. Further responses follow, both in Hungarian and in Romani (video 13 1.35–2.41). The teacher’s trust in the learners allows her to expose herself to answers given in a language she has little knowledge of, and it is also a matter of trust that she accepts the learners’ translations as the textual equivalents of the original answers. The utterances produced by the children who translate their peers’ answers are quite different from the answers produced to the teacher’s usual questions: in their communication the “translators” or “interpreters” are the real owners of knowledge, which they treat with the responsibility that knowledge implies, while the teacher takes on the role of the learner, with the necessary attention and humility that this requires.

One of the most remarkable moments of the scene is when the teacher succeeds in understanding an answer given by a student in Romani, and signals this to the class by giving immediate positive feedback without the need for translation. At the same time, she also comments on the effectiveness of her own learning of the pupils’ home language with a proud and playful smile on her face (video 13: 2.12–2.20). The teacher’s performance sends a clear message to the pupils, indicating that they have a really valuable asset: their knowledge of Romani, which they can also successfully pass on, even to their teachers, and that temporary language barriers are no obstacles for the teacher’s full attention to, and engagement with, the learners.

The feedback process is rendered more complex when the final answer is produced by several learners: in the translanguaging classroom teachers give

feedback to or praise the original source of answers as well as the potential translators. Although this is a time-consuming process, it is not a waste of time: the fact that no contribution, whether that of the student providing the answer or the one interpreting it, is left without feedback rewards all those who actively participate in class, and serves to encourage the students' initiative, which is essential for a positive classroom atmosphere. A translanguaging pedagogical approach has the potential to reshuffle not only the dynamics of the student-teacher hierarchy, but also the power relations between students within a class.

Video 10 (*Enhancing the prestige of Romani within the group*) illustrates that enhancing the prestige of Romani in schools increases the chances of individual learners to attract their teachers' and peers' attention and recognition. In this classroom scene, a fifth-grade class is working through a story they read together earlier, entitled *The Gypsy Woman and the Devil*. The selection of the story itself evokes a world in which the use of Romani seems not only acceptable but also appropriate. After the teacher instructs the children to retell the story in either Hungarian or Romani, the boy sitting in the front row is at first taken aback, then refuses to use Romani and begins to summarise his part of the story in Hungarian. A few rows further back, however, another pupil, who often lacks confidence, sits up straight conspicuously to draw attention to himself: he wants to speak, but at the same time seems to be gathering courage for the task of speaking in the language he normally uses at home. When prompted by the teacher, he continues retelling the story in Romani with a proud and beaming face, enjoying the attention of those around him and the encouragement he receives from the teacher. This pupil's sense of achievement has an impact on the others, and subsequently the pupil sharing a desk with him also takes it upon herself to tell her part of the story in Romani. Speaking in what they would consider their home language makes it easier for the learners to overcome school-related anxieties, in which the teacher's support plays a crucial role (video 10: 1.24–2.24).

The most surprising part of the scene, however, takes place after the teacher concludes the task: the pupil in the first row, who previously insisted on using Hungarian in his account of the story, announces that he would like to give his answer in a way similar to the others', drawing on his home language. He signals his intention to speak, his classmates notice it and bring it to the teacher's attention. The teacher, in turn, gives him the opportunity to answer again, this time in Romani (video 10: 3.50–4.16). The scene illustrates how the teacher's promotion of translanguaging practices can put a less confident student, who is more fluent in Romani, in a position to attract his peers' attention and to inspire a more confident student, in the front row, to follow his example and respond also in Romani. The point here is not about the promotion or preservation of Romani in the classroom but the affordances Romani provides with regards to re-structuring existing

hierarchies and practices in the learning space. Once a way of speaking associated with the students' home language comes to be seen as a vehicle of success, some of those who initially showed confidence in speaking Hungarian, thereby complying with existing norms, opt for retelling the story in Romani. Therefore, by giving pupils the opportunity to build on their home language practices in class, teachers create a safe space for less confident learners to come forward and be actively engaged, which ultimately leads to recognition among their peers.

8.2 Power relations and authority in schools and classrooms

Public education in Central Europe is generally characterised by a hierarchical structure, which is imprinted on the positioning of the teacher and learners as superior and subordinate, respectively, to each other. Although the spread of alternative pedagogies has resulted in a move towards increasingly democratic alignments even in traditional schools, this process is slow and attitudes are difficult to change (Bauman 2000; Rodriguez-Romero 2008).

The teacher-student hierarchy is imprinted on the layout of the school rooms, the inaccessibility of the headteachers's office, and the fact that students are not allowed into the teachers' rooms whose doors are often locked. The classrooms are usually arranged in a way that supports traditional hierarchical teacher-student roles and relationships: the teacher's desk is positioned at the front of the learner's benches and desks, which are arranged in immobile rows, reflecting a seating arrangement which is conducive to frontal learning organisation with the teacher as knowledge broker in charge of the process. This spatial arrangement supports the maintenance of traditional roles, with students and teacher facing each other, working against each other (Hercz and Sántha 2009; Sárkány and Tamáska 2017).

Another medium in which hierarchical relationships are manifest is language itself: written and unwritten school rules regulating appropriate use of language prescribe different norms for teachers and students.

The distinction between formal and informal address in Hungarian is present both in the grammatical shape of the utterance (third person verbal and pronominal forms are used instead of second person for formal address) and in the nominal (quasi-vocative) forms used in addressing interlocutors whose position is perceived (based on age, gender, position, and a number of other, finely-grained social factors) as "higher" in a particular interaction (two sets of pronominal forms are available for formal second person address). Importantly for our context, educators in

an institutional setting are addressed by students using the formal verbal and pronominal forms, and the polite forms of address *Tanár úr* and *Tanárnő* are used for male and female teachers, respectively. (The noun *tanár* means ‘teacher’; *úr* corresponds to ‘sir’ but it also means ‘lord, master’, while *nő* literarily means ‘lady, woman’.) Teachers usually address students using the informal second person forms of both verbs and pronouns. The formal v. informal distinction in forms of address in schools is a telling example of the linguistic manifestation of power imbalance within the institution. If pupils were to use the informal form of address with teachers, it would be considered rude, a severe breach of the norm.

The same is true of non-segmental features of linguistic semiosis: no one would raise an eyebrow to hear a teacher speak louder while disciplining, but if pupils shout at each other within their groups during breaks, the teacher can reprimand them in a way that might even involve shouting at them. Conversely, it would be almost unthinkable, or at least a serious breach of acceptable behaviour, and punishable, if a student raised his voice at a teacher. Language, therefore, constantly defines positions of power, and the actors of higher authority in the school (teachers, headteacher) have the power to set and enforce rules of normative linguistic conduct. Linguistic practices, however, play an important role in the processes of democratising education, of which the implementation of translanguaging classroom pedagogy is a prominent example (Cummins 2000).

The prestige traditionally associated with the role of being a teacher has been declining for some decades, as has the profession’s social standing. This means that teachers must rely on their inner values and strength as the forces to draw on in building authority. This is not easy. Such authority takes time to develop. Authority stemming from external sources, such as social respect, is established as soon as a teacher receives her degree, along with the tools and licences associated with their ascension to the imaginary teacher’s podium, whereas authority stemming from internal strength may take years to develop. It is a process that both teachers and learners have to live through (Czike 2004: 30; Robertson 2005). This kind of authority, however, is sustained even when the teacher makes mistakes, or when she does not understand the student’s speech in all its detail, or when the control over the learning process is relinquished for a period and taken over by the learners, and even when the students communicate in a group task in their home language(s), as in the course of a translanguaging lesson.

Distance, often hierarchical distance, plays an important part in maintaining authority. An oft-repeated claim is that the educator is in charge of transmitting a plethora of important information to students, and to do this, she needs to maintain distance in order to build authority (Czike 2004: 42). Teachers at the beginning of their career and experienced teachers who are unsure of the power of their personality seek refuge in this distance. Teachers who show signs of burnout also

distance themselves from students. Distance from learners, however, is counterproductive for the effectiveness of the pedagogical process because it is precisely in the relationship with students (which presupposes closeness as well) that the teacher's impact begins to be felt. In contemporary schools, one of the most frequently used methods to maintain distance is frontal learning organisation or lecturing: a procedure that provides a wall distancing the students from the teacher. The inner type of authority on the teachers' part is built out of trust and affection; it is precisely the closeness in the teacher-student relationship that allows, on the one hand, students to maintain openness and motivation, and, on the other, teachers to build the inner strength which is necessary for the pedagogical effect mechanism to swing into action (Czike 2004: 42–43).

The democratisation of education can go beyond teaching and learning activities associated with the classroom. In video 6 (*Translanguaging in oral assessment*), an oral exam takes place in the headteacher's office. The supportive atmosphere of the test situation shows that translanguaging has the potential to move relationships and events towards a less hierarchical arrangement at institutional level, too. The pupils and the headteacher, who teaches history to the pupils, sit around a table, talking, the pupils helping each other when needed. This arrangement helps minimise the anxiety stemming from the exam situation, thus allowing learners to bring their knowledge to the fore and demonstrate the outcome of their learning during the entire term.

8.3 The transformation of classroom climate through translanguaging pedagogy

The adoption of a translanguaging stance has, undoubtedly, an indirect impact on the affective dimensions of learning, which influences the classroom climate as a whole. This experience is reflected in classroom scenes in our database and in the years of translanguaging teaching practice that the teachers taking part in our project introduced.

A nurturing (or at least accepting) pedagogical attitude improves the way anxiety-driven pupils feel about school. As a result, these pupils feel freer to participate in classroom activities, without fear of making mistakes. In this way, educators create a learning space which contributes to increasing students' motivation, and helps them develop an overall positive attitude towards learning. Importantly, students' active engagement in classroom activities releases energy which might be perceived as lack of discipline: students jump up, raise their hands, gesture intensely, and forget about turn-taking or attention to others in a desire to express

what they have to say. This represents a new challenge – and a new benefit for the educator. Previous research has shown that affective processes are closely linked to cognitive ones (e.g. Dai and Sternberg eds. 2004; Schutz and Pekrun eds. 2007). The study of the affective sphere includes emotions, attitudes, interests, motivation, and has overlaps with social behaviour. Research on motivation, which is placed front and centre in the study of the affective sphere, has shown that changes in students' motivation depend largely on the school and class environment, hence, on the educators' personality and approach to learning (Józsa and Fejes 2012; Jackson 2018).

The adoption of a translanguaging approach in the Magiszter school contributed to creating a motivating learning space. The possibility to use the pupils' home language required innovative teaching methods, which contributed to increasing the frequency of student-student and student-teacher interactions. Translanguaging initially also contributed to increasing learners' motivation through its potential to surprise pupils by offering them a new path to learning. Among the affective elements underpinning the experience of learning and classroom atmosphere, the following discussion will focus on the effects of positive emotions in supporting learning, the causes and consequences of anxiety and fear at school, and the attitude of trust that accompanies the pedagogical practice of translanguaging.

Research on positive emotions originated from the interest in positive psychology (Seligman and Csikszentmihályi 2000), whose results have been applied in the context of pedagogical research as well. Research on positive emotions reveals important background factors underpinning teaching and learning. Increasing educators' awareness of these emotive factors helps expanding the possibilities in the classroom and the methodological toolkit of applied pedagogy. In particular, research by Fredrickson and her colleagues (i.e. Fredrickson et al. 2000; Fredrickson 2001; Fredrickson and Joiner 2002; Fredrickson and Branigan 2005) demonstrates that positive emotions serve adaptive capacities: they broaden the focus of attention, the processes of thinking, and action repertoires, as well as enhancing physical (e.g. immunity, quality of sleep), intellectual (e.g. creativity, mindfulness), social (e.g. peer support) and psychological (e.g. optimism) resources (Reinhardt 2009: 41). From this it follows that joy, curiosity, satisfaction, and love, whether triggered by the teacher's actions or emerging spontaneously in the classroom, have a positive impact on a great many areas of the goals of teaching and learning. Good mood, smiles, and a relaxed atmosphere which can be seen and felt in the classroom scenes in our video repository, although difficult to measure, foster these positive feelings, thus creating the emotional background for learners to perform to the best of their ability.

Another major area of research on the affective factors which have an impact on learning concerns itself with precisely the other side of the coin: anxiety and

fears related to school (Suinn 1969; Rapos 2003; N. Kollár and Szabó 2004). Anxiety is a non-specific, irrational feeling of threat that persists over a period of time. Constantly present or frequently recurring, anxiety which is insurmountable for the individual inhibits daily activities and creates a sense of discomfort. Anxiety can be triggered by the experience of excessive demands in school work, but also by internal or external (parental) expectations. Anxiety may also occur if a student is bullied or brought to shame, or if s/he has repeatedly experienced a sense of failure, which may also have a negative impact on their attitude to performance-related situations in the future. An optimal level of anxiety is a normal response to a stressful situation, but excessive worrying can have a limiting effect on performance (Suinn 1969; N. Kollár and Szabó 2004). Deliberately restricting a learner's language repertoire, proscribing home-language practices, and thus institutionally denouncing the pupils' identity may lead to a level of anxiety among Roma children that affects their performance adversely.

Fears related to school are more specific and tangible than anxiety, and, as a result, behaviours seeking coping mechanisms and focusing on solutions are more frequent responses to it. The most common source of school-related fears is the responsibility placed on children (for learning and achieving good results) and the specific object of fear may be a teacher, peers, grades, etc. (Suinn 1969; Rapos 2003). The problems of Roma pupils at school normally go beyond fears; early on in their school years they are likely to be confronted with failures that cannot be solved from their internal resources, and may thus be perpetuated in the form of performance anxiety. For them, starting school may be fraught with failure, as teachers often find that Roma pupils do not normally reach a stage of readiness for school before they start (cf. Chapter 11.2). They may experience as a setback the uniformity of academic requirements, which do not allow for differentiation and the accommodation of special needs.

Among the emotions and affective factors associated with classroom climate, an attitude of trust and its expression in various directions (towards the teacher and the learners; the pupils towards each other) appear to be important, according to our findings, in relation to translanguaging. Trust means being able to let go, to let others take control of a person or situation that has a significant impact on the self. That is, trust is not only felt ("I trust you") but also practised ("I let you take care of me"). Those who trust believe that their partner will seek to cooperate to the best of their abilities and potential (Kochanek 2005; Földes 2021a, 2021b).

It is evident in the classroom scenes, and also supported by our observations, that teachers who practice translanguaging are engaged in a pedagogy of trust. They let go of a substantial part of their ability to control the classroom's linguistic practices, and at the same time they believe in students' motivation, their ability to

remain focused on tasks, and the strength of their own teaching personalities. In this way, they enable their students to reach their maximum potential in terms of school achievement, while also setting them an example for independence, autonomy and responsibility, by trusting them. This sometimes goes beyond the personal responsibility that comes with individual decisions. Video 13 (*The teacher as language learner in the translanguaging classroom*), discussed earlier, illustrates the ways the teacher is able to rely on learners in helping her to bridge the language-socialisation differences in the classroom, thus reducing the challenges facing those pupils who are disadvantaged in terms of the language requirements of the school. The dynamics of classroom relationships we observed on the recordings (and in face-to-face engagement with the pupils and teachers when this was possible) confirm that the trust an educator places in the learners is reciprocated in the sense of responsibility pupils develop towards their own learning, their peers, and the community as a whole.

8.4 Transformation of teachers' roles as a result of translanguaging pedagogical practice

When a teacher encourages learners to speak according to their own linguistic preferences, what she really initiates is a reshuffling of existing structures of power: by allowing a greater freedom of choice for learners, the school's norms governing linguistic behaviour start adapting to the learners' needs. This requires new teacher roles, too, which, if built with careful consideration, have a beneficial effect on the processes of teaching and learning.

New patterns of behaviour and attitudes among teachers are captured in the video recordings discussed above. To summarise these: the teacher allows room for the learners' initiatives; in her entire work, she places the learners' personality and the effectiveness of learning front and centre. Teacher-student relationships are characterised by mutual respect and partnership, which implies joint decision making, and that the teacher can also adopt the position of a learner, which relieves her from the burden of the omniscient role. We shall now look at the ways in which such patterns of behaviour and role interpretations align with the much-debated role of the educator in the 21st century, focusing particularly on five perspectives emerging from the secondary literature.

8.4.1 Openness to change

A translanguaging pedagogical stance requires, on the part of the educator, flexibility and openness to change. The social prestige of educators who teach Roma children is generally low and their work is undervalued. Teaching classes is just one of their duties; they are also faced with social and societal problems which are often unsolvable, yet they have to address them. As a result, they often feel they must work beyond their capacity, yet they are not achieving quantifiable results which are easy to showcase.

Teachers working in Magiszter have tried and tested various approaches: questioning ideologies while piloting projects, policies, curricula, and teaching methods have been long part of their professional engagement. Teachers who teach Roma pupils practise their profession in more challenging conditions, which places greater mental and emotional demands on them than those faced by their peers.

Educators, who are committed to learning and development as a way of combating burnout, manage to remain open despite the time and energy this consumes. The motivation to improve professionally comes from the educator's recognition and admission of need for improvement:

If she is lucky, the teacher is in a supportive environment in which mistakes can be made and problems can be discussed; thus, in such favourable circumstances, failure and an understanding of its causes may be a motivating factor, a stimulus to learning. [. . .] Certainly, there are teachers who have made great progress in this compared to the teachers who taught them, but the idea of teaching as a kind of experimentation, in which less successful attempts also have a place from time to time, is, to say the least, not widely accepted (Tier 2018: 39; translated by Eszter Tarsoly).

Supportive pedagogical attitudes are present only in a few schools. Normally teachers carry the burden of “having to know it all”, and their endeavour to avoid making mistakes in their work is just as strong as the learners' in their essays and in school in general. A further source of transformation is a supportive pedagogical environment. This might include the school leadership and a supportive group of teachers who can help each individual teacher, or, ideally, the entire teaching staff, to open up to new ways of working, to critically examine their own work, and to look for new opportunities. Certain parts of the project implemented in Tiszavasvári contributed to bringing about a supportive pedagogical environment. The observation of classes and the feedback sessions with the teachers served the purpose of developing a translanguaging attitude, on the one hand, and, on the other, to improve teachers' well-being by activating their inner resources through positive feedback and discussions in a supportive atmosphere.

8.4.2 Autonomy

Autonomy is one of the goals of education, and it is also one of the criteria characterising adulthood (Kenny 1993; Bábosik 2020). Amidst the many innovative approaches, values, methods, and the abundance of information present today in education theory, teacher's autonomy as a source of inner strength is particularly important. Autonomy is the ability to act and make decisions independently, to control external influences, and to rely on one's inner compass which guides us in decision making (Gyarmathy 2019; Yan 2012). Educators have a freedom of choice and of decision-making, and it is imperative that they trust in this freedom. An educator's autonomy is grounded in her ability to weigh up the needs of a particular group of learners and of individual learners within it. The outcome of her assessment of needs determines her planning of teaching and learning activities and learning organisation. Teachers in Tiszavasvári in the Magiszter school are in a unique position to get to know the pupils in their class, and no one is more competent than them in weighing up the learners' needs and deciding what can be done to satisfy those needs. If a teacher in this context decides, guided by her professional expertise, that the children's heterogenous linguistic practices must be accommodated in her educational work, that means that she is able to live with the consequences of this decision, with which her sole aim is to increase the efficiency of her students' learning and achievements in school.

Teachers' autonomy and freedom, however, goes beyond the expectations concerning children's linguistic practices. Although all teachers in the Magiszter School are native speakers of Hungarian, some show an interest in understanding Romani without having to rely on translation, and some even experiment with using it (cf. Chapter 10). We underlined in our analysis of video 13 (*The teacher as language learner in the translanguaging classroom*), that the teacher understood a Romani-language utterance without translation, which had two important consequences for building student-teacher relationships. On the one hand, she gained time by providing immediate feedback, and, on the other, she reflected, smiling, on her own passive knowledge of Romani, which shows improvement. In video 4 (*Shifting roles*), the teacher is able to give the children the opportunity to recite the children's rhyme in Romani because she herself decided earlier that she would teach both versions to the children, thereby accepting an additional challenge for both the planning and the delivery of the lesson. The teacher in video 18 (*Community based learning: A gesture of linguistic intimacy*) goes a step even further when she undertakes to read out loud in Romani, in front of the entire class, a text from the story book which was written by the pupils' parents.

Educational language policy in mainstream schools in Hungary expects teachers to communicate exclusively in Hungarian in order to provide good examples

of “educated” use of language. The educators’ autonomy, however, makes it possible for them to divert from this practice. The teacher points out that an additional challenge behind such decisions is that it can be taken for granted that the pupils will find it somewhat shocking, and may laugh, if they hear the teacher speak in Romani. Nevertheless, the teacher in this scene in video 18 insists on reading the text out loud in Romani despite the possible awkward reactions (video 18: 3.00–3.35). This allowed her, according to her own assessment, to create a relaxed atmosphere in the classroom and trigger the pupils’ interest. Therefore, it is important to underline that weighing up the linguistic needs of a particular group of learners is part and parcel of the educator’s duties in general, inasmuch as responding to the learners’ linguistic needs is inseparable from decisions concerning curricular planning, ways of running classes, and other components of teaching. These considerations are of crucial importance in schools such as *Magiszter*, which show a high degree of linguistic diversity.

Complex pedagogical decisions, such as those concerning linguistic practices in the classroom, can benefit from peer dialogue and professional support. But of equal importance with these is for educators to be trusted and reinforced in their professional competence (Paradis et al. 2019; Szivák et al. 2020).

8.4.3 Reflectivity

In modern pedagogy, the image of the educator who reflects, analyses, and thinks autonomously is a recent development, going back to only a few decades. In earlier accounts, teachers were seen merely as channels for implementing curricula and theoretical concepts elaborated by others, or as trainers who operate with partly automated techniques and methods (Falus ed. 2003; Beijaard, Meijer, and Verloop 2004). Insights from cognitive and behavioural sciences (e.g. Calderhead 1996; Golnhofer and Nahalka eds. 2001; Korthagen 2004), however, confirmed that educators’ convictions play a central part in their actions and attitudes; it is, thus, essential for teachers to develop an awareness of their ideologies and how they influence their behaviour as teachers. A suitable starting point for teachers’ professional growth and development is discovering the roots of their convictions and raising their awareness of the ideologies underpinning their actions, alongside analysing systematically their practices in order to identify where the challenges lie. Reflectivity in pedagogical work, therefore, involves the joint analysis of professional practice and the convictions and ideologies underpinning it.

It is thanks to reflective work that educators can embark on translanguaging, realising, for instance, that students’ language practices inclusive of linguistic resources linked to Romani can be integrated in their learning. It is also continuous

reflection that allows teachers to develop and enlarge their pedagogical toolkit for translanguaging education, depending on which practices they consider authentic, effective, and best suited for their personality.

Teachers in Tiszavasvári reported during our workshops that both their professional experience of self and their personality evolved thanks to the project and the introduction of translanguaging. This reflection is in line with what both Warren (2011) and Szivák (2014) put forth, namely that the educator who engages in reflection – thinks analytically, seeks causal relations, evaluates her own professional practice with the aim of constantly improving it – has the capacity to broaden her role and scope as a professional, she gains confidence, and, if the reflection includes even the affective dimension of pedagogical work, she will gradually become more able to look after her mental health and stability.

8.4.4 Inclusive and respectful attitude

The heterogeneity of learner groups is steadily increasing in today's world. Differences between learners can be neither concealed by frontal learning organisation nor ironed out by additional re-cap classes for the less able learners. A “good teacher” is sensitive to her students' needs and personalities; she is able to pay untainted attention to them and to think together with them. She accepts each student's individuality and creates an emotionally safe space for the learners: a space they might recognise as “home from home”.

A respectful and accepting attitude on behalf of teachers must embrace the entirety of the pupil's personality, including their origin, family background, linguistic resources, religion, social situation, and so on. A sense of being respected and trusted enables students to believe in their own abilities. The experience of being accepted means pupils can put aside their fears. Respect for learners, or indeed one's peers, means that even when a teacher disapproves of a particular behaviour, she is able to accept that the other person was unable to act differently in a particular situation, that for *them* this was the only possible course of action. Trust, on the other hand, means that we believe in the other person's ability to change their behaviour when they next find themselves in a similar situation, that they will resort to a more successful strategy. Acceptance and trust, thus, might lead to a change in prevailing behavioural patterns (N. Kollár and Szabó 2004).

An essential precondition of acceptance is empathy, which allows us to understand the motivations of others, and, at least mentally and emotionally, live through their experience. The greatest obstacles to acceptance and respect are pre-conceived ideas and prejudice, which raise barriers to whatever the individual perceives as

“otherness” (Czike 2004: 45). To reflect on our own prejudices, and the walls we raise, is an ongoing task for all of us engaged in educating others.

8.4.5 Authenticity

We believe that authenticity and genuineness on the part of the educator are corner stones of translanguaging pedagogical approaches. Person-centred pedagogy or learner-centred teaching, based on Rogers’s work ([1961] 2004), emphasises the genuineness of personal relationships. According to Rogers all individuals strive for personal growth: the complete realisation of one’s potential and the full development of one’s abilities and personality, which is shaped by the individual’s experience of the world and relationships with others within it. Learners are able to process and absorb only the type of new information which can be aligned to their pre-existing experience and concept of self, that is, ideas which the self perceives as genuine and authentic. Teachers’ personalities are a part of this: learners are able to follow a teachers’ lead only if their relationship is based on mutual openness, acceptance, and genuineness, as a result of which the learner perceives the teacher’s behaviour as genuine and worthy of their trust. Genuineness is thus an indispensable precondition of trust; it contributes to the predictability of teachers’ behaviour, leaving little room, if at all, for arbitrary and incalculable reactions. The adoption of a translanguaging stance in their teaching allows educators to improve their genuineness and authenticity through their willingness to assume the role of the learner, in their acceptance of students’ proposals, and by sharing the control over class proceedings with the learners, thus relinquishing full control. These are also resources teachers can rely on as they grow from strength to strength as facilitators of learning.

In the discussion above, we attempted to sketch an educator’s image which fits with current social expectations and is adapted to contemporary learners’ needs. We must note, however, that all such roles arise from the educators’ subjectivities. Professional roles have an objectified side which arises from the social expectations towards practitioners of particular professions. The way an individual responds to the quasi-objective social assumptions that determine her role as a professional cannot be understood without careful attention to the individual’s subjectivity and the impact of their personality (Tóth 2015) in the context of these objectified criteria. In this sense, there are as many educator roles as there are educators. In Chapter 15 we suggest that the implementation of a translanguaging stance is a similar, highly individual and subjectivised pursuit, in which each educator interprets translanguaging theory anew and subsequently adapts it based on her or his own personality, their specific pedagogical activities, the methodological

approaches they are familiar with, and their complex system of convictions concerning teaching and learning.

8.5 The impact of translanguaging on learners' roles and their position within the group

Beyond the areas outlined above, a translanguaging pedagogical stance in the classroom also affects the way students build their community as a group, and the group's visible and hidden networks. The fine detail of these processes can be captured only through regular observations over a long period of time; a single moment in the classroom tells us little about such finely grained processes of the students' behaviour, including their linguistic practices and the way they change over time.

The experience of teachers who have incorporated translanguaging into their pedagogical practice show that the effects are also significant from the perspective of group dynamics, inasmuch as marginalised children can come to the fore. This is also visible during classes, in which students' roles are reshuffled thanks to the fact that students who appear active and hard-working are likely to be different when teaching occurs in a translanguaging mode, compared to previous, monolingual approaches. The role of the translator also emerged in the classroom through student facilitators who help the teacher or their peers to understand translanguaging utterances. The learner-as-translator role requires not primarily subject knowledge but language competence. (On the role of the translator and how it impacts on feedback, Chapter 8.2). In the following, the teacher co-authoring this chapter reports on the changes she experienced in her group of learners three years after she introduced translanguaging, when the same group of learners were in the first grade. (N.B., as discussed in the *Introduction*, all contributors' writing is presented as being of equal weight and importance in the representation of the knowledge we gained in our project.)

The children in my class have a linguistic background which makes their ways of speaking different from Hungarian-monolingual pupils when they start school. Some communicate almost exclusively in Romani, some speak both languages but have a dominant Romani vocabulary, and there are students who understand Romani but prefer to speak mainly in Hungarian. By using translanguaging in the classroom, I observed how the learners' confidence in speaking increased, along with changes in their individual activity and their role within the group. Needless to say, this is a long process, each stage requiring different

methodological approaches, and I had to pay particular attention to maintaining a balanced use of the languages.

The initial period was about changing the patterns of linguistic practices. I started to encourage my young first graders to speak in Romani. I was surprised to find that this was not as easy as I had thought, as the children had been advised to speak only Hungarian in class by their parents, who were forbidden to speak Romani when they had been at school.

It was at this stage that I praised those who elaborated their thoughts in Romani, and the role of the interpreter was also born in class. With the acknowledgement of linguistic heterogeneity in class, my students' classroom activity slowly changed, and with it changed their status in the classroom community. Those who had previously been unsuccessful in class activities due to language barriers became more active and enjoyed being integrated into their group thanks to the responses they could now provide in their native language. While some students used to be laughed at by the others, their success was now celebrated by all the children. Almost all my pupils opened up, and the use of Romani became more and more common. As a result of all the encouragement and praise, they often chose to speak Romani even when they could have expressed their thoughts in Hungarian. The students were overjoyed at being able to use the language freely, which helped them to see their language skills as a special asset, thus contributing to the development of their self-esteem. There was also a change in the status of those students who did not always know the correct answers, but who spoke both languages well and were happy to translate for me what others had said. This meant that they often received praise, which boosted their self-esteem, and their keenness to find opportunities to translate kept their attention engaged throughout the lesson. Another benefit of this exercise was that knowledge was consolidated and better retained thanks to the translingual repetition of good answers.

Myself, I gradually began to get a fuller picture of my students' language skills and to see how much more fluent and successful they were in communicating in their own language. In the videos, there are also scenes of a group getting stuck on a text-based task because they do not understand what they are supposed to do with the instructions given in Hungarian (video 5, *Translanguaging in Maths class*). When they ask their peers for help, they prefer it in Romani. This scene played out several times in the classroom at the individual level. However, I should note here that after a while – what I would call the second phase – I had to change my pedagogical practice a little. I noticed that students who preferred to use Hungarian felt that they were less successful. So, I had to strike a balance between the languages, which I achieved mainly by balancing my motivational praise. Verbal assessment became a tricky issue, which had to be dealt with on an

emotional level. It is difficult to describe, but I had to restrain my joy a little when hearing my students speak in Romani, and I had to reward their good solutions in Hungarian with equally warm and enthusiastic reactions in order to restore the balance. In this way, a good answer, in whichever language it was given, became equally valuable and appreciated.

It was noticeable that a translanguaging pedagogical approach resulted in a change of status for some under-achieving pupils. A good example of this is the case of a pupil, who entered our class as a grade repeater and was often ridiculed by her classmates for her poor classroom performance and answers. This happened until she was given the opportunity to answer in Romani. She became much more motivated and I often praised her for her skilful translations. Her classroom activity increased, and she expressed her thoughts more boldly. She began to give correct answers to more and more questions. Of course, her classmates noticed this, and their perception of her abilities changed.

The pedagogical effect of translanguaging can counteract a harmful or negative impact of the school environment, namely spontaneous exclusion (Tatar 2005; Boyce et al. 2012). Bábosik (2004) categorises these negative effects by examining the damaging effects of schooling and drawing attention to a common problem in the organisation and the distribution of tasks and activities, which he calls spontaneous exclusion. This implies that some groups of learners are rarely involved actively in the learning process (for the purposes of this study, due to linguistic differences), while other groups can participate fully and therefore exclusively.

Excluded pupils feel left out, their need to achieve and sense of self-worth is frustrated, and they develop a sense of alienation from the school and its values. This means that spontaneous exclusion becomes a risk factor for the development of antisocial behaviour. The teacher must do something to prevent the emergence of cliques and the subsequent behaviours that spring from this, especially when they run counter to the values of the school and the specific class. The teacher's intervention cannot be direct, however, as it would only make matters worse (for more detail, cf. Bábosik 2004). If the educational effects and the developmental impact of activities do not reach a group of students because of a language barrier, translanguaging can be an indirect but effective way for students and teachers to embrace the heterogeneity of the community and for the relationships among the students to serve the educational goals of the school.

8.6 Summary: Learners' autonomy and the teachers' power to induce change

When the project to introduce translanguaging as an experiment in the Magiszter School was launched, we did not know, nor did the teachers themselves, how much an innovation that was meant to affect only speech in the classroom would trigger large-scale changes. The effects in the classroom are clearly noticeable and can be documented through teachers' accounts and video observations of classroom moments. What happens in the classroom is always unique and unrepeatable, and the functioning of the pedagogical impact mechanism cannot be captured in its entirety by objective measurements. In the translanguaging classroom, the interweaving of many subjective factors creates moments in which the students or the teacher can take advantage of linguistic heterogeneity and use it to aid learning. This requires a specific environment with a non-traditional style of teaching and autonomous teachers who are sensitive and open to the psychological underpinnings of education. We surveyed a variety of these factors in this chapter. It is likely that the changes triggered by teachers' innovative stance will interact with each other in an even more complex network, with one process of the transformation setting into motion another, just as a teacher impacts learners and in turn becomes impacted by them.

The changes induced by translanguaging, thus, have a far greater reach than classroom communication. They are reflected in processes of learning, in the roles adopted by teachers, in the organisation of communities of learners, and are also related to issues of educational psychology and pedagogy in general. Overall, the translanguaging school seems to be moving in a more humane, democratic, learner-centred direction, where both students and teachers can be more effective and feel more comfortable.

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9 Mediation through translanguaging: The linguistic negotiation of identities and policies

Over the last decade, translanguaging has been implemented and explored in a variety of learning contexts with cultural and linguistic diversity, including schools catering for indigenous, minority and immigrant populations as well as heritage community language schools. Studies have shown that it is an effective pedagogical practice in contexts “where the school language or the language-of-instruction is different from the languages of the learners” (Li 2018: 15). In its commitment to social justice and equality in education, on a theoretical plain, it deconstructs the socially and ideologically constructed divides between indigenous v. immigrant, majority v. minority, target v. mother-tongue languages (Li 2018: 15). Ultimately, it challenges the dichotomy between content and form maintained by institutions in the separation of school subjects or academic “knowledge” from linguistic practices through which knowledge is generated (García et al. 2021; Tarsoly and Čalić 2022). When adopted in educational contexts, translanguaging “empowers both the learner and the teacher, transforms the power relations, and focuses the process of teaching and learning on making meaning, enhancing experience, and developing identity (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2015)” (Li 2018: 15). Chapter 8 explored the transformative impact of translanguaging on the various stakeholders involved in teaching and learning; Chapters 10 and Chapter 13 extend the scope of transformation beyond the classroom. This chapter focuses on the ways in which socially and institutionally constructed boundaries are interrogated due to a translanguaging stance in education.

In the classroom scene in video 1 (*Translanguaging as cultural mediation*) we witness an instance of cultural mediation in which the pupils engage in the language of their home, a local variety of Romani, in a cultural practice, poem recital, which typically occurs in Hungarian. Reciting poems in public is a ritual performance in Hungarian society. On national celebrations poems suitable for the occasion are recited in public, often by actors or other trained professionals, and audience members may join in. Learning a canonical set of poetic texts by heart is integrated into school curricula. Children also learn poems for various celebrations, and recite them in front of parents and other members of the school’s community. There are school-based and national competitions of text recital, including poetic and prose texts. Good results at national competitions may gain scores in applications for further

study in secondary education. The learners in the video, Roma children from the Majoros neighbourhood of Tiszavasvári, might have heard of, or experienced, similar performance rituals in their homes, such as singing and dancing together, although our research suggests that customs related to orality and text performance (such as storytelling and ritual greeting) are no longer practiced in Roma children's home communities. (Adults reports on the existence of such customs in the past.) Even if there are similar rituals in the children's families, they are performed differently from what we can see in the video. Singing and dancing are valued in the community: listening to music or performing traditional Gypsy dances are central to merrymaking and to displaying individual aptitudes. Parents are proud to share video recordings of their children dancing, and *dancing* always refers to practising and performing the steps of traditional Gypsy dances (Martin 1980). In contrast to Hungarian poem recitals, however, these performances are spontaneous: *practised* but not *rehearsed*, and part of community-based knowledge and culture, rather than institutionalised. Therefore, when children prepare for poem recital competitions, in Hungarian, as part of school activities, they are brought into the world of the Hungarian-speaking majority, particularly the highly literate, educated middle-classes.

The relationship of language policy and practice in multilingual educational environments has often been described in terms of *tension* and *conflict* (cf. Li and Martin 2009), and bilinguals' fluid linguistic practices as *smuggling* (of vernaculars) or *sabotage* (of learning) when brought into the context of mainstream education (cf. Probyn 2009). These are apt formulations of the unreconcilable differences between monolingual language policy as text, what Spolsky (2004) called language management, and multilingual community's ways of speaking, which involve language (choice) acts that run in the face of monolingual policy. Following Spolsky (2004), Bonacina-Pugh (2012; cf. also Bonacina-Pugh 2020) establishes a three-way distinction between types of language policy. First, declared language policy in the form of oral or written texts; second, perceived language policy, rooted in discourse and ideology which underpin people's beliefs concerning prescribed linguistic behaviour; third, practiced language policy, which is a set of implicit rules deduced by speakers from interaction patterns. The first one of these in our context means a monolingual declared language policy at national level, which is supported by the particularly strong association in non-scientific discourses between the compound *anyanyelv* (*anya-nyelv* 'mother-tongue') and Hungarian. There is evidence in our field notes from summer 2021 that one of our interlocutors, a young woman and mother in her twenties, felt uncertain when asked what her mother tongue (*anyanyelv*) was, and repeated several times in answer to our questions checking her answer that it was Hungarian. After discussing the question with her peers in Romani, she asked for her answer to be corrected to Romani. The discourse suggesting a near-exclusive

association of Hungarian and “mother tongue” underpins the perceived language policy, generalised to the whole of Hungary and characterising also the Roma community in Tiszavasvári, that the language of education and schooling can, and should, be only Hungarian. The third component, language policy as practice, however, showed a different trend prior to the start of the translanguaging project: speaking Hungarian was often replaced by silence in classes and by speaking local Romani, the children’s home language, during breaks. Silence was encouraged by the parents in order for their children’s good behaviour to be rewarded at school.

For the translanguaging project to succeed, both perceived and practised language policy had to change among school staff and in the community. The starting point for this was the alteration of declared language policy at local level. Explicit statements were made by Magiszter’s leadership and the teachers in classes that the use of Romani was acceptable and commendable as long as pupils felt it allowed them to express themselves better. There are many examples of the oral “declaration” of this new policy in our video repository. A translanguaging catechism, compiled by Heltai, served the same purpose (cf. Chapter 5.1).

The old conflict between policy and practice was replaced by new tensions: a re-writing of attitudes toward, and beliefs about, language (choice) required processes of adaptation on the part of all stakeholders. It is these processes of individual and community-based adaptations in terms of ideologies, policies, and practices that we consider under the umbrella term *mediation* in this chapter. Mediations are, thus, both internal, individual mental processes, and external, community-based, practised ones. Their aim is to level out the tensions arising from changes in intercultural, and possibly intergenerational, experience regarding school and its language practices. Our understanding of intercultural, following Auger et al. (2018), includes different literacy practices and access to schooling, of which different ways of speaking, and the cultural practices associated with them, are only a part. Translanguaging contributes to creating a “third space” (Bhabha 1994: 55): a discursive condition which challenges the meaning of culture as “primordial unity or fixity” by revealing that existing signs can be appropriated, translated, and reinterpreted, thus made anew. Such processes of remaking allow speakers to overcome boundaries between socially constructed named languages and spaces associated with different practices such as home and school. Hierarchies are reshuffled between knowledge practices and individuals associated with various positionalities within them, such as the superior position of an omniscient teacher versus the subordination of the learner. There is tension arising from the gap between these symbolic and real spaces and power positions; gaps which are manifest in beliefs sustaining existing practices. Overcoming these gaps triggers new conflicts between ideologies and practices, but these mediated tensions generate potential by equalising former

hierarchies and by forging synergies across policy, ideology, and practice (García et al. 2012).

In video 1, the first instance of mediation between the children's home world and the school is an internal and individual process: the teacher's realisation that poem recital competitions remain entirely outside the children's lived experience, and her decision to make the institutional exercise relevant to that experience. The second mediation is external, and occurred during her preparation: she adapted the exercise designed for Hungarian-monolingual majority learners to local children's home culture by including a Romani poem among those learnt for the contest. The third mediation is linguistic, or what we might call interlingual, in the sense that all paraphrasing across ways of speaking associated with different communities and social voices is: the original Romani text, written by the Latvian Roma poet, Leksa Manush, was paraphrased by a local teaching assistant into the children's home variety. The fourth instance of mediation is metalinguistic levelling: children learnt the text in both Hungarian and local Romani, but some months later it seemed difficult for them to recall the Hungarian version. So, the teacher proposed a translation exercise: based on the Romani text, of which they had better recollection, they re-created the Hungarian text. Translation is mediation between semiotic systems: a segment of discourse is recontextualised, reformulated, and comes to be understood in terms of another semiotic system (Gal 2015: 227). Transfer between the two is a metaphoric process in which equivalence is never a pre-existing match between discourse components but a negotiated one. Translation, as Ezra Pound said, is "making it new" (cited in Clifford 2013: 49). Hence, translation, similar to translanguaging, allows access to a "third place", although the histories of the practices involved in the two processes are different. In the fifth, final, act of mediation, the children have an agentive role: as cultural mediators, they participate in a performance (reciting the poem collectively in front of an audience), a cultural practice associated with the majority's language and society, in the language of their home. Through acts of negotiated difference (in named language and language variety, in cultural practices, etc.) a new possibility for empowerment opened up: the pupils were not merely subjected to, or passive undergoers in, the learning process; instead, they took ownership of it. It is on their initiation that the poem recital becomes a group performance instead of a solitary act. It was their involvement and enthusiasm which made it possible for the teacher to set up this task: the children's investment in the proposed activities is obvious from the moment when a translanguaging space is offered.

From the above reasoning it follows that our understanding of the children's and teachers' mediating role is not based on the definition of mediator as a channel through which communication is established between conflicting parties (for an overview cf. Corbett 2021). Mediators in a translanguaging educational space are

conscious agents who undertake some form of action to enable communication to occur in spaces where otherwise there would be either silence or a lack of ability to engage in shared meaning making (cf. Liddicoat 2016). Mediation is, thus, a complex and purposeful interpersonal engagement with meanings across different social worlds and historically constructed named languages. Among the many understandings of the role of mediator in various disciplines, our emphasis is not on that of the go-between who builds bridges between two separate worlds, “seeking to overcome incompatibilities which stand in the way of *transfer* of meaning” (Hatim and Mason 1990: 223; emphasis by Eszter Tarsoly). Mediators, in our understanding, *synthesise* the meaning-making processes of the social and communicative spaces they inhabit, thus becoming active co-creators of new meanings belonging to a *tertium quid*: a third, synthetic space in which segments and patterns of discourse originating from different social settings are recontextualised and re-enacted. It is in this sense that translanguaging can be understood as a form of mediation, inasmuch as “[translanguaging is] the enaction of language practices that use different features that had previously moved independently, constrained by different histories, but that now are experienced against each other in speakers’ interactions as one new whole” (García and Li 2014: 21). Therefore, mediation occurs each time when difference in linguistic and social practices is levelled out in translanguaging speakers’ minds and actions (cf. Deumert 2018: 10).

In this chapter we explore instances when mediation, understood as creative, ad-hoc responses to tension and difference, occurs in our data, field notes, extra-curricular projects, and video materials recorded in the Magiszter School. We look at four specific areas: transactions through dynamic assessment (García et al. 2012); creating a transcultural third space through linguistic innovation in the learning of subject-specific technical terms (García et al. 2021; Guerra 2016); mimetic practices in performing difference in order to overcome it (Deumert 2018); translation as translingual mediation (García, Aponte, and Le 2020; Gal 2015; Baynham and Lee 2019).

9.1 Transactions through dynamic assessment

According to a study by García et al. (2012), schools which are successful in enabling children from socially marginalised communities are characterised by *transcaring* practices, covering translanguaging, transculturación, transcollaboration with the broader community, and transactions through dynamic assessments. Chapter 13 discusses transculturación and transcollaboration in the schools we have collaborated with. This section focuses on transactions in dynamic assessment.

Video 7 (*Technical terms for school subjects*) provides an example of dynamic assessment in the context of oral exams, which are routinely used at all levels of education in Hungary. The Hungarian term for this assessment type is *felelés* ‘(the act of) answering, reporting’, suggesting a questions-and-answers type of interaction between the teacher and learners. In practice, it often means the recitation of the materials learnt by the pupils, followed by the teacher’s questions concerning details and gaps in the learners’ summary. In video 7, *felelés* is practiced as a truly dialogic form of assessment: the teacher invited a group of learners to the head-teacher’s office, where they sit in a round-table arrangement, to give them a chance to improve their marks through a less-formal conversation about the material they learnt concerning knights’ and noblemen’s historic role and way of life. In this relaxed and personable oral exam, learners were allowed to use Romani in their answers. The technical nature of the vocabulary associated with the topic meant, however, that learners could not always rely on their home-language resources. When one of them got stuck on the Hungarian word *adózás* ‘taxation’ while speaking Romani, the teacher encouraged him to speak in Hungarian in situations when the Romani words escape him (video 7: 0:55–1:10). The purpose of tax was then explained jointly by the pupils using the entirety of their linguistic repertoire. This is a reminder that the key to success in translanguaging education is never in encouraging learners to use one named language or the other but to help learners realise that the socially constructed boundaries between named languages can be simultaneously disrupted and reorganised in favour of the message being conveyed (cf. Makalela 2019). The following classroom scene is an illustration of this (video 7: 0:52–2:31).

- (1) pupil 1 *Nemesi cím- címo hász, együtt földbirtoko khudingyá* [. . .]
 ‘NOBLEMEN’S TITLES, THEY WERE GIVEN LAND WITH IT’ [hesitates]
- teacher *Most azt akarod mondani, hogy nem kellett adózni nekik? Azt mondhatod nyugodtan magyarul is, ha nem jut eszedbe cigány nyelven.* [. . .]
Mert a király mellett, mit csináltak?
 ‘Are you trying to say that they did not have to pay tax? You can say that in Hungarian if you cannot recall it in Romani. [. . .] Because what did they do for the king?’
- pupil 1 *Harcoltak.*
 ‘They fought.’
- pupil 2 *Harcolingya.*
 ‘THEY FOUGHT.’
- pupil 3 *Ná kapijá lenge adó- adózni.*
 ‘THEY DID NOT HAVE TO PAY TAX.’

- teacher *És akkor [name] már cigányul is lefordította, nagyon jó! Azért mert harcoltak a király mellett.*
 ‘And [name] has even translated it into Romani, excellent! Because they fought battles for the king.’
- pupil 3 *O kiráji- o kiráji gyia len birtoko*
 ‘THE KING GAVE THEM LAND’
- teacher *Nagyon jó, értem amit mondasz, tehát birtokot kaptak a királytól. Mert mit csináltak a királynak?*
 ‘Very good, I understand what you are saying. They were given land because? What did they do for the king?’
- pupil 2 *Harcoltak a királynak.*
 ‘They fought for the king.’
- teacher *Harcoltak és még mit csináltak?*
 ‘They fought and what else did they do?’
- pupil 1 *Bementek a torna<terembe>.*
 ‘They went to the sports’<hall . . .>’
- pupils *<lovagi> terembe*
 ‘<knight’s> hall’
- teacher *Nem tornaterem, a lovagi terembe. Olyan volt, mint a tornaterem, igaza van [name]-nak. De miért kellett harcolniuk a lovagoknak?*
 ‘Not quite the sport’s hall but the knight’s hall . . . it is a bit like a sports hall, [name] is quite right. [. . .] But why did they have to fight?’
- pupil 2 *Hogy megvédjék a birtokot.*
 ‘To protect their land.’
- pupil 1 *Mert ha nem gyakorolnak, akkor levágják a fejüket.*
 ‘If they do not practice, their head will be cut off.’
- pupil 3 *Száko gyész tanúlinász le.*
 ‘THEY PRACTICED EVERY DAY’
- teacher *Ezt monddjad, ezt nem értem.*
 ‘Say it again, please, I don’t understand.’
- pupil 2 *Minden nap gyakoroltak.*
 ‘They practised every day.’

The pupils and the teacher take turns in the discussion, but the pupils often interrupt each other and the teacher in their eagerness to say what they want. They move equally freely between their resources based on Romani and Hungarian in a concentrated engagement in meaning making. Sometimes the teacher’s Hungarian-language prompt (as in the case of *adó* ‘tax’) or question (e.g. “why did they have to

fight?") is followed by an utterance in Romani or the translation of a Hungarian utterance into Romani, or vice-versa. One pupil in particular uses translanguaging strategically: after his first Romani-language answer about taxation earned praise from the teacher, he is keen to translate or paraphrase in Romani parts of the material they learned. Translation and paraphrasing, using his home-language resources, is the learner's individual way of displaying his knowledge and understanding of the subject.

The teacher is also an active participant in fluid language practices. She applies the following strategies: inviting the learners to use the entirety of their bilingual repertoire; encouraging Hungarian-language utterances when technical terms might be lacking in the learners' home-language repertoire ("You can say that in Hungarian if you cannot recall it in Romani"); rewarding translations from and into, or paraphrasing, in Romani ("And [name] has even translated it into Romani, excellent!"); reflecting simultaneously on her own understanding of Romani-language utterances and learners' understanding of subject-specific language ("Very good, I understand what you are saying"); asking for help from pupils when she cannot understand the Romani ("Say it again, please, I don't understand"); applying subtle and constructive corrections in the use of technical terms when needed ("Not quite the sport's hall but the night's hall . . . it is a bit like a sports hall, [name] is quite right"). Importantly, she accepts answers in Romani without reservations, even when she does not understand them. She trusts learners to the point of relying on their translation, and rewards both the answer and its translation into Hungarian. Her evaluation of the learners' performance runs parallel with her evaluation of her own understanding of Romani utterances. The strategies applied by the teacher through the adoption of a translanguaging stance are instrumental in overcoming what Goffman described as "disruption to spontaneous involvement in smooth interactions" (1967: 135). Neither the use of Romani, a non-mainstream language in education, nor learners' lack of ability to unthinkingly recite Hungarian-bound, and for them potentially meaningless, technical terms is seen as an "involvement offence" in the conversation. Assessment is adapted to the learners' needs, which allows the teacher to enquire about their existing competences.

Assessment, the testing of prescribed learning targets, represents a serious challenge for the transformation of a monolingual educational space into a translanguaging one. The teachers' limited understanding of Romani utterances remains potentially disruptive for interactions, while the learners' endeavour to adapt to the normative, Hungarian-based ways of speaking (Deumert 2018: 14) might inhibit their dynamic meaning-making processes which could enable them to reach their full potential in assessment situations. Dynamic assessment (García et al. 2012) is a form of mediation which helps overcoming these challenges, as illustrated in the recorded assessment scene above. The main principles are the following: (1) flexible

use of language in assessment: this is illustrated in both the learners' and teacher's talk in the scene; (2) assessment as an ongoing process: oral exams are used as a form of continuous assessment in Hungarian schools and their potential to make assessment part of learning is further exploited in this scene; the teacher invited learners to have a conversation about a part of the subject where she identified difficulties in their processing of the material learned; (3) differentiated assessment to meet the needs of individual learners: all contributions are rewarded, whether they concern subject-specific knowledge or operations with language such as translating and paraphrasing. Dynamic assessment provides a forum for learners' cultural and knowledge practices: it renders differences across the cultural worlds of school, home, and the subject-specific material studied (the life of medieval knights) visible, and enables learners to find their multilingual voice as they put Romani *and* Hungarian alongside each other. In the teacher's reflection, learners "speak more fluidly and without inhibitions [. . .]. Romani is, thus, not a hindrance; depending on individual ability, it helps learners' individual talents to unfold" (video 7: 2.32–3.50).

9.2 Creating a transcultural third space through linguistic innovation: Subject-specific technical terms

The oral exam scene cited in the previous section illustrates that another challenge alongside assessment, and partially overlapping with it, is the incorporation of subject-specific technical terms, always bound to the official language of instruction, in learners' repertoires. This challenge needs to be mediated, too, when translanguaging practices are brought into monolingual educational environments. Enlarging learners' vocabulary with such terms is an explicit aim of instruction, especially in the upper years of primary school.

The National Core Curriculum of Hungary and its subject-specific reference framework (NAT 2020) formulates the expectation which connects subject-knowledge to the accurate use of certain lexical items. It stipulates that "[learners] apply key terms of interpretation and content in the discussion of various periods and questions of history" (NAT 2020: 20; translated by Eszter Tarsoly). For learners aged 11–12, the list of key words to be used in interpretation includes *történelmi idő* 'the historicity of time', *változás és folyamatosság* 'change and continuity', *történelmi jelentőség* 'historic significance'; the list of key "content" words includes *birodalom* 'empire', *adó* 'tax', *társadalmi csoport* 'social group', *életmód* 'way of life', to name but a few. These abstractions are challenging to absorb for Hungarian monolingual

learners, too, because they lack experiential basis and are morphologically complex, derived forms or compounds, which children seldom encounter outside classroom contexts. Children, thus, have to mediate between the monolingual and socially remote discourse contexts in which these technical terms are licensed and the fluid multilingual ways of speaking characterising their community. What is at stake here is the appropriation, on the part of children, of what García et al. (2021: 209) called “a construct known in schools as ‘academic language’”, which is claimed to have “an inductively established set of features [. . .] which distinguish it from non-academic language”, but which is, instead, an a priori category, “assumed, not discovered”, and deductively supported by defining shibboleths, similar to the one cited above.

Given the typically low literacy rates and high rates of failure at school in low-income, marginalised communities, such as those in our project, a great measure of adaptability and confidence is required of bilingual Roma children to come to terms with the lexical areas associated with “academic” language by the curriculum. The teacher in video 7 commented on this as follows: “The world of knights and noblemen is far removed from pupils in the fifth grade, and many do not even know the actual word *knight*” (video 7: 2.32–3.50). According to another teacher of history (cf. video 15, *School language policy*), “during classes [the children] work with technical terms specific to the discipline of history, which simply do not exist in their Romani language practices bound to orality” (video 15: 3.15–3.25). The pupils in examples (1) and (2) embrace this challenge by applying creative, translanguaging solutions rooted in their fluid language practices. They convert to the normative, curricular expectation by *using* the technical terms as “their own words” while simultaneously subverting the norm by *re-inventing* the terms through the domesticating morphological processes familiar from the language practices of their home, thus making these technical terms truly “their own”. Example 2 (*There is no beaten track*, video 17: 1.45–2.33) illustrates the ways in which translanguaging classes enable pupils to creatively reinvent technical terms within their own language practices.

- (2) pupil *Róma egy cino városó hász, egyre báro hász, el volt- foglalingyá o országa, utca építinyá, hajóvo, ### provinciának, provinciákat hívták az <elfoglalt területek>*
 ‘ROME WAS A SMALL TOWN, IT GREW INCREASINGLY RICH, IT OCCUPIED SEVERAL COUNTRIES BUILT ROADS AND BOATS, PROVINCES, <THE OCCUPIED AREAS> WERE CALLED PROVINCES’
- teacher *<elfoglalt területeket>, nagyon jó!*
 ‘<the occupied areas>, very good!’

- pupil . . . *és elküldte más, a helytartókat más, i<zébe>*
 ‘. . . and he sent the governors to another <mmm>’
- teacher <a ter>ületekre, kik voltak ott ezek a helytartók? Mit mondtam? Fő . . .
 ‘<to other areas>, who were the governors? What did I say? Bo . . .’
- pupil 2 <Főnök>kök voltak.
 ‘<Boss>es they were [bosses].’
- pupil <Főnöka>
 ‘BOSES’
- teacher <Főnök>ök voltak, igaz? Ott voltak a főnökök. Hogy mondjuk cigányul? Úgy, hogy <főnök> . . .
 ‘They were the <boss>es, weren’t they? They were the bosses there. How do we say in Gypsy? We say <BOSS>’
- pupil <Főnöká>
 ‘<BOSES>’
- teacher *Főnöká vagy főnöka. Jó, ügyes vagy.*
 [says the noun *főnöka* twice with phonetic variation] ‘Well done!’

The dialogue in (2) is part of a revision slot at the beginning of class, so, the material discussed was covered in an earlier session, then, it was set as reading material from the textbook, and finally presented by a pupil in Hungarian. The summary cited in (2) in the pupil’s home language was presented at the teacher’s initiation, immediately after the first, Hungarian-language summary by another pupil. The text paraphrased by the pupils is organised around the key terms belonging to the topic covered: *city state, provinces, growth, governor*, etc. Pupils formulate their knowledge about the history of Rome while moving from one technical term to the other. These lexical items, thus, function as sign-posts in the discourse. The purpose of the teacher’s interventions in the dialogue is, at least in part, the elicitation of the contextually appropriate term. A segment of textbook-discourse is paraphrased first in Hungarian (video 17: 0.54–1.30), and then in the pupils’ home language, provided in (2). In the former, the learners adapt their language practices to the normative discourses of monolingual middle-class speakers, codified also in textbook discourse; in the latter, the learner appropriates that discourse by accommodating it within the forms of expression they regard as their own.

In the recontextualised textbook discourse, linguistic mediation occurs through the creative domesticating practices generally employed by the learners. Hungarian has no grammatical gender while in Romani gender is an inherent property of the noun (Matras 2002: 72). Loans and nonce borrowings, such as those used by pupils in (1) and (2) in their creative domestication of technical terms, are assigned to one of two gender classes: masculine (e.g. *birtoko* [Hu. *birtok*] ‘estate’; *hajóvo* [Hu. *hajó*]

'boat') or feminine (e.g. *szorzási* [Hu. *szorzás*] 'multiplication'; *bennfoglalási* (Hu. *bennfoglalás*) 'division' (in video 5, *Translanguaging in Maths class*); domesticated verb forms include *harcolingya* 'he fought' (Hu. *harcol* 'fight') and *építinye* 'they built' (Hu. *épít* 'build'); (language data analysis is based on ROMLEX 2008).

Documented processes of grammatical accommodation, when used productively on new lexical material, such as technical terms learned at school, are usually spontaneous and not reflected; nor are the language elements selected from different named languages pre-planned (cf. Matras 2009: 26). In the case of technical terms, there are no pre-existing patterns: children encounter for the first time the forms of expression specific to the language of a school subject. Learners' confidence to produce an utterance which attempts to recontextualise the textbook discourse in their home language indicates their willingness to engage in playful linguistic activity. This entails learners' critical awareness of speakers' choices made in the context of specific circumstances informed by various competing ideological approaches to language difference (Guerra 2016: 228–233).

In multilingual speakers' linguistic behaviour, there is scope for creativity due to the nuanced ways in which they activate and combine various components of their complex repertoire. This "dynamic and functionally integrated use of different languages and language varieties" is nowhere as obvious as in the momentariness and instantaneity of classroom interactions (Li and Lin 2019: 5). Children "demonstrate creativity in assigning new functions and meanings to existing structures in order to reconstruct patterns drawing on linguistic matter from the [situationally] 'appropriate' language" (Matras 2009: 26). This creativity, arising at least in part from the complexity of multilingual repertoires, is instrumental in linguistic mediation across literacy types and discourse genres.

9.3 Mimetic practices in performing and overcoming difference

In the above analysis, learners create something new (innovative word forms in local Romani for technical terms studied at school), using something old and familiar (Romani suffixes and patterns of domestication). Assigning new meanings and functions to existing structures results from the interplay between conventionality and creativity, which are "emergent properties of situated performances, not pre-given facts about language" (Deumert 2018: 10 cites Hymes 2016 [1981]: 81). Translanguaging spaces encourage such performances as speakers find their voices in new contexts, in which their ways of speaking have not been licensed so far. Li and Lin's (2019) emphasis on *translanguaging* as a non-finite verb form in the present progressive

underlines its meaning as a practice, rather than objectified language, but it also pinpoints the creative potential of translingual utterances as situated performances.

In Example (2) above, the teacher's closing remark contributes a noteworthy coda to the scene. She experiments with pronouncing the local Romani word *fő-nőka* 'bosses' (cf. Hu. *főnök* 'boss') in two different ways: [fø:nøka] v. [fø:nøkɒ], the latter reflecting local practices better. She first asks the pupils "how do we say it in Gypsy?", inviting them to act as evaluators. After that, she attempts the pronunciation, and finally she lets herself to be corrected by the learners (substituting [a] with [ɒ]). The teacher here re-enacted the previous exchanges between herself and the learners but with the roles reversed: so far, she was the one eliciting and evaluating the technical terms; now it was her answer that was corrected based on learners' feedback. The teacher's performance mediates between curricular requirements, which she is responsible for delivering, and her personally assigned duty to embrace learners' ways of speaking. Her mediation is a mimetic act (cf. Deumert 2018). She first held the role of a figure of authority checking learners' understanding, but enabling the learners to reinvent the technical terms taught in order to shift the discourse context in which they are licenced. In order to level out this role and reshuffle the power dynamics within the group, she singles out a word which could be understood as a technical term in the subject-specific local Romani discourse (*főnőka*), mentioned shortly before by her pupils, and she has her knowledge of it checked by the learners to whom she transfers authority. Thus, by imitating the learners' *way of speaking* she stages for them their *ways of doing* things in class, too. As mimetic performance, this act of mediation aims to create resemblances by recontextualising ways of saying and ways of doing (multimodal semiotic forms) as signs of sameness.

In addition to their referential meaning, the learners' linguistic innovations communicate through their form. In the Peircean sense, they work both indexically and iconically. On the one hand, they exploit the association of Hungarian, from which the technical terms are adopted, with learned discourse and the resulting sophistication (indexicality); on the other hand, they imitate this sophisticated discourse in Romani, including through the morphological domestication of the technical terms (iconicity). Thus, on a broader level, the learners' and the teacher's mimetic acts address and deconstruct social ideologies and stereotypes; they question, playfully and creatively, what Austerlitz (1988: 35) called "myth". In his (Austerlitz 1988: 34–38) model of cultural reproduction and resistance, myth holds nature, society, and economy together by a framework of interpretation, which is meaningful for a particular group at a particular period. Play, and a particular form of play: art, allow for experimentation with myth, and challenge the values, norms, and rules sustained by it. The learners' and teacher's translingual recontextualisation of elements of discourse bound to Hungarian plays with the values associated with different ways of speaking,

which smuggles criticality into the primary-school classroom. The final component in Austerlitz's model is humour, which challenges the legitimacy of myth outright. The relationship of play (creativity) to humour, in the Austerlitzian sense, is similar to the continuum of mimesis and mimicry proposed by Deumert (2018; Swann and Deumert 2018). The former is a creative form of recontextualisation which highlights sameness; the latter is disruptive imitation, which emphasises difference through recontextualisation. While our examples so far illustrated mimetic practices as forms of mediation, Example (3) includes features of mimicry.

Video 16 illustrates the ways in which even conventionalised speech performances can be turned into an expressive resource in a translanguaging classroom. The scene shows a classroom ritual called *jelentés* 'reporting', whose text has been fixed and handed down over generations in exactly the same form – always in Hungarian. The purpose of the activity is, on the one hand, to update the teacher on the number of pupils present, and, on the other, to separate symbolically the time for learning from the break. The time of reporting is when everyone arrives, emotionally and mentally, to the symbolic learning space. In the reporting in video 16, two pupils walk to the front of the classroom and start presenting their report (video 16: 1.04–1.19).

- (3) pupils *Tanár néninek tisztelettel jelentinav, hogy az osztályi létszáma huszonkettő.*
 HU Tanár néninek tisztelettel jelentem, hogy az osztályi létszáma huszonkettő.
 ENG 'To the teacher I respectfully REPORT that the number of LEARNERS IN CLASS is 22.'
- pupils *Ebből hiányzinel hét tanuló, az osztályi rajzóraa készen áll.*
 HU Ebből hiányzik hét tanuló, az osztály rajzóraa készen áll.
 ENG 'Of this, seven learners are ABSENT, the CLASS is ready for art lesson.'

The immediate effect of the pupil's reporting is to highlight the utterance as distinct from ordinary reporting through a deliberate signalling of the message key and the performativity of the speech act. As opposed to Examples (1) and (2), the learners' speech performance in (3) is an entirely deliberate and self-aware social display, which is not to be mistaken for communicative ineptness. The forms which, from a monolingual Hungarian point of view, appear to be Hungarian word stems with Romani suffixes (*jelentinav* 'I report', *hiányzinel* 'is absent', *tanulóvo* 'pupils', *osztályi* 'class') are placed in the conventionalised text of reporting. This repetition of sameness is exploited by the pupils to highlight difference: first, through the Romani person, number, and noun-class markers added to key words, as if domesticating them in a Romani utterance; second, in the situated linguistic performance of the learners' identity. The domesticated forms evoke speech patterns typical of the learners'

home community within the conventionalised Hungarian text. Learners' recontextualisation of these linguistic forms singles them out as indexical signs which point to the learners' belonging to the Majoros settlement's community. Disrupting the textual conventions of a Hungarian-only classroom ritual becomes a display of the learners' identity (cf. Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 378–380).

As children's overall communicative maturity grows, they are able not only to control and combine the selection of features from their linguistic repertoire, but also to manipulate it for the sake of producing stylistically marked discursive patterns such as humour or imitation of roles, styles, and voices of others (Matras 2009: 36–38). This is achieved through recontextualised repertoire components, which either creatively subvert and challenge conventionalised and normative ways of speaking (as in a named language *v.* another or in a type of discourse pattern *v.* another) or simply signal ("perform") the difference of the speech act from the expected pattern.

9.4 Translation as translingual mediation: A storybook of Roma tales

The last part of this chapter is a case study which allows us to look at the processes of mediation discussed so far in the way they are present in a single translanguaging project involving the school and the community. The case study is based on a project undertaken jointly by pupils, parents, and teachers in Magiszter, and facilitated by teacher trainees and researchers. Local parents and children co-authored, translated, and illustrated a storybook of Roma folk tales in summer 2020, which later served as learning material in classes. In this case study we also expand on translation as a form of mediation.

The idea of the storybook project built on our earlier experience with extra-curricular activities in the Majoros settlement and its school, but this project required greater involvement from parents than our previous activities (cf. Chapter 13.2.2). Six local women translated and wrote tales for the book, while children were in charge of illustrations. Our primary aim was to create a project which involves the entire community and produces an outcome which can be included in formal learning. A secondary aim was to exploit local literacy practices, thus bringing community and school-based knowledge systems closer to each other.

The two main platforms for local literacy are writing on social media outlets and printed or hand-written materials containing passages of, or explanatory text to, the Bible and other texts of religious content (cf. Chapter 14.4). Another local practice on which we wanted to build was storytelling. During our fieldwork,

however, we were told that the great storytellers of the past died, and children prefer watching cartoons on television. Others said they could not make up stories when prompted because all their stories were instantaneous inventions, forgotten soon after told, about their childhood and youth. Therefore, university students selected tales from published collections, which were either compiled by Roma authors (e.g. Bari 1990) or catalogued in the library under the label *Roma folktales* (e.g. Burus 2015; Frankovics 2015). These stories were published in Hungarian-only editions. The translation of these texts into Romani was a starting point to our work with local women in Tiszavasvári.

Students and researchers facilitated several workshops involving the children and the local women participating in the project. In the children's workshop, participants read and discussed a number of tales and selected a few to include in the storybook. Then, the children were asked to visually interpret the texts, and creative work began. They employed a variety of techniques, including drawing by pencil, painting, photography, and etching (Fig. 1). Some learners decided to write an alternative ending to one of the tales. At a later point, six women from the Majoros settlement joined us and translated the texts from the Hungarian-language collections into Romani as well as writing two original tales in Romani. We worked in groups: two to three local women collaborated with two to three university students. In writing Romani, the letters and letter combinations of the Hungarian alphabet were used, as this was the most readily accessible to local women (cf. Chapter 14.2). In the end, we finalised the texts with the local women's help: they helped us decide if words and longer chunks of text made sense the way they were written, and we helped them divide the texts into paragraphs and dialogues.

The translated texts were noted down by either university students or the women themselves. The typing of the texts was completed by students as local women are not computer literate. Local contributors watched the text being typed up on the screen and corrected every instance of writing they disagreed with; we also verified meanings and forms of which we were unsure. There were differences of opinion between the women regarding the spelling of certain words, particularly the length of vowels and the rendering of some consonants which do not occur in Hungarian. We accommodated individual solutions not only in spelling but also in the choice of words in the Romani version as well as the organisation and punctuation of the text. As a result, four volumes were published instead of one: they contain the texts in four different versions. Students and researches undertook the final editing of the texts, inserting the illustrations made by the children and preparing them for printing and online publication. The four volumes were published in January 2021, with five hundred sixty copies printed. Most copies were handed over to the Magiszter School for use in teaching.



Fig. 1: Copperplate made by a local child for the storybook.

Translation and translanguaging are often seen as mutually exclusive, particularly because the former's critique from the point of view of colonial experience (documented e.g. by Clifford 1988). By bridging the difference between cultural worlds and named languages, translation keeps them apart (García, Aponte, and Le 2020: 85). What is problematic, however, is not the process but the outcome of translation: if the target text is believed to be the equivalent of the original, which is what allows us to read translated texts as identical with the original, then the outcome of translation glosses over important differences in the power dynamics between the social and cultural worlds that the original and the translated text embody. The issue, therefore, is not so much with translation *per se* but with equivalence (cf. Baynham and Lee 2019). Similar to the way in which a static, objectified view of identity came to be seen as problematic in linguistic anthropology (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2004), so did the notion of equivalence in translation studies. Hermans (2007) argued that our belief in the possibility of translation rests on an act of faith similar to the trans-substantiation of bread and water in Christian teaching. Gal (2015: 234) compared translation to a naming act similar to baptism. What is non-equivalent remains concealed by the text produced as an outcome of translating. At the basis of the term *translation*, itself a Latin calque of the Greek *metaforá* (cf. Baynham and Lee 2019: 34; Abondolo 2006: 149), there is an underlying crypto-concept of “carrying across”, revealing a dynamic rather than static notion (cf. Nida 1964: 159). Therefore, from a translanguaging perspective, it is helpful to view equivalence as a process: it has to be discovered and unpacked between different verbal semiotic systems. The process of finding equivalence in translation is, thus, similar

to the way in which different facets of multimodal semiosis (such as drawing and text, gestures and speaking, classroom language and schoolscape) reflect and reference each other.

The colonial experience of translation becomes problematic precisely because of equivalence, which relegates the original to the world of the “untamed”, “inaccessible” culture of the colonised, while appropriating the translated version as a genuine product of the target lingua-culture. In contrast, the dynamic nature of equivalence is captured in multiple translations (e.g. Jacobs 2011), or translation into various media (cf. Jakobson’s [1959] tripartite model of translation, which includes not only translation proper but also paraphrasing and the interpretation of verbal signs by means of non-verbal systems). The storybook project addressed the issues of equivalence by providing multiple translations in the broadest sense. Children paraphrased the texts, moving freely between their multiple resources, and they also interpreted the stories by means of visual meaning-making. Interlingual translation “proper” occurred from the standardised majority language into local ways of speaking without attempting to bring them in line with existing writing conventions of Romani. Moreover, the book, published in four different versions, explicitly draws attention to the problematic nature of a single equivalent, which challenges the notion of standards both in orthographic traditions and in ways of “reformulating” through translation (cf. Gal 2015: 234). The storybook project in this sense mediates between different practices of literacy inasmuch as it brings the community’s heterogeneous practices into the normative literacy context of the school, allowing them to co-exist and have both a prestige and practical value of their own.

In our repository, videos 18 (*Community based learning: A gesture of linguistic intimacy*), 19 (*Reading Romani as a translanguaging activity*), 21 (*Imitating Romani “adult speech” in school*), and 22 (*Student’s perceptions of the new community storybook*) illustrate the various uses of the volumes in translanguaging classes in Magiszter. Video 22 shows the pupils’ first reactions after receiving the printed and published books. They are overjoyed and enthusiastic as they leaf through the volumes, looking for their own work (video 22: 1.33–2.19). They also read passages from the books, which is a challenging undertaking, given that they have practically no exposure to written texts in Romani (video 22: 2.39–3.07). After the reading, the teacher tries to gauge the learners’ views of the book. In their answers children reflected on their individual self-worth and their community’s appreciation in the outside world (video 22: 3.16–4.15).

Videos 18 and 19 show contiguous scenes from the same class and illustrate two different activities designed around the book. In both scenes the teacher and pupils sit in a circle. In video 18 (video 18: 1.11–3.35), the teacher stages a secretive introduction to increase learners’ intrinsic interest. She tells them she brought them a book but does not give away that it is the book co-created by the learners.

When they hear local Romani from the teacher's mouth as she starts reading, the children cannot hide their excitement. There is giggling and excited locomotion all around the circle. After the reading, she asks the pupils what the text was about, giving them the opportunity to summarise and paraphrase, for which the learners choose the contextually appropriate language resources (Hungarian). The Hungarian-language text-production exercise relies on the learners' expertise in Romani. Learners collaborate to improve the summaries; for instance, a learner paraphrases the first sentence as "an old man lived with his son in Hungary" while others amend it to "in Tiszavasvári" to be more faithful to the text read in Romani. In video 19 the pupils take the teacher's place and read from the book. They carry on translating the text into Hungarian in a free-flowing creative engagement, in which they appear to be running the class for themselves as they translate, paraphrase, re-think, and interpret the text they hear in Romani. The text they create in this way is typically Hungarian but some pupils summarise what they hear in Romani. These utterances are interpreted by others in Hungarian, with nuances of meaning discussed and debated. The learners learn to rely on their own resources and on each other as they negotiate meaning across verbal and non-verbal semiotic systems, which allows them to understand the mediating role of language in the way we experience the world around us.

Video 21 further exploits the storybook as a starting point for classroom activities. Two pupils enact a horse-trade deal, staging a dialogue between seller and buyer in front of their peers and teacher. The dramatised enactment of deal-making was inspired by the tale entitled *Kinni's hens* (whose reading and translation is shown in videos 18 and 19). The trading of goods at local markets and the negotiations of deals are cultural practices central to Roma communities (cf. Stewart 1998: 174–176). Learners, in all likelihood, witnessed such scenes in real life on many occasions. Deal-making and the exchange of objects as tokens of friendship are part of the pupils' daily life in school, too (video 21: 0.35–0.49). Exchanging objects of equal value is a practice which reflects quasi-brotherly relationships in Roma society (Stewart 1998: 176). This practice in the classroom scene becomes a staged performance, in which Roma children emulate not the cultural practices and ways of speaking of the majority group but of adults in their own community. The learners' mimetic performance is based on iconicity: their way of re-contextualising the discourse patterns of bargaining – their ways of doing things with language – resemble the way their adult community members perform deals both as practice and as speech acts (*Na, jól van, legyen a tiéd!* 'all right, let it be yours').

9.5 Outlook: Mimetic acts in exploring existing cultural resources

The storybook and the translation exercises it inspired are good examples of negotiating not only deals, but also meaning through mimetic acts. Roma communities have a stronger tradition in negotiating than non Roma communities, so this is a way of utilising an existing cultural resource. The discourse patterns of negotiating and concluding deals are summarised by a local co-author of this chapter as follows. (N.B., as discussed in the Introduction, all contributors' writing is presented as being of equal weight and importance in the representation of the knowledge we gained in our project.)

Roma children make deals differently. I think they are better at dealing. For them, it is a tradition to negotiate deals. For example, they play some games related to this. There are two children, one plays the part of the shop assistant, the other of the buyer. When they act out these scenes, they say "I want two packets of crisps, a chocolate, a coke, ice cream, and chewing gum", and then they pay for it. They cut up small pieces of paper. When they play this, they always speak in Hungarian, because when they go to the shop, they ask for things in Hungarian. But they cannot make deals in shops. At the market though, they do negotiate prices. Let's say, when they are playing, they use little toys as if they were of some value. One little boy says to the other one: "come here, my friend, are you going to buy it?" The one playing the buyer says to him: "wait, let me have a look. How much do you want for it and what is it?" Then he goes up to the seller, has a thorough look from all sides, and then asks: "how much do you want for it then?" The other one answers: "is it worth twenty for you?" Then the buyer has another look, turns it around, and says: "nay, I am not giving twenty for it". Then the seller says: "how much will you give for it?" "I will give you ten" – says the buyer. The seller retorts: "no way, I am not giving it for ten, I have just bought it. Give me fifteen!" The seller goes again: "nay, I am giving you only ten". Then the buyer says: "all right, damn it, it's yours!"

Gypsies are better at making deals than the Hungarians. This is a very old tradition. It has always been like this among Gypsies. They were always trading.

Negotiating deals is a good thing because one of the parties is always better off at the end. This is good for both the buyer and the seller. The Roma trade between themselves and with Hungarians, too. Children need not be taught, they learn this by themselves, they see it all the time. I also say to my son: "whatever price they tell you, try to beat it down! Try to make a deal!" There are sentences that must always be uttered when negotiating a deal. Even in trading it is good to know both Hungarian and Gypsy because when they say a price, I can say the new price in Gypsy to my son. I am proud of it because this is a Gypsy tradition,

which we shall not forget. I think they should show it in school, too, because this is a good thing, one can learn much from it.

It is noteworthy that in the discursive pattern of deal-making cited above, the object offered for sale remains unknown. The seller wants to sell and calls out to the buyer. The buyer's first question is not only about the price but also the item offered for sale. In this exchange, the first question ("are you going to buy it") is a speech act inviting the potential buyer into the negotiation whose real purpose is to display the mutuality of the relationship between the negotiators. The buyer's questions that follow are indications of his willingness to engage in the negotiation, in which certain utterances are fixed and indicate turning points in the dialogue. This is a reminder that in the Roma's dealing the actual objects or live goods that change hands are of secondary importance. Deal-making has a specific discursive pattern: the negotiation cited by our local contributor follows exactly the same steps as the dialogue between the children in video 21 (and also those reported by Stewart some twenty years earlier in his field site). Negotiating is a performative speech act which enacts and reiterates the reciprocity and equivalence of relationships within the community: it is worth making deals because if one side benefits from it, both sides benefit. Only this can explain why even the party which is worse off in a particular deal should be satisfied with the outcome. It is this dynamism of relationships within the community, based on mutuality, reciprocity, and equality, which are central to the organisation of Roma society, and which are well worth bringing into the space of formal learning. A translanguaging stance combined with practices of community-based, culturally transformative educational approaches is uniquely positioned to discover similar social and knowledge practices for inclusion in formal learning activities (cf. Chapter 13).

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10 Teachers' talk in the translanguaging classroom: Monolingual teachers in bi- and multilingual classrooms

This chapter explores the changes in teachers' classroom talk which emerge as a result of practices related to translanguaging in their pedagogical activities. In the research settings discussed in this volume, Hungarian monolingual (or Hungarian-Slovak bilingual) educators teach learners whose linguistic practices are Romani-Hungarian bilingual, defined by spontaneous translanguaging; that is, by the presence of several languages in everyday communication. Prior to the project, these pupils were taught in schools through Hungarian-only as the language of instruction. They do not always have the competences in Hungarian required by the curriculum. As teachers began to make space for pupils' home language practices, they encountered ways of speaking which were either unknown to them or only partially known. Since the beginning of the translanguaging project, all participants have experienced changes in the entirety of complex classroom routines and discourses. This chapter explores the changes in teachers' own interactional practices which impact the complex web of classroom interactions and the way teachers experience and reflect on these changes. We see teachers' talk as one of the many factors in the complex system of classroom interactions. Based on concepts of Bakhtins' dialogic discourse (1984) and Vygotsky's social constructivism (1978), teachers' talk is understood in this chapter in a broad sense, as a set of behavioural patterns in the processes of dialogic teaching (Alexander 2005, 2020), embedded in special social contexts (Tharp and Gallimore 1988).

In a multilingual classroom, translanguaging is always part of learners' thinking, García and colleagues (2017) argue, even in cases when the instruction is monolingual and participants' multilingualism remains hidden. They illustrate this with the metaphor "translanguaging corriente" (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017: xi–xii); similar to an underground river, learners' fluid multilingualism emerges in an explicit way at points where teachers deliberately include learners' linguistic practices in the learning process. The rest of the time, it remains invisible, yet it is present in learners' thinking, attitudes, and relationship to each other, the teacher, and the world that surrounds them. Teacher-student communication, and within it teachers' talk, changes both in situations when learners' spontaneous translanguaging practices occur in the classroom (the corriente becomes visible), and when teachers organise a learning event which includes more than one language (teachers render

the corriente visible). Cenoz and Gorter (2021) also note that the spontaneous and guided practices form a continuum rather than a dichotomy, and there are intermediate situations (cf. Chapter 3). This chapter argues that teachers' talk in translanguaging classrooms is always characterised by situations which would be marked by Cenoz and Gorter as "intermediate".

García and Kleyn list three components of translanguaging as a pedagogical orientation: translanguaging stance, translanguaging design, and translanguaging shift (García and Kleyn 2016: 20–24). Teachers' talk in a translanguaging classroom can be described in relation to each of these. Translanguaging stance is a pedagogical attitude which recognises that the inclusion of learners' entire linguistic repertoire in school activities is essentially the acceptance of children's entire personality. Teachers with a translanguaging stance organise everyday activities with this starting point in mind, even if they consider themselves monolingual Hungarian speakers. Translanguaging design refers to the methodological possibilities of making languages spoken in the classroom part of school activities alongside the language of instruction. The ability to undergo translanguaging shift, once mastered, enables teachers to organise and manage multilingual classroom activities while bringing changes in the prestige relations of the languages. In this chapter we show how both teacher-guided and student-centred translanguaging are present in classrooms. Through the analysis of teacher talk in translanguaging classroom moments we explore the ways in which teachers' attitude towards learners and their translanguaging changes due to their translanguaging stance, and the way this brings about new approaches in their everyday teaching design, too. The chapter traces the way teachers become capable of translanguaging shifts, even if they consider themselves monolingual majority-language speakers and/or do not speak (all) the learners' language(s).

10.1 Translanguaging stance and teachers' talk

Translanguaging stance defines teachers' talk in translanguaging classrooms so far as it rewrites teacher's ideologies about languages and speakers. Teachers participating in our project in Tiszavasvári, who deliberately exploit the opportunities offered by translanguaging in their classes, report that they acquired some knowledge of Romani after their attitudes towards learners' translanguaging practices changed. Before the project, teachers were often unaware or ignored pupils' multilingualism: it did not occur to them that by bringing the translanguaging corriente to the surface they could support their learners. In the early phase of our activities, researchers and teachers had several discussions about teachers' experiences, where teachers

reflected on their previous ideologies and practices and on their impact on classroom talk. For instance, Zita, a teacher in the earlier years of primary school, who has worked in Magiszter for over fifteen years, reported in a conversation in 2019 that she begun to learn Romani words and this affected her classroom communication: (excerpt 1, also quoted in Heltai 2020: 148):

- (1) *Egyre bátrabbak a gyerekek. Most már van úgy, hogy kérés nélkül is, egy-egy válaszbba, nem is úgy, hogy téma, kép kapcsán megjelenik a cigány nyelvi kifejezés. Ami a legnagyobb előrelépés, az talán én vagyok, merthogy egyre több mindent én is megértek, amit mondanak, néha nincs is szükség a fordításra.*
 ‘Children are becoming increasingly confident. Sometimes it happens that Romani expressions pop up, even without the children being prompted, in their answers, if Romani is somehow related to a topic or picture. The greatest step forward is perhaps me [sic!], because I understand more and more of what they say. Often, they do not even need to translate for me.’

The transformation of teachers' stance is inseparable from other processes. Zita's translanguaging classes transformed the learners' language practices in the classroom: *kérés nélkül is, egy-egy válaszbba megjelenik a cigány nyelvi kifejezés* ‘Romani expressions pop up, even without the children being prompted, in their answer’. But Zita also reports that her own practices are changing: *egyre több mindent én is megértek* ‘I understand more and more of what they say’.

Changes in the learning process and in learners' level of engagement were widely reported in discussions with the teachers. Teachers have found that by changing their own stance, they have discovered new skills and competences their pupils had, and this impacted on their teaching, encouraging, for instance, increased collaboration with the pupils in different ways. All teachers' accounts of the changes include comments which pinpoint learners' increased willingness to participate in the learning processes. Teachers' comments also highlight among the changes a more dialogic approach to teaching, and learners' increased willingness to engage in dialogue. Dialogue reflects, and is shaped by, social and cultural values (Alexander 2020: 49). The transformation of values (the transformation of teachers' ideologies and stance) leads to the transformation of classroom interaction, and, possibly, paves the way for dialogic teaching which enables learners to find their own voice. Learners' language practices are acknowledged and appreciated, and through a holistic view of their language practices, their personalities become more readily accessible and appreciated by the teachers. Instead of quotes from discussions held with teachers, the following part of this chapter contains a shorter comment on this topic written by Zita Tündik, and a more detailed report by another teacher who works in the upper years of primary school, Tünde Demeter-

Berencsik, also participating in the project. These reflections are the results of the authors' joint working process. We interpret and present them as knowledge crystallised through conversations and workshops held with the participation of researchers, student researchers, and practicing teachers.

Zita summarised transformations both of her stance and the pupils' practices as follows: What touched me most in translanguaging as a pedagogical stance is that it enabled me to turn my pupils' Romani utterances, treated earlier as undesirable factors, to advantage while I assisted learners in their progress. One of my first steps was to start encouraging learners in Year 1 to speak in Romani. To my surprise, I found out that this was not as easy as I expected. Having experienced many years of prohibitions at school, parents advised their children to speak only Hungarian in classes. Pupils originally laughed at the learners who asked questions or answered in Romani and they translated for me into Hungarian what was said even when I did not ask them to do so. As a result of constant encouragement and praise, this situation started to change. Learners started speaking in their mother tongue more and more willingly and frequently. When someone was unable to say something in Hungarian or they did not understand something, they could now rely on help in Romani or on other pupils' interpretation in Hungarian of what they were trying to say. It was at this stage that I realised to what extent the possibility of using Romani and the promotion of fluid linguistic practices liberated the learners. They became increasingly motivated, active, and confident. They knew that their answers will be valued whether they are formulated in Romani or Hungarian. It is also worthy of note that pupils' translations into Hungarian enhance the comprehension skills of those who know Hungarian less well, and expand learners' Hungarian vocabulary.

Tünde started her twelfth year of employment at Magiszter. She teaches history, ethics and French in the upper years of primary school. Below, her observations and reflections give an overview of children's language practices in- and outside of the classroom, the way she reacts to them and adapts her own language practices to her learners', and, as a result, the ways in which her own language ideologies are transformed.

It is part of my professional practice as a teacher to constantly pay attention to children's behaviour, their reactions, ways of speaking, and habits. I follow closely their ways of speaking with each other, with their parents, grandparents, and teachers. The vehemence with which they speak, their gesticulation, their rapid pace of speech is captivating. But I noticed that this was in sharp contrast with the way they spoke during classes. I teach history, ethics, and French. However, I never heard the children speak at the same pace in Hungarian as they did during breaks in the school's courtyard or corridor, or even just walking down the street, when they speak Romani. I observed that those learners whom I, and most of my colleagues,

considered to be of outstanding, good, or average ability spoke both languages quickly. Their use of Hungarian was usually context appropriate. But those learners whom we considered less able spoke Hungarian more slowly, they paused to think while speaking, the flow of their speech was disrupted in Hungarian, they were often looking for the right words. I realised that, when speaking in Romani, they become more animated, their speaking becomes faster, and they look more confident. This is an interesting dichotomy, which reminds us that linguistic competences always have to be separated from learning abilities. There is a little girl in my class who speaks very slowly, she needs a lot of help with her work. During classes, she needs constant encouragement and help, also from her peers. In pair work, she always lets herself to be led by the other learner. But during the breaks, when they speak Romani, the roles are effectively reversed. She becomes a confident, chatty, feisty little girl. In my mind, that's when she comes to life. She is not the only one. Many children would fit this description.

The difference I noticed when I heard my learners speak Hungarian as opposed to their home language made me think. I started noticing that when speaking in ways familiar from home, we become more open to the world outside. We instinctively get immersed in the atmosphere and the environment in which we are present as speakers. Almost without thinking, we just do our job; that is, we speak, whether we are adults or children. Conversely, when we speak in a language we learned, a familiar inhibition comes into play. We become conscious of precision, clarity, correctness. We focus on our goal to be understood, so that our listeners understand our utterances the way we intended them, to avoid misunderstandings. I recalled having experienced similar feelings as a language learner.

Then, several years ago, it suddenly occurred to me that there was something I could do to make the children's work in class easier. I observed their speaking practices during classes, too. Lessons teaching a particular discipline, especially in the upper years of primary school, are becoming increasingly challenging. Even in the fifth grade, the units in the textbook are several pages long, full of words and phrases that monolingual Hungarian children don't know either. These Hungarian-language texts are difficult for children to understand and summarise in Hungarian. A typical scenario in class was that we watched a short film about, for instance, the building of pyramids or medieval knights, and some of the pupils could not recall and explain what they had seen. The reason for this was not that they were not watching or failed to understand it, but that they were unable to collect their thoughts as fluently as others when speaking Hungarian. Those who are even a little less fluent in Hungarian prefer not to come forward in such situations. Those who can express themselves better in the "language of the school" speak up sooner.

I tried to experiment with tasks which required group work or pair work. I was watching how children reacted while working together. When a task proved

to be easy, and did not lead to ambiguous results, conversation in pairs and groups typically occurred in Hungarian. The children agreed on the solution without having a difference in opinion; therefore, there was no debate. In situations when it was challenging to come up with a solution, however, and there were several ways to arrive at a conclusion, as soon as there was the slightest difference in views, a heated debate started – always in Romani. Opinions were contrasted, verbal battles were fought, and I stood, smiling, in the midst of the stream of Romani speech. I understood almost nothing of what was being said, but I could sense that the children were talking about the task they had in hand. Suddenly, it hit me: I saw a sign of relief on the children's faces. Long last, they could break out of the usual constraints and, while remaining focused on the subject learned, formulated freely what they wanted to say. Even learners who were normally in the background and waited quietly for the class to end now came forth and fought for their right to contribute to the solution of the task.

In the storm of Romani words and sentences I could hear the odd Hungarian word emerge. They were Hungarian words – or almost Hungarian. Hungarian words and word stems with suffixes unknown to me, lending the words a Romani appearance. By that time, I knew that children used Hungarian words in their Romani speech when they did not have a matching Romani word. That was the moment when the decision was born in me: I need to let it happen; if I want to give everyone a chance to speak, if I want all those who are challenged by Hungarian to come forth in my classes, I have to open up the possibility for learners to choose the language in which they want to formulate their answers in class. Initially, there was a great deal of confusion. But eventually my pupils realised that I was determined. They grew increasingly confident. In the meantime, we stumbled upon a problem – although it was my problem alone – namely, that I did not understand, or not always, what the children said. So, I myself had to become a language learner. Learning a new language as an adult is no easy task, especially without dictionaries, grammars, notes. The tables have turned. Now, I became shy, thoughtful, slow . . . I often paused. I had to repeat particular words, phrases, questions, and sentences several times.

Our classes were transformed, too. The children instinctively switched to bilingual mode. They used freely whichever language they wanted because they knew I would accept their answers either way. They translated the Romani utterances for me, or I asked them to translate. I realised that we may cover less ground in terms of the volume of the material taught but what we cover is better ingrained in children's memory: they can recall it better and more confidently. This is practised knowledge. I do not have a permanent interpreter. Anyone who feels like can translate, or I ask someone, or it is just someone taking part in a particular activity. The learners love being in the centre of attention. I feel that they also like the fact that

admitting Romani in the classroom has made me more human. More vulnerable. After all, language learners have to navigate a path full of pitfalls. The pupils laugh a lot but not at me. Not anymore . . . They laugh with me because my pronunciation, the way I form the sounds, is often wrong. I have to rely on my ears because I do not have written learning materials. Everyone is now a language learner in my classes. The children have learned that there is nothing wrong with speaking several languages. I often reinforce the idea that being bilingual or multilingual is a joy. They have experienced in the translanguaging classes that anyone can learn a language, and that adults, too, can be language learners. That they, too, can teach me and others. This understanding contributes to developing the learners' personality. I see them become more confident as they let go of their tension, and their relationship with teachers is also transformed. I think that in the classes where we make room for the use of Romani, the children are more active and more involved. After all, they understand a great deal – or at least way more than in classes where they have to rely only on Hungarian.

10.2 Translanguaging shift, translanguaging design and teachers' talk

While a translanguaging stance, as Zita's and Tünde's accounts (cf. 10.1) state, concerns transformations of participants' (language) ideologies and general attitudes, a translanguaging design is linked mostly to everyday planning, and translanguaging shift is tied to the moment, to teachers' each and every spontaneous or planned decision in the classroom. Translanguaging design fits with cooperative classroom activities. In Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné), the combination of cooperative learning organisation and translanguaging are successful for a number of reasons. The languages (Hungarian and Romani) used in group work are chosen freely by group members. Pupils who are proficient in both languages can act as facilitators during the joint activity. Pupils, who otherwise have difficulties with the language of instruction, can take action and ask their partner for help more courageously. The principles of constructive interdependence, individual responsibility, and equal participation are also reflected; social and interpersonal skills are developing. The teachers' controlling role is taken over by the pupils: teachers only have to control the planning and the final outcome, which minimalises problems resulting from the teachers' lacking of, or low, competence levels in Romani. When needed, the teachers can ask for interpreting at any time. Overall, the importance of the teacher's language skills is minimal in cooperative learning organisation.

In tasks involving Romani in group work or frontal class work, as Tünde reported above (cf. 10.1), the teacher may find herself in a situation where her language competence is less suitable to lead, or participate in, the work. The school is an institution with a hierarchical structure in which the teachers' powerful position is determined (Fairclough 1989): the teachers' superiority is a consequence of their role to control the classroom (van Dijk 1993). However, the teacher's position of power is formed in everyday communication and discourse (Fairclough 1989); hence, translanguing pedagogical practices also have an impact on the change of hierarchical relations between teachers and learners. Translanguaging not only leads to a better understanding of what is said in the classroom, but also balances the hierarchy between the languages (Mazzaferro 2018: 2; Paulsrud and Straszer 2018: 65 cite Otheguy et al. 2015: 283).

While Chapter 15 looks at learning organisation in detail, this chapter concerns itself with the issue of translanguaging shift. Its presence and functioning in everyday school life is illustrated by video 1 (*Translanguaging as cultural mediation*) in the following paragraphs (for a discussion of video 1 from the angle of mediation of knowledge practices, cf. Chapter 9). In the school year prior to the film making, some members of the class learned poems for a recitation competition both in Romani and Hungarian. One of the pupils learned a poem written by a Roma poet, Leksa Manush, a native of Riga (Latvia). The poem is about a little fowl which would be cared for and loved by the persona talking in the poem. As the video reveals, alongside the learner who presented it at the competition, many other learners were also familiar with the Romani version because they had heard it several times in the class.

The culturally relevant content (cf. the tradition of horse-keeping and horse-trading in Roma communities, see in more detail in Chapters 9, 16 and video 21 [*Imitating Romani "adult speech" at school*], video 21: 1.22–2.22) is adapted to the pupils' home languages. The original Romani text was rewritten by Zita's colleague in local Romani. (This colleague has Romani competences for family reasons). By presenting a version of the Romani poem adapted to local linguistic practices, Zita challenges standard language ideology in order to support local ways of speaking. Zita repeatedly praises and encourages the children when they contribute to the lesson by following their home practices. In this way, her encouragement reinforces, indirectly, the values associated with these ways of speaking, which works against the language ideologies that stigmatise local practices.

In the first scene in video 1 (video 1: 0.49–2.06), Zita asks the pupil who learned the poem the previous year whether he remembers it, and if so, which version: the Romani or the Hungarian. The pupil can recall the Romani version, but not the Hungarian one, as he indicates in response to Zita's question. This is the first instance where translanguaging shift occurs: the moment in which the

teacher decides to shift the language dynamics in the classroom and give way to Romani. The pupil starts reciting the poem in Romani but after a while he stops.

It's worth observing the teacher's questions in Hungarian after the Romani recitation: "now that we've recalled it in Romani, can you remember a little more in Hungarian?". Here we see a teacher's attempt to get the children to shift back from Romani to Hungarian. Although it is implicit in the question that the task this time is to recall the poem in Hungarian, the primary purpose of the teacher's questions is to activate existing knowledge. This question is about how much information the learners retain a year and a half after learning the poem, what they remember, and whether they remember anything at all. The children try to recall the Hungarian version while repeating the Romanian lines, with varying degrees of success (video 1: 3:05–3:39). Finally, one of the pupils claims that he is able to recite the poem in Hungarian, but he ends up reciting it in Romani, not realising for quite a few seconds that he is speaking Romani instead of Hungarian. He finally realises that he accidentally performed in the language different from what he intended to (video 1: 3.40–3.53):

- (2) pupil [bosszankodva tapsol és zavartan mosolyog] *Áj, ez cigány!*
 [snaps his hands annoyedly and smiles in embarrassment] 'Oh no, this is in Gypsy!'
 Zita [mosolyog] *Na, de ez cigány! Te végig cigányul mondtad el, amikor magyarul akartad.*
 [smiling] 'But this is in Gypsy! You spoke in Gypsy throughout, although you wanted to say it in Hungarian.'

In her comment, Zita reminds the pupil that he originally intended to speak in Hungarian, but makes no other comment. This moment is a translanguaging shift initiated (accidentally) by the learner, to which the teacher responds positively. The teacher's affirming stance signals the possibility of a flexible treatment of languages to the learners, who are reassured that they cannot get into trouble because of their contributions. This allows them to maintain the dynamism of their bilingual language practices. Translanguaging shifts like this are everyday occurrences in Zita's classes, and this is a result of Zita's new, translanguaging stance: as she mentioned above, in 10.1, pupils' answers are valued whether they are formulated in Romani or Hungarian, and pupils' previous anxieties begin to disappear when they sense this acceptance.

The children find it easier to recall the text in Romani, and then try to reconstruct the Hungarian text together. At one point, the teacher performs a translanguaging shift by asking the children to translate a line (video 1: 4:07), as she was unable to link certain Romani parts of the poem to the corresponding Hungarian

parts. One of the girls (pupil 2) gets up from her chair and stands in front of the teacher to help her learn and pronounce the words correctly in Romani (video 1: 4:08–4:32):

- (3) Zita *Mit csinálunk, még? Ezt nem értettem.*
 ‘What are we doing? I don’t understand.’
- pupil 1 *Bevisszük az ólba.*
 ‘We take it to the sty.’
- Zita *Bevisszük az ólba?*
 ‘We take it to the sty?’
- pupil 1 *Igen. Kikötöm. Az is volt, kikötöm!*
 ‘Yes . . . tether it. There was also, I will tether it!’
- Zita *Várjál! Kikötöm? Az hogy van romaniul? . . . Kikötöm.*
 ‘Wait! I tether it? How is that in Romani? . . . I will tether it.’
- pupils *Avripangyam lész.*
 ‘TETHER IT, I WILL TETHER IT.’
- Zita *Avripangyam lész?*
 ‘TETHER IT?’
- pupil 2 [utánozva mondja] *Avripangyam lész. Kikötöm.*
 [miming and saying it] ‘I WILL TETHER IT. I tether it.’

In such translation tasks, the learners give the information to the teacher: a situation that goes against convention. A single translanguaging shift can change the roles and/or the dynamics between teacher and learners. For example, a shift in the moment under discussion implies mutual trust between teachers and learners. By asking for a translation, the teacher trusts that the learners will respond in a meaningful way, they come up with the necessary information and the lesson will not get bogged down. In a translanguaging teaching situation, teaching is less an autocratic process and more a facilitative one (cf. Grasha 1994: 143; Nahalka 2002: 65). In the collaborative work seen in the video, the teacher is not directly in control of the learning process, but indirectly facilitates the learners’ thinking by creating the conditions, despite the fact that all of this takes place in a frontal teaching situation. The role of the facilitating teacher focuses on the learners’ work rather than on the teacher’s persona. After recalling the text of the poem in Hungarian, the learner has the opportunity to recite it in front of the class. The learner who participated in the recitation competition does not want do this alone; he chooses to do the recital in collaboration with others. It is worth noting, however, that they perform only in Romani (video 1: 5:28–6:05). Shifting the language of the class back to

Romani, learners become the initiators of another translanguaging shift – again, it is the learners, not the teacher, who are the change-makers.

There are several translanguaging shifts in the scene, but the main aim of the tasks, facilitated by the teacher, is to recall the text in the language of instruction, based on the Romani spoken by the pupils. The purpose of the teacher-led translanguaging and the shifts in this process are therefore twofold: on the one hand, to recall the content of the poem, and on the other hand, to be able to formulate it in Hungarian, too, alongside Romani. The pupils are excited and fully engaged in summarising the content of the text also in Hungarian. The teacher's communication plays a significant role in making the lesson dynamic, the children active and free. Consciously integrating the two languages into the activity, she builds on the home language of the pupils and thus contributes to a relaxed classroom atmosphere, to the pupils' participation in the lesson without inhibitions, and to building their self-confidence. It is worth looking at the pupils' faces during and after the final successful recitation of the poem: one can read the joy and pride they feel at the experience of success.

Video 3 (*Going beyond languages*) is a further example of positive reinforcement and of the crucial role teachers' questions play in facilitating learning. In video 3, the children had to predict the content of a fairy tale based on the title and illustrations in the textbook. One by one, the pupils try to guess what the story might be about. One of the pupils answered in Romani, and the teacher, not understanding the answer exactly, asked another pupil if she understood. The teacher, however, refrained from pointing out that she failed to understand what the pupil said because it was in Romani. Instead, she embedded her reflection on her own (lack of) understanding in a word of praise, claiming that the pupils said so much that it was hard for her to follow. She asked if the problematic utterance was about luck, suggesting to the learner who said it that his contribution was correct. Then the same learner repeated what was said before, now in Hungarian (video 3: 2.30–3.06). The teacher's deliberately leaves out of focus the language learners speak while developing their ideas and tries to involve everyone in the class as much as possible. To this end, she opens the floor for the children to shift the conversation to Romani. The teacher makes sure that the pupils do not experience Romani contributions as something that causes the class to be disrupted, but as contributing factor to the success of the lesson.

In a scene filmed during a fifth-grade Hungarian class taught by a third teacher, Erika, (video 10, *Enhancing the prestige of Romani within the group*), the pupils were asked to summarise in Hungarian the Roma folk tale read in Hungarian in the previous session. Not everyone was able to complete the task in Hungarian and, as the teacher's reflection (video 10: 0.36–1.20) indicates, the task was difficult. Therefore, the teacher introduced a translanguaging shift, modifying the task (video 10: 1.21–2.26):

- (4) teacher *Aki úgy érzi, hogy cigányul jobban megy, az úgy mondja.*
 ‘Those who feel it would be easier in Gypsy, they can say it in Gypsy.’
- pupil *Cigányul?*
 ‘In Gypsy?’
- teacher *Persze. Lehet cigányul is*
 ‘Sure. You can say it in Gypsy.’
- pupil *Én nem szeretném.*
 ‘I wouldn’t like to.’
- teacher *Na, akkor monddad gyorsan!*
 ‘Go on, say it then.’

Not everyone takes up the opportunity to say it in Romani as offered by the teacher. The first pupil, in (4) above, is surprised, and chooses to give his summary in Hungarian. However, the next pupil, who is among those who could not answer the question in Hungarian in the first round, answers this time in Romani. He seems confused again, but the teacher comes to his rescue, confirming that this time he can choose the language he wants. Then, after some hesitation, the boy makes use of the opportunity (video 10: 1.56–2.16) and completes the task in Romani, thus shifting the course of the lesson. This was the first Romani utterance during the completion of the task and it provided a pattern for the other pupils: the majority of the learners who followed carried on using Romani. The teacher’s instruction which allowed Romani to appear in the pupils’ outputs brought about a change in the learners’ language practices. The most obvious sign of the change in the hierarchy between languages is that the pupil who was the first one to speak and who, despite being offered the chance to speak in Romani chose Hungarian, told the teacher after his peers finished their summaries that he wanted to summarise the plot a third time, but this time in Romani. The teacher first did not hear what he said, but the others passed on the request, and the opportunity was granted (video 10: 3.46–4.16).

The pupil described in the above analysis presented successfully in Hungarian. However, when he saw that most of the pupils who came after him answered in Romani, it suddenly became important for him to say the same thing this time in Romani. The teacher’s reaction shows that she considers the opportunity to speak in Romani important. Vogel and García also note that during translanguaging, the teacher builds on the learners’ diverse linguistic practices, and in doing so, among other things, she develops a socio-emotional bond with the learners, in addition to contributing to reshuffling the hierarchy between languages (2017: 10). A good example of this change in hierarchy can be seen in the scene analysed above. Teachers’ talk in this lesson only creates the possibility of a translanguaging shift, which

learners can take advantage of, and it is down to the learners to embrace or reject it. The teacher remains in “monolingual mode” throughout.

This is not the case in video 12 (*Translanguaging corriente*), recorded in one of Tünde's history classes, where a teacher-initiated translanguaging shift is implemented. Pupils in Year 7 are learning about the social history of ancient Rome. In a group activity, pupils learn about the lifestyles of the rich and the poor. The task is as follows: each group is given statements in writing (in Hungarian) about the way of life of the Romans; group members have to decide whether a statement refers to the rich or the poor. The task is checked by the teacher (video 12: 1.39–2.58), at which point she introduces the Romani opposition *csóro* ‘poor’ and *barvalo* ‘rich’. The groups have to assign their sentences to the categories labelled with these Romani words. In this case, the teacher deliberately performs a translanguaging shift, only symbolically, but in a way that linguistic resources associated with Romani appear in her communication. At first, the learners are reluctant to use Romani resources instead of Hungarian when solving the task, but given that the teacher insists on it and does not allow the children to switch to Hungarian, they accept the Romani solutions and keep using it.

In another lesson of Tünde's, shown in video 11 dedicated to teacher talk (*Translanguaging in teachers' interactional practices*), the translanguaging shift transforms teacher talk itself (cf. also Chapters 9.3 and 16.3). Here, at certain moments, Romani language resources appear in the teacher's communication as Tünde speaks Romani in her class. Her Romani utterances include general classroom-related verbal performances, such as greeting the children. At other times, she gives short instructions in Romani, but Romani elements appear in the feedback and evaluation given to learners. In scene 2 (video 11: 1.30–1.38), she uses the Romani expression *lácso* (‘well’) to confirm to a pupil that he has done well in the task, and in scene 4 (video 11: 1.52–2.07) she gives a pupil *duj loulo* points, i.e. ‘two red’ points, a form of reward in the Hungarian school system. In scenes 3 (video 11: 1.40–1.50) and 5 (video 11: 2.12–2.37), she tells the class to be quiet in Romani: *csütten!* (‘be quiet!’). In other instances, using Romani language elements (*loulo* ‘red’), she instructs the class to work with a red pencil: *LOULO ceruza a kézben!* (‘RED pencil in hand!’). In scene 5, she counts down in Romani before the time given for the task is up: *jekh, duj, trin* (‘one, two, three’). These examples taken from Tünde's class illustrate that all the teacher needs to do is learn a few phrases and instructions in Romani. However, the use of these is not only a friendly gesture towards the learners (which is also important, as it contributes to increasing the prestige of Romani for the learners), but also a sign that there is a place for Romani communication in the classroom.

Unlike the other two teachers, Zita and Erika, Tünde weaves Romani resources into her utterances. As she reported, she sees the advantages of this strategy in the balancing of interpersonal relationships with her pupils (cf. Chapter 10.1: “They have

experienced in the translanguaging classes that anyone can learn a language, and that adults, too, can be language learners. That they, too, can teach me and others”). In this way, she (who happens to be a teacher of French, too) becomes a (language) learner, and she is placed in situations in which she feels linguistically insecure. This allows her to develop a better understanding of the learners’ position.

10.3 Summary: An emergent translanguaging stance and learning design

Because of the low social prestige of Romani and its speakers in Hungary and Slovakia, teachers of children whose repertoires include Romani alongside their other languages rarely think of learning the language. At the start of our project, a common objection from teachers, who generally feel overburdened, was that they do not have the time and energy to learn the children’s language, or even to make themselves familiar to some extent with learners’ home language practices. They argued that translanguaging is impossible, or at least severely hindered, if teachers do not know the learners’ language. However, those teachers who did try to develop a translanguaging stance, reported positive experiences.

As we have seen in the above analyses, a translanguaging stance allows for a wide range of possibilities in learning organisation by including more than one language. One way is for the teacher to become a language learner, like Tünde, through symbolic gestures, through the use of short utterances, even single Romani words. In this case, teachers make use of planned translanguaging shifts: they invite learners to speak Romani or to work with Romani at particular points in the class. They set aside time for translanguaging in this way within the class (Li 2011). Another strategy, illustrated by Zita’s and Erika’s practices, is to remain simply open towards learners and their ways of speaking, not only accepting but also supporting Romani and translingual practices in the classroom. These teachers remain in a monolingual instructional mode (they themselves do not use Romani resources), but create the possibilities for translanguaging shifts. They do it mainly in two ways, according to our analysis above. The first one of these entails explicit statements concerning the points at which they expect Romani to be spoken instead of, or in addition to, Hungarian. The second technique requires some experience and practice on the part of the teacher, and it involves getting the learners used to the idea of, and building their confidence for, making the translanguaging shifts themselves in moments when they feel the need to do so.

All of these strategies lead to similar results. An emergent translanguaging stance not only changes the characteristics of teacher talk, but also rewrites

classroom dialogues and the interpersonal relations and prestige relations underlying them. The adoption of a translanguaging stance has triggered a partial transformation in the ways in which teachers participating in the project speak in their daily work activities and a fundamental rethinking of the ways in which they organise learning (mentioned in both Zita's and Tünde's contributions to this chapter) to facilitate shifts of one kind or other.

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11 Translanguaging shift and institutional settings: Impact beyond the classroom

In Hungary, schools with a language of instruction other than Hungarian belong mostly to institutions of elite education. Bilingual institutions are scarce, and, besides elite education, they focus on the needs of (German, Serbian, Romanian, Croatian etc.) national minorities (on the topic of bilingual education in Hungary cf. Vámos 2016). Otherwise, public education on a broad scale is available only in Hungarian monolingual schools. Hungarian speakers in Hungary are also known as the population with the weakest foreign language skills in the European Union. In addition to a sense of relative linguistic isolation (Hungarian is classified as a Non-Indo-European language and Hungarians do not understand without targeted learning activities any other European language) and organisational problems of foreign language teaching, a historic monolingual ideological orientation is the reason for this situation (cf. Chapter 2). Monolingual ideologies centre not so much on the typologically relatively distinct features of Hungarian in its Central European environment, but on the fact that historically it has been constituted as a “unique and isolated” language and linguistic community. Hungarian speakers, at least inside the borders of Hungary, are characterised by attitudes which gravitate towards the standard, and non-standard ways of speaking are clearly marked and stigmatised.

In the states neighbouring Hungary, there are several million speakers who use Hungarian as their home language, of which a few hundred thousand live in Southern Slovakia. Over the last century, approximately since the end of World War I, these Hungarian speakers have been largely isolated from sociolinguistic processes in Hungary. As a result, Hungarian has developed into a pluricentric language in its Central European context. After an intense scholarly debate at the end of the 1990s (cf. Kontra and Saly eds. 1998; Tarsoly 2016: 228), this orientation gained also ideological support. Speakers of Hungarian in the neighbouring Central European states are in a minority position, usually intertwined with a strong Hungarian national identity. Their ways of speaking are recognizably different from those living in Hungary, because for most of the 20th century the borders that separated them were often less or not at all permeable (cf. Sándorová and Vančo 2021). In conjunction with this their language practices are influenced by the state language of the respective countries where they live. In and around

Szímő (Zemné), for example, ethnic Hungarians learn Slovak only at school as a second or environmental language and often to medium levels of attainment.

The schools in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné) were strongly oriented toward monolingualism in the past, regarding both the curricula and teachers' own language ideologies. In situations like this, students' multilingualism remains often hidden or unnoticed (Gogolin 2004: 55). However, this is not an Eastern-European issue; schools have mostly monolingual policies across the western world and teachers usually do not acknowledge or value students' multilingualism as a learning resource. Multilingual learning approaches often have no role in learning activities, whether codified in school curricula or not, nor practiced in schools in the everyday (Shohamy 2006; Gkaintartzi, Kiliari, and Tsokalidou 2015; Pulinx, Van Avermaet, and Agirdag 2017). This is largely independent from teachers' personal attitudes towards multilingualism. Positive attitudes do not necessarily result in promoting multilingual learning approaches, but training in language awareness can bring about changes in this regard (Alisaari et al. 2019). This is in line with our pilot projects: workshops for teachers about principles and practices linked to a translanguaging pedagogical stance resulted in changes in teachers' attitudes toward the home language practices of their pupils and regarding their own teaching habits, too. The teachers' new beliefs and attitudes had an impact on extra-curricular activities, which meant that the institutional environment also began to change. This chapter discusses how this happens and what consequences it has for the educational environment as a whole.

11.1 Innovative pedagogical strategies in a monolingual environment

For more than a decade, the school in Tiszavasvári has been attended almost exclusively by Romani-speaking emergent bilingual children (cf. Chapter 4.1). Most learners consider themselves Roma also in Szímő (Zemné). However, due to the low prestige of Romani, its non-standardised status, and the local circumstances (cf. Chapter 4), Hungarian monolingualism remained the dominant approach to instruction in Tiszavasvári until the start of the translanguaging project. The school in Szímő (Zemné) undertook language-related projects in which the home language practices of Roma learners were valued, in particular as part of their cultural tradition. The learning difficulties of Roma children can be traced back to a number of factors, from characteristics of early socialisation and marginalised status to ideological distance, based on local traditions, from school etc. (Gerganov, Varbanova, and Kyuchukov 2005; Flecha and Soler 2013; Tóth 2020; Csikósne Maczó and Rajcsányi-Molnár

2020). In line with Jaspers (2019), we think that education is an open and dynamic system, and the consequences of introducing a translanguaging stance alone do not solve complex and tenacious problems. But language issues are an important component in reducing these difficulties, as the acceptance of the students' personality and family background is not conceivable without accepting their language practices and understanding their language ideologies.

In 2009, the school in Tiszavasvári was taken over from the municipality by a foundation, and in 2019 by the Hungarian Pentecostal Church. (The share of church schools in primary education in Hungary is over 15%, in secondary education over 21% and growing – Pusztai, Bacskaï, and Morvai 2021: 2). Since 2009 the dominant trend was that Roma families sent their children to school in Magiszter, and, according to local views, in the next few years the school came to be associated exclusively with the Roma, irreversibly. This is why the governing body of the school launched their complex integration programme, which operates with the tools of prevention through education and learning. The aim is to develop a life-long career model, which provides opportunities and solutions to the problems of families living around the school, mostly under the poverty line. This programme focuses on laying the foundations for basic literacy through physical-mental, emotional and intellectual development. The teachers and professionals involved in this programme aim to develop in their pupils the skills and competences that will lay the foundations for life-long learning, in which the emphasis is on practical, hands-on skills. The first results of the programme include the fact that an increasing number of children continue their education at secondary level (although they often drop out) that education and schooling are regarded increasingly favourably by members of the community. The expected breakthrough, however, which would have triggered radical changes in the lives of Roma children have yet to be accomplished.

At the same time, language-related barriers to successful learning were noticed by the teaching staff. Parents were teaching their children to communicate only in Hungarian outside the community, saying that "Hungarians" did not like or understand Romani. The pressure from outside to become monolingual thus became internal, and local Roma adapted in this way. The pressure to erase the differences related to the Roma, to make them invisible, is not only a feature of Tiszavasvári, but of the whole of Europe (cf. Richardson 2020). The result of this pressure locally was that Romani became almost a secret language for the community. For years even after the arrival of the research team in the school, many teachers believed that Romani had little or no presence in most children's families. At the same time, the children were noticeably quiet at school, often unable to express their thoughts in Hungarian in a way that they did at home. This was not taken into account by either the urban community or the school's teaching staff. The children, who already had difficulty in learning because of their social disadvantages, carried the

burden of this ignorance, too. One can imagine the extent to which members of the Romani-speaking community endeavored to conceal their practices, considering that many non-Roma living in the town were unaware that Romani was a living language there. Most of the children's time and energy was spent concentrating on not speaking their home language at school and trying to understand instead what the teacher was saying in Hungarian.

The school in the municipality of Szímő (Zemné) has also made several attempts to optimise the organisation of activities which reach beyond everyday education and enhance children's success in life. A project launched in 2009 focused on differentiated skills development for pupils in lower secondary education, while the project launched a year later focused specifically on developing the skills and competences of Roma pupils. The school was then able to employ 'teaching assistants' of local origin (without qualifications) who also spoke Romani. In addition, a Roma studies expert was involved in the project's activities. The children took part in Roma poem recital competitions, for which they learned and presented poems, some of them in Romani, by a Hungarian Roma poet, György Rostás-Farkas. Typically, these were adapted by the children, parents and the experts involved to local ways of speaking in order to ensure they were intelligible to local speakers. In the course of teachers' daily work, however, it was clear that all this was not enough: as teachers and pupils struggled side-by-side to complete certain tasks, with each helping the other linguistically, teachers realised time and again that teaching and educating children who spoke Romani at home was not feasible without the use of Romani in schools.

11.2 Introducing a translanguaging stance in a monolingual school environment

The introduction of translanguaging as a pedagogical stance in the schools relied on this openness towards pedagogical innovation in both schools, which served as a counter-point to the strong monolingual ideologies promulgated by the state and the school. Translanguaging is and was in both schools an innovation supported by the headteacher. In Tiszavasvári, after reading the first journal article written about the experience gathered at the school (Heltai 2016), the headteacher showed considerable interest toward translanguaging and started to develop a translanguaging stance in her own teaching. In Szímő (Zemné), the headteacher and some other colleagues joined the Erasmus+ project at the end of 2019.

Based on her first positive impressions, the headteacher in Tiszavasvári invited members of the research group for a joint workshop with the teaching staff.

Researchers and student researchers presented some findings of their ethnographic fieldwork (cf. Chapter 7.1) and a “translanguaging catechism”, based mainly on García and Kleyn eds. 2016 and García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017. The catechism entails, in ten questions and answers presented on four pages, information about the concept of translanguaging, the linguistic repertoire of the local children, and the possibilities of translanguaging in everyday school activities. The participants of the workshop discussed this material in a 120-minute session in August 2017. During the next two academic years, monthly 90-minute workshops were organised. Researchers and students spent on average three days a month in the school. They attended classes taught by the teachers who were interested in trying out translanguaging. As teachers’ participation remained voluntary, about 30% of the teachers invited the visitors to one or more of their classes. During these visits, researchers and student researchers collected their impressions of the teachers’ developing translanguaging stance. Teachers also observed in other’s classes and engaged in peer dialogue about their experience. Good practices were shared in the workshops (cf. Chapter 5.1). The discussions were recorded. Below, we provide excerpts in 1, 2a, 2b, and 3 from the workshop in January 2018, which took place a full semester after the introduction of the translanguaging catechism. (The names in the excerpts below are pseudonyms, except for Erika Puskás’s who is one of the authors of the present volume).

- (1) Alma *Én például azt figyeltem meg [. . .], hogy a gyerekek sokkal szívesebben, bátrabban, tehát meg mernek eleve szólalni cigányul. Nem szólunk rájuk, hogy ne beszélj így, hanem bátran. Tehát- gát nincs bennük. [. . .] És mi is használjuk a színek megnevezésénél, vagy egyszerűbb kifejezéseknél. és úgy élvezik a gyerekek. Tehát bátran el tudják mondani az érzéseiket* (also cited in Heltai: 146).

‘For example, I have noticed [. . .] that children are much more willing, more courageous, and therefore dare to speak Gypsy. We don’t tell them not to speak like that, but to speak bravely. So, there is no barrier. [. . .] And we also use it when naming colours, or in simpler expressions. And the children enjoy it. So, they can express their feelings.’

- (2a) Virág *Ki is állt négy gyerek, és elkezdtek a mesét mondani, és ami meggyőzött most is, tehát (név), aki a hal volt, ugye próbálta- válaszolni, és akkor mondtam neki, hogy nyugodtan mondjad, mintha anyukádnak mondanád otthon. Úgy beszélt cigány nyelven, hogy még én is meglepődtem, és ő nagyon gyenge képességű gyerek, viszont nagyon szépen elmondta. Hát az egy mondat- több mondat volt, amit ott válaszolt a*

halásznak. Ő ennek utána, mikor vége volt az óra-, ő nagyon büszke volt magára, tehát nagyon motiválja a gyerekeket, jó volt (also cited in Heltai 2020: 146).

‘In the end, four kids came forward and started telling the story, and what convinced me was that [learner’s name], who was the fish, he was trying to answer, and then I told him: “Go ahead and say it, as if you were talking to your mum”. He spoke in Gypsy so fluently that even I was surprised, and he is a child of less than average ability, but he told his part very nicely. Well, the one sentence became several sentences as he answered the fisherman. At the end of the class, he was very proud of himself, so, this [technique] is very motivating for the children, it was good.’

- (2b) Virág *A másik dolog, amit akartam mondani, hogy nem élnek vissza. Nem élnek vissza velem. Tehát ez is úgy jött- tehát mi elkezdjük magyarul, és amikor adódik a helyzet, akkor mondja. Tehát nem kötelezem, ha észreveszem, hogy nem tudja kifejezni, akkor mondom, hogy mondhatod, ha anyu- mi- nálunk ezt úgy hívjuk, hogy ha anyukádnak mondanád, hogy ő is megértené. De nem élnek velem vissza* (also cited in Heltai 2020: 149).

‘The other thing I wanted to say is that they don’t abuse it. They don’t abuse this possibility. This also just happened, so, we start in Hungarian, and when the situation arises, they say it. I don’t impose it on them. When I notice that they can’t express themselves, I say you can say it as if your mummy (that’s how we say it here) as if to your mother so that she would understand. But it’s never abused.’

- (3) Livia *Hát mint nálam [név], mert ő papíros. És ahhoz képest úgy beszél cigányul, hogyha neki lehet, akkor folyékonyan. És csak mondja, mondja, mondja. [. . .] Volt olyan gyerek, aki egyáltalán nem is értette, hogy én mit akarok tőle, elmagyarázták neki cigányul. Tehát én ebből sose csinállok nagy ügyet vagy problémát. [. . .] De amúgy élvezik, mert engem tanítanak* (also cited in Heltai 2020: 147).

‘Well, in my class, there is [name], he’s got a paper [for a disability check]. Considering that, he speaks Gypsy fluently when he is given the chance. And he just talks and talks and talks. There were children who didn’t even understand what I wanted from them, so, others explained it to them in Gypsy. I never make a big deal out of it. But they enjoy it anyway, because they teach me.’

In the excerpts, teachers discuss the benefits of allowing the pupils to speak their home language variety in everyday school activities in an early phase of the project. Teachers generally speak of the benefits on learner's linguistic behaviour: they speak Romani more fluently and more willingly, they communicate more freely, and they are given a better chance to achieve their full potential; as shown in 1 and 2a.

In the workshops held during the two academic years, teachers discussed their worries and reservations; they took the opportunity to convince each other that feeling concerned was inevitable yet unfounded. One of their main concerns was that pupils might take advantage of teachers' monolingualism and poor understanding of Romani and disrupt the class with Romani language taunts that mock teachers and hinder their learning. The first pilot classes showed that these fears were unfounded in the case of teachers who otherwise have a good relationship with pupils, as stated in excerpt 2b.

Teachers also discover new and unexpected qualities in their pupils as in 2a: "He spoke in Gypsy so fluently that even I was surprised, and he is a child of less than average ability, but he told his part very nicely" and 3 ". . . he's got a paper [for a disability check]. Considering that, he speaks Gypsy fluently when he is given the chance". The expression *papíros* 'having a piece of paper' means in teachers' jargon that the class teacher has the permission, with parental consent, to initiate a developmental review process on behalf of the learner (EMMI 2013). The outcomes of the review are documented, stating the child's potential limitations, where necessary, in general and cognitive ability; hence, these children will be "covered by a piece of paper" or "documented" (Hu., informal, *papíros*). The areas of development and the date of the next review are proposed at the end of the consultation. However, parents can choose not to follow the teachers' advice and not to bring their children for the review. In the Magiszter school in Tiszavasvári, 42 learners were "documented" in the academic year 2021/2022, but teachers say that the number could be considerably higher if parents followed teachers' proposals for an examination.

These opinions exemplify that students' weak language competences in Hungarian, on the one hand, and, on the other, their general linguistic and even cognitive abilities are not necessarily separated in teachers' minds. Although we have always stressed the importance of this distinction in our workshops, we must stress that this distinction has to be understood in the context of Roma learners' multiple difficulties, stemming from a variety of sources alongside their bilingualism, at the start of school. Pedagogically challenging situations, however, are always complex, and they must be viewed in the broad perspective of their social, emotional, and cognitive implications; therefore, solutions cannot rely on a single factor, such as language alone (cf. Jaspers 2019). Roma students often face

difficulties of a social nature which manifest themselves in the form of learning disabilities at the moment they enter school. For example, according to the results of a school readiness test (SRT) used countrywide in Hungary (Diagnostic Development Screening System, DIFER, cf. Nagy et al. 2016 [2004]), approximately at the same time when our project started (2017), 2 out of 56 pupils entering the first grade reached the required school readiness level in the Tiszavasvári school (Baloghné Birgán 2017). There is no data on how much these results are affected by real setbacks in physical and/or cognitive development, or to what extent they are a reflection of the Hungarian monolingual testing system (instructions are given in Hungarian, and language-based tasks are linked to Hungarian – about 30 percent of the testing system is language-based in addition to the instructions).

Assuming that pupils would perform better in a test which is aligned to their home language practices, at the beginning of the 2017/2018 school year, the members of the translanguaging workshop measured the pupils' ability to understand and produce texts in Hungarian and in local Romani ways of speaking. Workshop participants created a test based on the language-related tasks of the DIFER (Nagy et al. 2016 [2004]) screening system. This test was produced in two ways: based on Hungarian and on local Romani (cf. Heltai and Jani-Demetriou 2017). The Romani version (hereafter: the translanguing test) allowed the pupils to mobilise their Romani resources. When designing the new test, the developers assumed that the DIFER test gives an unrealistic picture of Roma children's readiness for school in Tiszavasvári because it assumes Hungarian-language home socialisation and measures the presence or absence of skills that are largely language-related (cf. Heltai and Jani-Demetriou 2018; Heltai 2020: 166–178).

The pupils (N=45) had two tasks in both the translanguing and the Hungarian test. In the first task they saw 3 pictures and they had to describe them. In both tests, the pictures were drawings or paintings. In the translanguing test they depicted real-life situations (families, houses, events, environments etc.), which we assumed children would be familiar with, whereas the pictures in the standardised test were selected because we assumed they would be more abstract for the children, depicting similar situations but less related to the children's life experience. In the second task, pupils were asked to listen to a story (a tale) both in local Romani and in Hungarian; in Romani the recording was made with the contribution of a local Roma woman, and in Hungarian with the contribution of one of the Budapest-based university students. The pupils had to summarise the story by telling it. The staff conducting the examination consisted of a local teacher, a researcher, and a bilingual local participant. During the translanguing test, the Romani-speaking examiner initiated a conversation in Romani, the local teacher in Hungarian, and the children had the possibility to speak as they wished. They spoke mostly in Romani, but some pupils spoke both in Romani and in Hungarian

in different tasks or different phases of the test, others mostly or practically only in Hungarian. Therefore, the examiners decided to design three categories to evaluate the results (Fig. 1):

| Learners' language choice | mostly Romani (n = 27) | both Hungarian and Romani (n = 10) | mostly Hungarian (n = 8) |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Results in the translingual test | 68,2% | 58,1% | 43% |
| Results in the Hungarian test | 58,1% | 58,8% | 57% |

Fig. 1: Impact of learners' language choice on test outcomes.

Heltai and Jani-Demetriou's (2018: 10–12) interpretation of these results leads to three important findings. These are, in ascending order of importance: 1) the hypothesis that learners will perform significantly better on the translingual test than on the standard test has been partially confirmed. Those who mobilised mostly Romani resources were able to achieve better results in the translingual test. This group includes 60% of the children. However, the hypothesis cannot be confirmed either for those who spoke mostly Hungarian or for those who used resources from both languages. 2) Some learners rejected entirely Romani-based communication, while others strived to speak Hungarian, too, alongside Romani. This phenomenon can be explained by speakers' perceptions according to which there are a few families in the community which prioritise Hungarian in language socialisation. Another possible, and perhaps more plausible explanation is that there are families which prepare their children for education by proscribing the use of Romani in school. 3) The results of the Hungarian test are not adversely affected by the presumed bilingual socialisation. A very important result is that the presence of Romani in the children's lives has no negative impact on their performance in the Hungarian language test. On the contrary, children who spoke both languages or mainly Romani, performed better, if only slightly, on the standard test. This result is of central importance because it contradicts the widespread ideology that minority-language and bilingual socialisation is a factor that hinders school success in a monolingual (majority-language) school, while majority-language socialisation is a factor that supports school success.

In recent years, teachers in the schools of Tiszavasvári and Szímó (Zemné) have developed a variety of pedagogical approaches to help pupils overcome their assumed "language deficit". Language deficit is a concept that is very much alive in Hungarian (language) educational scholarship, in which it made advances in the 1980's (e.g. Bíró 1984). Some studies build on Bernstein's work (1971) and assume the coexistence of social disadvantage and language deficit (Oláh Örsi

2005; Nemes 2016). A different, cultural anthropological approach is concerned with the correlation between non-majority cultural heritage and school failure (Réger 1984, 1995; Derdák and Varga 1996; Bartha 2015). Critique on language deficit approaches appeared in Hungarian by members of the research team (Heltai 2017; Jani-Demetriou 2020).

In order to overcome the “language deficit”, one of the school’s previous pedagogical efforts was to focus on intensive Hungarian vocabulary building and on increasing learners’ courage to speak. In the practice of some teachers this was combined with a ban on the use of Romani, on the grounds that this would help improve the Hungarian language competences of the pupils more quickly. This practice was implemented by the teachers in the classroom to some degree, but, as expected, it was impossible to fully control the learners’ conversations with each other. One of the first grade classes in the academic year 2017–2018, taught by Zita Tündik, was chosen to pilot translanguaging. In order to measure the impact of translanguaging education, workshop members agreed that Zita would actively include Romani in the classroom from the beginning of the year, while the teacher of the other Year 1 class would do the same only from the second semester. At the end of this experimental semester, workshop members arranged a second progress test among the first-grade learners.

Similar to the school readiness test a semester before, the second test had a Hungarian and a translingual version, but team members also included written tasks (reading comprehension). The class which had started the school year with a translanguaging approach, performed significantly better on both tests. Regarding the written tests for example, Zita’s class achieved an average result of 51% in the translingual test and 57% in the standard one, while the other class achieved 27% and 28%, respectively. However, other variables (e.g. methodological differences in the practice of the two teachers, social differences between the families of the children attending the two classes, etc.) may also have contributed to these differences, which calls for caution in the interpretation of the results (cf. Heltai and Jani-Demetriou 2018: 13–16).

The remaining part of this chapter is dedicated to school-level and institutional-level policies triggered by the workshops piloting translanguaging, including the transformations concerning the kindergarten attached to Magiszter, as well as the subject-specific applications of a translanguaging stance.

11.3 Transformation of school-level policies based on teachers' individual practice

When certain teachers are committed to translanguaging, their activities can become inspiring for others (teachers, learners, and staff) in the school. In Magiszter, Romani language practices reach an increasing number of domains compared to the purely monolingual Hungarian school environment prior to the project, and translanguaging impacts linguistic practices outside the classroom environment, extending it to the entire school.

The Hungarian class in video 1 (*Translanguaging as cultural mediation*) is centred around the recitation of a poem (cf. also Chapter 9 and Chapter 10.2). The teacher (Zita Tündik) revises with the pupils a poem they learnt for a recital competition a year and a half before, where a pupil recited a poem by the Roma poet Leksa Manush in both Hungarian and Romani (video 1: 0.15–0.39). One of the school's teaching assistants, who is familiar with local Romani, adapted the original Romani text of the poem to local ways of speaking in order to make it easier for the pupils to learn it. The possibility for children to recite in languages other than Hungarian (not only within the classroom but also at the competition) is not a wide-spread practice in the education system and is a shift away from the monolingual curriculum beyond the level of school classes.

In this class, Zita, the teacher deliberately focuses on the learner who participated in the recital competition and who won a prize for his performance (video 1: 0.50–1.00). The boy who stands in front of the class activates his classmates' prior knowledge by reciting the poem in Romani, so that they can put together the text of the whole poem, first in Romani and then in Hungarian, with the guidance of the teacher.

When asked by the teacher whether he remembers the Romani or the Hungarian version better, the boy gives a clear answer: the Romani. In fact, he claims that he does not remember the Hungarian version of the poem at all (video 1: 1.00–1.10). Later, pupils put the text together, first in Romani, then, after having been given a foundation which activated their entire repertoire, also in Hungarian. This suggests that Romani-related practices dominate the children's repertoire. The important lesson Zita draws from this at the end of the video is that the Romani version seems to be more effectively integrated into the children's long-term memory than the Hungarian. The classroom practice witnessed here has implications for school contexts beyond the classroom. The learner was enabled to enter the school recital competition with a Romani poem; teachers other than the class teacher and learners from other classes were taking part in this recital, witnessing the learners' performance. In addition to this, he won first place, which gave an important symbolic

endorsement to Romani and to translanguaging classroom practices outside the classroom at the institutional level.

Video 16 (*Translanguaging in a fixed school practice*) shows a fixed school practice, the act of reporting, which takes place at the beginning of classes, and whose purpose is to inform the teacher about the number of missing learners, and create a symbolic break between leisure time and learning. Two pupils in weekly rotation are assigned to perform this task. They have an overall responsibility to ensure that the material conditions for teaching and learning are in place in the classroom (e.g. they wipe the blackboard, they help the teacher carry realia into the classroom, they air the room during breaks, etc.). They present the reports based on a formulaic text. These same sentences have been repeated at the beginning of every class taught in Hungary for decades. But these pupils speak, in their perception, Romani – although speakers of Hungarian will notice that they add Romani endings to a total of four words, thus creating what they believe to be a Romani text (video 16: 00.55–01.20). A detailed analysis of the text and the pupils' performance as a mimetic act is provided in Chapter 9. What is important from the perspective of the cross-institutional presence of translanguaging is that this Romani report is a typical daily routine task of institutional life in school, and by starting the lesson in this way the learners also render the classroom a translanguaging space. This modified practice shows that for the duration of the class, within this community, translanguaging has a place. In this case, it is not a classroom practice which is institutionalised, but an institutional practice is transformed in the classroom, creating new opportunities, even for the whole institution.

Video 26 (*Reflecting on constructions of Roma identity*) shows a scene in which pupils had to work in groups. During the class in which the video was made, the class discussed Roma culture and identity. The groups made posters which were later displayed in the school corridors. The task was for pupils to select a few images, which they would like to see displayed in their classroom, from a larger bunch provided by their teacher, Erika. The images included symbols (flags) associated with Roma national aspirations and the Hungarian tricolour, stock photos of people in both Roma and Hungarian folk costume, paintings romanticising the Roma, etc. Some of the images were considered by the teacher more Roma and others more Hungarian. The teacher, who is also the headteacher of the school, has contributed to the prestige of the Romani by encouraging the creation of the posters. As the head of the school, she set an example to her colleagues, encouraging them to be bold and engage with learners' home languages and identities. The posters had been integrated into the linguistic landscape of the school, where they attracted the attention of learners from other classes, as illustrated in video 27.

In video 27 (*Representations: Translanguaging as a concept and linguistic landscape*), the teacher addresses her own language policy in the classroom, which is encouraged and supported by the school administration, but not in the curricular framework, as the language policy of the school. She declares: “we do translanguaging here at school”. In the video, she draws learners’ attention to the fact that there are visible signs of this in the school (for more on linguistic landscape, cf. Chapter 12). She identifies the school as a translanguaging space (video 27: 3.32–4.06). Children are clearly familiar even with the term translanguaging. One of the pupils incorporated it into his Romani answer (video 27: 2.55–3.05 – excerpt 4).

(4) pupil *Ande káver iskola ámenká szembe, hi egy- egy- otej o fojosovo, oprej irimi: transzlingválási.*

‘IN THE SCHOOL BUILDING OPPOSITE US, THERE IS A CORRIDOR WITH A POSTER SAYING: TRANSLANGUAGING.’

The term references bilingualism and the emancipation of Romani ways of speaking in the school. Children are not aware of its exact meaning, but they know that it has to do with the possibility of speaking Romani. The conversation between the teacher and the learners reflects not only Zita’s standpoint but also the school’s language policy. Translanguaging, thus, reaches outside the classroom, the school embraces it in the design of the learning environment, too, thus validating the use of Romani in the institution.

The video recordings surveyed above illustrate that teachers’ attitudes can bring about gradual change in the normative trends of school language policy. The monolingual norm, which mandates that only Hungarian should be used in the school, is being transformed. Some of the school’s teachers have become open to a translanguaging approach, giving learners the freedom to choose the language of their school. The way learners speak at home is appreciated; in some ways it is becoming equally valued as monolingual Hungarian utterances. The curriculum itself has not changed (there are no written amendments in official documents), but a progressive shift is taking place in educators’ life as a result of the change in perspective on language and the practical activities that follow from it. The norms of the existing school language policy have changed: the use of Romani has been added to Hungarian in class (even during tests and exams), outside the classroom (recitation competitions), and the linguistic landscape of the school has changed, too. This change is also felt by parents. The relationship between school and parents is strong, with regular programmes involving parents, often focusing on Romani and other social practices in the learners’ homes (for details on community-based learning and culturally transformative pedagogies, cf. Chapter 13). The gradual change in attitudes resulting from

the adoption of a translanguaging stance, therefore, is beginning to be felt across the institution and beyond, in the families the school services.

11.4 The impact of translanguaging on subject-specific learning and teaching: Case study on a mathematics class

Video 5 (*Translanguaging in Maths class*) is made in a third-grade class. The aim of the video is to show that translanguaging not only helps pupils to better express themselves in the humanities, but also supports them effectively in learning science subjects. The teaching of mathematics and languages can have a number of common objectives, such as supporting and strengthening the development of cognitive abilities and language operations; enhancing the understanding of ideas conveyed by texts; learning how to pick up on essential information and unpack meaning, enabling learners to express thoughts and formulate arguments based on learners' own linguistic means, and, last but not least, the understanding and use of technical language. Accordingly, video 5 is explored here from two perspectives. On the one hand, the comprehension of the types of texts which occur in text-based mathematical tasks, i.e. when the mathematical question is embedded in a story, and, on the other hand, the understanding of complex sentence structure.

The video shows a session whose aim is to get pupils to practice the four basic mathematical operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division), through a written task. The teacher told a story to motivate learners to solve the problems, which led to the basic instruction being replaced by a problem-solving question: "Which four gifts did the little mouse receive?" instead of "Complete the following calculations". As the task is embedded in a story, this is a text-based mathematical task. In such tasks, a mathematical model is needed to solve the problem or answer the question which is embedded in the text of the task.

The first step in solving a text-based task is to analyse the text and understand the problem. The text can be either read out or presented by the teacher, as if telling a story, as in the classroom scene analysed. Alternatively, learners can read the task independently, in which case a pupil who is confident in reading can read it out loud for the whole class or learners can read it for themselves. The ultimate aim is to enable learners to understand the task-based problem to be solved based on their own, independent reading. In all cases, the teacher must ensure that the pupils understand the text of the task, i.e. that a lack of understanding of the text does not prevent them from solving the problem. One way to

check the understanding of the text is to ask the pupils to explain it in their own words. This eliminates problems arising from a partial understanding of the task, and improves learners' analytical and comprehension skills. This is shown in the video: a learner explains the task in his own words in Romani (video 5: 1.43–2.10).

Paraphrasing is just one way of checking learners' understanding of the task in text-based mathematical exercises. From the point of view of mathematical operations, texts can be divided into two broad categories based on their complexity: single-operation (simple) tasks and multi-operation (complex) tasks. Simple text-based problems can be further divided into two broad groups, depending on linguistic formulation. The first group consists of tasks which refer clearly to the operation through which the solution is arrived at; for example: "I have 5 coins in one pocket and 3 more than that in my other pocket. How much money do I have in my other pocket?". The text elicits the operation suggested by the word *more* and *and*. So, the mathematical model is $5 + 3 =$ and the solution is 8. In the other group of simple text-based problems the text does not refer clearly to the operation. For example: "I have 5 coins in one pocket, 3 more than that in the other pocket. How much money do I have in my other pocket?" The mathematical model in this case is $5 - 3 =$ and the solution is 2. For both problems, it is useful to ask the question "Which pocket has more money?". The formulation of a question concerning the solution to the mathematical problem can also check the comprehension of the task. Realia or drawings to illustrate the task can serve as models in finding the solution and they can also be used to check comprehension.

Complex text-based problems require several operations to be solved. For example: "I have 5 coins in one pocket and 3 more than that in the other. How much money do I have in these two pockets?" In this case, too, we can check learners' understanding of the text by using a model: object manipulation, drawing, or an equation $5 + (5 + 3) =$. To make the solution somewhat easier, the same problem can be formulated as follows: "I have 5 coins in one pocket and 3 more than that in the other. How much money do I have in my two pockets in total?"

The data appearing in the tasks can be grouped according to their importance: there are necessary data and unnecessary data. Based on this, we can create four groups. There are texts containing (1) only necessary data, (2) necessary and some redundant data, (3) too little necessary data, and (4) too little necessary data alongside redundant data. In these cases, we can check understanding by identifying the necessary data. The separation of relevant and irrelevant data for problem solving is also related to text comprehension, and it is an important second step in problem solving, which follows the identification of the problem. The next steps in problem solving are: making a plan; implementing and checking the plan; looking for alternate solutions; checking the solution, and, finally, responding to the problem (Pólya 2014 [1945]; Conway 2014). The verification can be done from two points of view.

First, whether the operations have been carried out correctly; second, whether the result corresponds to the text of the task. The importance of understanding the text is paramount, here, too, just like in the answer.

Understanding the text of the problem is therefore a necessary but not a sufficient condition for solving it. At this elementary level of mathematical knowledge, the planning stage of the solution of text-based problems is embedded in language. Conversely, in the text-based response, language is built on mathematical thinking. In these cases, linguistic and mathematical thinking are inseparable, mutually interdependent, and interacting with each other.

Sentence-level understanding is a precondition for comprehension. The comprehension of sentences in Hungarian is influenced to a greater extent by clause and sentence construction, and whether the sentences in question are well formed, than by semantic choices (the use of words with the most precise meaning) (Szegefű 2017). This means that a word with a meaning which is unknown or uncertain to the learners is less of an obstacle to sentence interpretation than a grammatical construction which is not yet known as part of applications. Nonetheless, when formulating the text of a task, one must try to make the lexical choices which are age appropriate to the learners. In teachers' talk, it is particularly important to be conscious of sentence structure when working with children who are learning in a language other than their home language. These phenomena have received little attention so far; it seems to be taken for granted that children of pre-school age have all the potential to understand and practice the language of instruction (Köves and Szegefű 2015; Szegefű 2017).

When formulating the mathematical content, the sentence structure must serve the purpose of explaining and expressing the mathematical content in a manner which is technically appropriate but at the same time clear and meaningful for the learners. The linguistic formulation and the mathematical content should overlap. It is also important that there is a clear sequence of tasks. In video 5, for example, the interpretation of the structure with the infinitive (*megleپni* 'to surprise') and its adjunct (*csomagokkal* 'with parcels') in *csomagokkal készülnek megleپni a kiseget* 'they are preparing to surprise the little mouse with packages' may be difficult even for monolingual Hungarian children aged 9–10, because the noun *csomagokkal* 'with parcels' can be the extension of either the infinitive or the finite verb (*készülnek* 'they are preparing'); so, the two possible understandings are 'they are preparing with parcels (to surprise the little mouse)' or '(they are preparing) to surprise (the little mouse) with parcels'. The structure is clearer when expanded into a complex sentence consisting of two clauses and a verb form in the subjunctive in the purposive subclause *Arra készülnek, hogy csomagokkal leپjék meg a kiseget*.

(5) *Ar-ra készülnek, hogy csomagokkal lepjék meg a kiségeret.*

Ar-ra készül-nek hogy csomag-ok-kal lep-j-ék meg
 that-SUBL prepare-3PL that parcel-PL-INS surprise-SUBJ-3PL PFV
 a kis-eger-et
 the little-mouse-ACC

‘They are preparing [for that] they should surprise the little mouse with parcels.’

SUBL: sublative, PL: plural, ACC: accusative, SUBJ: subjunctive, 3PL: third person plural person marker, PFV: perfective verbal particle

The analytic structuring of the information renders this sentence easier to understand. The two actions (preparing, surprise) are clearly formulated in the two clauses with two finite verbs: 1. they are preparing to do something, 2. they will surprise the mouse with packages. In the next sentence, the instruction is imbedded in the text of the story: “You can find out what the little mouse’s friends prepared for her birthday by [looking at] the gift cards I will give every team . . .” (video 5: 1.00–1.16). If the instruction (“to find out, you will have to look at the cards”) is wedged into the texts of the problem-solving exercise (“the little mouse’s friends prepared something for his birthday”), it is more challenging for learners to understand. It would be easier to follow and understand the text if the story and the instruction were separated into shorter sentences; e.g. “I give gift cards to everyone, to all the teams”. With the latter sentence the teacher attempts precisely this kind of simplification. Not all students are given gift cards but each team receives a bunch. In questions such as “How many of these will you stick on the paper?”, it is usually helpful for learners if the noun is repeated together with the demonstrative pronoun: “How many of these 12 cards will you stick on the paper?”

Texts in mathematics classes, whether oral or written, should be as simple as possible, with a clear grammatical structure. This does not necessarily mean that teachers should use only the shortest possible sentences. It is perfectly acceptable, and even necessary, to repeat a concept, a word, in cases where this is useful for understanding. It is important, from both a linguistic and a mathematical point of view that texts, whether oral or written, are accurate and adequate. This is of particular importance for learners for whom translanguaging is almost a prerequisite for progress in their studies. For learners whose home language is not the same as the school’s language, unambiguous sentence structure is of particular importance. One of the prerequisites for the success of translanguaging is that learners can build on sentences in the language of instruction that are clearly structured and meaningful to them. In everyday practice, it is unrealistic to expect the teacher to bear the minutiae of all factors brought into this analysis, nor would it be life-like to speak in these elaborate yet concise ways. However, it is worth rethinking our

pedagogical possibilities in this direction, especially if we teach children whose language practices outside school are not aligned with the language of instruction.

11.5 Translanguaging in the local education programme, multilingual ideologies in practice: A kindergarten in Tiszavasvári

The kindergarten, which is located in the building next to the school, is in shared management with the school. The two institutions are united not only by financial management and professional supervision, they also cooperate on practical matters. The children from the nursery regularly visit pupils in the first grade, and sometimes the schoolchildren in the higher grades also visit the kindergarten. The kindergarten, similar to the school, is avoided by non-Roma families. Children enrolled in both institutions are connected by extended family ties and networks. Three-year-old children who can barely understand Hungarian are often admitted to kindergarten from families where Romani resources dominate communication and language socialisation. Hungarian monolingual kindergarten teachers find it difficult to communicate with these children. The difficulties are somewhat mitigated by the fact that two pedagogical assistants from the bilingual local community have been employed in the kindergarten in recent years. In a conversation with Krisztina Czumpft (excerpt 6), they stressed the importance of translation as one of their tasks:

- (6) Mária *Én úgy dolgozom az óvodában, mint roma anyanyelvi dajka és- ahol segíteni kell lefordítani a cigányt magyarra, én abban a csoportba szoktam menni. Ha megkérnek rá, segíték lefordítani roma nyelről magyarra [. . .] én mozgok az összes csoportban, igen, igen.*
 ‘I work in the kindergarten as a Romani-speaking assistant and – I go to groups where I have to help translate Gypsy into Hungarian. If they ask me, I help them to translate from Romani into Hungarian [. . .] I move around in all the groups, yes, yes.’
- Valéria *Van gyerek, aki csak cigányul beszélni [sic!], és odahívznak, hogy fordítsanak. [. . .] Értik ezt a cigányt is, de ha valamit nem értenek, akkor megyek én. Amikor a gyerek nem érti a magyart, és elmondom cigányul és egyre többet használják a magyart, amikor már megértik.*
 ‘There are children who to speak [sic!] Gypsy and they call me to translate. [. . .] They understand this Gypsy [language] also, but if

they don't understand something, I go. When a child doesn't understand something in Hungarian, I say it in Gypsy and they [children] use Hungarian more and more, when they understand it.'

The board of kindergarten educators consciously reflected on language-related issues even prior to the start of the project. As early as in 2010, the kindergarten deviated from the national kindergarten education programme and created its own bilingual education programme (Kulcsár-Alföldi and Fekete-Balogh 2010).

One of the results of the two institutions' collaborative work, which since 2017 has also included our research team, is that the kindergarten's teaching staff have developed the 2010 programme further, combining their prior experience with the newly encountered principles of translanguaging. The outcome was a new pedagogical programme for the kindergarten (Kulcsár-Alföldi ed. 2018). The programme designed in 2010 uses Romani elements of the children's linguistic repertoire as a means to an end, primarily for learning about majority customs and acquiring Hungarian language resources. In contrast, the new programme builds on the acquisition of knowledge, skills, and abilities based on the children's entire linguistic repertoire.

The chapters of the document concerning language educational issues (Kulcsár-Alföldi ed. 2018: 17–18) follow the principles of a pedagogy based on a translanguaging stance. The authors state that “the children coming to our kindergarten are characterised by the fact that their families speak both Romani and Hungarian at home. The children's primary language socialisation is mainly in Romani. The development of the children's communication skills can be achieved if we keep this in mind and adapt the language of education in the kindergarten accordingly” (Kulcsár-Alföldi 2018: 17, translated by Heltai). The document refers to a joint publication by the outgoing head of the kindergarten and Heltai (Heltai and Kulcsár-Alföldi 2017) when describing the principles of language education in the kindergarten. As a criterion for success, the document mentions that “children's linguistic repertoires are made up of resources belonging to both languages” (Kulcsár-Alföldi 2018: 18) and that it is necessary to “develop the repertoire rather than individual languages, distinguishing between general language competences (not tied to specific languages) and language competences tied to specific languages (such as Hungarian)” (Kulcsár-Alföldi 2018: 18). Thus, while local documents in the school were not affected by the introduction of translanguaging, the documents summarising the programme were adapted according to the new principles in the kindergarten.

The main aim of our project was to explore and showcase school activities concerning translanguaging. There is, however, one film (video 8, *Children's home language in the kindergarten*) which illustrates practices in the kindergarten on an occasion when a group of pupils from school visits the nursery. In this film,

the activities presented break down hierarchical teaching and learning roles and incorporate educator-initiated translanguaging practices into a day in the kindergarten. This requires practices that transcend institutional boundaries: school teachers and their pupils work alongside kindergarten teachers, pedagogical assistants, and nursery-aged children. Children in the nursery room sit around the table, and they are joined by a group of pupils from the primary school. The school teacher, Erika Puskás, and her learners in the upper years of primary school prepared with a short recital for the occasion. At the beginning of the session, Erika explains what the session will be like. She then presents the nursery children with a riddle whose solution is “a cat”, which will be the main topic of the session. Erika then asks one of the pupils to recite a poem in Romani about cats (the Romani translation of a Hungarian children’s rhyme). Some of the kindergarten children look shy or embarrassed in the moments of the recital, as if a well-kept secret was given away, a taboo broken, although this is likely to be due to the presence of the cameras and the visitors, rather than just the language of the recital.

Later, during the crafts session, the tension in the children eased (video 8: 4.13–4.39), and in several cases they spoke in Romani. There are also examples where short dialogues are structured in such a way that the children draw primarily on Romani resources and the teachers on Hungarian ones. The fact that all children, regardless of age, feel confident to communicate in their home language is due to the informality of the pedagogical situation. Children do not speak in this way because of external pressure, not even as a result of encouragement, but because they choose to do so (video 8: 5.15–5.57). This is facilitated by the fact that older pupils, the visitors from school, bring the language of their home into the session, legitimising these utterances, and marking out the time of the session as a translanguaging space (video 8: 3.55–4.12). Thus, unlike the pedagogical assistants, they are present in the sessions not as translators but as local speakers, making Romani language resources an integral part of the session.

11.6 Conclusion: Towards a new institutional climate

This chapter reviewed some of the outcomes of the introduction of translanguaging in classroom discourse on the institutional environment as a whole. While classroom discourse occurs in a distinct interactional setting, thus it lends itself easily to documentation and observation, its influence expands beyond classroom settings. This is the desired outcome of all pedagogical interaction. This chapter explored the

institutional impact of translanguaging by looking at classroom interactions, as well as test results and the relationship between classroom practices and documentation outlining the school's and kindergarten's mission.

We found that the presence of Romani in families' everyday life had no negative impact on children's performance in our Hungarian-language test. It is imperative to note that this result challenges widespread beliefs that bilingual socialisation alone hinders school success. In addition to the measurable outcomes, Zita, the teacher of the class which took part in the testing, reported that alongside the changes discernible in learners' quantifiable results, qualitative transformations were starting to take place, too.

Another important outcome of our examination of institutional level changes is that documents outlining an institution's mission with regards to translanguaging are of secondary importance. The crucial question is how and to what extent they are implemented in everyday educational practice. In this respect, the school and the kindergarten, which are under shared management, follow different paths. Local school documents have not changed, but practices have, in the ways described above. The kindergarten's documents have changed, but this has not necessarily led to a significant change in practices. The bilingual assistants employed by the nursery focus mostly on the use of translation and the ways in which it enables children to use Hungarian better. Documents alone do not have the power to influence practices. If there are even just a handful of teachers who bring to life the principles and follow the stance laid down in the documents, this has a serious impact on the institution as a whole. It can influence the relationship between learners and the teachers who are resistant to a translanguaging stance: the learners extend their translanguaging practices to resistant teachers' lessons, too, and in a new institutional climate, such teachers have to adapt.

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12 Creating translinguaging space through schoolscape design and reflective practices

In this chapter, we discuss how a safe space for translinguaging practices is being created through conscious design and consecutive linguistic landscape-related activities. In the sections below, we present how schoolscape shed light on the hidden curriculum of educational institutions, and what processes of change get manifested in pedagogical practices and schoolscape. Further, we elaborate on how teachers can actively engage pupils in interaction with and reflection to the linguistic landscape of educational spaces, i.e., schoolscape. All activities and examples we present here are the products of collaboration between researchers and teachers in Magiszter School in Tiszavasvári. First, teachers were introduced to the theory of linguistic landscape and schoolscape in a project event and then, they were asked to carry out research-based activities in their class. The videos 27 (*Representations: Translinguaging as a concept and linguistic landscape*) and 28 (*Enhancing belonging and self-confidence through transformations of the linguistic landscape*) are the results of these activities.

12.1 Materialised educational practices

The concept and the term of *linguistic landscape* (LL) has had a long history and still faces various controversies on its definition. Initially, the term was applied for describing oral and written linguistic practices of an individual and a community. In the 1970s, Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad (1977) used the concept to reference the language of street signs in Jerusalem, but it was not until 1997 when Landry and Bourhis used the term *linguistic landscape* as the language of public signs in a broader sense. Since then, the field has developed rapidly. Among recent innovations, Shohamy (2015) extended the umbrella of LL with a whole set of semiotic resources covering “images, photos, sounds (soundscapes), movements, music, smells (smellscapes), graffiti, clothes, food, buildings, history, as well as people who are immersed and absorbed in spaces” (153–154). Gorter and Cenoz (2015) also proposed that “the linguistic landscape itself is a multilingual and multimodal repertoire” (19). Hence, LL is not seen as a mere collection of linguistic

signs, but a wide range of semiotic resources which represent culture, political ideologies and values, and the society.

LL studies have brought about a diversification of the research field on many urban spaces, law, psychology, language policy, etc., but increasingly, data were also collected in educational settings to explore what happens inside schools, and how LL can have a pedagogical application. Such studies are conducted under the label of schoolscape studies. *Schoolscape* as a term was coined by Brown (2005) to cover “the physical and social setting in which teaching and learning take place” (79). Later, she refined the definition of the term as “the school-based environment where place and text, both written (graphic) and oral, constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies” (Brown 2012: 282). From the viewpoint of our chapter, all elements of this latter definition are highly relevant as they highlight that the concept of schoolscape does not only refer to mere physical environments, but also to a set of processes taking place in such environments. Schoolscapes are created and used by a school as an institution and as a learning and working community of individuals with various backgrounds; it is also a physical environment in which the organisation of place is in close relationship with the visual and oral language practices that play a role in learning and teaching. In schoolscape, place and text constitute language ideologies (i.e., language-related discourses affecting value attribution and policy decisions) as they open or delimit space for using certain language resources and literacy practices. They also reproduce language ideologies as they reflect societally embedded ideologies that can be witnessed outside of the school building and the school community. Finally, they also transform language ideologies since changes in the spatial organisation of education and the presence of language resources and literacy practices reflect and at the same time, induce changes in language ideologies.

A diachronic approach to the formation of schoolscapes helps perceive “the changes in the deployment of languages in school environments and to understand what animates these shifts” (Brown 2018: 12). Drawing on Brown’s argument, in this chapter, we focus on the way these processes have influenced language ideologies both of the teachers and pupils by the introduction of trans-linguaging into teaching.

Canagarajah (2018) emphasises that adopting a spatio-temporal dimension in the analysis of communication extends the verbal focus of linguistic repertoires to the semiotic level and shifts focus, from one’s linguistic ability to a spatial and temporal arrangement of linguistic behaviour. Canagarajah (2018) thus places semiotic practices into the interpersonal space. This way, spatial semiotic repertoires include the body and material objects also as part of communication. Bringing all of this together with the notion of ‘alignment’ (Atkinson et al. 2007), linguistic practices then involve social meanings and linguistic ideologies as well. From the point of

a schoolscape approach, this implies that the observation of spatial semiotic resources can help trace back the underlying beliefs and ideologies of the children and teachers in the classroom and at school.

The spatial orientation to communication suggests that LL is not only a reflection of communication and linguistic practices, but also an active part of these practices. Thus, this interpretation of schoolscape suggests that the stakeholders of the learning process, such as teachers, students, etc., construct their semiotic spaces which becomes a schoolscape-practice. Hence, ideological processes behind the linguistic practices of teachers and learners are also realised in the semiotic space of a classroom, with the conceptualisation of classrooms as the space designated for teacher–learner interaction (Laihonen and Szabó 2017: 127). These processes contribute to the construction of language values and educational language policy of the school (Laihonen and Tódor 2017). Therefore, “schoolscape” can be analysed both as a display and as a materialisation of the “hidden curriculum”, regarding the construction of linguistic and cultural identities and values (Laihonen and Tódor 2017; Laihonen and Szabó 2017). The semiotic space as part of the communication process thus shares the same characteristics: dynamically changing, being adapted to the communicational aims, influenced by language ideologies, and being emergent by the semiotic activities of speakers. Changes in the hidden curriculum of a school will affect its schoolscape as well, because schoolscape “indexes ‘trajectories’ of recent political, sociocultural and economic changes” (Heller 2006, cited in Laihonen and Tódor 2017: 363). Analysing the changing visual semiotics of signs and the related metalinguistic discourses of schoolscape gives the opportunity to study the processes of change in image, value, and status in local communities or schools, because “the change manifested itself right away in the schoolscape” (Laihonen and Tódor 2017: 376). On a similar note, Brown suggests that alterations of schoolscapes inevitably encounter institutional habits and cultural beliefs of the school; among these are the materials that render languages dominant or by certain methods – such as bans or limitations – invisible (Brown 2018).

Various schoolscapes studies (some of which might also use the term “the linguistic landscape of education” to cover the same phenomenon) consider the use of schoolscapes as a “powerful tool for education, meaningful language learning towards activism” (Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 326). In this respect, schoolscapes are considered to be a pedagogical tool for developing literacy, communication, and multimodal skills (Rowland 2013; Hewitt-Bradshaw 2014), teaching and learning foreign and second languages (Chern and Dooley 2014), and enhancing linguistic and cultural awareness (Dagenais et al. 2009; Sayer 2010). Therefore, schoolscapes open space for both educators and learners to influence and provide input for the teaching and learning process.

In brief, schoolscape reflects educational practices as educational practices leave traces in the material environment, and at the same time, it has a transformative power since spatial and material practices affect value attribution and language policy decisions and, thus, contribute to the status management of various language resources. Status management affects the users of such resources as well, which is highly relevant especially in the case of minoritised communities such as Roma people. Status management through the schoolscape often leads to the erasure of minoritised language resources. In the process of ideological erasure, facts that do not fit into a hegemonic ideological scheme are disregarded and rendered invisible (cf. Irvine and Gal 2000; Szabó 2015). However in favourable cases, status management might enhance the widening use of minority language resources through increased visibility, which in turn elevates their status and brings them to the position of (additional) media of instruction (e.g. Menken, Pérez Rosario, and Guzmán Valerio 2018). Such a transformation of educational language policies happens in translanguaging space.

The concept of translanguaging space was first introduced by Li (2011) to present a space where translanguaging practices occur and a space created through the process of translanguaging. Such a space allows language users to employ and combine their full linguistic repertoire to transmit information, represent their values, identity, personal history and culture, and develop their skills. By combining and bringing together different dimensions of their linguistic resources and personal identity, language users break down the ideologically established language, social, and psychological boundaries to generate new identities, practices, and ways of communication. Therefore, a translanguaging space is not simply a space where translanguaging practices are implemented, but it has a transformative power to reconfigure and reverse the monolingual outlook of a space and the orders of power hierarchies among languages. In the following sections, we discuss how the translanguaging space has challenged and transformed the old understandings and structures of both Hungarian and Romani, generating new configurations of educational and language practices.

12.2 Transforming the schoolscape in Tiszavasvári

In order to explore the connection between translanguaging and schoolscape, we look into how the process of the introduction of translanguaging into the school generated the development of the linguistic landscape due to the presence of translanguaging linguistic practices in the classroom.

As described in detail in Chapter 4, before the introduction of translanguaging, children's ways of speaking were limited to Hungarian at school. In the following paragraph, the co-author of the present chapter, headteacher Erika Kerekes-Lévai describes how the teaching and learning environment was organised prior to the introduction of translanguaging in the school.

At the time, teachers of the previous school prohibited the use of the learners' home language, Romani, in school. The school's official directive was that the use of learners' home language is impracticable because we live in Hungary, all matters of public life and business, including opportunities for further study, can be done only in Hungarian. The parents also agreed that children should not speak in Romani, so, they sent them off to school with the advice that if they did not know how to say something in Hungarian, they should remain silent. When I became Magiszter's headteacher, I did not know that Roma pupils and their families speak Romani as a mother tongue. I noticed in the process of teaching that children did not speak during classes; instead they smiled in silence. Educators used the oft-repeated argument concerning social deprivation to explain why children's comprehension and writing skills showed no improvement. Many years of experience made us realise, however, that children start nursery school without knowing much Hungarian – many do not know Hungarian at all. The nursery recognised this situation more quickly than the school and developed a new programme in response, which is inclusive of Romani words and ways of speaking. Paradoxically, the inclusion of Romani language practices in the nursery's programme meant that the children were able to speak and understand some Hungarian when they started school.

The circumstances described so far resulted in the erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000) of Romani, because prior to the introduction of translanguaging to the teachers, there were no signs in Romani in the school, as the children's ways of speaking were not included in the teaching-learning process. This situation illustrates well the process of how certain linguistic ideologies (such as certain languages are more valuable than others) create hierarchical relations between languages, in this case, Romani and Hungarian.

The above described erasure (Irvine and Gal 2000) of Romani from the school was a result of the underlying linguistic ideologies of both teachers and parents (such as the set hierarchy between the two languages; cf. Chapter 11). Thus, the learning environment of the children was shaped along the parents' and teachers' beliefs and ideologies about the children's home language. However, this setting missed the children's viewpoints and needs, and solely focused on the standards of the school's curriculum and the demand of improving learners' competence in Hungarian. This latter demand came from teachers and parents alike.

Erasure of Romani from the schoolscape most likely contributed to the general discourse of discouraging the use of Romani resources in the school. The same

experience that Laihonen and Tódor (2017) found in a school located in the Hungarian region of Szeklerland, in Romania, in their study. Consequently, pupils even remained silent or refused to report on their knowledge of Romani in interactions with non-Roma speakers. It was this tension between home language practices and school language policies that had come to change with the introduction of translanguaging to the school's teaching practices.

Translanguaging was introduced to teachers with the help of Translanguaging Workshops in which teachers had the opportunity to discuss challenges and difficulties in teaching with a translanguaging stance. Getting familiar with the concept of translanguaging and its implications, teachers started involving Romani in their teaching which in turn had an impact on the schoolscape. For example, when translanguaging started to be involved in Maths lessons, it was an easy and successful task for both teachers and pupils to learn the numbers and number rhymes in Hungarian and in Romani. In line with this, the semiotic space was being transformed in the classroom: the teacher displayed the numbers in Romani in the classroom walls; the display also became her aid to check the pupils' answers so that they could more easily assess their performance (Fig. 1). This way, these Maths signs also scaffolded the teachers' learning of Romani. As part of the semiotic practices of the teacher and the pupils, the linguistic landscape of the classroom had started to change simultaneously by the formation of the translanguaging space. This was one of the very first translanguaging displays in the school.

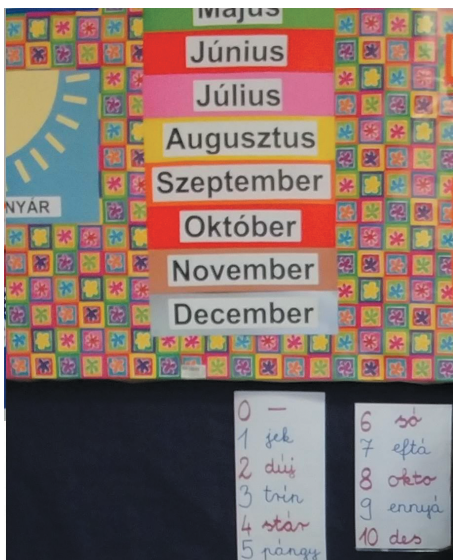


Fig. 1: Numbers in Romani displayed in a classroom.

Owing to the development of translanguaging practices in teaching, more and more classrooms were involved and eventually, translanguaging started to appear outside the classroom walls, and it also altered the linguistic landscape of the school. For example, the children felt freer to speak Romani during break times. By adapting a translanguaging stance, teachers encouraged them to speak in Romani if that made them more comfortable during some tasks and exercises in class.

As an activity outside of the classroom, we should mention the translanguaging drama play. In the schoolyear 2018–2019, a translanguaging play was put up as an outcome of translanguaging theatre workshops during the academic year and a translanguaging summer camp. The successful performances were chronicled as some photos displaying the performances have been exhibited in the school walls near the main entrance door.

Another activity promoting translanguaging was the organisation of translanguaging workshops for teachers. Those teachers who showed interest in the concept of translanguaging carried out experimental translanguaging lessons and regularly gathered in workshops to discuss experiences and difficulties. In the workshops, a summary of the theoretical background of translanguaging, called ‘translanguaging catechism’, was given to the teachers. Based on this catechism, teachers and project members composed a Translanguaging Charta for the translanguaging classes (cf. Fig. 4). This charta entails a translanguaging language policy (cf. <http://translanguagedu.hu/en/transzlingvalo-karta/>). The charta was posted in some of the classrooms in the form of bilingual flyers written in Romani and Hungarian, contributing to both forming the ways of teacher–student communication and changing the schoolscape. According to the school’s headteacher, the spread of translanguaging pedagogy gradually reshaped the schoolscape as well. Describing the transformation, she said it was as if “the genie had been released from the bottle”, and brought about a change which cannot be reversed any longer (Erika Kerekes-Lévai, personal communication).

The headteacher’s statement aligns with what Canagarajah (2018) described as translanguaging practice: it is not only linked to a person’s linguistic repertoire, but it occurs in an interpersonal semiotic space. This translanguaging space is in turn shaped by the linguistic ideologies and cultural beliefs present in the classroom, but at the same time, it has a great impact on both children’s and teachers’ linguistic ideologies and behaviour. These trajectories of changing processes are indexed in the transformation of the schoolscape as well.

12.3 Reflecting on the schoolscape in Tiszavasvári

In Tiszavasvári, Romani has long been used for educational purposes, and this local language policy decision left several traces in the schoolscape. Based on Szabó's previous ethnographic research presented in a project workshop in 2020, and resulting from Szabó's request, one of the teachers created a task to call pupils' attention to the presence and role of Romani language resources in the schoolscape. In the introduction of this task (video 27: 0.54–1.26), the teacher designates the school as translanguaging space:

- (1) teacher *Biztosan emlékeztek arra, hogy az elmúlt órán foglalkozunk a nyelvvel, a romani meg a magyar nyelvvel is, meg azzal is, hogy mi itt az osztályteremben transzlingválni szoktunk. De az egész iskolában több olyan hely van meg több olyan dolog van, ami azt mutatja, hogy ebben az intézményben magyarul is meg romani nyelven is beszélnek a gyerekek, beszélhetnek, tanulhatnak.*

'I'm sure you remember that in the last lesson we talked about language, both Romani and Hungarian language, and about the fact that we usually do translanguaging here in the classroom. However, there are many more places in the whole school building that show that here, in this institution, children can talk and learn in Hungarian and Romani languages alike.'

In her turn, the teacher refers to widespread discussions about the role of Romani and Hungarian in the school as a community and as a physical space (e.g. "in this institution, children can talk and learn in Hungarian and Romani languages alike"). Further, she acknowledges the presence of both languages and explicitly designates the school as a space for translanguaging. Saying that "we usually do translanguaging here in the classroom", she refers to the place, the building of the school as well, as a space in which the practice of translanguaging can be considered common, accepted and normal. Also the fact that the teacher uses the term "translanguaging" and the children understand it indicates that for them this concept is not alien; it is already known for them, and they got used to talk about these practices, and exactly with this very term.

Another instance (video 27: 2.56–3.12) which illustrates the pupils' understanding of the term "translanguaging" later in the video is when a pupil used the word 'translanguaging' naturally in his speech to refer to the signs they could find in Romani in the school (e.g. ". . . at the end of the corridor TRANSZLINGVÁLÁSI"). From the teacher's perspective, the integration of the word 'translanguaging' in the child's sentence startled her since she recognised that they had not

previously covered in detail the meaning of this term in class discussions. In fact, she was very proud to hear that pupils managed to understand this concept through its practical implementation in the classroom because the aim of this task was to discover the pupils' familiarisation with the pedagogical process of this translanguaging project (video 27: 6.37–7.01). Therefore, this scene illustrates one of the results of the translanguaging project on the pupils' learning process.

The instruction given for the completion of the task (video 27: 1.23–2.17) has two dimensions. First, the pupils are asked to look around in the classroom they are sitting in and point to objects that refer to the use of Hungarian and Romani in a translanguaging manner:

(2) teacher *Itt a teremben, ha szétnéztek, jelentkezzen már az a gyerek, aki lát olyan dolgot, ami erre utal.*

'In this classroom, if you look around – please all children who find anything that refers to that [i.e., translanguaging], raise your hand.'

The pupils first refer to the alphabet, which includes the letters of the alphabet according to the orthographic conventions of the Hungarian language but features images that make learners associate to Romani words that begin with the sound the letter represents (Fig. 2). The pupils recognise both features of the alphabet: first, the Hungarian writing conventions (a pupil calls the series of signs “the Hungarian alphabet”) and then, with the help of the teacher, they spell out that the pictures depict Romani words. As a final step, one of the pupils appropriates the alphabet to the Romani language and the teacher approves this attribution:

(3) pupil *Az a cigány ábécé.*

'That's the Romani alphabet.'

teacher *Hát, mondhatjuk úgy is.*

'Well, we can say it like that as well.'

This appropriation of the alphabet is a relevant feature of the local language policy. Using the orthographic conventions of Hungarian when writing Romani texts is a policy decision stemming from the research group's previous activities (cf. Heltai 2020). Currently there are competing proposals for a standardised Romani alphabet, which usually use a complex system of diacritics for the representation of Romani phonemes (Matras 1999; Arató 2012). This locally invented solution of writing Romani with Hungarian orthography situates the local language policy context outside of the various approaches to standardisation. At the same time, it

makes the development of literacy skills easier since the pupils do not need to learn two separate orthographic conventions in parallel. Further, this principally phonemic orthography makes it possible to represent the dialectal characteristics of pupils' speech (for further details, cf. Chapter 13). For example, pupils are free to write down the words according to how they speak and how they hear others speaking.



Fig. 2: The “Romani alphabet” displayed on the wall (27: 1.42–1.45).

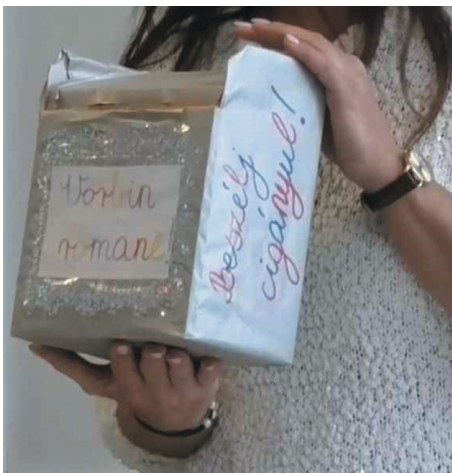


Fig. 3: Teacher holding the “Speak in Romani!” box during classroom discussion (27: 2.04–2.09).

Another object found in the classroom is a box with a bilingual sign: “Vorbin romane!/Beszélj cigányul!” (“Speak in Romani!”; Fig. 3). According to the teacher (personal email communication), this box has been used as a container of Romani words and texts. For example, poems that were later recited in a public competition were collected there. Further, tasks that included words in Romani were distributed among the pupils in the lesson from this box, and also the solutions in Romani were put there. As a preparation for Christmas, children put their letters to Santa in the box. In brief, the box has given more visibility to the Romani language and in this regard, it can be considered an object with both practical and symbolic meaning. Discussion about the box increases the status of Romani as a language of education through double contextualisation (video 27: 2.01–2.17):

- (4) teacher *Vorbin romane. Mit jelent ez?*
 ‘VORBIN ROMANE. What does it mean?’
 pupil1 *Hát azt jelenti, hogy beszélj cigányul.*
 ‘Well, it means: Speak in Romani!’
 teacher *Beszélj cigányul. Milyen mondat ez? Egy fel-*
 ‘Speak in Romani. What kind of sentence is this? An im-’
 pupil1 *Felszólító.*
 ‘Imperative.’
 pupil2 *Felszólító.*
 ‘Imperative.’
 pupil1 *. . . mert felszólít, hogy „beszélj cigányul!”*
 ‘. . . because it calls you to speak in Romani.’
 teacher *Így van. Felszólít arra, hogy beszélj bátran cigány nyelven.*
 ‘That’s right. It encourages you to speak Romani.’

First, the Romani sign on the box is discussed from a linguistic, first semantic and then syntactic, perspective. After negotiating what the Romani sign means in Hungarian, it is analysed as an imperative sentence. We consider this seemingly short side-note about the mood of the sentence “Vorbin romane” an important language policy act. That is, describing a Romani sentence with the terms that are usually used in the context of Hungarian grammar lessons, Romani discursively receives the status of a “proper” language, which can be analysed for grammar and can be described with scientific terms. According to Lehmann (2006), having a written form and an own grammar contribute to the prestige of a language. Based on a study on Spanish dialects, Lehmann (2006) states that the existence of a grammar is essential since it offers a linguistic description of a language which its users can rely on. Therefore, in the context of this study, the fact that Romani

can be written and grammatically analysed raises its prestige. Strengthening this shift in status management, this short excerpt also features a task developing transversal skills since syntactic analysis which was practiced on Hungarian is now applied to Romani. Finally, after grammatical analysis, the teacher rephrases the pupils' turn to point to the pragmatic function of the sentence: "it encourages you to speak Romani".

Arriving to this pragmatic conclusion, the teacher transitions the task: after reflecting on some of the schoolscape items of the here-and-now environment, the teacher asks for pupils' previous observations about the presence and role of Romani (video 27: 2.14–2.24):

- (5) teacher *Így van. Felszólít arra, hogy beszélj bátran cigány nyelven. Tudtok-e olyan helyet még az iskolában, ahol találkozhatunk cigány nyelvű feliratokkal?*

'That's right. It encourages you to speak Romani. Do you know any other place in the school where we can encounter signs in Romani?'

Although the conversation is mainly about Romani, it still can be interpreted as a conversation on translanguaging practices and translanguaging space. Focus on Romani highlights the empowering character of the current local educational language policy which consciously builds on the pupils' Romani language resources. This translanguaging policy is in stark contrast with the previous local monolingual policy which systematically erased Romani from educational contexts, as discussed above. The fact that this new policy focuses on the minoritised language resources emphasises both the transformative character of translanguaging and the transformative potential of schoolsapes. The children seeking signs that represent a previously invisible language in the school, and which is still practically invisible in urban contexts that surround the school, illustrate this transformative power by challenging and transforming old understandings and structures. Especially because of the contrast of the school-internal visibility and school-external absence of Romani, the schoolscape, again, gets configured as a translanguaging space.

Translanguaging space reduces the linguistic distance between home and school linguistic practices by including Romani in the school building (video 28: 10.28–11.27). This inclusion creates a comfortable and welcoming environment for Roma pupils where they can transmit information and represent their values, identity, and culture using their full linguistic abilities. The presence of Romani also raises their sense of attachment to the space by not restricting the use of their linguistic resources to only Hungarian as in other mainstream classes, but encouraging the use of both languages and cultures in the school building. Therefore, the translanguaging space expands on linguistic practices that belong to the

everyday world of the pupils' community and home and reinforces the attachment to their own culture.

The pupils name several spots in the school building where Romani language, culture, and identity are displayed in some form (video 27: 2.18–3.32). The vivid conversation shows that the topic is relevant and interesting to them. They contribute to the task with intensive, voluntary self-selection. References to their earlier observations on Romani on display show that they have been in interaction with the signs that surround them, they interpreted and remembered them, and those signs are significant to them in various ways.

In the same way as schoolscape, translanguaging spaces can also be considered a pedagogical tool for enhancing learners' linguistic multicompetence. The alphabet in which Romani words are spelled according to the Hungarian spelling system stimulates pupils' multicompetence since the presence of both languages encourage children to use more than one language to create their knowledge and communicate their ideas in class. Likewise, the box, which "encourages you to speak Romani", breaks down the previous monolingual ideology of the school and defines children as multicompetent individuals. Furthermore, this same scene in which children search for translanguaging signs in the classroom shows children's high level of attention and curiosity to the presence of Romani in the schoolscape. Considering children's level of attention to the translanguaging signs, the combination of both languages in the alphabet, and the encouraging message to use Romani in the box can also pave the way for spontaneous translanguaging interactions as illustrated in the following excerpt (video 27: 1.44–1.56):

- (6) teacher *Hát, mondhatjuk úgy is. Igen, [Név]?*
 'Well, we can say it like that as well. [Name], please?'
 pupil *Káj hi egy dobozi, othe aurei irime, vorbin – vorbin romane.*
 'WHERE THE BOX IS, THERE IS A SIGN SAYING SPEAK – SPEAK IN ROMANI.'
 teacher *Erre gondolsz, erre a dobozra?*
 'Do you mean this, this box?'

In this case, the pupil speaks in Romani to the teacher about the "Vorbin romane" box without the teacher having previously encouraged him to use Romani. Therefore, this scene exemplifies how children's attention to translanguaging signs can stimulate spontaneous translanguaging. Such practice facilitates children's knowledge construction process since they can employ their full linguistic repertoire naturally and feel more comfortable when participating in class and communicating and

creating their thoughts. This high interest in the translanguaging elements can be seen as a step forward for using the space as a powerful tool for education.

After discussing their previous observations in the classroom, the pupils leave for a walk, accompanied by another teacher who video records the conversations (video 28: 3.50–4.35). The task follows the approach of Szabó's tourist guide technique (Szabó 2015, 2018; Szabó and Troyer 2017) that (a group of) individuals with some insider knowledge present their environment to somebody who does not necessarily have the same insider knowledge. In this case, the teacher contributing to the task cannot be considered a fluent Romani speaker, and he often positions himself as an outsider by continuously asking for translations of signs and interpretations of pupils' speech. It is methodologically practical, but at the same time also symbolic that the pupils lead the teacher who makes the video recording. This arrangement embodies the fact that in LL related tasks such as this one, it is the children that set the trajectory of the joint walk. In other words, it is them that set and choose the subjects of the conversation in reflection to the LL items that surround them in the school building. Thus, pupils' agency increases in the interpretative co-exploration of schoolscape. From the point of view of the teacher of the class seen in video 28, this self-initiative performance of the pupils presenting the school to an outsider without any support or control was surprising for her since this situation and the children's confidence challenged the traditional dominant configuration of the classroom-based learning roles (video 28: 0.22–0.59; video 28: 11.27–12.09). In this respect, the translanguaging space provides a unique opportunity for children to reverse their roles.

The examples in video 28 call attention to various aspects of the schoolscape. First, the visibility of the Translanguaging Charta in the classrooms shows that schoolscape has an explicit language policy dimension: there are signs and texts in the linguistic landscape that regulate language use (video 28: 1.20–2.51). What can be considered unusual in the charta is that it addresses pupils and teachers alike ("That's how we speak [teachers and pupils] in the school"). In earlier studies on Hungarian schoolscape (e.g. Szabó 2015, 2018), it was found that posters disseminating explicit language rules mainly focus on grammar and orthography, manifest a top-down policy approach, celebrate standard normativity that promotes rule-following and mistake-avoiding conduct, and mainly target learners, with the assumption that teachers have mastered the content. In this case, the charta summarises a co-created, bottom-up language policy. As presented in a previous section, the text was prepared in 2018 and is a result of several workshops in which university students and school teachers worked together. At that initial stage of exploring translanguaging practices, it was typical that the teachers understood very little of what the pupils were saying in or outside of the lessons. To help teachers and pupils in managing the parallel presence of both

languages, the charta was created and then displayed in classrooms in a bilingual Romani–Hungarian version (Fig. 4.; see the English translation in excerpt 7). The charta is still there in some of the classrooms.

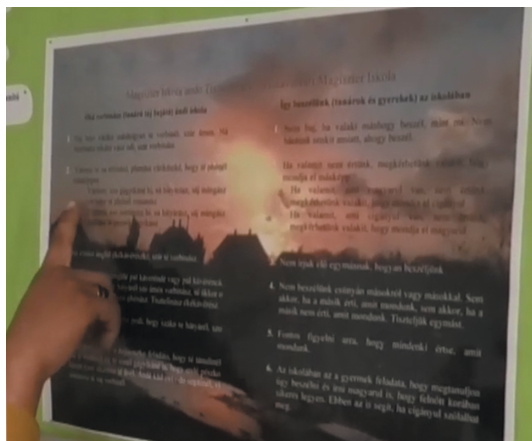


Fig. 4: Pupil reading aloud the Translanguaging Charta (28: 2.31–2.32).

- (7)
1. 'It is OK if someone speaks differently from us. We do not tease anyone for how s/he speaks.'
 2. 'If we do not understand something, we ask somebody to say it in a different way.
 - a) If we do not understand something in Hungarian, we can ask somebody to say it in Romani.
 - b) If we do not understand something in Romani, we can ask somebody to say it in Hungarian.'
 3. 'We do not tell anyone how to speak.'
 4. 'We talk nicely to each other and about each other, both when the other understands and when s/he does not understand, what we are saying. We respect each other.'
 5. 'It is important to make sure everyone understands what we say.'
 6. 'At school, it is the children's duty to learn to speak and write also in Hungarian in order to become successful in life. This is boosted by having the opportunity to speak in Romani, too.'

The Translanguaging Charta also goes in line with Brown's (2012, 2018) argument that schoolscape is a tool used for constituting and transforming language ideologies. In fact, the Charta illustrates how place and text constitute language ideologies

since it opens space for using both Romani and Hungarian linguistic resources. Besides, it is also an element which transformed the previous monolingual language ideology of the school by reflecting and inducing changes in the language ideology through the presence of Romani resources in the text and the place.

Another aspect of schoolscape that Brown (2018) described is representation. In one of the excerpts (video 28: 4.09–4.34), a young girl decided to stand in front of a picture depicting a young Roma woman (Fig. 5). The image and the pupil's performance are examples of how the space reproduces local ideologies, since they reflect societally embedded ideologies that can be witnessed outside of the school building and the school community.

- (8) teacher *Na, ki fogja elmondani, hogy mit látunk ezen a képen? [név], már be is álltál.*
 ‘Well, who will tell what we can see in this picture? [name], you’re standing there already.’
- pupil *Pado képo dikháv hogy i rományi dzsúji khelel vígyik i jag hi othe egy sátorá ande láke kana hi egy báre csenyá. Igen, azt végigtáncolja a tüzet [mutatja, hogyan], azt így csinálja, így [mutatja, hogyan], azt így csinálja [mutatja, hogyan].*
 ‘IN THIS PICTURE WE SEE A ROMA LADY WHO IS DANCING A ROMA DANCE, THERE IS A TENT AND SHE IS GOING AROUND THE FIRE AND SHE IS WEARING BIG EARRINGS. Yes, and then she dances all around the fire, and then she does like this [shows with dance movements], like this [shows the movement] and then like this [shows the movement].’

The performance of this pupil (Fig. 6, 7) demonstrates that in the linguistic landscape, it is not only the various images and texts that count, but also those individuals and groups that are represented in a way or another. Furthermore, personal experiences such as actions, movements, memories and feelings can be linked to relevant individuals or groups, and they might play a significant role in individual and communal identity-building; for example, in this case, being a woman, being Roma, being interested and having expertise in dancing, etc. Enhancing the recalling of such experiences, schoolscape can be a means of creating a safe space for identity building. In this way, translanguaging space does not only concern verbal language resources, but also cultural traditions and representations of identity. In the context of minoritised groups, it is essential that the inclusion of pupils’ and their families’ language resources goes hand in hand with the acknowledgment and promotion of their cultural preferences and identities.

This cultural aspect is enriching to representatives of other groups as well: to the young girl, this picture comes to life, and people not belonging to Roma communities can't see that dance until then she performs it. That is, group-external people might not access some cultural references that are taken for granted for members of another group, but visual representations as well as related performances make such references accessible, at least partially, to all. In this case, interaction with and about a schoolscape item triggered a short dance performance, that is, an element of Roma dance culture got embodied in the translanguaging space of the school.



Fig. 5: Pupil verbally interpreting the image.

Another feature of the translanguaging schoolscape is the didactic dimension which is enriched with a layer of cultural references (e.g. video 28: 6.10–7.21). In one of the classrooms, numerals from one to ten are displayed on the wall in Romani. The list of numerals can be considered a sign with a didactic and a cultural-symbolic reference at the same time. That is, on the one hand, it provides information about vocabulary items to demonstrate how to count from one to ten in Romani and can even serve as a reminder in cases of word search. On the other hand, they make local literacy practices visible and refer to the fact that in this school, learners are



Fig. 6: Pupil contextualising the image through dance performance, first dance movement.



Fig. 7: Pupil contextualising the image through dance performance, second dance movement.

used to counting in Romani as well. In the context of the schoolscape-related task, pupils chose the sign of numerals as a significant item and read the numerals from one to ten. Once the reading was completed, they continued counting by enlisting the numerals above ten. Although the numerals in Romani were displayed only from one to ten, in the pupils' understanding, it is possible to count in Romani from ten onwards as well. By doing so, the pupils demonstrated that the language items featured on the wall are parts of a larger and complex system.

In multilingual environments, teachers are not the only sources of language-related information in the classroom, but also learners. Co-learning has been used as a pedagogical practice with a focus on changing the role sets of teachers and learners by turning teachers into learners and learners into sources of knowledge (for further information, cf. also chapter 13 and 15). Li (2013) indicates that co-learning implies that both teacher and learners need to share, learn from each other and adapt to each other's needs. From the viewpoint of this study, not only pupils provided the teacher with the translation of some Romani words, but also the schoolscape has become a source of knowledge. What is apparent in discussions about the schoolscape is that the highlighted presence of Romani in the school environment is beneficial for the teachers as well. The basic vocabulary items included in the alphabet signs on the walls in a classroom or the numerals displayed in another classroom have the potential to become resources for teachers' learning of Romani. As one of the teachers said (personal communication), she learnt some basic vocabulary with the help of the alphabet signs, and the parallel use of Romani and Hungarian helped her develop her skills in Romani, which enabled her to engage in everyday conversations. That is, beyond supporting Romani speaking pupils' literacy practices in their mother tongues, schoolscape as well as interaction about the schoolscape offer resources for teachers for learning Romani.

In this manner, the schoolscape contributes to the deconstruction of power relations and school hierarchy, and positions teachers in the role of language learners (cf. also Chapters 8 and 10). In excerpt 6, for instance, the teacher follows a longer and more complex utterance of a pupil and uses a reference to the box with the bilingual sign "Speak Romani!" as a cue for comprehension. Based on that cue, she takes a follow-up turn for confirmation that she understood the pupil's comment correctly. At the same time, bilingual signs and talking about such signs give solid ground for displaying questions; that is, they are not requests for translation or confirmation of comprehension, but rather have an instructional function and introduce follow-up questions and subsequent tasks (e.g. excerpt 4).

12.4 Conclusion: Schoolscape in support of local language policy

In this chapter, we have shown how a translanguaging space is created with the means of schoolscape design and reflective tasks with a focus on Romani as the novel and empowering (i.e., language politically more relevant) element.

The increased presence of Romani is the result of a locally implemented pedagogical change that had lasted approximately three years before the implementation of the reflective task. In such a process of educational change, the schoolscape gains double significance as it refers to translingual practices in general and the role of translanguaging in pupils' identity building in particular. In monolingual learning environments, it is natural that the same language that is used verbally is visible in a written modality as well. In a bilingual environment, the visibility of both languages becomes very important. The classroom interaction examples support existing research about translanguaging space by reiterating its pedagogical value. For instance, the reference to the schoolscape in a classroom can stimulate spontaneous translanguaging, serve as a source of knowledge for both teachers and pupils, and enhance learners' linguistic multicompetence. The vivid conversation in the classroom as well as the intensive interaction in the walking interview setting indeed demonstrate the weight of this issue. The fact that the pupils can name many places in the school building where signs in Romani can be found or texts can be read about the use of Romani in general shows that they are greatly attracted to texts in their mother tongue, they relate tightly to them, and such texts catch their eyes, most likely not only inside the walls of the school, but basically anywhere. Signs in their mother tongue make them aware that such signs are their own, they belong to a part of their community, so their presence strengthens their belonging to their mother tongue and enhances their feeling of security.

The examples also highlight ways in which teachers can create a translanguaging space and use it in classroom activities. The positive effects of the inclusion of Romani in the schoolscape on children highlights the importance of including learners' linguistic repertoire in the schoolscape for better supporting their academic opportunities and recognising the often overlooked complexity of learners' linguistic resources. Our discussion also suggests that in order to adhere translanguaging into the school, schools need to transform not only pedagogical practices, but also their space to make it visible within the school.

In the school building as a community space and in the school as an educational institution, visibility of a minoritised language supports the local language policy that the Romani language can be used side by side with the Hungarian language, and pupils are able and are allowed to use Romani and Hungarian language resources alike in their speech. It is indeed this identity-safe, inclusive and flexible environment that one can call a translanguaging space.

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13 Community-based knowledge in culturally transformative pedagogies

Schools, nurseries, and other educational settings are both embedded in the communities they serve and also give rise to a community of their own, whose members include learners, educators, other school staff, and the parents and other caregivers who are part of the children's immediate social networks. The communities which are served by the two schools participating in our project were reviewed in Chapter 4. This chapter focuses on the communities which arise around the schools as a result of both parental engagement and the educators' commitment to community organisation, both of which serve the children's best interest (e.g. García et al. 2012; Rogers et al. 2009a). The Magiszter School in Tiszavasvári provides best-practice examples of involving all adult members of the school and its broader community in the education process. We have observed similar practices in the school in Szímő (Zemné), too. Although community organisations and NGOs are not as readily available in Tiszavasvári as in a large city setting (cf. García et al. 2012: 817; Bautista-Thomas 2015), Magiszter has been successful in mobilising their own and the community's resources to create a community of learning. In this chapter, we explore the interconnected notions of translanguaging, cultural relevance, local knowledge, and community participation. The first part explores learning communities and how they help going beyond deficit-oriented educational models. The second part discusses the ways in which the inclusion of community-based local knowledge in the classroom paves the way to culturally transformative pedagogies. Finally, we provide snapshots from classes to illustrate best practices in the implementation of such transformative programmes.

13.1 Learning communities, parental involvement, and rethinking “gaps” in education

The value of learning communities has been studied primarily in the context of higher education (Wolfensberger-Le Fevre, Fritz, and Van der Westhuizen 2011; Huerta and Bray 2013) and professional training (Luyten and Bazo 2019; Ruth-Sahd 2011; Heemskerk et al. 2020). Most studies pinpoint learners' active participation

and the sharing of responsibility for learning between educators and students (Huerta 2004: 296) as the greatest benefits of learning communities (Smith et al. 2004). These qualities render the term *community of learning* suitable to describe the primary-school contexts in our study, characterised by educators', learners', and community members' shared learning experience. Our use of community *participation*, rather than *engagement*, is deliberate. It shows our intention to move away from conceptualising care for children, either in schools or in the community, as a 'formal undertaking' to 'deliver one's duty': meanings associated with various uses of *engagement* (cf. OED, s.v. "engagement"). We would particularly like to avoid the idea that parents' *engagement* is controlled by an entity external to the community (e.g. the teachers, the school, the broader institutional setting). While it is clear that much depends on the educator's commitment to enhancing community participation, evidence from research and practice shows that it works only if the duty of care for the children' intellectual growth and mental and emotional wellbeing is shared in equal measures between the various stakeholders belonging to the school's community (Makalela 2018; García et al. 2012). Ideally, teachers, parents, and other care-givers 'share in actions' while caring for the children, even if the 'outcome affects them differently' (OED, s.v., "participation") because they experience different types of learning while working together.

The significance of schools' and communities' mutual influence is manifold. This complex relationship is centred primarily on the learners, and, secondarily, on the learning and development opportunities created for all those involved in a school's community. Two corresponding strands concerning learning outcomes are discernible in education research. The first one focuses on the measurable influence of parental engagement on learners' academic achievement (Gaitan 2012). The second one centres on the less readily quantifiable attitudes towards collaboration, care, and flexibility on the part of the school, which provide assurance to families that the teachers have their children's best interest in mind (Noguera 2006: 315, Bautista-Thomas 2015). With regards to the first strand, the relevance of family features to academic outcomes has been systematised in the family-school relationship model, including family-related predictors for sociability, institutional citizenship, and rule compliance (Adams et al. 2000) and associations between parenting, self-esteem, and academic achievement (Rogers et al. 2009b; for an overview, cf. Rogers et al. 2009c: 90). Familial-contextual variables determine the ways in which parents interact with their children, including also controlling v. supportive type of involvement with their schooling. Supportive parental engagement, such as monitoring, helping with homework, and celebrating success provide reinforce children's attributes for achievement, such as confidence and self-regulation (Rogers et al. 2009a: 169). Controlling parental engagement, however, has been associated with parents' psychological stress reactions to life events, whose impact shows in

their punitive involvement with the children's learning, compounded by limited time and energy devoted to the children, less intellectual stimulation, and predominantly negative affect (Hoover-Dempsey et al. 2005; Adamakos et al. 1986). Negative parenting strategies and the life conditions underpinning them spill over to parents' relationship with their children's schools, too, by which they feel often unsupported (Rogers et al. 2009b: 91). The experience of disempowerment with regards to their children's academic progress is common in marginalised communities. The power dynamic which unfolds between the school and family life often marks out the school as an alien, unsettling territory, which impacts the children's academic achievement (Gaitan 2012). Learning communities arising around schools can have a vital role in such situations. If the school leadership and teachers, in their role as community organisers, manage to create a safe learning space for the sharing of emotional, intellectual, social, and practical resources, parents can feel understood and supported in such communities, and be free, at least temporarily, of the worries characterising their everyday life (Wolfensberger-Le Fevre, Fritz, and Van der Westhuizen 2011: 571).

Supporting positive parental involvement strategies, however, is just one aspect of learning communities. As the second strand of outcomes mentioned above suggests, collaboration, flexibility, care, and the reciprocity of relationships on all levels (between parents and teachers, teachers and pupils, etc.) are also important by-products of the social practices characterising primary-school learning communities. The parents' and educators' engagement in this collective effort serves as a model of social participation for the children: it allows all participants to de- and reconstruct their selfhood in relation to others' (Wenger 1998a: 34). The learning communities organised around the two schools in our study provide a sense of belonging to members of the communities they serve. Alongside formal learning centred on academic achievements, the schools, conceptualised as learning communities, become platforms for informal learning. It is due to the informal learning outcomes created at the interface between home and institution that learning has the potential to be not merely formative but also transformative (cf. Wenger 1998b).

A challenge to community participation in primary-school environments is that teachers are often untrained and inexperienced in working with families in a way that is strengths-based and enhances exchange of information (Bautista-Thomas 2015). As a result of the education-planning process, based on developmental goals and achievement targets, educators easily slip into thinking along deficit models, which typically take the practices of monolingual middle-class families as the *norm*, and set these practices as *normative* for multilingual learners. Deficit models (Makalela 2018: 829) assume gaps in knowledge that are to be filled, by effective education and schooling, with information and skills which are

external to the world that surrounds the learners. “Gaps of knowledge” are potentially identified in cognitive processing, social and emotional development, skills and ability, and, importantly, linguistic conduct in the official language of instruction (cf. García et al. 2021). Paradoxically, even well-intentioned educational models, failing to overcome the bias of construing *difference* as *deficiency*, contribute to deepening the divide which Makalela (2018: 825) aptly called “[the] gap between school and [the learners’] lived community experience”. Perceived gaps in knowledge and skills, conceptualised along handed-down ideas within educational officialdom, construct social and emotional gaps between children’s worlds at home and at school. A member of the Magiszter School’s community, co-authoring this chapter, elucidates her experience of these gaps both as a child and later as a parent. The discussion that follows builds on her ideas outlined below.

It was a surprising feeling for me to go to school, as I was quite withdrawn. I did not know anybody there because I was sent to school with Hungarians, and I could not speak with anybody. I sat alone in a bench at the back of the classroom. Everyone was able to speak when the teacher asked something. She was writing on the blackboard and said: raise your hand if you know the answer. Everyone raised their hand except me. So, the teacher came to me and asked me why I wasn’t raising my hand. I said, well, first I could not say a word, I was just listening. It was difficult for me to utter Hungarian words. Later, the truth is, my classmates also turned away from me because I could not communicate with them, I could not speak with them easily because they did not understand what I wanted to tell them, what I wanted to say, and I did not understand what they were saying because their way of uttering words was unusual to me. I knew Hungarian, but my way of speaking was different from theirs.

I was placed in a Hungarian class because I was better at studying than other children. I was fast. In the first grade I learnt to write down my name nicely, I knew how to count. I went to school here [to the predecessor of Magiszter, a school near the Roma neighbourhood]. We had a teacher who was not from Vasvári. He was from Leninváros [lit. ‘Lenin-town’, today Tiszaújváros]. It is far from here. He used to come by bus. He was slightly older but he was a good teacher, he really cared. He sat down with me to have a chat and told me that I should not feel ashamed of myself, I should not withdraw, I should feel like the other children. He was very caring. He used to ask me questions about the way I spoke at home, and I told him I spoke only in Gypsy, that we didn’t know Hungarian properly. So, he taught me. He told me I could tell him anything in Gypsy, just not when my classmates are there. He taught me up to the second grade, then I was transferred to a different class again. I felt very uneasy there, too. The teachers were new. There were children who were friendly with me but others were not. In the breaks I used to run to my Gypsy peers from other classes and I chatted to

them. But then my classmates asked me why I went with them, why I chatted with them, what did I say. Someone asked me: did you curse us? I told them that I was just talking about my classmates, telling them who is who. They did not believe me. They thought I belittled them.

When I was little, there were no community events in the school. But when my daughter went to school, her class staged a performance in the community education centre, and the parents could go to see it. I felt very uneasy there because I was the only Gypsy. I did not dare talking to anyone. There was an elderly lady, I will never forget, who invited me to sit next to her. She noticed how uncomfortable I felt. She invited me to sit with her. She told me: “come, my dear, sit next to me, and don’t be so frightened, just stay calm, and sit with me here” and she chatted with me.

Noguera (2006: 317) observed in his study on teachers’ evaluation of Latinx learners’ behaviour at school that a passive, compliant, or, as in our assessment above, “withdrawn” behaviour is likely to win praise. We have observed similar trends in Tiszavasvári, where in the past parents encouraged their children to remain silent at school and smile when asked questions to avoid getting into trouble. Such behaviour might provoke positive statements about the students in general but it hinders their academic success: Roma students are usually overrepresented in remedial classes and Special Educational Needs groups (Németh et al. 2007: 187–189). The social and emotional gap between herself and the school environment was experienced by our local contributor as a barrier to social interaction and communication with peers: a lack of possibility to speak and be understood. The reason for this is the difference between their own and their peers’ or teachers’ ways of speaking and not necessarily their knowledge (or lack thereof) of the same named language(s). The reverse, however, is also true: a learner can feel admitted in the school’s and a teacher in the learners’ home community due to a sense of understanding the other and of being understood by them. The Magiszter School’s community in Tiszavasvári has been successful in developing practices through which the parents’ and the broader community’s impact on shaping children’s development can be brought into the school in a way that makes sense for both parents and teachers (cf. Bautista-Thomas 2015). Below, we elucidate from a teacher’s perspective the gaps between the children’s home and school environment, offering also an outlook on possibilities to overcome it.

The disadvantaged position of Roma youth in education is explained by three main factors: the gap between the schools’ and the families’ social and cultural norms, the children’s limited knowledge of Hungarian, and that we lack the tools required to manage this difference – or if we have the tools, we are reluctant to apply them. Achievement targets at school are entirely incomprehensible and pointless for the young people raised in our Roma community characterised by

its own language practices and traditional Roma customs and culture. Most schools choose to ignore both the experiential knowledge children bring from their homes and their cultural competence shaped by Roma traditions. The pupils' needs and interests are overlooked, the richness and challenges arising from their bilingual traditions are ignored, often educators are not even aware of these. Roma pupils are thus forced to participate in an education system which is entirely alien to them as far as language and cultural practices are concerned. This happens in a critical period of their life when the skills necessary to understand subjects requiring a greater cognitive effort are not fully formed yet in their home language either. The central curriculum does not accommodate a teaching programme which builds on the strengths of the children's home language and culture. As a result, their competence in the official language of instruction, Hungarian, also remains limited. But soon after they start school, competence testing starts, too!

This gap can be breached if the school is open towards Roma cultural practices and families, and implements pedagogical approaches which build on children's knowledge brought from home, thus enabling them to develop a positive sense of self. We organise events involving the parents at school: joint classroom activities, cooking or baking sessions, quizzes, cycling tours, football, arts&crafts and singing sessions, and many more. When we started the community participation programme, we first asked the parents what sort of activities they thought could be useful. We involved them in the planning of the programme but we also wanted to provide models for spending free time in a meaningful and constructive way.

Building bridges between the institution and the families allows teachers to understand and appreciate culturally different forms of behaviour, and to use this knowledge to forge a community of co-learning. The parents in the community think that I know their language because they accept me. They understand that I have their children's best interest in mind. They know I don't look down on them. We organise events together at the school where we all have a good time. Do I speak Gypsy? No, I don't. But when we are together, I understand what they say. For example, two mothers are talking in their home language, and they use words that I know. Some of these are, for me, Hungarian words, for them local Romani words. From these, I understand what they talk about, and, if it's something funny, I catch their gaze and laugh with them as I pass by. Moments like this bring us closer: they allow me to get to know them better, and they also come to understand that I am not that different from them. Sometimes they say I am like a Gypsy. If they think I am one of them, they feel they can trust me with their children.

School became a less alienating experience for Roma families after the introduction of translanguaging, which allowed knowledge inherent to the community to be valued in the context of formal education. The co-author of this chapter

from the community summarised her experience as follows. The school today is different from what it used to be when I was a child because teachers appreciate Gypsy speech. When I was a child, we were not allowed to speak Gypsy at all. Now several teachers and the headteacher encourage it. They even know Gypsy; they are learning it from the children and from us, when we work here. I also worked for the school for three years. The headteacher used to invite us to her room, and we talked. They were asking us questions about our language, words for various things, how we say them. I also come to school for celebrations involving the families. We sit down with the children, we draw and paint together, we do competitions. Sometimes we cook together, we bake cakes, we make fruit bowls. We do this together with the teachers. When the little girl, my grand-daughter who was born just a few days ago, grows up, we will send her to this school, too, because here they can speak both languages.

13.2 Learners’ “funds of knowledge” and culturally transformative pedagogies

13.2.1 Community-based knowledge and local concepts of knowledge transmission

Our experience in Magiszter is supported by research findings from other contexts. Studies have found that efforts towards educational equality for the Roma must rely more on their communities (Németh and Szira 2007: 11; Lopez 2009: 169). Extending the remit of education beyond the school’s walls is key to providing for children and young people a nurturing environment which enables them to achieve their full potential. The concept of *ethical care* (Noddings 1986: 80), practised by institutions tasked with the transfer of learning, and requiring an effort not needed in natural care, has been theorised in the context of education for minorities (Valenzuela 1999; Rivera-McCutchen 2012), indigenous ontologies in academic writing (Guttorm et al. 2021: 118), and translanguaging research (García et al. 2012). In the latter, the term *transcaring* was introduced for “caring enacted to build a common collaborative ‘in-between’ space that transcends linguistic and cultural differences between schools and homes” (García et al. 2012: 799). The four components of transcaring are translanguaging, transculturación, transcollaboration, and transactions through dynamic assessments. The previous part of this chapter looked at the benefits of transcollaboration in communities of learning attached to schools. The remaining part focuses on transculturación through the exploitation of local ways of knowing in the classroom, but with the understanding

that the four components discussed by García et al. (2012) are intertwined (cf. Chapter 9.1 on dynamic assessment).

The concept of care in education involves a rethinking of deficit models and a constant search for existing competences in order to reduce the social and emotional gaps between homes and classrooms. This is possible through a transformative pedagogy that builds on the students' "funds of knowledge": the historically accumulated and culture-specific bodies of knowledge and skills essential for individual functioning and well-being (Moll et al. 2001: 133). Such culturally responsive pedagogies move away from school-centred models in favour of learner- or community-centred ones. They enquire about what constitutes knowledge in the students' home environments and what the community's traditions of knowledge transfer are. They exploit the community's resources in building academic knowledge, thereby supporting learners in developing fluid subjectivities which extend beyond "first" or "second" languages and cultural identities (García et al. 2012: 807).

Theories of care emphasise the relationship of reciprocity between all stakeholders in education, highlighting that learners' engagement in a caring relationship with an adult at school is an important first step towards learners caring about school (Valenzuela 1999: 79). Authentic caring has been associated with values inherent in the home cultures of minority groups in the US (cf. García et al. 2012: 801) and indigenous populations in South Africa (Makalela 2018, 2019; Mwaniki 2019). Such values for Latinx students include *personalismo* and *compadrazgo*: the development of interpersonal relationships in educational contexts, similar to co-parenting or godparental responsibilities. This implies the forging of supportive familial networks among school personnel, parents and families. In the South-African case, Makalela (2018) argued that translanguaging in its complex multilingual African contexts is part of the culture of *ubuntu*, which presupposes the complementarity of language practices in socially separated named languages, on the one hand, and, on the other, the reciprocity, complementarity, and equality of relationships within communities, particularly in communities of learning. Makalela (2018: 832–838) identified in community elders' narratives discourse patterns employed in community-based teaching, such as praise, riddles, animal and name symbolism, and circumlocution (multimodal and linguistic proximations of problem). Indigenous knowledge-transfer traditions are not characterised by the hierarchies conventionalised in the global north in student-teacher relationships, in the linear (or paragraph-like) arrangement of information, and in the socially constructed boundaries between languages. In indigenous communities of co-teaching, in one of Makalela's informants' words "you don't fail [students]; [it] would mean the community is failing" (Makalela 2018: 837–838).

Stewart (1998: 57) observed a similar non-hierarchical arrangement in adult-child relationships among the Roma. Adults interfere remarkably little with children's

behaviour, and they may even reprimand each other for doing so. Core values which bear on the way knowledge is constructed in Roma communities include (cf. Stewart 1998: 55–57) the reciprocity and symmetry of relationships, a culture of swapping and sharing belongings, the autonomy of the child from a relatively young age, hierarchical gender-relations, fluid language practices, and patterns of discourse which are deployed to assert or negotiate the individual's position vis-à-vis their interlocutors in verbal interactions. Among such discourse patterns, Heltai (2016) identified banter, mockery, threats and cursing, seeking to impress (Hu. *le-nyűgözés*), and playing haughty (Hu. *flegmázás*). The “funds of knowledge” which Roma learners bring to the school are seen from within the community in Tiszavasvári as follows: the language and customs of the Gypsies are inseparable from each other. Both must be learned at school. There is much difference between Gypsy and Hungarian customs and habits. For instance, Hungarians do not go over to each other's place, but we, Gypsies, do. When I cook, I take some food to my neighbour, we sit down and talk. We share what we have been doing on that day, how the children are doing. If there is a celebration, like a birthday or a school-leaving party, we invite the neighbours as well, not only our relatives. We give them a little bit of everything we cooked for the occasion to take home with them. I don't think Hungarians do this. But even that son of mine, the one who left the settlement, maintains this habit nonetheless.

Beliefs concerning sharing and reciprocity are matched by actual practices in our experience, at least in our field site, but it is possible that elsewhere such beliefs feature merely as discursive constructs to delineate a cultural difference for the Roma which is marked in wider society. In our field site Roma families live in plots whose boundaries are not clearly defined, with the houses standing in close proximity to each other. Community and family bonds are a primary form of social networks, competing with, and replacing, networks which could originate in insituations dominated by members of majority society. Stewart's observations are supported by our own and by our local contributors' self-reflection, which suggests that the core values listed above are worthy of consideration for inclusion in school curricula.

13.2.2 Culturally transformative creative engagement

Our case study for the successful exploitation of the learners' funds of knowledge in a translanguaging educational space is a theatre project, which members of our research team co-created with teachers, pupils, and community members attached to the Magiszter School. A film-making project of a similar scope is discussed briefly. The aim of the theatre project was to stage a theatre production

with the participation of learners in 6th and 7th grade. Other participants included university students, researchers, school teachers, and, in the final stages of the project, a few adults living in the Roma neighbourhood and three former students of Magiszter. The project ran from April to November in 2018. Teachers in Magiszter held weekly theatre workshops, assisted once a month by Budapest-based researchers and teacher trainees. These took place in the *Tanoda*, a learning centre and community hub in the Roma neighbourhood. Preparatory work during the spring term was followed by a four-day summer school where the text of the performance was memorised. The props and stage design elements were also handmade by the children in the *Tanoda* with assistance from research team members. Finally, three performances took place in the autumn (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Scene from the theatre performance in Budapest.

The text of the play was created during the theatre workshops. Teachers read stories with the children from a collection of Roma folk tales (Csenki 1974), and the children picked the tale entitled *A szegény fiúból őz lett* ('The poor boy who became a fawn'; Csenki 1974: 140–147) as a starting point for their story. Based on the tale, children wrote short dialogues and narrative texts for the story teller in groups. Children were invited to use their full linguistic repertoire in all activities. This translanguaging space allowed the learners to integrate their experience from different social spaces which had been formerly “separated through different practices in different places” such as the school and their home (Li 2018: 23). The resulting texts included resources linked to both Hungarian and Romani,

thus representing local ways of speaking for the first time on stage. Children produced texts not only by alternating the named languages familiar to them but also by using their repertoire components side by side, reflecting the fluidity of their everyday language practices, as shown in Example (1).

- (1) *Mondja az ember: Na ker tut aba séj.* ‘The man said: DON’T PRETEND, WOMAN!’
- (HU) *Mondja az ember: Ne tedd magad, asszony.*
- Gyá ko szomszédó taj mang szita taj* ‘GO TO THE NEIGHBOUR AND ASK
lapátá. FOR A SIEVE AND SHOVEL.’
- (HU) *Menj a szomszédhoz és kérj szitát és lapátot.*

In examples (2) and (3), we provide samples from the text created by the children to illustrate the ways in which they adapted the text of the Roma tale, which they read in Hungarian, to reflect local practices and ways of speaking. The text of the tale is provided only in English version. The English translations of the children’s texts are not idiomatic; they reflect the composition of the original as closely as possible.

- (2) Original text The girl went to the neighbour’s house and called the old lady:
Children’s version *Lácsó gyesz, Juliska néni! Ále aba auri phenav tuke vareszu!*
- HU Jó napot Juliska néni! Gyere ki, mondok valamit!
ENG ‘GOOD MORNING, AUNTIE JULISKA. COME OUT, I’LL TELL YOU SOMETHING.’
- Original text My father says you should lend us your sieve and coal rake and shovel.
Children’s version *Apukám küldött szitáért, lapátért, szénvonóért.*
- HU Apukám küldött szitáért, lapátért, szénvonóért.
ENG ‘My dad sent me for the sieve, shovel, and coal rake.’
- Original text And what do you need it for? / To bake bread.
Children’s version *Minek az nektek? / Kenyeret sütni.*
- HU Minek az nektek? / Kenyeret sütni.
ENG ‘What for?’ / To bake bread.

- (3) Original text Husband, if you don't destroy your two children, I shall not live with you any longer.
- Children's version *Hát gyere már ide, te ember, súlyos beszédem van veled!*
- HU Hát gyere már ide, te ember, súlyos beszédem van veled!
- ENG 'Com'on here, you, husband, let me have a serious talk with you.'
- Children's version *Azok a gyerekek nem engedelmeskednek, csak a kárt csinálják.*
- HU Azok a gyerekek nem engedelmeskednek, csak a kárt csinálják. 'Those children of yours are disobedient, all they do is harm.'
- Children's version *Hát khal tut o gyászó lencal együtt. Pusztítin len athar ando gyászó.*
- HU Egyen meg a gyász velük együtt! Pusztítsd el őket a gyászba! 'MAY GRIEF CONSUME YOU ALONG WITH THEM! DESTROY THEM INTO GRIEF!'
- Children's version *Ha még holnap is itt látom őket, akkor elmegyek innen.*
- HU Ha még holnap is itt látom őket, akkor elmegyek innen. 'If I still find them here tomorrow, I will leave you.'
- Children's version *Viszem a pénzemet és mindenem, de a tiedet is ám.*
- HU Viszem a pénzemet és mindenem, de a tiedet is ám. 'I'll take my money and all my belongings, and also yours, too.'
- Children's version *Itt fogsz velük együtt éhen halni.*
- HU Itt fogsz velük együtt éhen halni. 'You will die of hunger right here with them.'

The learners' texts, particularly in (3), are longer, more elaborate and life-like than the original text. Children brought to bear their everyday experience on these texts, using their linguistic resources in a way familiar to them from their interactions at home. When they received the typed and edited written texts, they could recognise themselves in them. The final version included passages from the original tale,

dialogues and narration written by the learners, and excerpts from Hungarian poetry. The poetry excerpts were included as a form of intertextuality to signal to both the learners and the audience that the children's lived experience is reflected not only in their own texts but also in a Roma folk tale collected some fifty years earlier and in poetic texts familiar to monolingual Hungarian audiences. The final editing was done by Budapest-based trainee teachers, who consulted an adult from the Tiszavasvári Roma neighbourhood to have the Romani texts double-checked.

The Gypsy folk tale which served as a starting point, and the habit of storytelling in general, were unknown to the Roma living in the settlement in Tiszavasvári at the start of the project. The children encounter stories about the Roma only in school. Yet these stories provide references to the community's past, connecting the Roma of the Tiszavasvári settlement to universal Roma culture. Certain features of the plot and characters reflected practices familiar to the children from their home environments. These include, for instance, the custom of exchanging household items and small gifts as a token of reciprocal and symmetrical relationships (cf. Stewart 1998: 55). This is captured in the starting scene in (1), when a man sends his daughter to ask the neighbour for household items, and the lady asks for her favour to be reciprocated by the man marrying her. The custom of negotiating deals appears when the Gypsy-girl-turned-queen buys fish at the market: after the seller justifies the high price by praising the fish, they make a deal. Explaining why a buyer makes a good deal by praising the item for sale, and the buyer's subsequent acceptance of the deal, are displays of the mutual respect (or *patjiv*; cf. Stewart 1998: 176; Heltai 2016: 10) characterising the relationships between members of Roma communities. Further examples of tale elements familiar to the learners include references to poverty; treating children as autonomous moral agents, who are in this sense beyond education, from a young age (Stewart 1998: 56); the father's difficulty to part with his children, and the strength of the bond between siblings which defies even the younger brother's transformation into a fawn (Jenei 2009: 109–116).

Rather than simply bringing Roma learners back to the "source" of their culture through the staging of the original tale, or moving them towards a monolingual Hungarian culture through remedial activities such as the learning of Hungarian poetic texts, the co-creation of the theatre performance allowed learners to construct a "third space" (Bhabha 1994) for the emergence of new, fluid identities. In example (3) a single Hungarian sentence from the tale of the text was paraphrased into a short monologue-like passage, displaying some of the discursive patterns described by Heltai (2016: 273), which have different meanings and associated values for those within the community and outsiders. For instance, threats usually lack reference to reality (i.e. uttering a threat does not indicate the speaker's intention to act upon it); instead they are discursive displays of strength and power, through which speakers position themselves vis-à-vis their interlocutor. The children's

masterful reformulation of what is a single-sentence utterance into a long and elaborate threat and curse in (3) underlines the learners' familiarity with this discursive pattern. Paraphrasing involved reflection on their own language practices and identity positions which emerged at the intersection of Hungarian monolingual resources (the original text of the tale, poetic texts) and their home-language repertoire components.

Using learning materials which draw on learners' cultural backgrounds is a pre-condition of culturally responsive pedagogy. The theatre project was not only culturally relevant but also transformative. It invited learners to reflect on the cultural practices of both their home and institution, and to transcend both in some ways. This is the process described by García et al. (2012: 808) as *transculturación*, a term that can be juxtaposed with *acculturation* (a gradual move away from a source towards a target culture) and *intercultural* education (the ability to switch between discrete and readily separable cultural practices). Of the three performances, two took place in Tiszavasvári and one in Budapest. The first one was a dress-rehearsal for other pupils in Magiszter, the premier was attended by parents, relatives, and all teachers of Magiszter. The third performance took place in Budapest in front of a predominantly Budapest-based audience. The latter had little or no knowledge of either Romani or the fluid practices linked to both Hungarian and Romani. The performers interpreted for them the main story line using their Hungarian-only linguistic resources. In this way, audience members from outside the Roma neighbourhood came to know local ways of speaking through the children's mediation, while learners, acting as interpreters during the performance, were the sources of this valuable knowledge, which they were able to transmit beyond the boundaries of their community.

Another project to bring community-based knowledge to the school by co-creating learning materials with the children was film-making. In summer 2019, project participants created 12 short films, each exploring a topic is relevant for the local community, e.g. the history of their neighbourhood, their built and natural environment, fashion, sports, lyrics and songs, work opportunities, eating and cooking, wealth and family-based economies, etc. Topics were decided by members of the Budapest-based research team in collaboration with the children. Local community members were interviewed for the movies. The goals of the project were threefold: first, for Roma pupils to feel that the topics covered in school are brought close to them by the films; second, for teachers to get to know the values and attitudes characterising the community better; third, to provide learning materials that can be incorporated in school curricula covering various themes.

Taking the football video as an example, children listened to an interview with a famous football player of Roma background. A version of the sport called *grundfoci*, played anywhere outside and not on a pitch, is the most popular game

in the settlement and has different rules, which the children wrote down. The film then expanded to a discussion of what one should do if they want to be successful in football. The local coach was interviewed on the same subject. Images of a game of *grundfoci* were added to enhance the film visually. The film represents the fluidity of local ways of speaking: contributors use both Hungarian and Romani resources. Hungarian subtitles, written with the help of adult community members, are provided for Romani utterances. The children participated in multiple stages of film making, from content creation to subtitling. The core material was produced during guided workshops as part of a summer school. Discussion forums involving the children were held on every topic. Children did most, if not all, of the filming, too. Some helped in post-production as well, for instance, with interpreting Romani speech. The members of the research group edited the videos and subtitled them later that summer.

Authors of textbooks are rarely acquainted with the cultural practices and everyday life of the learners studying from their works in such isolated communities as the one in Tiszavasvári. The learning materials we created cover a broad range of subjects interlinked with the national curriculum's requirements. The children in Tiszavasvári can relate to these themes, and they can be incorporated in the teaching and learning of a variety of school subjects.

13.3 Local knowledge in the translanguaging classroom

While cross-sector participatory projects, such as those described above, make a significant impact, they remain ineffective without the school's and educators' support of similar activities throughout the school year. Below, we illustrate with examples taken from the video repository how local knowledge is exploited in the classroom.

Video 23 (*Historic and emotive factors in Roma self-identification*) illustrates how subject-specific academic knowledge can be used to enhance pupils' thinking about their own identities, particularly the complementarity of their social and ethnic identity positions. The topic covered in class, quite remote for fifth-grade learners, is the pre-history of Hungarians: the 9th-century arrival of Hungarian-speaking tribes from the East-European steppe region in the Carpathian basin, known as the Conquest (Hu. *honfoglalás*). Learners' awareness of historicity is just beginning to be formed and they are unlikely to think of the pre-history of Hungarians as the history of "their own people". Turning this conflict to advantage, the teacher invites the pupils to reflect on the historic roots of the Roma

(video 23: 0.45). While discussing the origins of Hungarians, she asks: “[a]nd the Roma, where are *they* from?” (video 23: 1.18). Her openness to render the subject relevant to the pupils is rewarded by learners’ increased involvement in the class. The teacher secured the learners’ engagement by herself engaging in a subject in which the learners can recognise themselves. The Hungarian Conquest is given far greater emphasis in the curriculum than the history of minorities in Central Europe. Therefore, the decision to extend the scope of the themes covered in order to raise Roma pupils’ historic awareness of their community lies with individual teachers. The teacher in the video successfully avoids essentialising identities into the static “we” (“Hungarians”) v. “you” (“the Roma”) categories, by talking about “Hungarians *and* the Roma” as interdependent categories.

Video 25 (*Community-based learning methods and cultural relevance in the translanguaging classroom*) takes the task of integrating a community-based curriculum in the central one even further. It builds on the learners’ knowledge about existing practices in their community to bring an otherwise less accessible topic close to them, which is 9th-century burial customs among the ancestral tribal groups of Hungarians. The teacher builds academic knowledge on the pupils’ experience of local burial customs among the Roma, which happen to overlap with the ancient practices. She explicitly asks learners to find parallels between the historic material and the customs familiar to them (video 25: 1.19). As the teacher describes archaeological findings in graves, the children manage to create points of connection with their community’s practices of burying toys, cars, balls, etc. with deceased children. They also recall hearing about clothes and jewellery buried with the dead (video 25: 3.23–3.45). The inclusion of local knowledge in the lesson brings the subject closer to the learners, on the one hand, and, on the other, it invites learners to reflect on their community. Academic knowledge relies on local knowledge, and, vice versa, subject-specific knowledge enhances the learners’ understanding of who they are, and the significance of their customs in their emotional wellbeing, in this case, the expression of grief.

In the previous two examples, knowledge and practices relevant to the Roma supported the development of subject knowledge prescribed by the curriculum. The teacher’s familiarity with the community’s historically accumulated knowledge and customs is a precondition of the success of such teaching approaches. When teaching general skills, such as reading and comprehension skills, teachers have greater freedom to choose the learning material they see appropriate for the learners. Video 10 (*Enhancing the prestige of Romani within the group*) showcases a lesson in which the teacher used a Roma folk tale entitled *The Gypsy woman and the devil* instead of a Hungarian one to teach reading and paraphrasing skills. For paraphrasing, a translanguaging space was offered to learners: they could use Hungarian, the language in which they read the text, or the fluid

language practices of their home. The story has a number of nuanced connections to the children's lived experience and to the values attributed by members of their community to particular practices. We learn from the learners' summary of the plot that the family in the tale is poor, with thirteen children. One of the pupils talks about the rose-patterned clothes of the mother, which she wore when she went to try her luck. (The pupil might have seen the rose-patterned clothes in a cartoon adaptation of this story [<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u7K5eA09JXY>, accessed 19 March 2022], or he could have made it up based on his experience of women's traditional dressing). These elements of the plot reflect children's lived experience of e.g. a mother's being torn between her devotion to her children and the inability to provide for them. The children's cognitive processing of, and emotional involvement with, the tale is enhanced by the fact that the plot conveys a context which reflects their reality.

The pedagogical approaches discussed so far can easily be integrated in translanguaging classrooms, regardless of the specific subject content taught. Detailed case studies of similar practices are available from other contexts as well (e.g. Heiman, Cervantes-Soon, and Hurie 2021; Poza and Stites 2021; los Ríos and Seltzer 2021; Herrera and España 2021). Depending on the availability of resources (additional preparation time for teachers, external funding, etc.), learning materials exploiting community-based knowledge are well worth developing, too. The storybook project (cf. Chapter 9.4) was one such undertaking in our work at Magiszter. Videos 18 (*Community-based learning: A gesture of linguistic intimacy*), 19 (*Reading Romani as a translanguaging activity*), 21 (*Imitating Romani "adult speech" in school*), and 22 (*Students' perceptions of the new community storybook*) are snapshots of the many ways in which such community-based learning materials are put to use in translanguaging classrooms. In the school activities relying on these learning materials, local ways of knowing and speaking are not simply *reflected*; they are the *core* of what is taught in school, reshuffling the hierarchies which underpin the values associated with various types of knowledge.

In video 18 (*Community-based learning: A gesture of linguistic intimacy*), the teacher reads a passage from a story, which was translated into Romani by a group of women, mothers and grandmothers, from the community with assistance from members of the research team. As the language of writing was local Romani, the learners hear their parents' way of speaking through the teacher's reading. This is both surprising and exciting for them, and engages their attention fully (video 18: 1.50–3.00). Normally, the teacher's way of speaking is associated with qualities such as learnedness, providing a normative model to follow. These value attributions are reserved exclusively for Hungarian, the official language of instruction. What we see in this scene is that the teacher, the source of the "superior" language variety, speaks in Romani in a way which is identifiable to learners as their home language. What

is at stake here is a reorganisation of intersubjective power positions and language status in the classroom. In video 19 (*Reading Romani as a translanguaging activity*), the classroom scene (video 19: 1.36–2.20) transports the new order of hierarchies to the level of classroom arrangement. The teacher stands up and invites a learner to take her seat to complete the reading of the story, emphasising that the learners' competence is greater than her own in this task; hence, it is right that her place should be taken by one of them. The Romani reading of the story is then followed by paraphrasing in Hungarian: an activity initiated partly by the pupils.

The experience of having the knowledge and skills required for a full understanding of what is taught has a profound impact on learners' motivation. Central monolingual curricula often deprive children from bilingual communities of this experience. We witness a similar disruption of existing language-based hierarchies in video 1 (*Translanguaging as cultural mediation*), when a group of learners recite a poem on their own initiative in local Romani, standing at the front of the classroom: a space usually allocated to the teacher (video 1: 5.26–6.02). The “staging” of the learners' home language in positions which are normally reserved for the official language of instruction is a powerful act of recognition, which symbolically conveys to the learners the values of reciprocity and complementarity between their community and the majority society.

Video 22 (*Students' perceptions of the new community storybook*) shows snapshots of learners' feedback about the story book. Several children voiced their feeling of pride while looking excitedly for the illustrations they created. As one of the learners put it, the book is an important milestone because “it shows that Gypsies also know something” (video 22: 3.25–4.00), referring to local knowledge and the skills which its display in a book requires. We learn from the children's commentaries that they felt that the book put the knowledge which they think of as their own “out there”, gaining recognition and validation for their community-based values in the wider world.

As we saw in 13.2 above, Makalela's (2018) *ubuntu* and García et al.'s (2012) *compadrazgo* and *personalismo* are values along which relationships are organised in the communities they study. They recommend bringing these cultural practices into translanguaging educational spaces (and theorising them in academic studies) in order to inform the planning of community-based learning designs. What precisely constitutes similar central values in Roma communities requires further study, but fluid translanguaging ways of speaking, the reciprocity of relationships, expressed in practices such as swapping of belongings, and respect achieved through adhering to the conventionalised processes of deal-making are likely to be included among such values. According to the teacher's introduction to video 21 (video 21: 0.25–0.50), most children have experienced scenes at the market, buying-and-selling goods, deal-making; swapping goods and negotiating

deals at school, too, are part of their everyday practices. The classroom scene (video 21: 1.10–2.26) shows two pupils performing a horse-deal, based on a tale they read in the story book. The personification of characters in staged performances brings to life the motivations and attitudes which would appear flat on a page. Re-enactments are, thus, interpretative processes; in this case, the learners' interpretation of adult behaviour they experience around themselves. Local knowledge is present here not in terms of facts, skills, or values attributed to them, but in reflected representations of behaviour. Furthermore, role plays have the potential to transmit important information to educators, too, about typical activities and values attributed to them in the community, which might contribute, in the long run, to establishing the knowledge practices based on which community-based learning can be developed at local levels. The knowledge teachers gain from role plays might benefit subject-specific planning of classes, too. For instance, the teacher's understanding of swapping and deal-making can serve as a starting point in the teaching of social and mathematical skills.

Our last example, video 20 (*Parental engagement at school*), revisits the topic of community participation and its possibilities in Tiszavasvári (cf. 13.2). The video shows scenes from a parents' club event, including a role play staged jointly by parents and teachers, enacting the recurrent issue of talented pupils turning their back on school (video 20: 1.18–2.25), and the ill-intentioned provocations that community members belonging to an evangelical church experience (video 20: 2.34–3.23). Teachers personify parents and vice versa, enabling them to mutually reflect on each other's positions and motivations. Local knowledge is present in these activities in less-reflected social-psychological factors underpinning the fears, experience of failure, and stress reactions given to such life events within the community. Re-enactments bring these to the surface, providing important insights to educators, who become more sensitised to the circumstances which determine the learners' life at home and the strategies of parental involvement in their learning. Parents also benefit from these activities because in the re-enactments they experience the teachers' perspective while finding partners in them in addressing the factors causing them discomfort or distress.

13.4 Outlook: Possibilities of community-based learning

Our concluding remarks to this chapter were written by the teacher organising the parents' club in Magiszter. She reflects on our findings in view of her decade-long experience of community organisation.

Community participation in education means that the school involves parents, guardians, other carers, and the entire school personnel in school activities, building familial networks across these communities, which dynamically respond to the specific needs and challenges vulnerable communities face in educational contexts. A further important feature of the learning communities is that they have the potential to support the education-planning process with the inclusion of local ways of knowing alongside the central curriculum. Community participation in school life reduces the feeling of alienation children from marginalised communities face and helps parents build trust towards the educators. It enables educators to understand parenting models and the types of knowledge valued by the community. Educators form partnerships of mutual trust with the parents in the interest of children. In the parents' club in Magiszter all stakeholders can openly discuss their shared successes and failures, without hierarchies and intimidations.

Participatory activities spanning across all stakeholder groups are key to the success of community-based learning. In Magiszter, community members are represented in various professions in the school, including teaching assistants, caretakers, and, it is hoped, an increasing number of teachers. Participatory activities and their goals are planned with input from the parents: the school does not tell them what to do; it merely initiates and encourages collaboration.

García et al. (2012) provide ample examples of transcollaboration across various sectors, including local NGOs, professional bodies, youth-development agencies, mental health and wellbeing support teams, and the police, with whom the schools included in their study built partnerships. Auger et al. (2018) report on the outcome of the creative translanguaging and transcollaborative project called ROMTELS (Roma translanguaging enquiry learning spaces), which created a successful partnership with a local museum. These are the most obvious directions in which the community of learning built around the Magiszter School can expand; partnerships are currently sought with various local art centres and a vocational secondary school.

García et al. (2012) underline that most successful schools in their study have a predominantly Latinx emergent bilingual population, which “runs against the oft-repeated assertion that linguistically heterogeneous settings provide the best educational contexts for emergent bilinguals” (García et al. 2012: 805 cites Cloud, Genesee, and Hamayan 2000). Applying their findings to our context, the case studies and community-based contributions presented in this chapter provide evidence that schools such as Magiszter are instrumental in building bridges across communities by creating a programme for the recognition of local ways of knowing, speaking, and being in the context of formal education.

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14 Translanguaging and written non-standard language: Heterographic literacy in and outside school

It is difficult to imagine formal education in the European context without a standard language and its written form. In our project site in Tiszavasvári, both standardisation and writing are linked to a majority language, Hungarian, and in Szímő (Zemné) to Hungarian and Slovak. The translanguaging project introduced local non-standardised linguistic practices into new domains, namely to learning and the world of school, by dispensing with standardisation efforts. But writing is part and parcel of the world of school, and for participants in our project writing in Romani was a key factor in the emancipation of Romani and their speakers. Based on this insight, participants were looking for solutions where both Romani and the majority language have a status recognised by learners, their families, school teachers, school management, local publics and scholarly discourses as vehicles for school literacy. In order to achieve this, we have attempted to uncouple standard language practices and writing, usually seen as inseparable in Europe and the Global North. We turned our attention to heterographic, grassroots writing activities in the locality and explored their potential role in school-based education. Our starting point was the observation that local youth write (not much, but regularly) in Romani on social media. This chapter describes the ways in which such existing writing practices can be made part of school work, and the dilemmas that emerged in workshops with teachers and researchers. We argue that this kind of literacy does not weaken the opportunities for learning Hungarian spelling but supports students in their learning.

14.1 Writing Romani: Orthography and heterography

One of the main issues in standardisation attempts of Romani is to develop an alphabet. These alphabets are mostly based on, or at least related to, the alphabet of

the national language in the specific country where the standardisation is attempted. During the standardisation of Romani in Hungary, in the 1980s, activists developed an alphabet based on the Hungarian one, with “some modifications in the value of graphemes” (Matras 1999: 489). This is not the only alphabet but it is the one used most frequently by Roma and non-Roma activists publishing printed documents, among others, a dictionary (Rostás-Farkas and Karsai 1991) and a grammar (Choli Daróczi and Feyér 1988). The authors of these publications define themselves as Vlach Lovar Roma and call the standard they developed and recommend Lovari. In Hungary, there is a possibility to take a school-leaving exam (similar to a language Baccalaureate or A-level) and a language exam in Lovari, which can gain additional scores when applying to do a university degree in certain subjects and also in job applications. These are commonly seen as “easy” exams. The main reason for this is that, due to the status and restricted usage domains of the language, the written exam is based mostly on stories and tales, and there are neither journalistic texts nor expository prose or technical texts which could be included. Similarly, the oral exam is restricted to discussions about topics which are linked to private domains. Since the Roma have little interest and practical advantage in passing these exams, they are largely taken by university students and sometimes by professionals working in public administration.

People who have passed these exams, however, often say that they find it difficult to communicate in Romani with Roma living in Hungary. The reason for this is that the language they learn is different from spoken Romani, on the one hand, and, on the other, the exams in question can be taken, as set out above, with relatively limited linguistic competence. In excerpt 1, Ella, a kindergarten teacher in Tiszavasvári with a Romani (Lovari) language certificate, and her colleague, Viktória reflect on the difference between the local practices and the Lovari she learned – cited in Heltai 2020a: 115, the names are pseudonyms):

- (1) Ella *A telepen élő cigányok, ők hallás alapján tanulják meg, tehát tényleg édes anyanyelv, mert ahogy az anyukájuk beszél, és ahogy az anyukájuktól hallják, úgy fogják beszélni a nyelvet.*
 ‘The Roma living in the settlement, they learn it based on hearing it, so, it really is a “sweet mother tongue” for them, because it is really like the way their mum speaks, and as they hear it from their mum, that’s the way they speak it.’
- Viktória *Ami azt aki esetleg színtiszta lovári nyelvet beszél, vagy beás nyelven beszél, nem feltétlenül ért meg.*
 ‘Those who speak pure Lovari or Boyash do not necessarily understand what [they say].’

Boyash (or in Hungarian spelling *beás*) is a local language spoken by people considered to be Roma in (mostly) Southern Hungary, Romania and Serbia. Boyash, having developed from Western-Transylvanian rural dialects of Romanian, preserves archaic features of the latter, and is, thus, different from Romani in terms of linguistic typology and historic affiliation (cf. Tálos 2001; Landauer 2009). Romanian, the national language of Romania, is a standardised Eastern Romance language; the similarity of the names Romani and Romanian is coincidental. In the Hungarian context, Boyash is considered to be a language independent from Romanian, and, as a result, a considerable body of scholarly literature developed around standardisation efforts (cf. Orsós and Kálmán 2009; Orsós 2012). At the same time, the kindergarten teacher brings Romani and Boyash together in her comment, without showing awareness of their distinctiveness. This lack of knowledge about the language practices of the Roma in Hungary is typical of members of the majority society.

To return to Romani, the inability to understand local Roma's linguistic practices on the part of those who learn the language in course contexts can be traced to the following reasons. The creators of the Lovari standard have included several items which are based on "international words" in the dictionary, even if these internationalisms, having a Hungarian equivalent, are not widespread in Romani in Hungary. For example, for Hungarian *cím* 'address', the dictionary gives the Romani item *adreso*, which is incomprehensible both for monolingual Hungarian and Romani-Hungarian bilingual Roma. The latter usually form the word based on the Hungarian equivalent: *címo*. Items based on "international words" are therefore preferred to those that are recognisably "words of Hungarian origin" in the variety codified in the dictionary but not by speakers. Furthermore, individual authorial modifications of meanings and attempts at word creation, inspired by purist postures, are also a characteristic feature of the standardised materials. These are tendencies characterising Romani standardisation in general; Abercrombie (2018) points out similar current trends in Prizren, Kosovo.

With regards to literacy, in the alphabet recommended by proponents of Lovari standardisation, there are several letters which are different from the ones used in the Hungarian alphabet but they represent the same sound. Below, we provide a list of the differences in writing: first the letters proposed for standard Romani, in round brackets the letters of the Hungarian alphabet, and in square brackets the IPA sound symbols for the approximate phonetic values associated with the graphic symbols: ch (cs) [tʃ]; sh (s) [ʃ]; zh (zs), [ʒ]; dy (gy) [j]; s (sz) [s]; dzh (dzs) [dʒ]. The proposed standard writing for Lovari includes aspirated consonants present in Romani but absent in Hungarian, and the letter <x> is recommended to denote the voiceless velar fricative [x], also absent in Hungarian. These orthographic differences are minor alterations for a linguist, but for many speakers they

are confusing. Lovari language learners, who are used to standard literacy, do not understand why Roma do not (and cannot) write Romani the way Romani language teachers teach writing. On the other hand, Roma children and adults who are less experienced in everyday standard literacy activities, “cannot surmount the barrier of an orthography different from what they learned at school” (Réger 1995: 86), that is, the conventions of standard Hungarian orthography.

Standardisation attempts often co-exist with grassroots traditions of writing Romani, which we witnessed in the Roma community of Tiszavasvári, too. When applying these grassroots solutions, local Roma use the letters of the Hungarian alphabet, which is unsurprising given that their literacy practices are rooted in Hungarian. Researchers and university students have encountered local literacy practices from the very beginning of their work in Tiszavasvári in social media activities. Entries and comments in Romani are much rarer than in Hungarian. Most of the Romani entries are short comments of one or two sentences, but longer texts, such as greetings and teasers also occur regularly (based on individual experience, János Imre Heltai). In Summer 2020, student participants approached in Tiszavasvári at least 20 Roma inhabitants to talk to them about the role of literacy, and especially Romani literacy in their lives. These were not structured interviews; students walked around and talked to people. They enquired about their experience of literacy, books, tales in the community: how much and what they write in Romani, what books and newspapers they keep at home, how they communicate with each other on the internet, what kind of fairy tales they know and tell.

Student researchers found that there was little that remained of local fairy tales and storytelling. Most of those responding to their enquiries told them that Roma fairy tales in the classical sense were no longer told to children, as the elders who knew them had died. They remembered that in the “old world” families used to get together and tell stories to each other, often making up stories on the spot and using them as jokes or to scare children. It turned out that some of the local Roma keep Romani printings, newspapers, and copies of the Bible at home. These are held in high esteem, although often they are not able to read them or only with considerable difficulty. In the discussions about literacy, local Roma also showed researchers examples of private notes in Romani. These are mostly connected to religious activities, for example Romani translations of songs sung in worship. (In Tiszavasvári, a Taipei (Taiwan)-based Evangelical church is doing mission work among the Roma – on the topics emerging in discussions and the role of Romani in community life cf. Heltai 2019). The students recorded their experience in fieldwork diaries, some of their findings are summarised below.

Several Romani written texts found in the community are related to religion. Some people have Bibles in Hungarian, others said they owned Bibles written in

both languages. The majority mentioned Hungarian Bibles, and many have never encountered a Romani Bible. Some families have a booklet published by Jehovah's Witnesses in Lovari. Two of the locals said that they understood much of the text but there were many parts which they did not. A third interlocutor said that he understood almost nothing from it. One woman showed a notebook in which she had summarised the content of the services and the Bible stories she had read. She interpreted them, adding her own thoughts, mostly in Hungarian, sometimes in Romani. It was obvious that this notebook was important for her, and she was proud to show it to others.

One of the topics about which student researchers specifically enquired was how local Roma wrote their shopping lists in everyday life. Most of them said that they wrote them in Hungarian because that was what the shopkeeper understood, but some said that they wrote certain things, such as *bread*, in Romani. One woman said that in the past, Roma in prison used to use Romani as a kind of code in their letters, because it was inaccessible for Hungarian speakers. A short excerpt from one of the field diaries expands on this: in the past, those who went to prison, wrote in Gypsy and kept in touch with their loved ones and family members by writing in this language.

Overall, two lessons can be drawn from the student researchers' ethnographic activities. One is that there are Romani texts in some families' homes, even if not in large numbers. The other is that local families' own Romani-related writing practices are sporadic but they do exist and are not adapted to any standardised Romani and recommended spelling.

14.2 Romani heterography in school context

Chapter 3 outlined the controversies surrounding Romani standardisation and the reasons why Romani does not appear as a standardised language in schools – neither orally nor in writing. In many respects, translanguaging, as a pedagogical stance, triggers the need for standardisation. Focusing on the speakers instead of the language, project participants looked into the possibility of including the local, grassroots ways of writing in school activities, instead of adopting the writing system developed and recommended by activists of Romani standardisation. During the first translanguaging experiments at the school, teachers restricted translanguaging activities mostly to orality, but participants noticed from the outset that children wrote down their thoughts in Romani in a spontaneous way, without any particular effort. Based on these insights, it seemed realistic to build on this way of writing in teacher-guided translanguaging activities, too. In fact, it

was not only realistic but almost unavoidable: as oral translanguaging activities began to appear as parts of lessons, pupils started writing their notes in their notebooks and on the blackboard in local Romani.

These grassroots Romani writings are characterised by heterography (cf. Blommaert 2008) and transparency. Speech sounds of Romani and Hungarian are broadly similar and the Hungarian spelling system is relatively transparent (phonemic), with most letters corresponding to phonemes. Regarding the phonemic inventory of the languages, there are only a few additional consonants in Romani compared to Hungarian: the Romani voiceless velar fricative [x] and aspirated consonants [p^h, t^h, k^h]. Using Hungarian spelling conventions results in heterography regarding the lettering of these sounds. To write [x], local Roma use <k>, <kh>, <ch> or <h>. In the case of aspirated consonants, it varies whether they mark the aspiration, e.g. <ph>, or not, e.g. <p>. Another source of heterography is linked to the use of diacritics on some vowel symbols. For example, in standard Hungarian, letter <a> represents the labial low vowel [ɒ] and <á> the illabial low vowel [a:]. The vowel [ɒ] does not exist in Romani. As a result, the marking of [a:] can happen with the letters <á> or <a>. Heterography goes beyond the questions of matching sounds and letters. Speakers – both adults in their notes taken at home and children at school – do not necessarily adhere to the word boundaries maintained by standardised writing, which can be supported by grammatical reasoning. Punctuation separating clauses and sentences also varies. These phenomena are also characteristic – and stigmatised – in less educated writers' practices in standardised languages. However, the lack of a clear orthographic norm frees writers of local Romani from this kind of stigmatisation.

In school, a great deal of energy and time is devoted to practising spelling. Teachers often make little or no distinction between good spelling and other writing-related competences, such as literacy awareness and style-related competences. Among these competences, spelling is the most measurable, the most easily defined. Similarly, outside schools, for most speakers spelling mistakes are more readily identifiable – and therefore easier to stigmatise – than stylistic or other textual inconsistencies. This may be a reason why so much time is devoted to spelling and to practising for assessments of spelling in most European education systems. Spelling, therefore, has a major impact not only on success at school but also on opportunities for life outside school.

Considering the significance of spelling, it is unsurprising that Romani heterography led to a degree of confusion among teachers, and to initial disagreements among project participants. Most teachers, driven by monolingual standard ideologies and accustomed to spelling being shaped by strict rules, kept looking for “the correct solution” when pupils wrote Romani in the classroom. Nonstandard orthographies of Hungarian, and of standardised languages generally, are strongly stigmatised and

linked to low socioeconomic status (cf. Jaffe and Walton 2000). The ideologies concerning Hungarian are projected onto Romani, too. However, teachers were faced by the fact that a sentence or a word written by one pupil was critiqued by another, and there was no point of alignment (a “standard”) to decide what was correct and incorrect. This often led to disruption in the flow of the class and was an unpleasant experience for teachers. In the workshops reviewing our initial experience, teachers, university students, and researchers discussed and deconstructed the notions of propriety in speech and linguistic correctness. This was a reflective activity, whose aim was to raise critical language awareness concerning ideologies related to standards, which are responsible for the opposition between linguistic correctness and incorrectness. In the case of Romani, there is no standard variety, which means that the correct v. incorrect opposition is replaced by variability. Workshop discussions addressed that this applies to literacy and spelling, too, and that, in the absence of an authoritative source prescribing the rules, it is impossible to decide which way of writing is correct and incorrect.

At the same time, even when using heterographic spellings, it is possible to write words inappropriately, but this means that the written representation is unintelligible to others. This happened sometimes in the classrooms. Teachers, whose Romani competences were limited at the initial stages of the project, were often not in a position to detect and correct such occurrences. As a result, the following principles were followed by the participants of the workshops. Learners were encouraged to write in Romani. It was stressed that there are always several possible solutions, and that if everyone understands what is written on the board, there is no point in arguing about how it would be better. However, if something does not make sense, it is worth stopping and looking at it.

The implementation of local literacy practices required a change in the perception of the teacher’s role. The teacher often becomes a learner in such situations instead of being a representative of absolute knowledge. The right to decide whether something is appropriate or not is ceded to the community of learners or to a learner who has gained authority through his or her own competences. This is a long, complex, and exciting process, which several teachers have gone through and reflected on (cf. Chapter 8 on transformations of classroom hierarchies and Chapter 10 on teachers’ talk). Zita, for example, described her recent experience in a television report about our program, produced by the local channel in Tiszavasvári in February 2022 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Sf001La5MDM&t=345s>), excerpt 2.

- (2) Zita *Említettem már, hogy 18 éve itt tanítok, én egy szót nem tudtam romani nyelven négy évvel ezelőttig. Érdekes módon – nem célja a projektnek, hogy mi megtanuljuk a romani nyelvet – de akarva-akaratlanul is nagyon sok kifejezés, szó megragadt az én fejemben is, és a gyerekek ezt még jobban értékelték, hogy már néha nem is kellett fordítani, vagy értettem, amit mondanak nekem, és én is be tudtam egy-két általuk használt szóval csatlakozni az órába. (. . .) Énbelőlem mint tanítóból tanuló lett. Mert szívesen tanították a nyelvet, tanultam én is a nyelvet, és voltak helyzetek, amikor a diákok kompetensebbek voltak, tehát jobban tudtak valamit, mint én, a nyelvi készségeikből adódóan. Tehát ezek mind olyan motiválóerők, a hatásuk visszahat a tanulásra, a tanulási folyamatra (17:38–18:50).*

‘I mentioned that I have been teaching here for 18 years, and I didn’t know a word of Romani until four years ago. Interestingly enough, the project does not require us to learn Romani, but, wittingly or unwittingly, I have retained many words and phrases, which the children appreciated all the more, especially because, often, they didn’t even need to translate for me anymore, or I understood that what[ever] they were saying to me, I was able to join in with one or two of the words they were using in class. From a teacher, I became a learner. Because they liked to teach the language, I was happy to learn it, and there were situations when the pupils were more competent, so they knew something better than I did, as a result of their language skills. These are all motivating forces, they have an impact on learning, on the entire process of learning’ (17:38–18:50).

Based on García and Kleyn (2016: 24), researchers also stressed in the workshops that translanguaging pedagogy “helps teachers separate language-specific performances in the named language (. . .) from general linguistic performances (the students’ ability to argue a point, express inferences, communicate complex thoughts etc.)”. Writing texts and note-taking were presented by researchers as general linguistic competences, and orthography as a performance in a named language, in our case Hungarian. The improvement of all competences is important, but becoming familiar with Hungarian spelling and gaining writing practice can be separated from each other. In this way, writing Romani helps improving general linguistic competences concerning text production. Gaining practice in spelling skills is also an important goal at school, but a different one (cf. Heltai 2020b: 481).

Practices of heterography have their risks, as teachers with little competence in Romani may accept meaningless written forms, which are unrecognisable for readers. Such forms remain beyond the possibilities of alternative spellings arising from heterography. This potential pitfall, however, can be turned to advantage due to the increasing role of peer-group control in the classroom. Learners are granted responsibility for recognising “correct” (acceptable) spellings, thus appearing in an expert role. Furthermore, it removes teacher’s omniscient role, and increases the interdependence between the teacher and pupils. These transformations, which ultimately imply greater trust between members of the learning community, and also allow learners to experience greater autonomy, are features of the learning partnerships forged at school, which teachers needed time to get used to – just like to heterographic ways of writing themselves. This kind of Romani literacy at school, based on heterography and transparency, can be developed wherever children learn a phonemic alphabet for the language of instruction. The degree of heterography depends, at least in part, on the differences between the sound system of the school language and Romani. In case of speakers taught to read and write in Hungarian, the transparency of writing in Romani is supported by the relative transparency of Hungarian orthography, which shows an almost exclusive sound-to-letter correspondence, with very few exceptions. In the next sections of this chapter, we present our experience through examples to argue that these writing practices are useful in school. Chapter 14.3 discusses heterographic practices in Tiszavasvári based on our community storybook project (for a detailed discussion, cf. Chapter 9.4). Section 14.4, based on examples from the video repository, focuses on classroom practices involving heterography.

14.3 Heterographic writing as a creative process

Deumert describes the notion of mimicry in the context of written forms of expression as the deliberate manipulation or creation of unconventional ways of writing, which convey additional meaning through difference. The innovations which deviate from writing conventions of codified spelling systems are nonetheless intelligible for members of the group and, often, universally. These practices were widespread in early 20th century futurist poetics and recontextualised in the advertising industry and in digital literacies. In the process, writers play with the arrangement, size or spatial position of letters, or replace certain letters with, for example, numerals or punctuation marks (2018: 13). The Futurists’ aim was to create an alienating effect in the text; for advertising companies it is to attract future buyers’ attention. More importantly for our project, Deumert argues that

mimicry-type creative expressions in online communication are powerful cultural statements. The aim of innovations is often to signal the writer's communicative intention and for the innovative form to communicate through its shape (cf. Deumert 2018). Mimicry in writing includes abbreviated forms (*4ever* 'forever'; *2da* 'to the'), some of which were creative responses to a practical challenge (messaging with a limited number of characters), while others intend to convey additional meanings about the writer's subjectivity or the writer's and the recipient's intersubjectivity.

Creative solutions of the mimicry type are in many ways similar to the forms arising in writing based on non-standardised Romani practices. In heterographic writing, several solutions may be possible for representing certain sounds, and their users do not distinguish between the possibilities according to the right v. wrong opposition. In the absence of orthographic literacy, all written representations and variants of a single representation are products of linguistic creativity, inasmuch as there are no available normative models to follow. The cultural statement can be interpreted in the sense that those who follow heterographic literacies try to dissociate themselves from the pressures of "linguistic correctness" mandated by monolingual norms and arising from standard language ideologies.

Creative innovation in writing results in a diversity of written forms similar to the heterographic practices of early written forms of European vernaculars. The examples which we look at below are taken from lines of the storybook produced in the summer of 2020, written according to local ways of speaking – and writing (cf. Chapter 9.4). The book contains, in part, Romani short stories written by the participants (*E vajdaszko történeto* 'The story of the chief'; *A bagolyiszke trin próbi* 'The owl's three trials') and in part tales from Roma folk tale collections (*Kinni tyúkjai* 'Kinni's hens'; *Miért nem tudnak a fák járni?* 'Why can't the trees walk?'; *Legenda a hegedűről* 'The violin's legend'). The texts of the latter were translated simultaneously by several participants, and this process resulted in up to four translated versions of certain tales. The texts of the parallel translations differed not only in their compositional features but also in their spelling choices. We wanted to maintain a sense of this diversity, so, four parallel volumes were published to include all four versions of the translated texts. A total of five hundred and sixty copies, of which one hundred and forty volumes of each were printed (Tiszavasvári Transzlingváló Műhely [Translanguaging Working Group of Tiszavasvári] ed. 2020). All four volumes contain the same translated texts but with the variations in spelling and written representations mentioned above. Figure 1 shows the four different versions of the beginning of the story *Kinni tyúkjai* 'Kinni's hens' (Bari 1990: 419–421).

More kedvesa bejája tavel amenge bakhtalo adi szentno rácsi!

Akanág pál egy puro rom penáv tumenge egy mesá. Ánde Vasvárá beslász peszke csávehel, e Kincsóhal. Szoduj gyene ando gav csavargolinász feszt. Taj egy gyesz karing lende vorbingyász egy gágyó. Odo pengyalenge:

- Biknav more grasztesz áven kinenlesz!
- Hát válinesztár katar to grasz? – pucsjász o puro rom.
- Me igen – penel o gágyó – biknavlesz.
- Kacsi mangesz páleszte?
- Devase pángy ezera taj tiro saj ave!

Mure kedvesa bejája tável amenge bakhtalo adi szunto rátyí! Akanág pál egy puro rom penáv egy mesá ko ánde Vasvárá beslász peszke csávehel le Kincsóhal. Szodújgyejne ando gav csavárginnász egiszó gyesz. Eke alkalmoňal vorbingyá lenge egy gazda. Odi pengyász:

- Bikimászlo hin murograsz áven kinen lesz!
- Válinesztár katar to grasz? – pucsjász o puro rom.
- Igen me – felelingyász o paraszto – biknavlesz.
- Kacsi mangesz váse?
- De váse ötven ezret tá tirošnjável.

Drágó bejátale tável amenge bakhtale adó szentno rácsi!

Akanág pál jak puro rom penáv történetó, anda Vasvárá beslászó sávehel. Kinnivel. Szó dugyvenelo gav pirkeren mindig. Jak alkalmoňal szoltíngyáven opre jak gádzsó. Odi pengya bikimázkóhi o grasz.

- Áven, kinen adó!
- Hát, csingyosz kató grasz? – penel ó puro rom.
- Még me – penáv e gágyeszke – biknavlesz.
- Kacsi mangesz páleszte?
- Demán 50 ezret, taj tirojtával.

Drágó bejátale tável baktáji adi szentno rácsi.

Akanág pál egy puro rom penáv egy történetó kó, anda Vasvárá besja peszke csávehe Kincsóvehe. Szó duj gyene ando gav csavárginnász állandóan. Jak alkalmoňal péleszte vorbingyá egy paraszto. Odi pengya:

- Bikimázkó hi ó grasz áven kinel lesz.
- Há mukesz te grasztesz? – pucsjá o puro rom.
- Hát igen, biknav lesz – felelingyá o gágyó.
- Kátyi desz man páleszte?
- De má páleszte pángy selá ezerá, táj tyi ro hi.

Fig. 1: The first lines of the four Romani translations of the fairy tale *Kinni tyúkjai* 'Kinni's hens' (Highlighting of alternative forms of spelling and parsing of word forms in writing is merely illustrative; not all possible variants have been circled.).

The English version of the text (based on the Hungarian original, Bari 1990: 419):

My dear children may this holy evening be a happy one for us! Now I am going to tell you a story about an old Gypsy who lived in Keléd with his son Kinni. Both of them were always wandering around the village. One day a peasant came to them. He said:

- My horse is for sale, come and buy it!
- Are you going to sell your horse? – asked the old Gypsy.
- I will! – said the peasant.
- How much do you want for it?
- Give me five pence and you can have it.

In the passages shown here, as in the entire text, several types of differences can be distinguished. On the one hand, there are differences in the writing of consonants which are absent in Hungarian, such as the voiceless velar fricative [x] and aspirated consonants (see above); e.g. *bakhtalo*: *baktáji* 'lucky' (marked with red in the diagram). The short v. long opposition in vowels, which is phonemic in Hungarian, is represented in the orthography by diacritics: i [i]: í [i:]; o [o]: ó [o:]; ö [ø]: ő [ø:]; u [u]: ú [u:]; ü [y]: ű [y:]. In the e [ɛ]: é [e:] opposition the diacritic indicates difference not only in length but also tongue height, and in the a [ɒ]: á [a:] opposition a difference in tongue height and lip rounding. These oppositions are mostly irrelevant in Romani, where vowel length is typically an areal contact feature,

present in some Vlach dialects precisely because of their contact with Hungarian, but its phonemic status is uncertain (Matras 2002: 59). The vowel system of Romani consists of a, e, i, o, u, with the addition of central vowels in some dialects, and a backing of [a:] to [ɔ:] in some dialects spoken in close geographic proximity to our field site (Southern Slovakia) (cf. Elšík et al. 1999: 309). These distinctions between the Hungarian and Romani vowels, and, potentially, between the variable features of local pronunciation are sensed by speakers and give rise to a variation in orthographic representations, including vowel symbols with and without diacritics. There are many examples of these spelling variants in the texts above, e.g. *bakhtalo: báktáji* ('lucky') *akanág: ákánág* ('now'), *szoduj gyéne: szódujgyéne* 'both of them' etc.

Another typical source of heterography is the variable interpretation of word boundaries. In all cases, the definition of these boundaries was left in the decision and metalinguistic awareness of the author of the text, and the proposed solutions were not changed during the editing process. It is worth comparing the last sentences of the examples listed in Fig. 1, where we encounter this phenomenon both at the beginning and end of the first two versions (excerpt 3a–3d):

| | | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (3a) | <i>deváse</i> | | | <i>pángy</i> | | <i>ezerá</i> |
| HU | 'adj érte | | | ötven | | ezret |
| ENG | 'give.IMP.for.it | | | fifty | | thousand.ACC |
| | | | | | | |
| (3b) | <i>de</i> | <i>váse</i> | | <i>ötven</i> | | <i>ezret</i> |
| HU | 'adj | érte | | ötven | | ezret |
| ENG | 'give.IMP | for.it | | fifty | | thousand.ACC |
| | | | | | | |
| (3c) | <i>demán</i> | | | <i>50</i> | | <i>ezret,</i> |
| HU | 'adj nekem | | | 50 | | ezret |
| ENG | give.IMP.to.me | | | 50 | | thousand.ACC |
| | | | | | | |
| (3d) | <i>de</i> | <i>má</i> | <i>pálleszte</i> | <i>pángy</i> | <i>selá</i> | <i>ezret</i> |
| HU | adj | nekem | érte | öt | száz | ezret |
| ENG | give.IMP | to.me | for.it | five | hundred | thousand.ACC |
| | | | | | | |
| (3a) | <i>taj</i> | <i>tiro</i> | | <i>saj</i> | | <i>avel</i> |
| HU | és | tiéd | | -het | | less |
| ENG | and | yours | | it.may | | be |

| | | | |
|------|------------|--------------------|-----------|
| (3b) | <i>táj</i> | <i>tirosájável</i> | |
| HU | és | tiéd lehet | |
| ENG | and | yours.may.be | |
| (3c) | <i>táj</i> | <i>tírotável</i> | |
| HU | és | tiéd lesz' | |
| ENG | and | yours.will.be | |
| (3d) | <i>táj</i> | <i>tyiro</i> | <i>hi</i> |
| HU | és | tiéd | van |
| ENG | and | yours | be |

For example, the pronoun and the verb is written in one word in *demán* ('give me') in 3c, and kept separate in 3d. At the end of the sentence, *tirosájável* ('you can have') is perceived by one speaker as three words (3a) and by another as one word (3b). The texts were first manually written down by the translators (local Roma participants) and then digitised by university students working with them. Prior to digitisation, places where speakers' perceptions of word boundaries did not coincide with the word boundaries defined by writers of Lovari texts following the academic tradition were marked. During the digitisation process, the local contributors' choices were specifically checked by the students, requesting correction or confirmation from the translators. These forms are therefore the result of conscious, reflective choices.

Differences specific to translanguaging ways of speaking also appear in the lines above. The spelling variants *tiro* (3a) and *tyiro* (3d), both 'your', may reflect the transitional status of palatalised dental stops typical of Northern Vlach and Lovari (Matras 2002: 50–51). Numbers were translated into Romani – according to the perspective of the writer of these lines – by only one speaker, and three of them used the same forms as in the Hungarian version. The one who did translate them, however, rewrote or ignored the value of the number in the original. Other differences in translation also appear, e.g. some Romani versions show a closer resemblance to the Hungarian pattern in valence frame (e.g. *de váse* 'give for it'), while others adapted the phrase to local Romani (*de mán* 'give to me'). The community storybooks, generally, follow heterographic practices, and they are examples of translanguaging literacy.

Similar heterographic ways of writing appear in the texts written during learning. Unlike the learning of Hungarian spelling, however, heterographic writing is not a learning goal but a means to an end in the learning process. In school, it can therefore serve to facilitate subject content learning. It is argued in the next

chapter (14.4) that the learning of Hungarian spelling is not impeded by these heterographic exercises; thus the assessability of pupils' performance is not affected negatively. Pupils use these creative forms of writing to help themselves and support each other. As a result, teachers need not be concerned about the variation in written forms. They can merely exploit the creative potential of the process because, according to teachers' reports, pupils are keen to take up the opportunity to write in Romani. The following part of this chapter shows examples of the learners' written output and argues that the learners' translanguaging writing is not only innovative in form but also richer in content than their written texts produced in Hungarian with respect to its orthographic conventions.

14.4 Experiences with Romani heterography

In the videos developed for the project, there are many examples where Romani becomes part of writing and/or reading activities. In videos 27 (*Representations: Translanguaging as a concept and linguistic landscape*) and 28 (*Enhancing belonging and self-confidence through transformations of the linguistic landscape*) learners explore and discuss the transforming linguistic landscape of the school (cf. Chapter 12). Writing is in the focus of the videos 9 (*Creative innovation in writing*) and 24 (*Composing written texts in Romani*). In videos 19 (*Reading Romani as a translanguaging activity*) and 22 (*Students' perception of the new community storybook*) learners read from the fairy tale book (cf. Chapter 9.4 for a more detailed analysis). The next parts of this chapter discuss these videos, highlighting that Romani literacy – both writing and reading in Romani – became part of pupils' school activities. The analysis reviews the advantages and risks of introducing Romani heterography in school.

Video 9 (*Creative innovation in writing*) shows a drawing lesson in sixth grade. At the beginning of the lesson, the learners and the teacher, Erika, read and discussed a Gypsy folk tale together, and then the learners began to work individually to create illustrations to accompany the text. Some pupils wrote text bubbles for the pictures, typical of comic books. The teacher noticed that one of the pupils wrote something in Romani in the text bubble and asked him why he had chosen Romani. The pupil replied “because it is usually written in Hungarian, not in Gypsy, and I tried it in Gypsy” (video 9: 0.35–1.38).

In this example, an arts session in the classroom paved the way for linguistic creativity, as the pupil not only made an illustration, but also put sentences on paper adapted to his own language practices at home. For the pupil, this is a new experience: he even says that writing usually occurs in Hungarian. The writing

practice and the experimentation is initiated by the pupil. New solutions become available for the pupils because their Romani competences are usually better, so that a variety of solutions of a higher quality can be created. It is also worth observing the teacher's behaviour. She notices when the pupil uses Romani in his work, acknowledges and encourages it by showing an interest in the pupil's individual solution. The teacher-learner conversation about the Romani writing in the bubble took place in front of the whole class, witnessed by all learners. This is a confirmation for the class that it is okay for the home language to be present in school, not only orally but also in writing. The teacher also reinforces the message that pupils have a choice about which language they use to express themselves to solve a problem. Needless to say, teachers have the power to determine the time allocated for heterographic practices, so that these do not replace the development of Hungarian spelling skills. Our point here is to underline that if teachers adapt to pupils' interests and accommodate their creative experiments with language, pupils will also have a greater interest in adapting to practices represented by the teacher – including conventionalised forms of writing.

Roma cultural references are prominent throughout the lesson. The children read a story about a poor Roma widow with many children. She abandons her starving children and eventually has to escape the devil to find her way back to them. In the end, only after her death can she care for them, in the form of a cherry tree. It is easy to identify emotionally with this protagonist, but, additionally, pupils in the Magiszter School often witness similar fates around them. Thus, the story and the circumstances of the protagonists are not presented here as something from the world of fairy tales, to be learned and understood as something independent of the pupils' lives, but as piece of their lived experience (cf. Chapter 13 for a detailed discussion). However, the teacher should avoid the trap of stereotyping Roma culture as a culture of poverty. This can be done both through illustrations and textual commentary. Drawings can help children to escape from the bleakness of everyday circumstances, and the poverty-related conditions they read about in the story can be reflected in the illustrations. The Romani writing in the text bubble reinvents the story in the frame of a new genre (comic strip). Romani in this role is new to children, and allows them to appreciate the whole product as a valuable part of their identity.

In video 24 (*Composing written texts in Romani*), filmed in an upper year of primary school (fifth grade, with some eighth grade participants present), from video 24: 1.46, the camera focuses on a sheet of paper with Romani writing, red by a girl from the eighth grade. Prior to this, the learners gathered in groups information about local Roma customs and traditions concerning funerals and other cultural practices. After the group work, they sum up their findings, writing some of them on the board, a significant part of it in Romani, while they read or

tell their solutions to the class and the teacher. On behalf of her group, the girl reads the Romani sentences gathered by her group and written on the paper by herself. Immediately after reading a sentence, almost automatically, she translates it for the teacher into Hungarian. Both reading and translating is seamless. This is a complex task. Romani-based writing is not the goal, it is only a tool (used in a familiar way) to support the learners' work on the task. It has the role to scaffold other activities of meaning-making about Roma customs and traditions. Pupils, at least in this group, preferred working in Romani and made obvious use of it effortlessly in writing, too. The girl reads and translates the sentences fluently, without hesitation. On the other hand, in this successful translanguaging session, the language of instruction remains part of the lesson and the teacher is able to oversee the learning process. There are no challenges resulting from Romani heterography.

In this lesson language specific and general linguistic competences are separated, and the goal is clear: meaning-making through reflection on cultural traditions of the Roma community. Romani heterography supports this goal, and the teacher successfully avoids the trap of meddling with Hungarian or Romani spelling issues. The Hungarian parts of the words and phrases written on the board contain spelling mistakes, but they are correct in terms of content and language. Spelling is important, but it is also important that its development takes place in exercises devised and dedicated to it, and does not override all other aspects of the teaching of text production.

14.5 Reading of heterographic writings during classroom activities

In the lesson recorded on video 19 (*Reading Romani as a translanguaging activity*), the children were given the fairy tale book in which the texts are in Romani. The video shows the pupils sitting in a circle and the teacher is giving up her seat to the pupil who is reading. The pupil reads the short excerpts in Romani with confidence (video 19: 1.35–2.28; video 19: 3.07–3.30) while other pupils listen. The reading is not entirely fluent, however. After a short section was read, the class and the teacher discussed (in Hungarian) what the text was about (video 19: 2.28–3.07; video 19: 3.30–3.44). The tale read by the selected pupils sounds familiar to the children when listening to it, as its text is translated by local Roma according to local ways of speaking. However, when they start reading the text, it seems that in certain cases learners struggle to read out the words.

This book, as already mentioned above, was written according to local speakers' vernacular and local heterographic writing traditions. In her opening thoughts on the video, the teacher admits that first she felt the children read less fluently than usually (video 19: 3.45–4.18). She explains this by the children's lack of experience in reading in Romani. However, in the end, she finds the reading as a successful learning activity overall. The teachers' tentative explanation is supported by research findings on word processing in reading. Empiricist theories (for example Nunan 1991) focus on the examination of data-driven processes of reading. Reading is characterised by a bottom-up strategy: the reader recognises the graphemes, relates them to sounds in his/her mind and connects the graphemes to make up the word. In contrast, cognitive models of reading highlight the relevance of top-down processes (Grabe and Fredericka 1991), by claiming that pre-existing concepts of the mind (Goodman 1967) help recognise the written words. Reading is a constructive process (Rumelhart 1977) because readers, while processing the written text, activate cognitive schemata related to word shapes and recalling them from their memory. The number of schematic representations for a single word and its inflected forms depends on language typological features, too; for instance, synthetic and agglutinative Romani morphology results in a higher number of inflected forms for a single word stem than isolating English.

When a child learns to read, both top-down and bottom-up processes are present and developing. It is important to emphasise, however, that the top-down processes are also driven by previous experience; the more a child encounters a certain word, the more it is possible that he/she will recall it at first sight. In this case, it is not necessary to make out the word letter-by-letter; it is perceived based on sight-recognition. During sight-recognition, meaning is conveyed by the identification of the word as a whole visual sign (Marsh et al. 1981; Johnston 2000). As Ehri (2014) suggests, the words recognised by sight are stored in the long-term memory. The reading relying on this process increases reading fluency and results in better comprehension (Johnston 2000).

In our case, the children do not have extensive experience in reading Romani. They rarely see Romani texts at home. The processes of reading described above explain why the children needed more time to figure out the words in the tale. The sight recognition of words was impossible as they lacked reading experience in Romani, so word forms as singular units were unavailable for recollection from their long-term memories. They could rely only on bottom-up processes while reading, thus, not even those pupils could show fluency in reading who otherwise are considered to be good readers in Hungarian by the teacher.

The slow and uncertain reading made it difficult to understand the text while listening. Nevertheless, the learners listened attentively and most of them were able to understand the text, as the follow-up discussion showed. They were able

to summarise the text and answer the teacher's questions. According to constructive pedagogy learning is a social process, in which knowledge is constructed in social interactions. From this perspective, the reading activity can be regarded as a successful learning event, because the children gained new experience in reading in Romani and this experience was embedded in a collaborative social learning moment (García 2014: 112). Pupils could practice reading by relying on their local knowledge and creativity. At the same time, creativity was necessary as well, in order to employ this knowledge in another language. Learners, thus, experienced cooperative learning, and being creative in reading could enhance their self-confidence as well.

14.6 Summary: Emergent attitudes to literacy

Creativity is central to heterographic literacies, both in the process of their creation and in their use (reading). These literacies and these practices cannot replace or substitute the acquisition of standard monolingual literacy and spelling. However, our experience shows that the two writing systems can coexist in schools. While monolingual orthography is an important learning goal and key to a successful future, heterographic literacies can clearly help to achieve it. However, we do not believe that this type of literacy has an exclusively scaffolding role. We see it as having transformative potential: it transforms community members' and children's attitudes to literacy, and strengthens locals' identity and self-esteem. The learners demonstrate their pride in learning in video 22 (*Students' perception of the new community storybook*). Taking part in the storybook project and contributing to the creation of a learning resource not only has a pride of place in participants' life, but it also reveals to them their potential for agency and participation. Similar sentiments were written down by one of the authors of the community book who participated in the project with her daughter, when she described what it was like to pick the storybook up soon after it was printed.

On a cold winter day, my daughter entered the house overjoyed. Laughing, she gave me the storybook, which made me so happy it brought me to tears, and I thought that my daughter had never given me anything like it. She went to school, but she never even got a diploma, because she was always naughty, her mind was somewhere else. And I thank her as a mother and as a grandmother that she, my daughter, participates in such things. I am proud of the women for taking this on themselves and they should participate in such things elsewhere too. As a grandmother, I will read to my grandchildren from this book.

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15 Adaptive schooling, effective learning organisation, and translanguaging

In recent decades, *learning* has replaced *teaching* as a key concept of education and schooling, re-centering our attention on learners' rather than only teachers' activities in classrooms. Our understanding of learning has changed significantly as a result of insights from cognitive science in various disciplines (Baars 1986; Royer 2005; Pléh, Gurova, and Ropolyi 2013; Evans 2019), on the one hand, and the spread of alternative pedagogies, on the other. The redefinition of learning affects the entire organisation of knowledge development, including the ways teachers plan and deliver classes; hence, the events in a translanguaging classroom are also shaped by the shifts in our understanding of learning. Taking the insights gained in Chapter 13 on culturally transformative, community-based education further, this chapter argues that it is worthwhile to centre the concept of school on learning, rather than teaching, and to integrate the culture of learning-centred schools into a broader system of education, in which the concept of learning is intertwined with ideas about the role of the teacher and the overall function and purpose of school. A model for organising learning and teaching in line with this new thinking is the adaptive-inclusive school, whose idea was developed by Hungarian education scholars (e.g. Rapos et al. 2011; Gaskó et al. 2011). In this chapter we argue that the practice of translanguaging can be thought of as a central part of the adaptive-inclusive model.

Changes in the theory of education in recent decades have brought effective learning to the centre of education research. Didactics thus focuses on learning (Ollé 2003; Falus 2007), and this effective learning process is facilitated by teaching, which, as a result, started to be seen as “learning management” (Földes 2009), “learning organisation”, and “the facilitation of learning”, and includes the choice of methods and classroom activities, the arrangement of learning materials, and the organisation of the temporal and spatial framework of learning. Placing learning at the centre of discourse on education has been instrumental in re-thinking pedagogical and psychological theories of learning. Innovative ideas have been put forward to describe the process of learning and the emerging new approaches have developed further ramifications.

Jörg, Davis, and Nickmans (2007) argue that in formulating new theories of learning, education must take into account the complex realities of learners' background. In the Hungarian context, Nahalka (2009: 37) identifies four key factors in the transformation of our understanding of learning: 1. The discovery of the world

which surrounds the school is best facilitated through authentic activities and active engagement with lifelike experience and events, instead of activities such as “learning by heart”. Learners’ pre-existing experience should, therefore, be brought into the school context, including the language practices of their home. 2. Constructivist learning theories (Glaserfeld 1995), have underlined that the process of learning cannot be seen as a passive reception of content from outside (i.e. an inductive process). It is important to map, and relate to, students’ prior knowledge, cognitive structures, and linguistic behaviour. 3. An appreciation of local cultures transforms teachers’ perception of learners (cf. Chapter 13.3). Individuals are taught, as a result, in a way which adapts to their individual needs and, as in the case of Roma learners, language practices (cf. Brown, Metz, and Campione 1996). 4. Hence, the discovery and development of competences is the main focus of learning. This motivates learners’ interactions and creates opportunities for learners’ active contribution and agency. These theoretical principles are now making an impact on teacher training in Central Europe, on teachers’ attitudes, and, as a result, on school-based practices. Therefore, the new concept of learning is also reflected in learning organisation.

Learning organisation is a complex term which can be understood in the sense of “classroom management” or, as in this chapter, more broadly and comprehensively. Classroom management is a variety of skills and techniques which teachers use to ensure that students are kept focused, organised, and academically productive during class, and that lessons run smoothly, without students’ potentially disruptive behaviour undermining the delivery of instruction (Brophy 1983; Szivák 2007). Learning organisation, in this narrow sense, refers primarily to the creation and maintenance of behavioural frameworks for learning. This chapter understands learning organisation as the organisation and facilitation of the learning process as a whole, including the choice of classroom activities and method of learning, as well as the management of problems arising in the classroom.

Pedagogical principles which are seen as effective today partially overlap with notions previously defined as teaching methods (e.g., co-operative methods v. co-operative learning organisation), but they also incorporate innovations and good practices emerging in educational theory research, such as project-based learning, tiered and differentiated instruction, and drama pedagogy (cf. for example Woolfolk Hoy and Weinstein 2006; McCaslin et al. 2006; Hickey and Schafer 2006). Teachers who organise learning effectively apply differentiation when taking into account learners’ individual strengths, weaknesses, learning styles, etc. This is imperative in a school where pupils’ language practices differ significantly from the language of instruction and/or from the teachers’ language practices. As a result of effective learning organisation, teachers can afford to be flexible about subject content and teaching time and place. They are able to pay attention to the development of social skills, to use methods which motivate learners, to encourage diversity in students’

thinking, problem-solving and communication. Learning and the learners are placed front and centre in the teacher's work, which involves planning and organising in advance the conditions and resources needed for each individual child's learning in the classroom. Much of the teacher's work is, therefore, preparatory, and her work in the classroom involves mostly monitoring and supporting individual learning. In this framework, developmental activities are part of the classroom and occur while the pupils work actively on tasks. This new understanding of the teacher's role shifts the focus from teaching, lecturing, and knowledge transfer to facilitating, planning, and organising. The following subsections examine ways in which translanguaging can be linked to effective learning organisation.

The next two sub-chapters present four videos which show the potential of translanguaging in different classroom situations and at different stages of the class's progression in connection with effective learning-management practices. The translanguaging classroom situations presented in the videos are the outcome of both the teacher's initiatives to help pupils learn more effectively and learners' spontaneous language behaviour rendering learning more effective (cf. Chapter 10). A co-operative learning approach is beneficial for several reasons: it allows learners to have a social learning experience and to develop an individual learning path, leading to autonomy in learning. Furthermore, it also promotes spontaneous translanguaging moments. In videos 5 (*Translanguaging in Maths class*), 12 (*Translanguaging corriente*), and 14 (*Translation tasks in translanguaging*), we can see examples of the way in which pupils, who are already skilled in collaborative work, use translanguaging in a group task with the teacher acting as facilitator to achieve learning goals. The analysis of video 31 (*Multimodal experience in knowledge building*) shows that it is possible to reshuffle the hierarchies in the teacher-student relationship, and to apply a translanguaging approach even in frontal learning organisation. The video shows a science lesson where the teacher found common ground between the possibilities of multimodality and the use of translanguaging. The chapter argues that a translanguaging pedagogical stance has a place in a general school concept, which is summarised under the term *adaptive school* and described in the final sub-section of this chapter.

15.1 Varied learning organisation in the translanguaging classroom

In the classroom activities under discussion, principles of cooperative learning organisation are applied. Collaborative learning interactions support peer learning and provide spontaneous opportunities for translanguaging. The structure of

tasks can encourage learners to work together if all learners are required to contribute to the solution. Learners are motivated to share responsibility for the solution of the task if the teacher manages to fine-tune two main factors: on the one hand, the difficulty level of the task, which implies the need for joint effort and collaboration, and, on the other hand, the limited time available to complete the task. This makes cooperation between pupils inevitable: they divide the tasks between themselves, support each other, and work together. A successful task engages the learners' interest: it challenges them and makes them think; it might also have several solutions, it is a source of success for all learners, and requires a wide range of skills, abilities, and behaviours on the part of learners (Gillies and Ashman 2003; Gillies 2007, 2016; Orbán 2011). Cooperative learning involves learners communicating with each other, often in a spontaneous way. Furthermore, the videos illustrate that the preparation for, and checking of solutions in, a group task provides an opportunity for teacher-initiated translanguaging.

In video 5 (*Translanguaging in a Maths class*), we can see details of a third-grade maths lesson (cf. Chapter 11). The pupils practise basic mathematical operations in groups, using a multi-step task requiring abstract thinking. According to the description of the task, pupils have to find out what presents (which four birthday cards) a little mouse was given for its birthday. Each group is given twelve cards and a sheet of paper with a long list of numbers written on it. Each card has a mathematical operation on it, which pupils have to complete. After having completed the twelve operations, each group has to find out which four of the twelve results they attained can be found in the long list of numbers on the separate sheet of paper. The little mouse gets as a present the four cards whose results appear on the separate sheet. This task is complex, including a sequence of activities which are challenging for the pupils in the lower grades of primary school. A succession of different steps leads to the final part of the task, the selection of the gift cards. Here, the time allotted to the task and the fast pace of making the calculations prompted the children to work together. Those groups that worked well together realised that dividing the task between group members would lead to a better result. Working in groups in the lower grades of primary school is a difficult task and the social skills needed are often still lacking. In maths lessons, it is particularly difficult for several pupils to work together because everyone has their own logical structures for solving a problem. Nevertheless, group work is useful in a lower-grade mathematics class, of which the recorded classroom is a good example. Translanguaging, adopted in the translation of the complex description of the task, contributed to making group work an effective approach to learning organisation.

At the beginning of the classroom recording (video 5: 0.40–1.35) we can see that the groups have already been set up and the task is being given out. The first

step to successful task completion is to understand what exactly needs to be done. In fact, for complex tasks that require group work, a clear understanding of the task is a key component of effectiveness. Furthermore, it is essential that in the motivated, emotionally engaged, work-intensive periods of the hustle and bustle of group work, all learners should focus their attention on the teacher's instructions and comprehend all the information needed to solve the task accurately. The teacher in this scene explains the task in Hungarian. It is clear from the video that most pupils are not paying attention: they are drawing on the desks, looking at their notebooks, exchanging words in low voices, or staring in a disengaged manner. According to the teacher (video 5: 2.29–3.03), this response is quite common because group members are often unable to understand fully the instructions in Hungarian and lose the thread. So, group work is helpful and motivating but much depends on task preparation and introduction. It gives pupils more responsibility and autonomy but its success is not to be taken for granted.

It is likely that children whose Romani skills are better than their Hungarian have greater difficulty in understanding this complex task and executing the operations correctly if the task is presented to them in Hungarian. When setting group tasks, Orbán (2011) also draws attention to the importance of checking accuracy and comprehension. Task delivery is complex in such cases, and a quiet, relaxed atmosphere for group work can only be ensured if the instructions clarify all the important points beforehand. The task should be clear to everyone, the objectives and the desired steps to reach them should be clearly explained, and, what is more important, understood. The components of effective cooperation should be reiterated several times, clear time frames should be set, and evaluation criteria and methods should also be explained in advance. This will help to avoid further questions and uncertainties, as will feedback from learners on whether they have understood the task. Feedback can be given simply by nodding, or repeating and summarising parts of the instruction. Translanguaging is introduced at this point in the lesson: Zita asks one of the pupils to summarise the task instructions in Romani. Shortly after the pupil starts to speak, the others suddenly start to listen (video 5: 1.39–2.28): they signal to each other to be quiet and focus on the student who is speaking. The instructions in Romani were better understood by the pupils, and their answers to the teacher's questions confirmed this.

Translanguaging in the above example served the understanding of the task and the preparation for group work as a whole. All this was executed in frontal classroom work, which normally makes it challenging to maintain the students' attention, but which is the best-suited format for giving instructions before groups start working on the same tasks. Based on the video, we can conclude that translanguaging worked effectively in a teacher-initiated, deliberate, formal organisational setting. In the Hungarian context, Nádasi (2007; cf. also: Gillies and

Ashman 2003) mentions that frontal work is a first step among the main practical steps which set the scene for group work, which includes the preparation of both content and the mood for group work, the allocation or choice of group tasks, and the specification of the time available. In this mathematics class, the teachers' initial instructions, formulated in Hungarian, were unsuccessful in implementing these steps.

It is helpful to focus our attention on the question why the pupils are so distracted when the instructions are given at the outset. It could be explained by their excitement about the group work and the interesting, lifelike task ahead of them, but at the same time, they are disengaged with the details of task instructions. It is likely that some pupils lost the thread of understanding while listening to a complex instruction, and as a result they stopped paying attention. Whatever the reason is, the teacher consciously and successfully brings in the learners' home language to re-organise the situation. The instruction in Romani (repeated by one of the pupils) creates motivation and refocuses attention. By asking comprehension-check questions, the teacher can verify that the pupils understand the task accurately and in detail, and work can begin in small groups. This seemingly lengthy frontal preparation is a prerequisite for effective small group work, ensuring equal access to shared knowledge for all (Arató and Varga 2012: 143, 2015: 92). As the language practices of the learners here are very different from the language of instruction, learners also make use of the possibility of translanguaging communication within the group. They are also motivated to do so by the setting of the task in their home language.

In video 12 (*Translanguaging corriente*), excerpts can be seen from a fifth-grade history lesson in the upper years of primary education. The topic is Ancient Rome; its social history, and the social and material situation of the rich and the poor. Working in groups, the pupils were given sentences to decide which applied to the poor and which to the rich. This part of the lesson provides an obvious opportunity for translanguaging, as pupils work in teams, and interactions characterising frontal work, more easily linked to the language of instruction, are therefore avoided. Pupils are among themselves, speaking as they are comfortable, using their language resources in the way they are most comfortable to do. It is a common experience in Tiszavasvári and Szímó (Zemné) that in such situations the learners also use their linguistic resources based on Romani, although this is not clearly audible on the recording for technical reasons.

Scene 2 (video 12: 1.39–2.58) shows open-class feedback on the task. There are instances of translanguaging moments in this part, too. Solving the group task served the purpose of practice, while checking the task in two steps serves the purpose of systematising and consolidating knowledge. These stages are often problematic from a disciplinary and attention-focus point of view, but they are also of

paramount importance for the quality of students' work and for the accuracy of the subject-knowledge which is being checked. The open-class feedback sessions guarantee, through systematisation and consolidation, that the knowledge acquired is retained permanently and can be retrieved, but it is also always relevant to the task at hand and the problem-solving process specific to it. The task in this video was rendered suitable for collaborative work because of its challenging nature; group work, in turn, allowed the pupils to build confidence in the solution of the task, which would have been more daunting if they had had to work independently. The first part of the task was a discrete pairing task, in which the solutions could be clearly verified. The second part was oral text production, a partially open-ended task, in which Romani and Hungarian resources were used.

The teacher in charge of the lesson initiates translanguaging: she introduces the Romani word pair *csóro* 'poor' and *barvalo* 'rich'. The pupils' task is to say the word which describes best the social class whose habits are described in one-sentence statements. In the recording, pupils start by saying the answers in Hungarian, but soon, under the teacher's influence, the Romani terms are added. The pupils become increasingly motivated, and by the time the fourth group's turn comes to report their results, several group members decide to say the words referring to their solutions in Romani. In this scene, another type of classroom application of translanguaging is shown. In the checking of the group task, language resources related to Romani are introduced at the teacher's initiative, while the learners become increasingly motivated by the possibility of translingual learning.

The repetition of the Romani words *csóro* and *barvalo* after the reiterated statements concerning the various social groups helped the retention of the material learnt, inasmuch as this repetition served the purpose of consolidation. The selection of the statements by relevance to the social groups which they describe was useful in systematising new knowledge. Furthermore, translanguaging here was also used to build bridges between learners' existing knowledge and cognitive structures concerning poverty and wealth (Nahalka 2002; Richardson 2003) and the new knowledge which concerned abstract concepts used in the history lesson such as social class divisions in Ancient Rome. The domestication of the subject-content through translanguaging enhanced learners' ability to make sense of what they learned, thus avoiding both rote learning and loss of motivation. Translanguaging was also helpful in keeping pupils' attention focused during frontal task control. Checking group tasks can often be problematic. At this stage, the excitement of solving the task and the momentum of group reflection are gone, the task is completed. It is difficult to maintain attention in this situation, as only a single student is active at a time and the others are passive observers. Yet tasks must be checked in the interest of consolidation. The Romani words breaks the monotony of open-class feedback, and their repetition prompts passive learners to join in the activity. The

procedure helps learners to relate the new knowledge to their own community-based experience and existing conceptual frameworks (on community-based learning cf. Chapter 13, and for a different analysis of the video, cf. Chapter 10).

Video 14 (*Translation tasks in translanguaging*) was produced in the same classroom as video 12 analysed above, and the topic is the same. Translanguaging is also presented in a similar function, but in a different form. Here, too, learners work in groups, have to think about how the rich and the poor lived and then report back on what they have achieved. One group presents the lives of the poor in Hungarian, another in Romani, a third in Hungarian on the rich and a fourth in Romani on the rich. Translanguaging comes to the fore during the reporting of the solution alongside its role in group work, but in the open-class scene home-language resources are used in formal communication (and not in-group discussions). In this way, learners' linguistic resources related to Romani are re-positioned within the classroom: they are brought to the surface at the teacher's encouragement.

In scene 1, the Hungarian-speaking group starts the feedback session, followed by the Romani speaking group. At this point, translation becomes necessary, and the pupils respond enthusiastically to the teacher's request to translate the Romani utterance. We can see from the pupils' attitudes, reactions, and enthusiasm that there is mutual trust between the class and the teacher, which allows the differences in language practice to be bridged instantly. The pupils translate for the teacher when necessary. Trust between the teacher and the pupils is essential in this case, because in such a situation the roles are reversed: the learners are the sources of knowledge and the teacher is placed in the role of the learner. From what we have seen in the video, it can be concluded that classroom translanguaging works and contributes to the success of the learning process, even if the teacher does not fully understand the language practices of the learners. The rest of the lesson is spent actively applying the new knowledge to oral text production. Here, the teacher's expectation of parallel solutions in Romani and Hungarian is deliberate, and enhances the effectiveness of the learning process. First, the information concerning the lives of the rich and the poor is presented twice, once in Romani and once in Hungarian. Thus, repetition helps consolidation of new information. Second, all students have an equal chance to understand the new material fully, and Romani and Hungarian resources are equally shared in the groups. The translation for the teacher and the transformed teacher-student relationship motivates the learners in the personal sense: they feel readier to remember something seeing that it matters for the teacher. Finally, the new information is repeated through translation for the second time.

In the classroom scenes discussed above, we have seen examples of group-work preparation and monitoring, in which translanguaging provides effective help in organising the learning process. However, it is not only this form of learning

organisation that provides opportunities for the use of translanguaging. The next section (15.2) explores ways in which translanguaging and multimodality can support learning in frontal work organisation, which, thanks to a translanguaging approach, accommodates individual learning paths despite the fact that differentiated instruction is not traditionally associated with frontal work.

15.2 Individualised learning pathways and accommodating learner diversity in science classes

Video 31 (*Multimodal experience in knowledge building*) was made in a science lesson in grade 5 in Szímő (Zemné). The lesson elements in the video are examined from two perspectives. First, we look at ways in which differentiated instruction, tailored to individual learners' language needs, influences activities in a science class about the environment. Second, we explore the way scientific methods of knowledge construction, such as observation, classification, and description, are implemented in a translanguaging environment.

The main aim of teaching the environmental science and natural science subject area is to develop the skills and habits needed for learning science subjects (biology, geography, chemistry, physics) in the upper grades. The parts of the lesson shown on the video are frontal, with mainly teacher-led activities requiring individual student responses. Furthermore, the learning process, as in all learning, involves the development of cognitive skills through the acquisition of knowledge-development methods. The methods of cognition in science are observation, description, comparison, and classification. These methods develop children's ability to observe, describe, identify and discriminate phenomena. This skill set underpins the learning of science subjects in the upper grades. Within this general framework, it is important that teachers provide as wide a range of individualised learning pathways as possible, tailored to learners' prior learning experience, thus enabling pupils from marginalised communities to experience equitable treatment at school.

Many of the pupils in Szímő (Zemné) benefit from personalised learning pathways, which improves their success at school. The science class is hardly the first one that comes to mind when considering the impact, and possible responses to, learners' marginalised socio-economic situation and non-standard language practices, which differ from the language of the school. Yet in the science class moments recorded in video 31, the teacher is looking for opportunities to reflect on

the children's complex language repertoires and bring them to the fore within the remit of her subject. For instance, when asking the pupils to point to and name the animals on the wall chart, she offers the possibility for the learners who go to the blackboard to say their answers in either of the languages which form their repertoire: Hungarian, Romani or Slovak. She formulates her instruction as follows: "You are learning the same topic with your teacher in Slovak lessons and in Hungarian in science lessons. We agreed that you can say their names in Romani, too" (video 31: 1.01–1.22). This caring and encouraging attitude is expressed not only in verbal language, but also in the teacher's smiling, happy attitude, facial expressions and gestures, which show that she is eager to hear the learner's response. An example of this is the teacher's request to name the rabbit in Romani, when she expresses a positive aesthetic value judgement which she associates with the Romani word.

- (1) teacher *Nyuszi bizony. mondjad el, olyan szép neve van neki romául!*
 'Yes, bunny. Tell me, it has such a beautiful name in Romani!'
 pupil *Sosoj. Szlovákul zajac.*
 'RABBIT. In Slovak it is *rabbit*.'

The teacher organises learning activities, develops the task, and in so doing, she diverts from the textbook material. Another example of the personalisation of learning materials is the identification of a strawberry in a picture. A fifth-grade boy cannot name the plant in the picture, but after the teacher relates it to his lived experience, reminding the pupil that his parents work with it, he immediately recognises and names the strawberry plant (video 31: 2.29–2.36):

- (2) teacher *Melyiket nem tudod? [odamegy a tanulóhoz] Ez mi? Hát mit árulnak a szüleid mindig?*
 'Which one do you not know?' [teacher goes to the pupil] 'What is this? What do your parents always sell?'
 pupil *Hát . . . [rájön a válaszra, elkezd írni]*
 'So . . .' [finds the answer, starts writing]
 teacher *Hát . . . na. Ugye, ugye!*
 'So, yes. There you go!'

In this science lesson, the teacher uses frontal learning organisation and guided discussions in Hungarian to familiarise the pupils with the natural environment surrounding them, while also drawing on the pupils' emotions (e.g. their feelings about autumn or their experience with field plants). The learners express themselves

differently when prompted by the teacher and when they talk spontaneously with their peers: in the latter case they are more willing to speak in Romani. In a lesson organised frontally by a teacher with no Romani competence, translanguaging learning may occur primarily through the alternation of these speech situations. It is important to note that the teacher uses the learners's entire linguistic repertoire in a way which is deliberate and planned. One of the first steps in this process, as can be seen repeatedly in video 31, is the teacher's constant encouragement: "you can say it in Romani".

- (3) teacher *Megkérlek [name], mondjad el mi mindent lehet elkészíteni krumpliból . . . te magyarul . . . [name] pedig romául* (video 31: 1.34–1.44)
 'I ask you, [name], tell me what you can make with potatoes . . . you in Hungarian . . . and [name] in Romani'

This endeavour can be further strengthened by using various ways of organising learning, such as phenomenon-based teaching (Symeonidis and Schwarz 2016), which is particularly well-suited for science classes, or problem-based, project-based, inquiry-based or discovery-based teaching methods (Halász 2018). Cooperative techniques with a focus on differentiation and group work with elements of drama pedagogy can be similarly helpful alternatives to frontal work in supporting translanguaging through learning organisation.

In science education, targeted and continuous observation is necessary for understanding and conceptualisation. We want to teach students not only to *look at* the world around them but also to *look* and *see* what surrounds them. In this respect, it is important to remember that mere perception of realia is not the same as observation. Observation involves separating the essential features of a phenomenon, living being, or object from the non-essential ones. The teacher's list of observation criteria (whether written or spoken) can be of great help for learners because it enables them to describe the item selected for observation and to record the observed phenomena. In the science class in the video recording, the observation of the potato tuber is based on such a teacher-directed observation perspective. The teacher first presents the plant part, holding it up in a visible way, and then hands it to the pupils for direct observation and examination. "You can explain what it looks like and what we use it for. Touch it to see what it is like!" (video 34: 1.44–1.55).

The recognition/remembering level, which is the first, foundational level of learning, is used repeatedly by the teacher. Bloom (1956) created a now controversial, but in some respects useful taxonomy by mapping cognitive requirements in school onto levels of cognitive development. The facts and general information recalled about the potato thus represent the first level of learning, on which

pupils can build in the following stages of learning science subjects. Furthermore, the diversity of sensory involvement and the degree of learners' activity during learning enhance the retention of knowledge (Veverka 1994; Knudson, Cable, and Beck 1995): what we can see, hear, touch, taste, smell and what we discover by actively participating is more likely to be remembered. This is why recalling one's own experience of cooking is much better than recognising it merely from images (video 34: 3.10–3.19). It is for this reason that the teacher devises activities that require the use of several senses during the lesson, providing realia that activate several senses, such as tasting (peanuts), touching (corn, rose hip leaves), smelling (smell of onion leaves) and seeing (wall hangings, real plants). Learners' own experience and pre-existing knowledge from their home environments is more readily activated through language practices which are assigned to the same environment; in this case, Romani. Enhancing learners' sensory experience is a key stage at which translanguaging can be introduced in the learning of science subjects. This process is effectively facilitated by the teacher's praise and acknowledgement in response to a specific situation, in which students spontaneously start speaking together.

Translanguaging encourages students to speak and discuss their experience in science classes, too, just like in all learning. In order to prepare learners for the understanding and confident use of exact scientific terminology expected in the upper grades, it is helpful to recall during the lessons the children's home-based experience. This learning experience is enhanced by the involvement of the senses in the learning process in a multi-faceted and complex manner, which is planned and prepared by the teacher in advance. Building on the entirety of pupils' complex language repertoire enhances both the recollection of their pre-existing experience from their home environment and the multisensory approach to the learning of new material. The development of scientific methods of cognition at a foundational level, in particular observation, classification, and description, as well as related sub-skills, can be more effectively achieved through the spontaneous or planned use of learners' home language in science classes.

15.3 Learning and learning organisation in a translanguaging pedagogical reality

Among the most important needs and requirements of Roma children of primary school age in a school context there is one central factor, that is, the need to be able to show their personality and identity in its entirety at school. They need to be accepted and appreciated in a way which is inclusive of their home culture and

linguistic resources. It is the school's duty to teach them basic skills, including social skills. It is a place where the behaviours and social skills expected in society can be practised. The school should enable these pupils to develop a sense of responsibility for their own learning and teach them to learn. Ensuring optimal development according to individual abilities is a precondition of this. The constructivist concept of learning reflects these aspects and builds on the knowledge, experience and thus linguistic resources that the students bring with themselves.

According to the constructivist approach, the learner not only absorbs knowledge, but also creates it on the basis of his or her previously acquired knowledge. Prior knowledge is a system in our brain that interprets phenomena in the external world and predicts changes that will occur. The organisation of knowledge in people's cognitive system evolves in interaction with their physical and social experience in the outside world (Nahalka 2002; Richardson 2003; Virág 2013). Roma learners' individual prior knowledge both in Hungary and Slovakia is rooted in social interactions which occur in a language different from the language of formal social interactions at school, and it is constructed through social and cultural habits which are different from the pre-existing knowledge expected at school, on which institutional knowledge is built. It is therefore desirable that Roma learners' full linguistic repertoire is present in the classroom and that the teacher can build on their prior knowledge, engaging them actively in cognitive processing based on the cognitive patterns available specifically to them. Effective learning is, thus, active cognitive engagement. Hence, the organisation of learning can be effective only if the student is active, if they can communicate with peers while learning, thus using multiple resources for learning. It is also essential to encounter real-life problems and to take account of individual characteristics as far as possible (cf. the principles of constructivist pedagogy: Phillips 2000; Nahalka 2002).

Translanguaging can be linked to the aims and principles of constructivist pedagogy in a number of ways, thereby increasing learning effectiveness for Roma students. The first principle of constructivist learning models is to assess learners' knowledge and interests. Awareness and incorporation of learners' linguistic repertoire into the learning process is part of this and can be successfully applied even if the teacher does not have Romani language resources. Let us repeat: the most important goal is the student's effective learning, not the teacher's explanatory, knowledge-transferring activity. The bridge that is to be built ("constructed") by students between their existing knowledge structures and the new knowledge to be acquired is supported by translanguaging learning. The often abstract Hungarian-language learning material remains in many cases only "pseudo-knowledge", which the child is unable to connect to their existing knowledge schemata which they use to order reality.

Groups of learners are always heterogenous, although their degree of heterogeneity varies. Diversity of methods and optional tasks can help students to take increasing responsibility for their own learning and to follow the path that feels best for them. Translanguaging learning spaces are contributing to this, as learners can interact with their peers, respond to the teacher, take notes and learn in the language they are most comfortable with. The teacher trusts that her students will try to optimise their own learning by choosing the most suitable language resources.

The constructivist view of learning is not always compatible with cooperative learning, but it does rely on the principle of social learning. The facilitating environment provided by teams of learners plays an important role in the development of individual knowledge construction. In particular, learners' knowledge constructs are closer to each other's than to the teachers', which means that through collaborative learning and peer dialogue learners have the potential to move each other to the next stage of development without noticing explicitly that "learning" took place (Phillips 2000; Nahalka 2002). It is possible that as little as a Romani phrase in group work or a reference by a peer to a shared experience is sufficient to make the learner realise what is at stake in the material that is to be learned.

If learners are active and remain focused on tasks, without wasting time, this will have a positive impact on learning outcomes. This is most likely to be achieved through group or pair work, cooperative learning organisation techniques and collaborative task setting. Continuous work also increases the number of parallel interactions, which is also important for effectiveness. Participants in the learning process acquire new information, skills, and abilities *from* or *through* each other. In a translanguaging classroom, parallel interactions are perhaps even more important than in a traditional classroom. The different learning activities and work forms create different communicative situations, which, in turn, contribute to the exploitation and expansion of the learners' entire linguistic repertoire.

Just as in everyday life, in a classroom there are different situations in which people speak. Some classroom-based speech situations (e.g. group work, pair work, teacher-initiated heterogeneous language behaviour in an open-class discussion) make space for translanguaging exchange and the exploitation of the full language repertoire. This is why the conscious and varied organisation of learning in the translanguaging classroom is of particular importance. The full linguistic repertoire is present in a translanguaging classroom, sometimes on the surface and sometimes in deeper layers, but it is constantly present; García et al. call this the *translanguaging corriente* (García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2016: xi-xii). It is well worth bringing this *corriente* to the surface by consciously and deliberately putting it at the service of learning.

Another important pedagogical theory which is related to the general didactical implications of the translanguaging classroom is adaptive education (Lénárd and Rapos 2004) and the concept of the adaptive-inclusive school, which has been adopted in the Hungarian context in recent decades (Gaskó et al. 2011) as education theorists were searching for a framework which allows education to formulate relevant responses to social and economic changes. Adaptivity first appeared as a pedagogical concept some twenty years ago (Glaserfeld 1995) and became central to constructive pedagogy. One of the basic tenets of the latter is that the function of cognition is adaptive, it serves the organisation of the experiential world instead of discovering “objective reality”. An important factor in evaluating knowledge, therefore, is its adaptivity: the extent to which it shows flexibility in ordering and structuring experience. The term, originally borrowed from evolutionary biology, made its way into the human sciences, including theories of learning and teaching (e.g. Louis, Marks, and Kruse 1996; Lénárd and Rapos 2004; Garmston and Wellman 1999). Adaptive teaching (Nádasi 2010) is sometimes also used with reference to *differentiated instruction*, which is a technical term referring to pedagogical approaches which take into account individual differences between learners (Heacox 2017) when designing learning activities and/or setting up groups. The scope of adaptivity has subsequently been broadened, as education is a process in which teachers and school leaders play a vital role, and collaboration between the various stakeholders attached to schools must also be taken into consideration. Therefore, the term adaptive school was introduced to include the phenomena discussed above, but also to go beyond it.

The proponents of adaptive schools also explore the pedagogical aspects of social inequalities (Bourdieu 1982), child-centred education, education for all, as far as possible, and education for acceptance. The term *adaptive school* overlaps with the notions of inclusive school, integrating school, open school, democratic school, and, ultimately transcaring schools (cf. Chapter 13), although the latter have not been adopted in the Hungarian context yet. All these seek to respond to the same social challenges that have emerged recently,, particularly the issue of social inequalities in the context of education (cf. Bourdieu 1982), and possible responses to it such as learner-centred or child-centred education, schooling which is effective to all, and education which sensitises learners to accept all forms of otherness. Directions which have been outlined over the decades within this trend include critical pedagogy (Giroux 1988), the concept of democratic schools (Rodríguez-Romero 2008; Bauman 2000), comprehensive schools (Wraga 1998; Wiborg 2007), the pedagogy of inclusion (Halstead and Haydon 2008), individually-tailored education (Hopkins 2006), and intercultural education (McLaren and Farahmandpur 2005; Marginson and Sawir 2011). These approaches in education

theory provide a framework which fits in well with translanguaging, and which can support translanguaging with effective pedagogical tools.

Adaptive education focuses on learning and the organisation of learning but argues that for true innovation and methodological renewal to take place, the entire school's pedagogical thinking as well as the general views on pedagogy and education must change. This wholesale reinterpretation of the educational environment is what we can see in the work of teachers experimenting with translanguaging, given that without real conviction, trust, and acceptance, teachers find the introduction of Romani in the classroom problematic. Those who have shown lasting commitment are the teachers who have been more open, who have come to see translanguaging as part of their personal pedagogical renewal. Openness and an attitude which actively seeks solutions to a challenging educational setting were among the most important prerequisites which prompted individual teachers to adopt a translanguaging stance. After starting their experiments with translanguaging, the teachers themselves have been constantly changing and adapting their behaviours, with those seriously engaged in the project becoming increasingly committed. There is an important individual dimension to this, too. Each teacher seeks opportunities and develops techniques and tools according to their existing methodological toolkit and pedagogical views. As a result, translanguaging learning is diverse, and teachers implement a translanguaging orientation by filtering it through their own personality.

Another point where adaptive teaching and the translanguaging pedagogical attitude converge is that they avoid responding to differences and challenges faced by schools with a corrective, remedial strategy. They focus instead on prevention and enabling. In adaptive schools, differences between learners are seen as a resource, learners are encouraged to be themselves, and teaching is understood as adaptive learning organisation (Lénárd and Rapos 2004: 9; Gaskó et al. 2011). The adaptive approach focuses on the child, with three basic principles in mind: connectedness (belonging, being important to others), competence (being able to perform and believing in oneself), and autonomy (being progressively independent, in control of one's own actions). These principles show overlaps with features of transcaring, particularly authentic care and search for competences (cf. Chapter 13). These principles form the foundations of teachers' work, characterised by stimulation: providing tasks that are optional and open to students' initiative; support: helping the students to do what they cannot do on their own; and trust: positive expectations, personalised constructive feedback (Lénárd and Rapos 2004: 9–10; Gaskó et al. 2011).

With regards to learning organisation, the adaptive approach considers interactive learning organisation strategies and methods important because of the need for relationships (including relationships with peers) which constitute the basis of social learning. This is supplemented by a number of other learning

strategies. Independent learning is essential for personal development and for enhancing learners' autonomy, while experiential learning is valuable because it is learner-centred and activity-oriented, enhancing deeper understanding. There is also a place for a direct learning organisation strategy based on strong teacher guidance (e.g. in the stages illustrated in the examples in section 15.1, in which frontal work has the purpose of systematising and consolidating the outcome of group work, or in section 15.2, where individual learning paths are supported in frontal work). At the same time, we should be aware that frontal approaches are only of limited use for the multifaceted development of skills (Lénárd and Rapos 2006: 8–24; Gaskó et al. 2011). The same limitations of frontal work can be formulated for translanguaging. Non-standard, fluid linguistic practices can be built into frontal work and individual, independent learning, but they are best exploited in communication with peers whose ways of speaking rely on similarly fluid practices. Indirect learning strategies which encourage interactivity, facilitating effectively students' thinking and learning processes, are also well suited for the introduction of translanguaging.

An adaptive and inclusive school does not simply integrate children of various backgrounds out of necessity. It is rather a type of school which is committed to creating a learning environment which suits learners of all backgrounds, while recognising the limited possibilities of the school as a mass educational institution. Groups of learners may be diverse from a number of perspectives, including family background, age, experience, prior knowledge, ways of speaking, perceptions of school. In such diverse groups it is imperative to acknowledge, and take as a starting point for pedagogical work, the fact that every learner has different strengths and needs different types of support (Rapos et al. 2011: 33; Gaskó et al. 2011).

15.4 Conclusion: Adaptive-inclusive schools and translanguaging

The adaptive-inclusive school concept presented and proposed by Rapos et al. (2011) is not tied to a particular school system; instead, it emphasises the power of local values, opportunities and solutions in driving innovation. Local teachers in Tiszavasvári and Szimő experiment with translanguaging approaches in a way which weighs up local specificities and possibilities. As a result of continuous reflection, both their professional competence and the local adaptations of the concept improve. External support for such initiatives is important but the adaptation to local circumstances of frameworks such as adaptive schools and translanguaging is key to their success. The concept of adaptive-inclusive schools is based on five core

values, which form the essence of the theory. These principles are interrelated and mutually complement each other.

The first of these values is adaptivity, which means that the school's programme is not normatively driven but reactive, developed in response to the changing needs of the community it serves, and seeking to address local challenges. Adaptivity, therefore, involves acknowledgement of continuously changing circumstances and reflection. Therefore, adaptivity is not adaptation to local needs but a continuous, constructive interaction with the environment. It is in this spirit that the translanguaging project was introduced and is developed in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné), where it was launched in response to the difficulties of educating Roma students. External, research-based impulses have been instrumental in tackling this challenge, but it is now down to individual teachers, helped by communication with each other and with the researchers, to work out suitable practices to deal with the challenge. Individual teachers' practices vary, however, as do the age of the pupils, the composition of the groups of pupils, and the specificities of the subjects taught.

The second principle is learning-centred education, which is linked to alternative pedagogical approaches and the need for constant renewal in the face of constant change. It is in sharp contrast to schools' teaching-centred approaches and seeks to link the values of learning and community. The teachers working on the project recognised that their own methodological innovation and institutional reforms will be successful only if they serve the pupils' learning. Translanguaging has brought about a change in learning organisation, too, prompting the school to place increasing focus on students' learning from peers. Peer learning was a by-product of teachers' initial experience, which showed that students can most effectively use their Romani-language resources to enhance their learning when communicating with each other.

Similar to transcollaboration (discussed in Chapter 13) the principle of communality is centred on belonging, relationships, connectedness, and cooperation. In Tiszavasvári, too, multi-directional dialogues and cooperation were initiated concerning the work in the school, including the discussions between the nursery's and the school's management, between parents and teachers, among teachers open to translanguaging, academics, researchers and practising teachers. All that is entailed by the practice of translanguaging in Tiszavasvári is the result of a wide-ranging network of learning (cf. learning community in Chapter 13).

Constant reflection on and questioning of the categories along which we organise our thinking is the fourth principle. It enables us to develop new insights into the "truths", ideologically and historically mediated patterns of thought, through which we describe and interpret the world. As our conceptual thinking evolves, classificatory and categorical patterns are formed in our mind. Deconstructing

such patterns allows us to question the assumptions on which they were built and to overcome the idea of a pre-existing, “objective”, ontological reality. The first such step on the journey to build a translanguaging stance is if teachers are able to let go of the idea that there is a “natural” link between teaching and a single named language, and, as a result, she welcomes students’ heterogeneous ways of speaking at school. Unfortunately, not all teachers in Tiszavasvári have been able to revisit and revise the ideas which have underpinned their life and professional career for decades. The fifth principle is that of identity, and it draws attention to the fact that together with the learners’ identity, the identity of the school is shaped, too. The emphasis is on interaction between the two. It is interesting to see in Tiszavasvári the way in which the school evolves in interaction with its learners: teachers participate in professional conferences and project applications which are now inclusive of their commitment to translanguaging. The school’s operations concerning learners’ identity building have contributed to shaping both the teachers’ and the school’s identity.

To summarise, pedagogical practice shows that translanguaging in learning is not an end in itself. As part of conscious and adaptable pedagogical practices, however, it can be a starting point to moving schools in the direction of learning-centred education by integrating the students’ home language and cultural practices into school-based learning and teaching. This requires, first, a conscious and ongoing reflection on the part of teachers concerning the entirety of pedagogical work; second, the planning and implementation of effective learning organisation, and finally, a refinement of pedagogical thinking, concerning, particularly, the concept of learning and the type of school which can support translanguaging best.

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16 Stylisation, voice and crossing in the classroom

Translanguaging education brings home language practices into the classroom. These school practices become more heterogeneous and stratified not only because of the transposition of home practices into a new context, but also because both home and school practices are in themselves heterogeneous and stratified. In this complex web of different semiotic resources, practices and ideologies, teachers, pupils, and their supportive parents make social meaning through constantly reflecting on their own and others' situation in the world. This reflection is linked to sociolinguistic practices that focus on the representation of one's own and others' languages, styles or voices to which speakers want to draw each other's attention. In this chapter, we introduce the notions of stylisation, individual and social voice, and crossing ethnic boundaries through the analysis of three classroom videos, in order to argue for their strategic potential in translanguaging teaching practices. In the first video, children stylise, i.e., imitate adult speech in a literacy lesson applying drama pedagogy. The second video demonstrates how parents' individual and social voices may bring social issues into the school and how these are reflected by teachers and learners. Through an analysis of teachers' translanguaging communication in the third video, we demonstrate the potential of crossing ethnic boundaries as a translanguaging way of building strengthened cooperation between teachers and learners.

16.1 Stylisation of Romani adult speech in school

Stylisation, according to Rampton (2014: 276), is a reflexive communicative activity in which speakers represent voices, dialects or languages and styles – often exaggerated – that do not belong to their habitual linguistic practices. Apart from the ironic and parodistic nature of stylisation (where irony and parody are produced by exaggerating certain ways and elements of speech), stylisation is a potential way of discovering differences, similarities, and relations between the stylising party and the stylised one. As Jaspers and Van Hoof point out, when speakers stylise, they “interrupt the routine and turn others into spectators of a brief performance” (2018: 110). Stylisation does not come out of the blue; it reflects the styliser's interpretation of the given situation and its wider contexts. It is precisely this reflexivity of stylisation that becomes significant in institutional settings where new sociolinguistic

practices are being developed, such as the introduction of translanguaging into a monolingual school. As we will see below, classroom roles are constructed by the stylising person based on their language ideologies, beliefs, values, and attitudes towards others. The analysis of the stylised figures allows us to understand the characteristics that the performer considers important in representing others.

Stylisation can be easily related to drama-based pedagogy theory, which emphasises the sketch-like representational nature of drama, defining acting as the outlining of the most characteristic features of a role. Dramatic outlining happens in interaction, through both language and non-linguistic elements, such as gestures, facial mimics and body language. In drama-based pedagogy, role-play is a widely employed activity that engages students actively, that is why it is often used as a form of drama pedagogy as “a strategy for teachers to help students become more active in learning” (Gascon 2019: 10). Drama has the potential to actively involve students physically, emotionally, and intellectually and is therefore often used to represent conflicts through the acting out of tense events with the aim of finding a solution to a problem. Dramatic play can thus affect intra- or interpersonal relationships (cf. for example Malm and Löfgren 2007). For example, children actively participate in the activities: they act out different roles, sing and dance, and take part in discussions. Drama pedagogy is based on constructivist pedagogy; drama is an active process of generating ideas, beliefs, and meaningful interactions (Smith and Herring 2001). In this way, role-play activities are forms of constructive learning: the role-play participants rely on their already existing knowledge and experiences, while they acquire new information and construct new knowledge components. By doing so, during this process of learning, the new elements build on, re-shape or overwrite existing knowledge constructions (Glaserfeld 1990).

In the following, video 21 (*Imitating Romani “adult speech” in school*) will be analysed based on the two concepts introduced above, stylisation and drama pedagogy. In the classroom scene (video 21: 1.02–2.27) continuation of a previous task is taking place: the pupils read excerpts from the Romani community storybook compiled by project members and then had to choose a scene from the book to perform in pairs. The chosen scene turned out to be a horse fair scene which they were allowed to perform both in Romani and/or Hungarian. They did not have to stick strictly to the story in the book, their task was just to draw inspiration from it and demonstrate what a horse fair actually looks like according to their own experience. A common perception of Roma across Central and Eastern Europe is that they are keen to go to fairs, do a lot of business and bargain successfully. There are Roma communities, even in Hungary, with a long tradition of horse keeping and horse trading (Stewart 1998). In Tiszavasvári, for example, some families still keep horses. Roma families often engage in the sale and purchase of cars and Roma traders of all kinds of goods are often to be found in urban markets.

They are always open to bargaining, and they are tough bargainers themselves. This observation causes many non-Roma to associate this cultural practice with the Roma to the extent that it has grown into a stereotype of the Roma people.

It is also important to note that minority related practices usually do not get represented or discussed in institutional environments such as schools, just as bilingual and multilingual practices are largely absent from formal school events and settings. It is therefore unusual to see a practice related to the Roma discussed in the classroom. The video shows the performance of only one pair of pupils who chose to perform in Romani. Excerpt 1 is a dialogue between a seller and a buyer bargaining over a horse (video 21: 1.22–2.22):

- (1) pupil1 *Minek avjan muro phral?*
‘WHY DID YOU COME, BROTHER?’
- pupil2 *Hat, dikhlem tyo graszt, teccil mange.*
‘I’VE SEEN YOUR HORSE, I LIKE IT.’
- pupil1 *Táj . . . táj so kamelej te keren?*
‘AND, AND WHAT DO YOU WANT TO DO WITH IT?’
- pupil2 *Hát te kinen kádále graszt.*
‘WELL, I WANT TO BUY THE HORSE.’
- pupil1 *Hat figyelin, barátom, atonav lesz tuke táj dikh lesz!*
‘WELL, LISTEN MY FRIEND, I’LL BRING IT HERE SO YOU CAN HAVE A LOOK AT IT!’
- pupil2 *Hat ado náj lásó, túl sukój, leszko jek ják othe dikel e káver meg othefeje.*
‘THIS ONE’S NOT GOOD, IT’S TOO LEAN. ONE OF ITS EYES LOOKS THIS WAY AND THE OTHER LOOKS THAT WAY.’
- pupil1 *Figyelin barátom, more grasztesz ná dik téle! Des mán vás leszke hatvanezret vagy na?*
‘LISTEN FRIEND, DO NOT LOOK DOWN ON MY HORSE! WILL YOU GIVE 60.000 FOR IT OR NOT?’
- pupil2 *Így, így na! Ennyiért nem kell!*
‘For this much I won’t take it!’
- pupil1 *40-ért lingresz tuke!*
‘HAVE IT FOR 40 000!’
- pupil2 *Na! Nem viszem!*
I won’t take it!’
- pupil1 *Ajj! Jaj már, hogy az a!*
‘Oh, come on now!’
- pupil2 *Na! Nem kell annyiért!*
‘I won’t buy it for this much!’

- pupil1 *Akkor figyelj moro phral!.. Figyelj, dav tu . . . des man.. vás ketezer-ötöt, táj ando káver cson othe des len.*
 'LISTEN TO ME THEN BROTHER . . . I'LL GIVE YOU . . . YOU GIVE ME 2500 AND YOU'LL GIVE THE REST NEXT MONTH.'
- pupil2 *Ajj, dilino han? Na! Áááá, ki van zárva, megbolondultál? Nem!*
 'OH NO, Out of question, have you gone mad? No!'
- pupil1 *Ajjj!!! Szo te kerav tuhá?! Akkor kaccsi kamesz te mange te den?*
 'AHH, WHAT SHOULD I DO WITH YOU?! HOW MUCH DO YOU INTEND TO GIVE ME THEN?'
- pupil2 *Ketszázat!*
 'TWO HUNDRED!'
- pupil1 *ááá, me na kheláv vasztenca. ákánák phenáv mégegyszer, de utoljára: káccsi kámesz te kinánla?*
 'AHH, I WON'T BARGAIN WITH YOU! I'LL ASK YOU ONE MORE TIME, THE VERY LAST TIME THOUGH; FOR HOW MUCH WILL YOU BUY THE HORSE?'
- pupil2 *200! Kétszáz forintért!*
 'for 200 forints!'
- pupil1 *Akkor me na foglakozinav vásztencá!*
 'THEN I STOP BARGAINING WITH YOU!'

The opportunity to activate their whole linguistic repertoire and the fact that the teacher didn't expect a verbatim reproduction of the original scene from the book gave the pupils room to improvise, giving them the opportunity to highlight the features of adult Roma speech as they see them, and also to stylise adults speech.

The semiotic resources they are employing are not absent from their linguistic repertoire, they are not entirely unknown to them. However, bargaining as a genre is presumably not part of children's everyday linguistic practices. The elements of speech that belong to this genre are associated with adults, and this is what they try to reflect through their choice of words, emphasis, their facial expressions and gestures. It is important though that this dramatic scene does not portray Romani adult speech in general, but in a specific communicative situation: in our case, in the situation of horse trading and bargaining. Bargaining has a specific pattern and dynamic that the two acting pupils seem to know and reproduce. They stylise Romani adult speech within the bargaining situation incorporating the vocabulary and patterns of bargaining in stylised speech. This is an illustrative example of the fact that translanguaging does not only involve language and speech but also cultural patterns. These patterns are parts of the two pupils' linguistic repertoire.

This short drama scene is also a way of self-reflection from various aspects. By this performance they reflect on how they see adults and their ways of interacting in certain situations. They might also reflect on the way they think others see Roma people. The way they perform the role can be both a self-presentation and a well-intended parody of how they think non-Roma see them and the cultural practices they are performing (in this case the parodistic and ironic aspect of stylisation becomes salient). The other self-reflexive aspect highlighted in this scene is the reflection on the standards that are associated with the roles of buyer and seller, showing how they portray the usual characters of both participants.

Besides the self-reflective aspect of the performance, this sketch also offers some practical benefits that the pupils may take advantage of in other situations. Putting the pupils in the position of a performer helps them to become more aware of their own presence when it comes to directing an audiences' attention, and thus they learn how to be a performer. This skill helps them to be more confident and focused in situations like presentations, oral exams and other school-related events where they need to speak for extended periods of time giving account of their knowledge or sharing information.

16.2 Individual voices and the social meanings brought into the school

The introduction of translanguaging makes the presence of the children's home linguistic practices felt at school. This change in itself will give more prestige to children's home linguistic practices. This is shown, for example, in video 10 (*Enhancing the prestige of Romani within the group*), where we can see how speaking Romani becomes a source of pride for a bright pupil who wants to repeat in Romani the answer he gave first in Hungarian. He feels it is important to show his teacher and classmates that he can answer the question in Romani just as well as he did it in Hungarian. In the interviews made at Magiszter school, often teaching with a translanguaging stance proved very helpful for pupils who had kept rather quiet before, prompting them to be more active. However, different ways of speaking are associated with different voices that carry social meanings. People relate to different voices on the basis of their own opinions, beliefs and attitudes to certain ways of speaking. In the Bakhtinian sense, language is not neutral: it is filled with the opinions of other people (Bakhtin 1981). When children bring their home linguistic practices into the classroom, their ways of speaking also represent these opinions.

In video 20 (*Parental engagement at school*), we witness an unusual classroom scene. Beside the pupils, their parents are also present, and what is more, they are the main participants of the activities. These activities took place in the context of the regularly held Parents' Club sessions. At the beginning of the video (video 20: 0.00–1.48), Erika Puskás, an upper grade teacher at the Tiszavasvári School emphasises the importance of involving parents in the life of the school. As Erika mentions in the video, a Parents Club has become a tradition of the school: activities with parents had been organised since the very beginning. Teacher-parent meetings provide an important means of building relationships with parents who regularly come to the school and spend an afternoon with Erika and the headteacher of the school, Erika Kerekes-Lévai. These meetings provide opportunities to discuss school events and issues and to become better acquainted with each other, sometimes by taking part in role-plays, just similar to the ones we see in video 20. In the video Erika explains that the parents were first introduced to drama play as a form of activity in the session preceding the recording of the video and they liked it so much that they asked for more such activities in subsequent sessions. This shows not only the parents' preference for certain kinds of activities in the Parents Club but also their trust in the teachers. As Erika explains, "they brought in religion, music, and everything that was crucial for them" (video 20: 0.19–2.24).

In addition to the above characteristics, drama activities also create a fictional reality by playfully imitating the real world: in a role-play participants take up a role. This empowers the players to act out their roles and at the same time gives them security, knowing that they are acting in a fictional, not in the real world.

It is important to point out that language is predominant in drama activities, because these drama activities are mostly carried out through interactions between the participants. Constructivist pedagogy also emphasises the importance of language in learning. Vygotsky (1964) pointed out that the construction of knowledge takes place through interactions with others. As role-playing involves a group of participants, the fictional reality of role-playing is also discursively created: in the course of the game, the actors co-create the roles, the storyline, circumstances and relationships. Consequently, drama has the power to open up dialogues on various topics, even sensitive ones (Donelan 2002). For example – as in the case of the Tiszavasvári school, a dialogue between cultures or ethnic groups. Thus, drama activities provide opportunities for the participants to share their experiences of each other in the safe environment of the classroom, in which embodied but fictional cultural roles and narratives are constructed and shared (Donelan 2002: 39).

In the first scene (video 20: 3.06–4.29) the first drama activity has a topic initiated by the teacher: the participants discuss a situation in which the grades of a good student started to deteriorate. The teacher and the parents play each other's roles; the teacher appears in the role of a Roma pupil, while a parent acts out the role of a teacher. Excerpt 2 shows the teacher (Erika Puskás) playing the role of the mother and the parent playing the role of a pupil:

- (2) parent *Édesanyám, bepakoltál mindent a hátizsákomba?*
 'Mom, did you pack everything in my backpack?'
 Erika *jajj, kislányom, megnézem, nehogy elfelejtsek valamit. A hajadat megigazíthatom?*
 'Oh, my girl, let me see so I don't forget something. Can I adjust your hair?'
 parent *Igen, egy kicsit.*
 'Yes, a little bit.'
 Erika *Óvatosan, nehogy összekócoljam. Tudom, hogy neked van a világon a legszebb hajad. Ó, még a tízórai is benne van.*
 'Carefully, so as not to tangle it. I know you have the most beautiful hair in the world. Oh, even the snack is in it.'
 parent *Uzsonna!*
 'Snack!'
 Erika *Igen, hogy . . .*
 'Yes, so . . .'
 parent *Pénzt tettél bele? Tudod, az iskolai büfébe szoktam járni.*
 'Did you pack some money? You know, I go to the school buffet sometimes.'
 Erika *Ja, várjál! Van is nálam. Egy húszezres elég lesz? Jajj, bizony, hát sok pénzembe került.*
 'Oh wait! I have some with me. Will twenty thousand be enough? Well, yes, it cost me a lot.'
 parent *Na, szia, anyukám!*
 'Well, goodbye, mum!'
 Erika *Szervusz!*
 'Bye!'

As they play each other's roles, they reveal their reflections related to the role and their individual interpretations of the characters they are playing. The teacher portrays the Roma character through a set of characteristics she finds important in the given situation: for example, she emphasises the girl's long hair and the excessive

amount of money given by the mother as characteristic features of Roma pupils who come from the few unusually wealthy families in the settlement (video 20: 8.16–9.49). The teacher's choice to portray the Roma pupil in terms of these characteristics implies that in her experience these are the most characteristic features of Roma pupils. The other character in the scene, a student, is played by one of the parents. Her performance portrays a pupil who seems rather neglectful and disrespectful in that she demands her mother to pack her bag and give her money. Both teacher and parent, in playing their roles, give an identity to these roles.

In Bakhtin's theoretical approach, voice is a perspective of the individual, with personal and social characteristics. A voice is someone's "consciousness expressed in discourse" (Bakhtin 1984: 88). In drama, identities are created through the performance of different roles. These identities are, in the words of Pietikäinen and Dufva (2006: 207) "socially constructed but individually experienced" identities. Interpreted in terms of Bakhtin's (1981) concept of dialogicality, these identities are interrelated; they emerge through different individual voices that carry social meanings. Bakhtin identified social voices and described them as speech forms that index widely recognised registers and at the same time, highlight the uniqueness of individual voices (Bakhtin 1981). Persona is a voiced social character that carries socio-ideological meanings.

According to Bakhtin, speakers can employ several different voices in their speech, even voices other than their own. By the employment of various voices, speakers position themselves according to the social meanings associated with such voices. We can see such positioning between the parent and the teacher and also in the process of creating the relationship between mother and pupil in playing their roles: first the parent defines the relationship between the two by asking the teacher whether she had packed her bag. The teacher then responds in a way that presents a model of a very helpful and willing mother. This continues and unfolds further when the parent asks for pocket money: here, the teacher speaks in the voice of a very generous mother. The relationship between them is constantly evolving as they position themselves according to the role they play. They stylise the characters of the mother and the pupil by drawing a figure corresponding to these roles as they highlight the characteristic features of various social or individual voices.

It is not clear, though, which of these voices are social or individual in nature. Does the voice of the pupil come from the mother's individual voice, is it based on her own personal experience or does the figure being portrayed more closely resemble the persona of a general pupil? Agha (2005: 38) emphasises the active role speakers play in creating such social voices due to the fact that they "establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be".

Susan Gal (2016) also argues that linguistic variations not only index social differences, but that speakers take an active role in their reconstruction. Bodó, Szabó, and Turai (2019) emphasise the co-determination between individual and social voices and suggest that individual voices also play a crucial role in the construction of social meaning. This implies that voice is not a constant and static attribute of a person; speakers can actively adopt different voices indexing various social meanings.

The teacher, in the role of the mother, offers her “daughter” an unrealistically huge amount of pocket money for school and complying with her wish without a word of protest. She plays the role of a very obliging mother who waits on her daughter hand and foot: it is her who fixes the child’s hair, and it is her who checks the bag, so that her daughter will have everything in it that she needs for school. Adopting this behaviour, she plays the role of a submissive and humble mother. By playing this role the mother also creates the character of her daughter: an ungrateful and demanding child, who expects the teacher playing the role of the mother to pack her school bag and asks for pocket money, not waiting until it is offered. It remains unclear whether these voices of mother and child are individual or social voices, however, it is these voices that allow the teacher and the parent playing their roles to imagine this particular mother and daughter as members of the Roma community as they know it.

Through stylisation, the other party often captures those features of a person that are different or “strange” to them. These emphasised traits then become the basis of the act of stylisation. This happens in the next scene (video 20: 4.30–5.59) as well, when the parents perform the role of the non-religious people who mock the congregation (excerpt 3):

- (3) parent1 *Legyen egy olyan, hogy van egy csoport keresztény és van egy csoport, akik nincsenek megtérve. Mondjuk, bent vagyunk a gyülekezetbe és bejönnek a kívülállók, akik nincsenek megtérve. Mi fogadjuk őket szeretettel, de ők gúnyoskodni jönnek be.*
 ‘There is a group of Christians and there is a group of those who are not converted. Let’s say we’re in the church and outsiders come in who aren’t converted. We welcome them with love, but they come to make fun of us.’
- parent2 *Cigányul legyen, hogy . . .*
 ‘In Romani . . .’
- parent3 *Szerintem az lenne jó, hogy . . .*
 ‘I think it would be good to . . .’
 (. . .)

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| parents | [énekelnek] <i>Te vagy a királyunk! Téged áldlak szívemben. Te vagy mindenem; Az életem.</i> [singing] ‘You are our king! I bless you in my heart. You are my everything; my life.’ |
| other parents | <i>Mit csinálnak? Bolondok ezek? Mit csinálnak?</i> ‘What are they doing? Are they crazy? What are they doing?’ |
| parents and teachers | [Együtt énekelnek] <i>Téged vár a szívem szüntelen . . .</i> [Singing together] ‘My heart is waiting for you all the time . . .’ |

The topic of the role-play is introduced by a parent. As she outlines the issue, we hear her individual voice: It is she and some other members of the congregation who are attending the service who meet the outsiders. Next we see two of the parents in the role of the mocking non-religious people. Their careless posture, animated gesticulation and the rising tone of their voices contribute to creating the character of the mocking person.

However, the drama play presented in video 20 does not only achieve the representation of the characters, but it also generates space for the players “to create, explore, develop and invent cultures and identities” (Donelan 2002: 36 cites Brahmachari 1998: 24). In addition to representing the characters of others, role-playing also provides an opportunity for self-reflection, for example when the parents perform the role of themselves. When parents sing (video 20: 4.30–5.59), they are in a role in which they are playing their own character: members of the congregation. In Rampton’s (2014) ethnolinguistic research with teenagers, students often stylised various voices during sensitive moments of interactions, for example when they felt humiliated or insulted by a teacher or their peers.

This fact led Rampton to draw the conclusion that in some interactions, stylisation is not only a form of performance, but a means of communication that signals or releases tension in the interaction (Rampton 2014). Thus, stylisation refers to the relationships among speakers, their beliefs, attitudes, ideologies, as speakers employ their own or foreign voices to position themselves according to these values and social meanings. The parents’ role-play in this scene is not only a performance, but also stylisation in the Ramptonian sense (2014); the parents bring various voices to display, discuss and tackle issues of social tension. In the fictional reality of the role-play the parents act in a safe space in which the sensitive issue of religion and community perceptions of religion can be raised.

In the role-play in scene 3, the displayed characters bring the voices of the parents and the other participants and the social meanings assigned to them into the role-play. Then these voices enter into a dialogic relationship with each other.

During the role-play, the participants had the opportunity to raise a sensitive issue and were able to change the situation because during a role-play they “can transcend socially defined identities and imagine themselves differently; they can explore alternative values and different roles and circumstances” (Donelan 2002: 36). The present analysis of the parents’ role-play in video 20 is a good example of how the various roles in a role-play are interrelated. Rampton’s (2014) interpretation of stylisation draws on Bakhtin’s notion of voice and dialogicality as Rampton emphasises the dialogical nature of stylisation. This means that the speakers analyse their experiences of the stylised figures and the relationships between them. The parents, in addition to playing the role of the religious members of the community, also bring in the social voice of this persona. In their role-play, it is important that this voice is confronted by the voice of the mocking people. It is this dialogical opposition of the voices of the religious and the mocking people that helps parents to position themselves as they attach values to these voices. Together with the two parents stylising the mocking characters, they form a relationship in which the mockers stand on the negative side, as opposed to the others who appear in their own roles, that is, as religious members of the congregation. Through their play they not only perform themselves, but bring their voices into the play through stylisation and creating dialogicality with the mocking characters. By doing so, a social issue can be played out: the congregation present in the community faces some problems caused by the people who are not religious and not part of this congregation. They have the opportunity to deal with an issue that causes tension for them and to „find a solution” for this issue and release the tension, as in the end the mocking people join the religious group and all sing together as a sign of peace.

At the end of the scene the headteacher and the teacher also participate in the role-play acting as religious Roma members of the community, forming a line with the parents (video 20: 3.06–4.29). They all sing together, and one of the teachers even dances with the others. Her dance emphasises the characteristics of Roma dances: she spreads out her arms, and she snaps her fingers while stepping her feet to the rhythm of the song. This performance is a stylisation of a Roma person’s dance, and in this stylisation the teacher legitimises the role of a religious member of the congregation, relying on the positive evaluation of this person in the role-play. As the plot of the role-play unfolds, the initial individual voices of the parents blend with the collective voices of all the participants as the children, the parents, both those who belong to the congregation and those who do not, as well as the headteacher and the teacher sing the worship song together.

By bringing this social issue to the classroom through role-play, parents had the opportunity to make their social voices being heard by school academic members and to find an alternative solution, as in the end they found a way to defuse

tensions between the religious and non-religious groups. Religious and non-religious members of the Roma community all stood with the headteacher and the teacher together. Although the act of testimony can be performed only in a personal way, in an individual voice, which was not the case in this role-play, this moment is still very important because through the teacher's participation, the parents' social voices were heard and made legitimate by the teachers.

16.3 Crossing the boundaries: Teachers' stylisation

Stylisation is not limited to dramatised situations, as in videos 20 and 21. Stylisation also occurs in the world outside of dramatic performance; in order to distinguish dramatised and everyday stylisation, it is useful to draw on Coupland's (2007) distinction between "high" and "mundane" performance. Coupland reminds us that any act of speaking *performs* the persona that the speaker intends to represent, consciously or not, in the interaction. There is, however, a scale between the two contrasting types of performance, depending on the focal point of the communicative event: high performance is predefined, regulated, bounded and planned in space and time and mostly public. In addition, it differs even in intensity from the routine communicative practices of mundane performance (Coupland 2007: 147; cf. Bauman 1992). If we shift our attention on this scale from the instances of high performance previously represented by the horse fair and the adult debate to the routine flow of communicative practices in the classroom, we can also observe stylisation in mundane performance.

Video 11 [*Translanguaging in teachers' interactional practices*] is a telling example (cf. also chapter 10.2). It represents class activities in which Tünde, the teacher, uses Romani language resources in addition to the default Hungarian ones. The lesson begins with a bilingual welcome, as seen in excerpt 4. It starts with the pupils' joint greeting of their teacher, which is a common ritual at the beginning of the lesson in Hungarian schools.

- (4) pupils *Jó reggelt kívánok!*
 'I wish you a good morning!'
 Tünde *Lácsó gyész kívánok!*
 'I wish you a GOOD MORNING!'
 pupils [laughing: *Lácsó gyész] kívánok!*
 'I wish you a GOOD MORNING!'

Tünde *Lácsoló gyász kívánok! Hogy vagytok?*
 ‘I wish you a GOOD MORNING! How are you?’
 pupils *Jól.*
 ‘Well.’

Here, the focus of our analysis is on the moment when the children laugh as they repeat the teacher’s Romani greeting. Why the laughter? Why is there no laughter when the teacher greets them in Romani, and why do they laugh only when they return the greeting? In order to answer these questions, we will interpret the interaction in terms of stylisation and the related concept of crossing.

The teacher uses Romani language resources in a way that evokes the persona of the Romani speaker who is different from her. If speakers stylise their utterances, that is, produce representations of linguistic resources that do not belong to their routinely used repertoire, stylisation can often be funny or entertaining. But, as Rampton (2009) points out, there are times and places when and where stylisation goes further than this. It raises in the audience not only the question “why that now?”, but also “by what right?” does the stylising speaker use a language or style that is associated with them. In other words, pupils may ask “by what right is she speaking for us”? This latter form of stylisation is what Rampton (1995, 2017) calls “crossing”.

In the hierarchical order of the classroom, children are not allowed to ask the Romani-speaking teacher “by what right?”, although this question would be perfectly legitimate, since, despite the school’s translanguaging project, Hungarian is the dominant language in most lessons. The best they can do to express their reservations about the teacher’s crossing is to laugh in their own voices. When the teacher repeats the greeting without noticing the children’s non-verbal reaction, she provides a framework for the class in which the linguistic crossing of ethnic boundaries is supported by the authority of the teacher and is accepted by the pupils, shown by the fact that they do not laugh either during the teacher’s repeated greeting or during their own response.

In the commentary accompanying the classroom interaction, Tünde describes the bilingual interactional episodes as a pedagogical strategy, as seen in excerpt 5 (video 11: 0.56–1.26)

- (5) Tünde *A kétnyelvű köszönéssel igyekszem arra bátorítani a gyerekeket, hogy bátran, gátlások nélkül használják a romanit. A gyerekek ilyenkor már kötetlenebbül, nyitottabban várják a tanítási órát, és sokkal érdekldőbbé válnak, együttműködőbbek lesznek. Igyekszem az egyszerűbb kifejezéseket, “üljete le, álljatek föl, vegyete elő piros, kék vagy éppen zöld ceruzát!”, illetve az értékelést is igyekszem romani nyelven elmondani.*

‘By greeting them in both languages I would like to encourage the children to use Romani freely, without feeling inhibitions. The pupils look forward to our sessions and feel more relaxed, more open, more interested, and they become more cooperative. I try to use simple expressions such as “stand up, sit down, pick up a red, blue or green pencil”, in Romani and I also evaluate their work in Romani.’

The pedagogical and language policy objectives reflected in this excerpt are closely interlinked; the children should be encouraged to speak Romani and to participate in class work freely, confidently, with an open and curious mind. The practice of linking teacher instruction and assessment both to Hungarian and Romani language resources facilitates the achievement of these goals. To put it another way, it is the teacher’s linguistic crossing of ethnic boundaries that anticipates the change. Similarly, Rampton states that “a clever or funny interactional design could capitalise on ethnic difference and neutralise the political sensitivities, potentially leading to new solidarities” (2009: 153). This is how the translanguaging practice of crossing, strategically used in teachers’ interactions, is linked to the goals of a social constructivist pedagogy.

Despite the strategic potential of crossing, it does not necessarily lead to success in the educational process. As Stroud and Lee warn us, “there is always the risk that crossing (on the part of either the teacher or the students) could lead to rejection and ridicule” (2007: 51). These risks can be realised not only in crossing, but also in other cases of classroom translanguaging. As ethnographic evidence from a multilingual and highly diverse Greek-Cypriot primary school show, language ideologies and conflict histories lead Turkish-speaking students to resisting their teacher’s attempts to engage the largely Greek-speaking class in translanguaging practices (Charalambous, Charalambous, and Zembylas 2018). Even if interethnic conflicts are scarce or moderate, teachers take risks in transforming their own language practices at the expense of the authority of their own voice. The video analysed contains several examples showing that this risk is worth taking, as the pupils themselves change their language practices in the classroom as a result of the teacher’s initiative and they use Romani linguistic resources. The following excerpt is an example of how Romani language expertise is negotiated in the classroom interaction.

- (6) Tünde *Na, ha készen vagy, akkor csütten! Számolok háromig. Jekh. Duj.*
 ‘If you are ready, be QUIET please. I am counting to three. ONE.
 TWO.’
 student Trin.
 ‘THREE.’

Tünde *Sss! Jekh. Jekh, duj, trin! Készen van mindenki?*
 ‘Shush! ONE. ONE, TWO, THREE! Are you all ready?’

The teacher’s counting indicates the time remaining for the solution of the task. When she starts counting in Romani, before she reaches the number *trin* ‘three’, which marks the end of the task, one of the children cuts in before her. After gently silencing the child, she starts again and then successfully completes the counting, confirming her authority both in her role as classroom instructor and a speaker of Romani. Note also that, unlike in excerpt 4, here the teacher’s use of Romani linguistic resources is not accompanied by laughter, neither following the imperative *csütten* ‘be quiet’ nor during the counting.

If we interpret the presence or absence of laughter in terms of the distinction between crossing and stylisation, then it is worth regarding these two phenomena as a temporal shift on a scale that indicates a change in the meaning of ethnic boundaries between the participants.

Drawing on Bakhtin (1984: 199), Rampton and his associates argue that “circumstances can lead to the blurring and weakening of inter-ethnic boundaries, and this can mean that crossing becomes stylisation, which can in turn become (habitual) style” (Rampton, Charalambous, and Charalambous 2019: 650). For the students in the classroom, the teacher’s language crossing of ethnic boundaries becomes a habitual style through a series of stylised everyday performances without the external circumstances changing. What changes, though, is the introduction of the translanguaging practices into the classroom.

The excerpts analysed also raise the question of where the limits of the teachers’ translanguaging practices lie. The teacher creates an environment that supports the use of Romani linguistic resources for all participants in the classroom. Its transformative effect is hard to deny. Teachers’ crossing contributes to building strengthened cooperation between teachers and students. It creates space for students’ bilingualism and removes the barriers that have been created by monolingual ideologies in schools. However, there are only a few examples in the excerpts of pupils initiating translanguaging in their mundane classroom activities. Their use of Romani linguistic resources is mostly a reaction to the teacher’s translanguaging utterances. But the teacher’s commitment to shared learning is evident in her closing words in video 11: “They can see that I make mistakes, too, that I have to learn their language, just as they have to learn and use my language. We are learning each other’s languages together and we come to rely on each other in this process” (video 11: 6.05–6.21). An ongoing question that accompanies the risk taken with crossing is whether its gradual transition into a common translanguaging style can lead beyond the mutual use of interaction rituals.

16.4 Conclusion: A reflexive approach to one's own voice

In this chapter, we discussed the ways in which translanguaging is reflected in the linguistic practices and their representations among learners, teachers, and parents. We looked at translanguaging moments which involve stylisation of the other, such as pupils imitating adults' speech, parents impersonating teachers and *vice versa*. Teachers' translanguaging voices were analysed from a crossing perspective, mapping them against ethnic boundaries that correspond to the classroom hierarchy. When different voices, styles and languages are put on display, the participants draw on their strategic potential in the actual interaction. This potential, we argued, can be channelled into translanguaging teaching practices through different means which bring together pedagogy and translanguaging. Drama pedagogy and role-play have a central place in helping pupils or parents to bring the language of the home into the school through the linguistic stylisation of their own or others' voice. The crossing of ethnic boundaries might contribute to the creative reinterpretation of sociolinguistic differentiation. School activities in which stylisation and crossing occur provide opportunities for practising teachers, learners and parents to adopt a reflexive approach to their own roles and positionality within their social world.

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Part IV: **Conclusion**

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17 Conclusion: Participatory ethnography and translanguaging education as forms of transcultural becoming among multilingual Roma in monolingual environments

This book tells the story of our participatory ethnographic research and translanguaging project, which involved thinkers, writers, and researchers from various walks of life. Participants included bilingual Roma children and their parents living in the Outer Majoros neighbourhood of Tiszavasvári, Hungary; a group of local teachers working in the settlement's primary school, Magiszter; prospective teachers, undergraduate student researchers, and researchers from various fields. The members of this diverse research group and educational community, built around the school of the Majoros settlement, came together to embrace a translanguaging stance in a monolingual ideological regime in order to challenge and overcome the deficit views of bilingual Roma children in education. In our concluding remarks we review the most important theoretical and methodological contributions of this volume, subsumed under the following headings: participatory research, collaborative writing, and the multiplicity of voices; reflexivity as a source in research design; translanguaging education as transcultural becoming among bilingual Roma in monolingual institutional and ideological environments. Our conclusions close with an outlook on the possible pathways for further research, pinpointing the potential of translanguaging approaches in paving the way for a convivial coexistence amidst securitised relationships in the town. This endeavour involves expanding our research community to include inhabitants of Tiszavasvári without immediate connections to the Magiszter school.

Participants who live in the Outer Majoros neighbourhood describe themselves, and would mostly be described by others, as Roma and/or Gypsy (Hungarian *roma* or *cigány*, respectively), while the participating local teachers as (non-Roma) Hungarians. The latter is an important, although slippery, equivalence in our context: most Roma living in Hungary are Hungarian citizens, which is not necessarily the case with the Roma living, for instance, in the UK and France. Beyond citizenship, being Hungarian or Hungarian Roma in certain contexts is one of the identity components characterising the Roma in Hungary. A distinctive feature of the participants living in the Outer Majoros neighbourhood is that they are multilinguals whose linguistic repertoire includes resources linked to Hungarian and Romani.

They perceive their Romani ways of speaking as different from Romani varieties spoken elsewhere (including an assumed standardised Romani, which they claim not to speak). These participants acquired the Romani components of their multilingual repertoire in their homes, where Hungarian resources are present to a lesser extent, if at all. For them, resources linked to Hungarian are associated with environments outside their neighbourhood such as school, where, similar to hundreds of thousands of European Roma, they encounter a language of instruction which is different from the language of their homes. Unlike the Roma contributors, most participating teachers, teacher trainees, and researchers with plurilingual repertoires learned, rather than acquired, resources associated with various named languages as a result of their schooling and further education. Participants who can be described as monolingual in terms of their linguistic practices are speakers of Hungarian. A smaller scale study took place in Szímő (Zemné) in Slovakia, where all local teachers know Hungarian and Slovak, while the pupils and their parents also know Romani. The diversity of the linguistic background of the authors is matched by social, ethnic, and occupational diversity among them, but with a shared experience that these group-based identity categories are just that. Individuals gravitate, in their complex yet systematic idiosyncratic ways, towards different components of their social, ethnic, and other identities in the course of their life – and in their social interactions.

17.1 Participatory research, collaborative writing, and the multiplicity of voices

The multiplicity of voices in this volume is a result of collaborative writing, which resulted in a multi-layered text. The way these voices dialogue with each other in this volume and in the video repository produced as part of the project reveals the dialogic nature of both our participatory ethnographic project and the teaching practices the TRANSLANGEDUROM project aimed to implement.

The dialogic nature of collaborative writing requires a diversity of approaches and enabling techniques to produce texts. While working on this book, academic researchers and university students elucidated in numerous discussions the topics they intended to cover and reviewed in detail the prose sections they wrote. The contributions of these two groups were woven together in the main body of the text. Similar detailed discussions took place between academic researchers and teachers but, as teachers' texts covered topics specific to their teaching and community-building practices, their sections are stand-alone pieces integrated into, but not woven together with, the main body of text. What made this presentation possible

is that teachers had greater autonomy in their writing, resulting in texts which bore clear traces of their personal convictions and professional stance. Teachers' individual voice was not over-written by the perceived norms and exigencies of "academic writing" while university students' voices were often influenced, and at times even challenged by, their self-imposed desire to "write academically". This resulted in texts which were less independent from academic researchers' writing. Another dialogic form of writing was the one that occurred in the collaboration between local Roma authors, on the one hand, and university students, teacher trainees, and researchers, on the other. Local contributors worked collaboratively in groups with teacher trainees and students. Although the writing in the technical sense was the outcome of this collaboration, the resulting texts preserve and represent the Roma participants' voices. Because of the multiplicity of voices which dialogue with each other in the volume, the book as a multi-authored genre invites the reader to engage on equal grounds with the diverse ways in which our experience is formulated.

The dialogic nature of the teaching practices the project implemented originated from the fact that the translanguaging classrooms in Tiszavasvári and Szímő (Zemné) became hubs for the representation of various voices including parents', teachers', students' and researchers'. Before the pandemic, translanguaging classes were observed and discussed in joint reflection sessions by researchers, teachers, teacher trainees and university students. Thus, ideas for translanguaging shifts and teaching design (cf. Chapter 10), which influence interactions between teachers and pupils, were developed in response to outsiders' observations and perceptions, too. External participants' (such as researchers, university students, and even parents) input underpinned innovations in both the practised and declared language policy of the school, too (cf. Chapter 9). Simultaneously with these developments, university students, researchers, and teachers facilitated creative projects carried out by the pupils, who also involved adult members of the Outer Majoros settlement in these undertakings (cf. Chapter 13.2.2). Parents' voices came to be represented in the translanguaging classroom not only through extra-curricular creative projects but also through parents' club events, where parents were facilitators of learning in translanguaging classes and co-creators of translingual learning materials (cf. Chapter 9.4). The transcollaboration between parents and academic and student researchers, on the one hand, and teachers and other participants of the institutional environment, on the other, brought the outside world into the school, allowing all participants to transgress personal and institutionalised boundaries between school and home: symbolic spaces traditionally belonging to the different social worlds of the majority group and inhabitants of the Majoros settlement.

In the classrooms-turned-hubs, converging voices met and merged with one another, reaching new grades of density, and have been placed on the pages of

this book (cf. Chapter 3). These classrooms can be represented, to use Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) metaphor, not as static photographs or drawings but as open and connectable maps. These classroom-hubs have multiple entries, where various dialogic voices enter and exist. The chapters in Part III of the volume represent such entries: each chapter described from a different perspective how knowledge was built in the classrooms and how dialogue transformed participants in their collaborative work in the classroom-hubs. These chapters also elaborated the ways in which knowledge originating from various sources formed new synergies in the classrooms and radiated out from the classroom-hubs' microcosm to other organisational levels of the institution and local society (cf. Chapter 6 and Chapter 15).

17.2 Reflexivity as a resource in research design

The rhizomatic structure of our work was maintained through various layers and types of reflection (cf. Chapter 6 for methodological details): participants reflected on each other's contributions on weekly online seminars and regular online workshops. Teacher trainees who had practice placements in Magiszter reflected on their own earlier work with the children from Outer Majoros in the light of what they saw documented in the video recordings. Throughout the various stages of the film-making, including the commentaries provided by researchers and teacher trainees, teachers reflected on their own practices, whose foci oscillate between the primacy of the material to be taught and the appreciation of the full personality of the pupils they teach. Researchers' ideas of the theoretical framing of teaching and learning approaches were constantly revisited and often challenged by what was possible in the process of teaching and learning. Theory-building had much to gain from what was possible pedagogically, what could be achieved in classrooms. Parents reflected on the school's new, translanguaging language policy and its implementation by contributing to this volume, and on the school-home relationship by engaging in mimetic activities (acting out each other's roles) jointly with the teachers (cf. Chapter 13.3, Chapter 16.2 and video 20). Children also engaged in reflection through role-play by miming and stylising adult speech as part of translanguaging classroom activities (cf. Chapter 7.3, Chapter 9.3, Chapter 16.1 and video 21). Other important, although not abstract, sources of reflection for the children were the extra-curricular activities they undertook with the guidance of teacher trainees: filming and writing a theatre play which showcases practices and aspirations in their home community (cf. Chapter 13.2.2) or providing visual reflections

on text by illustrating stories published in the community-authored story book (cf. Chapter 9.4).

The cycles of multi-perspective reflection allowed each participant group to engage in a type of reflexivity (Giddens and Pierson 1998: 115) which involves reflection not only on the participants' positionality within the day-to-day cultural, educational, and languaging practices in which they take part but also on their own positionality as agents who engage in reflection. This is the ability to see oneself as a reflexive being, as if watching oneself in a mirror while reflecting on the events of one's life and practices. Teachers, for instance, reflected on their own classroom practices and on the way in which bilingual children learn but also on what such reflection has to offer to their own positions as teachers with regards to their translanguaging stance. Reflexivity contributes to individuals' sense of agency; thus, it enables them to develop a sense of self as autonomous beings in their social and professional roles.

Reflexivity as a methodological approach was built into the original research design. What was an instructive (although unexpected) contribution to our methodological knowledge is that reflection was given a broader remit due to the pandemic circumstances, which meant that the last cycles of interpretation and reflection had to rely on the narrow but sharp focus of the cameras with which classroom scenes were filmed (for details see Chapter 5 and Chapter 6). It was an unsettling feeling that non-local researchers had to interrupt their field visits to the Outer Majoros neighbourhood and the Magiszter school, missing out on the immersive interpersonal experience and serendipity which is part of all ethnographic work. What compensated for this loss, however, was that local participants' agency increased considerably because both the data collection and the later phases of reflection on the processed data would have been impossible without their committed and autonomous involvement.

As a result of multi-perspective reflection and reflexivity, requiring continuous self-assessment, everyone started looking at themselves from new, altered perspectives thanks to the project. Participants opened up to talk about themselves in order to make their reflections known to other participants. This was possible due to the safe place that the symbolic space of research workshops provided. Our ethnographic activities and creative projects were designed to be diverse and wide-ranging because different participant groups required different ways to prompt them to engage in reflexivity. Shared reflection and reflexivity had a liberating effect on participants. Importantly, various participants used different ways of speaking and ways of writing in formulating their reflections and self-assessments. This was a major challenge in the two editors' work because they had to create an overarching and coherent narrative in which the multiplicity of voices and perspectives is nonetheless maintained. Editorial decisions

concerned for instance whether to weave in non-academic researchers' voices into the expository prose passages written by full-time researchers or to single them out with typological means. Our intention was neither to foreground nor to upstage the various ways of writing and speaking as we consider them equally valid ways of representing knowledge. This editorial approach was supported by our adoption of the rhizome as an image schema to inform our technical and theoretical decisions. This meant that we imagined a non-hierarchical structure with various entry points through which different threads enter and reinforce each other, intertwining with, and separating from, each other as various themes of the discussion require.

17.3 Translanguaging education as transcultural becoming among bilingual Roma in monolingual institutional and ideological environments

Transcultural becoming is rooted in the recognition or intuition on the part of subjects undergoing it that an additive, synthetic approach to one's selfhood is possible when living "in between" or "on the boarderlands" of two named languages and the associated reified identities. The emergent qualities in transcultural beings lead to new forms of self-reflexion and evaluation of the self: a "third space", which is more than the sum of its parts. On a language ideological level this is matched by the opposition between separate bilingualism v. flexible bilingualism (Blackledge and Creese 2010) or double monolingualism (as discussed by Heller 2006 [1999]: 34) v. translingual ways of speaking. The former conceives of bilingual speakers as having similar general linguistic competences as monolinguals but in two separate named languages. The latter focuses on the fluidity of multilinguals' linguistic practices, for instance, in the way in which they are witnessed in Roma pupils' ways of speaking.

We placed the practices we witnessed among Roma pupils front and centre in our project whose aim was to make educators interested in adopting a translanguaging stance in their pedagogical practices. This commitment had a liberating effect on learners and educators alike. Our findings indicate that embracing a translanguaging conviction on the part of educators is a starting point to engaging the entirety of learners' repertoires (cf. Chapter 8 and Chapter 10), allowing them to overcome deficit-oriented models and separate-monolingual pedagogies in the education of young Roma (cf. Chapter 11.2 and Chapter 13.1). So far, these approaches

have had exclusivity in guiding Roma children through their educational pathways, despite the fact that they have proven to be dead-ends because of the controversies surrounding standardisation attempts (cf. Chapter 3). The situation of European Roma in this respect can be likened to post-colonial contexts in which the replacing of the coloniser's language with local languages as official languages or languages of instruction yielded questionable outcomes precisely because of the dubious moral and policy implications of the standardisation process of these languages (Deumert 2010; Rampton 2021). Our project breaks away from standardising approaches, harnessing instead the pupils' ways of speaking for purposes of classroom interactions, and, in the broader sense, in enhancing their academic achievements. This approach has the potential to radically transform the education of bilingual Roma children because it is inclusive of Romani not as a language of instruction or school subject but as an everyday practice which forms part and parcel of the learners' personality. In this way, it contributes to building a strengths-based, rather than deficit-oriented, way of perceiving Roma children's place in education.

Breaking away from groupism-based approaches in our framing of linguistic and cultural identity processes proved to be fruitful (cf. Chapter 2.2 and Chapter 3.1). Establishing a community-based learning environment brought about dynamic forms of speaking and learning, which contributed to learners' and their parents' positive attitudes towards school and literacy (cf. Chapter 14). The education programme adopted in the Magiszter school did not explicitly encourage the "revitalisation" or "preservation" of the learners' Roma roots, although awareness of Roma cultural practices and historicity features as part of the local curricula. At the opposite end of the scale, the promotion of Hungarian monolingualism and a singular Hungarian identity among Roma children, with the assumed benefits to their integration, was also avoided. Instead, our translanguaging and transcultural educational stance centred on allowing space for the expression of these children's ways of speaking and their ways of being in the world. This involved engaging the pupils' parents as stakeholders in their children's education. A community of learning emerged around the Magiszter school. This was the result of the school's pre-existing community-engagement projects, whose scope was enhanced, on the one hand, by our translanguaging project, and, on the other hand, by the school's unusual openness to academic ideas and research alongside their openness towards the parents and home-communities of the children.

The openness with which the various stakeholders turned towards each other is not to be taken for granted: connections had to be found and strengthened across lines of difference. Shortly after ethnographic work started, in 2016, in the Outer Majoros settlement and the Magiszter school, a first article by Heltai (2016) appeared in a journal of Hungarian linguistics. The researcher's take-away message, based on a short period of exposure to the field site, flew in the face of the intended

message of the school's then headteacher. The former focused on the pupils' silence in Hungarian-medium contexts such as classes, which was in sharp contrast with their animate and lively ways of interacting during breaks. By contrast, the headteacher centred her attention on the school's achievements in the area of developing a learning community with the participation of parents, children, and teachers, and the potential of this strategy in bringing about a nurturing and caring learning environment. It was at the intersection of these foci that the ideal starting point for the introduction of a translanguaging and transcultural educational programme was to be found. Among the outcomes of the TRANSLANGEDUROM project both parents and teachers report that a cultural and linguistic "third space" was created around the school, where the networks of relationships in which pupils participate are increasingly seen as extensions of the social networks and interactions of their homes and families.

Overcoming the alienating and seemingly impermeable boundaries separating the world of school from the world of home in the children's lives means that local practices and forms of knowledge need to be integrated in the school environment. One such practice is the children's translingual way of speaking, which was present at the school even before the start of our project: partly as silence and partly as the use of Romani in informal interactions. Community-participation helps bringing the "translanguaging corriente" (García, Ibarra Johnson & Seltzer 2017: xi–xii) to the surface. Both community-participation and the introduction of a translanguaging stance assume a shift in teachers' (and, ultimately, parents') beliefs and convictions. These shifts trigger institutional responses to the emergent attitudes and, ultimately, pave the way for adaptive-inclusive schools and educational models (cf. Chapter 15).

17.4 Pathways for further research: Hovering between (in)securitisation and conviviality in Tiszavasvári

The TRANSLANGEDUROM project ended in May 2022 and our research community faced questions of what to do next. After funding for a specific project runs out, only time can tell what is permanent and what is ephemeral from the project's achievements. What will remain of our project are the research outputs: the video repository and this volume, which document the knowledge and experience of transformation accumulated by the participants. What happened here could happen elsewhere, at any time. However, the credibility of the project outputs is best

supported when the translanguaging stance developed by the participating teachers stands the test of time and becomes part of the school's educational policy. This has to be achieved despite ruling monolingual ideologies in professional and institutional settings and in the public policy defining teachers' working life.

Most members of the research group, whether local or not, signed up for further cooperation. They faced two possibilities as they pondered the options for moving forward. The first one of these was to support the teachers' translanguaging stance among the shrinking professional and financial opportunities, and to extend good practices to other educational settings. The second option was to turn to the different factors which shape teachers' ideologies and challenge their newly developed understanding of what translanguaging modes of being are like. These factors range from teachers' personal networks to the professional and institutional frameworks governing their work, often stirring it towards monolingualism and abyssal thinking (García et al 2021). To pursue the first alternative, participants lacked the intention and the remit to address practical education policy issues. Hence, our decision was to pursue the latter pathway. This is a question suited for ethnographic inquiry based on participation and provides an opportunity to take our joint activities further. To maintain teachers' translanguaging stance and to stir public opinion at the school in a direction which regards the maintenance of translanguaging policy favourably, it is necessary to look beyond the school and address linguistic practices and ideologies in local society in a broader sense.

As described in Chapter 4, social relations between the Roma and non-Roma in Tiszavasvári are riddled with ethnic, linguistic and economic tensions. To explore the sources and the functioning of these tensions, participants extended their ethnographic research activities to map local non-Roma's linguistic ideologies and discursive practices concerning the Roma. As in the previous years with local Roma families, this research started with conventional ethnographic activities (interviews with stakeholders, observations). Later, participatory approaches have come into focus: researchers, student researchers, teachers, and parents contributing to the TRANSLANGEDUROM project invited local non-Roma citizens to take part in a series of workshops.

Participants spend two afternoons together in Tiszavasvári on a monthly basis (by the time of writing, there have been five such occasions). Typically, Roma and non-Roma people rarely talk to each other in Tiszavasvári. One of the aims of our workshops is to provide a forum for such conversations to begin. After getting to know each other, participants decided to present themselves as a research group to the local public and wrote a joint article for the city newspaper. In this article, a few lines of Romani text (e.g. section titles) were published, perhaps for the first time in the history of the newspaper. This was indicative of the

group's intention which is to support conviviality, understood, following Gilroy, as interethnic understanding based on "processes of cohabitation and interaction" (2004: xi) in multilingual and multicultural settings. Thus, participants hope to extend the scope of translanguaging activities in order to address issues affecting Roma and non-Roma alike.

In the workshops, academic participants emphasised that all participants are involved in scientific, ethnographic activities, whose theoretical and methodological features have been discussed during the sessions. The concepts we explored included methodological ones such as reflexivity, and sociolinguistic ones such as (in)securitisation and conviviality. Local participants looked at how (in)securitisation is present in their own lives. This was possible because in the first workshops the Roma participants felt that this was a safe place for them to engage in dialogue with the others and told the non-Roma participants about the humiliations they had to face in their everyday lives. Participants also talked about their emergent individual practices which support conviviality in these circumstances. They can rely on positive examples of peaceful cohabitation and regular interaction between the Roma and non-Roma in the past, and these imprints can serve as compass for the future. A typical example of positive interactions in the present is related precisely to linguistic practices: the Roma like mentioning situations where they had the opportunity to informally teach their home language to monolingual Hungarian teachers and doctors. They also taught some Romani on the workshops. Although the planned participatory ethnographic project is only in its pilot phase at the time of writing, these examples suggest that practices unfolding around language in general and specifically around translingual ways of speaking might be an appropriate starting point for creating convivial practices. In this regard, the new participatory ethnographic project can rely on the experience we gained in our work at the school. The success of the translanguaging education project built on the strengths of the school's community engagement, whose scope, in turn, broadened as a result of the implementation of translanguaging practices and policy at the school. What is at stake here is whether transcollaboration and the transformative potential of translanguaging as a strategy for challenging raciolinguistic ideologies can be applied outside the school. Transcollaboration outside school between the communities concerned and the institutions controlled by the dominant community requires an invested interest on the part of each individual involved and that all participants come to recognise their potential for agency and the responsibility that comes with it.

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