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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 Csíkszentmihályi 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 (Glasersfeld 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 trans-
lators. 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 partici-
pate 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 hierar-
chy, 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 Hungar-
ian. 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 atten-
tion 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 atten-
tion. 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 confi-
dent 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 class-
room 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 pro-nominal 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* corre-sponds to 'sir' but it also means 'lord, master', while *nő* literally 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 im-balance 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 rep-rimand 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 behav-iour, and punishable, if a student raised his voice at a teacher. Language, there-fore, 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 nor-mative linguistic conduct. Linguistic practices, however, play an important role in the processes of democratising education, of which the implementation of trans-languaging 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 associ-ated 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 mis-takes, 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 per-sonality 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 Csíkszentmihályi 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 becomemore 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 translingual 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 is 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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