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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

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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 (Glasersfeld 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, atanav 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 sukoj, leszko jek ják othe dikel e káver meg othefele.*
'THIS ONE'S NOT GOOD, IT'S TOO LEAN. ONE OF ITS EYES LOOKS THIS WAY AND THE OTHER LOOKS THAT WAY.'
pupil1 *Figyelin baratom, 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 figyelin moro phral!.. Figyelj, dav tu . . . des man.. vás ketezerötöt, 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] *Te vagy a királyunk! Téged áldlak szívemben. Te vagy mindenem; Az életem.*
	[singing] 'You are our king! I bless you in my heart. You are my everything; my life.'
other parents	*Mit csinálnak? Bolondok ezek? Mit csinálnak?*
	'What are they doing? Are they crazy? What are they doing?'
parents and teachers	[Együtt énekelnek] *Téged vár a szívem szüntelen . . .*
	[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 *Lácso gyész kívánok!*
'I wish you a GOOD MORNING!'
pupils [laughing: *Lácso gyész*] *kívánok!*
'I wish you a GOOD MORNING!'

Tünde *Lácso gyész 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 érdeklődőbbé válnak, együttműködőbbek lesznek. Igyekszem az egyszerűbb kifejezéseket, "üljetek le, álljatok föl, vegyetek 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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