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12 Creating translinguaging space through schoolscape design and reflective practices

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

12.1 Materialised educational practices

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12.2 Transforming the schoolscape in Tiszavasvári

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

12.3 Reflecting on the schoolscape in Tiszavasvári

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (3) pupil *Az a cigány ábécé.*

'That's the Romani alphabet.'

teacher *Hát, mondhatjuk úgy is.*

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

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

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



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

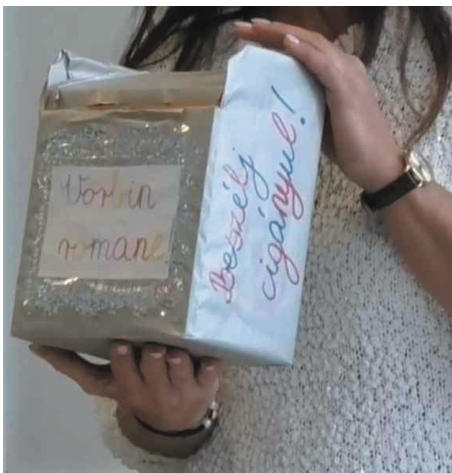


Fig. 3: Teacher holding the “Speak in Romani!” box during classroom discussion (27: 2.04–2.09).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

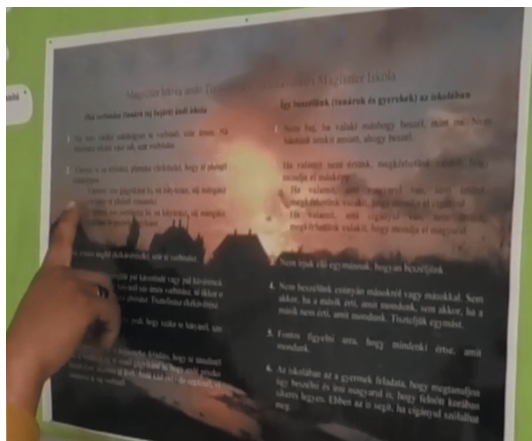


Fig. 4: Pupil reading aloud the Translanguaging Charta (28: 2.31–2.32).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Fig. 5: Pupil verbally interpreting the image.

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



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



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

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

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

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

12.4 Conclusion: Schoolscape in support of local language policy

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

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

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

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

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