Migration and Language Education in Southern Europe

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Practices and Challenges

Edited by

Marina Mattheoudakis,
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and Maria Moumtzi

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACTFL	American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
ALTE	Association of Language Testers in Europe
BALeD	Bilingual Acquisition and Language Development
CCSE	Conocimientos Constitucionales y Socioculturales de España (Constitutional and Sociocultural Knowledge of Spain)
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CGIL	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (Italian General Confederation of Labor)
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
DYEP (ΔΥΕΠ)	Refugee state schooling program (Δομές Υποδοχής και Εκπαίδευσης Προσφύγων)
EC	European Council
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPAL (ΕΠΑΛ)	Vocational High Schools (Επαγγελματικά Λύκεια)
EU	European Union
EYL	English for Young Learners
FL	Foreign Language
FLEARS	Foreign Language Education for Adult Refugee Students
FLP	Family Language Policy
FRA	Fundamental Rights Agency
GEL (ΓΕΛ)	General High Schools (Γενικά Λύκεια)
HOU	Hellenic Open University
IC	Intercultural Communication
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence
IFL	Integrated Foreign Languages
IFLC	Integrated Foreign Languages Curriculum
INCA	Istituto Nazionale Confederale Assistenza (National Confederal Assistance Institute)
KFP (ΚΦΠ)	Refugee Accommodation Centres (Κέντρα Φιλοξενίας Προσφύγων)

KPG (ΚΠΓ)	National Foreign Language Exam System (Κρατικό Πιστοποιητικό Γλωσσομάθειας)
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MIPEX	Migrant Integration Policy Index
NARIC	National Academic Recognition Information Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RFRE	Reception Facilities for Refugee Education
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TCF ANF	Test de Connaissance du Français pour l'accès à la nationalité française (Test in French for Access to French Nationality)
TL	Translanguaging
TPD	Teacher Professional Development
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UoA	University of Athens
ZEP	Zones of Educational Priority

Greek Abbreviations

Γ2	Δεύτερη Γλώσσα
ΔΝΕΓ	Διδασκαλείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας
ΕΚΠΑ	Εθνικό Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών
ΠΤΔΕ	Παιδαγωγικό Τμήμα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης
ΣΕΠ (SEP)	Συντονιστής Εκπαίδευσης Προσφύγων (Refugee Training Coordinator)
ΣΕΠαΜΕ2	Σώμα Εξελικτικών Παραγωγών Μαθητών της Ελληνικής ως Δεύτερης Γλώσσας

FOREWORD

1. Introduction

The present volume consists of a selection of eleven papers on the theme of refugee and immigrant education and is based on papers presented at the 16th International Conference of Applied Linguistics "Migration and Language Education". The conference was held in Thessaloniki, Greece on October 6-8, 2017 and was organised by the Greek Applied Linguistics Association, an affiliate of AILA (Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée).

Refugee and immigrant education concerns both school age children but also adults since the language of the host country needs to be acquired by children and adults alike. The choice of the educational setting (school or other structures), the training of the teachers involved, the design of appropriate materials and resources so as to target particular student needs are just some of the challenges faced in those contexts.

All European States that were affected by the 2015-2016 refugee and migrant crisis have made an effort to ensure children can go to school. In Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia, for example, between 50% and 62% of all school-age refugee and migrant children were integrated into the formal education system as of December 2018 (UNHCR, UNICEF, and IOM-International Organization of Migration 2019). However, insufficient school capacity, both in terms of resources and staff trained to work with refugee and migrant students, language barriers, psychosocial issues, as well as limited tutoring and remediation classes are among the most common challenges faced by refugee and migrant students in need of education. The study of those challenges, as well as the pedagogical practices used by educators to overcome them, is still an unchartered area.

The contributors of this volume report on fieldwork carried out in refugee and migrant educational settings in Greece - in the mainland but also on islands. Their studies present original data which aim to map the challenges faced by migrant and refugee educators in Southern Europe and their efforts to address them by implementing cross-curricular approaches and elements of the CLIL method in various contexts with students of diverse backgrounds and needs. Thus, this is a unique collection of studies

which will allow interested readers to map the intricacies of providing language but also general education to similar student populations.

Of the eleven papers included in this volume, nine are written in English and two in Greek. To facilitate international readership, all abstracts are written in English.

2. Thematic units

The collected edition is divided into three sections: (a) Multilingualism and language education, (b) Pedagogies and practices in multicultural educational settings, and (c) Teachers' views, beliefs and attitudes in multicultural educational settings.

2.1 Multilingualism and language education

At the beginning of the 21st century, political developments such as mass migrations in Europe have created the need to reconsider the importance of multilingualism and its role in education. Current migrations as opposed to previous historical ones are multicultural, multilingual and unprecedented in the number of people affected (King, 2017). What is equally interesting is the fact that countries in southern Europe, which historically were nations of emigration, have now become nations of immigration (Castles and Miller, 2009). As a result of this massive forced relocation, the linguistic and cultural profile of student population in Europe is becoming increasingly diverse and this change is more visible in smaller countries, like Greece, which admitted large numbers of immigrants and refugees within a very short period of time. The make-up of state school classes is expected to change drastically in the following years, as learners of various ages, ethnic backgrounds and mother tongues are going to co-exist within the same educational setting. In Greece, in particular, the landscape of education has already started changing as a significant number of immigrant students have joined mainstream classrooms.

Against this backdrop, multilingualism and its role in the educational context are becoming increasingly important as it is gradually being realised that multiple languages and cultures are overlapping and interacting meaningfully within a previously monolingual society. Educators are looking into ways of improving the quality of teaching and learning by uncovering and using students' rich language resources, thus providing a more positive and protected context for multiple languages.

The first section of this book includes three articles all of which are concerned with the role of multilingualism in education – formal and informal. In particular, in chapter 1, titled "Tranlanguaging: New dimension and possibilities in communication and Language Learning", Roula Tsokalidou attempts to investigate and expand on the possible dimensions of the concept and practice of translanguaging as a powerful means of meaning-making in communication and language learning. Also, the author presents some of the challenges in the teaching of languages to refugee populations by Polydromo Group and the opportunities for enriched communication that become possible when linguistic and other borders are crossed through the powerful practice of translanguaging.

In chapter 2, Aspasia Chatzidaki, Marina Mattheoudakis, and Christina Maligkoudi report on patterns of Family Language Policy (Spolsky 2004, 2012) among thirty-five Albanian immigrant families living in three major Greek cities whose children attend heritage language courses mostly in "complementary" Albanian schools. A questionnaire survey was carried out aiming to explore parents' language policies in terms of their language practices, language beliefs and language management.

In chapter 3, Maria Stathopoulou presents the key notions of the updated CEFR (2018) and, in particular, the different types of mediation, as well as aspects of plurilingual and pluricultural competence. As the updated CEFR provides space for the parallel use of language and recognises language users' need and capacity to purposefully blend, embed and alternate codes, the author explores and discusses the extent to which the new updated CEFR could be creatively exploited for programmes relevant to the teaching of refugees and migrants.

In chapter 4, Anna Kokkinidou, Thomais Rousoulioti, Anastasia Pasia, Stavroula Antonopoulou**,** and Amalia Zervou discuss the Greek language exams migrants are required to take when applying for the Greek nationality. The authors initially present a brief overview of the stipulations provided for in other EU member states which require the successful participation in language exams in order to grant citizenship to applicants. They also review the current study material suggested by the Greek Ministry of Interior Affairs and in the end, they make specific proposals regarding (a) the language level of the study materials to be used, (b) the content and thematic areas to be examined, and (c) the format and type of tasks to be included in such material.

2.2 Pedagogies and practices in multicultural educational settings

Given the urgency in providing education to children, adolescent and adult immigrants and refugees in Greece, several organisations and institutions – academic and non-academic alike – have designed and offered language programmes targeting the particular population. As a result, there has been great variation in the educational models followed, in the curricula used, in the qualifications of teachers selected, in the strategies and practices adopted in refugee classes. The chapters of this section aim to provide a snapshot of the challenges faced in such multicultural educational settings, highlight the lack of coordinated efforts in the support provided and discuss some of the practices employed by teachers in order to support their students.

In chapter 5, the authors Maria Iakovou, Flora Vlachou, Olga Dima, Maria Kavvadia, Tatiana Katsina, Marina Koutsoubou, Sofia-Nefeli Kytrou, and Christina Kostakou present the programme FLEARS (Foreign Language Education for Adult Refugee Students) which was launched by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens for the teaching of Greek as a second language to refugees. The programme was implemented between 2016 and 2018 at Elaionas Open Hospitality Structure first and, then, in the premises of the Modern Greek Language Teaching Center of the university. The authors report on refugees' needs and profiles, as these were recorded by their teachers on weekly journals, and discuss how those learners' cultural, social and educational background impacted on teachers' choices regarding the syllabus design, its implementation and methodology of teaching.

In chapter 6, Aspasia Chatzidaki and Chistina Maligkoudi focus on an Albanian complementary school established by an association of Albanian immigrants in Thessaloniki, Greece, in 2004 and record teachers' language and teaching practices. The authors discuss the differences between teachers' instructional and language choices and highlight the "translanguaging" practices which some teachers adopted, thus transforming their classroom into a site for multilingual learning.

In chapter 7, Marianthi Oikonomakou, Vasilia Kourtis-Kazoulis, Eleni Skourtou, and Dionysis Gouvias are using research data collected at the Linguistics Laboratory of the Department of Primary Education, University of the Aegean in order to capture key aspects of the teaching of Greek as a foreign language to adult refugees on the island of Rhodes. The implementation on a regular basis of language and culture courses addressing this particular audience resulted in the deeper understanding of

their educational needs as well as of the particularities of foreign language instruction when this takes place in unstable and constantly evolving sociocultural contexts. The authors discuss the curriculum of the program which aimed at strengthening the identity and the autonomy of the refugees in this particular context.

In chapter 8, Anna Mouti, Vicky Kantzou, and Polyxeni Manoli explore teachers' and student's profiles, their teaching practices, and the educational materials used in various non-formal educational settings providing language education and support to refugee and asylum-seeking children throughout Greece. Their findings revealed a wide variety of teaching practices and materials used, a fact which highlights the lack of coordination among institutions, individuals and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) offering language education to immigrant and refugees.

2.3 Teachers' views, beliefs and attitudes in multicultural educational settings

The third and final section of the book follows very smoothly from the previous one as it includes three studies which focus on teachers' views, beliefs and attitudes. Two of the studies draw their data from the answers given to questionnaires and/or interviews by refugee teachers working in various parts of Greece and in different educational contexts with various age groups of students; the last chapter highlights the importance of developing intercultural communication skills in classes of foreign language education. In this respect, it relates to the previous chapters of this section and to the suggestions made by refugee teachers regarding the importance of translanguaging and other similar strategies that allow teachers to bridge cultural and linguistic gaps and facilitate students' meaningful interaction that transcends linguistic and cultural challenges.

More particularly, in chapter 9, Eleni Griva, Dora Chostelidou and Fotini Papadopoulou explore the views of teachers who were employed in accommodation structures for refugee education. In particular, the authors aim to identify teachers' views regarding the teaching approaches and methods used, to identify their attitudes towards using English as a mediation language for teaching and communication purposes, as well as to record their suggestions for improving refugee children's educational support.

In chapter 10, Pety Dassi and Maria Stathopoulou aim to investigate the needs, challenges and beliefs of teachers of adult refugees in Greece. The study draws data from a specially designed online questionnaire filled

in by three different groups of Greek teachers working in different educational refugee settings. The ultimate goal of their study was the development of a teacher training toolkit aiming to provide teachers with suggestions as to how to address the challenges faced in similar educational settings. The important contribution of this toolkit is the fact that it derives from the actual experiences of refugee teachers and as such it is practical and targets future teachers of similar groups of learners.

In chapter 11, Eleni-Eirini Skyfti and Ioannis Karras aim to explore the degree to which Greek teachers promote and support the development of learners' intercultural communication skills in the primary EFL context. To this aim, they investigate teachers' attitude towards intercultural communication and examine the intercultural orientation of the curricula that inform and guide the teaching of English in the Greek primary school context. The results of their study shed light on the factors that may hinder the development of intercultural communicative competence in the primary EFL context, two of them being the limited intercultural training provided to those teachers and their systematic focus on teaching that promotes native-like proficiency in English. The particular findings have interesting and important implications for refugee and immigrant educational contexts as they highlight the need for reinforcing refugee teachers' intercultural competence through teacher training and professional development courses.

3. Final Remarks

Despite the fact that education for immigrants and refugees has become the focus of much research attention on a global level, the ongoing rapid rise of immigrant population in Southern Europe has not been adequately researched. Greece, in particular, has seen an unprecedented increase in the number of immigrants and refugees over the past 5 years, as more than 50,000 refugees in this country are not allowed to legally travel deeper into Europe. As a consequence, most of them are expected to remain in Greece and therefore, efforts are being made to facilitate their integration in their new country.

The papers of this volume provide only a snapshot of the efforts made by the Greek state, NGOs and Greek teachers to address challenges related to immigrants' and refugees' education but also to their psychosocial state, financial problems and political status. Each one of the papers of this volume is trying to map the new educational reality and its challenges as well as Greek teachers' needs, given the lack of coordinated efforts on the part of the Greek state, and the consequent lack of systematic teacher

training and the absence of appropriate teaching materials and resources for the teaching of Greek as a second language to the particular student population.

The greatest challenge encountered in the education of migrant populations is their diversity: diverse educational and cultural experiences and therefore differing needs. However, those needs should be approached holistically; that is, studied and researched from a multi-disciplinary perspective, as they are related to the cognitive development and general well-being – physical, mental, emotional and social – of those people.

We hope that this volume will allow interested readers to gain an initial understanding of the intricacies involved in providing educational support to refugee and migrant populations in countries like Greece, which have admitted an unprecedented number of refugees and immigrants over a very short period of time. We also hope that the studies presented will trigger further interest and research in this field so as to enable us to follow up on the efforts made by the academic institutions and NGOs as well as on the impact of those efforts on countries' policies.

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MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

CHAPTER ONE

TRANSLANGUAGING: NEW DIMENSIONS AND POSSIBILITIES IN COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

ROULA TSOKALIDOU

Abstract

This paper investigates and expands on the possible dimensions of the concept and practice of translanguaging (or διαγλωσσικότητα) as a powerful means of meaning-making in communication and language learning. Translanguaging has been defined as "a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups" (García 2009a, 307-308). Based on our recent work on the issue of "beyond bilingualism to translanguaging" (Tsokalidou 2017) and our research findings from adult bilinguals, we will first attempt to expand on the content of translanguaging (hence TL) in general, and secondly we will refer to its content as proposed by the adult bilinguals themselves. We are going to discuss some key elements emerging from our research such as hostility, racism, loneliness, navigating cross currents, being called "a wog", being an outsider or an unprotected "gharib" but also TL as a fascinating gateway, offering flexibility, freedom, adaptability to our cultural responsibilities and a means of tackling the unequal status of languages. Another issue discussed in this paper relates to some of the challenges faced by Polydromo Group in the teaching of languages to refugee populations as well as the possibilities that become available when linguistic and other borders are crossed through the powerful practice of TL.

1. Translanguaging: Some theoretical background

Translanguaging (henceforth TL) (Baker 2003, 2011; García 2009a, 2009b, 2011) could be considered one of the most dynamic contemporary

sociolinguistic approaches to the study of linguistic variation (Τσιπλάκου 2016). Initially the term "trawsieithu" in Welsh was proposed by Cen Williams in order to describe the planned and systematic use of two languages for teaching and learning within the same lesson (Baker 2003, 2011). With time "translanguaging" came to mean the process whereby one language is used in order to reinforce the other with the aim to increase understanding and in order to augment students' ability in both languages (Williams 2002, 40). Williams (2003) suggests that translanguaging focuses more on students' use of two languages (and what they are able to achieve by using both languages) rather than on teachers' role within the classroom, although it may be engineered by the teacher. Ofelia García (2009a, 2009b) extended the term "translanguaging" to mean more than the pedagogic variation of linguistic input and output. She treats "translanguaging" as a strategy that bilinguals use to make meaning, shape their experiences, gain understanding and knowledge, and make sense of their bilingual worlds through the everyday use of two (or more) languages. García (2009a) proposed the definition of "translanguaging" as "a powerful mechanism to construct understandings, to include others, and to mediate understandings across language groups" (ibid., 307-308). She argues that it is impossible to live in communities such as New York and communicate among multilinguals without translanguaging (García 2009b, 151). Based on observation of translanguaging practices in bilingual communities, García's approach towards translanguaging helped extend the use of this process to include the complex everyday realities of home and street (García 2009a).

Translanguaging as a term, process and surrounding reality can express the collaborative relations that connect each person with his/her linguistic equipment, as well as with the rest of the members of the communicative communities in which s/he partakes (family, friends, professional context, etc).

In other words, García (2009a, 2011) views translanguaging as "engaging in bilingual or multilingual discourse practices" (García 2009a, 44), as an approach centred not on languages, but on the communicative practices of bilinguals. Within the notion and process of translanguaging, other linguistic contact phenomena are included, such as code-switching and translation, but the emphasis is given on the process adopted by bilingual students in their classrooms, rather than on the languages involved.

The proposed approach to translanguaging seems to be in line with the approach to bilingualism proposed by Brutt-Griffler and Varghese (2004, 94), according to which "bilinguals remind us that linguistic space is

rather a continuum of Language" but language contact also includes "mixing of cultures and world views". Such a mixture, according to the writers is "impenetrable to some, troubling to others". In other words, according to the above approach, the fusion of different views and cultures plays a significant role in understanding bilingualism, and, at the same time, the traditional distinction of autonomous languages is abandoned as emphasis is given to the existence of a linguistic continuum as expressed by bilinguals themselves. This definition shows that the resistance to bilingualism is attributed, to a great extent, both to the concerns of the dominant society about a potential subversion of the linguistic norm, and to the failure of monolinguals to appreciate the importance of language coexistence for bilinguals and the rest of the society (Tsokalidou 2015). In their recent work, García and Kleyn (2016) make a thorough review of the literature on translanguaging, explaining the differences between TL approaches to code-switching and Cummins' (2007) interdependence hypothesis, and emphasise that for them TL:

> … refers to the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire, which does not in any way correspond to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages. (García and Kleyn 2016, 14)

To express this, they refrain from using L1 or L2 and, instead, they symbolise language use as Fn and TL as a series of Fn (Fn, Fn, Fn, Fn…), where for code-switching and other traditional models of bilingualism the symbols L1 and L2 are used. They note that in the TL model, named languages such as English, Spanish and Russian have a material and social reality but not a linguistic one. They also explain that the Williams TL model refers to an internal linguistic view of language but it corresponds to an external social view of language, namely Welsh and English.

In his recent paper, Wei (2018) further discusses the confusion created around the term "translanguaging" as different researchers attribute different characteristics to it by encompassing in the term various language contact phenomena from code-switching to metrolingualism, i.e. the fluid and "creative linguistic practices across borders of culture, history and politics" (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010, 240). Wei (2018) continues to propose TL as "a good candidate for a theory of language practice" (ibid., 10). He, like García (2009a), proposes that by deliberately breaking the artificially imposed and ideologically laden boundaries between indigenous, immigrant, majority, minority, mother, and target languages, TL helps us focus on the essence of language practice, i.e. expressing human experience, meaning-making and developing identity. He notes that William's and Baker's idea of TL expresses a practice that

urges us to see "beyond the linguistics of systems and speakers to a linguistics of participation" (ibid., 15).

According to our approach, translanguaging could include a variety of adopted language practices such as translation, transference of elements, code-switching and others, while surpassing them at the same time. It becomes an educational and social practice that contributes to linguistic creativity through the synthesis of linguistic and cultural multimodal elements (Tsokalidou 2016). Through translanguaging we can, thus, overcome the socio-educational reality of "invisible" bilingualism, which refers to the existence but lack of awareness on the part of educators of the bilingual potential of students from various backgrounds in Greek schools, as these students are termed "alloglossa" (i.e. speaking another language) and not bi/multilingual, as their linguistic wealth remains simply invisible (Σκούρτου 2011; Τσοκαλίδου 2012, 44-45; Tsokalidou 2015). Moreover, the term "translanguaging" covers the parallel use of various modes while communicating, modes that may come from different language systems but also form other resources that are available to speakers, such as images/pictures and various forms of art.

2. The research: Process and sample

The research presented and discussed in this chapter belongs to a qualitative research paradigm and the analysis carried out can be described as qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis can be defined as "any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings" (Patton 2002, 453). As Zhang and Wildemuth (2009) suggest, "qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. It allows researchers to understand social reality in a subjective but scientific manner" (ibid., 1). Qualitative research is fundamentally interpretative, and interpretation represents our personal and theoretical understanding of the phenomenon under study (Patton 2002).

Below we will look into communicative and educational dimensions of TL as they became apparent from the research that led to the book "SiDaYes! Πέρα από τη διγλωσσία προς τη διαγλωσσικότητα/Beyond bilingualism to translanguaging" by the same author (Tsokalidou 2017). The research that preceded the book took place during 2016-2017 and involved interviews with bi/multilinguals from various linguistic backgrounds, many of whom were also involved in education.

The findings presented in this paper come from the following bi/multilingual participants:

Mary, 44, is a woman of Greek descent, born and raised in Australia who works as a Community Development and Strategic Planner for Age-friendly Cities and Communities in Melbourne. Apart from English and Greek, Mary also speaks Italian and French;

Badal, 57, is a man from Pakistan who lives in Italy and teaches ethnology to University students. He uses Balochi, English, Urdu and Italian to communicate;

Devika, 50, is an Australian-Sri Lankan woman living in Sri Lanka, who teaches English to tertiary education students in Sri Lanka. She mentioned English, French, Italian, Spanish, Korean and Sinhala as her languages of use;

Max, 68, is a man of Greek origin living in Adelaide, Australia, teaching theatre to students in a formal education setting. He mentioned Greek, English and French as his languages of use;

Albert, 22, is an engineering student of Lebanese descent, born and raised in Australia;

Valbona, 45, is a woman of Albanian descent living in Greece, who teaches Albanian to students of Albanian background in Greece. She regards Albanian, Greek and English as her languages of use;

Stacey, 26, is a woman of Greek origin living in Canada, who teaches Greek to students of Greek descent in Canada. She mentioned English, Greek, French, Italian, (some) Arabic, (some) Hebrew and (some) Turkish as her languages of use;

Gianna, 55, is a woman of Greek descent living in France, teaching French in a multi-ethnic school in Paris. She referred to Greek, French, Russian and English as her languages of use.

3. Translanguaging and communicative dimensions through the eyes of bilinguals

García (2016, 9) in her personal note on translanguaging wrote that:

> … because translanguaging is a dynamic concept that describes people in social interaction while making meaning, it is always transforming itself. This is precisely what gives translanguaging its power to transform society,

> disrupting linguistic hierarchies, devolving power to minoritised communities, giving agency to speakers themselves.

Through the examples of translanguaging by bilingual speakers the function of "agency to speakers" becomes very important in a context of linguistic and ethnic inequality. Mary said the translanguaging:

> … may also include other aspects like accent/dialect, non-verbal communication that is culturally-specific. For example, I use my hands a lot when I speak and am constantly told about it and how "Greek/Wog" that is. (Tsokalidou 2017, 109)

Another interesting point about translanguaging raised by Badal is that:

> TL is allowed in societies where languages have equal rights and status. In my part of the world, there are superior languages and inferior languages. Superior languages are those which are patronized by the state and state machinery, while inferior and downgraded languages are those which are spoken by people/ethnic groups/communities, etc. who have no position or a say in state affairs.

In a similar manner, Badal notes that in the "developed Western world … some dialects are marked as backward and rustic and any expression in those languages produces some sort of a nauseating effect on the listener" (Tsokalidou 2017, 126). For him, living as a man from Pakistan in Italy has been a "tough challenge" as by now he feels to be an outsider in his own country of origin, Pakistan, and an "intruder" in his host country, Italy. At the same time, Devika comments that "Translanguaging is a fascinating gateway, a shift in thinking that takes place instinctively when I am trying to understand and communicate with people" (Tsokalidou 2017, 113). In a similar manner, Max suggests a close connection between TL and the dramatic art. He says that:

> Often when we speak, we actually combine many of these "codes" such as when we demonstrate an action to another in a story or recall of events, we use gestures, we modulate our voices to demonstrate how another was speaking or reacting, we change facial expression to communicate how a person was expressing themselves. (Tsokalidou 2017, 119)

Max's idea about TL connects it with freedom of expression and creativity. He also proposes that through TL practices, the idea of culture as a "museum piece" and something archaic and frozen in time can be challenged, as it becomes obvious that languages and cultures are ever

evolving organisms. On the other hand, even the idea of "hybrid" cultural and linguistic identities has been challenged, as they too may turn into "a fixed category of pluralisation" (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010, 244) and therefore the new challenge is not to treat fixidity and fluidity as opposite ends of a given range but, rather, view them as "symbiotically (re)constituting each other". The same authors call upon us to note that even notions like "hybridity" and "third space" can hide monolithic approaches to issues of culture/language and identity.

Last but not least, Albert makes another important comment on TL as a means of paying respect to the cultural responsibilities of people and friends from different cultural backgrounds, by noting that "we adapt to each other's cultural responsibilities significantly better than friends with parents born in Australia" (Tsokalidou 2017, 124). In other words, through the ability to translanguage, people become both more culturally aware and responsible.

Going back to Greek-Australian Mary, an example of the power gained through TL is the "Alice Kopelis theory", which she explains as:

> … a play on the words of "oi alles kopeles" (meaning "the other girls" in Greek) and essentially refers to how Greek mothers think that their own daughters are never good enough in comparison to the daughters of other mothers. It's how we coped with the incessant criticism from parents. (Tsokalidou 2017, 137)

From the examples above, we can see that TL in bi/multilingual communicative contexts has complex and intriguing dimensions that have to do with the idea of agency to speakers (García 2016, 2017). TL can become a means of regaining some of the power that minoritised individuals and groups may lose in their coexistence with powerful language groups, as the case of Pakistan and as the use of the derogatory term "wog", which is still used in Australia for Southern European background citizens, reveal. TL may also become a powerful means of challenging cultural elements that may restrict human behaviour, as in the case of the "Alice Kopelis theory" or the dramatic aspects of communication. Moreover, it can become a vehicle of respecting one's cultural responsibilities or a fascinating gateway for more communicative power.

Before we move on to a discussion of TL and language learning, as noted by bi/multilingual educators, I will briefly share and discuss an example of TL in poetry by the Greek-Australian poet Π.Ο. whose work I have studied in the light of language contact phenomena, code-switching and TL on various occasions (Tsokalidou 1995, 2017). The example of

Π.Ο.'s work below is a poem in which, by combining words with similar meanings in English and Greek, he creates new translingual words which can be understood by those who know both languages and free themselves from the norms of either language:

sοσκαλτσα
ilλιθιω
μιζοτρελοζtupid
εδωhere
αντιθετοpposite
κουμαντorder
μικροζmall
κοντοζhort
βεβαιοζure
αχνοζteam
μαλακοζoft

(Tsokalidou 2017, 182)

As Brown (2009) argues, Π.Ο.'s poetry is very much like a puzzle that needs to be solved in order for it to be appreciated. However, once decoded, Π.Ο.'s work becomes a great platform for issues of linguistic, ethnic and cultural blending to come to the fore through his creative artistic voice that gives voice to immigrant and minoritised groups. Characteristic of the latter is his poem "The Greek tailor" which follows:

The Greek tailor
the
Greek tailor
who made the suit
which
i got called
WOG for
just
walked in the
door

(Π.Ο. 1989, 28)

In the poem above, Π.Ο. does not need to say much about issues of racism, he does not need to make declarations, since his own art and TL practices have already challenged the norm and the status quo that dictates that some people can be called a "WOG" because of the way they look.

From the very first time that I became acquainted with Π.Ο. himself and his work, we have been communicating translingually and this has become a communication identity marker between us. Therefore, if we addressed one another monolingually or bilingually, following the grammatical norms of either one or both languages would certainly not be expected within the frame of the relationship that we have built between us. An example of how "poor" our communication would become if we adhered to the norms of English and/or Greek is given through the analysis of Π.Ο.'s dedication of his book to me, which reads "ya Tin Rooooola hope yooaarres-i it" (Tsokalidou 2017, 180). After having built a relationship between us with the "identity marker of TL", the equivalent dedication in the two norms (i.e. "For Roula, I hope you like it" or «για την Ρούλα, ελπίζω να σου αρέσει») could be interpreted as an attempt of the author to emotionally distance himself from me, the recipient of his dedication. For Π.Ο., on the other hand, it would mean either total lack of inspiration or complete lack of honesty towards the identity of our relationship. In any case, the lack of TL where TL is the new "norm" or the anticipated form/identity marker of communication seems to me to have negative effects on those involved in the given communication, either orally or in writing. Once we have moved beyond linguistic borders, retreating back to those seems to be much more disappointing than never having dared to overcome them.

4. Translanguaging and learning through the eyes of bilinguals

The participants who are involved in education further discussed the use of TL in class, the possible advantages and disadvantages of TL for all students. Below are some of their main responses.

Valbona replied that TL for her is freedom. She said that she often uses Greek instead of Albanian in class. She fears that this practice may have a negative impact on learners' language skills as the learning of the target language is not reinforced all the time, but she is confident that TL frees the children and herself significantly, giving her "indescribable" freedom (Tsokalidou 2017, 156). Characteristically, she says that she realises that she speaks Greek instead of Albanian when she sees the "calm" faces of her students (my translation from Greek).

Stacey said:

> … I am certain that the use of multiple languages will boost their confidence and self-esteem. I also turn to code-switching when I teach, in