L@NG WORK

Multilingualism in the Workplace

Pedagogical Aspects of Translanguaging Practices)

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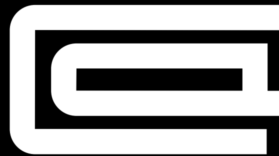

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Multilingualism in the workplace: Pedagogical Aspects of Translanguaging Practices

Abstract

This paper is an overview of pedagogical translanguaging practices for education as a workplace. Research has been completed as part of the Erasmus+ LangWork partnership (grant agreement 2021-1-FI01-KA220-ADU-000027045). The aim of our study is to analyze practices that have been used to successfully enhance and sustain communication between people with mismatched linguistic repertoires – a setting which is becoming ever more common in European workplaces. The tools have been collected with mixed methods in four case studies. The objective was to find tools with pedagogical potential that support the language learner's functioning in the community and that challenge linguistic prejudice. In other words, we are on the lookout for tools that increase language aware communication and help build a culture of respect for multilingual participants.

Introduction

This paper is an overview of pedagogical translanguaging tools and practices for education as a workplace. The aim of our study is to analyze practices that have been used to successfully enhance and sustain communication between people with mismatched linguistic repertoires – a setting which is becoming ever more common in European workplaces. The tools have been collected with mixed methods in four different case studies. We are interested in finding tools with a double pedagogical potential. First, the tool must support the language learner's functioning in the community. Additionally, the tool must challenge linguistic prejudice that marginalizes certain language users. In other words, we are on the lookout for tools that increase language aware communication and help build a culture of respect for multilingual participants.

The first section contains theoretical framework. We define translanguaging and language awareness. We discuss these notions against the backdrop of linguistic insecurity and its ideological underpinning – nativespeakerism. We will use this framework to answer how translanguaging enables social encounters in working life, despite mismatched repertoires and whether translanguaging can make speakers more resilient to linguistic insecurity. The methodological section introduces the four transnational case studies. The analysis discusses collected tools, concerning their expected impact, modality, resources given and inclusive sustainability.

The research is part of the Erasmus+ LangWork partnership (grant agreement 2021-1-FI01-KA220-ADU-000027045). LangWork stands for **Multilingualism at Work, International Talents, Mismatched Language Skills**. The project's objective is to support the integration of linguistically vulnerable international talents into labour market. The project combines academic concepts of linguistic insecurity and translanguaging by advancing a practice-oriented approach. The project will adapt the method of pedagogical translanguaging to working life contexts, with emphasis on education. By shifting the narrative about what it means to be "fluent", the project seeks to challenge the culture of 'natispeakerism', which strictly regulates who can pass as "one of us". The

project thus contributes to building a more inclusive education system. All project results are available open access at https://langwork.eu.

Theoretical framework

The European Union has 24 official languages. In addition, there are more than 60 indigenous regional or minority languages spoken by around 40 million people in the EU in 2012 (Eurobarometer 2012). Migration and mixed families also contribute to linguistic diversity in EU countries, and each year the number increases owing to children, young people and adults, who enter educational institutions with more than one language in their repertoire. Given the increasing demand to support minority languages in educational institutions and in the workplaces, educators, trainers and practitioners need systemic official pedagogical practices to effectively balance supporting diverse multilingual identities while also fostering proficiency in the national language.

The first mention of educational practices where pupils were systematically encouraged to use two languages, mainly Welsh and English, flexibly in school activities was reported in 1994 (Williams 1994). In 2001 the term 'trawsieithu' in Welsh was translated into English as **'translanguaging'** (Baker 2001). Since then, it has been widely used in literature to describe multilingual learners' practices. It is also pedagogical method that uses, encourages, and adapts these practices for educational purposes.

Otheguy, García and Reid (2015) define translanguaging as the unrestricted use of a speaker's entire linguistic repertoire, disregarding the social and political boundaries imposed by national or state languages, thus encompassing the term in sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic contexts, referring to the flexible and dynamic use of multiple languages by individuals to facilitate communication and promote social justice. As a pedagogical practice, translanguaging has been reported to promote learners' flexible use of language, actively involve them in activities, increase engagement and improve comprehension of content and texts (Kirsch, C., Duarte 2020; Pierson, Clark, Brady 2021; Cenoz, Gorter, 2021; Panagiotopoulou, Rosen, Strzykala 2020).

When researchers discuss translanguaging and its implications, educators often recognise certain actions as something they already do in their practice, unofficially. Educators often translate words or switch languages to ensure that learners understand. Learners also switch between languages to get the message across and to work more efficiently in groups (Plutzar 2019). These practices, known as spontaneous translanguaging, are common in educational settings but have not been established as formal pedagogical practices. However, when facilitators design activities to meet specific educational needs and provide social, cognitive or creative challenges, these practices can be called pedagogical translanguaging (Plutzar 2019).

Educators, facilitators and trainers who use pedagogical translanguaging create a supportive classroom environment and actively promote multilingualism and social justice. Translanguaging practices can encourage students to use their home languages when discussing concepts, collaborating on projects or completing tasks. Translanguaging activities may include group discussions, peer interactions, project-based learning or the use of multilingual resources (Kirsch, Duarte 2020; Celic, Seltzer 2013; García, Ibarra Johnson, and Seltzer 2017). Translanguaging practices can also be applied to the multilingual working environment (Jonsson and Blåsjö (2020; Langinier and Ehrhart 2020). By embracing translanguaging, companies and educational institutions can create inclusive environments that celebrate linguistic diversity, empower employees, improving performance, confidence and motivation, and even proficiency in the national language.

Against this backdrop, translanguaging clearly resonates with the concept of **language awareness** (LA), where the former is a tool, and the latter constitutes an ontology. Language awareness was first defined as 'a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Donmall 1985). In recent years, the field of LA has been gaining traction. LA practices have been deployed in different settings, and with varying objectives. In this paper, we are most interested in expert work settings. Rask, Teräsaho and Nykänen (2021) point out that the goal of language aware practices in expert work is to remove both barriers to understanding and barriers to participation.

In our framework, we approach LA as an ecosystem of controlling **linguistic insecurity** in everyday work encounters. 'Linguistic insecurity arises when one feels that they are not able to perform the linguistic job at hand' (Preston 2013). Although prescriptivism as a dominant attitude is in decline, LI will often be a product of language ideologies that idealize L1 speakers and stigmatize idiosyncrasies. In the context of international employees, this 'failure' would usually concern proficiency in the organizational language, and be a version of **foreign language anxiety**. Huang (2012) observes that anxiety is a normal part of learning. Indeed, encounter with something new can affect one's perception of self-comfort. However, by calling LI 'fear of speaking in public', Preston's definition also includes L1 speakers and communication in one's strongest language. Therefore, insecurity is rooted in broader prescriptive ideology.

In practice, LI can be observed as an emotion of shame, anxiety, or fatigue, which connects LI to the body. LI is a scale of anxiety (see Huang 2012). In a negative variant, LI can be debilitating; it excludes the speaker from social interactions. In a positive variant, LI can be a motivational force. In our framework, the goal of translanguaging is to encourage a multilingual contact situation. The situation must be controlled to enable positive outcomes.

Our analysis will pay attention to translanguaging's potential to manage linguistic insecurity. However, we acknowledge that translanguaging tools may prioritize other aspects of multilingual development, like building vocabulary. We will not reject such tools from the analysis. We assume that building an inclusive multilingual environment that fosters cooperation across barriers requires a multi-level approach. Through this research, we want to support organizations in their strategic development of sustainable multilingual policies.

We consider LI and translanguaging as complementary. If LI stems from a lack of resources to address a communicative situation, translanguaging is about how people 'call up on different social features in a seamless and complex network of multiple semiotic signs, as they adapt their language to suit the immediate task' (Garcia & Li Wei 2014). By treating translanguaging as a collection of resources to deploy when needed, it becomes a tool to tackle LI. One way to control the response is to learn and adopt translanguaging strategies. Interestingly, successful translanguaging users will not only be familiar with a selection of strategies, but they will also know how to match a strategy to an instant of performance (Vann and Abraham 1990). What qualifies as a translanguaging strategy? According to Vogel, Ascenzi-Moreno and García (2018), translanguaging engages three types of resources: 1) resources from within (linguistic repertoire, i.e. existing language skills), 2) embodied resources (gestures, body language), 3) outside resources (artifacts and computer technology, which connect outside resources to the body). This broad approach recognizes numerous empowering strategies, challenging the language centralist policies. What is more, it also re-frames the position of LI, making it both an opposition of translanguaging (as a state) or a strategic resource to negotiate the responsibility for communicative burden (Lippi Green 1997). For example, one may strategically display insecurity to have the other interlocutor engage additional resources, or one may choose to hide insecurity (Subtirelu and Lindemann 2016).

The notion of **communicative burden** is helpful because it frames a linguistic act as co-created. It also highlights the need for strategic communication. Lippi Green (1997) observes that interlocutors must decide how to respond to communicative burden. We note, however, that may

not be a matter of 'choice'. They are guided by their attitudes and biases. In some instances, one may accept a significant amount of burden. Against this backdrop, LI emerges when there is unclaimed communicative burden, whereas translanguaging appears as an active process by which one is able to take on or allocate communicative burden.

Data collection

The data was collected through the LangWork project. The project consisted of four case studies, and the research paper was a foreseen project result, supervised by the University of Eastern Finland (UEF). Since the project gathered versatile organizations, the partners were allowed significant autonomy in conducting research. Although a flexible design may make it difficult to compare data, our objective was to collect all kinds of translanguaging tools, which flexibility facilitated. In the following sections, we introduce the case studies and explain how data was collected.

The Finnish case study focused on the university community. The UEF has about 1700 international students, representing 100 nationalities. In addition to students, the university also employs international staff as researchers, teachers or administrative personnel. International students are enrolled in degree programs and non-degree programs. The university provides classes in English, which is also the lingua franca of international staff. The project activities at the UEF took place in person, and online. We organized an online bilingual survey, which was distributed in internal social media. 118 respondents answered. We also organized a Multilingualism Day to raise awareness about linguistic insecurity, and to promote reflective tools. Participants included students and staff, both domestic and international. We observed the university life, and the linguistic struggles present therein. We also held a small number of informal interviews. The take-out message from the case study is that the university struggles with multilingual management, and there is a need for systemic support.

The German case study was implemented by Comparative Research Network (CRN). After contacting other local organisations, a small Berlin-based international NGO working in the educational sector and research was selected. The NGO uses English as an operating language. Staff's level of English varies. Most speak at least three languages and have spent time outside their home country. German L1 speakers form a minority. All participants were informed early on about the project and the intention to produce a case study on the role of multilingual practices in their working environment. Research took the form of semi-structured interviews with individual participants or small groups of two or three from a similar language background (n=12). Participatory observation has been used to study multilingual practices during various activities and events, such as everyday life at the office, in-house and international meetings and trainings, and events, as well as in the field of written communication and publications.

Overall, communication in English between staff members and with foreign project partners runs smoothly. First language transfer is not always easy to distinguish from translanguaging. When fewer persons are involved, they tend to switch to a language they feel most at ease with. Linguistic barriers at work are generally overcome through a division of labour, mutual aid and mentorship. During semi-public events where participants do not share a common language, translanguaging practices target effective linguistic inclusiveness, though these work best in smaller groups. Non-German speaking volunteers who are staying for shorter periods (up to one year) and long-term migrants report facing occasional difficulties in daily life that limit social contacts.

The Greek case study focused on the academic community at the University in Thessaly. The UTH is a space with various languages for research or academic writing. There are many bilinguals who study in different departments. Many international students attend courses every year and visiting

scholars lecture. The case study focused on mapping the linguistic landscape of the UTH and explored aspects of multilingualism or its absence. We explored to what extent the UTH is inclusive as a workplace and a place of studies. The research team conducted fieldwork (observation, photographing, fieldnotes and artefacts, such as posters/leaflets' collection) in various spaces of the university in Volos, as well as semi-structured interviews multilingual people who work or study at the University of Thessaly. The first phase (mapping the field) included 3 semi-structured interviews, 1 with an administrative employee, 1 with a multilingual professor (a high-skilled migrant), and 1 with a multilingual student (a high-skilled migrant). During the second phase the team recorded linguistic landscape changes and followed the influence of sociopolitical conditions on the reconstruction of the UTH LL. There were 7 semi-structured interviews with multilingual students. The analysis revealed that, although there are safe spaces to use multilingual repertoires, bilingual students often experience insecurity. They employ translanguaging practices only in informal spaces (such as the cafeteria), but avoid to use non-mainstream languages in the classroom, even when they are encouraged to do so. The linguistic landscape of the UTH is dominated by Greek language, restrcting access for newcomers and international students. A monolingual mindset discourages people who work and study there to use multiple languages. The case study was presented in lectures of the classes "Migration and Identities" as well as "Discourse analysis" and members of the research team organised two language cafes for raising multilingual awareness, as well a linguistic landscape walk, during a conference where the research findings were presented. There is a lot to be done in order to render the linguistic landscape of the UTH more inclusive in terms of valuing multilingualism and diversity.

The Italian partner, Asnor, started with research on the Italian definitions of multilingualism and translinguism. The organization browsed the web and Italian language publications in search of relevant cases. Four cases were identified, and the team described their multilingual aspects. The team selected two representatives from these cases, and interviewed them on the phone. The practices collected in the fieldwork were local and informal initiatives. The general conclusion from the study is that artistic activities (e.g. photography, videos) are helping to promote communication and foster the social integration of the participants. Culture and integration of multilingual talents should be considered together.

Translanguaging tools and practices

Research illuminated a number of tools that are already used, or that participants would like to see used. Originally, the plan was to document the practices through participant journals. However, the idea turned out to be too intrusive for participants. Instead, we explored 'safer' methods, like interviews or surveys. The extracted data was described using a tool submission form. The form included a general description, and questions about social justice impact, and a SWOT analysis. The practices were then divided into general categories that emerged after the initial reading: 1) practices that enhance learning, 2) practices for language barrier, 3) practices that enhance participation and belonging, 4) practices that help organize. Practices that enhance learning are resources that provide opportunities to build vocabulary, or practice language use. Practices for language barrier are resources that support communication in situations where there is no shared language. Practices that enhance participation and belonging are resources to process linguistic experiences, or to provide minority language users with support. Practices that help organize are mainly organization-level resources for better management of multilingualism. The practices were collected in a practice catalogue titled *Translanguaging at the workplace*. Tools that were not specific enough to be replicated, were rejected. For example, mobile apps were recommended as useful tools for learners, but there was no information about what apps to use.

Implementing translanguaging

The catalogue includes practices with different levels of implementation. Some practices can be used by individuals, with or without assistance or supervision. Indeed, translanguaging, especially translanguaging for learning, can function as a grassroots practice, without much institutional support. Other practices, those meant for organization-level implementation, target strategic development. So, translanguaging takes place at both individual and the organization levels. While the implementation of individual-level practices is a matter of individual's motivation, the organization-level practices shape the organizational culture. While translanguaging may function as a grassroots initiative, building an organizational culture around it may enhance its impact.

Although classic translanguaging is about using the entire repertoire, the catalogue lists few practices where multilingualism is made visible. Multilingual notes and code-switching are the prime examples. However, we must note that these practices are centred on the self. Translanguaging in encounter situation concentrates on finding shared repertoire.

In terms of target groups, the individual practices are mainly meant for minority language speakers. These interventions either support their acquisition of the dominant language, or help process the experience of a multilingual life. This type of practice resonates with Kumashiro's (2000) intercultural intervention type 1 called 'education for the other'. Type 1 interventions reduce the risk of negative experience for minorities.

The catalogue also contains interventions that encourage the use of several languages in one task, thus normalizing multilingualism in everyday space. Such interventions belong to type 2: education about the other. These practices promote representation, so that minorities are visible.

On the other hand, 'practices that help organize' may be used to critically examine why certain language enjoy privilege while others do not, representing type 3 of Kumashiro's interventions. Type 3 practices are designed to highlight the positionality of normalized and minority groups.

The catalogue does not seem to include practices that would meet the requirements of type 4 intervention: education for change. At least, not explicitly. The aim of such interventions is to change discourse, and un-make stereotypes. As type 4 interventions rely on anti-racist pedagogy, their objective is indeed invoking a personal crisis, which may be upsetting. However, an argument may be made that engaging in any translanguaging activity may achieve change. However, the occurrence of such a change might be incidental and unpredictable. At the same time, there is no guarantee that a type 4 practice should always work. After all, participants may choose to reject the crisis that is necessary for growth.

Considering the intended effects of catalogued interventions, we conclude that translanguaging practices help their users adapt to the multilingual status quo, where languages have specific market value. Adaptive pedagogical translanguaging practices may be implemented as grassroots practices. However, changing the culture around multilingualism requires coordinated support.

Objective: Language learning or culture building

As societies diversify, there is a need for integration practices. Pedagogical translanguaging can indeed serve such a purpose. As explained earlier, translanguaging at schools serves two purposes: language learning and attitude shaping. Both are relevant for the workplace context. Having a shared language provides linguistic cohesion, whereas nurturing positive attitudes towards multilingualism enhances a sense of belonging and wellbeing at work. The practices collected in LangWork research support both aims. For example, creative writing is an activity that helps expand vocabulary and internalize syntactic structures. Code-switching normalizes the presence of other languages in discussion space. Certain practices can support both aims at the

same time. While language cafes are organized as an alternative to language courses, they can attract participants from diverse linguistic backgrounds, and with varying proficiency. With the aid of appropriate prompts, language cafes may have the capacity to enhance acceptance for diversity. It is worth noting that achieving this aim may not be automatic and will require deliberate action.

Although we separate learning from culture building for the purpose of this review, we wish to emphasise that in practice one cannot function without the other. When asked about effective methods to bring down language barriers, several respondents of the UEF survey mentioned cultural factors. Specifically, they pointed out the need to build a calm stress-free environment, founded on mutual respect and a sense of humour, where mistakes are accepted as a normal part of interactions.

The discussion about intended outcomes of translanguaging brings forth the topic of communicative burden. In an encounter between a person with an emerging repertoire and a developed repertoire, the shares of communicative burden will likely be asymmetric. While a truncated repertoire may be a vulnerability, such limitations do not automatically translate into high LI. In fact, people with emerging repertoires may accomplish a lot, despite scant resources. As noted earlier, translanguaging may be deployed to balance the distribution of communicative burden. Language learning practices enable the person with an emerging repertoire to take on more burden. The UEF survey found that 86% of respondents considered language learning an effective strategy against language barriers. At 56%, the respondents had less trust for learning about inclusive practices, which qualifies as a culture building practice. Nevertheless, building a language aware culture is a worthwhile endeavour, as certain interventions can increase people's readiness to accept more communicative burden (see for example Hansen, Rakić and Steffens 2014 or Subtirelu and Lindemann 2016). The preference for learning may be explained by the fact that it gives vulnerable people more control, whereas focusing on culture highlights dependence on others.

Computer technology in translanguaging

Since the European Union takes interest in its citizens digital literacy, we will now discuss the role of digital technology in translanguaging practices. New developments in computer technology and artificial intelligence offer solutions to resolve language barriers. Popular culture features fantasies about a world where language technology, like the Babel fish, erases language barriers. However, we found no digital tools capable of removing barriers to communication completely. However, digital technology does support translanguaging efforts.

Digital technology connects the body with external resources that help accomplish the task at hand. Perhaps the most obvious translanguaging technology is machine translation (MT). Recent developments in neural machine learning have greatly improved the quality of MT services. Contemporary MT is a free, user-friendly, reasonably reliable, and multi-modal resource. In our studies, MT was usually deployed as a crisis resource, after other attempts at communication failed. Contrary to this opinion, Vogel, Ascenzi-Moreno and García (2018) argue that MT may be used as a language learning tool. Nevertheless, if MT is used to address a crisis, then its objective is indeed to provide security for the user, not to expose them to LI. We argue that, despite its relative popularity, the full potential of MT for translanguaging is not realized. For example, MT tools are rarely integrated in digital services' interfaces. Nevertheless, the design of computer technology often reveals a monolingual bias.

Another digital translanguaging practice concerned creative writing in a second language. While writing is not a purely digital practice, practising it in social media creates networking and personal branding opportunities. Both are especially relevant for international job seekers. Also, social media abounds in multilingual content that people may consume for pedagogical practice.

Digital tools, like photography or video are perfect channels for art-based reflection. Indeed, LangWork project activities organized the same event – linguistic insecurity comic – on-site with pen and paper, and remotely with an online comic application. So, translanguaging is adaptable to digital spaces.

Unfortunately, digital technology may induce problematic side effects. Schmidt (2023) observed that the digital natives' generation has weaker social skills, as a result of intensive contact with technology and social media. While MT effectively brings down language barriers, one participant suggested that it discourages the use of weaker languages, and one should strive for direct albeit rough contact. While this paper is unable to answer whether relying on MT correlates with instances of social anxiety, we hypothesize that preference for indirectness could be used as a strategy to mitigate LI. We also note that the data includes a comment that mobile language learning apps are better than traditional language courses. Arguably, digital technology has the capacity to rectify the shortcomings of traditional group-based language instruction. This said, people also have a need for translanguaging in a face-to-face setting. Several respondents recommended organizing casual breakroom meetups, highlighting that learning and foreign language confidence comes from social interactions.

The modality of collected translanguaging practices reveals openness to digital and new technologies. People deploy digital translanguaging with the aid of free and popular online services, like MT or social media. Digital technology helps negotiate LI, by enabling one-person language situations. On the other hand, translanguaging in social media enhances social encounters, and enables professional networking. Digital translanguaging also serves different purposes, from learning to metalinguistic reflection. Nevertheless, the use of digital translanguaging could be expanded, for example, through better multilingual software design. While certain forms of digital translanguaging are easy to access, digital literacy impacts to what extend people can harness digital translanguaging. Indeed, the set lacks tools that require more advanced digital skills. This said, while digital literacy is a key competence in digital translanguaging, so is creativity and innovativeness. Even basic tools can be robust.

Resources

The issue of resources is surely an important point when planning organizational policies. This section tackles the cost of implementing translanguaging. The first type of collected practices require organized effort: planning, facilitation and supervision. Classroom translanguaging activities are an example of resource-intensive practices, as teachers must prepare materials themselves. A workplace practice example is a framework for meetings, where participants receive materials in advance so they can prepare, and a follow-up is organized after the meeting to resolve any remaining unclarities. While organized practices can be resource-intensive (especially ones from the school environment), there are also less demanding practices. For example, facilitators at a language café may choose between a heavily structures section or leave space for spontaneity. By promoting a more democratic approach, some of the organizational burden may be shared with the participants. For this strategy to succeed, the participants would have to develop self-awareness about what content to practice, and independence to search for interesting topics and activities.

On the other hand, self-study and reflection tools are low-treshold tools. The learning practices listed in the catalogue do not require training or supervision. The instruction is extremely short. Everyday life is a source of themes to study. While these tools are relatively simple, people may need materials to serve as inspiration what can be done. Although simple, self-study tools still require certain skills and knowledge. For example, to study vocabulary independently, one needs to know where to check the meaning of new words. As machine translation becomes more popular, many people use it instead of traditional bilingual dictionaries. Vogel, Ascenzi-Moreno and García (2018) point out that using machine translation is a translanguaging practice that can

effectively aid bilingual speakers. However, machine translation output may mislead learners. So, although convenient to use, machine translation should be used cautiously.

Hence, language learners would benefit from guidance in the use of self-study tools. While there is a plethora of free resources, some of them are better suited for language learners than others. This observation situates pedagogical translanguaging within the study of digital inequality, because "[i]t is increasingly clear that individuals' digital engagements and digital capital play key roles in a range of outcomes, from academic performance to labor market success to entrepreneurship to health services uptake" (Robinson et al. 2015).

Finally, we also identify tools with the risk of mis-estimating resources. For example, an organization may start a buddy program, where a more established colleague assists a new one in everyday matters, such as interpreting office communication. A buddy is a bilingual colleague, and their task is peer support. The risky part is that it may seem like buddies help organizations save on external services (no need to hire an interpreter). However, a buddy is not a trained interpreter. There are further risks. Peer support can be a grassroots initiative, offered on a voluntary basis and without any formal status at the organization. As international employees sometimes do not have any social network, they may rely on the buddy's company at work and during free time. Blurring professional boundaries may be a source of tension. Peer support may sometimes demand that the buddy spends their working time providing guidance, while neglecting other duties. Another challenge with an unofficial peer support program makes the mentee too dependent on the buddy, without a chance to develop one's own network. On the other hand, peer support programs provide valuable benefits. First, a well-managed relation supports networking and a sense of belonging. Also, by spending time with the mentee, the buddy can identify the mentee's training needs. Finally, the relationship may translate into career development, as the buddy must apply leadership skills and the mentee becomes independent. So, there are good reasons for implementing a more formal buddy program, where the help is recognized, and adequate support offered. Implementing such a program naturally requires resources.

To sum up, our research illuminates that practical translanguaging is a cumbersome process. Facilitating communication between people who have mismatched repertoires can be demanding and frustrating. This said, a successful outcome will be a source of satisfaction. Regardless of the result, communication is labour. So, arguably efforts to increase linguistic cohesion require resources: effort, time, finances and manpower. Our analysis reveals certain risks of doing translanguaging 'on the cheap'. Cutting corners comes back in the form of aggravated digital inequalities, or even burnout. However, we argue that having a translanguaging strategy would help navigate away from harmful results, while making the most out of available resources. Comprehensive planning appears particularly relevant for organizations like universities who must prepare to implement translanguaging with new users cyclically.

Tackling nativespeakerism

In this section we discuss translanguaging from the lens of social justice. Translanguaging is a methodology that bridges language barriers by giving people access to resources they already have. Being able to use one's full linguistic repertoire is an effective defence strategy against linguistic insecurity. While translanguaging promises better opportunities for people with emerging language skills, a question remains about its potential to combat other language-based biases, like nativespeakerism. We argue that certain instances of translanguaging may reproduce nativespeakerism, calling for the use of supplementary practices against it.

According to Holliday (2014), '"native speaker" is an ideologically motivated brand of superior speakerhood, constructed in opposition to the "non-native speaker"'. The term nativespeakerism originates from the field of English Language Teaching (ELT), but the ideology is not limited to

English. Outside of the ELT field, nativespeakerism may manifests itself as language gap (García and Otheguy 2017). In fact, it is deeply rooted in the realm of work. For example, it is visible through frequently published job advertisements demanding 'native-level language skills', and this pertains to any language. Adding the word 'level' is a strategy to legalize a requirement, that would otherwise qualify as illegal discrimination in the European Union. After all, nativeness is most readily confirmed through racialized characteristics, like name or nationality. Nevertheless, treating 'nativeness' as a level unmasks its ideological underpinning. Through this ideology, international talents are filtered into those that may speak publicly and those that work out of the back office. Consequently, certain public facing jobs, including the teacher, remain off limits to international talents, unless they can 'speak without an accent'. Some examples of criticism directed at LX speakers who work as teachers are discussed by Lascotte (2022).

As the UEF survey revealed, the university community sees value in practices founded on nativespeakerism. These practices include contact with L1 speakers, visits to places where the target language is a dominant language, and the consumption of media and culture in the target language (which tends to be dominated by L1 voices). Another practice called for the need to conform to terminology standards established in traditional English-speaking countries, revealing an insecurity towards jargons in the expanding circle of English. These examples illuminate that people who practice translanguaging may have nativespeakerism orientations.

Against this backdrop we examine translanguaging's position vis-à-vis nativespeakerism. Turner and Lin (2017) observe that "An important objective behind translanguaging as a theory is the disruption of language hierarchies". Through tasks that require shifts between named languages, translanguaging normalizes plurilingualism. Translanguaging pedagogy allows the use of one's strongest linguistic resources to complete a task. Meanwhile 'strongest resources' usually is a synonym of L1. The ability to draw from one's L1 resources facilitates the completion of a task. Let us consider an activity tested during LangWork activities. 'Little chicken' was a story written in several languages, with detailed comprehension questions. We did the activity in linguistically diverse teams. Many groups adopted a strategy to let L1 speakers analyse paragraphs in 'their languages'. So, L1 speakers held a special positionality, but everyone's language was represented. The story also incorporated languages without any L1 speakers in the group, making the teams reach for other resources, like receptive multilingualism. So, while translanguaging may challenge language hierarchies imposed by regimes, it does not necessarily challenge nativespeakerism in general (c.f. Sohn, dos Santos, Lin 2022).

While pedagogical translanguaging may be effective in strengthening the confidence of minority language speakers, implementing this methodology for social justice requires a comprehensive plan. Translanguaging's impact can go beyond individual empowerment if it is coupled with critical reflection about linguistic social justice. There is surely room to reflect about experiences and meanings that translanguaging brings forward. As we demonstrated through the 'Little chicken' activity, translanguaging is not immune to nativespeakerism. At the same time, the activity is a good starter for a reflection about linguistic biases. Importantly, Kang, Rubin and Lindemann (2014) tested that even short interventions can successfully ameliorate attitudes towards LX speakers.

Conclusion

Our small-scale study found a rich supply of pedagogical translanguaging practices implemented at such contexts as schools, universities and NGOs. The practices are relatively simple, and capable of serving different objectives. For example, some practices target vocabulary building, while others create opportunities for social networking, or shape language attitudes. Also, pedagogical translanguaging affords the use of digital technology, but offline translanguaging

remains a well-established practice. The LangWork catalogue systematizes the collected practices to encourage implementation and advertise the strategic usefulness of translanguaging. While the notion of translanguaging may not be popular outside the field of inclusive language pedagogies, the collection shows that it is indeed an accessible resource and deserves to be promoted outside of academia. Naturally, the catalogue has certain limitations. It only lists practices that appeared in LangWork data.

We analysed the practices through the lens of linguistic insecurity (LI), and communicative burden. We observe that pedagogical translanguaging manifests itself as an act of negotiating communicative burden. Translanguaging supports language learners to expand their linguistic repertoires. Consequently, it enables them to take on more burden. However, the emergence of LI may prompt one to prefer translanguaging strategies that call for the use of their stronger languages. We also note that translanguaging is a collective practice used to develop organizational cultures into inclusive and language aware environments. A language aware community will be less likely to reject communicative burden, and have less tolerance for debilitating LI. Also, the culture building aspects of translanguaging create space to address its shortcomings. We argue, for instance, that although translanguaging normalizes multilingualism, some activities may be susceptible to the biases of nativespeakerism. However, these biases may be invoked and unmade through critical metalinguistic reflection. While translanguaging is about the deployment of complete linguistic repertoires, methods that would fully engage a multilingual repertoire were rare in encounter translanguaging, where mismatched repertoires are likely to occur. On the other hand, a more self-centred approach to translanguaging leaves more space for multilingual outputs. So, pedagogical translanguaging has a strong everyday pragmatic dimension.

While translanguaging engages relatively simple tools and channels, working towards effective communication requires labour. So, while practicing translanguaging does not require much training, results may not be instantly visible. Therefore, practices that develop positive language attitudes are especially important to carry on in a linguistically challenging situation. After all, practices do not make problems disappear. They are merely tools that do not work unless someone uses them.

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