

14 Beyond Marginalised Multilingualism(s): What Perspectives Does the Concept of Translanguaging Offer for the Teaching and Learning of Heritage Languages?

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French I speak with my teacher, Albanian I speak with my parents, Turkish I speak with my cousin, English I speak with my grandfather and German I speak at school.

Somali is my mother tongue, English I speak with my cousin, French I speak at school, German I speak with my cousins and my brothers and sisters and Arabic I speak with my grandmother.

French I speak at school, Arabic I speak at Arabic school, Montenegrin is my mother tongue, German I speak at school and with my mother, English I learn with my peers.

10- and 11-year-old students (16 March 2022; translated by the author)

Introduction

The linguistic repertoires of bilingual and multilingual students are among their most powerful resources. Yet schools still make little use of these multilingual competences for teaching subject areas, even in a country that has extensive experience of immigration such as Switzerland.¹ School teaching is oriented towards the norm of monolingualism in the language of instruction, even though social reality is characterised by linguistic superdiversity (Blommaert & Rampton, 2015; Vertovec, 2023).

Students who grow up as bilinguals or multilinguals are disadvantaged by a monolingual practice language policy, the concept of a ‘monolingual habitus’ as Ingrid Gogolin (1994) termed it, and cannot use their entire repertoire of linguistic resources for learning. The concept of translanguaging provides a framework for describing multilingual communicative action (García, 2009; Vallejo & Dooly, 2020). The resulting didactic approaches for using this multilingual lifeworld have been demonstrated in a tandem language project conducted from 2018 to 2023 in cooperation with the teacher training programme at the Bern University of Teacher Education and various project schools. This development project focused on teaching in heritage languages (HLs) as a parallel system that does not have a qualification function in the Swiss education system. Migrant languages remain marginalised in mainstream teaching and are not considered when applying for admission to high school or university (Krompák, 2018). Consequently, implicit and explicit language hierarchies are constructed. This barely veiled language policy with its unwritten sociolinguistic rules is internalised by both learners and teachers.

This chapter addresses the following research question: What perspectives does the concept of translanguaging offer for the teaching and learning of heritage languages?

To answer this central question, I present a superdiverse school in a Swiss city to show how multilingual pupils gain and use insight into their linguistic resources. Three project-like language days conducted in this school provided an opportunity to show how the concept of translanguaging can be used to increase students’ confidence in their multilingualism and promote metalinguistic awareness, and how teachers become more attentive to the performance of multilinguals. As the Italo-Canadian expert Anthony Mollica (2016) put it, ‘*il monolinguisimo è curabile*’ (monolingualism can be cured).

In this chapter, I first introduce the concept of pedagogical translanguaging as the theoretical framework for this study. In order to be able to classify the importance of the translanguaging approach, a digression on HLs in Switzerland follows. I then present the tandem project initiated and accompanied by the Bern University of Teacher Education, and the superdiverse neighbourhood in question. The pedagogical sequences within this tandem model and the results obtained from this development project allow me to answer the research question. Finally, I discuss how heritage language teaching (HLT) can contribute to the application of the translanguaging concept and thus contribute to the further development of multilingual competences in multilingual and multicultural educational contexts in Switzerland.

The Guiding Concept: Translanguaging

Translanguaging implies a willingness to communicate between ideologies, social practices, histories, beliefs, legal statuses, geographies,

biographies, life histories and aspirations. Yet when people bring multiple dimensions of difference into contact, asymmetrical power relations are often at play. In such circumstances, translanguaging becomes a crucial means of giving a voice to those who are otherwise disenfranchised. Otheguy *et al.* (2015) present a definition that emphasises the social construct of a language:

Translanguaging is the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages [emphasis in the original text]. (Otheguy *et al.*, 2015: 283)

This definition emphasises the social aspect of translanguaging and plays a central role in understanding migrant languages and multilingual speakers in this chapter. Moore and Sabatier (2016) draw attention to an awareness of intra- and intervareties as similar categories. They use the paradigm of multilingualism to answer the following questions about the translanguaging practices of multilingual speakers. How can the language competences of multilingual speakers be defined in social contexts? How can they be evaluated in language tests within educational contexts? Do such evaluations correspond to the reality that multilingual students experience? Their work indicates that the concept of translanguaging represents an important shift and has consequences for diverse issues and topics.

Multilingualism, and thus translanguaging, is a feature of migration societies, yet monolingualism continues to be deeply entrenched in educational systems (Gogolin, 1994). Knappik and Thoma (2015) summarise the persistent devaluation of speakers within the prevailing national language hierarchies:

The ongoing drama of monolingualism - which migration societies try to perpetuate by all means despite the multilingualism that characterises them - leads to the hindering and/or limitation of the power to act and to the legitimation of the exclusion of people who are multilingual due to migration. At the same time, this leads to the privileging of those who are considered monolinguals or 'prestigiously multilingual'. (Knappik & Thoma, 2015: 11; translated by the author)²

Knappik and Thoma's statement encapsulates how migration-related multilingualism has not found its way into either framework papers or curricula, let alone become valued as positive; this stands in stark contrast to the praise for privileged multilingualism.

Multilingualism and Translanguaging

The importance of multilingualism is steadily increasing in a globalised and transnationalised world, as indicated by the Council of Europe's frameworks (Beacco *et al.*, 2016; Council of Europe, 2016). Thus, the Council of Europe's progressive didactic models combine

languages of instruction, bilingualism, foreign languages and HLs to promote an overall multilingual repertoire and intercultural competencies as an overarching educational goal:

Plurilingual competence refers to the repertoire of resources that individual learners acquire in all the languages they know or have learned, and which also relate to the cultures associated with those languages: languages of schooling, regional, minority, and migration languages, modern foreign languages, and classical languages. (Council of [Europe, 2010](#): 4)

Schools in Switzerland's immigrant society are becoming increasingly linguistically heterogeneous. However, despite support for diversity and individual and societal multilingualism in the curricula, educational institutions are far from providing just learning environments that can meet the particular needs of multilingual pupils. In this postmigrant and transnationalised society, systematic inequalities in socioeconomic status are evident between population groups ([Krompák & Preite, 2019](#)). Language is at the centre of these repeatedly highlighted differences in educational resources and opportunities. It is the fulcrum around which social injustice can be both created and combated.

Some schools offer lessons in an HL, often known as the language of origin. These are offered to children from families with migration backgrounds and take place outside regular school hours. These lessons in first or family languages, promoted from the 1970s onwards, originally maintained the ability to return so that children brought to Switzerland to reunify families could be re-enrolled in schools in their countries of origin after their parents' employment in Switzerland had ended. With the new concept of translanguaging, the consideration and promotion of first and family languages acquires a different meaning. Migration languages are part of a total language repertoire. The HL can play an important hinge function between the languages of instruction and the foreign languages taught in schools. In addition, the HL acknowledges the migration-related multilingualism present in the Swiss school system.

Heritage languages and educational policies in Switzerland

An essential characteristic of Switzerland is the co-existence of four national languages: German, French, Italian and Romansh. However, globalisation and transnationalisation have increased the proportion of the migrant population and thus the proportion of multilingual people ([Office fédéral de la statistique, 2021](#)). According to the Institute New Switzerland ([Schweiz, 2021](#)), about 50% of children grow up with more than one language at home, although the Institute avoids reporting levels of competence. The migrant languages, and thus HLs, are becoming increasingly important. The Swiss German Curriculum 21, *Lehrplan 21*, expresses an open attitude towards multilingualism, especially in regard

to the national languages and English, but the HLs are not explicitly mentioned (Zingg, 2022):

The goal of multilingualism is not perfect bilingualism but the development of functional multilingualism. Functional multilingualism strives for a diverse dynamic repertoire with varying levels of competence for languages to be able to behave linguistically successfully in various situations. (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern, 2016, Lehrplan 21; translated by the author)³

It is therefore unsurprising that the teaching of HLs is delegated to the individual cantons and, with very few exceptions, is not scheduled in the regular timetable. HLT, also known as native language and culture education, currently takes place in Switzerland in more than 40 languages (Giudici & Bühlmann, 2014). Until now, HLT has been considered an extracurricular activity for students with a language other than that of the host country. Therefore, HLT is not generally organised or funded by the Swiss educational authorities but is sponsored by (1) private local, regional and national associations; (2) the countries of origin through embassies and consulates in the case of traditional immigration countries such as Italy, Portugal, Spain, Turkey and (previously) the former Yugoslavia; and (3) Swiss social organisations.

According to Reich (2017), Switzerland practises a communitarian British model that regards HLT as a matter for the migrant community and gives them a free hand in both course organisation and content. In addition, the 26 cantons of Switzerland are organised in a federalist way, so that each of them provides a different legal basis for such voluntary HLT. In Switzerland, the range of languages on offer varies by region. Most HL courses are attended by children of primary school age, and far fewer courses are available at secondary school. In contrast to some federal states in Germany, no HL is yet recognised in Switzerland as a second or third foreign language or is even relevant for graduation. Because HL courses, with very few exceptions, take place at off-peak times, they compete with many other leisure activities. These non-compulsory activities have low prestige and struggle with difficult conditions such as low numbers of hours and heterogeneous and fluctuating learning groups. Two further considerations are that the teachers involved are not integrated into the individual schools and their pay may be low, depending on their affiliation.

Consequently, despite an increasing appreciation of multilingualism, HLs barely play a role in the school curriculum. Languages that do not correspond to the school and surrounding language are usually ignored or even suppressed by the school, for example, in prohibitions that occur regularly against speaking migrant languages in the school playground. Brehmer and Mehlhorn (2018) show that including the prior knowledge of first-language speakers from various countries and cultures in

discussions (e.g. in geography and history lessons) is an exception and that even in cross-language and cross-curricular lessons, the languages with higher prestige tend to play greater roles. Thus, the multilingualism of first-language speakers is not used as a resource for productive learning in regular lessons. And as [Reich \(2016\)](#) observes, the positive effects of HLT only arise when certain conditions are in place. These include collegial cooperation, methodological and didactic coordination between teachers and the recognition of HLs as a subject.

Originally, HLT was seen as preparation for an expected return to the country of origin, both in emigration and immigration countries. Today, the teaching of HLs in schools is politically recognised as a valuable contribution to the development of the multilingual and intercultural competence of pupils with migrant backgrounds and as supporting the construction of a cohesive and pluralistic social identity ([Giudici & Bühlmann, 2014](#)). Nevertheless, in practice, these first or family languages are not integrated into the curricula, although, as discussed above, both the Council of Europe's statements and Curriculum 21, which has been in force for all German-speaking cantons of Switzerland since 2016, require it.

Heritage language teaching as a parallel system

HLs are mentioned in the educational policy principles of the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education, with the right of children to cultivate their languages and the cultures of their countries of origin ([Conférence suisse des directeurs cantonaux de l'instruction publique, 1991](#)). The recommendation to integrate instruction in the language of origin, also known as instruction in HL, into the regular structure was formulated as early as 1972, but this recommendation remains unfulfilled to this day. Innovative projects, such as that discussed in this chapter, are now intervening in the Swiss school system to promote the appreciation of family languages and cooperation between teachers of HLs and class teachers. However, the long-term and systematic implementation of inclusive language education has not yet been realised, and neither has any move towards translanguaging. Thus, the term 'translanguaging' does not appear in any of the Swiss curricula, not even in framework papers on language policy; languages are still considered as separate systems.

The HLs offer the school system not only an opportunity for integrating and further training HL teachers but also the possibility of better integrating the HL teachers working in Switzerland into the education system ([Giudici & Bühlmann, 2014](#)). If the HLs are taught in a parallel system, the students may experience tension: if there is no pedagogical cooperation between the language teachers and they know nothing about each other or their teaching concepts, these language didactics may differ greatly and cannot use synergies. In addition, this

means that students have to attend HLT in their free time. Bringing regular teachers and HL teachers closer together would enhance learning among their increasingly multilingual pupil cohorts. Even mostly monolingual teachers could, for example, be enriched by the subject-didactic competences of teachers trained abroad, some of whom have been educated to university level. Previously, the HL teachers and regular teachers only taught in separate parallel courses.

The Development Project

The language days were initiated and realised in a primary school to sensitise students and teachers to the existing language diversity. The school reported in this study is located in a suburban district of the capital city, Bern, a district that could be described as a socioeconomically disadvantaged location (Oester *et al.*, 2008).

Figure 14.1 illustrates the distribution of HLs among the 76 students in the four project classes that participated in the language days. Albanian is most frequently represented, with 21 mentions, followed by German as the language of instruction, and Somali and Turkish with six mentions each. Arabic, Farsi, Kurdish, Vietnamese and Serbian are represented with four speakers each, and Tamil, Portuguese, Bosnian and two other languages not identified by the school had two speakers each. Amharic,

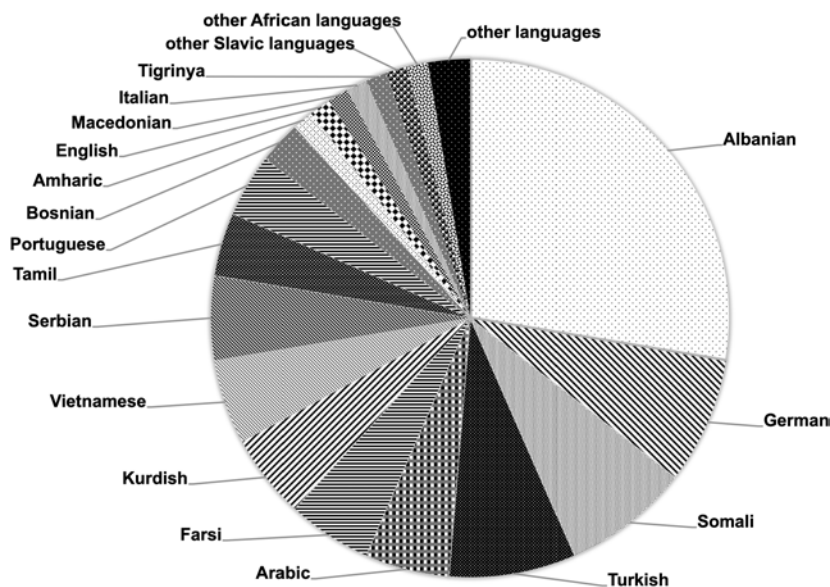


Figure 14.1 Example of linguistic superdiversity: distribution of first languages in the four third- and fourth-grade classes at the school site for the language days, West Bern, Switzerland, March 2022

English, Macedonian, Italian, Tigrinya and one other Slavic and African language were each mentioned once. This inclusion of a great many languages was similarly found in elementary schools in the city of Biel/Bienne, Switzerland (Zingg & Gonçalves, 2022).

The project involved both HL teachers and the school's regular teachers. One HL teacher and one assistant from each of three language groups most represented at the school – Albanian, Arabic and Tigrinya – were invited to collaborate. The children were to be immersed in these languages and alphabets, with one input per language. Another workshop was devoted to general language awareness, which was taught by an experienced teacher at the school site and a collaborator in this research-based development project. During these two-hour interclass groups, the focus was not primarily on students learning these languages but rather on understanding that these languages are regularly present at their school. The aim was that all the students, not only those from the language groups represented, should become aware that these and other languages are welcome and present in the school and may well continue to be used. This aspect applied in particular to the HL teachers, who have diverse backgrounds and experience with multilingualism.

During the language days, complementary to the work with four classes from the middle school, training for the teachers took place. The teachers were able to attend the language workshops and to use the various materials, to exchange information with HL teachers and to ask questions. As can be seen from Figure 14.1 and the opening quotations from students, languages play a central role in everyday school life at this location.

Language days

The language days discussed here are part of a research-based development project at a school in Bern West that has been run by the Bern University of Teacher Education since 2018 (Zingg, 2019a, 2020, 2022; Zingg *et al.*, 2020). The focus is on cooperation between teachers of HLs and regular schoolteachers through working in tandem. The development project was selected for this chapter because better integration of HLT into primary schools generates new synergies for language teaching. The innovative tandem model brings the school language and foreign languages closer together. The use of all linguistic resources during the language days is exemplary and motivating for the whole school. The migrant languages are given a platform: HL teachers take the 'main stage' of the school for once.

The tandem projects see existing multilingualism not as a problem but as an opportunity. Within the didactic units, the implementation of teaching practices that involve pedagogical translanguaging are advocated (García & Li, 2014). These collaborative projects between HL teachers and regular teachers could also promote the initiation of new didactic approaches to deal with translanguaging. Moreover, the collaboration

between these two groups could help counteract prejudices against migrant languages by deconstructing the stereotypical classifications of languages, a prerequisite for a language-friendly school, and by highlighting all the languages present in the school.

The language days aimed at the linguistic enrichment and development of the students and the professional development of the teachers (Zingg, 2019b). The further training for the teaching staff during the language days was able to consolidate the objectives of integrated first-language support, albeit sporadic, even if translanguaging was not a direct topic. The two groups of teachers trained together for an afternoon, were able to engage in in-depth exchanges, and received input on concepts such as basic interpersonal communicative skills and cognitive academic language proficiency (Cummins, 2000), both of which provide a basis for translanguaging.

Table 14.1 Summary of the data from the three language days, indicating the languages involved and the content of the four workshops

Instructors	Languages	Workshops themes
– 3 HL teachers and assistants – 1 experienced teacher from the project team – Class and subject teachers	– Albanian – Arabic – Tigrinya – German – Swiss German	– Albanian spring song encourages vocabulary work – Arabic characters build a bridge to other writing systems – Counting in Tigrinya opens up thinking about number systems – Comparing German and Swiss German raises awareness and encourages reflection on the origins of languages and dialects

Table 14.2 Four keywords in 16 languages for the common conclusion

Albanian	Arabic	Chinese	Croatian	English	French	German	Italian
respekt	احترام	尊重	poštovanje	respect	respect	Respekt	rispetto
fat	سعادة	机遇	sreća	luck	bonheur	Glück	felicità
dashuri	حب	热爱	ljubav	love	amour	Liebe	amore
gëzim	فرح	喜悦	radost	joy	joie	Freude	gioia

Portuguese	Serbian	Somali	Spanish	Tamil	Tigrinya	Turkish	Vietnamese
respeito	поштовање	ixтираam	respeto	மரியாதை	እኽብሮት	Saygı	Tôn Trọng
felicidade	срећа	farxad	suerte	நல்வாய்ப்பு	ዕድል	mutluluk	May Mãn, Hạnh phúc
amar	љубав	jacayl	amor	அன்பு	ፍቅር	sevgi	Yêu Thương
alegría	радост	farxad	alegría	மகிழ்ச்சி	ሓሰስ	neşe	Niềm Vui



Figure 14.2 Poster created by pupils using one of the keywords in 16 languages

Each of the four workshops was offered by a group of instructors. Each group consisted of three heritage language teachers and assistants, an experienced teacher from the project team and a class and subject teacher (Table 14.1). The four target languages were Albanian, Arabic, Tigrinya as well as German and Swiss German. In the Albanian workshop a spring song encouraged vocabulary work; in the Arabic workshop, Arabic characters were used to build a bridge to other writing systems; counting in the Tigrinya workshop opened up thinking about number systems; while the German and Swiss German workshop encouraged reflection on the origins of languages and dialects.

To conclude the language days, the third- and fourth-grade students created posters with four keywords: ‘respect’, ‘happiness’, ‘love’ and ‘joy’. These were translated into 16 languages and displayed on colourful postcards in various places throughout the school building (Figure 14.2). By visualising the same words in the first languages most commonly spoken in this school, all students, including monolingual German speakers, were encouraged to identify parallels between the languages and formulate reasons for the differences (Table 14.2). The children were able to draw on input from the workshop on language awareness, where they used language trees to search for and discover the languages spoken by their peers.⁴ Even this short, guided exploration was sufficient to arouse interest in the reasons for commonalities and differences between languages. The hitherto unnoticed migrant languages received a boost

and, literally, a place in the school through their visualisation. This exhibition was intended to remind everyone of this shared exploration of languages and continues to encourage the path toward translanguaging in a symbolic manner.

The Project's Results

The project produced three salient results: it highlighted the pedagogical aspects of translanguaging, it demonstrated the value of students' use of their first languages and it promoted linguistic transfer in most students.

Basically, the pedagogical aspects of translanguaging are predominant in the language days presented here. The results of the cooperative pedagogical project indicate that the cooperation between HL and regular teachers is a win–win situation (Zingg, 2020). Both the previously excluded HL teachers and the class teachers saw the value added by this didactic collaboration. During all four workshops, the students were repeatedly guided to use their first languages and/or Swiss dialects orally and in writing. The HL teachers also brought books, charts, music and interactive dictionaries. Subsequently, the posters designed using the keywords in 16 languages were put on view everywhere in the school building and should provide a lasting reminder both of these language days and that other first languages are explicitly desired and may be used in everyday school life. Such an environment stands in sharp contrast to the language bans in isolated school communities mentioned above.

During the four workshops, teachers observed both new aspects of their students' multilingualism and how fruitful the use of students' first languages can be. In all workshops, the students were guided to use their own resources. For example, in the Albanian workshop, vocabulary clouds were enriched with parallel words, and talking about learning strategies was encouraged. In the Arabic workshop, the children were explicitly encouraged to verbalise differences between the Arabic script and their own sign systems. In the Tigrinya workshop, the HL teacher tackled knowledge beyond the students' languages by reciting the number sequences written on the blackboard. The fourth workshop was offered by a regular class teacher and focused on a general awareness of all the languages present in the school. Here, among other things, the students' language resources depicted at the beginning of the chapter emerged. During the activities, in addition to the pedagogical approach to translanguaging, linguistic aspects also emerged: the comparison of the four keywords promoted linguistic transfer in most students. In general, the language workshops stimulated intercomprehension and language learning strategies. The evaluation of the diaries and field notes show that most of the students and their teachers appreciated the diversity of the languages present in class in addition to becoming acquainted with the new languages and scripts of their classmates. As the opening quotations show,

most of the students at this neighbourhood school are more multilingual than the teachers believed. As one regular teacher said, ‘I noticed that one of my students speaks even more languages than I thought’. The lessons during the three language days also showed that several students had started to compare and analyse languages on their own.

Concluding Discussion

This chapter aimed to answer the following question: What perspectives does the concept of translanguaging offer for the teaching and learning of heritage languages? Observations and individual statements by teachers and school administrators confirm that cooperation with HL teachers consciously allows migration languages to be integrated into the regular school environment and can shed new light on linguistic superdiversity. Notably, the term translanguaging was not used, not least because translanguaging has not yet found its way into curricula or language concepts in Switzerland. The language days were able to stimulate educational stakeholders to reflect on their attitudes and approaches to multilingualism and translanguaging, and their relationship to language teaching and learning (García *et al.*, 2017). A new concept such as translanguaging can unlock the currently separate models of language education and policies, support critical thinking on these and open new approaches to all languages. For example, translanguaging can bring a new perspective to research into multilingualism, asking when which resources are available and used for specific learning tasks and in what ways language users use them. Li (2018) suggests that in seeking answers to these questions, the multisensory, multimodal and multilingual nature of human learning and interaction should be at the centre of the idea of translanguaging:

Ultimately, translanguaging aims to present a new transdisciplinary research perspective that goes beyond the artificial divides between linguistics, psychology, sociology, etc, and as such it requires analytic methods that move the focus away from treating languages as discrete and complete systems to how language users orchestrate their diverse and multiple meaning- and sense-making resources in their everyday social life. (Li, 2018: 27)

There is a legitimate demand to integrate HL into mainstream structures. Among the challenges of translating theory into practice is a need for public engagement, so that thinking and wishing can also be translated into action. Teachers can act as agents of change at various levels by incorporating flexible adaptations into their teaching. For example, collaboration with HL teachers, as exemplified by the three language days, can overcome initial hurdles. Above all, the mostly ‘monolingual’⁵ Swiss teachers became aware of the linguistic resources of their

multilingual students and that they would do well to incorporate these into their teaching now and then when they can. An example could be a letter-writing task in which the students would address a letter in their first language to a real person in the family; many elements of the letter genre can be implemented just as well in the family language. A similar task would be that of creating a poster about a country.

Such a demand also involves social challenges. Even if a new term cannot yet spark a pedagogical revolution – and translanguaging must not be overrated – the concept offers a possibility to rethink the values predominantly ascribed to various languages. The mindset and attitudes of teachers can clearly be adapted to the new situation. Broader societal adjustments may become possible. The education system cannot afford to endlessly neglect the resources of HL-speaking migrant children and teachers. A new view of first languages as HLs could represent an opportunity for multilingual education, for all and through all languages, not only the privileged and legitimised ones. As this insight into cooperation between two groups of teachers in a superdiverse district in Switzerland has shown, regular teachers can be moved to rethink their existing beliefs and attitudes.

Not only has the sporadic inclusion of HLs into the regular school timetable given value to multilingual learners by placing HL teachers on the main stage of the school as figures of identification, but HLs can also act as a hinge, making teachers and educators agents of transformation. However, such activities can never bring about complete equality; all first languages in a class can never be accounted for, and exclusion can occur, especially in the case of rare first languages.

Translanguaging can go beyond marginalised multilingualism

The study results also elicit questions. How does the concept of translanguaging alter perceptions of migration-related multilingualism? To what extent does the concept succeed in abandoning the deficit perspective? The concept of translanguaging goes beyond marginalised multilingualism: the descriptions of the project's language days show that, given explicit cues and appropriate frameworks, students can display their linguistic resources and mobilise them for school assignments. This new openness to using migrant languages in the classroom is explicitly desired and can grow further. However, the pedagogical aspects of the concept of translanguaging could be observed repeatedly during the three language days. The examples of HL teachers motivated students to show their language knowledge to the class with confidence and pride (Amro & Iversen, 2025). This conscious use of migrant languages is not always in demand in everyday school life and is sometimes even forbidden, as has been shown by the bans on language use in school playgrounds.

The concept of translanguaging offers perspectives that involve both students and teachers and can even serve social development. Furthermore, the cooperation enabled the two groups of teachers to develop their teaching competences in multilingual educational contexts: the HL teachers, who otherwise teach in a parallel system, gained an insight into other forms of teaching, and regular teachers were confronted with their mostly ‘monolingual habitus’ (Gogolin, 1994) and could gradually broaden their experience with these other languages through this collaboration. With the support of the whole school and continuous training, the conviction that languages are not an additive system but are interrelated can grow (García, 2009). Thinking and talking about various languages also helps to break the silence on hidden hierarchies and power structures that exist between majority and minority languages (Krompák & Preite, 2019). Although sometimes challenging, the concept of translanguaging makes it possible to interrogate the status of the prestigious languages of the majority in society and to discover the previously invisible languages of students.

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Notes

- (1) Swiss society has changed fundamentally in recent decades following migration and globalisation. This can be seen in the rising proportion of the population with a migration background, which was 37.7% in 2019 and was over 50% among children and young people. The Institute New Switzerland (Institut Neue Schweiz, INES), has shown that owing to restrictive naturalisations, around a quarter of the permanent resident population of Switzerland does not have Swiss citizenship (Schweiz, 2021).
- (2) *Das fortwährende Theater der Einsprachigkeit, das Migrationsgesellschaften trotz der sie prägenden Mehrsprachigkeit mit allen Mitteln weiterzuspielen versuchen, führt zur Erschwerung und/ oder Begrenzung von Handlungsmacht und zur Legitimation von Ausschlüssen migrationsbedingt mehrsprachiger Menschen – und gleichzeitig zur Privilegierung jener, die als einsprachig oder «prestige-mehrsprachig» gelten.* (Knappik & Thoma, 2015: 11)
- (3) *Ziel der Mehrsprachigkeit ist nicht die perfekte Zweisprachigkeit, sondern die Ausbildung zur funktionalen Mehrsprachigkeit. Funktionale Mehrsprachigkeit strebt ein vielfältiges, dynamisches Repertoire mit unterschiedlich weit fortgeschrittenen Kompetenzen in den verschiedenen Kompetenzbereichen bzw. Sprachen an, um in unterschiedlichen Situationen sprachlich erfolgreich handeln zu können* (Erziehungsdirektion des Kantons Bern, 2016; Lehrplan 21).
- (4) The language awareness workshop worked with Poster 2, ‘Languages also have relatives’ (*Auch Sprachen haben Verwandte*), which is available for download in

various languages. Exhibition on Multilingualism in Switzerland (*Sprachenausstellung zur Mehrsprachigkeit in der Schweiz*, 2024).

- (5) Switzerland's diglossia with dialect and standard German can be considered a kind of multilingualism.

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