Chapter 4

Making sense of the internal diversities of Greek schools abroad: exploring the purposeful use of translation as communicative resource for language learning and identity construction

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Introduction

> The *agiasmos* [Benediction ceremony] of the new Greek school attracted a large crowd. Father Alexander of the local Greek-Orthodox parish blessed students, teachers and parents, wishing them all a healthy and successful school year. Local Greek and philhellenic community-based organisations were invited and sent representatives; also, a representative from the City of Lausanne was present. There was a positive energy, a sense of new beginnings that was commented upon very favourably. At the welcome reception afterwards, more established and recently arrived families from Greece mingled effortlessly, chatting away in Greek. Conversations in French and English among adults were less audible, confined to clusters of non-Greek heritage spouses and adult learners of Greek. The school's managing committee comprised of parents with school-age children has made it a point to seek out families who haven't had any prior experience with institutionalised forms of Greek language education abroad, especially among the recently arrived professionals through community, work-related and personal networks. Also, the school's remit has been expanded to include, for the first time, adult learners of Greek with or without a Greek heritage affiliation. I spoke with a young man who is a keen language learner, having already studied Japanese, and was told about a group of teachers teaching Classics in local high schools, who have signed up for Greek classes (Vally Lytra, Research Journal, 9/9/2017).

The entry to my research journal documents the inaugural event of a new Greek school in francophone Switzerland. The observations start with the Benediction ceremony to mark the auspicious beginning of the new school year. This is an iconic feature of school life in Greece and in the diaspora, signifying the symbolic connection between education, learning and divine blessing. Although the spiritual moorings of the Benediction ceremony may have waned over the last decades, as a cultural practice it continues to have resonance for many families, attracting high levels of attendance. The observations also record the Greek school's increasingly heterogeneous student population with diverse biographies, migration trajectories and language abilities. The school welcomes children of recently arrived and well-established families where commonly at least one parent is of Greek heritage as well as adult learners of Greek who do not tend to have a Greek heritage affiliation. To a large extent, the heterogenous student population represents the internal diversity of Greek schools abroad, especially after the 2009 financial crisis that pushed many families to immigrate.

In this chapter, I examine how one of the school's key actors (Maria, co-founder, teacher and current director) reflects on the internal diversities of the school and how she attended to them through the purposeful use of translation as communicative resource in instructional interactions and during school events and celebrations. The Greek school described is a grass-roots initiative spearheaded by a dedicated group of parents and qualified primary and secondary school teachers with school-age children. It is akin to what has been referred to in the language education literature as 'community', 'complementary', or 'supplementary' schools in the UK and Europe and 'heritage' schools in the US. These are voluntary after-school educational programmes organised, supported and led by different ethno-linguistic, cultural or religious communities with the primary purpose of sustaining the shared language, culture and collective identity of the community for the next generation in a diasporic context (Lytra & Martin, 2010).

The chapter draws attention to the internal diversities within diaspora communities and how they are shaping community members' negotiation of language repertoires and cultural practices (see also studies in Curdt-Christiansen and Wei, forthcoming). It contributes to a growing body of recent studies on Greek diaspora communities which have started to document the heightened internal diversities of Greek schools abroad and how these might be shaping and transforming pedagogic practices, language ideologies, and language policies as well as the mission and curricula of these schools (Damanakis et al, 2014; Panagiotopoulou et al, 2019; Skourtou et al, 2020). Additionally, the chapter extends studies on the use of translation in educational spaces by focusing on how teachers and students deploy acts of translation as communicative resource to co-construct new knowledge and negotiate new identity positionings in a community school context. House (2016) argues that translation mediates between the original and the new, the source and the target, and between different languages and cultures. Wolf (2011) asserts that translators need to be seen as agentive social actors who make choices that are ideologically and politically motivated, as the process of translation not "only reflects and transfers existing knowledge, but continuously creates new knowledge" (: 20).

In what follows, first I present an account of the conditions that led to the creation of the new Greek school. Then, I discuss the conceptual framework inspired by a repertoire approach to language and language learning and a discursively constructed view of identities. I continue with a description of my chosen methodological approach and my positionality as community researcher. In the findings section, I draw on extended excerpts from a reflective interview with Maria supported by written texts, participant observations of school events and celebrations and insights from whole-group discussions with all five teachers during termly school meetings to address the following questions: (1) how do teachers and students capitalise on the purposeful use of translation as communicative resource for language learning and identity negotiations? (2) to what extent and in what ways can such language practices reshape pedagogies and ideologies in community schools? and (3) what tensions in the ideology and practice of community schools do they bring to fore?

New educational realities, new mobilities

The creation of the new Greek school came about at a particular historical and socio-political juncture. In 2011 in the throes of the financial crisis, the Greek state and its educational authorities halted the administration and financial support of many Greek schools abroad by substantially reducing teacher secondments and the delivery of textbooks and other materials free of charge (see Stylou 2019, for further discussion). Consequently, the administrative and

financial responsibilities of maintaining many of these schools was transferred to parents, diaspora institutions and communities. These new educational realities have co-occurred with the "new" migration of families from Greece to Europe and other parts of the world. Described in a local daily as "a Greek wave on the shores of Lake Geneva" (*24 heures*, 15 March 2018), Francophone Switzerland has witnessed a sharp increase in the immigration of highly educated Greek professionals with young families post-2009. Beyond broad similarities in the socio-economic and educational profiles of 'new' migrant families, there remain important differences in terms of motives for migration, educational and professional trajectories, processes of insertion and adaptation in the host society, individual and familial expectations and aspirations. The recent Greek family migration follows earlier mobilities from Greece and across the Greek diaspora and has contributed -albeit in a small way- to sustained high levels of migration in the region. The main drivers of migration have been economic and educational opportunity. Lausanne and its environs have attracted a large number of international sports organisations (most notably the International Olympic Committee) and multinationals as well as companies specialising in health care, public and private health care providers and several internationally acclaimed Higher Education institutions (BLI, 2019: 15). Most of the Greek school parents in the study are employed in these sectors and contribute alongside approximately 160 other nationalities to the emergent "cosmopolitan" outlook of the city and its environs (: 6).

The increase of Greek families with school-age children in the region has created a sustained interest in Greek language and literacy learning, especially in early years and primary school. Formal institutional initiatives, such as Greek schools and Greek home language classes in international schools vie for parental attention with increasingly popular Greek language courses over Skype and other platforms with language tutors based in Greece or in the region. The Greek school in this study is one of two not-for-profit, fee-paying Greek schools in the area. Founded in June 2017, according to the school's website, it was conceived out of a desire for high quality Greek language and culture classes for children and adults through an individualised, cross-curricular and inclusive approach to pedagogy, firmly anchored onto students' real-life experiences and encounters living and learning in a multi-ethnic city.

Theoretical orientations
A repertoire approach to language and language learning

The changing demographics in language classrooms due to migration-induced multilingualism has called for adopting a theoretical lens that views multilingualism at the centre of SLA (Second Language Acquisition) and language education with the purpose of "expand[ing] the perspectives of researchers and teachers of L2 learners with regard to learners' diverse multilingual repertoires of meaning-making resources and identities" (The Douglas Fir Group, 2016: 25). This conceptual shift towards multilingualism, also referred to as the "multilingual turn" in language analysis (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), has highlighted the importance of activating and building upon students and teachers diverse and complex language and cultural knowledge as a resource for learning, instruction and social identification against the dominance of wider societal monolingualism and normative language purist ideologies.

This conceptual repositioning has problematised a homogenous and autonomous view of language and language learning as the acquisition of a set of skills, where languages are uncoupled from the cultures of which they are part. They have shifted our understanding from language as a discrete and bounded entity to language as "a set of ideologically-defined

resources and practices" (Heller 2007: 2) and from a focus on code to language users and their language repertoires embedded in specific biographies and socio-cultural contexts. In this chapter, I take a "repertoire" approach to language where repertoires are defined as "biographically organized complexes of resources" that "follow the rhythms of human lives" (Blommaert & Backus, 2011: 9). Within a repertoire approach, Blommaert and Backus (2011) further argue, language learning is regarded as "a process of growth, of sequential learning of certain registers, styles, genres and linguistic varieties while shedding or altering previous existing one" (: 9). This approach foregrounds the dynamic nature of language and language learning as well as the historical anchoring and contextual and biographical embeddedness of language repertoires (Busch, 2012; Kramsch, 2018). Rymes (2014) extends the notion of repertoire beyond languages, registers and genres to "communicative repertoire". This includes a broader range of meaning-making resources comprised of "gesture, dress, posture, and even knowledge of communicative routines, familiarity with types of food or drink, and mass media references including phrases, dance moves, and recognizable intonation patterns that circulate via actors, musicians, and other superstars" (: 9). Taking a repertoire approach to language and language learning to investigate the internal diversities within Greek schools and classrooms compels us to explore the distribution of knowledge and access to languages and other meaning-making resources and the negotiation of language ideologies and discourses. It sheds light on how particular ways of speaking associated with particular linguistic forms might be privileged over others, under what conditions and by whom, and their social valuations.

An emergent and discursively constructed view of identities

The aforementioned conceptual repositioning is in line with a broader questioning of fixed and separate framings of identities and the traditional modernist view of the organic relationship between language, identity and the nation where language is regarded as a quintessential marker of ethno-national identity associated with inheritance and a particular territory (Pujolar, 2007). Instead identities are viewed as emergent, fluid and discursively constructed (Palvenko & Blackledge, 2004). Following Bucholtz and Hall (2005), I regard identities as a "relational and sociocultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction" (: 586). Identities are, thus, constituted through indexical processes by which social actors create "semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings" (: 586). These theoretical perspectives illustrate that 'doing' identity work involves how social actors reproduce, resist or rework particular subject positions, as they emphasise, downplay, or silence affiliation and comembership in different discursive environments.

In contemporary diasporic contexts, community relations and membership are seen as complex and continuously reconstructed and boundaries between communities as malleable and permeable (Wei, 2018). Studies on language and identity have highlighted that language practices may not neatly map onto national, ethnic or cultural affiliations (Hua and Wei, 2016), that there may be a mismatch between language proficiency in the heritage language and a sense of cultural belonging (Canagarajah, 2008) and that group membership is dynamic and affiliation and inheritance are negotiated (Rampton, 1995). At the same time, it is important to remember that fluid and flexible conceptualisations of language, identity and diaspora community "may be at odds with widely-held beliefs among participants who often see 'their' language, identity and community as bounded objects that have remained unchanged over time and across space. While it might be plausible to dismiss participants' views as 'folk etymologies', they function as powerful 'member categories' with real-life

consequences for their users." (Lytra, 2014: 553). Concurring with Jaspers & Madsen (2019), instead of dismissing dominant idealised participant conceptions, it is crucial to examine the interplay between linguistic fixity and fluidity and the possibilities for social positioning they open up or close down. This co-focus is all the more relevant in researching language and identity in community school contexts whose primary purpose is to sustain students' languages, cultures and identities of inheritance. These educational spaces are often constructed by the curriculum and parental expectations in essentialised ways, as indexing ethnonational belonging (Lytra, 2014).

Translation as communicative resource in educational spaces

The use of translation practices can be seen as a response to the heightened linguistic diversity within educational institutions and the call for flexible pedagogic arrangements that are attuned to students' needs. Aligned with a repertoire approach to language and language learning translanguaging for pedagogic purposes recognises and attempts to leverage students' and teachers' entire language repertoires and all meaning-making modes in an integrated way for effective teaching and learning (García & Wei, 2014). Through a translanguaging lens, translation is seen as one of many resources available to students and teachers to support communication and language learning in multilingual educational spaces. Students and teachers deploy translation practices to navigate languages and cultural references and make links between them and across different formal and informal learning contexts (Mary & Young 2017). In addition, translation has the potential to develop inclusive practices which value and legitimise all languages and cultures in the classroom as resources for learning. It encourages participation and supports students' socio-emotional development (Kirsch & Seele 2020). However, studies have also alerted us to tensions in and potentially exclusionary implications of flexible language use in educational settings. Jaspers (2015) points out that using French and students' home languages (Arabic and Turkish) may reinforce dominant language hierarchies in a Dutch-medium secondary school in Brussels. In a similar vein, Charalambous (2020) illustrates that students' public performances of Turkish in a Greek-Cypriot primary school elicited "emotional discomfort, and hesitation resulting in self-censorship", interrogating to what extent it is possible to avoid social valuations associated with named languages (: 118). In this chapter, we use the focus on translation practices as a lens to probe into the evolving language ideologies and language practices at the school and the possibilities and tensions in students and teachers' negotiations of knowledge building, linguistic expertise and identity articulations.

A slow autoethnography of Greek language education broad

The data presented in this chapter are part of a slow autoethnographic study of the creation and establishment of a new Greek school in francophone Switzerland. I have adopted Grandia's (2015) idea of "slow" ethnography to describe a mode of research where the ethnographer is embedded in the research context through long standing entanglements and relations with participants. This mode of research involves embedding oneself in place and pace (: 304). My research interest in Greek language education was sparked by my role as mother of two young children who were growing up away from their parents' country of origin (Greece). Having recently relocated to a new country, I was looking for an educational and social space where my children could meet, play and learn alongside other children who had familial ties with Greece. Upon moving to Lausanne in August 2009, I sought out and enrolled my children to the then state-run Greek school which operated on Saturday mornings. Over more than a decade, I have followed closely the rhythms of Greek school life

in Lausanne and have witnessed first-hand the aforementioned changes and transitions at the level of educational policy and demographics and the opportunities and challenges they have posed. At the same time, I have played an active role in supporting, co-shaping and advocating for Greek language education through my interconnected roles and identities. My professional identities of ethnographer, applied linguist and language educator are intertwined with my identities as mother, friend, fellow Greek and the different roles I have taken up over the years as Greek school parent. More recently, I was one of the founding members of the new Greek school and have been actively co-constructing with teachers the school's pedagogy and curriculum. In this respect, the research has a strong autoethnographic element in that I observe and attempt to making sense of the participants' ways of being and knowing from their perspectives while being a co-participant in the socio-cultural context myself.

Being embedded in Greek school life over time has meant that the research has followed its pace. There have been periods of intensive participant observation and documentation, such as during school transitions and tensions, the design and implementation of educational projects, the performance of school events and celebrations, and other quieter periods. Since the observations and visual and written texts collected over three years reflect my own intellectual and personal perspectives of representing events and practices that constitute the ordinary and everyday of Greek school life, there is a concern that the research may sound somewhat journalistic or culminate in a series of anecdotal vignettes. I have sought to address this difficult conundrum by taking a collaborative stance and by "engaging research participants as dialogic partners" (Lassiter & Campbell, 2010: 760). Lassiter (2005) defines collaborative ethnography as "an approach to ethnography that deliberately and explicitly emphasizes collaboration at every point in the ethnographic process, without veiling it—from project conceptualization, to fieldwork, and, especially, through the writing process" (: 16). This epistemic position allows for divergent views, visions and interpretations to be expressed and recorded. It also challenges the authority of the ethnographic gaze, thus redefining research participants from "subjects" or "informants" to "epistemic partners" with their own agendas (Lassiter & Campbell, 2010: 760). The teacher who features in this chapter, Maria, has been an "epistemic partner" in this research journey since its inception. Upon relocating to Switzerland in 2010, she too enrolled her child in the state-run Greek school and was an active member of the Parents' Association. Having studied history and archaeology and being a qualified secondary school teacher, she was one of the co-founders of the new Greek school, one of its first teachers and, as the school continues to grow, its first director since 2018. Throughout this time, we have worked together on supporting and promoting Greek language education in the region and we share a long-established friendship and a relationship of trust. She too is embedded in the socio-cultural context of the study. The grounded community research presented in this chapter calls for a cautious, respectful and reciprocal approach to analysis and interpretation.

The chapter draws on excerpts from a reflective interview with Maria supported by written texts, participant observations of school events and celebrations and whole-group discussions with all five teachers during termly meetings documented in my research journal to provide "a thick understanding of the local" (Grandia, 2015: 312). How Maria and the other teachers made sense of the internal diversities of the school's student population and how they adapted and evaluated their pedagogic practice accordingly emerged as recurring themes in the data. Informed by the theoretical perspectives guiding this chapter, the selection and analysis of the interview excerpts focus specifically on the purposeful use of translation as

communicative resource in instructional interactions and during school events and celebrations and its potential for language and literacy learning and identity development.

Findings
Engaging with diversity: teacher beliefs and reported use of translation as communicative practice

As the fieldnotes from the Benediction Ceremony point out, since its inception, the Greek school has attracted many newly arrived internationally mobile families from Greece and other countries. Children join the school with rich multilingual repertoires: a walk around the school yard during breaktimes revealed children seamlessly moving between different forms of Greek, French and occasionally English and deploying their language resources to varying degrees for play and sociability depending on friendship configurations and their expanding language capabilities. I seldom observed any overt policing of linguistic boundaries, for instance, the use of phrases such as 'we speak Greek here'. Maria and the other teachers are multilingual as well and share similar migration trajectories and language socialisation experiences with many of the internationally mobile families whose children attend the school. While the school was founded with the explicit aim to sustain children's Greek language, culture and identity, the working consensus among teachers seems to be not only to acknowledge linguistic diversity as the norm but also to purposefully exploit it as a resource for instructional purposes. For instance, in termly meetings, teachers reported encouraging the use of digital dictionaries and translation applications, such as google translate, for literacy homework or of translation practices for scaffolding purposes (e.g. to ensure comprehension, support content development) and for classroom management. I asked Maria to specifically reflect on how she integrated the use of French and English in her teaching practice and under what conditions:

> Maria: I'll give you an example. Yesterday for instance during the history class we were talking about democracy, we asked 'what is democracy?'. First, they responded in French, they know this word in French. Then I said, "this word which you know in French and some of you have already been taught some things about [democracy] [it] started in this city". We are studying [classical] Athens at the moment. 'What does this [word] mean?' 'Why are we learning about it?' 'Because for the first time in history in a very specific way everybody decides for everybody'. And 'how did they decide?' and we discussed the details, I talked about it in simple terms so that they can understand. Children immediately translate the word in the language they know to understand [it], and this happens all the time with all things. We were working on vocabulary building about parts of the house and doing house chores. They were telling me the words in French first, especially some of the children for whom Greek is mainly a second language, or they try to remember in Greek, and they juxtapose the two words. I can't say that I use French all the time, I don't want to create this impression, but sometimes and for some important things I want them to
> Vally: make the connection
> Maria: yes, make the connection

In her reflection, Maria discusses the co-creation of pedagogical moments with her students that welcomed their other languages and curricular knowledge from the mainstream school during whole-class instruction. French is the language of instruction in mainstream schools in the region while German and English are taught as foreign languages. Some children attend English-medium international schools where French, German and Spanish are also taught. Through translation, students, especially those dominant in French, were able to use their language knowledge of French to support their developing understanding of new vocabulary and concepts and the creation of new meanings in Greek. Maria remarked on the ubiquitous practice of translation as a pedagogic practice initiated by the students: "children immediately translate the word in the language they know to understand [it], this happens all the time with all things". As Leeman *et al.* (2011), Little and Kirwan (2019) and Prada (2019) among others have stressed, making such comparisons across languages supports critical metalinguistic awareness, an important element for the development of language and literacy abilities. Indeed, teachers repeatedly reported drawing children's attention to French and English words of Greek origin and highlighted how identifying the root origins of words could enhance their vocabulary and conceptual development across languages.

The translation act of the word 'democratía' in Greek to 'démocratie' in French is an example of how students sought to build on the knowledge they already had and brought to the Greek language class. It served to activate and expand their previous curricular knowledge from the mainstream school and connect it to their learning of ancient Greek history in the here and now. The translation act pointed to an understanding of students' linguistic resources and (language) learning experiences as interconnected and their language repertoires not as fixed but as constantly evolving. In this view, features of Greek are seen as part of students' wider communicative repertoire anchored onto their everyday lived experiences across learning spaces. From a pedagogical standpoint, it suggests the endorsement of flexible language practices based on the assumption that students and teachers' entire communicative repertoires can be actively and strategically deployed as a resource for learning. It supports the development of a positive sense of self by giving children some choice over their language use and making them feel valued and included. Moreover, Jonsson (2019) has argued that such student-initiated translations have the potential "for levelling the teacher-student relationship" (: 338)- at least temporarily. They provide opportunities for students to show case their prior knowledge and negotiate "expert" identity positionings, thereby promoting students' motivation and self-esteem (Leeman *et al.*, 2011).

Yet, towards the end of her reflection Maria qualifies her own use of French during Greek language lessons by mitigating the extent of it use: "I can't say I use French all the time, I don't want to create this impression, but sometimes and for some important things". This stance shift seems to point to an inherent tension in the ideology and practice of community schools with regards to what is considered as appropriate language use (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Ganuza & Headman, 2018). While flexible language practices, such as the use of student-initiated translations, may be viewed as communicatively and pedagogically valuable, the use of French or other languages all the time and/or without a specific pedagogical purpose did not appear to be appropriate or legitimate in a Greek language instructional setting. Similar issues of appropriateness and legitimacy were raised when teachers commented on students' French or English inflected Greek as requiring remedial work. On the one hand, teachers acknowledged that traces of other languages were inevitable as children were dominant in French and/or English. On the other hand, they reported their efforts to eliminate these traces in the children's written work in particular, through employing self- and other-correction strategies. The teachers' stance towards French and

English inflected Greek illustrates the at times uncomfortable co-existence of more flexible language use alongside more rigid language separation practices. It highlights the tension between "seeking to teach and learn through linguistic diversity" and "participants' understanding of what kind of languaging is appropriate" (Gynne, 2019: 347).

In the next section, I explore how literary translation can be mobilised to construct an inclusive school culture and open up opportunities for new identity positionings, through the example of a storytelling performance in Greek and French that was organized by the school's managing committee.

Literary translation and the negotiation of new identity positionings

Cultural events and celebrations are a permanent fixture of Greek school life. These events tend to be outward facing, opening the doors of the school to a larger audience, for instance adult learners of Greek and their families and friends, parents of school-age children and other Greek community members and interested parties. These events serve to reinforce the teaching of Greek culture which is seen as interconnected to Greek language teaching. At the same time, they aim to build a sense of school community as well as anchor the school onto the local context of Lausanne and francophone Switzerland. In these particular contexts, literacy events in French, such as the recitation of a poem written by a 19th century local Swiss poet to commemorate the Greek War of Independence and the philhellenic movement in the region, or closing the Christmas nativity school play with a student-initiated rap performance, were viewed by teachers as valued practices and generally positively evaluated. Teachers regarded the introduction of these cultural texts during cultural events and celebrations as affording opportunities for students to negotiate their own voice and sense of being that is indexed through bringing together and juxtaposing Greek and French cultural texts. One such cultural event was the performance of folk stories in Greek and French. The performer was a well-known Swiss storyteller, actor and translator who had lived and studied in Greece and is currently based in Geneva. He has edited and translated into French two books of Greek and Cypriot traditional folktales. For the school event, he performed folktales in Greek he had selected and adapted for younger and older audiences followed by a Greek folktale he had translated into French. Maria reflected on the performance and the impression it made to her with the following words:

> Maria: so, he performed stories in Greek using, I was surprised to see, literary words, unusual words, words you don't hear in everyday talk, dialectal words. Additionally, he translated Cypriot folktales which are generally speaking difficult to translate. When he was narrating the stories, his language took on the distinctiveness of the region [of the folktale]. And, of course, he did this magical thing; he narrated a Greek folktale in French. I was sitting in the corner of the school hall and it was an amazing moment I have to tell you. I was checking on the children for practical reasons and I saw how they were watching attentively and how they were reacting to the stories and how they reacted after the story in French. I mean they immediately understood that the two languages were interconnected in their minds in a very pleasant way at that particular moment. What did they understand? I can understand a person who speaks Greek and French. Secondly, this was the first whole-school event. I saw they were communicating with each other. They were watching the performance and they were collectively processing it. They were aware of being part of the Greek school.
> Vally: what did you make of the performance of a Greek folktale in French?

Maria: [It was] necessary, that's the first word that comes to mind. The man himself and his audience move seamlessly between the two languages. It was absolutely normal for him to say a Greek folktale in French as well. And, of course, our adult learners who had difficulties really enjoyed it. Through translation a Greek tale is represented in another language. It's important, it's a gain, it's part of bilingualism from the other side of the mirror. You suddenly see a Greek text, a Greek thought, how can I explain this, a tradition, a way of life, because that's what folktales represent, historical moments and so on, you hear it in
Vally: another language
Maria: in another language.

In her extended narrative, Maria reconstructs the performance by emphasising the linguistic and cultural hybridity of the folktales drawing together different forms of literary and dialectal forms of Greek from different parts of Greece and Cyprus. The performance in question was enhanced by objects and live music (the storyteller played the clarinet) and it attracted adult learners of Greek who had joined the event with their own children. Despite the cognitive demands the stories placed on the children and the adult learners, Maria describes the high level of collective engagement of the audience with the storytelling and the enjoyment they experienced. According to Maria, the highlight of the performance was when the storyteller "did a magical thing", he narrated a Greek story in French. From a pedagogic standpoint, the integration of a Greek story in French in the performance has the effect of encouraging students to make connections between aspects of the two languages and cultures and their previous experiences of the storytelling genre. Maria observed the children quietly discussing the performance, asking each other questions and points of clarification. The translation of the Greek folktale in French and its retelling acts as a multimodal scaffold for Greek language and culture learning, especially for language learners new to Greek. It also creates a social space through which both children and adult learners of Greek can assert their legitimacy as being simultaneously Greek and French speakers regardless of language ability. Although the two languages are kept separate in the storytelling, Maria sees them as "interconnected in their minds", as constituting integrated parts of the audience's language repertoires. Consistent with a translanguaging perspective, this conceptualisation of language suggests that the boundaries of socially named languages are broken down in the speakers' minds (Wei, 2011). Makalela (2019) argues that such "a unitary view which posits that languages are fused at a cognitive level is helpful for teachers so that they can treat these languages as complementary rather than isolated units that could be placed in separated boxes" (: 249).

The literary translation of the Greek folk tale to French and its performance offers students the possibilities to engage in a new way with collective representations of Greek culture and heritage. Blackledge and Creese (2010) remind us that folk stories "become cultural artefacts, which develop community status through their iterative retelling and represent particular understandings of heritage" (: 148). On the one hand, these understandings of Greek culture and heritage point to the past, to stories from a distant time and place. As such, they represent, as Maria points out, "a tradition, a way of life […] historical moments" and endorse culturally authentic ways of behaving, valuing and being in the world. On the other, they orient to the present and accrue new meanings in the local context of the bilingual performance. They provide the audience with social identification possibilities, highlighting the importance of multiple and interconnected languages and cultures in this identification process. Maria uses the metaphor of the act of literary translation as a mirror which reflects aspects of Greek culture and heritage "from the other side". The tale is disembedded from its

original language and cultural context (Greek) and recontextualized into a new one (French). The implication is that it provides the audience with a new but equally legitimate viewpoint of what counts as Greek culture and heritage. For children of Greek heritage in particular it offers an alternative view into their own culture and heritage through the majority language and culture and the language in which they are most likely to be dominant, supporting them to build their self-esteem and a positive linguistic identity as multilinguals. In this way, the storytelling performance becomes about them, about being part of a Greek school community in the diaspora that collectively values and celebrates the students' multilingual realities, while mainly maintaining language boundaries.

Concluding discussion

In this chapter, I explored how teachers and students in a newly established Greek community school made sense of and responded to the internal diversities within the school which in turned reflected broader demographic changes in Greek communities worldwide as a result of the "new" Greek migration. I illustrated that acts of translation were deployed as a communicative resource to serve important discursive functions: to bridge curriculum knowledge across learning spaces, to support and expand the learning of new vocabulary and concepts and to develop critical metalinguistic awareness. Translation practices connected learning and texts to the students' lived and embodied experiences and broke down boundaries between mainstream, community languages education and the wider community. Student-initiated translations fostered a sense of agency to access knowledge and understanding while propelling the teacher to relinquish her linguistic authority role in the classroom and take up the role of facilitator and co-learner (Gárcia & Wei, 2014). I also showed how acts of translation opened up discursive identity spaces for students and adult learners of Greek to sustain existing identities and stimulate new identity positionings as "experts" and as "multilingual learners of multiple learning communities" (Leeman et al, 2011: 484). As such, inspired by the work of Wei (2011), acts of translation can be viewed as creating momentarily a "translanguaging space", that is "a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance, and making it into a lived experience" (: 1223). In such a space, teachers and students can work together to co-construct new knowledge and negotiate new identity positionings. Students in particular can develop an understanding of Greek language learning as part of their broader communicative repertoires that encompass language and other semiotic resources.

It is important to remember that the translation practices described in this chapter emerged alongside language practices that consolidated language boundaries. Maria's qualification of using translation "sometimes and for some important things" as well as teachers' reports of remedial work of students' French and English inflected Greek brought to the fore the tension of linguistic and cultural fluidity and fixity that is at the core of community schools' ideology and practice: on the one hand, the recognition of diversities within the school and in broader society and the adoption of flexible and adaptive language and cultural practices and on the other hand, the desire to protect, maintain and pass onto the next generation reified and stable representations of community languages, cultures and identities (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Wei, 2018; Wei & Hua, 2014). This tension is inherent in a repertoire approach to language which encompasses both monolingual and multilingual forms and their social valuations. It also alerts us to whose language and cultural resources count, where and when, and who

decides (Lytra, 2013). At the same time, Maria's qualification needs to be seen within concerns about pedagogical translanguaging further marginalising home/minority languages and consolidating the dominance of majority/national languages (García, 2009; Ganuza & Headman, 2018).

To this end, one may argue that the maintenance of language boundaries in Greek community school classrooms can be viewed as a response to the double invisibility of Greek communities and their schools in francophone Switzerland (Lytra, 2014). First, the invisibility of community languages in general in mainstream Swiss educational provision and society has resulted in the absence of links between community language education efforts with formal schooling processes. While Switzerland has four official national languages (French, German, Italian and Romansch), the implicit message is that only French and to a lesser extent German and English (the two taught school languages) are important in the region where the Greek school is located. Second, with the exception of some (negative) media coverage during the financial crisis, in public discourse, Greek communities in francophone Switzerland have historically been constructed as small yet 'model' migrant communities. More recently, the 'new' Greek migration of "highly qualified individuals" has attracted some media coverage and the new Greek school has been hailed as a hub of "harmonious integration" through "multiplying the dialogue and the ties with the receiving society" (*24 heures* 15 March 2018) (Lytra, 2019). Such celebratory media discourses, however, have the effect of homogenising Greek communities and community members' lived experiences and biographical trajectories and erasing the internal diversities within them. Further studies can focus on how these dominant discourses mutually shape and are shaped by social actors' accounts of the kind of school and learning community they imagine and enact.

Questions for further reflection

1. Think about your own educational context, or an educational context you are familiar with. What are the language repertoires of students and teachers and what language ideologies circulate in your context?
2. How might translation practices support students and teachers to develop their agency to use their entire language repertoires for learning and identity negotiations?
3. How can the use of translation as a communicative resource contribute to a translanguaging pedagogy, a pedagogy that is inclusive and socially just and aims to educate students holistically?
4. What tensions might arise when using a translanguaging pedagogy in your context?
5. What other communicative resources besides translation can students and teachers draw upon to co-create a translanguaging space?

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