
Translation as Translingual Writing Practice in English as an Additional Language

INGRID RODRICK BEILER¹  AND JOKE DEWILDE² 

¹University of Oslo, Department of Teacher Education and School Research, P.O. Box 1099 Blindern, 0317 Oslo, Norway Email: i.r.beiler@ils.uio.no

²University of Oslo, Department of Teacher Education and School Research, P.O. Box 1099 Blindern, 0317 Oslo, Norway Email: joke.dewilde@ils.uio.no

Translation has recently been revived as an approach to language learning that builds on students' linguistic repertoires, particularly in linguistically diverse classrooms. However, few studies have examined how students use translation as part of writing in an additional language. This article provides new insights based on the translation practices of 22 newly arrived students in Norway during English writing instruction. Using linguistic ethnographic methods, the study combines multiple data sources (screen recordings, classroom audio recordings, language portraits, student texts, interviews) that provide detailed insights into translation moves and participant perspectives. The findings highlight the linguistic and mediational translation strategies that structured students' translation practices during English writing, but also reveal tensions in students' orientations to translation. Despite these tensions, translation served as a key means of aligning students' communicative resources to write in English as an additional language. A translingual orientation toward writing and translation facilitates the recognition of students' translation practices as alignment of ecological affordances with an integrated repertoire of semiotic resources across languages, modalities, and media. We conclude that translation can develop students' performative competence in ways that support their in-school English writing but also prepare them to encounter text in new contexts.

Keywords: translation; writing; translingual practice; mediational strategy; English as an additional language; newly arrived students

IN TEACHING AND LEARNING ADDITIONAL languages, translation is both contested and unavoidable. Since being “relegated to the dungeons of language teaching history” (Pennycook, 2008, p. 35) for some decades, translation has recently been revived as a tool for teaching and learning additional languages (Cook, 2010; González Davies, 2014; Källkvist, 2013; Tsagari &

Floros, 2013; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). The reinstatement of translation can be seen as one expression of a broader trend of challenging monolingual approaches to English language teaching (Cook, 2010; Cummins, 2007; González Davies, 2014). In addition, the diffusion of digital technology has opened new opportunities for using translation to build on students' linguistic repertoires in linguistically diverse classrooms (e.g., Vogel, Ascenzi-Moreno, & García, 2018). However, researchers have also expressed concerns about the longer term benefits of using machine translation to support writing in an additional language (Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011).

In the midst of these scholarly debates, few studies have examined how students actually use translation as part of writing in English as an additional language (cf. Vogel et al., 2018).

The Modern Language Journal, 0, 0, (2020)

DOI: 10.1111/modl.12660

0026-7902/20/1-18 \$1.50/0

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The quality of individual translation practices arguably becomes especially important in linguistically diverse classrooms, where students rely on different linguistic repertoires to support their language learning, and the teacher typically cannot fully evaluate the content of students' translations. This article provides new insights into the nature of students' translation practices in two such classrooms by combining multiple data sources that allow for both fine-grained analyses of textual and interactional moves (screen recordings, classroom audio recordings) and contextualization within longer term classroom practices and participant perspectives (field notes, interviews). We first review recent scholarly debates concerning translation in English teaching. Then, we develop our theoretical perspective on translation before presenting the design and findings of the current study. The study reveals the complex strategies and orientations that structured the translation practices of 22 newly arrived students in Norway, from a wide variety of language backgrounds, during in-school English writing. Despite tensions in students' orientations to the process, translation served as a key means of aligning ecological affordances with students' communicative resources from across modalities, media, and monolingual–multilingual features to write in English as an additional language.

TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING

Despite opposition, translation has never disappeared entirely from English language teaching, simply because new understandings of language must build on existing ones (Cook, 2010). Furthermore, tendencies toward monolingual approaches and against translation have been strongest in powerful exporters of English language norms, such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Indeed, much English language teaching around the world has continued to draw on local languages (Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). In discussing translation, it is therefore necessary to acknowledge the economic and political imperatives that have contributed to marginalizing translation. The English teaching and publishing industries in majority 'native' English-speaking countries have profited from providing and proposing the superiority of context-independent monolingual materials and highly regarded 'native speaker' teachers, who may only be able to teach monolingually (Cook, 2010; Pennycook, 2008). To Pennycook (2008), these are manifestations of ideologies of

English as "a language that operates only in its own presence" (p. 44) instead of as "a language in translation, a language of translanguaging use" (p. 34). Such monolingual ideologies position students' existing language competence primarily as a source of negative interference, rather than as a potential resource for further language learning (Cook, 2010; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). These ideologies may prevent students from using their full meaning-making resources, in particular in the case of societally minoritized languages (Canagarajah, 2013). In contrast, rehabilitating translation in English language teaching has the potential to resituate students' language learning in their broader linguistic repertoires and ecologies.

The increasing prevalence of English classes where students have different language backgrounds—and therefore different languages to translate to and from—has interacted with pedagogical stances toward translation in two opposite directions. Some have argued that linguistic diversity limits the usefulness of translation because the class may not share a single object of comparison to English (Cook, 2010; Källkvist, 2013). This stance implicitly conceives of translation as a teacher-led process, in which the teacher must understand both the source and product of translation. In contrast, others have pointed to translation as a means of activating students' background knowledge and fostering holistic language and literacy development in linguistically diverse classes (Cummins, 2007; Vogel et al., 2018; Wilson & González Davies, 2017). Cummins (2007) described translation as central to creating bilingual identity texts, where students write both in a target language and their first language. He proposed that this use of translation allows newly arrived students from varying language backgrounds to participate in literacy activities right from the beginning. Krulatz and Iversen (2019) reported that newly arrived students in an introductory class in Norway demonstrated engagement in writing such trilingual identity texts in Norwegian, English, and each student's home language.

However, translation is not only a teacher-led activity but also a practice that students undertake spontaneously as part of writing in an additional language. Researchers have particularly focused on the comparative effects of using machine translation, print or digital dictionaries, or no reference tools on writing in an additional language (e.g., Fredholm, 2015, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; O'Neill, 2019). Most of these studies have found the effectiveness, accuracy, or fluency of students'

writing to improve with the use of machine translation. In particular, O'Neill (2019) found that students who received training on how to use machine translation received the highest holistic scores, compared to students using machine translation without training, no reference tools, or an online dictionary. However, the advantages to using machine translation have been shown to dissipate when students are subsequently prohibited from using such tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). Thus, machine translation may be more useful in any given writing task than for longer term language learning (Fredholm, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011). Another constraint of translation is that it may be of greater help at local than global levels of text creation (Groves & Mundt, 2015).

There appear to be fewer studies of translation practices outside of researcher interventions and even fewer that concern linguistically diverse rather than relatively linguistically homogeneous classrooms. In addition, the nature of students' translation practices has received less attention, compared to effects on external measures of writing quality. Two recent studies (Dewilde, 2019; Vogel et al., 2018) have each provided such detailed insight into a single student's translation practices during writing, seeking also to situate these practices within newer understandings of the translanguaging semiotic repertoire. Vogel et al. (2018) theorized the use of Google Translate by an emergent Chinese–English bilingual student in the United States as a “bilingual learner-machine translation assemblage” (p. 94) that created new opportunities for learning and teaching English writing. The authors identified the student's “tinkering” with Google Translate—or attempts to obtain better quality translations—and “evaluating” machine translations as instances of translanguaging in the student's writing process (Vogel et al., 2018, pp. 100–101). For example, the student reported that he would reference a second translation tool or attempt to translate only individual words if he was dissatisfied with a Google translation. Similarly, Dewilde (2019) highlighted mental translation as an example of translanguaging writing practice (see Canagarajah, 2013). In her study, a student who had recently moved to Norway from Afghanistan mentally translated poems that she wrote in Norwegian into a first language she could not write, Turkmen, in order to feel the impact of her words. These findings position translation as a personal act of sense-making across modalities, ecological affordances, and named languages, or as translanguaging practice (see Canagarajah, 2013).

A TRANSLINGUAL ORIENTATION TO TRANSLATION

Canagarajah (2013) distinguished between monolingual and translanguaging orientations to communication and literacy. A monolingual understanding maintains that a textual product should be in one language only, easily accessible to a monolingual reader. In contrast, a translanguaging understanding assumes that communication transcends individual languages and even words themselves, thus involving a wide variety of semiotic resources and ecological affordances that work together to shape meaning (Canagarajah, 2013). Although mixing languages in writing is not new, technological developments have facilitated communication between people from different language groups as well as mixing language with other symbol systems (e.g., emojis in social media) and modalities (e.g., videos and pictures in online newspaper articles). Therefore, central to our translanguaging orientation to translation is how different semiotic resources, including linguistic ones, work together in students' writing processes. We also refer to named languages as they pertain to translation tools, which require specifying languages.

According to Canagarajah (2013), the complexity of translanguaging writing poses questions as to what competence allows speakers to achieve successful communication in global settings. Traditional models of communicative competence tend to treat competence as grammatical, mentalist, and abstract (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980). Moreover, these models are territorializing, as they have theorized communicative competence from the equation of ‘one language–one people–one nation,’ rather than taking the multiple language norms within a place as a starting point. Canagarajah (2013) noted that “communication in these [global] contexts requires a competence for plural language norms and mobile semiotic resources” (p. 173), which traditional models are unable to explain. Instead, he suggested the notion of performative competence to describe the form of procedural knowledge developed in and through practice that allows speakers to respond to unpredictable interlocutors and situations. The key feature of performative competence is alignment, which involves “connecting semiotic resources, environmental factors, and human subjects in relation to one's own communicative needs and interests in order to achieve meaning” (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174). Central to alignment are adaptability, alertness, creativity, and strategic thinking and action, which allow speakers to

construct meaning in “an ever-expanding repertoire of codes” (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 176).

Furthermore, traditional models of competence have relied on the notion of second language acquisition as a product-oriented assumption that a given linguistic system exists and is ready to be acquired. In contrast, Canagarajah (2013) preferred the process-oriented notion of development, which depicts learning as ongoing, multidirectional, and sometimes parallel, based on socialization in complex communicative settings. He noted that people bring certain dispositions to global settings that favor translanguing communication and literacy, which allow them to tap into the affordances of the environment and further develop their performative competence. In language learning, these dispositions include certain types of language awareness, social values, and learning or communicative strategies. Notably, product-oriented classrooms may stifle students’ translanguing dispositions and competences, whereas process-oriented classrooms built on translanguing practices may develop them further. However, some students may develop their translanguing dispositions to a higher degree, while others may succumb to monolingual ideologies in the same social environment. Thus, differences in the development of dispositions may not solely be explained by the social environment, as they are also a matter of personal experiences, investment, and positionalities.

Therefore, Canagarajah (2013) called for more practice-based pedagogies that focus on the strategies of production and reception of texts. Translation is one such strategy. In a monolingual orientation to communication and literacy, translation is often treated as a search for technical equivalence (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). This view has also been criticized in more recent translation studies (see Bassnett, 2013; Cronin, 2013). In a translanguing orientation, however, the translation process is perceived as an authorial production of difference and a good translation product as close—but not necessarily equivalent—to the original (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). Importantly, this production of difference is inherent in all writing; thus, not only when translating from one language to another but also when engaging in more conventional paraphrasing and interpretation of text (Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008), what Jakobson (1959) called “interlingual translation” and “intra-lingual translation” (p. 233), respectively. Horner and Tetreault (2016) emphasized the labor that accompanies the production of such difference through inter- and intra-lingual translation, and one might also

extend this insight to Jakobson’s (1959) “inter-semiotic translation” (p. 233), or translation between linguistic and nonlinguistic resources. The process of translation holds the potential for students and teachers to understand the kind of difference students may wish to achieve in their textual products. We now describe our study design, situating this within the research reviewed earlier.

STUDY DESIGN AND CONTEXT

Research Questions

Translation appears to be common among students who are writing in an additional language, and studies suggest that there may be benefits as well as drawbacks to machine translation in particular (Fredholm, 2019; Garcia & Pena, 2011; Vogel et al., 2018). Based on the scarcity of studies of how students actually use translation in classroom writing, particularly in linguistically diverse classrooms, we seek to provide new insights into the nature of students’ translation practices as part of the in-class English writing process, in line with two research questions:

- RQ1. Which strategies do students employ to verify or improve the quality of their translations for English writing?
- RQ2. Which orientations do students display to translation as part of English writing?

In line with a translanguing orientation (Canagarajah, 2013), we consider improvement from an emic perspective of quality as identified by the students as translators, not as an external judgment of accuracy or equivalence.

Educational Context and Participants

The study was conducted in Norway, where English is taught as a compulsory core school subject over 11–12 years, starting in first grade, with the option of specialized courses in the final two years of upper secondary school (Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training [NDET], 2013). These classes followed a national curriculum that does not dictate particular topics but includes “written communication” as one of the four core elements as well as general competence aims to be achieved at various grade levels (NDET, 2013). For instance, by Grade 10, the final year of lower secondary school, students should be able to “choose and use different reading and writing strategies that are suitable for the purpose” and “identify significant linguistic similarities and

differences between English and one's native language and use this knowledge in one's own language learning" (NDET, 2013, p. 9). Previous research suggests that Norwegian is frequently used as a scaffold in English teaching, including through translation (Krulatz, Neokleous, & Henningsen, 2016; Scheffler et al., 2017). Although linguistic diversity among students in Norway is increasing, there is little evidence that English teachers in Norway draw on students' other multilingual resources (e.g., Burner & Carlsen, 2017; Flognfeldt, 2018; cf. Krulatz & Iversen, 2019).

The current study took place in two linguistically diverse introductory classes at an urban lower secondary school in Norway. Introductory classes constitute a temporary arrangement for newly arrived students to learn Norwegian well enough to transition to mainstream classes. In addition, students take other school subjects, which may include English. Introductory programs typically last for up to 1 year, but students in the current study attended an accelerated track from which most transitioned within 6 months, based on having a schooling background deemed commensurate in quality to schooling in Norway. Through a multi-stage selection process, Beiler identified the participating classes as learning environments where the English teachers sought to draw on their students' multilingual resources in writing instruction. Although the teachers do not constitute the focus of this article, they participated in a broader study through which the data for the current study were gathered (see Beiler, 2020). In the first class, 10 of the 13 students (Grades 8–10; ages 13–16) consented to participate in the study. In the second class, all 12 students (Grade 10; ages 15–16) participated. The 22 students collectively reported proficiency in 24 languages, including Norwegian, English, and at least one additional language each. All of the students had studied English in school previously, but their proficiency levels varied significantly. Some had even attended English-medium schools, but most considered the level of English teaching to be more difficult in Norway than in their previous countries of residence.

Methods and Data

We used linguistic ethnography as an overarching methodological and interpretive approach, which combines the systematic analysis of interactional linguistics with the exploratory disposition of ethnography, across multiple types of data (Copland & Creese, 2015). Through this com-

bination of close and broad analyses, linguistic ethnography allows for highlighting emic (participant) perspectives and situating participants' perspectives and practices in their broader social context (Copland & Creese, 2015). An emic perspective is important for exploring strategies and orientations, as both these constructs imply a participant stance toward practices. Furthermore, combining different types of data—such as field notes, interactional recordings, and texts—lends rigor to linguistic ethnographic analyses (Copland & Creese, 2015).

Beiler conducted 3 months of fieldwork at the school during the spring of 2017, which typically included 2–3 days a week of participant observation during English writing instruction. The observational data include field notes and audio recordings of classroom writing instruction and conversations between students. Students made screen recordings with the software *Snagit* (Versions 4.1.1 and 13.1.1; TechSmith, 2017), which produced a video of everything that appeared on students' laptop screens while they worked on writing tasks. Beiler also collected student texts. Selections of the aforementioned data were then used in stimulated recall interviews (Gass & Mackey, 2017; see Table 1) with 18 students who consented to be interviewed, and these were recorded. Students also created language portraits (Busch, 2012) that they described in their interviews, providing rich contextual information for interpreting students' translation practices. The interviews were conducted in a combination of English and Norwegian, following students' preferences, as these were the languages shared by the students and interviewer. In addition, students could record responses in other languages for subsequent translation, and some did so (e.g., in Polish). Table 1 summarizes the data collection methods, data sources, participant numbers, and quantity of each data source.

As shown in Table 1, the number of participants in each form of data collection varied according to how students chose to participate. Teacher interviews were used as secondary data in order to understand the context of students' translation practices. Detailed content logs were created for all classroom recordings (student screens, classroom audio) and interview recordings (Jordan & Henderson, 1995). Illustrative episodes were also selected for transcription during the analytical process, which we describe next.

Analysis proceeded in multiple stages. The content logs and textual data were read multiple times to develop codes, in stages described by Copland and Creese (2015): developing an

TABLE 1
Data Collection Methods and Sources

Method	Source	Participants	Quantity
Participant observation	Field notes	22 students 2 teachers	66,741 words; 32 days
	Classroom audio	20 students 2 teachers	15 hours 08 minutes
	Screen recordings	18 students	50 hours 49 minutes
Document collection	Students texts	21 students	163
	Language portraits	21 students	21
Stimulated recall interviews	Video recordings	8 students	2 hours 16 minutes
	Audio recordings	18 students	10 hours 19 minutes
	Interview notes	2 students	1,509 words
Interviews (secondary data)	Audio recordings	2 teachers	2 hours 28 minutes

Note. The teachers were not the primary analytical focus. The participant observation and document collection sources were used in the stimulated recall interviews.

overall sense of themes in the data, coding of routines or patterns, collapsing categories, and finding illustrative excerpts to support categories. From this process, two overarching categories emerged that elucidated general patterns as well as the range and variations among students' practices: translation strategies (clustered into linguistic and mediational strategies) and orientations (affirming or seeking to avoid translation). As potential illustrative segments were identified in the content logs for each category, these were transcribed closely to verify or nuance the categories and allow for interactional analysis (Jordan & Henderson, 1995). Transcription conventions are available in the Appendix.

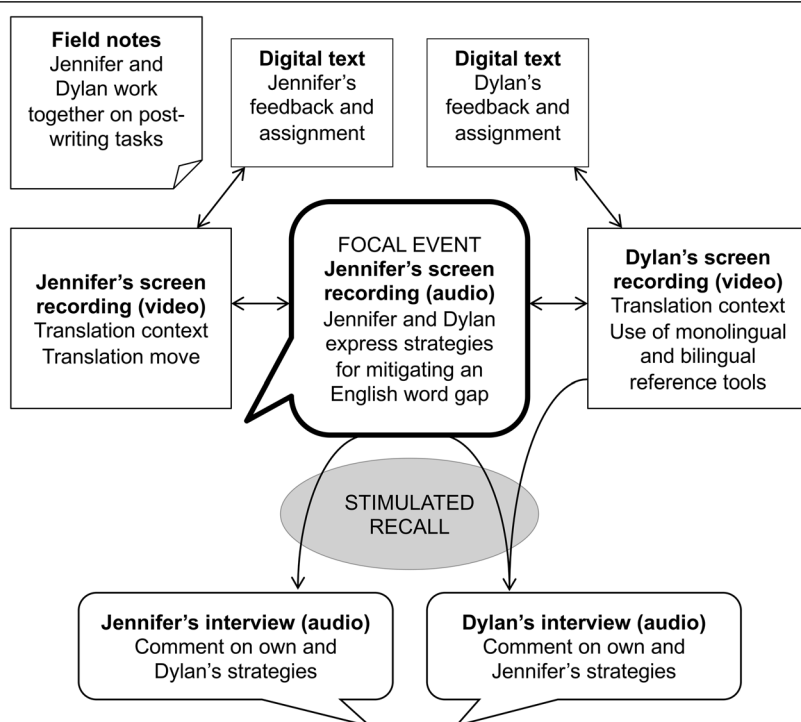
While all data sources were important in the analysis, the screen recordings provided a particularly rich and fine-grained record of translation practices and the context for translating. Most of the stimulated recall interviews, therefore, involved showing students one recorded translation sequence or more, which created an opportunity for students to explain their translation strategies. Evidence of students' orientations to translation arose both in interviews and in observed and recorded classroom interactions. The coded data sources were compared to each other to construct a nuanced understanding of students' translation strategies and orientations. Figure 1 provides an example of how the analysis combined multiple data sources to interpret a focal event in which two students, Jennifer and Dylan, discussed their translation practices. All participant names are pseudonyms, which the students chose themselves. The pseudonyms therefore do not necessarily reflect students' gender or ethnic or national origin.

In Figure 1, data sources are bolded. The central box represents an audio-recorded classroom conversation that served as the entry point for exploring the students' translation strategies and orientations. The conversation was contextualized through the two students' screen recordings from before, during, and after the conversation; texts that described the tasks at hand; and field notes from the event. After listening to the conversation in stimulated recall interviews, each student added explicit commentary on the event. The episode was also contextualized in the broader observational and documentary data, including language portraits, which provided an indication of the linguistic repertoires the students could draw from in translation. We now present the findings gleaned from this analytical process.

FINDINGS

In this section, we briefly describe the context established by two teachers for student translation. We then focus on two dimensions that appeared to structure students' translation practices in the data: students' translation strategies, which we group into linguistic or mediational strategies, and students' orientations to translation, which encompassed both affirmation and avoidance of translation. These two dimensions are illustrated through a selection of focal students from among the 22 participants. The focal students were chosen because they together provide an indication of the range of translation strategies and orientations present in the classes. In addition, these students' practices constitute "rich points" (Agar, 2000, p. 94) that both beg further explanation and promise new insights into our conceptions of

FIGURE 1
Combination of Data Sources to Interpret a Focal Event



translation in the additional language classroom. We also made an effort to include focal students with a variety of language backgrounds and both female and male students.

In the participating classes, the teachers explicitly affirmed students' choices to translate difficult words in English texts to better understand what they were reading. However, both teachers expressed some skepticism toward students' use of translation while writing. Their concern related primarily to the use of Google Translate for sentence-level translation, which they felt posed problems both for producing well-formed sentences and having students author their own text in English. One of the teachers reported that he had taught students to use Google Translate only for single words or to translate from English for verification purposes instead of translating to generate English text. In addition, this teacher sometimes required students to use print rather than online dictionaries to translate English terms to their first language, which required going through the intermediary of Norwegian, as most students only had print dictionaries between Norwegian and their first language. The teachers otherwise allowed students to use translation for writing assignments as they wished, as

long as they stayed on task. Both teachers mentioned translation strategies they had observed, but they appeared unaware of the complexity of students' translation strategies, which we present next.

Linguistic Translation Strategies

We define linguistic translation strategies as those in which students manipulate language in order to verify or improve a translation. Students employed a wide variety of linguistic translation strategies: modifying input intralingually, reversing the direction of a translation (back-translation), comparing with alternate translations provided by a tool, translating a word in phrase- or sentence-level context, changing input or output languages, and referencing a monolingual definition—in English or another language—in addition to translating. Students' linguistic strategies demonstrated how they flexibly deployed their translanguaging repertoires, across language boundaries, in the process of writing English texts. Next, we provide illustrative examples of two of these strategies: intralingual input modification and changing the languages of translation.

TABLE 2
Linguistic Strategy: Intralingual Input Modification (Screen Recording)

	Time	Action	Input	Output	On-screen text
1	13:53	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	If they will feel u
2	13:57	Translates	Polish	English	poyzebnt ^a —necessary
3	14:00	Clicks on input suggestion	Polish	English	potrzebny—necessary
4	14:06	Translates	Polish	English	chciany—wanted
5	14:12	Translates	Polish	English	jestem niechciany—I'm unwanted
6	14:19	Translates	Polish	English	potrzebny—necessary
7	14:24	Translates	Polish	English	niezbedny—necessary
8	14:30	Deletes text in OneNote	N/A	N/A	u←
9	14:31	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	ne
10	14:36	Looks back at Google Translate	Polish	English	niezbedny—necessary
11	14:43	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	[ne]ccessary here, it will be easier to belong to new
12	15:22	Translates	Polish	English	otoczenie [<i>surroundings</i>]—environment
13	15:29	Types in OneNote	N/A	N/A	invernoment

^aNot a Polish lexical item; likely a typographical error—see also uptake of suggestion (Row 3).

Lea was a student who often translated multiple terms into English before selecting an English form to incorporate in her writing. She mostly translated between English and Polish, her main home language and former language of schooling. Table 2 presents a translation sequence in Google Translate where she used this strategy while she was writing a short essay about how to welcome newcomers to the area. In Table 2, the fourth and fifth columns indicate input and output language settings in Google Translate.

Table 2 demonstrates the strategy of intralingual input modification to arrive at a more desirable English output. Lea began to write a sentence (1) and then navigated to Google Translate to generate a word to continue the sentence. She translated four different Polish inputs (3–7) before returning to her text to enter the translation that she deemed most suitable, *necessary* (8–11). Lea explained that this English word was new to her and that she needed to look back at the word to know how to spell it (see 10). In 12–13, Lea performed another translation cycle. She then checked and changed the spelling of *environment* to complete her sentence: “If they will feel necessary here, it will be easier to belong to new environment.” A video of this translation sequence is available in the online version of this article (Table 2).

While some students applied the strategy of intralingual input modification because they were unsure about the accuracy of the initial output,

Lea explained that her translations served to generate multiple options that she could consider for stylistic purposes. However, the process was not without frustration. Lea commented on the outcome illustrated in Table 2, “in Polish I have a lot of opportunities because I know a lot of words (...) but sometimes I use a different expressions but it’s still the same in English, one word, and it’s the problem for me” (interview audio). Indeed, in the sequence in Table 2, Lea tried two different Polish words—*potrzebny* (3, 6), *niezbedny* (7)—that translated into English as ‘necessary,’ although the latter Polish word denotes greater intensity. She also generated two other English options to consider: *wanted* and *fine*. Lea’s strategic use of Google Translate reflected careful consideration of word choice in her writing.

Elpida was one of the students who added another layer to the strategy illustrated in Table 2 by drawing on multiple languages. Elpida grew up primarily in Greece, but her parents were from Albania, where she had attended 1 year of school. Table 3 describes a sequence in Google Translate involving three languages—English, Greek, and Albanian—performed while Elpida was writing a literary analysis in English about a story she had read in Greek. In Table 3, the final column presents the last output text displayed during each action described.

Table 3 demonstrates two linguistic strategies that Elpida used before composing a sentence. First, she deployed the same strategy as Lea,

TABLE 3
Linguistic Strategy: Multilingual Translation (Screen Recording)

	Time	Action	Input	Output	Final output text
1	33:59	Enters input text	Greek	English	Its amazing
2	34:09	Enters new input text	Greek	English	It is unlikely that a young child will be smarter than an adult
3	34:32	Clicks on input suggestion	Greek	English	It is possible that a young child is more intelligent than an adult
4	34:34	Edits input	Greek	English	It is unlikely that a young child will be smarter than an adult
5	34:38	Changes output language	Greek	Albanian	Është e pamundur që një fëmijë i vogël mund të jetë zgjuar nga një i rritur <i>It is impossible that a little child is awakened by an adult</i>
6	34:47	Edits input twice	Greek	Albanian	rezilethiko ^a është një fëmijë i vogël për t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur (incomprehensible) <i>is too little to be awakened by an adult</i>
7	35:31	Clicks on input suggestion	Greek	Albanian	duke humbur fytyrën është një fëmijë i vogël për t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur <i>by losing face is a little child to be awakened by an adult</i>
8	36:36	Edits input three times	Greek	Albanian	Është e pabesueshme një fëmijë të vogël për t'u zgjuar nga një i rritur <i>It is unbelievable for a little child to be awakened by an adult</i>
9	36:09	Changes output language	Greek	English	It is unbelievable for a young child to be smarter than an adult
10	36:17	Writes in Word document	N/A	N/A	It's unbelievable that a young child is smarter than an adult

^aTransliteration of an unrecognized Greek input item (ρεζιλεθτικο), that is, neither a Greek nor Albanian lexical item; possibly a typographical error or invention based on the Greek word ρεζίλι 'laughable.'

editing input terms within a given language (1–4). Elpida applied this strategy at phrase and sentence levels, whereas Lea's example was mostly confined to single words. Second, Elpida changed the output language to Albanian (5), thus departing temporarily from the target language, English. She explained that she had previously noticed input in Greek being rendered with different meanings in different languages. In this case, she was trying to find a translation with adequately negative connotations, choosing in the end to write *unbelievable* (10) because she did not believe a child should be considered smarter than an adult. She expressed that she arrived at a satisfactory result in Albanian, but she was less sure of her final translation in English. The final key adjective phrase in Albanian, *e pabesueshme* (8), is indeed semantically close to *unbelievable*. Although the machine-translated Albanian sentences did not generally read as

idiomatic, the process allowed Elpida to discover and consider several semantically related terms (*amazing*, *unlikely*, *possible*, *e pamundur* 'impossible,' *e pabesueshme* 'unbelievable,' *unbelievable*) before choosing one for her English text. A video of this translation sequence is available in the online version of this article (Table 3).

Mediational Translation Strategies

We define mediational translation strategies as those in which students select tools, channels, or modalities of translation in order to verify or improve a translation. All translation is mediated; therefore, linguistic strategies overlap with mediational strategies. We separate linguistic strategies from mediational strategies based on which dimension students manipulated more directly. For example, even as they employed linguistic translation strategies, both Lea and Elpida took

up suggestions provided by Google Translate. Mediation translation strategies relied on students' understanding of the affordances and limitations of various translation media, including print bilingual dictionaries, online monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, machine translation services (e.g., Google Translate), other online resources, and human translators including teachers and classmates. Some students also described choosing to translate only in their minds, which some explained as a way to avoid the weaknesses they associated with translation tools. Mediation strategies incorporate the concept of resourcing skills, used in translation studies to refer to the selection of appropriate reference tools or supports (e.g., González Davies, 2014). However, we use the descriptor *mediational* in order to signal an understanding of ecological affordances as an element of the communicative repertoire (see Canagarajah, 2013) and to avoid confusion with references to linguistic resources. Mediation strategies incorporated a wide range of ecological affordances and semiotic resources, surpassing shifts in language. As such, these strategies mirror the second dimension of translanguaging practice: the fact that communication transcends language (see Canagarajah, 2013).

Students' most basic mediational strategy was to consult multiple translation tools or channels to verify a translation (see also Vogel et al., 2018). Excerpt 1 describes a typical example of consulting two different online reference tools, as well as back-translating.

During this episode, Jennifer first used Google Translate and then the online dictionary WordReference.com to translate the Italian word *salvare* into the English *save*, while writing about the American abolitionist Harriet Tubman. She then reversed the direction of the translation in WordReference.com from English (*save*) to Italian (*salvare*) to verify the accuracy of the translation once more. Only then did she incorporate the word into her composition, modifying the entry grammatically ("saving") to make it fit her sentence. Jennifer explained that she likely consulted both tools because she considered WordReference.com more reliable than Google Translate.

Other students stated more definitively that they would use Google Translate because it is fast and flexible, but they would, at times, feel the need to verify their translations by other means (see also Vogel et al., 2018). In addition to consulting dictionaries, thesauruses, and machine translators, students drew on tools and ecological affordances that might not traditionally be considered translation channels. For example, Duc conducted an image search for *lynching* when Google Translate did not provide any translation into Thai. This term appeared in a quote by Martin Luther King, Jr. in a text the teacher had handed out. Having verified the meaning of the word, Duc then used the quote in his own text. Duc, thus, engaged in "intersemiotic translation" (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233), capitalizing on the affordance of his digital ecology to align images with words to make meaning.

The previous examples of strategies all involved computer mediation, but students also drew on analog translation channels. While few students used print dictionaries apart from when required to do so by their teachers, students frequently consulted each other and their teachers for translations, aligning the "human subjects" (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174) in their communicative ecologies to achieve meaning in text. Several students stated that they preferred to ask a peer for translations, but this limited them to seeking help from students with a similar language background or translating between the shared languages of Norwegian and English. Excerpt 2 demonstrates how two students, Elpida and her classmate Leonida, jointly constructed an understanding of the literary term *plot* by drawing on Greek, ahead of writing a literary analysis.

In Excerpt 2, Leonida and Elpida presented various alternatives for translating the term *plot*, which can have literary as well as geographical denotations. Through their conversation, they jointly constructed an understanding of the appropriate Greek term to assign as the translation. In this case, the students were translating because the teacher had assigned them a set of terms that would structure their literary analyses, but it was the students' choice to work together rather than

EXCERPT 1

Mediation Strategy: Multiple Tools (Field Note)

Jennifer goes to Google Translate for a word as she is writing, then goes to WordReference.com. The word she translates is *salvare* 'save.' She then enters into WordReference.com for an English-to-Italian translation. She goes back to writing her sentence: "Harriet change the history of African-Americans by saving them from slavery."

EXCERPT 2

Peer Translation (Classroom Audio, With Translations From Greek)

- 1 Leonida: το `βαλες στο Google translation?
did you put into Google translation?
- 2 Elpida: ναι
yes
- 3 Leonida: mm, τι `εβαλ-, στο charact- είναι χαρακτήρας, τι είναι το plot?
4 mm, *what did you p[ut]-, on charact- it is charactēras, what is plot?*
- 5 Elpida: οκόπεδο
site
- 6 Leonida: what?
- 7 Elpida: πλοκή, γήπεδο, κομματάκι γης
plot, playground, small piece of land
- 8 Leonida: πλοκή πρέπει να `ναι
it should be plot

only using available dictionaries. In other cases, students would more briefly turn to a classmate to ask for a translation while writing.

Affirming Translation

Although all of the participating students translated at various times, they expressed a variety of overlapping orientations to the process. Among those who explicitly affirmed the role of translation in the writing process, one set of orientations can be characterized as translingual (see Canagarajah, 2013), although such orientations never

appeared entirely divorced from more monolingual orientations. Duc voiced one of the most basic variants of a translingual understanding, whereby he positioned translation as essential for expressing a translingual repertoire in a monolingual text, as shown in Excerpt 3.

In the first turn of Excerpt 3, Duc described the activation of his linguistic repertoire during the process of English writing. He labeled his mental reality “Thailish” (4), a combination of Thai and English resources, where Norwegian words would also enter the picture (8). Duc found this state both problematic (1) and workable

EXCERPT 3

Mediation of a Translingual Repertoire Through Translation (Interview Audio)

- 1 Duc: I have a problem all the time that if I don't know in English I use
2 Thai, but sometimes I forgot my Thai language also, so I use
3 English, it's kind of swap between Thai and English, sometimes I
4 just do like Thailish
- 5 Interviewer: ((laughter))
- 6 Duc: this is my language like, this is Thai word and this is English
7 subject, so we just combine it, and it works for me [...] sometimes I
8 cannot remember English, so I use *norsk* ['Norwegian'], yeah, or if
9 I cannot *norsk* ['Norwegian'] or English, I just use Thai, but if
10 sometimes Thai I cannot, so I use English
- 11 Interviewer: uh-huh, so you have these three languages in your head, and
12 sometimes you can think of it in Thai, sometimes you can think of it
13 in English, sometimes you can think of it in Norwegian
- 14 Duc: yes ((slight laugh))
- 15 Interviewer: so when you give a text to the teacher in English class, everything
16 that's in that text is in English
- 17 Duc: m-hm, yes
- 18 Interviewer: right? so how do you go from, sort of the mix of languages and
19 maybe the mix of ideas in your head to make something that's just
20 in English?
- 21 Duc: I use some translate in Google or like a dictionary to find the
22 definition that I can, oh this is this or maybe just go into Thai
23 dictionary, so maybe I can find some words that can match in my
24 text

(7), alternately communicating monolingual and translanguaging orientations (see Canagarajah, 2013). Significantly, he pointed to translation as the key to expressing his translanguaging mental repertoire in the monolingual English code that his teacher would expect (21–24).

Translanguaging or monolingual orientations did not neatly correspond with students' frequency of translation in the traditional sense of finding bilingual correspondences. The episode presented in Figure 1 illustrates the complexity and similarity of orientations expressed by similarly multilingual students whose translation practices differed greatly—in this case, Jennifer, who translated frequently, and Dylan, who visibly translated only on one occasion. On this day, Jennifer and Dylan were working together on grammar tasks that the teacher had assigned as an extension of feedback on a written exam. At the start of Excerpt 4, both students' screens displayed an online article titled "How to Write Complex Sentences," where the phrase *subordinate clauses* appeared in a definition of complex sentences.

In Excerpt 4, Jennifer and Dylan attempted to understand the term "subordinate clause." Jennifer translated the term to Italian (4–5) and asked Dylan why he would not translate it, too (9). Dylan replied that the only language he knew was

English (10). At about the same time, he looked up *subordinate* and then *clauses* in the monolingual tool Thesaurus.com and then searched for an English definition of *subordinate clause* in Google. Jennifer pushed back on Dylan's positioning himself as monolingual, asking if he did not speak Swahili (11). Dylan minimized the extent to which Swahili would help him understand an English term (12, 17), but he did translate *subordinate clause* to Swahili. The respective accuracy of the Italian and Swahili translations may provide one indication as to why Jennifer relied more on translation than Dylan. Despite Jennifer's uncertainty (6), the Google translation into Italian would conventionally be considered accurate. In contrast, the Swahili term provided by Google Translate denotes 'helping verb' rather than 'subordinate clause.' Dylan, who had received English-medium schooling in Kenya, was typically positioned as an expert in class based on his high English proficiency. However, Jennifer here positioned herself as having more resources for understanding English through her use of translation (20).

Excerpt 4 might suggest that Jennifer displayed a translanguaging orientation, matched by frequent translation, whereas a monolingual orientation underpinned Dylan's reliance on monolingual reference tools. However, the two students expressed strikingly similar orientations to

EXCERPT 4

Jennifer and Dylan Discuss Their Translation Practices (Screen Recordings, With Audio)

- 1 Jennifer: subordinating, coordinating, something like that, clauses, clauses
 2 ((pronounced [ɑʊ], elongated))
 3 Both: ((laughter))
 4 Jennifer: ((translates^a [English–Italian]: *subordinate clause* – *proposizione*
 5 *subordinata* 'subordinate clause'))
 6 Jennifer: clauses ((laughter)) it's more like a sentence I think, *proposizione*
 7 ['clause' or 'sentence'], like, wait
 8 Dylan: I think I want to find it
 9 Jennifer: why don't you go- why don't you go in Google Translate?
 10 Dylan: I can't because the only language I know is English
 11 Jennifer: you cannot, so- um, so- sai- ((searching)) Swahili?
 12 Dylan: Swahili, oh yeah, but Swahili is (just) ok, and I won't understand (it)
 13 Jennifer: so wait, do you, for example if you need to understand something in
 14 Norwegian, you find it in English
 15 Dylan: yeah
 16 Jennifer: but if you don't know it in English
 17 Dylan: I can translate in Swahili, I just have to find the meaning in English
 18 Jennifer: (unclear)
 19 Dylan: let me just try, I think I can
 20 Jennifer: I like- I have like, two or three language that I- that can help me
 21 Dylan: ((laughter)) no, I understand the meaning of this but I forget, I know
 22 but I forget ((he has translated^a [English–Swahili]: *subordinate clause*
 23 – *kitenzi kisaidizi* 'helping verb'))

^aIn Google Translate.

TABLE 4
Other- and Self-Representations of Students as Translators

	Dylan	Jennifer
Other-representation	“Even though you ask her, she has three languages to translate, but then even though she speaks Italian most, that’s why whenever I want to help her, I try in Italian because I know she understands better Italian” ^a	“He say that in his language, in, like from Kenya [interviewer: m-hm Swahili] yeah ((laughter)) he doesn’t know so many words, so he has to learn the English, I mean, he know the English, and he- if he don’t understand the word in English, then he read a definition, but I don’t think he has more possibility than me, he has to, learn that in English and not in another wo- in another language” ^a
Self-representation	[continuation] “but for me it’s like, I can’t use in Swahili first because, I lea- I know more English than Swahili, but then I speak Swahili more than English” ^a [later] “I try to use all the languages I know” ^a	[continuation] “but me, I can, even if I don’t know the word in English, or maybe I know it, I can also know it in Italian or in Romanian, maybe even in German, so, or in Norwegian, so, I don’t know, I think I have more possibilities” ^a
Reported example	“You find so many words are the same [in Swahili and Arabic], just the pronunciation is different but then like it’s the same meaning, so if that’s word in Swahili, I just remember it in Arabic, so I just, I ask Riccardo [an Arabic-speaking classmate] if he knows the word and then he tells me the meaning, or maybe I just look up in the dictionary, yeah in the [Google] Translate” ^a	“So sometimes I’m just like, what’s the word in Italian? like I remember it in Norwegian or maybe I remember it in English but I don’t re- I just don’t remember it in Italian, and sometimes when I have to maybe do the homework- make the homework, I just use also the Romanian because sometimes I’m just like, what’s the word in Italian?” ^a
Observed example	Translated <i>soaring</i> to Swahili to understand a task ^b	Attempted to translate two words from German into English for an unknown purpose ^c

^aData source: interview audio. ^bData source: screen recording. ^cData source: field notes.

translation when asked to comment after listening to a recording of the conversation in Excerpt 4. Their remarks are juxtaposed in Table 4, along with supporting examples of reported and observed translation practices.

As illustrated in Table 4, the two students verbalized remarkably similar representations of themselves and each other as translators, despite their seemingly different practices. Although Dylan also highlighted his primary reliance on English, both students described themselves as drawing on all of their linguistic resources to translate. Jennifer referred to remembering a word in Norwegian, English, or Romanian rather than Italian, while Dylan described drawing on the Arabic he learned in religious education in Kenya. Conversely, both positioned the other student as having a narrow linguistic repertoire

for translation. Dylan conceded that Jennifer was multilingual, but he claimed that Italian was her main usable resource. Jennifer defined Dylan even more narrowly as a monolingual user of English, although she pointed out to him in Excerpt 4 that he also knew Swahili. Dylan, in fact, reported Arabic, Urdu, and Hindi as other languages in which he had high proficiency, in addition to his emergent Norwegian. The students’ representations point to a tension between a more translanguaging orientation to their own translation practices and a more monolingual orientation to each other’s translation practices, privileging only complete linguistic systems as useful in their representations of each other (see Canagarajah, 2013). Dylan also evidenced this monolingual orientation at times in his self-representations (see Excerpt 4).

EXCERPT 5

Complexity as Grounds for Avoiding Translation (Interview Audio)

- 1 Interviewer: do you know why you would have said to him [your teacher] that it
 2 was also difficult for you to write this in Polish?
 3 Lea: why do I answer to him that it's difficult or? [...]
 4 it's sometimes difficult, when I want to translate some words
 5 because some which doesn't exist in English, actually, and yeah
 6 sometimes it's difficult when I want to develop my text, yeah, so I
 7 decide, ok I'll write in Polish but, yeah he was right that it may be
 8 difficult because I do it difficult in Polish and later I want to do it
 9 also in English but it's not possible sometimes, yeah ((sigh)), so I
 10 just did it directly in English with the words that I know, not that
 11 difficult, he told me that I shouldn't use that difficult words because
 12 I shou- then I use translator Google and it, doesn't help always

Avoiding Translation

While some students oriented to translation as inherent in a translanguaging process at least sometimes, others expressed more fully monolingual orientations toward writing, such that they attempted or felt that they needed to avoid translation. Many students positioned translation as undesirable in the English writing process. For instance, Sakis cited the possibility of avoiding translation as a reason that he preferred to find information for his texts in English: "It's better [to read] in English because I can take the vocabulary from the sources and the ideas and transfer them to the text immediately without having to translate" (interview audio). Sakis positioned translation as entailing unwelcome labor, contrasted with an ideal of a more direct monolingual process of transferring meaning from an English source to his own text. However, such a monolingual orientation did not mean that he entirely avoided translation. Sakis, whose texts were often used as models for other students, reported translating to understand unfamiliar words and to generate and verify English words and phrases while writing, as evidenced in many of his screen recordings.

Other students positioned translation as too difficult. Inherent in these conceptions was a perceived need for finding equivalency between languages in order to deem a translation successful, which Horner and Tetreault (2016) associated with a monolingual orientation to translation. Although he once used Thai in an early draft, Duc expressed a preference for composing directly in English, explaining that "if I write in Thai, sometimes I cannot translate [into] English words" (interview audio). Duc's statement suggested that effective translation would entail reproducing a Thai text in English. Similarly, Lea expressed

a common assumption that to translate meant to find precise correspondences between languages. She elaborated on this point to explain why she once declined her teacher's suggestion to prewrite in Polish, as shown in Excerpt 5.

In Excerpt 5, Lea characterized translation from Polish to English as entailing two layers of difficulty. First, some words she knew in Polish might not exist in English (4–5). Second, she would not be able to achieve the same level of complexity in English as in Polish (6–9). Faced with such a challenging task, she chose to write a simpler text directly in English instead of writing in Polish and translating—a choice characterized by some resignation, as expressed by a sigh (9). She also supported this decision by relaying the teacher's ideology of simplification as preferable to the use of Google Translate (11–12). Thus, Lea communicated assumptions of translation as finding equivalents in English for original meanings communicated in Polish and of using Google Translate as inherently problematic—even if she ascribed the latter orientation more directly to her teacher than to herself.

Although this may seem so obvious as not to merit mention, a broader point would be that students generally understood translation as crossing a language boundary, again, reflecting a monolingual orientation to language and translation (see Horner & Tetreault, 2016). This became particularly clear when students explained that they chose to find English synonyms or definitions rather than translating, in light of mediational constraints. For example, Dylan stated:

If I use [Google] Translate, because I don't even have a dictionary where I can translate from Swahili and English, so if I use Translate, it's like it's always not correct sentence or like correct meaning or something, so I just think it's better if I do the definition

because, the definition it's like- it defines in words which I can understand. (Interview audio)

In this interview, Dylan described finding English definitions as preferable to translating because of the unreliability of Google Translate and the unavailability of other bilingual translation tools. Moreover, Dylan positioned monolingual semantic mediation as qualitatively different from translation, which would entail more than one named language. We will argue that a translingual orientation to translation allows for acknowledging greater continuity in such seemingly monolingual and multilingual writing practices.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In response to our research questions, we arrived at two key findings. First, students deployed a range of linguistic and mediational translation strategies to build on their translingual repertoires while writing in English as an additional language, involving “intra-lingual” and “intra-semiotic” as well as “inter-lingual” translation (Jakobson, 1959, p. 233). Second, students displayed a range of overlapping translingual to monolingual orientations toward translation. Notably, monolingual or translingual orientations did not correspond to infrequent or frequent translation.

Our findings suggest that translation gives multilingual students opportunities to leverage their linguistic repertoires in ways that their teachers may not otherwise be able to support, particularly in linguistically diverse classes, where the teacher cannot be expected to be proficient in all of the students' languages (see also Cummins, 2007; Vogel et al., 2018). Given the limitations of translation tools that also became apparent in our study, we agree with previous studies that suggest teaching effective use of translation tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). However, we would add that such strategy instruction can build on students' existing strategies (see also Vogel et al., 2018). Despite their teachers' limited direction, the students in our study demonstrated strategic thinking and the ability to deploy their “mobile semiotic resources” (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 173), developed through previous textual experiences online and offline, and to realign these for writing in the novel context of an English class in a new country. In this process, translation served as one means of aligning “semiotic resources, environmental factors, and human subjects” (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 174) to write in the monolingual code frequently expected of in-school English writing.

A translingual perspective also legitimizes translation by student writers on a more fundamental level. Even studies that have demonstrated positive effects of translation on writing in an additional language have questioned the value of translation tools if they do not eventually train language learners to produce the same results in the absence of the tools (Fredholm, 2019; O'Neill, 2019). Indeed, seen through a monolingual lens, translation has often been positioned as a stage to surpass on the way to near-native mastery of the target language (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). Following Canagarajah (2013), we instead argue that students' alignment of communicative resources through translation provides evidence of performative competence. To devalue translation as a writing practice because it often involves tools and resources outside of the student author seems both wasteful of students' language resources and removed from the realities of text creation outside of the classroom in “the digital age” (Cronin, 2013, p. 3). Such a stance may also underestimate the complex evaluative and interpretive work involved in translation and writing in general, in which the writer–translator can more accurately be seen as rewriting rather than mechanically transferring meaning within or across language boundaries (Cronin, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Furthermore, it is possible to see continuity between practices that are traditionally conceived of as translation and other forms of reformulation in writing (Horner & Tetreault, 2016). In our study, students drew on a continuum of monolingual to multilingual reference tools, also combining these with their mental linguistic repertoires (see also Dewilde, 2019) and other semiotic resources and ecological affordances. Students' alignment of their translingual resources with the expectation of producing English text led some students to more apparently monolingual practices and others to more visibly multilingual processes. We see these as a continuum of expressions of the personal labor of investing words with meaning that is involved in all writing and, indeed, as instances of translingual practice (see also Horner & Tetreault, 2016).

Nonetheless, students may express ideological tensions even as they translate. It is possible to understand students' more negative views of translation in the context of their teachers' occasional cautions or prohibitions against machine translation as well as the monolingually oriented discourses that have dominated much of additional language teaching for over a century (Canagarajah, 2013; Cook, 2010). In addition,

students sometimes highlighted the difficulty of translation, with an underlying assumption of a need for equivalence. Translation is indeed complex and labor intensive, and teachers may need to more explicitly valorize the authorial labor of translation to encourage students' translanguaging dispositions. Notably, the process of translating helps students to develop procedural knowledge and performative competence, including sensitivity to difference of meanings and forms in writing (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016; Pennycook, 2008). However, evidence of ideologies can be seen not only in what people say but also in what they do (Copland & Creese, 2015). Accordingly, students' practiced ideologies in this study generally positioned translation as a meaning-making process that is at the very center of writing in an additional language, even if they voiced discomfort about the process at times.

In conclusion, this study demonstrates that there is great potential to develop or build upon students' translation practices in teaching English writing in the additional language classroom. Incorporating translation as a valid part of writing in an additional language makes it easier for students to draw on all of their meaning-making resources and for teachers to activate linguistic resources that they themselves do not share with their students. This does not mean that allowing students to translate will solve all of their difficulties in expressing themselves in writing in an additional language. As in all writing processes, students may benefit from translation practice and guidance. Teacher guidance on translation strategies may be especially important for students with less prior schooling and experience with reference tools.

Indeed, an important limitation of our study is that the participating students all had an uninterrupted schooling background and high digital literacy, which likely contributed to their strategic use of translation. Another limitation is that we have only minimally evaluated the impact of various translation practices on students' written products. Our aim has been to supplement discussions of the effectiveness of translation in writing in an additional language by exploring and reframing translation as an element of translanguaging practice. A translanguaging orientation toward writing and translation as part of writing (Canagarajah, 2013; Horner & Tetreault, 2016) allows us to recognize students' translation practices as alignment of ecological affordances with an integrated repertoire of semiotic resources, across languages, modalities, and media. These

are strategic practices that students can use not only to develop their in-school English writing but to encounter text in whatever form it takes in new and unexpected situations.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to thank the students and teachers who participated in the study, as well as the translators who helped us understand the multilingual data. In addition, we sincerely thank Professor Christine Hélot of the University of Strasbourg; Professor Francis M. Hult of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County; Associate Professor Lisbeth M. Brevik; and the members of the SISCO research group at the University of Oslo for their comments on an earlier version of the article.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions

<i>Italics</i>	Translation into English
<u>Underline</u>	Stressed word
-	False start
?	Rising intonation
,	Pause
()	Unclear
(())	Explanation
[...]	Ellipsis
[]	Insertion

Note. Fillers are removed from data excerpts that are quoted in-line. False starts are only maintained when followed by a change in the succeeding word. Differences from Standard English are not marked or corrected.

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