Studies on translation and multilingualism

Translation and language learning:
The role of translation in the teaching of languages in the European Union

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Directorate-General for Translation, European Commission

Translation and language learning:
The role of translation in the teaching of languages in the European Union

A Study

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General introduction

The active promotion of a Europe that is multilingual and multicultural largely requires that individual citizens be plurilingual or polyglot. This requires the learning of languages, but not only that.

The European Council, meeting in Barcelona in March 2002, called for 'action to improve the mastery of basic skills, in particular by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age'. This 'Barcelona objective' was then the basis for the 2003 Action Plan *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity*[1], where the improvement of language teaching was recognised as a major element in achieving that aim. This was followed in 2006 by a report on *The main pedagogical principles underlying the teaching of languages to very young learners*[2], which offered a review of current research on language learning. In 2007 the *European Framework for Key Competences for Lifelong Learning*[3] mentioned 'mediation' in passing but conceptualised language proficiency in terms of the four traditional basic language skills. Also in 2007 there was a more general report on *The diversity of language teaching in the European Union*[4]. Meanwhile, data on progress in language learning have been collected in the Eurydice reports on *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* (2005, 2008, 2012)[5], in the Eurobarometer reports *Europeans and their Languages* (2006, 2012)[6], which include information on the most common and effective ways of learning a language, and in the *First European Survey on Language Competences: Final Report* (European Commission 2011)[7].

Remarkably, none of the above documents (covering the ten-year period from 2002 to 2012) mentions translation as a way of learning, teaching or testing a language.[8]

Further, from the very beginning, the Barcelona objective was accompanied by a call for 'the establishment of a linguistic competence indicator', which is logical enough, since any policy requires tools able to measure its success. Those competence indicators were supposed to measure the four language skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing), and the ten years of language-learning policy statements have remained faithful to those four pillars. At no stage, in that particular body of literature, has 'translating' been seen as part of a specific fifth skill, as a mode of language use that can and should be learned in addition to the

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[1] COM(2003)449: *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: an Action Plan 2004-2006* http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2003:0449:FIN:en:PDF. Accessed January 2013.
[2] Final Report of the EAC 89/04. http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/doc/young_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[3] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/publ/pdf/ll-learning/keycomp_en.pdf. Accessed February 2013.
[4] Strubell et al., *The diversity of language teaching in the European Union*, 2007 (Report to the European Commission, DG EAC) http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/study_diversity_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[5] 2005 edition: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/eurydice/key-data-2005_en.pdf; 2008 edition: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/about/eurydice/documents/KDL2008_EN.pdf; 2012 edition: http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/education/eurydice/documents/key_data_series/143EN.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[6] 2006 edition: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf; 2012 edition: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/pdf/comm2008_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[7] *First European Survey on Language Competences: Final Report*. http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[8] The occasional mentions tend to suggest that translation is *opposed* to language learning, as in: 'students' exposure to English is generally higher in relatively small European countries. Presumably, media in these countries provide less translation into their national languages than in bigger countries such as Spain, France and Poland' (Eurydice 2012: 104).

other four. At no stage has there been any particular vision of exactly how learners will use their language skills in a multilingual world.

In parallel with that official European discourse and research on language learning, there have been more general policy documents on multilingualism. The 2005 *New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism*[9] saw the provision of translation and interpreting services, and particularly the development of electronic translation technologies, as important elements in the promotion of multilingualism. The 2007 report of the High Level Group on Multilingualism[10] affirmed that multilingualism should be enhanced by more training of professional translators and more translations of literary works. The role of translation was further elaborated in the 2008 policy document *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment*[11]*,* which certainly recognised the need to improve language teaching and the range of languages taught, but also stressed that '[t]he media, new technologies and *human and automatic translation services* can bring the increasing variety of languages and cultures in the EU closer to citizens and provide the means to cross language barriers' (2008: 12, emphasis ours).

None of the documents on multilingualism actually relates translation to language teaching in any clear way. Translation is certainly mentioned, but always in sections that remain quite separate from the comments on improving language teaching. Language learners learn languages; professional translators translate; and those are seen as quite separate worlds.

There is, however, a third kind of policy available. The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* concerns not just the acquisition of the four basic language skills, but it also envisages what learners will do with their skills in a multilingual world: 'Learners are also enabled to *mediate*, *through interpretation and translation*, between speakers of the two languages concerned who cannot communicate directly' (2001: 43; emphasis ours). If it is believed that learning languages (by whatever method) enables learner to undertake these mediation activities, then one might also imagine that explicit teaching of translating and interpreting would lead to enhanced abilities in these as in other areas of language use.

So how could translation be related to language learning? There are at least three abstract models:

1. *Translation and language learning are opposites*: Superficially, translation and language learning could be opposites. In a world of perfect, universal translation services, a citizen in Slovenia, for example, could communicate with all levels of governance in Slovene, have access to all cultural products in Slovene, and perhaps communicate with all non-Slovenes through an automatic translator inserted in one ear.[12] That citizen would have no need to learn any language other than Slovene. Indeed the learning of other languages would only be necessary for the professional translators and interpreters required (the number of whom would nevertheless be considerable). Similarly, in a world of perfect universal

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[9] http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2005:0596:FIN:EN:PDF. See also the *Report on the implementation of the Action Plan*, COM(2007)554.
http://ec.europa.eu/education/languages/archive/doc/com554_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[10] http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lang/doc/multireport_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[11] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/pdf/comm2008_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.
[12] This would be automatic translation of the kind envisaged in *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, not without ambiguities: 'the poor Babel fish, by effectively removing all barriers to communication between different cultures and races, has caused more and bloodier wars than anything else in the history of creation' (http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=p5mWQFGF7w8).

language learning, there would be no conceivable need for translation services.

2. *Translation and language learning complement each other*: Translation is thus required because in fact not everyone learns all languages, and language learning is required, among other reasons, to ensure the availability of translators, there being an insufficient number of 'natural bilinguals' or 'natural translators'[13] to cover the market.

3. *Translation is inherent in language learning*: In a third kind of relationship, translation would be considered a fifth skill to be practised within the language classroom, alongside reading, listening, speaking and writing in the two languages independently. This view assumes that translation is somehow inherent in the language-learning process itself; that it is a skill that is as fundamental to the bilingual mind as each of the other skills is to monolingual and bilingual minds alike.[14] On this view, translation is a way (or set of ways) of learning a second or foreign language, and not just a way of training professional translators and interpreters.

This third kind of relation is the one that most interests us here. Our task is to locate the ways in which translation may be of use in language learning, and indeed to ask if it can function as an impediment to effective language learning.

The recent literature on language teaching suggests a general return to the use of translation in the classroom. This might mean that our 'third relation' corresponds to some kind of social or professional need. Perhaps surprisingly, though, there is little empirical evidence that is conclusive either for or against the use of translation activities (see e.g. Källkvist 2004; 2008). The arguments for and against translation have been influenced by general movements in the fields of language pedagogy and applied linguistics, and one of our tasks must be to analyse those arguments as discursive constructs in their own right – we should be able to say what kind of social logics are operating in favour of translation, and what kinds of logics are separating translation from language learning.

Ten years after the formulation of the 'mother tongue plus two' objective, the 2012 Eurobarometer survey reported that there are only eight EU Member States, mostly countries with smaller populations, where more than half the population actually achieves this aim.[15] There are calls to reduce the benchmark to the point where 'at least 80 % of pupils in lower secondary education be taught at least two foreign languages'.[16] There must thus be real questions about the feasibility of the objective in its various policy avatars, and even of its general desirability.[17] The most profound question, though, concerns the systemic nature of the

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[13] A natural bilingual is a person who has acquired two languages without any formal training. A natural translator is a bilingual who performs translation or interpreting tasks without any formal training (see Harris 1976 and 4.3.3.1 below).

[14] Interestingly, this view is compatible with our best accounts of how we communicate in one language as well. See Davidson (1973).

[15] Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Slovenia, Malta, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. See: Special Eurobarometer 386. Europeans and their Languages (2012: 13): http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf.

[16] Article 20, European Parliament Resolution of 2 April 2009 on Better Schools: an agenda for European cooperation (2008/2329(INI)), http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:137E:0043:0049:EN:PDF. Accessed March 2013.

[17] This also concerns the consistent lack of attention to precisely *which* languages are to be taught, which means that the one policy seems to serve multiple opposing political ends (some think that the objective protects European national languages; others are sure it promotes the diversity of sub-national languages; exporters might hope it will mean learning Chinese; community workers point to the range of immigrant languages to be taught and maintained). The aim of the policy depends very much on which language is being learned, and in which particular context.

languages that are supposed to be learned. Structuralist theories and the search for 'immersion' held that the learner should enter the entire linguistic and cultural system of L2, to become like a native speaker of that complete language. If that is the aim of all language learning, then it is very possible to see translation as being a detrimental side-line. In a world of constant multilingual usage, however, it seems unreasonable to assume that different languages will only be used in their own closed social and cultural systems. It thus becomes possible to envisage translation not just as a mode of language learning, and not just as a specialised professional activity, but as a major way in which languages are used by all.

1. Methodological issues

The nature of this research is primarily *qualitative*, since we are seeking ways in which the use of translation relates to language learning. Those relations are by nature complex, context-dependent and subject to diverse interpretations. All these factors call for a qualitative approach.

At the same time, we have used some quantitative research tools, notably an online questionnaire for teachers. In most cases, however, the sampling procedures used do not allow us to claim any useful degree of representativeness and the numbers merely act as a set of checks on our qualitative analyses.

This is important because, from the outset, there is an obvious element of researcher bias. Two of the three main researchers in this project work in Translation Studies[18], and the project is for the Directorate-General for Translation. We are thus institutionally given to believe that there should be more translation used in language learning. This bias is something we have tried to be vigilant about, and the presence of quantitative methodologies does help this vigilance: the numbers from the questionnaires at least indicate majority and minority opinions, and our attempts to cover all aspects of language teaching in particular local geographical areas reminds us that all opinions, including ours, are situated in a particular historical and linguistic space.

1.1. Research questions

The questions dealt with in this project are as follows:

1. Can translation contribute to effective language learning?
2. What is the pedagogical value of translation compared to other language learning methods?
3. To what extent does the contribution of translation to language learning depend on the learning objective, i.e. the targeted level of proficiency (fluency or mere comprehension of a language)?
4. Does translation currently form a part of the curricula for language teaching in primary, secondary and higher education in the selected Member States?
5. If translation does not form part of the language teaching curricula, is there a willingness to introduce it? If not, what are the reasons?
6. Is there a difference in attitude towards the role of translation in language teaching between bi/multilingual and monolingual countries?
7. How can translation as a method of language learning be made more attractive in order to motivate the students?

Questions 1 and 2 are answered through the literature reviews. Questions 3, 4, 5 and 6 find responses through the results of our questionnaire survey and case studies. Question 7, on how to make translation attractive, is answered in our presentations of possible class activities involving translation (5.2 below) and in our general argument that translation as scaffolding at initial levels of learning is quite different from translation as a complex activity at higher levels, where it is communicative, interactional and can involve a variety of media.

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[18] This is not without contradiction. One of the main researchers, Anthony Pym, taught English for some 20 years without ever using translation as a teaching method, in line with the communicative ideologies of his generation.

1.2. What do we mean by language learning?

The term 'language learning' is analysed here in terms of the learning that takes place at school and principally in the (physical or online) classroom. As such, the term is practically synonymous with 'official language teaching', and indeed we frequently refer to 'language *teaching*' when discussing classroom situations. We focus on schools firstly because some 68 per cent of Europeans say they have learnt an L2 this way, but also because the institutional school environment is where the findings of any research are most likely to have an effect in terms of policy. Our research thus only tangentially concerns the learning that happens in the home or the workplace, beyond the contexts of official education. This is not to disregard the dynamism and importance of the many other contexts in which languages are learned or acquired, some of which figure in the empirical research covered in our literature review.[19] In particular, the literature on 'mental translation' as a cognitive process that may occur in language learning and acquisition, in the classroom or otherwise, assumes the wider sense of 'language learning'.

Within the school context, we are interested in comparing the standard or recommended language-learning methods in the main curricula at primary, secondary and higher-education levels.

This project does not cover the learning of signed languages, languages for special purposes (e.g. chemistry or engineering), or the incidental learning that occurs, for example, in literary or philosophical studies.

In general, we will refer to the learning of a language that is additional to the speaker's first or main language. The first or main language is referred to as L1, while the additional (or 'second'[20]) language is referred to as L2, even though it may be learner's third or fourth language (or more).[21] Early-stage bilinguals may thus have two L1s.

1.3. What do we mean by translation?

The term 'translation' is primarily taken here to include the reception and/or production and/or reworking of spoken or written bi-texts (paired discourses in two languages) within the classroom situation. This includes:

- Concurrent interpreting/translation, where everything said in one language is translated into the other, usually by the instructor
- Dual language preview-review
- Communicative translation and dialogue interpreting by learners (increasingly conceptualised as forms of 'mediation')

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[19] See *Special Eurobarometer 386. Europeans and their Languages* (2012: 100): http://ec.europa.eu/languages/pdf/comm2008_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013. The other main contexts mentioned in the report are: by talking informally to a native speaker (16%), with a teacher outside school in group language lessons (15 %) and by going on frequent or long trips to the country in which the language is spoken (15 %), by reading books (12%), by using audiovisual materials, such as CDs or DVDs (11 %) and by watching films/television or listening to the radio (11 %).
[20] The concept of 'foreign' language is not retained here, basically in order to avoid ambiguities: a national language may be learnt as a 'foreign' language by immigrants, which explains why German is the third most frequent L2 in Germany, for example, and Spanish and Catalan are the second and third most frequent L2s in Spain. (See *Special Eurobarometer 386. Europeans and their Languages*: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/pdf/comm2008_en.pdf (2012: 21). Accessed January 2013.
[21] While the terms L1 and L2 are normal enough in Language Education, in translator training it is more current to talk about the learner's A, B and C languages, where A would be the first or main language, and B and C would be L2 and L3 respectively.

- Identification of non-correspondences between languages, and their resolution as translation problems
- Identification of problems in machine-translation output, and their correction
- The use and production of subtitled and dubbed video material.

In principle, we take the notion of 'bi-texts' or 'paired discourses'[22] in the widest sense, without restrictions in terms of grammatical or semantic mapping – it is enough that the discourses are *considered* to be paired in some way.[23] We thus include much of what some theorists call 'mediation', for example when the learner attempts to express the general sense of an utterance in the other language.[24]

Our use of the term 'translation' covers both the written and spoken modes. This is despite the distinction often made, both in Translation Studies and in professional practice, between 'translation' as the exclusively written mode and 'interpreting' (or 'interpretation') as the spoken mode.[25] The use of 'translation' as a superordinate is nevertheless common enough in the language-education literature, and is not unheard of or unmotivated in Translation Studies (cf. Pym, 2011: 94).

We are interested in two major ways of using translation: when *the teacher* translates in order to help students' understanding (i.e. as a more or less simple case of scaffolding, to be removed as learning progresses), and when *the learner* translates, as a major way of using language (i.e. as a learning activity in itself, presumably *following* the acquisition of other language skills). Although these two modes can clearly overlap in many cases (for example, when one learner translates to help another), the distinction between them is so basic and obvious that it is often not seen, resulting in much misunderstanding.

As an initial hypothesis, we might suppose that the 'scaffolding' translation provided by teachers is required in the initial stages of language learning, whereas the communicative translation tasks carried out by students might more properly belong at the advanced stages, as a complex bringing together of language skills. In between these two scenarios, the acquisition of oral fluency would generally not be well served by translation activities.

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[22] The term 'bi-text' dates from Harris 1988, where it is an alignment of source and target versions of a text. Harris also posited that bi-texts have a mental status in the cognitive processes of the translator.

[23] Cf. Toury's concept of 'assumed translations', understood as 'all utterances which are presented or regarded as [translations]' (1995: 70).

[24] This extension of the term 'translation' is generally in keeping with trends in translation theory, especially following the work of *Skopos* theory from the mid-1980s, the professional realism of Gouadec in France in the 1990s, the increasing attention to community interpreting and translation as situated social activities, and theories of cultural translation from the 1990s (see Munday 2001/2012, Pöchhacker 2006, Pym 2010). The CEFR includes under 'mediation' the activities of 'information interpretation', 'summarising gist' and 'paraphrasing', alongside more standard forms of translation. All of these modes are included as 'translatorial action' in general *Skopos* theory (cf. Holz-Mänttäri 1984; Nord 1997) and as professional translation practices in Gouadec (1989: 21-26) Common usage of the term has not necessarily followed suit. For example, one of the respondents to our experts' questionnaire, Julian Bishop (Studienrat in Tübingen), explains: 'Language learning and teaching nowadays strongly focuses on the overall communicative value of oral interactions, written texts, etc. In other words, paying close attention to *details* has been substituted by a focus on *gist* and *overall meaning*. This is also reflected in the movement from translation (i.e. a more detailed rendition of the text in the target language) to mediation (i.e. being able to understand the focal aspects of the text and limiting the rendition to them' (expert questionnaire, 12 December 2012).

[25] The distinction between the two terms was upheld in 2011 by the United States Supreme Court (http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/11pdf/10-1472.pdf) so that a company could avoid paying the court interpreters used in a trial that the company lost.

1.4. Selection of case studies

The survey part of this research is formally organised in terms of the following case-study countries:

Member States: Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Poland, Spain, United Kingdom;

Comparison countries: Australia, China, United States.

The comparison countries are selected for several reasons: recent reorientations in language-learning policy (Australia), long-term work on bilingual education (United States), and recent interest in the question (China).

Since one of the obligatory research questions concerns comparing 'bilingual' and 'monolingual' countries, we have included Finland and Spain (Catalonia).

In the course of our research, the networks of contacts opened up some unexpected additional avenues, leading to a series of supplementary samples from Turkey, Lithuania, Sweden, Albania and Italy.[26]

1.5. Cities and regions as case studies

Our empirical studies are formally organised in terms of case-study countries, in accordance with the requirements of the tender. The actual dynamics of language teaching, however, are very often heterogeneous within individual countries. In Germany, for example, most of the official regulations and recommendations operate at the level of each *Land*, not at the level of the whole country. In Spain, the presence of co-official languages in several *comunidades autónomas* means that the politics and ideologies of language teaching tend to be rather different in those areas. And in the United States, to cite a comparison example, the strong presence of Spanish in some parts of the country means that special attention is given to bilingual education in those parts but not across the whole country. Added to this, one might assume that ideas about language acquisition and teaching are disseminated most effectively through networks that are essentially local, based on associations of language teachers, contacts with colleagues, and outreach activities on the part of institutions of higher learning.

For these reasons, our analyses here will mostly be focused on individual *cities*, rather than on whole countries as such. These cities are of variable sizes and correspond to different official criteria (in Monterey in the United States, data are only available on the county, for example), but they are all understood as local complex social networks through which ideas are disseminated and transformed, often on a person-to-person basis.

One of the immediate advantages of this focus on cities is that our survey research has tended to use precisely the same networks to reach our respondents: local associations have helped us locate and contact language teachers, and individual teachers have passed on the questionnaire request to their colleagues. In this way, our questionnaire has used a controlled snowball

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[26] A doctoral student in Tarragona began to work on this topic in Turkey, bringing in a further case for comparison. A respondent in Germany, Dr. Jörg Kuglin, then asked why Turkey should be included but not Albania, and he sent the questionnaire to the Albanian Association of English Teachers, of whom 15 replied. Similarly, Dr. Sara Laviosa in Italy provided contacts for the many researchers in Italy who have worked on this issue.

technique, in the sense that the snowballs have mostly rolled around in the cities we have focused on.

1.6. Variables of interest

In each case study, we are interested in the general relations between the following variables:

1. Regulations, recommendations and expert opinions concerning language teaching. These may be operative at the European, national, regional and local levels.

2. General language demographics, particularly as they concern the language learning needs of communities within each country. In principle, these needs are differentiated in accordance with the types of language: official/co-official languages, languages of international communication, indigenous languages, and immigrant languages.

3. The way the regulations and recommendations interact with language-learning needs in various educational environments:

   a. Primary
   b. Secondary
   c. Higher
   d. In some cases, courses for immigrant or indigenous communities, beyond the formal education systems.

In principle, the regulations, recommendations and expertise start from the national and European levels, the language demographics show specific needs within the national frame, while the educational environments are investigated at the city or regional level.

1.7. Research instruments

Two instruments have been developed in order to collect data on the above variables:

1. Questionnaire for experts (Appendix A): This seeks data on regulations, recommendations and expert opinions, and has been administered and analysed on the national level.

2. Questionnaire for language teachers (Appendix B): This seeks information on actual teaching practice and the opinions of teachers. It has been administered at the level of countries, regions or cities.

2. Review of previous research

The relation between translation and language learning touches on numerous academic disciplines and can be approached from several very different angles.

For the greater part of the 19th and 20th centuries, opinion was mobilised *against* the use of translation in language classrooms. This has been especially true in research into the teaching of *English* as an L2, within the discipline often known as Applied Linguistics (although there is obviously no exclusive connection between linguistics and its applications on the one hand and the study of the *English* language on the other). Since this research community has gained a degree of influence concomitant with the worldwide importance of the language that is its research focus, its opinions have come to carry significant, possibly undue weight.

Here we present an overview of the ways in which the relation between translation and language teaching and learning has been discussed in the past. We then turn to more recent empirical studies of the effects that translation has on language learning. We close our review with brief consideration of the general guidelines currently influential in the European Union.

2.1. Historical debates over translation and language learning

'Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!' (language-teaching must turn around), wrote Wilhelm Viëtor in 1882, in a pamphlet that is often cited as the key document that prompted the reform of language teaching in Germany and elsewhere in the late nineteenth century (Howatt, 1984: 340). What language pedagogy had to turn away from, according to Viëtor, was a method of teaching that made unreasonable demands on schoolchildren, who, in the views of many liberal Germans then, were suffering needless pressures in inefficient schools using ineffective methods. Language teaching took up two thirds of the *Gymnasium* (secondary grammar school) curriculum and would therefore contribute significantly to a child's alleged discomfort. Besides, Viëtor insists, the method had a very low success rate; in particular 'the pronunciation of English and French taught in our schools is gruesome' (Viëtor in Howatt, 1984: 349). The disquiet Viëtor expresses here at the neglect of the spoken language is echoed by other adherents of the so-called Reform movement that he helped to found and which included Henry Sweet and William Henry Widgery in Britain, Felix Franke and Hermann Klinghardt in Silesia, and Otto Jespersen in Denmark. An emphasis on pronunciation and a feeling that the spoken language needed to receive more attention in language teaching were among the factors that came to count against the use of translation in language teaching at the end of the 19th century.

The method Viëtor objected to required students to memorise lists of words and rules of grammar and, on that basis, to use a model provided by sample sentences in L2 together with their translations into L1, to carry out their own translations of large numbers of sentences of L2, usually in writing and mostly as homework. This method, often referred to as the 'grammar-translation method' – a term coined by its opponents and which, according to Howatt (1984: 131) 'draws attention to two of the less significant features of the approach' – had been inherited from the teaching of Latin and Greek, though a number of classicists were also beginning to question the efficacy of the method (see Viëtor in Howatt 1984: 359). However, the inspiration behind the grammar-translation method had, as Howatt (1984: 131) points out, been reformist. Whereas the

main method of learning modern languages in the 18th century had been the so-called Scholastic or 'Intellectual' method (Gatenby, 1948/1967: 65) whereby highly educated adults, already schooled in Latin and Greek, would learn to read a new language by studying its grammar and using a dictionary to translate texts, large groups of younger learners required a more learner-centred approach and a more carefully graded syllabus; so sentences for translation were especially constructed to illustrate particular points of grammar and to ensure graded progression. This focus on isolated sentences, however well intended, drew the ire of proponents of so-called 'Natural' methods of language learning and teaching, steeped, as many of them were, in the new discipline of psychology with its emphasis on connectivity and association. Isolated, unconnected sentences were anathema to this focus, and according to Sweet (1899, quoted in Gatenby, 1948/1967: 66) using a translation into the known language of a term of the language to be learnt would further mean that the learner would come to associate ideas from their own language with the new term, instead of the ideas that native speakers associate with it. These ideas, he declared, 'are not the same as those called forth by the corresponding words in our own language'.

Let it not be thought, though, that Viëtor himself discounted translation – far from it. He recommends (in Howatt 1984: 360) that once the teacher has read short passages aloud a few times, glossing some of the words, pupils should 'compete with suggestions for a complete translation'. In this, though, Viëtor was diametrically opposed to one of the most vociferous opponents of translation in the language classroom, Maximilian Berlitz, the staunchest and most influential of all the followers of the so-called 'Natural' or 'Direct' method of language teaching, pioneered by Lambert Sauveur (1826-1907) in the United States in the late nineteenth century. All of Berlitz's language course books inveighed against any use of translation whatsoever in the language classroom (Howatt, 1984: 205), and even today Berlitz learners (of English) are promised e.g. 'nothing but English for 5 days' on Berlitz course websites.[27]

Natural or direct methods of language teaching and learning adhere to two basic principles. First, the language used in the classroom should emulate natural conversation as closely as possible, which leads naturally to the second principle, that of connectivity. Natural conversation does not proceed in sequences of unconnected sentences, however carefully graded to aid the gradual learning of grammar or even pragmatics; it proceeds as a sequence of interconnected turns to speak in one language, about a topic the speakers have a degree of genuine interest in. It is easy to see why these principles would militate strongly against the use of isolated, graded, constructed sentences; it is harder to see why they should be taken as good reasons not to translate, since translation aids natural communication in very many contexts. However, because the grammar parts of grammar-translation course books tended to focus on word classes rather than on the syntactic relationships between them, they encouraged word-for-word translation (Howatt, 1984: 144-5). This has been emphasised by more recent, very influential critics of the method such as Robert Lado (1964: 54), E. V. Gatenby (1948/1967: 66) and William F. Mackey. Mackey (1953-5/1967: 9), however, also remarks that in many

> regulations on language teaching method […] the term 'direct method' is either useless or requires more qualification. It says nothing of the selection or grading of the material, and very little about its presentation, except that translation will be avoided.

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[27] See e.g. http://www.berlitzoxford.co.uk.

Gatenby (1948/1967: 66), in contrast, promises a summary of 'the reasons why translation cannot be expected to produce good results when employed in the classroom', although his emphasis is on the idea that translation is a 'departure from the conditions of the natural process of acquiring speech', which is 'limited to hearing and speaking'. Even in the case of bilingual children, Gatenby claims, no translation is involved in their language-acquisition process (1948/1967: 67), a claim that many students of bilingual language acquisition and bilingualism would probably at least question (see, for example, Ronjat, 1913; Leopold, 1949; Harris, 1976; Harris and Sherwood, 1978; Valdés, 2003).

Writing and reading can be added later without much effort, he thinks, since 'nothing more difficult is involved than becoming familiar with visual symbols for sounds and groups of sounds already known'. In other words, the spoken language has to be learnt first, after which reading and writing can be learnt with little effort. Of course, this rosy picture may be slightly clouded by the fact that schoolchildren, thankfully, do not spend all their waking hours at school, immersed in the language they have to learn, as Gatenby in fact eloquently acknowledges (1948/1967: 67), without, however, allowing it to dampen his enthusiasm for the natural methods of language learning. Rather, he blames the 'unnaturalness' of translation, a scarcity of 'good direct-method teachers' and a failure to understand that 'the main aim, the first aim, of anyone who studies a foreign language must be to speak it and understand it' (1948/1967: 68) for the failure that he perceives to be the outcome of the language teaching regime in his contemporary school system. He insists that:

> What should be avoided at all costs […] is translation as an exercise, oral or written. Why use two languages when the time allocated for learning is so short? Translation is a deceptive process in that, being laborious, it persuades teacher and pupil that a great deal has been accomplished. Unfortunately, such work is all but useless. Translation may give meaning, but it does not teach. It perpetuates the time-wasting habit of always associating the new language with the old, and it actually hinders full comprehension. (1948/1967: 69-70)

Mackey (1953-5/1967: 34), too, writing about the learning of English as a foreign language, points to arguments against the use of translation in language teaching. Those arguments emphasise the complexity of translation, which has the potential to lead to 'mental confusion', again partly because the learner may 'fuse the structural habits of his own language with the English structures he is trying to control'.

Interestingly, Morris (1957/1967: 61), returning from a tour of Scandinavia and the Netherlands where he had observed foreign language achievement that 'appeared to be relatively high when compared with achievements elsewhere', had also noted, there, 'excessive resort to translation', in spite of which 'the continental pupils […] would show to advantage also in speech', especially in Norway. He spends the remainder of his article trying to find fault with this failure to follow 'modern theory' (1957/1967: 63), but concludes that 'the training on classical lines, now that speech is included, provides by far the sounder foundations for both knowledge and correct application, whatever its limitations' – limitations that he struggles valiantly if unconvincingly to identify throughout the major part of his article.

What all these various claims share is, first, a lack of anything more than anecdote in their support – they are, in the words of Mackey (1953-5/1967: 9) 'more a collection of opinions and feelings than an organized body of knowledge' – and, second, a very narrow view of what kinds of translation exercise it might

be possible to devise for use in the language classroom. As we shall see in the section that follows, empirical studies exploring a variety of types of translation-related activities paint an interesting, different, if not wholly conclusive picture.

2.2. Empirical research

The number of publications dealing directly with the role of translation in language teaching has increased significantly since the 1980s (see Figure 1), extending from the United States and the United Kingdom to Germany, France, Turkey and China (see our References section).[28] The vast majority of these publications concern classroom experiences or contributions to debates, as part of a general realignment of opinions. Only a few publications report on controlled empirical research.

Figure 1. Historical distribution of 89 articles, books and theses dealing directly with the role of translation in language teaching (corpus from topic-specific items in the References section in this report)

The empirical research on translation and language learning concerns several quite different but related issues:

- What are the learning effects of using L1 (and thus translation) in the L2 classroom?
- To what extent do learners request or enjoy translation exercises as a part of their formal language learning?
- To what extent can translated subtitles enhance language skills?
- To what extent do learners use L1 when learning L2? That is, to what extent is there 'mental translating', even when the L1 is excluded from the learning situation?
- To what extent do L1 and L2 share the same or different parts of the brain (i.e. to what extent is there 'lateralisation' in bilinguals)?
- To what extent can translation enhance intercomprehension skills?

The first three questions have mainly been addressed by classroom-based research. The other questions draw on psychology, neuro-imaging and various degrees of reported experience. Here we report on each of these questions in turn.

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[28] The rise in publications must be measured against the similar rise in publications on L2 teaching in general. The growth nevertheless indicates the development of a general concern that was mostly absent in previous decades.

2.2.1. Do learners perform better when L1 is excluded?

Within the countries that adopted communicative teaching methods, there was (and in many cases still remains) a consensus that L2 language teaching is most effective when L1 is not used in the classroom. This idea rests on the view of languages as independent, separate systems, and the idea that only by fully entering a particular language system can the learner come to understand how all the pieces relate to each other. The exclusion of L1 also relates to the practical value of students travelling to countries where L2 is spoken, so as to attain full 'immersion' in the L2 system. We are thus interested in research that demonstrates the benefits of excluding L1 in the classroom or during trips abroad.

The *First European Survey on Language Competences* (ESLC 2011: 83) reports that:

> For the majority of educational systems, languages and skills the effect of teachers' and students' use of the target language during target language [L2] lessons as reported by the students is positive, which means that the more students and teachers speak the target language during lessons, the higher the score on the language tests. For Writing the effect is less marked than for Listening and Reading. The effects for Writing that are negative are often significantly negative.[29]

There is thus a correlation, in the eyes of students, between L1 exclusion and the attainment of pedagogical objectives. This correlation is not universal, however, and notably did not hold for results from England (ESLC 2011: 241). Further, the overall data indicate surprisingly little variation between countries (see Figure 2), at least insofar as one might have expected immersion and communicative methods to impose a good many scores of 'always'. We might assume that any average hovering around the mid-way mark allows that L1 and L2 are both actively present in class, which would in turn suggest that the data still reflect numerous teaching environments in which L1 is present and active. That, however, does not necessarily mean that translation is being used in those environments (and the students were not asked to evaluate translation activities).

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[29] *First European Survey on Language Competences: Final Report*.
http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013.

Figure 2. Frequency of use of L2 in the classroom by teachers and students, 2010/11; 0='never', 4='always'; data from ESLC 2011, graph from Eurydice 2012: 106. [30]
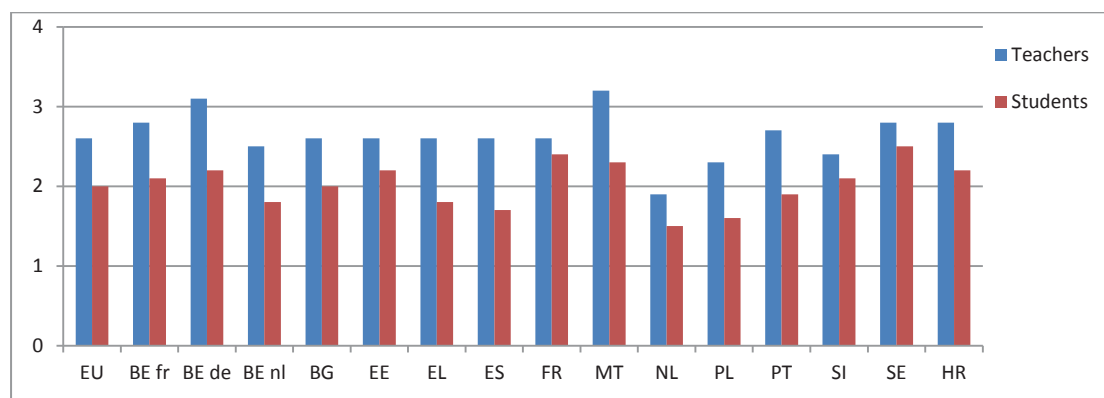
There is some experimental research that directly concerns the use of translation in the L2 class. Ulanoff and Pucci (1993), for example, used 'concurrent translation' (where the teacher translates everything as it is said) in a language class (60 primary-school students in an asymmetrically bilingual environment) and found that students stopped paying attention to their weaker language, so the translations simply took learning time away from the 'four main language skills'. This makes sense: if the answer is always going to be given in L1, why should the student waste time working with L2? Any number of experiments can demonstrate that complete and immediate translation of this kind will have a negative pedagogical effect. Yet this is certainly not the only way an L1 can be used in the L2 class.

Other research projects have experimented with more practical or 'real-world' uses of translation. For instance, Prieto Arranz (2002) and Cahnmann (2005) had students engage in liaison interpreting with and for each other, in simulated situations where interpreting would really be required. They report significant enhancement of language learning, with positive feedback from students. Rather than use translation in an absolute and authoritarian way (in the sense of 'concurrent translation'), these researchers sought the benefits of creative and communicative ways of making translation a useful and practical learning activity.

We note that the experiment with 'concurrent translation' involved the teacher providing the spoken translations, whereas the experiment with liaison interpreting had the *students* doing the spoken translations. The experiments give very different results because they concern very different ways of using translation. We have not found any empirical evidence that translation of this second kind, where students are actively engaged in producing translations, has a negative learning effect.

At the secondary level (16 years), Ferreira Gaspar (2009: 173) reports 'a personal, informal account of various classroom experiments on the teaching and practice of translation skills in regular EFL classes at secondary high school level'. She uses translation of material from popular news and science magazines to engender discussion of issues of interest to her pupils, and a children's literature series as the basis for an exercise in which the students pretend to be engaged in negotiating publication of the series in English. She concludes that 'on the whole

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[30] The data are for students in the last year of ISCED 2 or in the second year of ISCED 3, where the L2 is English for all countries except the Dutch and German-speaking parts of Belgium, where it was French.

[…] the students enjoyed the exercises a lot and were eager to discuss […] such fine points as how far the translator can stray from the source text and the most appropriate language for the target reader' (2009: 178).

Takimoto and Hashimoto (2010) report on Japanese-English translation classes with ten students, where interpreting and translation activities 'encourage learners' "intercultural exploration" [and] intercultural language learning'. The same authors (2011) find that the effects of interpreting and translation activities include 'relevance to real-life and constant interaction, which directly contributes to promoting students' learning'.

Köse (2011) reports on an experiment where 40+35 undergraduate students were given different kinds of translation activities for 10 weeks. The group that had 'content-focused translation instruction' (presumably contextualised activities) had significantly better final self-assessment scores for language skills than did the group that had 'form-focused translation instruction' (presumably close to 'concurrent translation' of isolated sentences).[31]

More elaborate experiments have found that translation is particularly useful when combined with other specific skills, particularly writing. For instance, Friedlander (1990) found that planning in L1 correlates with better L2 essays about L1 topics and that planning in L2 correlates with better L2 essays about L2 topics. That is, the language one uses to think about an essay can depend more on the nature of the topic than on relative mastery of the languages concerned.

Prince (1996: 478) found that translation was superior to context learning for the acquisition of new vocabulary, although weaker students were unable to 'transfer their knowledge to L2 contexts'.

On the other hand, a number of researchers have observed that word-for-word translation is a writing strategy that tends to be used more by *initial* L2 learners, giving way to more complete thinking in L2 among more proficient speakers (cf. Whalen and Menard 1995, Qi, 1998, Cohen and Brooks-Carson 2001, Wen and Wang 2002, Wolfersberger 2003; reviewed in Elsherif 2012). This should come as no surprise: any number of studies can show that literal translation is a beginner's survival strategy. One cannot conclude, however, that the presence of L1, and therefore of translation, is detrimental to language learning. That argument involves at least two fallacies:

1. It cannot be assumed that word-for-word translation equals all translation. There may be more dynamic, complex modes of translation that can and do accompany the learner's progress;
2. The evident fact that more advanced learners require less use of L1 does not necessarily mean that they became more advanced *by* excluding L1, and therefore by excluding translation. To think otherwise is to take the effect as if it were a cause.

We thus see that the findings of the various research projects depend very much on the *kinds of translation* they use, the various associated assumptions made about learners' capacities at particular levels, and the variables that are supposed to measure success. We close this section with consideration of the recent work done by Källkvist, in which these variables are carefully controlled and discussed.

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[31] Although the research design of this study is of definite interest, one would need to know much more about the actual activities involved, the language skills tested, and how the students performed beyond self-evaluation.

Källkvist reports on the use of translation in the L2 classroom in a series of papers (2008; 2013; forthcoming). Källkvist (2008) administered two different form-focused exercises to two groups of Swedish advanced learners of English over thirteen weeks. The focus of learning for both groups was grammar, but the Translation group translated sentences or sentence parts, whereas the Non-translation group was asked to gap-fill or carry out transformation exercises on the same sentences that the Translation group translated. The focus of the study was to compare the two groups' performance when translating from Swedish into English and when writing directly in English. The results showed no significant differences between the two groups in their accuracy when undertaking multiple-choice tests, but the Non-translation group performed better in re-writing tasks than the Translation group and the Translation group outperformed the Non-translation group on the translation task.

Building on this study, Källkvist (2013) examines classroom 'languaging' (the use of language to discuss language in the language classroom, see Becker 1991), specifically when translation from L1 into L2 is used to help teach 'difficult' structures. By 'difficult' structures, Källkvist means 'structures where even advanced-level L2 users continue to commit errors despite 9-10 years' classroom instruction' (2013: 219). Audio recordings of 19 classes, in 11 of which translation tasks were used, showed that during whole-class discussions following completion of the tasks,

> Languaging engendered by the translation tasks was different from the languaging engendered by the other tasks particularly with regard to (a) student-initiated participation in TLD [Teacher-led Discourse], (b) degree of focus on the targeted, difficult L2 morphosyntax, and (c) the nature of teacher scaffolding. (2013: 219-220)

The percentages of student-initiated languaging turns were higher for translation tasks than for any of the control tasks used (gap filling, noticing, composition and text editing), and the turns concerned a wider range of language features too: vocabulary, alternative expressions, morphosyntax other than the feature in focus, prepositions, spelling, writing conventions and the use of capital letters. It seems as if having the two languages in use side by side in fact encourages, rather than acts against, closer observation of the new language because it shows up its differences from the known language.

This is especially interesting in light of the fact that anti-translation views are often motivated by a fear that having the native language present in language lessons will detract from a concentration on the new language; Källkvist's results suggest that the opposite is the case. It seems as if the use of translation provides an incentive to draw on a knowledge base larger than the L2 only, namely the 'multicompetence' (Cook, V., 2007) that multilingual people possess (Källkvist, forthcoming). It is also the case, though, that translation tasks take more time than other tasks because of the requirement to encode full sentences in English (Källkvist, 2013: 229), and that the languaging that takes place in connection with translation is less focused on grammar (interestingly) and more on vocabulary and expression, unless the texts used 'are devoid of challenging vocabulary/expressions or vocabulary that is rich in near-synonyms' (Källkvist, 2013: 230).

It has to be noted that the tasks used in these studies did not resemble professional translation. Källkvist (2013: 222) describes them as follows:

> The translation tasks typically involved the translation of a limited number of single sentences from Swedish into English, each containing one or two

tokens of the target structure. They were designed so that they closely resembled translation tasks in grammar work-books widely used in Swedish universities.

Other studies, however, have used more professionally related exercises, such as subtitling and dubbing (see Danan, 2010; Ghia, 2012; and below). Källkvist notes that these, as well as Sewell's (2004) discussion of the enjoyment that language learners experience when translating, reinforce her own results.[32] She quotes Danan's conclusion (2010: 454) that 'translation is undoubtedly a significant communicative activity that can enhance second language acquisition'.

2.2.2. What do learners think of translation activities?

It has long been recognised that the beliefs and attitudes of learners constitute a key element in L2 acquisition. If a learner considers that a particular activity is non-profitable, they will not be motivated to learn and the activity very possibly will not be profitable for them. Since the 1980s researchers have thus been interested in learners' beliefs, which have occasionally concerned the use and usefulness of translation.

Early work by Horwitz (1988) found intriguing variation: the majority of students of German and Spanish thought that translation was essential to learning a foreign language, whereas only 15 % of French students expressed this belief.

The Language Learning Beliefs Inventory (BALLI) developed by Horwitz has been applied to many groups of learners all over the world, making it a potential source of comparative data. Unfortunately some short versions of the inventory do not include translation at all (e.g. Tanaka and Ellis, 2003), apparently because translation is simply not on the agenda of some leading education researchers. In other versions, the propositions are very succinct, absolute, and unfortunately different, as in the following:

- 'The best mechanism for learning a second language is translation.' (This is from a TESOL study);[33]
- 'Learning English is translating from my mother tongue.' (Boakye, 2007, from South Africa);[34]
- 'Learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of translating from the target language.' (Altan, 2006, from Turkey);[35]
- 'The most important part of learning English is learning how to translate from my native language.' (Fujiwara, 2011, from Thailand).

The diversity of these questions makes comparisons precarious. And even when exactly the same question is asked of the same level of students, it is difficult to explain the results. For instance, Fujiwara (2011: 104) finds that first-year university students attach more importance to translation in Thailand than in Taiwan, but we have little guarantee that the term 'translation' means the same thing in the two contexts, nor indeed that it is actually offered anywhere as a 'best mechanism', 'most important part' or even as a definition of L2 acquisition. Some 20 years after her development of the BALLI inventory, Horwitz comments that 'every belief study has found variation among learners on every kind of

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[32] Ghia (2012), interestingly, focuses on the learning of syntax, rather than on the more pragmatic aspects of language which subtitling is often said to enhance.

[33] BALLI Teacher Version:
http://tesolresourcesab.weebly.com/uploads/7/8/0/9/7809577/theory_viewbook_item_15.pdf. Accessed April 2013.

[34] http://perlinguam.journals.ac.za/pub/issue/view/11. Accessed April 2013.

[35] http://ro.ecu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1316&context=ajte. Accessed April 2013.

belief' (2008: 4). Much depends on the beliefs that have been transmitted to a particular group of students, through teachers, parents, general social attitudes, or indeed the filtering of research. In our case, a great deal depends on what each group of learners thinks 'translation' means.

Other studies have revealed interesting weightings of positive and negative opinions. Kern (1994) found that learners used mental translation, but that learners and teachers alike considered translation to be a 'crutch' – a pejorative term for what would later be called 'scaffolding'. Prince (1996) reported that translation was more effective than context-learning for vocabulary acquisition, but that translation was viewed more favourably by the learners than by the teachers. Kobayashi and Rinnert (1992), as noted above, not only found that mental translation was used throughout written composition, but reported that the majority of the higher-proficiency students preferred to do direct composition rather than formal translation. That is, the more advanced Japanese students were translating even though they themselves thought they should not be. Similarly, Wen and Johnson (1997) found that higher-level Chinese students had a more negative view of translation than did the lower-level students. In all these cases, translation is believed to be useful at the lower levels of learning, or by less advanced students, as a form of scaffolding. There is little awareness of translation as a potentially more advanced, complex language skill.

Other studies have been more favourable to translation. Hsieh (2000) finds that Taiwanese students had a positive opinion of translation for reading comprehension and vocabulary learning, while Liao (2006: 201) reports that students 'overwhelmingly believe that translating helps them acquire English language skills such as reading, writing, speaking, vocabulary […], idioms, and phrases'.

Carreres (2006) undertook a survey of thirty-one Spanish language students at the University of Cambridge. They all thought that translation should be taught as part of a modern languages undergraduate degree, and on a scale of 0 (lowest) to 5 (highest), the average score was 4.6 in response to the question, 'How useful is translation from English into a foreign language as a means of learning the foreign language?' (Carreres, 2006: 8). Over half of the students (54 %) thought that translation was a more effective method than other methods, although it was not uniformly popular among them.

2.2.3. Do translated subtitles enhance language learning?

The use of films and TV series is widespread in L2 classrooms and constitutes a significant use of translation in the learning process. There is now a sizeable body of research on the relation between subtitles and language learning.

A 2011 survey of the use of subtitles included a survey of more than 5 000 students and concluded that, among much else,

1. Subtitling helps to improve the mastery of foreign languages;
2. Subtitling can raise awareness and provide motivation for language learning, in both formal and informal contexts, and consequently contributes to creating an environment that encourages multilingualism;
3. Knowledge of foreign languages and university studies encourage citizens to choose subtitling rather than dubbing. (Media Consulting Group, 2011: 26)

Subtitled material offers two sources of linguistic information at the same time (spoken dialogues and subtitles) through two channels (acoustic and visual). Information is processed more thoroughly when the input is received via two channels (Lambert, Boehler and Sidoti, 1981). When watching audiovisual material, the construction of meaning is complemented by the semiotic connections between these texts and the image. The visual information increases the general comprehension (Van de Poel and d'Ydewalle, 1997). Further, most students enjoy watching audiovisual material as part of their learning process.

Studies on subtitles with language learners and hearing-impaired children started in the 1980s. Scholars have tested the use of intralingual, interlingual, bimodal and other types of subtitles, in various languages and directions. They have generally found positive effects on listening comprehension, vocabulary learning, and even spoken production:

Listening comprehension: Price (1983) found that watching captioned TV programmes led to improved L2 vocabulary and increased comprehension of linguistic information. Markham (1989) measured the comprehension of videos with and without subtitles and discovered that groups using subtitles improved listening comprehension significantly. Guillory (1998) reported positive effects on comprehension under two different conditions: keyword subtitling and full-text subtitling. Garza (1991) found that participants who watched subtitled material scored higher in a comprehension test than participants who watched non-subtitled material. Danan (1992) included reversed subtitles in the experiment (English soundtrack with French subtitles was tested with French college students) and found that reversed subtitles had favourable results for beginners, which was connected to the assumption that translation makes it easier for them to encode the L2. Bravo (2008) tested interlingual and intralingual subtitles and found that students improved understanding of idiomatic expressions with both modes. Caimi (2006) found that preparation helped participants overcome challenges in listening comprehension: the combination of information from the video with preparatory hand-outs allowed participants to store the linguistic knowledge in their short-term memory.

Vocabulary learning: Bird and Williams (2002) demonstrated that participants who watched subtitled material were better at word recognition and also performed better at retaining phonological information. Lertola (2012) found that participants in her study improved their incidental vocabulary acquisition in both subtitling and non-subtitling conditions. Nevertheless, differences emerged at the post-delayed point: when tested again, participants under the subtitling condition had higher foreign language incidental vocabulary acquisition compared to those under the non-subtitling condition.

Spoken production: Borrás and Lafayette (1994) found that subtitled material led to more comprehensible communicative output. Gomes (2009) found that the use of subtitled material did not improve oral comprehension but did improve oral production and fluency.

The production of subtitles can also be a mode of independent language learning, increasingly within online groups of volunteer subtitlers. There are indications that non-professional subtitlers join these groups in order to improve their language skills (Bogucki, 2009, Orrego-Carmona, 2011).[36]

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[36] Our thanks to David Orrego-Carmona of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili for providing the information for this section.

A piece of software known as 'Learning via Subtitles (LVS)', developed by the Hellenic Open University using funding from the European Commission, helps students produce subtitles.[37] The project website reports no results of empirical studies using the software, although McLoughlin (2009) used it in a series of trials with university students of Italian at varying levels of proficiency. The numbers of students involved at each level were limited, but the findings indicate that students who had watched a film for subtitling made braver decisions in their translations and produced more idiomatic expressions than students who had translated the script without watching the film. She suggests that

> Subtitles help students to move away from their perception of text as consisting […] of a linear sequences of verbal utterances which can be mirrored and recreated nearly *verbatim* in a foreign language, and to arrive at a concept of text as an irregular structure comprehensive [sic] of verbal, non-verbal and paralinguistic elements. (2009: 235-6)

2.2.4. Do learners translate mentally?

A key argument in debates about translation is the extent to which it constitutes an activity that is in some way inevitable or even natural. Here the major false premise is presumably that L1 and L2 *are* actually separated in the process of learning, either socially or cognitively.

A more specific version of this question is the proposition that learners of L2 cannot help but engage in translation between L1 and L2 in the learning process. In the latter decade of the twentieth century, this tended to be reformulated as a question of whether 'code-switching' (the teacher switching between L1 and L2) should be used in the classroom, and whether students should be allowed to do so. Those studies tended to overlook translation as a pre-requisite or aim of code-switching, since correlations were sought between the use of code-switching and the learner's relative success in language use. The findings nevertheless had implications for the use of translation in a very general sense (inasmuch as code-switching can involve reformulation in L2).

There are some cases where translation is tested directly, with important methodological consequences. For example, Kobayashi and Rinnert (1992) asked eight fourth-year Japanese university students to write directly in English ('direct' mode) and then write in Japanese and translate into English ('translation' mode). Whatever the reported results of the experiment (77 % of the students actually preferred the direct mode), the methodological problem is that the two modes are not easily separated: 55 % of the higher-proficiency students and 87 % of the lower-proficiency students said they *thought* in Japanese at least half the time when they were supposedly writing directly in English. That is, there was a clear contradiction between what they were supposed to do and what they actually did. In a similar experiment with direct writing vs. translation from English into French (39 subjects), Cohen et al. (2000: 10) report that 'the vast majority (80 %) of English L1 students (N=25) reported thinking in English "often" or "always" while doing the French essay in the direct writing mode'. Cohen et al. found that this was also true of the ten Spanish-English bilinguals included in their study, who were supposed to be writing directly in French but reported thinking at least 'some of the time' in English, which was the language of their immediate environment.

These results suggest that while the experiments on writing modes appear to oppose translation to the 'direct method', they are actually opposing full, explicit

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[37] Available for download at http://levis.cti.gr. Accessed June 2013.

use of translation to the learners' partial and often 'mental' use of translation. That is, they are effectively comparing two ways of using translation.

There are indications that most students do not totally exclude L1 when writing in L2, since the L1 is used for inner reflections on *what* to write (Königs, 1989; Smith, 1994; Zimmermann, 2000). The L1 may thus be present without the learner necessarily forming whole sentences in L1 that are then translated into L2. That is, the presence of L1 may not necessarily involve translation in a narrow sense.

Summing up research from the 1990s, Cohen and Allison (2001: 2-3) reported as follows:

> There is, however, some evidence from research on second-language reading and writing that selective translation into the native language may play a positive role for some, if not many, language learners in the comprehension, retention, and production of written texts (cf., 1994; Hawras, 1996; Cohen and Hawras, 1996; Cohen, 1998, with regard to reading; Jones and Tetroe, 1987; Lay, 1988; Friedlander, 1990; Kobayashi and Rinnert, 1992; Brooks, 1998, with regard to writing). For this reason, language educators are being asked to take a second look at the role of mental translation in reading (i.e., mental reprocessing of second-language (L2) words, phrases and sentences in the first language or another familiar language (Kern, 1994) and at the role of written translation from a first language (L1) text as a means for generating a foreign language text. It is being seen that for learners with certain learning style preferences, the use of various forms of translation in reading and writing may be desirable and, at certain stages of development, even essential.

The reference here to 'learning style preferences' highlights a crucial variable that remains sadly unanalysed in the vast majority of the empirical studies.

2.2.5. Do L1 and L2 converge or diverge in the brain?

Recent years have seen extensive research on the bilingual brain, part of which concerns the extent to which L1 and L2 processes activate the same parts of the brain. The pertinence of this question was made clear in our questionnaire for experts, where responses from Germany included repeated references to research having shown that L1 and L2 do indeed operate in the same places in the bilingual brain.[38] If the two come together in the brain, then 'mental translation' would be the most natural mode of language acquisition and it is then surely artificial to separate the languages in the classroom.

This argument stirs up a hornets' nest of contradictory research findings, which perhaps constitutes the most engaging and fascinating aspect of the whole question. This is also the area in which research has advanced furthest in recent years.

Some studies have concerned the psychology of translating as such. Evidence for the divergence of L1 and L2 has come from work on the 'translation asymmetry' hypothesis. Most notably, Kroll and Stewart (1994) timed responses for the naming and translation activities of bilinguals (looking at pictures and word lists)

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[38] Frequent references were made to the work of Butzkamm and the general position that in bilingual brains 'a common neural system mediates semantic processes for both languages' (Butzkamm and Caldwell, 2009).

and tested the differences between random and semantically organised tasks. They concluded that the presence of semantic context affected translation into L2 but not into L1. Since translation processes thus seemed to differ according to the directionality, it might be assumed that the two languages were activating different cognitive skills.

The study of aphasia was long the most spectacular source of ideas about the nature of language, broadly on the assumption that language loss tells us something about the way language works (most famously, Jakobson 1956/1971 used studies of aphasia as support for metaphor and metonymy as the two major semiotic categories). Studies in the 1970s and 1980s were also on subjects who had suffered physical brain damage and were thus available for electrophysiological research during surgery (Albert & Obler, 1978; Gomez-Tortosa et al. 1995; Kircher et al., 2001; Ojemann, 1983; Paradis, 1995; as cited in Pillai et al., 2003). The general findings were that L1 and L2 were impaired in asymmetric fashions and they seemed to activate different parts of the brain. For example, Gomez-Tortosa et al. conclude that '[s]elective impairment in one language after surgery demonstrates that each language has different anatomical representation within the perisylvian dominant area' (1995: 320). This general view of different languages activating different parts of the bilingual brain has come to be known as 'lateralisation'.

There was debate, however, as to how work on impaired speakers could be extrapolated to the population of healthy bilinguals. Paradis (1996) argued that non-parallel recovery was compatible with the hypothesis of 'differential inhibition' rather than different cortical representations. Gomez-Tortosa et al. (1996) agreed that their data were compatible with that interpretation.

Over the years, Paradis has argued staunchly against bilingual lateralisation. In a 1990 review article (and indeed in trenchant responses to any research suggesting lateralisation, cf. Paradis, 1992), he noted that about half the studies detected no significant difference in lateralisation between bilinguals and monolinguals, and that the studies that did detect differences nevertheless contradicted each other with respect to key variables. He concluded, 'it may be time for neuropsychologists to move on to more productive research' (1990: 576).

The clinical studies have not moved on, however. Recent research has used PET (positron emission topography) and fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging), which are non-invasive techniques for measuring cerebral blood flow during cognitive tasks. This has enabled numerous studies on healthy bilinguals. The findings generally support convergence of L1 and L2, although the results vary in accordance with the cognitive task performed and the speaker's relative proficiency in the two languages (which may correlate with the age at which L2 is introduced).

In a 2007 review of 66 behavioural studies, Hull and Vaid concluded that there was indeed evidence of lateralisation:

> Functional lateralization was found to be primarily influenced by age of onset of bilingualism: bilinguals who acquired both languages by 6 years of age showed bilateral hemispheric involvement for both languages, whereas those who acquired their second language after age 6 showed left hemisphere dominance for both languages. Moreover, among late bilinguals, left hemisphere involvement was found to be greater for those less proficient in their second language, those whose second language was

> English, and for studies involving dichotic listening paradigms. (2007: 1987)

The pertinence of the age variable was nevertheless questioned by Perani et al. (1998), whose research found relative language proficiency to be more related to lateralisation than is the age at which L2 is learned.

Perhaps the most exciting developments in this research concern the possibility that bilinguals with weak L2s activate an area of the brain that is used for semantic management, and perhaps for language management in general (see Illes et al. 1999; Pillai et al., 2003, on greater right-hemispheric activation in the second languages in low-to-moderate proficiency late-acquisition bilinguals). This may also happen in the case of structurally different languages such as English and Chinese (Chee et al., 1999), as well as in the case of severely delayed L1 acquisition (Curtiss, 1977).[39] This possibility does not resolve the question of mental translation in language learning, but it might help address anecdotal observations that people who learn L2 late in life tend to make better translators and interpreters[40], whereas 'heritage' speakers with two L1s may not succeed as professional translators and interpreters.

In sum, this is an area in which exciting knowledge is being created, albeit not in a way that can effectively resolve debates about the use of translation in the L2 language class.

2.2.6. To what extent can translation enhance intercomprehension skills?

The basic idea of intercomprehension is that people can learn to read or listen to an L2 that is linguistically close to their L1, for example, between Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, or Dutch and German (Caduc and Castagne, eds, 2002; Gooskens et al., 2011). Learners are generally not expected to speak or write in the target language (Castagne, 2004; Conti and Grin, 2008; European Commission, 2012), so the result might be a range of spoken and written 'bilingual conversations' where neither participant fully masters the other's L1. Claude Hagège (1992: 273) and Umberto Eco (1993: 292-293) have viewed such uses of language as the most viable path to democratic relations in an age of globalising cultures.

Grin (2005) suggests that intercomprehension may be a solution in situations where the 'four skills' approach to L2 learning fails or is unacceptably expensive: if learners do not become effective speakers and writers in L2, they might nevertheless be competent *listeners* and *readers*. This logic is generally related to translation in economic terms, as a way of reducing the number of translations that are actually carried out between cognate languages (Ginsburgh and Weber, 2011; European Commission, 2012b). To that extent, the dominant model is one where intercomprehension and translation are opposites. For example, in the main findings of the DYLAN project (2006-2011: 22)[41] we read that

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[39] Something similar was suggested early on by Paradis (1984) as a conclusion of an experiment where aphasic bilinguals were asked to translate: Paradis proposed that there were actually four areas involved, of which two were for managing linguistic equivalents (one in each direction). The proposed conclusion was strikingly absolute, in an age when translation was as good as banned from language teaching: 'la compréhension de deux langues peut exister sans capacité de traduire et la capacité de traduire peut exister sans compréhension des 2 langues' (1984: 66).
[40] This observation has been made by Dr Kayoko Takeda on the basis of many years of training Japanese-English conference interpreters at the Monterey Institute of International Studies (personal communication, January 2013).
[41] http://www.sciprom.ch/resources/Print-Products/Booklets/DYLAN-Project_Final-Booklet_A4_300412.pdf. Accessed January 2013.

'multilanguaging' (of which intercomprehension would be a part) 'cannot replace professional interpretation and the crucial work of translators as mediators between people and institutions speaking different languages.'

Despite reports of intercomprehension being used successfully in several education environments, mainly in developing reading skills (EuRom4, Galatea and IGLO), we have not been able to locate controlled experimental data that compare it with other methodologies or objectives.

Further, we have not found any systematic reference to translation as a learning mode within didactic materials based on the intercomprehension principle.[42] There are nevertheless occasional asides that may stimulate reflection, as in the DYLAN project where translation appears as a conversation strategy used mainly to check on possible misunderstandings, characterised as 'backward-looking', 'time-consuming' and leading to 'a degree of redundancy' (p. 14). On this view, communication based on intercomprehension, which is more forward-looking and efficient, would seem somehow incompatible with the very nature of translation. There are, however, many possible ways in which translation can be used.

The EuroCom project has a series of textbooks designed to allow the learner to achieve passive competence in a whole language family, apparently easily: 'How to read all the Romance languages right away', says one of the titles.[43] In this case the ideological aim is both to counter the use of English as a *lingua franca* (the method makes it possible to replace a conversation carried on in 'Pidgin business English'[44]) and to do away with the need for translators (by creating 'multilingual readers who are no longer dependent on the availability of translations').

Most of the learning materials for intercomprehension are oriented towards building passive competence in comparative syntax and morphology. It would nevertheless seem possible that a learning process based on comparisons between L1 and a range of neighbouring L2s will necessarily involve considerable mental translation.

2.3. General guidelines on translation and language learning

The experts we consulted in the EU Member States generally made reference to European recommendations or guidelines at one level or another. Those general guidelines are briefly reviewed here.

Frequent references, both within Europe and around the world, were made to the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR)[45], published in

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[42] This impression is confirmed by Professor Eric Castagne (personal communication, 23 January 2013), who sees translation and intercomprehension as being opposites in some respects: 'L'activité d'intercompréhension se distingue de l'activité de traduction par le fait qu'elle ne nécessite pas la reformulation dans une autre langue.' Castagne nevertheless sees some intercomprehension activities as coming close to spoken translation (interpreting), and has carried out experiments where intercomprehension has proven of value in the training of interpreters and translators (see Castagne and Ruggia, 2004). He speculates that 'il y a une méfiance à l'égard de la traduction de la part des didacticiens engagés dans l'étude de l'intercompréhension, lesquels considèrent que l'exercice de la traduction est à l'origine des résultats médiocres obtenus (particulièrement en France) dans l'enseignement des langues.' We have nevertheless found that the use of translation in French classrooms is remarkably infrequent.

[43] William J. McCann, Horst G. Klein, Tilbert D. Stegmann, *EuroComRom - The seven sieves How to read all the Romance languages right away*. 2nd revised edition. Aachen: Shaker, 2003.

[44] 'EuroCom: The way to European multilingualism'.
http://www.eurocomresearch.net/kurs/englisch.htm. Accessed February 2013.

[45] *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: learning, teaching, assessment*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Cambridge University Press):

2001 following a consultation process that began in 1996. The *CEFR* has been highly influential in parts of the teaching profession, not only because of its growing authority and its development of ethical values (notably the promotion of plurilingualism and the education of the entire person) but also in the sense that individual passages have to be compared, interpreted and debated (see Byram and Parmenter, 2012). This is particularly true of the following sections of the *CEFR*, which concern the relation between translation and language learning:

> The language learner/user's communicative language competence is activated in the performance of the various language activities, involving reception, production, interaction or *mediation* (*in particular interpreting or translating*). Each of these types of activity is possible in relation to texts in oral or written form, or both. (*CEFR* 2.1.3; emphasis ours)

> In both the receptive and productive modes, the written and/or oral activities of mediation make communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly. *Translation or interpretation, a paraphrase, summary or record, provides for a third party a (re)formulation of a source text to which this third party does not have direct access*. Mediating language activities – (re)processing an existing text – occupy an important place in the normal linguistic functioning of our societies. (*CEFR* 2.1.3; emphasis ours)

> The learner does not simply acquire two distinct, unrelated ways of acting and communicating. The language learner becomes plurilingual and develops interculturality. The linguistic and cultural competences in respect of each language are modified by knowledge of the other and contribute to intercultural awareness, skills and know-how. They enable the individual to develop an enriched, more complex personality and an enhanced capacity for further language learning and greater openness to new cultural experiences. Learners are also enabled to *mediate*, *through interpretation and translation*, between speakers of the two languages concerned who cannot communicate directly. (*CEFR* 4. 2001: 43; emphasis ours)

All these passages use the terms 'translation' and 'interpreting' (or 'interpretation') but those terms are not accompanied by any descriptors in the *CEFR*.[46] Further, the two terms are clearly subsumed by the more general term 'mediation', which itself requires considerable concretisation. It might coincide with the use of the term 'mediation' in replies from Germany and Italy (where, in the latter case, undergraduate training in translation and interpreting is called 'mediazione linguistica'). In our study, this generalised sense of 'mediation' corresponds to a great degree with what we are calling 'translation' (see 1.3 above and 4.3.3.1 below).[47]

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http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg/Source/Key_reference/CEFR_EN.pdf. Accessed January 2013.

[46] Martyniuk and Noijons (2007: 6) note the 'lack of descriptors for translation and mediation skills' as one of the problems in the acceptance of the *CEFR*, alongside 'reluctance to accept the concept of partial competences'.

[47] The status of 'mediation' as a superordinate is nevertheless very clear in other sections of the *Common European Framework*, as here: 'In both the receptive and productive modes, the written and/or oral activities of mediation make communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly. *Translation or interpretation, a paraphrase, summary or record*, provides for a third party a (re)formulation of a source text to which this third party does not have direct access. Mediating language activities –(re)processing an existing text – occupy an important place in the normal linguistic functioning of our societies' (2001: 14).

More important, however, is the way in which the *CEFR* effectively integrates translation into a fifth language skill (in addition to speaking, listening, writing and reading, which still underlie the typology), and generally identifies the aim of language learning as something quite distinct from being able to use the languages as two 'unrelated ways of acting and communicating'. This position seems to run directly counter to the views of languages as independent, separate systems, based on traditions such as structuralist readings of Saussure (1916/1983). If the aim of the learning process is a person who is 'plurilingual' (or 'polyglot') and 'intercultural' in the sense of being able to mediate between different languages and cultures, then there would remain few ideological impediments to the reintroduction of translation into the L2 classroom.

The *CEFR*, however, has been interpreted and applied differently in different contexts around the world. It has by no means done away with language teaching based on 'immersion', where the learner would have to enter the L2 system of language and culture entirely, without the presence of L1, and become the ideal speaker-listener-writer-reader of that language, thus without occasion for translation. This is the general way in which 'communicative' approaches have been interpreted and applied, and have indeed been associated with *CEFR*-like ideas such as educating the whole person and training for real-life encounters. It is possible to accept those aims and then simply not see or not accept the way the CEFR views the aim of language learning: 'to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place' (2001: 5). On the other hand, in the case studies carried out for this research we come across some clear instances where the aim of language learning is not necessarily to become the ideal speaker-listener of a whole language system:

- The general aim of 'intercomprehension' is for learners to gain a passive understanding of a cognate L2, which would seem to require partial comparisons with L1 and could thus allow translation (see 2.2.6 above).

- The teaching of classical Greek and Latin is not normally aimed at producing fluent speakers of these languages (although it can be), and thus traditionally allows considerable use of translation.

- Many modern languages are taught not in order to immerse learners in entire cultures but specifically to develop competence in very well-defined domains, for example the reading of specific text genres (scientific or legal texts, for example), to discover a foreign culture, to negotiate encounters as a tourist, or to learn about language. Languages are learned for 'special purposes'.

- People using an L2 in online interactive media are producing short written texts with distinct oral features, at a level that does not require complete mastery of the language system.

- The training required of military linguists at the Defense Language Institute in Monterey in the United States is focused on being able to understand L2 texts and process them for intelligence purposes (see 4.11.4.1 below).

- The teaching of the endangered languages such as Noongar in Western Australia can be used to create symbolic awareness of a cultural other, conveying the meanings of place names, narratives, and forms of address, without aiming to train fluent speakers of the L2 (see 4.9.4.1 below).

There are many further instances where the aim of language learning is not to absorb an entire L2 system of language and culture, and those could be contexts in which translation finds use as a learning activity. The appearance of these restricted learning aims may be associated with a mode of globalisation in which speakers know something of many languages, and are adept at applying and combining necessarily fragmentary knowledge. When languages thus become not whole systems but sets of 'semiotic resources' (after Blommaert, 2010), the basic reasons for not using translation tend to disappear. A range of varied learning activities is then opened up. Kramsch (2012), for example, envisages 'multilingual and multimodal practices for in-school and out-of-school SLA, e.g., code-switching, code-meshing, translanguaging, language transfer, and translation, using alternate languages in the input and the output'. Translation is only one of these possible activities, yet it seems to be playing a role in this very basic questioning of the prior doctrine.

Despite its mention in some key documents, notably the *CEFR*, the use of translation still remains seriously questioned in some circles. For this reason we have asked in our questionnaires to what degree teachers agree with the proposition that 'translation is a fifth language skill' (which invites the view that language use can go beyond the Saussurean system and the four traditional skills), but then we also ask whether 'translating is for professionals only' (which would reduce the 'fifth skill' to a select minority).

Although the *CEFR* includes translation and interpreting as parts of 'mediation', there is an alternative view in which 'cultural mediation' forcefully *excludes* translation and interpreting – such that the latter should perhaps find no place in the language classroom. Zarate et al. (2004: 230)[48] criticise the *CEFR* because it 'assimilates mediation to interpretation and translation', and this assimilation apparently implies that 'the intermediate space is neutral or 'simple', mastery of which [sic] rests on linguistic-style technicity' (2004: 230). Not by chance, this extremely reductive view of translation comes in a 251-page report that includes no bibliographical reference to Translation Studies of any kind – the opinion that translation is a simple, neutral, technical, culture-free activity is based on no more than assumption and a lack of interdisciplinarity.

At the other end of the scale we find theories of 'transferable skills', according to which translation activities could involve the development of skills that can be used in many other activities as well, including all kinds of mediation. However, since we are unaware of any empirical research able to substantiate such claims, we leave this as an area where there is more to be discovered (see Appendix C).

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[48] *Cultural mediation and the teaching and learning of languages*. Strasbourg: European Centre for Modern Languages. http://archive.ecml.at/documents/pub122E2004_Zarate.pdf. Accessed February 2012. The focus on translation and interpreting apparently restricts mediation to 'a reformulating activity that obscures all the challenges to intercultural communication which conceal the dysfunctions of a type of communication between partners based on different value systems' (2004: 12). The *Common Framework* sense of mediation is further criticised because it 'likens certain social communication activities to school exercises ('summary', 'text'), simplifies the circulation of meaning in an exchange ('simply play the role of an intermediary'), emphasises incomprehension ('should not express his own thought', 'unable', 'incomprehensible'), and idealises the transparency of communication' (2004: 218).

3. General survey results

We conducted two related surveys: one survey of experts (at the national and sometimes international levels) and another of teachers (at national levels). The distribution for both surveys was through controlled area sampling (at country level for the experts, and at city or regional level for the teachers), with some variations.

3.1 Response levels

The two surveys were administered in a series of targeted cycles from November 2012 to May 2013. The questionnaire for experts (Appendix A) was in English and was sent via email to invited respondents; the questionnaire for teachers (Appendix B) was made available online in English, French and German.[49]

Input was received from a total of 963 respondents, of which 641 were in the Member States targeted for this research and a further 239 were in our three comparison countries (see Table 1).

Table 1. Total replies to questionnaires, by country

Country	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Expert	Total
Croatia	23	16	22	1	62
France	10	126	39	5	180
Finland	18	32	13	2	65
Germany	10	33	9	17	69
Poland	24	34	27	5	90
Spain	22	23	19	6	70
United Kingdom	25	48	25	7	105
Total	132	312	154	43	641
Comparison countries:					
China	30	55	36	5	126
Australia	14	26	14	3	57
United States	5	17	29	5	56
Total	49	98	79	13	239
Supplementary data:					
Albania	7	4	4	0	15
Italy	1	0	1	8	10
Lithuania	2	0	4	1	7
Schola Europaea	10	11	0	0	21
Switzerland	0	0	0	1	1
Turkey	5	3	20	1	29
TOTAL ALL COUNTRIES	206	428	262	67	963

Respondents were contacted in a variety of ways, depending on the country. In the most controlled cases (Croatia, Finland, Poland and Spain), our local contacts were able to address teachers directly in our particular target cities or regions, and did so until at least our desired minimum of 20 teachers per teaching level was reached. In cases where that method did not give the desired number of replies, we sent emails to lists of schools at the education level where we needed more, with a response rate of less than 2 per cent (in France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States). In some cases, our request for

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[49] Our thanks to Universaria and Encuesta Facil (Easy Going Survey) in Madrid for their technical assistance with the online survey tool: universia.encuestafacil.com

respondents entered an online discussion list or was sent to members of teachers' associations (in France, the United Kingdom and China), which gave high numbers of responses for particular education levels. Despite these mixed methods, we have had insufficient responses in some categories, especially at primary level in France and Germany. This was one of the main reasons for offering the survey in French and German.

The numbers of responses are highly unequal because of the various contact methods employed. Given the supposed regional differences involved, we have thus not based any conclusions on a summation of raw data from the questionnaire for teachers. In each case, we have worked on the basis of *percentages for each education level within each country* (e.g. percentages of preferences for communicative methodologies at primary level in France compared with the corresponding percentage for primary in Germany). We have also taken care to base our main conclusions on the case-study countries only, using the 'supplementary' data only for qualitative comparisons.

3.2. Experts' views

Our questionnaire for experts was answered by a total of 57 invited respondents, distributed in a highly unequal way over our various countries. This was due to intermediary snowballing (in Germany and Italy particularly). In principle, all views are considered of interest from a qualitative perspective, so all responses have been retained.

These respondents were asked directly if they personally favoured 'the use of any kinds of translation activities in the language-learning class'. All answered affirmatively except for five respondents from France, one of the six experts from Spain, and one of the 17 experts from Germany.

Our sample may, however, be significantly biased in favour of the use of translation, and we have thus generally not used it in any quantitative way. The suspicion of bias comes from the way in which some well-known experts in language acquisition either dismissed the question of translation out of hand, or indicated their uneasiness or lack of qualifications to answer the questions. In Finland, for example, where scholars have infinite patience and politeness, no fewer than ten of the experts we contacted said that they were not able to answer the questions, and they gave us the email address of a further scholar (who then did the same thing…) – we eventually had two questionnaires filled out and returned to us. In the United States, we hoped to have significant input from the Center of English as a Second Language at the University of Arizona and the School of Translation, Interpretation and Language Education at the Monterey Institute, but neither institution was able to help. The general position at the Arizona Center was that translation was for lower levels of language acquisition, and incompatible with the provision of immersion courses in English.[50] Dr Kathleen Bailey at the Monterey Institute pointed out that most classes for English as a Second Language have a wide range of L1s present, which makes it difficult to even consider translation as a classroom activity.[51] The same logic might underlie the entire lack of replies from centres of expertise such as Macquarie University in Australia, among others. Since translation is not even on the horizon of mainstream thought about English as an Additional Language (because of the plurality of L1s), this knee-jerk dismissal by experts may have a spill-over effect into all facets of L2 language learning, such that translation is not even considered by experts working on situations where there is indeed a

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[50] Reported by Sonia Colina, personal communication, 7 February 2013.
[51] Personal communication, 7 December 2012.

common L1 in many classes. This is at least one of the ways in which one might try to explain the absence of replies from experts working in the area of bilingual education, where L1 and L2 are presumed to be constants.

Given this great diversity in our contact methods, the notion of 'expert' used in this study is necessarily loose, without implying any formal recognition of authority. At the end of the day, the experts are people whom we had identified and targeted because they were involved in the discipline of language teaching in some way (as e.g. teachers, teacher trainers, researchers or leaders of organisations) and who were willing to self-report their status as experts. We are grateful to them all.

3.4. Teachers' views

The views of teachers were sought through an online questionnaire (Appendix B). A total of 896 responses were received, of which 598 were in our seven Member States and 226 in our three comparison countries.

The data from this questionnaire were analysed in two ways:

1. Globally, including all ten countries[52] and without individual weighting (i.e. assuming that each country has the same weight, since we are analysing contextual situations, not numbers of people). This is the basis on which we answer the main questions of the research;
2. Country by country, comparing the case-study countries, contrasting the EU Member States with the comparison countries, and exploring the contextual determinants. This will enable us to contextualise the answers to the key questions. The analysis of case-study countries is presented in Chapter 4 below.

The distribution of replies was highly unequal: 22 per cent in primary, 50 per cent in secondary, and 28 per cent in higher education. The vast majority were teachers of English.

The age distribution was weighted in favour of teachers with more than 11 years of experience (Table 2), although the weighting was more in favour of younger teachers in China (perhaps indicating the recent growth in demand for English classes there, but also possible because of the online format in which our request was distributed).

Table 2. 'For how many years have you been teaching?' - percentages for teachers in case-study countries

	HR	FR	FI	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
<3	16%	9%	3%	15%	10%	7%	10%	23%	5%	14%	11%
4-6	14%	7%	9%	22%	22%	14%	12%	21%	9%	16%	15%
7-10	18%	12%	16%	13%	26%	8%	14%	28%	14%	16%	17%
11-20	27%	30%	26%	26%	29%	30%	28%	18%	45%	29%	29%
>20	25%	42%	45%	24%	13%	42%	34%	10%	27%	24%	29%

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[52] The sample from the European Schools was too small to be representative and has not been included in the global analysis. Its status in this research is purely qualitative.

3.4.1. Teaching methods

In the interests of neutrality, we extracted a list of language-teaching methods from the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning* (Byram, 2004), and we asked the teachers to rate how those methods were viewed at the institutions where they were teaching (Table 3 – descriptions of the methods can be found in the Glossary at the end of this report). Teachers were also invited to add methods to the list. These questions sought to identify the orthodoxies in terms of which (or against which) individual teachers might be working. There must remain significant doubt, of course, as to how differently the names of the methodologies are understood in different countries, and in some cases as to whether they are understood at all. We have eliminated the options on which fewer than 50 per cent of the respondents expressed an opinion.[53] The purpose of this question can thus be no more than to present a general context in which our samples are working.

The replies (Table 3) indicate considerable consensus across the countries: the most institutionally popular methods are communicative, task-based and immersion, and grammar translation is out of favour, at second-to-last. Within individual countries, immersion is sometimes first or second in preference, perhaps depending on how the term is interpreted.

Table 3. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - 824 teachers' responses, in order of global preference

	HR	FI	FR	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
Communicative	4.542	4.701	4.366	4.461	4.535	4.651	4.354	4.217	4.477	4.500	4.480
Task-based	4.222	4.200	4.402	4.145	4.081	4.365	4.125	4.129	4.282	4.289	4.224
Immersion	3.625	4.000	4.139	3.692	4.000	4.767	3.855	3.458	3.950	4.302	3.979
Audiovisual	3.860	4.053	3.857	3.899	4.123	3.996	4.126	3.981	4.049	3.757	3.970
Bilingual	3.725	4.164	3.692	3.642	3.606	3.019	3.731	3.827	3.684	3.314	3.640
Humanistic	3.912	3.946	3.598	3.254	3.771	3.714	3.581	3.487	3.700	3.423	3.639
Total physical	4.095	3.606	3.157	3.647	3.721	3.854	3.538	3.357	3.346	3.763	3.608
Audiolingual	3.469	3.800	3.682	3.804	3.539	3.375	3.620	3.614	3.406	2.917	3.523
Direct	3.744	3.545	3.141	3.375	3.540	3.390	3.596	3.505	3.704	3.441	3.498
Grammar translation	2.947	3.241	2.709	2.768	2.963	2.492	3.447	3.519	2.925	2.763	2.997
Suggestopedia	2.714	3.275	2.837	2.909	2.941	2.786	3.100	3.295	2.565	2.520	2.894
Other	3.600	3.615	3.176	3.387	3.267	3.429	3.688	3.182	3.200	3.615	3.416

The methods added under 'other' include 'community language learning', 'interactive', 'dialog-based learning', 'monologue based learning', 'CLIL' (communicative and task-based learning), 'exercises and translation into and from the language', 'teaching through translation', 'virtual learning method' and 'mixed-type learning'. Further methods become important in particular countries, such as 'Intercultural Language Learning' in Australia and New Zealand (see 4.4 below).

The tendency in favour of the more communicative and task-based methods is also generally confirmed by our survey of experts, where significant change was reported in Croatia, China, Finland and Germany (Figure 3).[54]

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[53] The teaching methods thus excluded were: American Army Method, Linguistic Psychodramaturgy, Silent Way, and 'Other'.
[54] Note that there were very few replies from experts in some countries, so we refrain from reading too much into this quantitative analysis.

Figure 3. 'Have the popular language-teaching methods changed since you started teaching?' - affirmative replies from 52 experts, as percentage of replies from each country
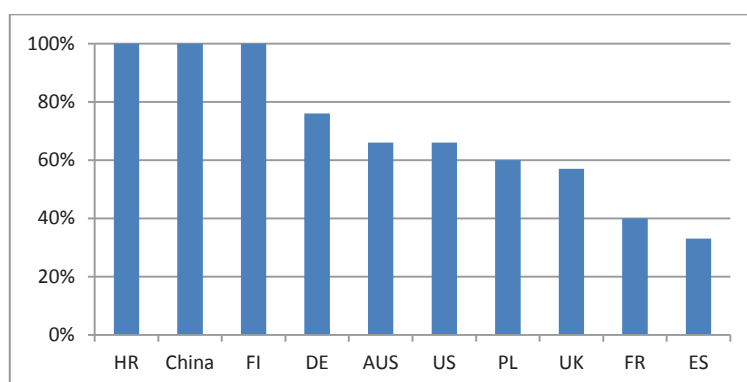
Data on the presence of Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in the Member States are available in the *First European Survey on Language Competences* (2011)[55], which we have used to complement the data from our own survey. CLIL is also known as 'content-based teaching' and many other things[56], including 'immersion' in some contexts. This method involves the use of the student's L2 to learn a subject matter other than the language itself. For example, in Finland the mathematics class might be taught in English. This is of some interest for our research to the extent that, along with 'immersion', CLIL seeks to minimise the presence of L1 and would thus automatically keep translation to a minimum.

The focus groups have played a key role in contextualising the way in which these terms are used in our case-study countries.

3.5. Focus groups

The study included two focus-group sessions, where the results of the experts' and teachers' questionnaires were discussed with stakeholders. The session in Tarragona was with local teachers, and served to check and contextualize the teachers' questionnaire. The session in Leicester was more focused on policy implications, since the United Kingdom was undertaking a review of the language curriculum. The sessions brought together postgraduate students of translation, many of whom were teachers in universities in different parts of the world, educationalists, and language teachers.

3.5.1. Tarragona focus group

The first session was in Tarragona on 2 April 2013, with 15 language teachers present (four in primary, two in secondary and nine in higher education, almost all of them teaching English). Many of the details of the discussion are presented in our report on Catalonia (4.6.3 below). Some points, though, are of importance for the methodology of our survey as a whole:

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[55] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf. p. 169.
[56] See *Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at School in Europe*. Eurydice 2006: http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/studies/clil-at-school-in-europe_en.pdf, p. 64. CLIL can translate as 'immersion' in France, Sweden, the UK, Finland and Francophone Belgium, and is elsewhere liberally rendered as 'bilingual education'. The report on CLIL makes no mention of translation as a teaching activity.

- 'Immersion' was the most popular method in the questionnaire, but the discussion revealed that teachers understood 'immersion' in different ways. At least one teacher identified immersion with CLIL; most others understood it as the policy by which all students are made to use Catalan as the vehicular language in the first years of primary school. It would seem that the policy impetus has moved from the teaching of Catalan to the teaching of English. In any case, the need to check and contextualize the term 'immersion' is very clear.
- Part of the problem with 'immersion' was due to our questionnaire for teachers, which asked about the way the teaching methods were 'viewed in the [respondent's] institution', and the institutions teach Catalan as well as other languages. When the teachers were asked directly what methods they used in class, they generally listed 'task-based' and 'communicative', along with 'immersion'.
- With respect to the use of L1 in the L2 classroom, almost all teachers agreed that they should use L2 only, but a surprising number confessed that they also have recourse to L1, either to make sure students understand or to keep them interested. There is thus a difference between what teachers think *should* be done and what they actually do.
- There was also some discussion of the idea that if L1 is excluded, translation is also excluded. Some of the teachers said that they excluded L1 but did not exclude translation (for example, a piece of contrastive grammar may involve translation, but L2 can remain the vehicular language). This leads to the question of what individuals mean by 'translation' in each case.
- All participants agreed that they understood 'translation' as covering both written and spoken forms in the classroom context. Some also saw it as including students' 'mental translation'.
- The teachers' opinions of translation as a teaching activity were closely related to their experience as students. Many teachers associated translation with learning Latin, as an activity that was demotivating. This historical dimension was not addressed in our questionnaire for teachers.
- The questionnaire for teachers included a list of translation-related classroom activities, one of which was 'watching subtitled films'. Most teachers understood this as referring to films with translated subtitles. Others, however, understood it as including films with non-translated subtitles as well. Care will thus have to be taken with answers to this question.
- The teachers reported that the textbooks they used to teach English were published by major international publishers but included translation activities and had Spanish/Catalan glossaries. This contradicts the idea that international publishers might have some kind of conspiracy against translation activities because they make the textbooks appropriate for specific national markets only.
- It was generally agreed that teachers themselves had the power to select which activities they used in class, although there were official guidelines and a tendency to follow the textbooks. However, there were more general social attitudes involved. Some teachers agreed that if they used L1 systematically in the L2 class, parents would complain. The value attached to 'native speakers of English' is such that there is a social pressure on teachers not to use other languages in the English class. This is likely to be true in other national contexts as well.

3.5.2. Leicester focus group

The Leicester focus group was held on 24 April 2013 with 19 participants. The following points concerned our research methodology (for further points, see 4.7.5 below):

- Everyone at the focus group was happy for 'translation' to include oral translation. There was also discussion of the blurred boundary between 'translation' and 'mediation', although the latter term was not widely understood by participants.
- There was a discussion of CLIL, which 'jumps over' translation and is based on absolute immersion, disregarding the fact that translation is required to produce the teaching materials used. CLIL is often thought to be the strongest argument against translation, but there is little empirical evidence to support its perceived benefits.
- There was a lack of awareness of empirical research on translation-related learning activities.

3.6. Answers to the research questions

The general data collected from our two questionnaires, plus the findings of our literature review, enable tentative answers to be formulated to our specific research questions.

3.6.1. Can translation contribute to effective language learning?

The qualitative part of our literature review makes it clear that the general consensus among teachers and theorists of language education is that translation can indeed contribute to effective language learning.

Our review of the empirical research has also shown not only that translation can make an effective contribution under some circumstances, but also that there is considerable evidence of 'mental translation' occurring even when translation is not an explicit learning activity.

The contribution of translation would nevertheless appear to be less when:

- there are numerous different L1s present in the L2 class;
- 'translation' is understood in a narrow word-for-word or sentence-for-sentence sense, which can interrupt fluency in L2;
- the classes are in primary education.

We have found no empirical evidence of a clear causal relationship between high language competence and non-use of participative translation activities in class. Indeed, our cross-country comparison (4.12.1 below) allows for speculation that the use of translation may correlate with better language skills at the national levels.

3.6.2. What is the pedagogical value of translation compared to other language learning methods?

Both our literature review and our questionnaire results suggest that it is difficult to view translation as a language-learning method in its own right.

If translation is to be considered as a method as such, it would be in terms of the grammar-translation option offered in our questionnaire for teachers. This option was evaluated negatively by teachers in all case-study countries (see Table 3 above).

The usefulness of translation is mostly perceived as a part of more general teaching methodologies, mostly as a check on what has been acquired, sometimes as an exploration of the differences between language systems. The most common classroom use of translation, in all countries, is with respect to individual sentences, translated into L1 or L2.

Some innovative uses of translation are described in Chapter 5 below.

In its avatar as 'mediation', translation is viewed very positively as a language-learning activity, particularly in Germany, since it is supposed to develop intercultural communication skills and awareness, in accordance with the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.*

3.6.3. To what extent does the contribution of translation to language learning depend on the learning objective, i.e. the targeted level of proficiency (fluency or mere comprehension of a language)?

Our review of previous research shows no evidence that translation activities can contribute to spoken fluency, and some evidence that it cannot (notably in research on 'concurrent translation'; see 2.2.1 above).

The research that indicates that translation (including 'mental translation') can lead to positive outcomes typically concerns the enhancement of the comprehension and production of *written* language (see 2.2.2 above), where a form of written fluency may be a criterion.

It would also seem logical that mental translation is involved in the acquisition of the skills required for intercomprehension (see 2.2.6 above), although we have been unable to locate data able to support that claim.

3.6.4. Does translation currently form a part of the curricula for language teaching in primary, secondary and higher education in the selected Member States?

Only 43 of the 896 responses to our wider questionnaire survey of teachers indicated that translation was in some way prohibited by the curriculum. These were from France (17 replies), Poland (7), Germany (6), Turkey (4), China (3), Spain (2), the United States (2), Australia (1) and the United Kingdom (1). We would thus generally assume that translation is not explicitly prohibited in our case-study countries. This does not mean, however, that it is specifically in the official curricula. It is more commonly the case that individual institutions, and individual teachers, can choose whether or not to integrate translation into L2 classes.

In Germany, it is clear that the use of translation in official exams varies from *Land* to *Land*, and that this is one of the main reasons behind its use or non-use in class.

Independently of the official curricula, however, our survey of L2 teachers clearly shows that translation exercises are indeed used in L2 classrooms. Table 4

indicates a global mean in the middle of the frequency range, with translation being used more in higher education, then at secondary level, and least in primary schools (for comparisons between countries, see 4.12.3 below). As Figure 4 shows, the general use of translation hovers around the mid-to-low values on the frequency scale, and does so in all three sectors.

Table 4. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' – replies from 824 teachers, from all countries; means of frequencies (1='never', 5='always)

|	HR	FI	FR	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
Primary	2.739	3.063	1.930	1.285	2.458	1.783	1.962	2.867	2.462	2.000	2.255
Secondary	2.278	3.000	2.422	2.414	2.714	2.826	3.083	3.217	2.375	3.059	2.739
Higher	2.842	3.000	3.004	2.857	2.667	2.400	3.136	2.944	2.846	2.407	2.811
Mean	2.619	3.021	2.452	2.185	2.613	2.336	2.727	3.009	2.561	2.488	2.554

Figure 4. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' – replies from 824 teachers, from all countries; percentages of frequencies, by education level
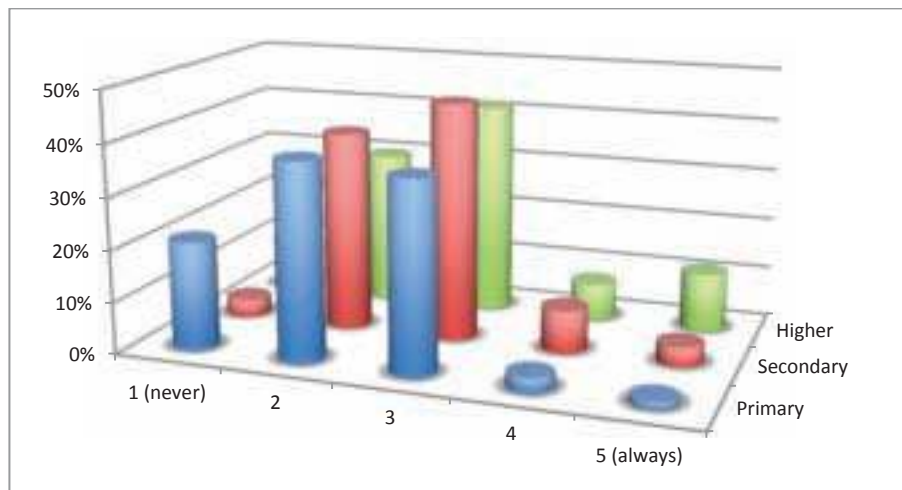
Our survey of experts also asked whether translation activities are present in the teaching methods used (particularly textbooks) at the various education levels. The responses (Figure 5) indicate that translation is indeed present, albeit with pronounced variation between countries. The apparent tendency is for the use of translation to rise as students progress: the means are 37 per cent for primary, 49 for secondary, and 68 for higher education.[57]

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[57] Note that there were very few replies from experts in some countries, so this quantitative analysis should be taken with many grains of salt.

Figure 5. 'Are translation activities present in the teaching of a second language in primary / secondary / higher education? (In textbooks, for example?)' - affirmative answers from 52 experts
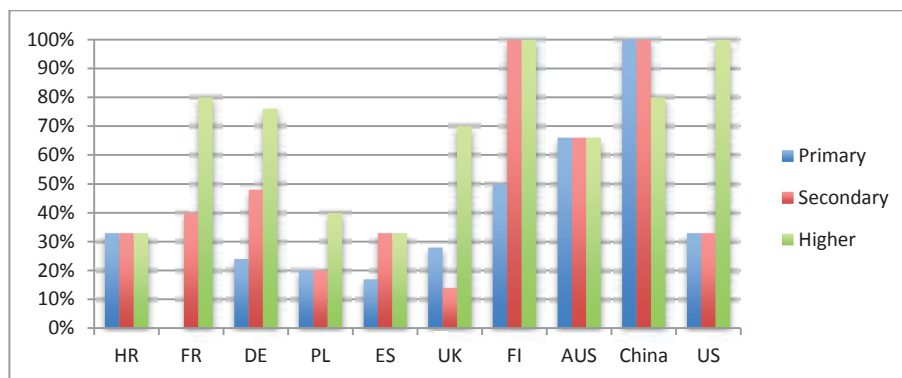
3.6.5. If translation does not form part of the language teaching curricula, is there a willingness to introduce it? If not, what are the reasons?

As noted above, of the wider global sample of 896 teachers, 43 (4.7 %) stated that translation was prohibited by the curriculum, and these responses were very widely dispersed. While we have not found any official prohibition of translation in any of our case studies, the marginal perception is nevertheless there. Those 43 teachers were then asked (in a drop-down menu) whether they would use translation if it were permitted to do so: 22 (51 %) answered 'yes', three answered 'no', 14 answered 'don't know', and four did not reply. We could thus suppose that 2.4 per cent of our global sample (the 22 who would use translation if they could) feel that their willingness to use translation is contradicted by institutional constraints.

A significant finding from our global sample concerns the reasons teachers give for *not* using translation (or not using it more). As Table 5 indicates, 57 teachers (6.4 per cent of the global sample) replied that they had 'never considered translation seriously', while 20 (2.2 per cent) felt 'unqualified'. Both these responses, together comprising 6.6 per cent of our sample of teachers, could indicate a felt need for more information and possibly training. As marginal as this figure may seem, it only concerns the teachers who say they 'never' or 'rarely' use translation. It is possible, and even likely, that the 60.2 per cent of teachers who do use translation in class with some frequency would also like to know more about it.

Table 5. 'If you have answered Never or Rarely [with respect to the use of translation in class], please say why' - 371 replies from teachers, from all countries

|	
The curriculum forbids it	43
I have never considered it seriously	57
I think it is detrimental to language learning	68
I do not feel qualified to use translation in my classes	20
Other (please specify)	153

A group of 68 teachers (7.1 per cent of the wider global sample) declared that translation was 'detrimental to language learning', Of these, 25 were from France, and the rest were fairly uniformly spread across our sample of countries: 9 from Spain, 8 from Poland, 7 from Germany, 6 from the United States, and the other countries at lesser levels. This response did not correlate with years of experience.

Teachers were invited to offer further reasons for not using translation in class. The most frequent reason was 'lack of time', followed by the claim that translation could not be used with young children.

Our data also enable us to test for a possible increase in teachers' willingness to use translation activities.

Translation exercises tended to be used in class by teachers with more experience, especially by those with more than 20 years of experience (Table 6). This would suggest that many of the translation activities are actually close to the grammar translation method, perhaps as a residue from before the time when communicative approaches gained doctrinal status.

Table 6. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - mean frequencies (5='always') by years of teaching experience, 878 teachers from case-study countries
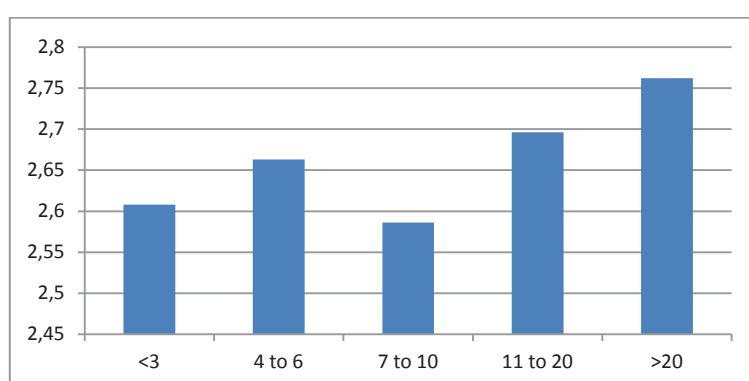
Closer study of the numbers (Table 7) nevertheless shows that the younger teachers are in some cases the most willing to use translation activities: this is the case in Croatia, Finland and the United Kingdom, and there is relative uniformity across generations in China. This suggests that there are specific situations in which younger teachers are especially willing to incorporate translation activities, perhaps in innovative ways.

Table 7. Use of translation in class by years of teaching experience, mean of replies from 878 teachers from all case-study countries

	HR	FI	FR	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
<3	3.000	4.000	2.199	2.100	2.333	2.000	3.222	2.792	2.000	2.429	2.608
4-6	2.250	3.000	2.502	2.333	2.550	2.500	2.917	3.130	3.200	2.250	2.663
7-10	2.636	2.909	2.099	2.333	2.696	2.000	2.692	3.206	2.667	2.625	2.586
11-20	2.563	3.316	2.512	2.485	2.640	2.190	2.767	2.947	2.304	3.231	2.696
>20	2.667	2.769	2.685	3.500	2.833	5.000	2.688	3.000	2.692	2.273	3.011

3.6.6. Is there a difference in attitude towards the role of translation in language teaching between bi/multilingual and monolingual countries?

The officially bilingual areas in our sample are Finland and Catalonia (Spain), although the presence of Spanish in Monterey County and Arizona (United States) warrants its consideration here.

The data from our teachers' questionnaire indicate that teachers in the bilingual situations use slightly more translation at secondary level than is the case for the

mean of non-bilingual situations, although this difference is not quite significant (p=0.09) (Table 8). The most remarkable aspect, however, is that the high levels of translation use in Finland contrast with the relatively low levels in Catalonia and the United States. On this view, bilingualism is not a uniting variable.

Table 8. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - mean frequencies (5='always'), bilingual compared with non-bilingual situations, 878 teachers from case-study countries

	FI	ES	US	Mean (bilingual)	Mean (non-bilingual)
Primary	3.063	1.783	2.000	2.282	2.243
Secondary	3.000	2.826	3.059	2.962	2.643
Higher	3.000	2.400	2.407	2.602	2.695
Mean	3.021	2.336	2.488	2.615	2.527

With respect to institutionally preferred teaching methodologies, the bilingual situations rate immersion higher than the non-bilingual situations do, with grammar translation in a slightly lower position, in last place (Table 9).

Table 9. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - order of preferences, bilingual vs. non-bilingual situations, 878 teachers from case-study countries

Bilingual	*Non-bilingual*
Communicative	Communicative
Immersion	Task-based
Task-based	Audiovisual
Audiovisual	*Immersion*
Total physical	Bilingual
Humanistic	Humanistic
Bilingual	Audiolingual
Direct	Total physical
Audiolingual	Direct
Suggestopedia	*Grammar translation*
Grammar translation	Suggestopedia

There is thus little to suggest that bilingual situations are propitious for the use of translation. On the contrary, the hypothesis to be pursued is that bilingual situations encourage learning based on immersion (due to the proximity of complete language contexts and the perceived virtues of immigration), and that these situations thus tend to use translation *less* frequently as a teaching method.

4. Reports on case studies

Here we report on case studies on the European Union Member States and the three comparison countries. The case studies broadly address the following research questions:

1. Does translation currently form a part of the curricula for language teaching in primary, secondary and higher education in the selected Member States?
2. If translation does not form part of the language teaching curricula, is there a willingness to introduce it? If not, what are the reasons?
3. Is there a difference in attitude towards the role of translation in language teaching between bi/multilingual and monolingual countries?

We look at the general linguistic demographics and language policy of each country, the translator-training needs, the general trends in language-teaching methodologies, and the way in which translation interacts with language learning in the various focus areas, mostly coinciding with cities or counties.

Given the selection of our case-study countries, the multilingual countries to be looked at include Finland, Spain (to the extent that Catalan is co-official in our focus city of Tarragona) and the United States (in that Spanish is used in over 50 per cent of the households in Monterey County and Tucson). One could nevertheless question the extent to which any of the countries in our sample could be considered completely monolingual (numerous languages are present in all of them).

The case studies of EU Member States are presented first, in alphabetical order (Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom), followed by the three comparison countries (Australia, China and the United States). The results of the country analyses are then compared.

4.1. Croatia

Croatia became a Member State of the European Union on 1 July 2013. As such, its inclusion here is of interest because of the measures the country has taken prior to membership, the need for translators to and from Croatian, and the tendency for the smaller European countries to perform highly in the learning of several L2s.

The 2006 Eurobarometer indicates that the three most widely known L2s in Croatia are English (49 per cent), German (34 per cent) and Italian (14 per cent).[58]

In learning English, Croatia scores ninth in reading, eighth in listening, and ninth in writing among the 15 European countries/regions covered by the *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011).[59]

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is reported as being used in some four per cent of Croatian schools.[60]

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[58] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_243_en.pdf. Accessed January 2013. Comparative data are strangely absent from the 2012 Special Eurobarometer.
[59] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 42 ff.).

4.1.1. Language policy

The official language of Croatia is Croatian, which was declared as the main language by 96 per cent of the population (2001 Census).[61]

According to Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović of the University of Zagreb[62], there are no special laws regulating language teaching, although the government action plan for 2010-12 proposes that the number of courses taught in a foreign language should be increased to enhance international mobility. The L2 is introduced as a compulsory school subject in grade 1 of primary school. Learners who start with an L2 other than English have to take English as a second L2 during primary school. The prescribed number of L2 classes in primary school is two per week in grades 1-4, and three in grades 5-8. In their first L2, learners should reach A1 level by the end of grade 4, A2 level by the end of grade 8, and B1 by the end of secondary education.

4.1.2. Translator training

We have been unable to locate any institution in Croatia that trains translators and interpreters exclusively. Translation courses are offered within Modern Language programmes, for example at the University of Zagreb.

Croatia is the only country in our sample that appears not to have independent institutions or departments for the training of translators.

4.1.3. General uses of translation in language teaching

Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović, our main expert informant, states that translation activities are present in the various levels of education but 'not as part of a systematic approach to teaching modern foreign languages'. She indicates that the communicative approach and task-based learning are the dominant teaching methodologies, but that there is 'greater awareness of the role of L1 in foreign-language teaching'.

4.1.4. Focus city: Zagreb

Respondents to our questionnaire for teachers were fairly well distributed: 24 at primary level, 20 at secondary, and 22 at higher-education level, and most were from the Zagreb area.[63] Sixty-four teach English, two teach German, and the English teachers also teach German (6), Italian (3), French (2), and Spanish (1).

The preferred teaching method (see Figure 6) is communicative (57 per cent 'very positive'), followed by total physical response (34 per cent) and task-based learning (25 per cent). No additional methods were named. Grammar translation is relatively out of favour at the institutional level, scoring second-to-last.
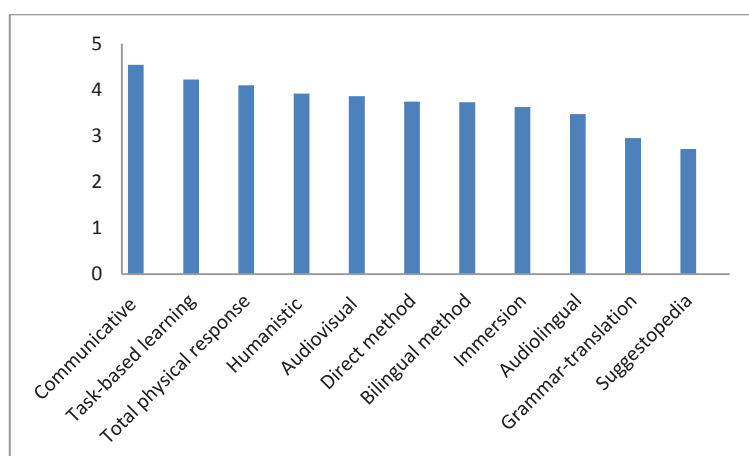

Figure 6. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 62 teachers in the Zagreb area, as means (5='very positively')

Most of the teachers indicated they use translation activities in the mid-to-low frequency range, and there was a tendency to use more translation at the primary and higher-education levels (see Figure 7). This distribution corresponds to our initial hypothesis, although the differences are not major (the means are 2.739 for primary, 2.278 for secondary and 2.842 for higher, p=0.052 for secondary vs. higher).

Figure 7. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - responses from 60 teachers in Zagreb, as percentages, by the level at which they teach
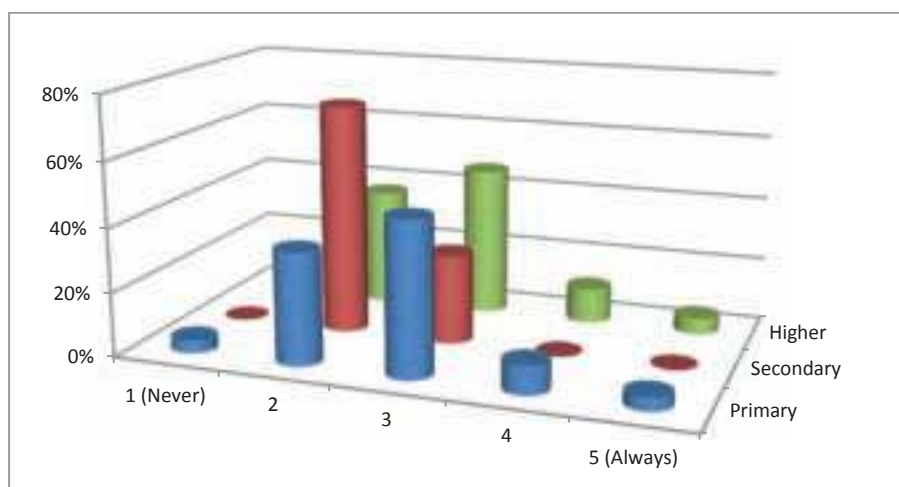
A clear minority indicated the use of translation 'never' or 'always', which would suggest uses of translation that are constantly present but non-systemic, as suggested by Jelena Mihaljević Djigunović.

Of the 29 teachers who declared they used translation 'never' or 'almost never', nine said they 'had never considered it seriously', two said it was 'detrimental to language learning', and one did not feel qualified. Most of the additional reasons concerned lack of time.

When asked about their class activities, the 31 teachers who used translation more than 'almost never' showed a marked preference for translations of single sentences both into L1 and into L2, suggesting a checking role on grammar and

vocabulary acquisition (Table 10). The use of subtitles and video material in general is surprisingly rare.

Table 10. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - mean replies from 31 language teachers in Zagreb, Croatia (1='never', 5='always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.000
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.000
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.500
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.393
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.296
Watching subtitled films	1.962
Working with machine translated texts	1.192
Watching dubbed films	1.125

With respect to our propositions on translation, respondents generally agreed that translation is a fifth skill and that it can bring the other skills together, and their level of agreement on these points was slightly above the global averages (Table 11). The respondents nevertheless only slightly *disagreed* that translation takes time away from more valuable activities, is for professionals only, and stops students from thinking in L2, with scores that are similar to the global means. There were significantly divided opinions about whether translation is 'for professionals only', which might be related to the absence of institutional structures specifically for the training of professional translators.

Table 11. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 67 teachers in Zagreb, Croatia, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Zagreb*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	0.977	3.836	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.007	3.672	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.925	2.459	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	0.834	2.344	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	1.076	2.475	2.158

In general, the results indicate a fairly traditional use of translation. Even though the grammar-translation method is rated very poorly at the institutional level, there is evidence that individual teachers regard translation in a rather positive light and use it in class to check on the acquisition of grammar and vocabulary. One senses that there is nevertheless a lack of experimentation, since translation activities are not incorporated into audiovisual material and the use of computers.

4.2. Finland

Finland has been included among our case-study countries because it is officially bilingual, with two official languages (Finnish and Swedish). Finland also has an education system that consistently ranks among the best in the world, and an inclusive language policy.

The 2012 Eurobarometer indicates that the three most widely known L2s in Finland are English (70 per cent), Swedish (44 per cent) and German (18 per cent) (Eurobarometer 2012: 21). According to this survey, 75 per cent of Finnish respondents stated that they could speak at least one foreign language, 48 per cent stated that they could speak at least two, but 12 per cent said that they have never learnt a language (Eurobarometer 2012: 58). The most common foreign language among the general Finnish population is English, with 49 per cent stating that they can read magazine and newspaper articles in English, and 51 per cent stating that they use English online (Eurobarometer 2012: 37).

4.2.1. Language policy in Finland

According to Article 1 of the Language Act (*kielilaki*), the official languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish[64], although Sami is also protected by legislation including the Sami Language Act (*saamen kielilaki*). According to Article 5(1), Finnish municipalities are officially either monolingual or bilingual, and a decennial Decree of the Council of State stipulates, on the basis of official statistics, which municipalities are bilingual and what the majority language is in each of them. Article 5(2) of the Language Act stipulates that a municipality is bilingual if it has both Finnish and Swedish speakers and the minority comprises at least eight per cent of the inhabitants or at least 3 000 inhabitants. The notable exception to this is the Åland Islands, where the sole official language is Swedish, although Finnish speakers have the right to use Finnish for official purposes.[65]

According to Hall (2007: 6), the groundwork for the current Finnish language-education policy was laid in the 1970s, when a detailed survey of Finland's foreign-language needs was carried out by the Language Programme Committee. The resulting policy was that each citizen should know at least two L2s.

The Finnish education system is based on various pieces of legislation. The *peruskouluasetus* (Decree on Basic Schooling) contains some provisions relating to the requirements for foreign-language learning. Article 33 states that, in addition to the core subjects for grades 1-6, 'either English or a second national language shall be taught as a common subject, as prescribed by the teaching curriculum, or some students shall be taught a second national language and some taught English'.[66] The same article stipulates that, in the case of municipalities having a population of at least 30 000 speakers of the same language, the languages offered as a common subject should be the second national language and English, French, German and Russian; for municipalities having a population of fewer than 30 000 speakers of the same language, the

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[64] Finnish Parliament. 2003. Kielilaki (Languages Act), Article 1:
http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2003/20030423. Accessed May 2013.
[65] Finnish Parliament. 1991. Ahvenanmaan itsehallintolaki (Act on the Autonomy of Åland), Articles 36 and 37_ http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1991/19911144. Accessed May 2013.
[66] '…opetetaan yhteisenä aineena sen mukaan kuin opetussuunnitelmassa määrätään, joko englannin kieltä tai toista kotimaista kieltä taikka osalle oppilaista toista kotimaista kieltä ja osalle englannin kieltä'. Finnish Ministry of Education. 1984. Peruskouluasetus (Decree on Basic Schooling): Article 33:
http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1984/19840718. Accessed May 2013.

second national language and English should be offered, as well as one or more of French, German and Russian. For grades 7-9, Article 35 of the Decree stipulates that the core subjects include the mother tongue, the second national language and a foreign language, and that the foreign language must be English or another foreign language learned during grades 1-6. Additionally, Sami must be available as an option for students living in areas where Sami is spoken.

According to the *Perusopetuslaki* (Basic Education Act), municipalities where there are both Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking inhabitants have an obligation to provide basic education separately for each language group.[67] Article 10 of the Act regulates the language of instruction, which is either Finnish or Swedish, although Sami, Romany or Finnish Sign Language may also be used.

In practice, all students start to learn an A (mandatory) language in grade 3 (age 9-10), although a small proportion may start learning a language before that point. Another A language may be chosen in grade 4 or 5 (age 10-12). All students then start a B (optional) language in grade 7 (age 13-14), and they may then start a second B language in grade 8 (age 14-15), and then a B3 language in *lukio* [sixth-form college]. The languages most commonly taught in Finnish schools are English, the other national language (either Finnish or Swedish), German, French, Russian, Spanish and Italian.[68]

The National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004 applies to education in grades 1-9 (ages 7-16), and stipulates the combinations shown in Table 12, which are required for study of 'mother tongue and literature' and 'second national language'.[69]

Table 12. Language combinations required by the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004

Student's L1	Syllabus for mother tongue and literature		Second national language	
	CORE	SEPARATELY FUNDED	CORE	OPTIONAL
Finnish	Finnish as the mother tongue	-	Swedish	-
Swedish	Swedish as the mother tongue	-	Finnish	-
Sami	Sami as the mother tongue and Finnish for Sami-speakers	-	-	Swedish
Romany	Finnish or Swedish as the mother tongue	Romany	Swedish or Finnish	-
Finnish sign language	Sign language as the mother tongue and Finnish or Swedish for sign language users	-	-	Swedish or Finnish
Other	Other mother tongue and Finnish or Swedish as a second language	-	-	Swedish or Finnish
Other	Finnish or Swedish as a second language and Finnish or Swedish as the mother tongue	Mother tongue of immigrant pupil	Swedish or Finnish	-

According to the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004, the 'mother tongue and literature' syllabus includes the following requirements:

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[67] Finnish Ministry of Education. 1998. Perusopetuslaki (Basic Education Act), Article 4(4): http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/ajantasa/1998/19980628, accessed May 2013.
[68] Suomen kieltenopettajien liitto [the Federation of Foreign Language Teachers in Finland]. 2013. Perustietoa kielivalinnoista (Basic information about language options): http://www.sukol.fi/medialle/kielivalinnat. Accessed May 2013.
[69] Opetushallitus (Finnish National Board of Education). 2004. National Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004 (English version at http://www.oph.fi/download/47675_POPS_net_new_2.pdf. Accessed May 2013), p. 42.

- Students with Finnish as the mother tongue will 'learn both to note the different languages being spoken in their environment and to place value on those languages' in grades 3-5 (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004: 48). In grades 6-9 they will 'be able to compare Finnish to other languages they have studied [and] have a conception of linguistic relationship, and of the languages related to Finnish'; in addition to this, students in grades 6-9 will also 'have a basic knowledge of the languages spoken in Finland' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004: 55).
- Students with Swedish as the mother tongue will 'learn to notice and respect the languages spoken in the immediate environment, and to recognize the languages of the neighbouring Nordic countries' in grades 3-5 as well as having an 'introduction to Swedish and Nordic children's literature, and to the languages of neighbouring Nordic countries'. In grades 6-9 they will 'be able, to a certain extent, to compare Swedish with other languages, especially Finnish, other Nordic languages, and the foreign languages they are studying' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004: 69).

The curriculum contains similar requirements for Sami, Romany and Finnish Sign Language, all of which are recognised as mother tongues. It is thus clear that all students, whatever their mother tongue, will be able to make connections with several different languages as a result of their 'mother tongue and literature' studies.

With regard to foreign languages, students in Finland take an A language and a B language; further optional B languages are also available. Performance is assessed in terms of a language-proficiency scale based on the Common European Framework of Reference.[70]

The language curricula at the level of basic education consistently place the emphasis on oral communication, and contain no references to translation. Translation is, however, mentioned only in *optional* courses for general upper-secondary education, with a few exceptions as discussed below.

For students learning Finnish as a second language, 'translation exercises' appears as one of the core elements of a specialisation (i.e. optional) course entitled 'In the World of Texts'.[71] For students learning Swedish as a second language, a specialisation course entitled Oral Communication states that one of the objectives is for students to 'become aware of interpreting services and of how and when to turn to an interpreter or a translator for help' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003: 73). In the case of Finnish for Sami-speaking students, however, one of the specialisation courses is called Living in a Diverse and Multicultural World, and one of its objectives is for students to 'have some knowledge of problems and tools relating to translation and interpreting and some personal experience of translation or interpreting from the Sami language to Finnish or vice versa' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003: 80). One of the 'core contents' elements of this course is 'a relatively straightforward translation or interpreting assignment based on a current text, story, speech, announcement or event, using reference material, as an individual project or in pairs' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003: 80). This suggests that translation and interpreting are regarded as more relevant and/or necessary as

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[70] The performance indicators can be found at
http://www.oph.fi/download/47674_core_curricula_basic_education_5.pdf, pp. 278-295.
[71] Opetushallitus (Finnish National Board of Education). 2003. National Core Curriculum for Upper Secondary Schools 2003. English version at
http://www.oph.fi/download/47678_core_curricula_upper_secondary_education.pdf. Accessed May 2013, p. 68.

objects of study for Sami speakers, but even then only on an optional basis. This conjecture seems to be borne out by the fact that the syllabus for native-level Swedish speakers specifies that one of the objectives is for students to 'develop their abilities to write good Swedish for different purposes, so as to be able to draw up various reports, summaries, essays and stories and, *where necessary*, translate both from and into the Swedish language' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003; emphasis ours). The syllabus for native-level Finnish speakers contains a similar requirement (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003).

However, the syllabus for native-level Swedish speakers does include translation exercises as an element of one of the compulsory courses, Study and Work (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003), unlike the preceding references to translation, which all relate to optional courses. Furthermore, the syllabus for native-level Finnish speakers includes a compulsory course, Education, Occupational and Economic Life, which mentions the following requirements: 'students will pay particular attention to attributes and adverbials, questions of word government and the Finnish-language equivalents to Swedish prepositional attributes. These points will be illustrated and practised through *translation assignments into both Swedish and Finnish*' (Finnish National Board of Education, 2003: 98; emphasis ours).

The main application of translation in the Finnish education system thus appears to be as a means of fostering bilingualism, since the only references to translation in the Finnish curriculum are in that context. The curriculum for foreign languages, including Latin, does not make any mention of translation. This background implies that translation is not regarded as an essential skill for foreign-language learning in Finland but rather as a secondary skill that bilingual students may develop 'where necessary'.

4.2.2. Translator training

Translator training in Finland started at language institutes, and the first programmes were established in 1966 in Turku and Tampere, followed by Savonlinna and Kouvola (Humphreys and Salmi, 2012: 9). These language institutes merged with universities in the early 1980s, thus forming the basis for the current translator-training system: the university-based schools in Joensuu and Helsinki now have large numbers of translation students, and the system has grown to include at least five institutions of higher education across Finland, offering a wide range of BA and specialised MA programmes.[72] Two universities in Finland currently offer programmes in translation studies that are accredited by the European Masters in Translation (EMT) network: the University of Tampere and the University of Turku.[73]

4.2.3. Focus city: Turku

Turku, or Åbo in Swedish, has a population of 180 225 (in 2012).[74] It is the oldest city and former capital of Finland, and was also the administrative capital of Western Finland until 2009.

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[72] http://isg.urv.es/tti/tti.htm. Accessed May 2013.

[73] Directorate-General for Translation, European Commission. Universities and programmes in the EMT network. http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/translation/programmes/emt/universities/index_en.htm. Accessed May 2013.

[74] Turun kaupunki (City of Turku). 2013a. Asukasluku 1.1.1891-1993 ja vuodenvaihteissa 1993/94 – 2012/13 (Number of inhabitants as at 1 January 1891-1993 and at the turn of the year 1993/94 – 2012/13). Turun kaupungin tilastollinen vuosikirja (City of Turku Statistics Yearbook). http://www.turku.fi/Public/download.aspx?ID=172679&GUID={DE416108-68A7-41B8-9D7C-16A6C39A7D4F}. Accessed May 2013.
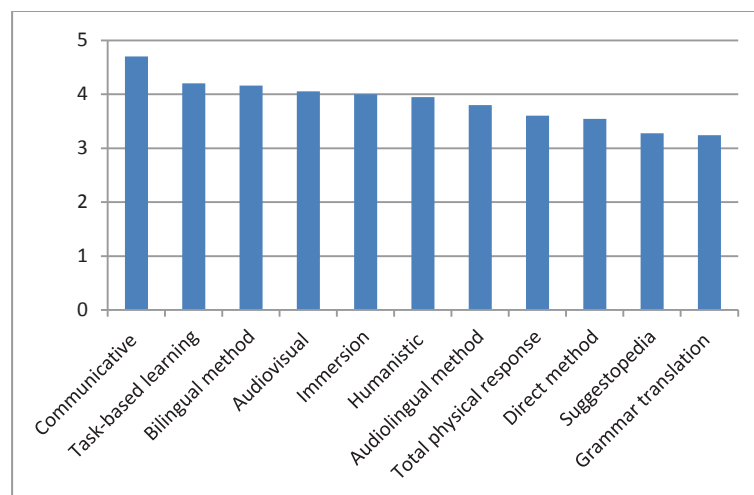
The city is officially bilingual. According to official statistics, the inhabitants of Turku in 2012 included 154 964 Finnish speakers (86 per cent), 9 645 Swedish speakers (5.4 per cent), and 15 616 speakers of other languages (8.7 per cent). Speakers of other languages have outnumbered Swedish speakers since 2004.[75] The greatest numbers of foreign nationals residing in Turku in 2012 were Estonian and Russian.[76] Turku has three universities: the University of Turku (founded in 1920), Åbo Akademi (a Swedish-language university founded in 1918) and the School of Economics (founded in 1950).

4.2.4. Responses from teachers in Turku

Our sample of language teachers from Turku includes 21 at primary level, 34 at secondary level, and 21 at university level.[77] The sample is biased in favour of the more experienced teachers (46 per cent with more than 20 years' experience). Some 65 per cent of respondents taught English and 30 per cent taught Swedish.

The preferred teaching methodology is communicative, with 49 per cent 'very positive' ratings, ahead of task-based learning and the bilingual method (27 per cent each; see Figure 8).

Figure 8. How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach? Replies from 71 teachers in the Turku area, as means (5='very positively')
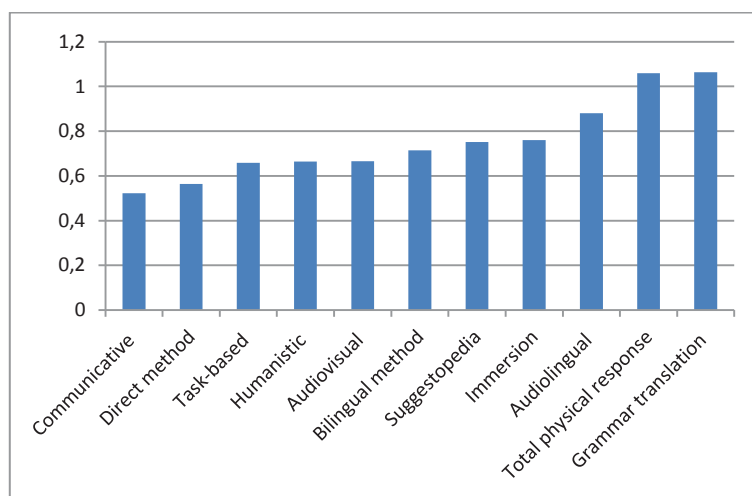

The levels of agreement or disagreement with each teaching method can be seen in Figure 9.

Figure 9. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - standard deviations between replies from 71 teachers in the Turku area (1.2 = significant differences between replies)


This suggests that opinions are most divided with regard to grammar translation and total physical response.

Most of the teachers claimed they used translation in the middle of the frequency range (58 per cent), with 8 per cent choosing 'always'; only a meagre two per cent declared that they 'never' used translation.

The use of translation is fairly extensive across the different education levels (Figure 10), with the middle option being exceptionally high at the primary (75 per cent) and secondary (66 per cent) levels. Interestingly, 41 per cent of respondents in higher education use translation 'rarely' or 'never', but the proportion of respondents using translation with higher frequencies is still 59 per cent.

We might surmise that there is a pronounced positive tendency to use translation at all levels of education, despite the fact that it is only recommended for certain situations in the curriculum (see 4.2.1 above).

Figure 10. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 65 language teachers in Finland, according to the level at which they teach
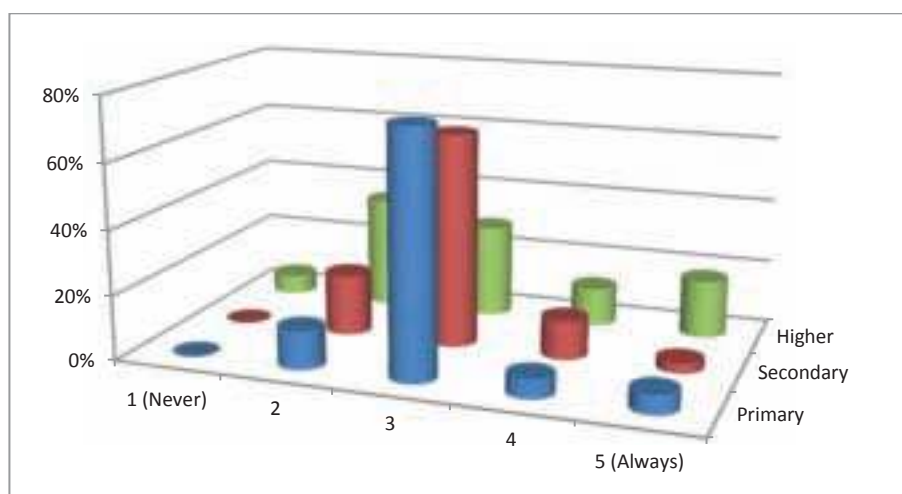
When asked about the translation activities they use in class (Table 13), there was a marked preference for the translation of individual sentences both from and into L2. On the other hand, there is very little use of dubbed films or machine translation. Other activities included 'fill-in L2 words in grammar teaching'.

Table 13. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - as means of a 5-point scale, replies from 50 language teachers in Finland (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.320
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.300
Translating into L1 of longer passages	3.000
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.625
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.408
Watching subtitled films	2.375
Watching dubbed films	1.375
Working with machine translated texts	1.250

When confronted with our five propositions on the nature and role of translation (Table 14), the Finnish respondents were slightly more inclined to disagree than to agree with all the propositions, the only exception being the second proposition ('Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together'), where they agreed slightly more than the global mean. This means that attitudes towards translation in Finland are generally positive.

Table 14. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 66 teachers in Finland, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Turku*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	0.897	3.561	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	0.859	3.697	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.967	2.415	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	0.950	2.138	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	0.788	2.138	2.158

The Finnish responses to these propositions were far more in favour of translation than against it, although agreement with the 'fifth skill' idea was below the global norm. The respondents were far more in favour of translation as an activity that brings the other skills together, which is coherent with the relatively high levels at which translation is used in all three education sectors. As for the last three propositions, which express negative attitudes to translation, the levels of strong disagreement among Finnish respondents were 12 per cent, 15 per cent and 24 per cent respectively, while only two per cent strongly agreed with the third and fourth propositions and no respondents strongly agreed with the fifth one.

The overall conclusion from the Finnish responses is therefore that teachers tend to view translation more favourably than in other European countries and that they include translation exercises more frequently at both the primary and secondary levels.

4.2.5. Responses from experts in Finland

Teachers in Finland were generally reluctant to respond to the experts' questionnaire. This appears to have been for several reasons.[78] The most common response was that they did not feel they had the required expertise or competence to respond, since the questionnaire covered diverse topics such as national legislation, institutional policies, knowledge of relevant empirical research, attitudes to translation in different sectors, general attitudes among teachers and personal attitudes to translation. The Finnish reluctance to respond thus appears to stem from a perceived inability on the part of the respondents to answer every question in detail, unlike in other countries where many of the fields were left blank.

We were fortunate, however, that those who did respond to the experts' questionnaire provided some extremely useful information in line with the generally positive attitude towards translation. They explained that a variety of teaching methods are used in Finland, including listening and reading comprehension, spoken and written language exercises, grammar teaching, translation, and immersion, although immersion is particularly favoured for Swedish and Sami. According to the experts, there have been some changes in language-teaching methods in Finland, with a gradual shift away from translation, although the extent to which translation is used varies depending on the level of the students and the language being taught.

In recent years, translation has come to be considered as an 'outmoded method', and has given way to methods such as immersion and text production. This appears to be in reaction to the former 'monopoly' status of translation in school-leaving examinations, which was subject to criticism in the 1960s and 1970s. In response to this criticism, translation was subsequently omitted from the school-leaving examinations. The general opinion seems to be, however, that translation activities can serve a useful purpose when they are combined with other types of tests.

4.3. France

France has been included as one of our case-study countries since it is a large European country, and has various regional languages. France scores poorly in international comparisons of language competences, and translation is reported as having been officially prohibited as a language-teaching method; for these reasons, it constitutes another interesting case study.

According to Special Eurobarometer 386, 51 per cent of French respondents stated that they could speak at least one foreign language, 19 per cent stated that they could speak at least two, but 22 per cent said that they have never learnt a foreign language (Eurobarometer 2012: 15). The most common L2 among the general French population is English, with 32 per cent stating that they can read magazine and newspaper articles in English, and 29 per cent stating that they use English online (Eurobarometer 2012: 37). The three most widely-known L2s in France are English (39 per cent), Spanish (13 per cent) and German (6 per cent).

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[78] No fewer than six full professors of Linguistics or Translation Studies declined, very politely, to respond to our questionnaire, with each suggesting that some other professor was better qualified. In the end we received responses from Outi Palaposki and Håkan Ringbom, to whom we would like to express our sincere gratitude.

In learning English, France scores lowest in reading, lowest in listening, and lowest in writing among the 15 European countries/regions covered by the *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011).[79]

Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) is reported as being used in fewer than 10 per cent of French schools.[80]

4.3.1. French language policy

French education policy concerning languages appears to have two branches: one for regional languages and another for foreign languages. It is worth noting that there is a statutory requirement for education in regional languages in those areas where they are spoken, and that French law prescribes the teaching methods used for regional languages.

Regional languages in France include Basque, Breton, Catalan, Corsican, Creole, Gallo, Occitan, the languages of Alsace, the languages of the Moselle, Tahitian, and Melanesian languages (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2001a). In a government decree on bilingual regional-language education, one of the provisions states that 'this bilingual teaching may be administered according to various modes of organisation, and adapted to different levels, according to the principle of timetable parity or according to the method known as immersion'[81] (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2001b: Article 2). Article 3 of the Decree goes on to define these two concepts as follows:

> Bilingual teaching with timetable parity is defined as teaching that is administered half in the regional language and half in French […]. Bilingual teaching by the method known as immersion is characterised by main use of the regional language, but not excluding French as a teaching language, and as a language of communication within the establishment.[82] (Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale, 2001b: Article 3)

In short, the teaching of regional languages is delivered either through dividing the teaching equally between the regional language and French or through delivering the teaching mainly in the regional language.

For foreign languages, Article L121-3 of the *Code de l'éducation* (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2013a) stipulates that 'mastery of French and knowledge of two other languages shall be among the fundamental objectives of teaching'.[83]

According to the Ministère de l'Éducation nationale (2013b), oral skills should be prioritised. Children in primary school receive one and a half hours' instruction in a foreign language each week, with a view to achieving level A1 of the Common

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[79] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 42 ff.). Accessed April 2013.

[80] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 169). Accessed April 2013.

[81] '[c]et enseignement bilingue peut être dispensé selon des modalités d'organisation différentes, adaptées aux différents niveaux, selon le principe de parité horaire ou selon la méthode dite de l'immersion'.

[82] 'L'enseignement bilingue à parité horaire se définit par un enseignement dispensé pour moitié en langue régionale et pour moitié en français […]. L'enseignement bilingue par la méthode dite de l'immersion se caractérise par l'utilisation principale de la langue régionale, non exclusive du français comme langue d'enseignement, et comme langue de communication au sein de l'établissement.'

[83] '[l]a maîtrise de la langue française et la connaissance de deux autres langues font partie des objectifs fondamentaux de l'enseignement'

European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) by the end of primary school.

Learning of the first foreign language continues in *sixième*, which is the first year of secondary education in France (i.e. age 11-12), while the second foreign language starts in *quatrième* (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2013b), which is the third year of secondary school (i.e. age 13-14). At the end of *troisième*, the fourth year of secondary school (i.e. age 14-15), students sit for the *Diplôme national du brevet*. In order to be awarded the diploma, students must have acquired CEFR level A2 in a foreign language.

In *lycée* (sixth-form college), students taking the languages stream are tested on written as well as oral skills in their final exams, while other streams are only tested on oral skills (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2013b). A point of interest here is that, for students taking the languages stream, the teaching of the first and second foreign languages 'no longer emphasises the literary dimension, but from now on will leave this for the mandatory teaching of foreign literature in the foreign language. All teaching methods as a whole shall give full scope to spoken language and shall encourage innovative methods of work' (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale, 2013b; our translation).

With respect to the official use of translation in L2 classrooms, Harvey (1996: 46) describes the situation in France as follows:

> Until a few years ago, the use of L1, whether for the purposes of translation or grammar explanations, was officially outlawed in the classroom, although a number of teachers continued to engage in "undercover" translation [...]. The so-called *méthode directe* was made compulsory by ministerial guidelines back in 1950, but was not actually applied until many years later. The fact that the ban on translation was condemned back in 1987 by the *APLV (Association des Professeurs de Langues Vivantes*) in a special issue of *Les langues modernes* points to [a] gap [...] between teachers faced with the day-to-day reality of the classroom, and official policy makers.

Our research has been able to test whether that gap still exists.

4.7.2. Translator training

Translation courses, generally in the form of Master's-level courses, are available at over 80 institutions in France. The courses on offer include translation and interpreting, literary translation, audiovisual translation, conference interpreting, scientific and technical translation and legal translation. Nine universities are members of the European Masters in Translation (EMT) Network: they are found in Marseille, Grenoble, Paris, Lille, Metz, Rennes and Toulouse.

4.7.4. Responses from French teachers

Given the centralised nature of the French education system, there is little indication of regional variation in classroom practices. This, coupled with the difficulty of obtaining responses from primary-school teachers in particular, meant that we did not use a focus city in this case: the replies to our questionnaires came from all over France.

Our questionnaire for teachers was made available in both French and English, on the premise that an English-only form might give undue weight to teachers of

English. As it happened, the responses to both forms indicated no significant differences in the distribution of languages taught (Table 15).

Table 15. Languages taught by 188 teachers in France, as percentages, responding to questionnaires in French and English

	English	French	German	Spanish	Italian
French questionnaire	87.3	4.9	3.5	2.8	0.7
English questionnaire	87.3	4.8	3.2	1.6	1.6

There were a total of 188 responses to the survey from teachers in France. The French responses included 11 from the primary sector, 130 from the secondary sector and 47 from higher education. Since a target of 20 responses per sector had been set, the paucity of responses from the French primary sector was disappointing. The research team sent 3 389 e-mails directly to primary schools in France, yielding a response rate of only 0.32 per cent. The greatest proportion of the French sample was represented by those with the most teaching experience: 43 per cent of respondents had more than 20 years' experience, and 31 per cent had between 11 and 20 years' experience. The overwhelming majority of teachers taught English.

The most popular teaching methodologies among the French respondents were task-based learning and communicative language teaching, while the least popular methods were grammar translation and suggestopedia. The response rates for each teaching method are given in Figure 11. The low score for the bilingual method and the middling score for immersion are of interest in the light of the official recommendation of these methods for the teaching of French regional languages. This suggests that the recommendations for those languages do not affect the teaching of other languages.

The low status of grammar translation concords with a situation where translation was reportedly banned from the L2 classroom.

Figure 11. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 188 teachers in France, as means (5='very positively')
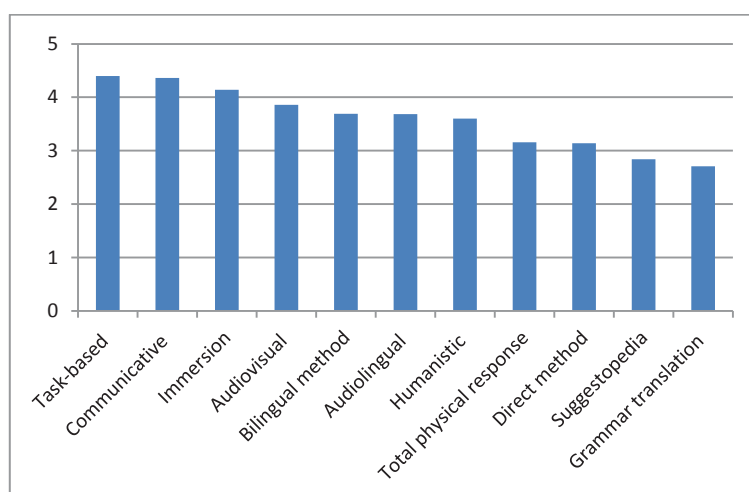
The levels of agreement or disagreement with each teaching method can be seen in Figure 12.

Figure 12. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - standard deviations between replies from 175 teachers in France. across the English and French questionnaires (1.2 = pronounced difference between replies)
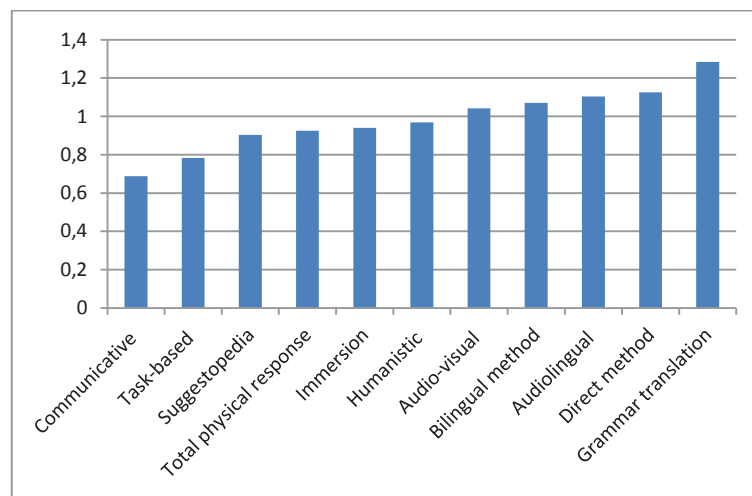
This suggests that opinions are most divided with regard to grammar translation, direct and audiolingual.

Among the French respondents, the use of translation was spread over the mid-to-low values of the frequency scale. Only 11 per cent said that they 'never' use translation, which is much lower than one might expect in view of the reported banning of translation activities. Of those who responded that they used translation exercises 'never' or 'rarely', 14 per cent said that this was for 'other' reasons, and 13 per cent said that they thought it was detrimental to language learning.

The 'other' reasons included the following:

- It is too difficult;
- School inspectors strongly advise against it;
- Lack of time;
- Other activities are more important;
- Teaching foreign students, who are perceived as being at a disadvantage;
- It is not required for the *baccalauréat*;
- There is limited interest.

Figure 13. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 165 language teachers in France, according to the level at which they teach
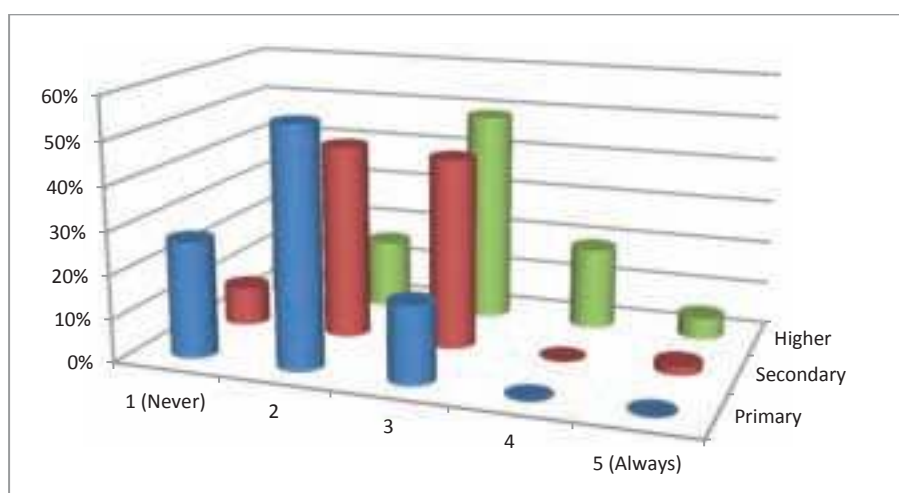

Table 16 provides an overview of the results relating to the types of activities used by teachers.

Table 16. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - as means of a 5-point scale, replies from 80 language teachers in France (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	2.856
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	2.856
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.525
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.264
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.238
Watching subtitled films	2.203
Working with machine translated texts	1.697
Watching dubbed films	1.436

There were only two methods that were 'always' used, and they both scored very poorly: translation analysis/criticism/discussion (four respondents) and watching subtitled films (three respondents). The French responses show a very clear trend against any form of translation-related activity, with very high response rates for 'never'.

Respondents were given a series of propositions and asked about the extent to which they agreed with each of them (see Table 17). The French respondents were more likely than the global average to regard translation as a fifth skill, but attitudes against translation were generally higher than the global average.

Table 17. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 167 teachers in China, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree)

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*France*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	0.901	3.994	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.042	3.631	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	1.197	2.649	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.226	2.015	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	0.915	2.683	2.158

This shows that there are differing levels of agreement about the role of translation in language teaching in France. Given that school inspectors discourage translation, according to our experts, and given that the French government's emphasis is on oral skills, this is perhaps not surprising. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that language teachers in France do use translation exercises, although they are used most commonly at the secondary and higher education levels.

4.7.6. Responses from experts in France

Our five experts informed us that language teaching in France is subject to varying priorities depending on the education level. At primary level, the emphasis is on oral comprehension and oral expression; at secondary level, the focus is on written comprehension; and in higher education, the focus shifts to 'written expression'. There is no mention of translation as part of this, or indeed at any stage. In fact, our experts said that there is no increasing willingness to introduce translation activities of any sort, and that the prevailing practice is against translation 'as far as those in charge are concerned, but teachers who have not had much training are 'reassured' by translation and engage in it occasionally' (Marie-Dominique Potoudis; our translation).[84]

There were some differences of opinion among our French experts as to whether there had been any changes in terms of the popularity of teaching methods. One respondent answered that there had not, while another answered that there had, and that 'the current methods are richer and more lively; also more challenging'[85], although unfortunately this was not expanded upon. We were told, however, that 'teachers are free to choose their method or to create one'[86] (Marie-Dominique Potoudis), and there was some consensus to the effect that the communicative and task-based approaches were the most popular. One of the experts nevertheless said that there had been a shift away from the communicative approach and towards the task-based approach over the last decade (Pascale Leclercq).

All the French experts agreed that translation was used very little in the French education system. One respondent explained that translation activities are 'advised against by education consultants'[87] at the primary level (Marie-Dominique Potoudis), and that the only use of translation exercises at secondary

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[84] 'au contraire en ce qui concerne les responsables mais les enseignants peu formés sont 'rassurés' par la traduction et la pratiquent parfois.'
[85] 'les méthodes actuelles sont plus riches et plus vivantes; plus exigeantes aussi.'
[86] 'les enseignants sont libres de choisir leur méthode ou d'en créer une'
[87] 'déconseillées par les conseillers pédagogiques'

level was 'as a vocabulary section or memory aid at the back of the textbook'[88] (Marie-Dominique Potoudis). General attitudes towards translation appear to have changed greatly over time; one respondent told us that 'we have seen education guidelines evolve and change… translation was present to begin with, then advised against or banned, and then permitted for grammatical explanations'[89] (Marie-Dominique Potoudis). This certainly appears to hold true for the primary and secondary sectors.

4.4. Germany

Germany is of interest here because of its size, its traditionally high standards of language education, and the indications of significant theoretical debate on issues concerning the relation between translation and language learning.

The 2012 Eurobarometer indicates that the three most widely known L2s in Germany are English (55 per cent), French (14 per cent) and German (10 per cent).[90]

4.4.1. Language policy

The official status of the standard German language (*Hochdeutsch*) is not only juridical but also deeply cultural. Deprived of a unified state until 1871, German culture was identified with language more than with institutions. Most Germans nevertheless grow up using one of the various spoken varieties of German, acquiring Standard German at school.

Recognised minority languages, in their respective regions, are Low Saxon, Sorbian, Romani, Danish and North Frisian. There are also over 2 million speakers of Turkish and sizeable communities speaking Croatian, Greek, Kurdish and Italian. The 2011 census showed that some 19 per cent of the population had an immigrant background.[91]

There are no specific laws regarding language teaching at the level of Germany as a country, although there are federal guidelines[92] that are nominally derived from the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*.[93]

4.4.2. Translator training

The contemporary system for training translators in Germany began in the university-based institutes in Heidelberg (from 1930), Germersheim (1947) and Saarbrücken (1948), all of which now have large numbers of translation students. The system has grown to include at least 22 tertiary institutions across Germany, offering a wide range of BA and specialised MA programmes.[94]

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[88] 'sous forme de lexique ou aide mémoire en fin de manuel'

[89] 'on a vu évoluer le conseil pédagogique et changer aussi… la traduction était présente au début puis déconseillée voire interdite puis admise pour les explications grammaticales'

[90] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf (2012: 21). Accessed March 2013.

[91] https://www.destatis.de/EN/PressServices/Press/pr/2013/05/PE13_188_121.html. Accessed June 2013.

[92] These guidelines are determined between the 16 states or *Länder*. See: http://www.kmk.org/bildung-schule.html. Accessed January 2013.

[93] *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: learning, teaching, assessment*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Cambridge University Press): http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/elp/elp-reg/Source/Key_reference/CEFR_EN.pdf. Accessed January 2013.

[94] See http://www.aticom.de/dateien/a-abschluesse.pdf. Updated March 2009; accessed May 2013.

From the early 1980s, this university system produced a radical re-thinking of the professional role of the translator, and consequently of translator training. There was a change from philological studies to practical training. What became known as *Skopos* theory posited that the translator's aim was not to produce an equivalent text, but to satisfy the client's communicative purpose, which might go beyond a narrow conception of equivalence-based translation. This opened the way to a more situational and industry-relevant mode of training, in which the concept of 'translatorial action' (*translatorisches Handeln*, after Holz-Mänttäri, 1984) includes virtually all modes of interlingual mediation.

4.4.3. General relations between translation and language teaching

We received 16 replies to our 'questionnaire for experts', from respondents in secondary and higher education throughout Germany.[95] These replies made it abundantly clear that the use of translation in L2 classrooms depends directly on the presence of translation activities in the official exams (especially the *Abitur* exam), and that this varies from *Land* to *Land*. In Tübingen, for example, it is reported that translation proficiency is part of the *Staatsexamen* in foreign languages (which must be passed in order to become a language teacher in secondary education), so there are mandatory classes in translation at that level. This is not the case in other parts of Germany.

It was thus clear that our questionnaire for teachers would have to focus on just one region.

A more serious problem, however, is the way the term 'translation' is used in the questionnaires for experts. This problem does not concern the terms used for this concept in the German language (*Übersetzen* for written translating, *Dolmetschen* for spoken interpreting, and *Translation* as a technical superordinate for the two); it has to do with the presence of a further term, *Mediation*.

4.4.3.1. 'Mediation' in the German context

The general position expressed in our experts' opinions is that 'translation' is not good in language teaching, but 'mediation' is. To understand this response, one must first grasp what 'mediation' means in the German context.

If we followed a straightforward reading of the *Common European Framework*, 'mediation' would be a general term for interlingual communication of all kinds, *including* translation and interpreting.[96] However, some of our experts' comments are phrased as if 'mediation' and 'translation' were two separate things.

The earliest use of the term *Sprachmittler* ('language mediator'), with reference to translation and interpreting, is reported as being in 1940, in a text by the then

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[95] Our special thanks to Professor Kurt Kohn of the University of Tübingen, who contacted numerous other experts on our behalf.

[96] 'The language learner/user's communicative language competence is activated in the performance of the various language activities, involving reception, production, interaction or mediation (in particular interpreting or translating).' (2001: 21; emphasis ours). The German term for 'mediation' here is 'Sprachmittlung': 'Die kommunikative Sprachkompetenz eines Lernenden oder Sprachverwenders wird in verschiedenen kommunikativen Sprachaktivitäten aktiviert, die Rezeption, Produktion, Interaktion und Sprachmittlung (insbesondere Dolmetschen und Übersetzung) umfassen, wobei jede dieser Typen von Aktivitäten in mündlicher oder schriftlicher Form oder in beiden vorkommen kann.' http://www.goethe.de/z/50/commeuro/20103.htm. Accessed January 2013.

head of the association of interpreters.[97] The concept of *Sprachmittlung* ('language mediation') was then used as a general term for interlingual communication in the Leipzig school of Translation Studies in the 1970s (cf. Kade, 1968, 1977), as a superordinate that explicitly included translation and interpreting (which were grouped together as *Translation*, as a German term). In this terminological system, 'mediation' would be the general term for everything that can be done to communicate between languages, while 'translation' and 'interpreting' would be specific forms of mediation that are constrained by equivalence.

In the mid-1980s, the *Skopos* theory of translation (see 4.3.2 above) relaxed the criterion of equivalence, using 'translatorial action' as a synonym for mediated interlingual communication (see Nord, 1997).

At the same time, however, the term 'mediation' was taking on a slightly different meaning within the field of research on bilingualism (cf. Pöchhacker, 2006: 217). Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff (1985) used the term *Sprachmitteln* ('linguistic mediating') to describe the performances of untrained bilinguals in face-to-face communication. This is what Translation Studies had been calling 'natural translation' (after Harris, 1976).

We thus reach a situation where the term 'translation' has gained a very restricted (and restrictive) sense in bilingual studies, at the same time as it has become virtually synonymous with 'mediation' in German-language Translation Studies.

The litmus test must be whether 'mediation' is seen as an opposite of translation, or as a superordinate that includes translation (as it was in the system developed in the Leipzig school of Translation Studies in the 1980s).

4.4.3.2. Teaching German as an L2 or L3

Given the high levels of immigration that are now traditional in Germany, special attention is given to the teaching of German as a foreign language, primarily as a tool of social integration. Since spoken fluency is a major aim of such teaching, the use of only German in the classroom is now an established orthodoxy and is almost mandatory, especially in the Goethe Institut schools, for example. The exclusion of languages other than German is also a logical consequence of the fact that most classes have students with a wide range of different L1s, up to 15 in some cases.[98] Under such circumstances, translation activities might seem inappropriate.

Perhaps surprisingly, though, there is a recent movement within the teaching of German as a foreign language *towards* the use of translation, notably between German and English. The supposition, not without demographic justification, is that most learners already have some English, so they are essentially moving from English to German, since the two languages are cognate in many features. For example, in the textbook *Deutsch ist easy!* (Kursiša and Neuner, 2006) it is explicitly assumed that the learner has L2 English and L3 German. The textbook consequently recommends translation activities for points of comparative grammar such as comparing modal verbs or personal pronouns (i.e. closed-

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[97] Monnien, Otto. 1940. 'Dolmetscher – Sprachmittler'. In *Der Sprachmittler. Mitteilungen der Reichsfachschaft für das Dolmetscher- und Übersetzerwesen in der Rechtsfront* 1(1): 1-2. Cited in Salevsky 1998 (cf. Wilss 1999: 11; Pöchhacker 2006: 227).
[98] As stated by Marion Grein, head of Deutsch als Fremdsprache at the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, personal communication, 21 February 2013.

system items) in the two languages, although it is made clear in other activities that the aim of the comparisons is to show that texts cannot be translated word for word (Kursiša and Neuner, 2006: 11). Figure 14 shows an activity from the book, where translation is used in the name of the lesson, in the comparison between German and English, and in the invitation for the learner to translate the sentences into their L1. The second activity is then comparative grammar, asking the learner to compare the positions of modals in the three languages. Very similar exercises can be found in the textbook series *Menschen* (also published by Hueber Verlag).

Figure 14. Activity from *Deutsch ist easy! Lehrerhandreichungen und Kopiervorlagen 'Deutsch nach Englisch' für den Anfangsunterricht* (Kursiša and Neuner, 2006: 57)

Perhaps the most intriguing feature of these comparative translation activities is that they are similar to activities recommended in the textbooks on intercomprehension (see 2.2.6 above). Here, however, the mediating role of English is accepted and exploited, whereas the intercomprehension experts work to exclude the role of English.

4.4.4. Focus region: Rheinland-Pfalz

Since the regulations on language teaching vary from *Land* to *Land* in Germany, our qualitative focus on one area is particularly important. We selected Rheinland-Pfalz largely because of our contacts with the Germersheim centre for studies in language, culture and translation, which is part of the University of Mainz.[99]

The general situation in secondary education may be summarised as follows[100]:

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[99] We tried to reach language teachers through both personal contacts and the regional association, the Philologenverband Rheinland-Pfalz, unsuccessfully.
[100] Here we draw on a summary provided by Christa Noll-Kiraly and Donald Kiraly (personal communication, 17 January 2013).

- Teachers are discouraged from having students translate in L2 classes;
- If translation is done, it normally goes into the L2;
- As elsewhere, 'mediation' is condoned and refers to exercises in which students must grasp the gist of a source text in a given situation and then communicate that gist to a speaker of the other language, either in spoken or written form;
- Translation has long been absent from the *Abitur* exams (at the end of secondary education, in Year 12).

However, in the neighbouring *Land* of Baden-Württemberg, translation is used extensively in L2 classes and it is in the *Abitur* exams.[101]

To check on this general assessment, we obtained ethical clearance for our survey from the education authority in Rheinland-Pfalz[102], and we contacted all the primary and secondary schools by email, with the questionnaires available in both English and German. Replies came from a total of 60 teachers: 10 in primary, 33 in secondary, and 17 in higher education. The response rates were particularly low for the primary sector.

The German-language questionnaire was answered by 24 teachers; the English-language version was answered by 27 teachers; a total of 51 teachers replied. There was no significant difference between the languages taught by the two groups. The languages taught were English (36 teachers), French (13), German (as an L2) (10), Spanish (3) and Latin, Greek and Danish (1 each) – 12 teachers taught more than one language. The first four in this order of languages matches exactly the order given by the 2012 Eurobarometer for L2 knowledge in Germany as a whole.

With regard to years of experience, the respondents had a remarkably even distribution, with slightly more respondents having 11-20 years of experience.

The institutionally preferred teaching methods were very clearly communicative, task-based learning and audiovisual, with grammar translation as the least preferred (Figure 15).

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[101] 'Baden-Württemberg has adopted a policy that puts translation (i.e. word-for-word translation) and mediation (i.e. summing up of main points, from the first language into the second language) on an equal footing' (Ellen Butzko-Willke, questionnaire, 11 December 2012).
[102] Our thanks to Stefanie Hess of the Allgemeine Schulverwaltung, Kirchenrecht und Kulturpflege in Rheinland-Pfalz, and to Hartmut Droeger, Koordinierender Sachbearbeiter für allgemeine Schulangelegenheiten.

Figure 15. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 51 teachers in Rheinland-Pfalz, as means (5='very positively')
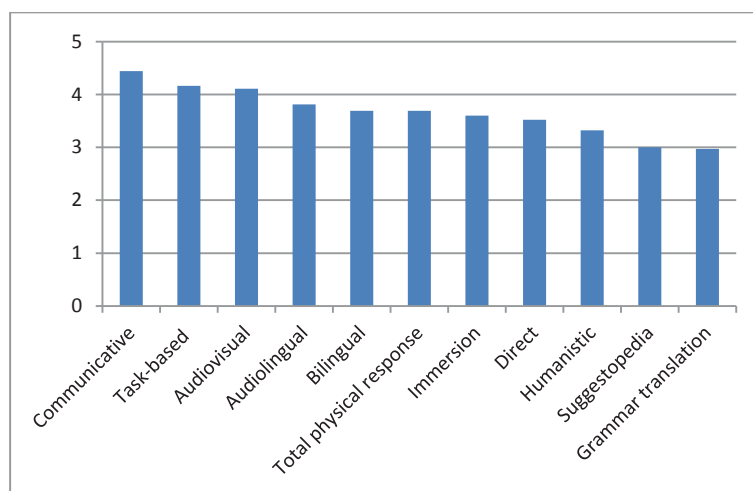
Immersion scored surprisingly low, and the teachers named no additional teaching methods.

When asked how often they used translation exercises in class, the primary teachers all indicated 'never' or 'rarely'; secondary teachers were slightly better disposed to translation but were mostly below the mid-point of frequency; higher-education teachers were mostly at the mid-point, but only seven of them actually responded to this question (see Figure 16).

Figure 16. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies from 52 teachers in Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, as percentages, by the level at which they teach
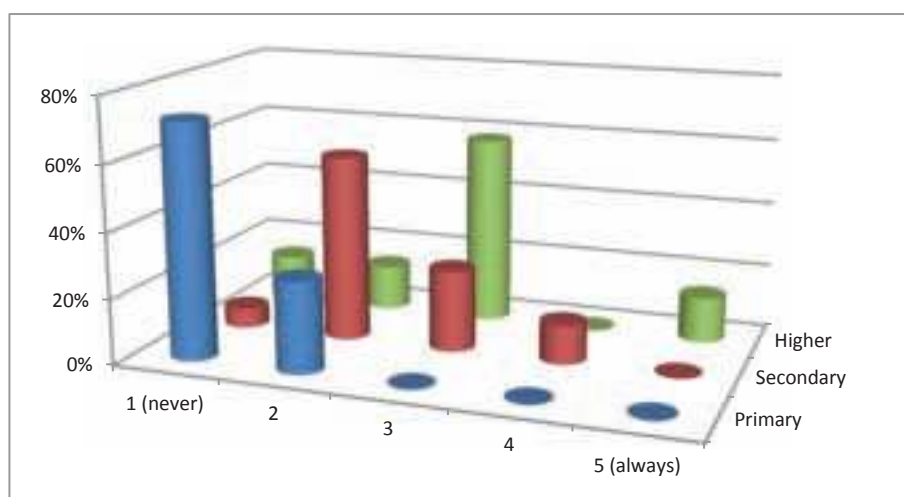
In higher education, teachers who indicated relatively frequent use of translation had more than 11 years' experience, and just under half of them had more than 20 years' experience.

The teachers who reported using translation activities with some degree of frequency were asked what kind of activities they used (see Table 18). The preferences were fairly traditional and compatible with the grammar-translation

method: the translation of individual sentences into L1 and L2. The use of subtitled films was nevertheless used fairly often.

Table 18. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - mean replies from 15 language teachers in Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany (1='never', 5='always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.055
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.011
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.833
Watching subtitled films	2.772
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.693
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.150
Working with machine translated texts	1.550
Watching dubbed films	1.484

With respect to our general propositions on the nature of translation, the teachers were globally in favour of the ideas that translation is a fifth skill and can bring the other skills together, but with a noticeable difference: agreement with the 'fifth skill' idea is above the global mean; agreement with the 'unifying skills' idea is below the mean (Table 19).

The teachers narrowly agreed, to an extent greater than the global averages, that translation takes time away from more valuable activities and that it does not allow the student to think in the L2. These relatively negative opinions of translation suggest that translation might be seen as a 'fifth skill' in the sense that it is a language skill that should not be mixed with the other four (see 4.12.4 below). The German teachers nevertheless disagreed, more than the global mean, that 'translating is for professionals only'.

Table 19. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 25 teachers in Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree)

Proposition	Standard Deviation	Rheinland -Pfalz	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	0.928	3.841	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.149	3.330	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.966	2.668	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.025	2.731	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	0.979	2.155	2.158

4.4.5. Opinions of experts

As mentioned, we received 16 replies to our 'questionnaire for experts', from respondents in secondary and higher education throughout Germany. The replies played a key role in alerting us to the regional differences in Germany and to the importance attached to 'mediation' in the German context. The experts also pointed to an important debate concerning the use of L1 in the L2 classroom, which has direct implications for the use of translation (if L1 is excluded, so is translation).

Wolfgang Butzkamm has promoted a 'bilingual reform' in language education, seeking the return of L1 into the L2 classroom (Butzkamm and Caldwell, 2009). There are at least two arguments for this. First, it is claimed that 'a common neural system mediates semantic processes for both languages', and if the languages are together in the brain, then they should be in the classroom. We have seen that the neurological evidence is not univocal on this issue (see 2.2.5 above). The second argument is based on simple pedagogical progression:

> It has always been good educational practice to build on a learner's existing skills and competencies. Why should foreign language teaching be an exception? The prevailing monolingual methodology seems to assume that children have to learn everything about the foreign language from scratch. But by the time they start with foreign languages at school, children know a lot about language. […] The mother tongue is therefore the greatest asset people bring to the task of foreign language learning and provides an indispensable Language Acquisition Support System. (2007: 71)

It follows that there is considerable mental translation, as students move from one language to the other ('you can banish L1 from the classroom, but you can't banish it from students' heads'). Butzkamm, however, does not use the term 'translation'.[103]

Some of our experts cited these arguments but did not relate them in any unequivocal way to the question of translation. This is possibly because the bilingual approach involves the L1-L2 relation as scaffolding, rather than as an advanced use of language skills.

Radically opposed to this, others proclaimed the success of immersion in communicative methods, and even did so from within a translator-training institution (learning a language is one thing, learning to translate is another). As seen in the way the teachers evaluated our propositions on translation, there is a strong feeling that translation is a separate skill, with its own place and its own training structures.

4.5. Poland

Poland has been selected as a case-study country since it is a large country and a relatively new member of the EU, having acceded in 2004. Furthermore, research has been conducted in Kraków and Gdańsk on the topic of translation as a language-teaching method.

According to Special Eurobarometer 386 (2012: 15), 50 per cent of Polish respondents stated that they could speak at least one foreign language, 22 per cent stated that they could speak at least two, but seven per cent said that they have never learnt a language. The most common foreign language among the general Polish population is English, with 18 per cent stating that they can read magazine and newspaper articles in English, and 20 per cent stating that they use English online (Eurobarometer 2012: 37). The three most widely-

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[103] The term nevertheless appears in one of the student reports that he cites as evidence: '[The English teacher] obviously tried to avoid German. This often had the effect that we were talking about a text which I really had not understood. I often felt very insecure and I did not dare to give an answer because I was afraid of saying complete nonsense that had nothing to do with the text. I often tried to have a secret look at the vocab pages of our book where you could find the German translations. He did not like us to do this because we were supposed to guess the meanings from his English explanations.' Martina, cited in Butzkamm: http://www.fremdsprachendidaktik.rwth-aachen.de/Ww/lecture-video.pdf. Accessed June 2013.

known L2s in Poland are English (33 per cent), German (19 per cent) and Russian (18 per cent) (Eurobarometer 2012: 21).[104]

In learning English, Poland scores second-last in reading, third-last in listening, and second-last in writing among the 15 European countries/regions covered by the *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011).[105]

4.5.1. Polish language policy

The education system in Poland is the responsibility of two different ministries: the Ministry of National Education, which is responsible for primary and secondary education, and the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, which is responsible for higher education.

Primary school lasts for six years in Poland, from age 6/7 to 13. Starting primary school from age 6 will be mandatory from 2014 (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 31). In the first three years, known as Stage I, pupils must receive a minimum of 190 hours' teaching in a modern foreign language across those three years (where one hour equals 45 minutes), increasing to 290 hours' teaching across years 4-6 (Stage II). For comparison purposes, pupils in Stage II must receive a minimum of 510 hours' teaching for Polish across those three years (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 35).

Secondary school is divided into two parts: three years of lower secondary (Stage III; ages 13-16) and three years of upper secondary (Stage IV; ages 16-19); the latter is non-compulsory and may be undertaken at a general upper-secondary school, a technical upper-secondary school, or a vocational school. At Stage III, students must receive a minimum of 450 hours' teaching in modern languages across the three years, these hours being divided between two languages at the discretion of the school head, although the usual pattern is that 'two-thirds of the allotted hours are devoted to the leading language, most likely one continued from the previous level of education, with the remaining one-third devoted to the second compulsory foreign language' (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 106). At the end of Stage III, students sit an 'external standardised examination' organised by the Regional Examination Commissions; these examinations have included foreign-language proficiency since 2009 (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 44). The results of these examinations appear on the lower-secondary school-leaving certificate and have a 'strong bearing on admission to upper-secondary schools' (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 45).

By the time students finish upper-secondary school at age 18, they will have had compulsory tuition in their first foreign language since the age of 7, and in their second foreign language since the age of 13, and almost 90 per cent of pupils learn English as a compulsory subject (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 104).

According to the Polish Eurydice Unit,

> there are no legal regulations listing the languages which may be taught at either level of education [i.e. primary or secondary] in Poland. However, while some schools decide to introduce less commonly taught languages such as Chinese, Japanese or Hungarian, the vast majority include in their offer two or more languages from the list of six languages constituting examinations subjects, i.e. English, French, Spanish, German, Russian and

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[104] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf (2012: 21). Accessed March 2013.
[105] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 42 ff.).

> Italian (Regulation by the Minister of National Education of 30 April 2007 on Conditions and Rules for Pupil Evaluation, Eligibility for Assessment, Promotion and Examinations and Tests in Public Schools, with further amendments). Of the six languages, the three most commonly taught ones are – in order of commonness – English, German and Russian. (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 103)

The percentages of students studying specific languages in Poland show a clear trend towards English and away from Russian. [106]

It should be borne in mind, however, that there is some regional fluctuation in the languages offered: German is offered by more schools in western areas such as Silesia, whereas Russian is more common in eastern Poland.

Higher Education is regulated by the Law on Higher Education of 2005, but the law does not lay down any specific requirements concerning language teaching. Universities are free to determine their own policies, although it should be noted that all doctoral candidates, irrespective of their specialisation, must pass examinations in a modern foreign language (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 70).

As far as the teaching methodologies for foreign languages are concerned, Komorowska (2000: 118) states that

> until 1990 Russian was taught beginning in grade 5 of the primary school, while a Western European language was taught at the secondary general level only (15% of the age cohort). English was taught according to a linear, grammatical syllabus within the frames of the modified audiolingual approach characterised by everyday topics and meaningful exercise [sic]. Western languages were introduced into the primary curriculum in 1990 when all languages were granted equal status [and this led to] considerable methodological change in the direction of the communicative approach.

A 2007 Council of Europe report found that 'it seems clear that modern teaching methods are well known but not widely implemented in schools. As in other countries, this is a problem which needs to be addressed, e.g. by research, and ways found for encouraging teachers to use modern methods'.[107] The current core curriculum for Polish schools does not prescribe any particular methods, and 'while the Core Curriculum provides a systematic presentation of the knowledge and skills to be mastered by students, and thus influences the overall content of language learning materials, it leaves the methodological application of the objectives to coursebook writers and teachers' (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 112). However, there are some indications that translation is regarded less positively by the Polish authorities than it was in the past. Given that the use of translation in some of the other countries surveyed in this report appears to be motivated by a desire to check on students' progress and ensure that they have mastered certain linguistic points, the official emphasis in Poland appears to be on oral communication at the expense of translation, at least implicitly.

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[106] Data from Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji [Centre for Education Development]. 2011. Powszechność nauczania języków obcych w roku szkolnym 2009/2010 (Universality of Language Teaching in the 2009-2010 School Year).
http://www.jows.pl/sites/default/files/powszechnosc%20nauczania%20jezykow%20obcych%202009-2010.pdf. p. 10. Accessed May 2013.
[107] Council of Europe Language Policy Division. 2007. Language Education Policy Profile: Poland.
http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Poland_Profilel_EN.doc. p. 25. Accessed May 2013.

'Achieving various communicational goals is emphasized over linguistic accuracy which – while still significant – is not in itself a goal of language learning/teaching. This constitutes an important qualitative change in foreign language education in Poland as achieving high levels of language accuracy, sometimes viewed as tantamount to achieving the level of mastery typical of an educated 'native speaker', used to be seen as a desirable teaching objective by many teachers at all levels of education' (FRSE/Eurydice, 2012: 110).

This assumption is lent further support by the fact that translation is only mentioned once in the examiners' guidelines for the *matura* examinations that students take at the end of Stage IV (i.e. age 18-19); in this context, 'translation of sentence fragments into a second language' appears as a type of activity that may be used to examine the use of lexico-grammatical patterns, but even here it appears among a selection of other 'open tasks' including gap filling, paraphrasing and word formation.[108]

4.5.2. Translator training

According to Balcerzan (cited in Kearns, 2006: 253), 'the earliest recorded writing by a Polish scholar on a theory of translation dates from 1440'.[109] The first Polish textbook on translation theory was published in 1957, and the Higher School of Foreign Languages in Warsaw was founded in 1963; it 'provided a centre for the training of translators and interpreters of non-literary texts', although it was closed in 1970 'on the pretext that there were insufficient jobs for translators and interpreters in Poland' (Kearns, 2006: 254).

There are now various courses in translation and interpreting available at Polish universities. These include specialised translation, audiovisual translation, conference interpreting, and community interpreting. According to Kearns (2006), the major centres for translator training are in Warsaw, Poznań, Kraków, Łódź and Częstochowa, although there are also translation programmes at other universities, most notably the University of Gdańsk, which is our focus area in Poland. Two Polish universities are members of the European Masters in Translation (EMT) Network: the Jagiellonian University of Kraków and the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań.

4.5.4. Responses from teachers in the Gdańsk area

There were a total of 94 responses to the survey from teachers in the Gdańsk area; these included 25 from primary, 38 secondary and 30 from Higher Education.[110] An overwhelming 96 per cent of respondents taught English, and only 13 per cent of Polish respondents had over 20 years' experience, while most respondents either had 11-20 years' experience (29 per cent) or 7-10 years' experience (26 per cent).

The most popular teaching methodologies among the Polish respondents were the communicative and audiovisual methods, while the least popular methodologies where the suggestopedia and grammar-translation methods.

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[108] Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna [Central Examinations Commission]. 2010. Informator o egzaminie maturalnym z języka obcego nowożytnego od roku szkolnego 2011/2012 (Information about the matura [matriculation] examination in a modern foreign language from the 2011/2012 school year):
http://www.cke.edu.pl/images/stories/0012_Matura/calosc_standard_27_08_godz_12_40.pdf. p. 10. Accessed May 2013.

[110] Our sincere thanks to Łucja Biel and Justyna Giczela-Pastwa, both of the University of Gdańsk, for locating all the respondents in the Gdańsk area.

The response rates for each teaching method are given in Figure 17.

Figure 17. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 91 teachers in Gdańsk, as means (5='very positively')
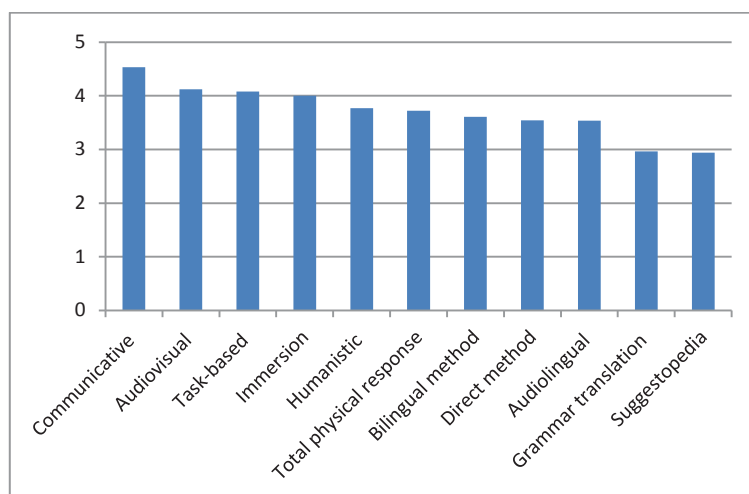
The levels of agreement or disagreement with each teaching method can be seen in Figure 18.

Figure 18. Popularity of teaching methods among Polish questionnaire respondents - expressed as mean standard deviation (0 = high agreement; 1 = low agreement)
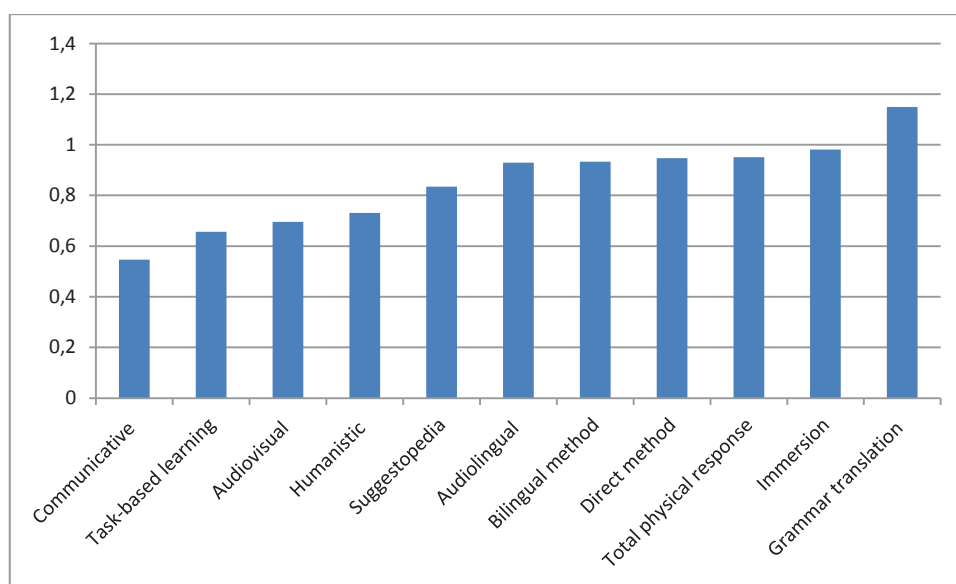
This suggests that opinions are most divided with regard to grammar translation and immersion.

There were very few respondents who said that they used translation exercises 'never', 'almost always' or 'always', which is striking (see Figure 19). The vast majority of respondents used translation exercises in their classes in the middle or lower frequency range (55 per cent and 36 per cent respectively). Of those who responded that they used translation exercises 'never' or 'rarely', 32 per cent said that this was for 'other' reasons, and 22 per cent said that they thought it was 'detrimental to language learning'.

The 'other' reasons included the following:

- It is time-consuming;
- Translation as a subject does not fall within the scope of my teaching aims;
- I tend to use translation with older students only;
- At the primary-school level it is more valuable for students to be immersed in the foreign-language environment;
- Students should try to figure out the meaning from the context;
- Students dislike it and regard it as old-fashioned;
- I have other priorities.

Figure 19. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 89 language teachers in the Gdańsk area, according to the level at which they teach
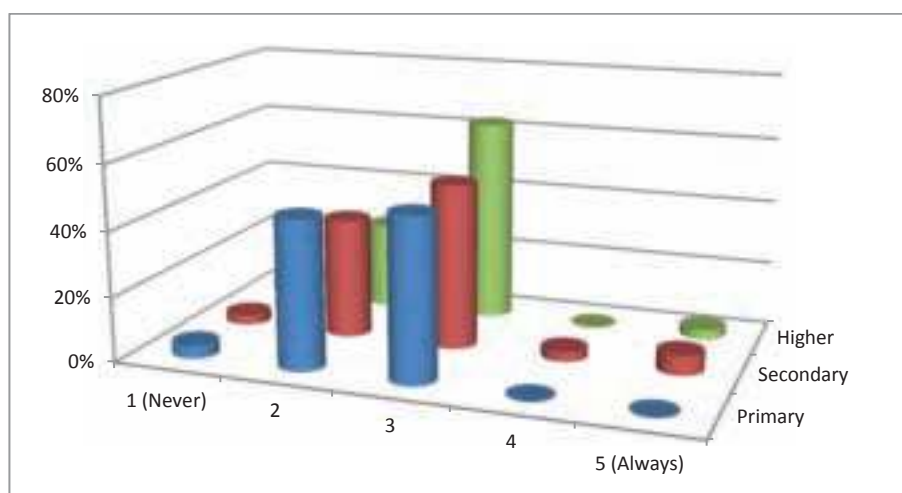

Table 20 provides an overview of the results relating to the types of activities used by teachers. It is interesting to note that there is much greater parity in Gdańsk than in the other countries surveyed with regard to the use of longer passages, translation analysis/criticism/discussion and subtitled films.

Table 20. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - replies from 52 language teachers in Poland, as means of a 5-point scale (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.212
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.098
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.604
Watching subtitled films	2.404
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.378
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.349
Watching dubbed films	1.317
Working with machine translated texts	1.289

The most popular methods were those involving individual sentences, while working with machine-translated texts and watching dubbed films were clearly the least popular. Only two methods were 'always' used, and even then only by

one respondent apiece: these methods were translating into L2 of individual sentences and translation analysis/criticism/discussion. The substantially lower frequency for the use of dubbed films and machine-translated texts is reflected not only in the large numbers of respondents who 'never' used them, but also in the fact that there were only two and three respondents respectively for three of the response categories available.

Respondents were given a series of propositions and asked about the extent to which they agreed with each of them (see Table 21). The results indicate opinions that are compatible with the global averages.

Table 21. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 89 teachers in Poland and 878 teachers in the global sample, as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Poland*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	0.977	3.764	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.007	3.685	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.925	2.393	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	0.987	2.427	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	1.076	2.281	2.158

4.5.5. Responses from experts in Poland

The five expert responses that we received from Poland were extremely detailed and informative, and were characterised by a high level of awareness of current practices and research. All the expert respondents were from higher education. They agreed unanimously that the most popular language-teaching method is communicative, although other methods included the structural approach, task-based approach, project work, cognitive methods, and eclectic methods. They also confirmed a shift *away* from methods such as grammar translation and audio-lingual and towards communicative methods. Some experts mentioned a phase when the Callan, SITA and Helen Doron methods gained popularity owing to 'learners' hope to achieve spectacular effects with minimal efforts' (Justyna Giczela-Pastwa), but emphasised that language-learning approaches now are generally more sophisticated and learners themselves have recognised that results are 'proportional to the time and effort devoted to learning'.

There were some differences of opinion with regard to the presence of translation activities in the various education sectors. In the primary sector, translation 'depends on the course-book chosen by a teacher' (Beata Karpińska-Musiał), yet it was also said to appear 'very rarely in textbooks' (Justyna Giczela-Pastwa) and also that 'in textbooks translation activities are absent' (Małgorzata Smentek). School textbooks are selected from a pre-approved list, which may explain why translation appears in some classrooms and not in others. The experts explained that some teachers use translation activities at the word or phrase level, and less frequently at the sentence level, but that 'English-language teachers in primary schools try to convince pupils the only way to success is to think in English while using it and avoid [the] Polish language in the process of foreign language learning at all costs' (Justyna Giczela-Pastwa).

At secondary level, the experts explained that English-language textbooks from British publishers are used very widely, and they therefore do not have any Polish content or translation activities, although an English-Polish glossary and/or

grammar explanations in Polish are attached at the end of the book. However, as discussed in section 4.3.1 above, translation tasks may be included in the *matura* (matriculation) examination, so 'English teachers usually develop and deliver some translation tasks in which students are asked to translate e.g. a phrasal verb/collocation/verb (focus on tense recognition)' (Justyna Giczela-Pastwa). However, 'the presence of translation activities in L2 teaching at this level, as in primary school settings, is very much teacher-dependent' (Małgorzata Smentek) and it would appear that some teachers are reluctant to use translation exercises for fear of how they would be perceived by their students and peers. One of the experts explained that 'most L2 teachers who make use of translation in whatever fashion treat it as a skeleton in the cupboard and would rather not reveal this fact for fear of being perceived as inadequate, under-qualified, uncreative or lazy' (Małgorzata Smentek). Teacher-training materials seem to reinforce this, since 'most methodology coursebooks used in the teaching/training of L2 teachers [...] continue to condemn the use of L1 and translation' (Małgorzata Smentek).

There was a mixture of responses concerning higher education. Two respondents said that translation activities were not used in L2 teaching, while a third gave examples of English courses that include translation training as part of a core module, while another explained that university students specialising in English will already have studied the language for approximately ten years prior to university, and many teachers believe that 'the higher the [...] proficiency level the lesser the need to apply translation. If translation is at all present, it is mainly at word/phrase or sentence level for lexicon and grammar explanation and/or testing' (Małgorzata Smentek).

It would appear that L2 teachers in Poland are uncertain as to whether translation is a helpful learning tool, yet those who support it are very firmly convinced of its usefulness.

4.6. Spain

Spain is of interest here because of its system of co-official languages, which might indicate a social need for translation, and in view of its attempts to accommodate influxes of immigrants.

The 2012 Eurobarometer indicates that the three most widely known L2s in Spain are English (22 per cent), Spanish (16 per cent) and Catalan (11 per cent).[111]

In learning English, Spain scores fourth-last in reading, second-last in listening, and fourth-last in writing among the 15 European countries/regions covered by the *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011).[112]

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is reported to be 'part of the mainstream education and within pilot projects' in Spain[113] and as being used in some 27 per cent of schools.[114]

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[111] http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf (2012: 21). Accessed January 2013.

[112] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 42 ff.).

[113] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/studies/clil-at-school-in-europe_en.pdf. (2006: 13). Accessed April 2013.

[114] First European Survey on Language Competences, p. 169.
http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf. Accessed April 2013.

4.6.1. Spanish language policy

The Spanish Constitution of 1978 stipulates that Spanish is the official language of Spain and that Basque, Catalan and Galician are co-official in their corresponding *comunidades autónomas* (regional administrative communities).

Catalan is the co-official language that is used most frequently, and Catalan is the priority language in the government-run courses taught in Catalonia.

This creates a certain internal demand for translation between the official and co-official languages, although the co-official languages are rarely in evidence in the justice system.

The Spanish tourism industry represents about 11 per cent of the country's GDP, yet it does not seem to employ the corresponding percentage of professional translators. There are indications that a great deal of translation is carried out by non-professionals (Pym, Grin and Sfreddo 2012: 62).

In 2009 the Ministerio de Educación formulated a Programa Integral de Aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras (Comprehensive program for foreign-language learning) for 2010-2020, the ultimate goal of which is to improve the knowledge of foreign languages. The preferred language is English.

Translation is not listed as a language skill in the official curricula approved by the Spanish government. Some textbooks for learning English at secondary level nevertheless include translation activities, particularly for error-correction exercises.[115]

There are about 35 international schools in Spain that use English as vehicular language; there are also about 15 German (bilingual) schools, and several schools that use French as a vehicular language.

4.6.2. Translator training

There are some 27 Spanish universities with specialised translator-training institutions. In 2000 it was estimated that they were teaching some 6 909 students at any given moment (Pym 2000: 232), and this is likely to be some 10 000 now. Even when we allow for the high drop-out rates at Spanish universities, these institutions could still be producing at least 1 200 academically qualified translators—also technically qualified as 'interpreters'—a year.

4.6.3. Focus city: Tarragona (Catalonia)

Tarragona has a population of 136 417 (in 2012) and is the capital of one of the four provinces of Catalonia, where Catalan and Spanish are the two co-official languages.

According to the Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (2003), 40 per cent of the population declared Catalan to be their L1, and 53.5 per cent Spanish (2.8 per cent declared both). Other languages spoken as an L1 in Catalonia are Galician (1.1 per cent), French (0.4 per cent), English (0.3 per cent), German (0.3 per cent) and others (1.1 per cent).

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[115] One expert gave the example of *Guide Error Correction Exercises for Spanish-speaking Students of English*. Level C1 Books 1 & 2, Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma, 2010.

The percentage of school students born outside Catalonia grew from 0.81 per cent in 1991-92 to 9.06 per cent in 2004-05, and has probably increased since then (we lack more recent data).[116] Data for 2004-05 (Gomà i Argilaga and Sánchez i Guerrero 2005) indicate that some 24 000 students were of Moroccan nationality, followed by students from Ecuador (14 470), Colombia (5 400) and Argentina (3 600). Although 47 per cent of the immigrant students were from Spanish-speaking countries, the presence of Arabic speakers was considerable (29 per cent of the foreign-born students), and there were students from some 160 countries overall. The official policy is to teach all these students in Catalan as the principal vehicular language.[117]

Tarragona has an Official Language School where seven languages are taught: German, English, Arabic, French and Russian, and Spanish and Catalan as L2s. The Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona has a language service that offers English, French, Italian, Chinese, Spanish and Catalan as L2s.

4.6.3.1 Catalan language policy

In Catalonia, the Catalan language is seen as a symbol of cultural identity, and considerable resources are invested in teaching the language.

The Catalan government (Generalitat) has a section for Language and Plurilingualism[118] responsible for implementing language policy in the field of education. Its policy aims include the following[119]:

- to consolidate Catalan as the vehicular language for teaching and communication in educational institutions and as the structural axis of plurilingual education;
- to incorporate other languages as vehicular languages for the teaching of non-linguistic content in certain sociolinguistic contexts, as an instrument for the development of plurilingual education;
- to promote and plan programmes and activities for the development of intercultural education, based on the knowledge both of one's own culture and of other cultures, with respect for differences and civic and democratic values.

Clear priority is given to Catalan ('normalisation' in other contexts), a certain commitment to CLIL in English[120] (a third-grade textbook for art practice is in

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[116] https://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/media/assets/876/alumnat_nouvingut.pdf, pp. 10-11. Accessed January 2013.

[117] Decret 143/2007, de 26 de juny, pel qual s'estableix l'ordenació dels ensenyaments de l'educació secundaria obligatòria. https://www.gencat.cat/diari/4915/07176092.htm. Accessed March 2013.

[118] http://www10.gencat.cat/sac/AppJava/organisme_fitxa.jsp?codi=13959. Accessed March 2013. We understand 'plurilingüisme' to refer to the education of individuals who speak more than one language (i.e. polyglots), rather than to 'multilingualism', where different languages are spoken by different social groups. This difference is important and underlies the stipulation that 'in no case can admission of a student to a course be different because the contents are given in a foreign language' ('En cap cas els requisits d'admissió d'alumnes als centres que imparteixin continguts d'àrees no lingüístiques en una llengua estrangera podran ser diferents per aquesta raó'), Article 4.2, Decret 143/2007, de 26 de juny, pel qual s'estableix l'ordenació dels ensenyaments de l'educació secundaria obligatòria, https://www.gencat.cat/diari/4915/07176092.htm, accessed March 2013. That is, the Catalan community is the only social group that can claim special rights to have its language used.

[119] Article 148, Decret 297/2011, de 22 de març, de reestructuració del Departament d'Ensenyament, http://www.gencat.cat/diari/5844/11077073.htm. Accessed March 2013.

[120] Within Language and Plurilingualism, there is a Foreign Language Service charged with a further series of policy aims, including 'the design, implementation and coordination of an integral project incorporating structures for the learning and certification of knowledge of foreign languages, particularly English, from primary through to the end of Secondary education, and to promote pilot studies for the use of foreign languages as vehicular languages for the teaching of non-linguistic

English, for example), and an ideological assurance of intercultural aims, curiously without reference to language – there is no suggestion that 'plurilingualism' might involve extensive bilingual education. None of these policies seem to indicate any particular role for translation within the Catalan education system.

In the teaching of Catalan to speakers of other languages, however, translation is constantly present in the official materials produced for initial levels, variously through the Consorci per la normalització lingüística.[121] For example, an online course for speakers of Arabic has everyday dialogues in Catalan on one page and in Arabic on the facing page, along with audio recordings in both languages.[122] The same use of translation is found in the materials for speakers of L1 Spanish. However, the more advanced materials available online are presented in Catalan, Spanish, English, French and German but are themselves only in Catalan.[123]

We have found no official recommendation concerning methodologies for the teaching of L2 (beyond support for CLIL), and no official guidelines concerning the use of L1 in the L2 language class. Decisions concerning teaching approaches are basically left to each teaching institution.[124]

4.6.3.2. Responses from teachers in the Tarragona area

Our sample of language teachers from Tarragona includes 28 in primary, 23 in secondary, and 20 in higher education (university and the Official Language School), making a total of 70 teachers.[125] The sample is biased in favour of more experienced teachers (42 per cent with more than 20 years of experience).

A follow-up focus-group discussion was held in Tarragona on 2 April 2013 with some 20 teachers, which enabled many of the questionnaire responses to be explained and contextualised.[126]

The preferred teaching methodology is immersion, with 66 per cent of 'very positive' ratings, ahead of communicative language teaching (60 per cent) and task-based learning (42 per cent). This preference for immersion is exceptional within our global corpus. The grammar-translation method is clearly out of favour at the institutional level, rating last in mean preference (see Figure 20).

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content'. Article 151, Decret 297/2011, de 22 de març, de reestructuració del Departament d'Ensenyament, http://www.gencat.cat/diari/5844/11077073.htm. Accessed March 2013.
[121] http://www.cpnl.cat/. Accessed March 2013.
[122] Català, llengua d'acollida / الكتالانية، هي لغة الاستقبال:
http://www20.gencat.cat/docs/Llengcat/Documents/Publicacions/Arab_aprendre/arxius/arab_acoll_personens.pdf. Accessed March 2013.
[123] See www.parla.cat. Accessed June 2013.
[124] Cf. articles 5.1 and 5.2 of Decret 4/2009, de 13 de gener, pel qual s'estableix l'ordenació i el currículum dels ensenyaments d'idiomes de règim especial.
http://www.gencat.cat/diari/5297/09009001.htm. Accessed March 2013.
[125] Our sincere thanks to Idioa Triana and Edward Lockhart for helping enormously with the distribution of the questionnaires.
[126] A recording of the focus group can be seen here: http://videoconferencia.urv.es/p40884439/. Accessed April 2013.

Figure 20. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 70 teachers in the Tarragona area, as means (5='very positively')
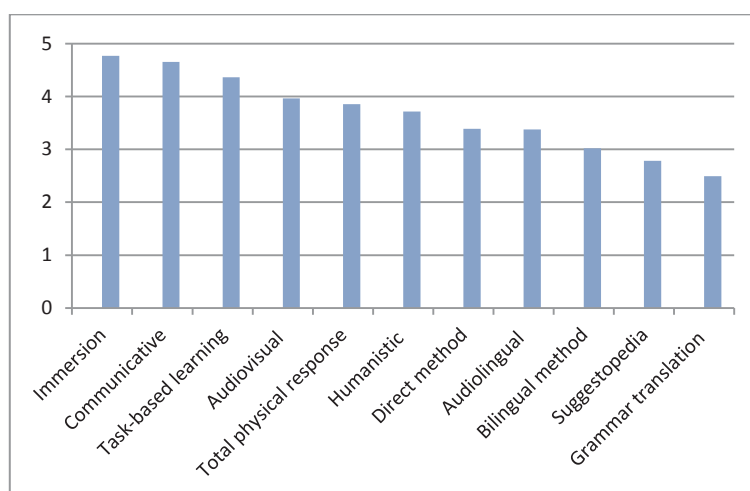
Analysis of the standard deviations (Figure 21) indicates that the most popular methods are also those on which there is most agreement. There is notable disagreement with respect to grammar translation as a method.

Figure 21. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 70 teachers in the Tarragona area. Standard deviations (1.4 = high difference between replies)
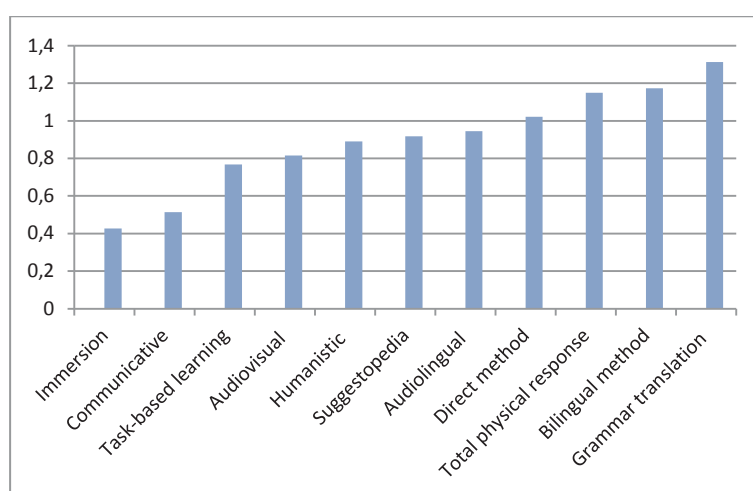
Beyond our own survey, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) is estimated as being used in 27 per cent of schools in Spain.[127] The results of our focus group suggest that this percentage would be higher in the Tarragona area, since most teachers reported that their primary or secondary schools were using CLIL, particularly in the private 'international' schools.

Two teachers in our focus group stated that they saw CLIL as a part of 'immersion', which might in part explain the exceptionally high preference for the latter term. The other teachers, however, accepted that CLIL was specifically for

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[127] First European Survey on Language Competences, p. 169.
http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf. Accessed April 2013.

the use of L2 to teach non-linguistic content, while 'immersion' refers to the use of L1 both in and outside the language class.

Most of the teachers declared they used translation 'rarely' (44 per cent), with a high 17 per cent choosing 'never'. Of the 37 who selected these two options, nine (24 per cent) said they had 'never considered it seriously', one did not feel qualified, two said it was 'prohibited', and nine (24 per cent) said it was 'detrimental to language learning'.

Further reasons for not using translation included lack of time, multiple L1s (in classes for immigrants) and the repeated claim that translation is an advanced, complex skill, unsuited to beginner levels.

The use of translation varied significantly according to the education level (see Figure 22), with the replies 'never' and 'rarely' being exceptionally high at primary level. The focus group made it clear that the term 'translation' was understood as referring to both the spoken and written modes, so there was no terminological confusion that might explain away the non-use of translation at initial levels.

This distribution of translation interestingly contradicts our initial hypothesis, where it was thought that translation would be present as a scaffolding activity in primary classes and then as a complex advanced activity in upper secondary and higher-education classes. This is clearly not the case in the Tarragona area.

We might surmise that this pronounced reluctance to use translation (except for a few courses at the higher levels) is related to the marked institutional preference for immersion as a language-teaching technique. Perhaps not surprisingly, 'immersion' is the policy employed by the Catalan government to justify the teaching of Catalan at all levels, as a measure of social integration. Our findings here suggest that the ideological pull of integration has spilled over to language teaching at all levels, and of all languages. The result is an exceptionally infrequent use of translation (see also 3.4.6 above).

Figure 22. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 66 language teachers in Tarragona, Catalonia, according to the level at which they teach
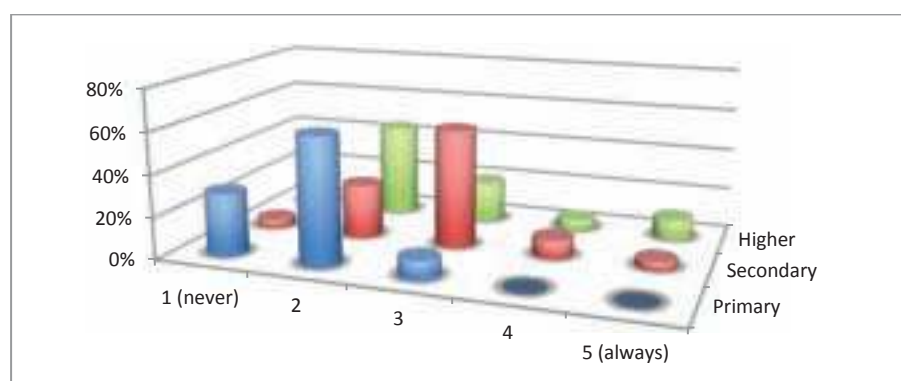
When asked about the translation activities they use in class (Table 22), there was a marked preference for the translation of individual sentences, which would suggest that translation is being used to illustrate comparative grammar or to check on learning. This is nevertheless followed by a surprisingly frequent use of subtitled film material, which might correspond to widespread interest in the use of new technologies in the classroom. The focus group nevertheless made it clear

that there is also a preference for the use of video material subtitled in L2 (i.e. a video in English and subtitled in English), as well as for the use of translated subtitles. On the other hand, there is very little use of dubbed films, and only anecdotal use of machine-translation resources. Other activities included 'drama activities and performances'.

Table 22. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - mean replies from 24 language teachers in Tarragona, Catalonia, in order of frequency (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.571
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.304
Watching subtitled films	3.091
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.455
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.333
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.286
Watching dubbed films	1.667
Working with machine translated texts	1.263

The focus group was able to shed some light on the social reasons for the non-use of translation, particularly at primary level. A good number of teachers recognised that they did indeed use incidental translation in class, basically in order to save time, but that they were not supposed to do so: the use of L1 was theoretically excluded. When asked if they were free to use more developed translation activities, the primary and secondary teachers generally replied that, yes, they were free to do what they liked in their classes, but that if they did full translation activities, they would have to check with the school director first. Others indicated that if they did full translations into L1, the students' parents would complain to the director. In the case of English classes, it seems that parents mainly want a teacher who speaks L1 English, to ensure 'immersion' and especially correct pronunciation, and that this has priority over any concern for mediation skills.

The focus group reported that some translation activities were presented in the textbooks used at primary and secondary levels, since there were special editions of English textbooks for Spain and for Catalonia. The translations are particularly given in the case of instructions (at lower level) and at the end of a lesson (or the end of the book, in some cases) in order to check on language acquisition. Translation is thus present, albeit not as a skill, activity or method in itself – its textbook use generally seems to remain at the level of the 'checking' function it has long had in the grammar-translation method.

When confronted with our five propositions on the nature and role of translation (Table 23), the Tarragona teachers were less enthusiastic than the global average about the idea that translation might be a fifth language skill or bring together the other skills, and were slightly more inclined to see translation as wasting time and inhibiting thought in L2. The focus group expressed some confusion with respect to what the first two propositions actually meant, and the standard deviations for all questions were high. In sum, these replies suggest a relatively negative view of the role of translation in language learning.

Table 23. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 67 teachers in Tarragona, Catalonia, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Tarragona*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.232	3.597	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.126	3.224	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	1.049	2.537	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.159	2.537	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	1.081	2.164	2.158

4.6.3.3. Responses from experts in Catalonia

The relatively negative evaluation of translation by teachers concurs with the opinions of the six experts we consulted, all of whom saw translation as basically having a checking or remedial role in language learning. One expert nevertheless remarked, with refreshing honesty, that translation has its uses (along with straight grammar) in order to maintain class discipline in an unruly environment.[128]

None of the experts noted any trend towards an increasing use of translation; all of them saw translation as linked to the out-dated and much-criticised grammar-translation method.

As one expert remarked in the focus group, 'You want us to go back to grammar translation?' When we replied that it might be possible to move *forward* to a more dynamic concept of translation, the group did not seem convinced.

None of the experts, and none of the participants in the focus group, had ever used the term 'mediation' to describe a language skill. There was nevertheless general interest in the use of some such term in order to open up an area for classroom activities, since 'translation' seemed too firmly associated with the negative activities of the past.

4.7. United Kingdom

According to Special Eurobarometer 386 (2012: 16), the United Kingdom is one of the EU countries where people are least likely to speak a foreign language. Nevertheless, 39 per cent of people state that they can speak at least one foreign language, and 14 per cent state that they can speak at least two (Eurobarometer 2012: 15). However, 32 per cent say that they have never learnt a language, and 24 per cent say that they do not want to learn or improve any language (Eurobarometer 2012: 88). The most common foreign language among the general population is French: 19 per cent of respondents claim that they can hold a conversation in French, 11 per cent that they can follow broadcast news in French, 13 per cent that they can read press articles in French, and 8% that they use French online (Eurobarometer 2012: 36).

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[128] Idoia Triana, questionnaire, 26 November 2012.

According to the 2012 Eurobarometer, the three most widely-known L2s in the United Kingdom are French (19 per cent), English (10 per cent) and German (6 per cent). These are the lowest percentages among the EU Member States, a fact that is first to be attributed to the dominance of English as the L2 of preference in the other Member States.

The *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011)[129] accords 'England' a special status, since English is the preferred L3 in other Member States. Even so, for L2 French, England scores last on all language skills, behind France.

The United Kingdom's relatively poor command of foreign languages has long been acknowledged at policy level. The influential Nuffield Report of 2000, which shaped language teaching in the United Kingdom for several years, mentions the position of English as the global *lingua franca* and the influence that this has had on perceptions of language learning:

> In the face of such widespread acceptance and use of English the UK's complacent view of its limited capability in other languages is understandable. It is also dangerous. In a world where bilingualism and plurilingualism are commonplace, monolingualism implies inflexibility, insensitivity and arrogance. Much that is essential to our society, its health and its interests – including effective choice in policy, realisation of citizenship, effective overseas links and openness to the inventions of other cultures – will not be achieved in one language alone. (Nuffield Foundation, 2000: 14)

There are differences between the education systems of England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and this report will concentrate on England, as the largest constituent nation of the United Kingdom. At the time of writing, changes are proposed to the National Curriculum in England and these changes would introduce translation as a statutory requirement for children aged 11-14. The changes are discussed in more detail below.

4.7.1. Language policy in England

The *de facto* official language of the United Kingdom is English. Welsh is spoken by some 582 000 people (20 per cent of the population of Wales); about 110 000 people speak Irish in Northern Ireland; Scottish Gaelic is spoken by some 65 000 people (1.3 per cent of the Scottish population).[130] Internal translation services are thus required for at least English-Welsh.

More significant internal translating is nevertheless required for the many documents and services associated with immigration. According to the 2001 Census, some 4.9 million people (8.3 per cent of the population) were born outside the United Kingdom. Since 2004 there has been significant immigration from central and eastern Europe, due to the free movement of labour within the European Union.

Language policy for English schools has been shaped by three major publications in recent years. The first of these, the Nuffield Report (2000), highlighted the precarious position in which the United Kingdom found itself with regard to command of foreign languages, and contained recommendations on how to

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[129] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 223 ff.). Accessed May 2013.
[130] http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20121015000000/http://www.direct.gov.uk/en/Governmentcitizensandrights/LivingintheUK/DG_10012519 Accessed November 2011.

improve the United Kingdom's standing in this area. The second was the National Languages Strategy for England, published in 2002, which built on the work of the Nuffield Report and set out a number of long-term objectives. The third is the revised National Curriculum, which is due to become statutory in schools in September 2014. All three publications, and their impact on language policy, are discussed below. Each of them makes reference to the progression of the curriculum in English schools, which is divided into five 'Key Stages' as follows:

Key Stage	School years	Age of children
1	1-2 (infant school)	5-7
2	3-6 (junior school)	7-11
3	7-9 (secondary school)	11-14
4	10-11 (secondary school)	14-16
5	12-13 (sixth-form college)	16-18

Compulsory education in England finishes with the GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) examinations at the end of Key Stage 4, i.e. when students are aged 15 or 16. Key Stage 5 leads to A (Advanced) Level examinations at age 17 or 18, and grades obtained in these examinations are a key factor in university admissions.

4.7.1.1. The Nuffield Report

The Nuffield Languages Inquiry was established by the Nuffield Foundation in 1998 'to review the UK's capability in languages'. The Inquiry published its final report in May 2000, entitled *Languages: the next generation*. The report examined language skills as they related to the United Kingdom's role on the international stage, global markets, welcoming visitors, public services, skills for citizenship, linguistic heritage, building on diversity, etc., as well as providing a critical evaluation of foreign-language learning in the United Kingdom at that time.

The report highlighted the threats posed by monolingualism in a climate of increasingly intense competition in international trade. One of its main findings was that '[w]e are fortunate to speak a global language but, in a smart and competitive world, exclusive reliance on English leaves the UK vulnerable and dependent on the linguistic competence and the goodwill of others' (Nuffield Foundation, 2000: 6). The Inquiry found that the languages taught in schools did not match the UK's trading patterns, neither at the time nor according to future projections, and that 'evidence suggests that the predominance of French owes more to traditional attitudes and teacher availability than to current requirements' (Nuffield Foundation, 2000: 20). The report describes the 'frustration in the business world with the inadequate levels of language skills emerging from education, the narrow range of languages taught, the lack of transparency in qualifications and the general absence of coherence in the system'; and it highlights that 'public examinations at age 16, the terminal point for formal language training for most pupils, do not reflect the level of practical competence which employers expect. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that so few students study a language after the age of 16' (Nuffield Foundation, 2000: 20).

The main weaknesses of the policy for languages in education, as identified in the Nuffield Report, were:

- No strategic management of languages in the education system;
- No match between national needs and provision;
- No rational and consistent path of learning from primary through to higher education and beyond;

- Investments made in one sector not built on in others;
- No national approach to achieving a better balance of languages taught;
- Poor continuity between qualifications in languages at different points in the education system;
- Language learning initiatives in the primary sector patchy and uncoordinated;
- Many secondary schools suffering from a lack of institutional support for languages in the curriculum;
- Inadequate opportunities for language learning beyond 16, and no agenda for increasing the numbers continuing languages;
- No national agenda for languages in higher education;
- Inadequate opportunities for adults to learn languages;
- No opportunities for language teaching methodology in primary teacher training courses;
- No concerted strategy to adjust teacher recruitment and training to achieve a better balance of languages in schools;
- No consistency in provision for the languages of resident communities;
- No clear definitions of the competence represented by achievement in public examinations;
- Chronic shortages of teachers despite measures to encourage recruitment.

In order to address these weaknesses, the report made a large number of recommendations, covering the following broad themes:

- Develop a national strategy for languages as a key skill;
- Appoint a languages supremo;
- Raise the profile of languages in the United Kingdom;
- Establish business-education partnerships;
- Provide school children with a sound basis for language learning for life;
- Invest in an early start;
- Raise the quality of the provision for languages in secondary schools;
- Ensure wider participation beyond school;
- Promote languages for the majority of 16-19 year-olds;
- Develop a strategic approach to languages in higher education;
- Develop the huge potential of lifelong language learning;
- Intensify the drive to recruit more language teachers;
- Exploit new technologies to the full;
- Ensure policy is reliably and consistently informed;
- Establish a national standards framework for languages.

Specifically, recommendation 14.4 of the report, within the broad theme of 'ensure policy is reliably and consistently informed', states that 'the research and development agenda for languages should [...] include research in intercultural communication, language engineering, pure and applied linguistics, *translating and interpreting*, [and] language use in business' (emphasis ours). It is therefore clear that the potential of translation, whether as a desirable outcome skill or as a language-learning method, was being given serious consideration at the turn of the millennium.

4.7.1.2. The National Languages Strategy for England

In the wake of the Nuffield Report, the *National Languages Strategy for England* was published in 2002. The strategy had three main objectives (Department for Education and Skills, 2002: 5):

1. to improve teaching and learning of languages, including delivering an entitlement to language learning for pupils at Key Stage 2 [children aged

7-11], making the most of e-learning and ensuring that opportunity to learn languages has a key place in the transformed secondary school of the future;

2. to introduce a recognition system to complement existing qualification frameworks and give people credit for their language skills;

3. To increase the number of people studying languages in further and higher education and in work-based training by stimulating demand for language learning, developing Virtual Language Communities and encouraging employers to play their part in supporting language learning.

The strategy identified certain problem areas, namely:

- Teacher shortage: There is a shortage of modern foreign language teachers at secondary level, and relatively few primary teachers have been trained to teach foreign languages;
- Language learning opportunities: There is little provision that targets and motivates individual learners, learning at their own pace, and few opportunities for recognition at various stages of their learning either in school, Further Education, Higher Education or the workplace;
- Partnership: Too many schools and teachers are working in isolation, without access to support networks, such as those among Specialist Language Colleges and CILT (the National Centre for Languages) Comenius Centre networks;
- Maximising the potential of ICT: Whilst more schools are using ICT in language teaching than in previous years, its use is underdeveloped in over three quarters of primary schools and a third of secondary schools.

The long-term objectives of the National Languages Strategy included investment in a qualified teacher workforce, investment in building non-teacher capacity, and conducting research into existing language-learning provision in primary schools; developing the Strategy for secondary schools, building international partnerships, and establishing 200 Specialist Language Colleges in the secondary sector; and incorporating the Strategy into Local Education Authority plans relating to adult learning (i.e. further and higher education). The Strategy document acknowledged the need for research if it were to achieve its objectives.

In the *Overview of the National Languages Strategy* of May 2011, Lid King, formerly the National Director for Languages, summarised the successes of the National Languages Strategy, especially in the primary sector, where languages had been introduced to Key Stage 2 [i.e. primary school; ages 7-11] and where 'by 2008 92 % of schools were offering a language in curriculum time, 69 % to all pupils in KS2' (King, 2011: 3). However, in the secondary sector, language learning had been affected dramatically by the decision to cease mandatory language learning at Key Stage 4 in 2004, which meant that it was no longer compulsory for students to take a foreign language at GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education, the school-leaving examinations taken at age 16). According to King,

> there were some understandable reasons for this – difficulties in the recruitment and retention of staff, the lack of achievement and engagement of many pupils during the 1990s, the subsequent effect of performance measures – Ofsted [the Office for Standards in Education] and the School League Tables – and the desire to personalise the post 14 curriculum by offering a wider choice of subjects and assessment pathways. However the decision was too simplistic and too brutal and it sent out the wrong message at a time when we were seeking to promote and strengthen languages. It also had an impact on the coherence of languages education

and on learner capability, in particularly [sic] in secondary schools. (King, 2011: 3)

The impact of this decision can be seen in the numbers of students sitting language GCSEs. In the period from 2003 to 2012, the number of students sitting French GCSE fell by more than 53 per cent, and for German GCSE the fall was over 54 per cent. Spanish has seen some fluctuation, but increased by nearly 19 per cent between 2003 and 2012, while other languages have remained at a fairly steady level.

4.7.1.3. Current situation, and proposed changes to the National Curriculum in 2014

In 2010 there was a change of government in the United Kingdom, and the new coalition government halted the various 'National Strategies' of the previous administration, including the National Strategy for Languages, partly owing to the financial crisis and consequent austerity measures, and partly because the new government was 'less inclined towards 'top-down' strategies'.[131] This raised the question of how language learning could be encouraged in the United Kingdom when there were no longer sufficient resources for doing so and the National Centre for Languages, the main organisation for the promotion of foreign-language learning in schools, had been abolished and many other organisations were less able to support schools.

A review of the National Curriculum was launched in January 2011, followed by a consultation in 2012 concerning whether foreign languages should become a statutory National Curriculum requirement at Key Stage 2, i.e. for children aged 7-11. According to the consultation report, the proposal was supported by 91 per cent of respondents.[132]

On the basis of this consultation, the government proceeded to draft proposals for a new National Curriculum based on the existing one but with the addition of foreign languages as a statutory requirement at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11) and introduction of certain new requirements such as translation in a more rigorous programme of study at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14). A consultation on the draft National Curriculum was launched in February 2013 and ran until April 2013. The intention is that the new National Curriculum will become statutory in September 2014, and that it will apply to all schools that are maintained by local authorities, although academies and independent (private) schools will be exempt, as at present, and the government intends to take a 'hands-off' approach.[133]

According to the proposals, schools will have to teach at least one of the following languages at Key Stage 2: French, German, Italian, Mandarin, Spanish, Latin or Ancient Greek. The aim is to 'lay the foundations for further foreign language teaching at Key Stage 3', and that 'the focus of study in modern languages will be on practical communication, while the focus in Latin or Ancient Greek will be to provide a linguistic foundation for learning modern languages and for reading comprehension' (Department for Education 2013: 4). It should be noted that the requirement is for a *modern* language, so a student taking Latin or Ancient Greek will also need to take one of the remaining five languages on the list. Schools are

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[131] Conversation with Department for Education, 17 April 2013.
[132] Department for Education. 2012. *Making Foreign Languages Compulsory at Key Stage 2.*
http://media.education.gov.uk/assets/files/pdf/c/mfl%20compulsory%20at%20ks2%20consultation%20report.pdf. Accessed April 2013.
[133] Conversation with Department for Education, 17 April 2013.

free to offer any additional languages they wish inside or outside of formal school hours.

The foreign-language requirement at Key Stage 3 (ages 11-14) applies to the teaching of any language and includes the following statutory linguistic competences:
- 'read and show comprehension of original and adapted materials from a range of different sources, understanding the purpose, important ideas and details, and *provide an accurate English translation of short, suitable material* […];
- write prose using an increasingly wide range of grammar and vocabulary, write creatively to express their own ideas and opinions, *and translate short written text accurately into the foreign language*. (Department for Education, 2013: 6; our emphases)

It is thus clear that, should the proposed National Curriculum enter into force, secondary schools will be required to teach translation both out of and into a foreign language as of September 2014.

4.7.1.4. Discussion with the Department for Education

As part of our research on the intended changes to the National Curriculum, we had the opportunity to discuss our project with the Department for Education on 17 April 2013, which gave us some valuable insight into the government's perspective on language learning. When asked why translation was being introduced into the National Curriculum, the Department explained that this was because the Secretary of State for Education is keen to instil rigour in language learning; however, there has been a mixed reaction to this, since teachers prefer to use translation as a tool for checking that students have mastered certain grammar points. The government is emphatic that there should not be a focus on 'translating chunks of text', and the responses to the consultation on the draft National Curriculum obtained thus far suggest that there is little overt support for translation, although some respondents 'have indicated that it could be useful'.[134] The government has made 'some comparison' with the curricula of other countries in preparation for the curricular reforms, but the value of translation as a language-learning method has not been analysed; in fact, the Department told us that there was a difference between translation, which it regards as an academic subject, and being able to communicate.

4.7.2. Translator training

There are currently 144 university institutions in the United Kingdom, and 79 of these offer a language as part of a degree course, either as a major or minor subject. This equates to 55 per cent of the total. It should be noted, however, that there are also several universities that do not offer languages explicitly as part of a degree but which do offer optional language courses in the form of institution-wide language programmes. A number of these require payment.

Of the 144 universities in the United Kingdom, there are 36 that offer translation or interpreting, or both, although only 13 offer these as undergraduate courses. Eleven of the universities that offer translation or interpreting are members of the European Masters in Translation (EMT) Network. However, at the time of writing, Translation Studies courses are earmarked for closure at four of the universities that offer them, and this may be part of a broader trend. The Worton Report

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[134] Conversation with Department for Education, 17 April 2013.

(2009: 6) noted that 'several universities are closing down or reducing their provision of language teaching for non-specialists; others are closing single honours programmes, while still others are restructuring Language Departments [and] there has been a gradual but apparently inexorable reduction in provision nationally, with Modern Language Departments now being located essentially in pre-1992 universities and, indeed, mainly in Russell Group universities.'

The consequences of this for the potential of the newer universities to engage in widening participation hardly need spelling out. The *Research Review in Modern Languages* noted that 'a significant number of institutions, perhaps as many as one third, have closed language departments over the past seven years. [...] Many others have reduced their provision of language degrees.'[135] Table 24 shows the change in the number of institutions offering a language as a major or minor subject, as listed by the Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (UCAS).

Table 24. Number of universities in the United Kingdom offering languages as a major or minor subject, 2000-2013.[136]

Language	Degrees in 2000	Degrees in 2007	Degrees in 2013	Percentage change 2000 - 2013
French	126	82	74	*- 41%*
German	126	65	57	*- 55%*
Spanish	106	70	73	*- 31%*
Italian	66	37	40	*- 33%*
Russian	48	16	18	*- 62%*
Japanese	31	15	22	*- 30%*

It is clear that the fall in the number of universities offering language degrees has not been as dramatic over the 2007-2013 period as over the 2000-2007 period, and that there has even been a very slight increase in the number of Spanish, Italian, Russian and Japanese courses. However, given the overall percentage change since 2000, and the drastic fall in the numbers of students sitting language GCSEs since 2002, it seems highly unlikely that admission rates to university language departments in the United Kingdom will rise substantially in the next few years, and urgent action is needed to prevent further decline. Fortunately, the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) has recently announced additional investment of GBP 3.1 million (3.65 million euros) to encourage young people to study languages at university, and that 'HEFCE is considering how collaborative provision may sustain the modern foreign language supply in higher education, despite the continued decline in applications to modern foreign language degree courses'.[137] It is to be hoped that initiatives such as this will result not only in more students studying languages at university, but also in greater numbers of students taking an interest in translation.

4.7.4. Responses from teachers in the United Kingdom

There were a total of 105 responses to the survey from teachers in the United Kingdom. The responses included 30 from the primary sector, 51 from the

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[135] Kelly, Michael, Dana Arnold, et al. *Research Review in Modern Language*s, p. 9: http://s3.amazonaws.com/zanran_storage/www.ahrc.ac.uk/ContentPages/17452102.pdf. Accessed April 2013.
[136] Based on Kelly et al., p. 13. Data for 2013 added using information on the UCAS website (www.ucas.ac.uk) as at 21 April 2013.
[137] Higher Education Funding Council for England. 2013. £3.1 million to boost student demand for modern foreign language courses. http://www.hefce.ac.uk/news/newsarchive/2013/name,81904,en.html. Accessed May 2013.

secondary sector and 24 from higher education. The greatest proportion of the sample was represented by those with the most teaching experience: 35 per cent of respondents had more than 20 years' experience, and 28 per cent had between 11 and 20 years' experience. The majority of teachers taught French, although the total sample included teachers of eleven different languages.

A follow-up focus-group discussion with 19 participants was held in Leicester on 24 April 2013, which enabled many of the questionnaire responses to be explained and contextualised in a similar way to the focus group held in Tarragona (see section 4.6.3.2 above).

The most popular teaching methodologies among the UK respondents were communicative, audiovisual and task-based learning, while the least popular methodologies were suggestopedia and grammar translation. The response rates for each teaching method are given in Figure 23.

Figure 23. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 105 teachers in England, as means (5 = 'very positively')
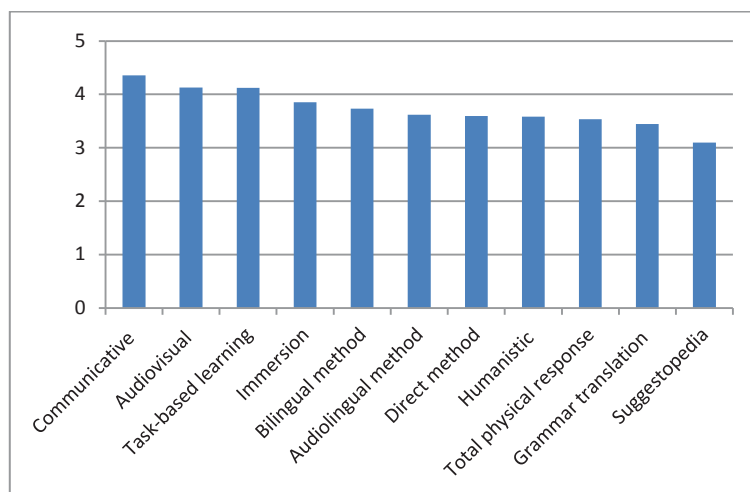
The levels of agreement or disagreement with each teaching method can be seen in Figure 24:

Figure 24. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - standard deviations between replies from 101 teachers in England. (1 = high difference between replies)
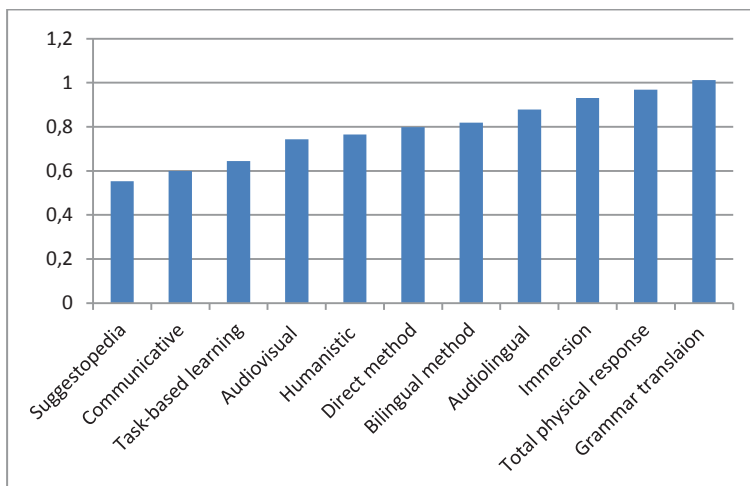
This indicates that opinions are most divided with regard to grammar translation.

Although grammar translation produced the highest proportion of negative responses (19 per cent), there was a far higher proportion of respondents (41 per cent) whose institutions regarded it either positively or very positively, and that no respondent's institution regarded it 'very negatively'. Some 63 per cent of respondents said that they used translation exercises in their classes in the mid-to-high frequency range; this compares with 26 per cent who 'rarely' use translation exercises, and 9 per cent who 'never' use them.

This suggests either that teachers themselves regard translation more highly than the institutions within which they work, or that teachers use translation exercises other than the grammar translation method.

Of those who responded that they used translation exercises 'never' or 'rarely' (30 per cent of respondents), the vast majority indicated that this was for reasons other than those listed in the questionnaire. The 'other' reasons included the following:

- Fear of being perceived as old-fashioned;
- Translation is less practical in a multilingual classroom than in a monolingual one;
- An institutional focus on communication tasks;
- Translation can prevent students from becoming independent of the teacher;
- Translation is not suitable for primary level/is only relevant at advanced levels;
- Translation would not be an effective learning method for all students;
- Lack of time.

There was an interesting spread of responses relating to the frequency with which translation is used. As can be seen clearly from Figure 25, primary teachers are most likely to use translation 'rarely', while in secondary schools the overwhelming majority of respondents (71 per cent) are in the middle of the frequency range. However, in higher education there were equal responses for all frequencies except 'never', which suggests some uncertainty as to the usefulness of translation as a learning method in higher education. This is all the more surprising given the frequency of its use at secondary level.

Figure 25. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 95 language teachers in England, according to the level at which they teach
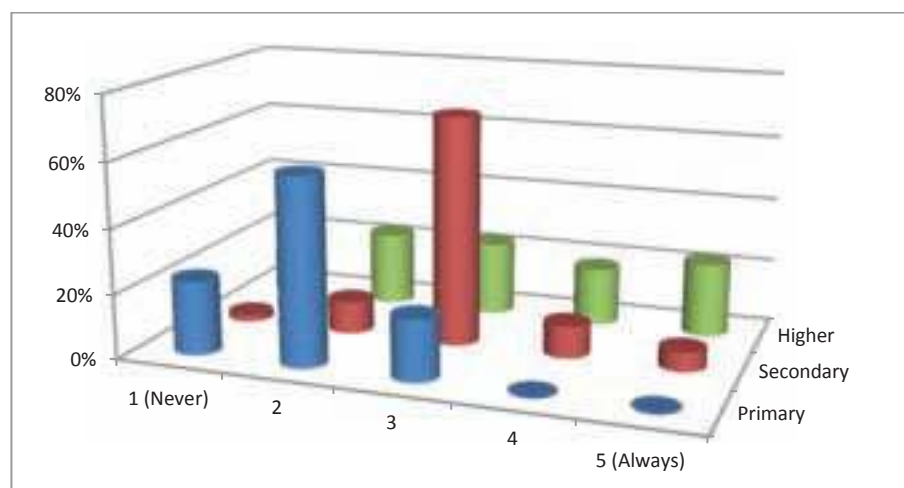
Table 25 provides an overview of the results relating to the types of activities used by the teachers who use translation more than 'rarely'.

Table 25. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - replies from 60 language teachers in England, as means of a 5-point scale (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.696
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.571
Translating into L1 of longer passages	3.362
Translating into L2 of longer passages	3.052
Watching subtitled films	2.772
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.717
Watching dubbed films	1.769
Working with machine translated texts	1.529

These results indicate that teachers in the UK tend to regard translation as an area of activity that can be employed on an occasional basis, and most commonly in the form of single sentences rather than longer passages.

Respondents were given a series of propositions and asked about the extent to which they agreed with each of them (see Table 26). These results indicate support for translation at levels that are above the global averages.

Table 26. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 95 teachers in England and 878 teachers in the global sample, as means (5= 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*England*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.001	3.802	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.060	3.844	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.958	2.198	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	0.973	2.250	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	0.725	1.854	2.158

4.7.5. Focus group in Leicester

A focus group was held in Leicester on 24 April 2013, similar to the one held in Tarragona on 2 April 2013. The participants included teachers from the primary, secondary and higher-education sectors and represented several different English regions including the North West, North East, Midlands, London, and the South East. The focus group discussed the results from the survey of UK respondents, as well as various other topics related to the subject of our research.

A major point of interest arising from the focus group is that of the role of translation in school examinations. Translation into L2 was once a common feature in English school examinations, with each sentence of the text designed to test a different point (usually a grammatical point), but this was phased out since it was perceived as 'old-fashioned', and translation is now only found at A2

Level (i.e. the examinations taken at age 17-18), and only in papers issued by certain examination boards. There is no L2-translation requirement for GCSE.

Some of the teachers felt that reintroducing translation to examinations would have a positive impact on students' skills, although the pressure for schools to achieve good pass rates each year, and thus to improve their standing in performance-related league tables, has meant that there has been a trend for some schools to use examination boards that are perceived to issue 'easier' examinations. Grading schemes were also identified as an area that should be given careful consideration, since students might produce a good translation, but only score low marks for not using the precise phrasing that the examiner wants to see, or for making spelling mistakes.

It would appear that there is ample scope for translation to be reintroduced to school examinations in England, and for the 'rigour' that is being encouraged through the introduction of translation at Key Stage 3 to be incorporated into future examinations.

At one point the group was asked if it was not true that British students do not need foreign languages because 'the rest of the world speaks English'. Marilyn Dhissi[138] pointed out that, in the job market in London, British graduates have to compete directly against graduates from other European Union countries, and if the other Europeans have better L2 skills, they are likely to be offered the job. Labour-market mobility might perhaps have more of an effect on language learning in the United Kingdom than have several decades of internal report and reforms.

4.7.6. Responses from experts in the United Kingdom

The most popular language-teaching method used in the United Kingdom, according to the expert responses received, is communicative teaching. Other methods that were mentioned included phonics (at primary level), the audiovisual method, and task-based or project-based learning.

With regard to secondary education, two experts said that grammatical approaches were gaining popularity, but whether this referred specifically to the grammar-translation method or to the teaching of grammatical structures was unclear. Immersion was described as 'highly praised but… not very widespread' (Cheryl Williams) and as 'a very "niche" endeavour, although where it has taken root it is proving highly effective and exciting' (Rachel Hawkes).

Popular activities mentioned in relation to the primary sector included poetry, songs, traditional tales, games and the use of imagery, but 'translation approaches are discouraged' (Cheryl Williams).

At secondary level, translation is assessed at Key Stage 5 (age 16-18), and learning at this level 'usually' involves translating paragraphs into L1 and sentences into L2. Translation does not, however, appear in the exam-board syllabi at Key Stage 4 (GCSE) level. Consequently, there are not many textbooks that include translation exercises, although some examples were mentioned by the experts. It was also mentioned that there is some reluctance to introduce translation activities to secondary schools 'due to fear of students preferring to rely on machine translation tools' (Cheryl Williams).

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[138] Language Advisor and Modern Foreign Primary Outreach Specialist Teacher with the School Improvement Service of the London Borough of Islington.

The translation-related activities mentioned by expert respondents in relation to secondary schools included the following:

- Asking students to translate a simple paragraph by themselves, and then comparing it to various machine-translated versions;
- 'Running translations', where students work in groups to translate a paragraph of text in sections, conferring with their group members to find the most accurate translation, and competing against the other groups for speed and accuracy;
- Providing a short text in the TL, and a list of L1 words or phrases, and asking the students to find the TL equivalent of the L1 list items.

Only one of the expert respondents was able to cite research on the positive or negative effect of translation activities. This suggests that most teachers view translation in terms of their own experience and preferred teaching methods, rather than in light of research findings.

4.8. Schola Europaea

The European Schools or *Schola Europaea* are of interest in this research because they have a strong reputation in language education at primary and secondary levels, and the language-teaching methods they use do not appear to involve translation.

The European Schools were legislated for in 1953 and have been operative since 1959. There are currently 14 of them in Europe (five in the Brussels area), primarily catering to the children of the staff of the European Union institutions. The schools provide education at the kindergarten, primary and secondary levels.

All students are required to learn at least one L2 (English, French or German) from the beginning of primary school; they have the option of learning a third European language; and some courses (notably History and Geography) are taught in the students' L2 in the final years of secondary school.

4.8.1. Public debate and dissemination of the model

The EU subsidy for these 14 schools is projected to be 180 830 million euros in 2013 plus contributions representing some 131 309 million euros from the Member States (in 2012).[139] The number of Member States students was reported as 22 498 in 2012 and the cost per student is reported to be 16 173 euros per year (in 2012).[140] In 2009, the average cost of secondary education in Europe-27 was 6 988 euros per year[141], which suggests that the European Schools cost much more than double the European mean.

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[139]http://www.europarl.europa.eu/resources/library/media/20121210RES04509/20121210RES04509.pdf. Accessed February 2013.

[140] The relations between the Member States' Shares on Contributions, on School Population and on Seconded Staff, 2012: http://www.gudee.eu/Finance/2012-MS-Contrib.xls. Accessed February 2013. Press reports on the costs of European Schools are not hard to find. For example: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/7898683/Cost-of-private-schools-for-EU-officials-children-rises.html; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/eu/7898683/Cost-of-private-schools-for-EU-officials-children-rises.html

[141]http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tps00067. Figures for 2010. Accessed February 2013. Note that there is great variation between countries. Norway spent 10 491 euros per secondary-school student in 2010.

Over the years, the European Schools have been questioned not just because of the high costs to taxpayers but also because of a weakly controlled administration, institutional elitism, and failure to keep abreast of contemporary developments in education methods and technologies. Some of these issues were addressed by a reform initiated in 2009.[142] One of the key elements in the reform is the plan to make the schools' curricula available not just to a wider range of EU locations, but also to 'other interested EU countries'.[143] The basic argument here appears to be that the European Schools have created an excellent model of education, and this can and should be disseminated more widely.

Since the crux of that argument is the superior education offered by the schools, there is widespread belief that the academic results obtained are significantly better than in other systems of education. This particularly concerns language skills, where the schools offer a multilingual model incorporating L1 speakers as teachers, controlled class mixes (with a certain amount of social engineering), CLIL (non-linguistic content taught in L2), and immersion involving social contexts where the main language is an L2 for many students. Indeed, the schools have prestige within Europe because of the opportunities they offer for bilingualism (Housen, 2008: 455).

4.8.2. Previous research

Language teaching in the European Schools has been the object of a healthy number of studies, particularly by Housen (e.g. 1997; 2002; 2008). These studies consistently affirm the high levels of success in language education. However, they do so by using comparisons with other systems of controlled bilingual/multilingual education (notably in Canada) or by using comparisons within the European School system itself. We have not found a study that actually compares language-competence scores with the use of other institutional settings or language-teaching methods. Further, Housen notes a series of specific factors that contribute to the schools' success rates: students are held back if they do not attain the year's goals, and they are expelled if they are held back twice (Housen, 2008: 461); students are often living within the social environment of at least one of their L2s; and class groups are constructed so as to promote language complementarity. We might also add that the students generally come from mobile international family backgrounds. These factors are generally not all present in education institutions mandated to promote social inclusion. Given the complexity of the specific conditions, Housen concludes that 'it would therefore be inappropriate or at least premature to transplant the European School model to other contexts' (2008: 467).

4.8.2. Translation in the curriculum

All European Schools have a common curriculum, and the syllabi are approved centrally and are publicly available. The syllabi occasionally refer to the CEFR, but the lists of competences are based on the *European Framework for Key Competences for Lifelong Learning* (2006)[144], which does mention 'mediation'

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[142] Reform of the European Schools System (2009):
http://www.eursc.eu/fichiers/contenu_fichiers1/1256/2009-D-353-en-4.pdf. Accessed February 2013.
See also: http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/sefcovic/administration/euschools/index_en.htm.
[143] http://ec.europa.eu/commission_2010-2014/sefcovic/administration/euschools/index_en.htm.
Accessed February 2013.
[144] http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/education_culture/publ/pdf/ll-learning/keycomp_en.pdf. Accessed February 2013.

(not 'translation') in passing but conceptualises proficiency in terms of the four basic language skills.

Other than that, the references to translation are almost accidental. The school libraries should contain 'translation dictionaries', and one of the skills mentioned is 'can use an L1-L2 dictionary effectively'[145], so someone might be translating. More significantly, the syllabus for all third languages[146] mentions:

> When learning a third language, recourse to existing language skills can be of great benefit to students' learning strategies (tertiary language effect) and making use of them should be encouraged. Reflective use of language, comparative observations and awareness of general language-learning skills can greatly improve language acquisition. (2005: 7)

The term 'translation' is still avoided, but the gate is clearly opened here to a range of activities where different languages come together.

4.8.2. Responses from teachers

We contacted the individual European Schools prior to learning that information from them should be approved by their central office. We contacted the central office and the director, Dr Kari Kivinen, proposed 'that our L2 primary inspectors would answer to your questionnaire in the name of European Schools'.[147]

A total of 21 responses were received from teachers: 10 at primary and 11 at secondary level.[148] These were teachers of English (14 teachers), French (6), Spanish (3), German (4), Dutch (2) and Italian (1). Five teachers taught more than one language. Our sample was heavily weighted in favour of older teachers: just under 50 per cent had more than 20 years of teaching experience.

As expected, the teachers placed immersion first (possibly understood as CLIL in this context), communicative second, and grammar translation last in the list of institutionally preferred teaching methods. No further teaching methods were proposed by the teachers.

Almost half the teachers (44 per cent) indicated that they did not use translation at all in the L2 classroom, although there were nevertheless some mid-range users at secondary level (see Figure 26). Four teachers (one at primary and three at secondary level) nevertheless said they used translation in the mid-to-high range of frequency.

None of the teachers indicated that translation was prohibited. Two said they had not considered its use seriously. Other reasons against translation included, in order of frequency, the presence of different L1s in the class group, 'it is not appropriate at primary level' and 'young children do not need it'. One teacher seemed quite apologetic:

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[145] English II syllabus, Years 1-17. http://www.eursc.eu/fichiers/contenu_fichiers1/117/97-D-62-en-2.pdf. Approved 1997. Accessed January 2013.
[146] http://www.eursc.eu/fichiers/contenu_fichiers1/1796/2010-D-49-en-3.pdf. Approved 2010. Accessed February 2012.
[147] Dr Kari Kivinen, email of 19 February 2013. We thank Dr. Kivinen for the time he devoted to our Interim Report and his willingness to provide further information. Dr Kivinen also correctly pointed out that our study would have greater validity if it were focused on student reactions and opinions concerning translation. Unfortunately that kind of study would have required far greater resources and time than we had available.
[148] These may have been in response to our initial requests, or from the inspectors (only seven responses have an email address to which we can respond). Either way, few secrets are revealed.

> While I am prepared to accept that translation-based tasks may have a place in language teaching programs as a genuine tool to facilitate/enhance language acquisition, I have to admit I may have been influenced by the prevailing notion, perhaps misconception, that translating in language learning tends to hinder fluency in the target language

The three teachers who said they used translation with some frequency were possibly engaged in L3 teaching, as might be inferred from the following comment:

> Some students in L3 don't understand so it is better, at the beginning to use the translation in order to favor their success. So it depends of [sic] students' level.

Figure 26: 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching class?' - 16 teachers from the European Schools, as percentages by the level at which they teach
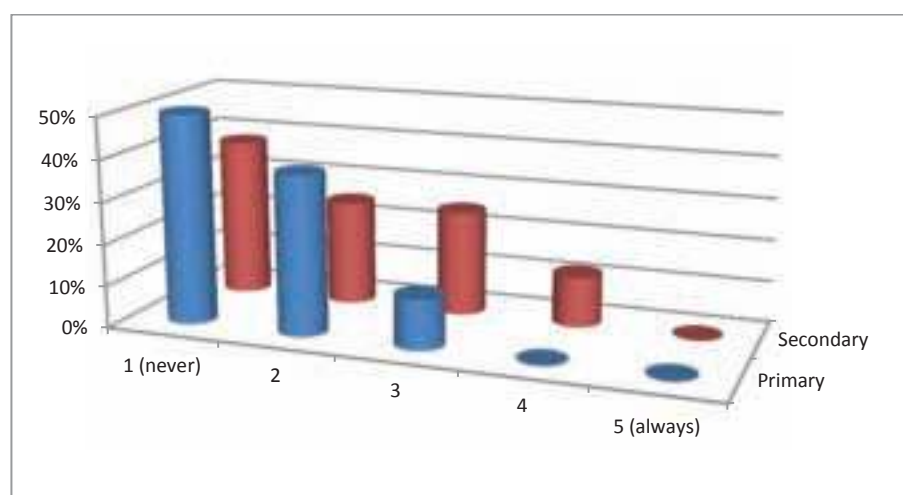
With respect to our theoretical propositions about translation (Table 27), these teachers gave very high rates of internal disagreement, probably due to the reduced size of the sample. They were nevertheless generally in favour of the idea that translation is a fifth skill and can bring the other language skills together; they were undecided about whether translation takes time away from more valuable activities, and similarly undecided about when translation stops the student from thinking in L2. Under the circumstances, these replies are surprisingly favourable to translation, which is not as demonised as one might have expected.

Table 27. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation; replies from 16 teachers in the European Schools, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Schola Europaea*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.063	3.739	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.182	3.739	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	1.149	2.457	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.242	2.457	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	1.100	2.085	2.158

In summary, translation finds a marginal role in this system of language teaching. As Housen (2008: 467) has indicated, however, the European Schools operate in exceptional circumstances: the transfer of their model may be of interest, but cannot be automatic. It is also worth reflecting on the possibility that many of the high-level in-house translators of the future may be graduates of these schools.

4.9. Australia

Australia merits inclusion here because it has paid careful attention to the need to adapt its language policies to a world where immigration, international trade and indigenous rights are all key factors.

4.9.1. Language policy

Australia's basic national language policy, developed from the late 1980s (cf. Lo Bianco, 1987, 1990; Ozolins, 1993), recognises English as the one official language but seeks to include and maintain other languages as part of the heritage of a multicultural society. This multiculturalism concerns both indigenous languages and the many immigrant languages, which are increasingly Asian.

It has been estimated (notably by Schmidt, 1990) that only 90 of the 200 to 300 indigenous languages survive, and that 70 of them are 'threatened' or 'severely endangered'. The teaching of these languages, particularly in their cultural context, may be one means of enhancing their chances of survival.[149]

The government white paper *Australia in the Asian Century* (2012)[150] stipulates that '[a]ll Australian students will have the opportunity, and be encouraged, to undertake a continuous course of study in an Asian language throughout their years of schooling' (2012: 16), and that the priority Asian languages are Chinese (Mandarin), Hindi, Indonesian and Japanese. Further, '[a]ll schools will engage with at least one school in Asia to support the teaching of a priority Asian language, including through increased use of the National Broadband Network'

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[149] This is the general argument expressed in the introduction to *Aboriginal Languages of Western Australia* (syllabus for 2012), available at:
http://www.curriculum.wa.edu.au/internet/Senior_Secondary/Courses/WACE_Courses/Aboriginal_Languages. Accessed January 2013.
[150] http://asiancentury.dpmc.gov.au/sites/default/files/white-paper/australia-in-the-asian-century-white-paper.pdf. Accessed December 2012.

(2012: 15). Exchange and high-speed Internet are to bring about major changes in language learning in Australia.

The same document notes that:

> nearly one-quarter of Australians were born overseas. Four million Australians speak a language other than English at home. In all, Australians identify with over 300 ancestries, speak as many different languages and observe a wide variety of cultural and religious traditions. Cultural diversity is at the centre of Australia's identity. (2012: 98)

In contrast to these ambitions, the number of Australian students studying languages has been falling. A 2007 study (Nettelbeck et al.) reported that fewer than 5 per cent of university graduates have at least a minor study in a language other than English, and that between 2005 and 2007, enrolments in European languages grew by 12 per cent (80 per cent in Spanish) while Asian language numbers declined by 9 per cent.[151] A more recent report states that in 2008 'less than 6 per cent of Australian school students studied Indonesian, Japanese, Korean or Chinese (Mandarin) in Year 12 (AEF, 2012: MCEETYA, 2008). Fewer Year 12 students studied Indonesian in 2009 than in 1972' (Hill, 2012).

Enlightened policy might thus be up against the global dominance of English (and perhaps the easier European languages). Interestingly, Joseph Lo Bianco laments a series of shortcomings in Australia language education:

> the lack of a central policy for languages study at university and governmental level, inadequate staff development and teacher training preparation, casualisation of employment […] reduction in staff hours, increases in staff to student ratios, heavy student workloads and *too much emphasis on the teaching of translation and grammar*. (Lo Bianco, 2009: 56; emphasis ours)

Translation (albeit coupled to grammar) still figures in the list of negative factors.

Despite these general principles, teaching in Australia is officially regulated at State level. A nation-wide Australian curriculum for languages is being developed but is not due until 2015. For this reason, our teacher survey has focused on one particular State, Western Australia.

4.9.2. Translator training

Translator training in Australia has traditionally been through the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) system, which involves colleges in all states and mainly trained interpreters. From 1978 there were translation and interpreting courses at RMIT (Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology) in Victoria, SA TAFE (South Australia), Macarthur Institute of Higher Education and the University of New South Wales (NSW) and Canberra College of Advanced Education.[152] A Masters in Japanese Interpreting and Translation was started at the University of Queensland in 1980 and a Bachelor's programme at Deakin University in Melbourne from 1981.

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[151] See reports in Joseph Lo Bianco, S*econd Languages and Australian Schooling*, ACER, 2009: http://www.acer.edu.au/documents/aer_54-secondlanguagesandaustralianschooling.pdf, p. 56. There is no positive mention of translation in Lo Bianco's report.

[152] Our thanks to Barbara McGilvray 11/02/2012; also see the list of NAATI approved courses reproduced at http://isg.urv.es/tti/tti.htm.

The training system has now expanded to include some 20 institutions that offer programmes of one kind or another, ranging from a BA programme at the University of Western Sydney to the paraprofessional courses run by the Institute for Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs. The vast majority of the programmes are at certificate or postgraduate level. Many of the certificate programmes are short-term and part-time, to cater for the provision of social services within Australia. Some of the postgraduate courses, on the other hand, are designed for overseas students from China and South-East Asia. The Australian Institute of Translation and Interpretation in Melbourne offers only Chinese-English as a language pair;[153] the Sydney Institute of Interpreting and Translating similarly offers only English-Chinese.[154] As in the United Kingdom, part of the translator-training market serves the global industry of the English language as well as the domestic translation market.

4.9.3. General uses of translation in language teaching

The official documents available on curriculum development for language teaching seem to take no strong stance, neither for nor against translation. As in most Western countries, the traditional grammar-translation method was replaced with a variety of structuralist and then communicative methods, but the current state of play is far from clear.

4.9.3.1. Indigenous languages

The official teaching of indigenous languages appears to be designed for both L1 and L2 speakers, and seems not to have complete mastery as its aim. A current syllabus states that

> By learning the linguistic structure of the target language and comparing the target language with English and other Australian languages, students understand *language* as a system. Appreciating the nature of language forms a basis for appreciating the role of language in society and emphasises the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity.[155]

This emphasis on knowledge of language rather than full-scale use suggests that both L1 and L2 are used in instruction, there is close comparison, and some kind of translation would not be excluded. Further, according to the same syllabus:

> In addition to developing communication skills in the target language, experience in accessing, eliciting, recording and storing language equips students with a range of analytical, organisational, practical and technological skills. They use cross-cultural problem-solving and collaboration skills.

This would bring the aim of language instruction in line with the general mediation skills that necessarily include translation.

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[153] http://www.aiti.edu.au/.Accessed November 2011.
[154] http://www.siit.nsw.edu.au/. Accessed November 2011.
[155] *Aboriginal Languages of Western Australia* (syllabus for 2012), available at:
http://www.curriculum.wa.edu.au/internet/Senior_Secondary/Courses/WACE_Courses/Aboriginal_Languages. Accessed January 2013.

4.9.3.2. English as an additional language

The Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) has published *English as an Additional Language or Dialect Teacher Resource* (2012) for primary-school teachers.[156] The classroom use of translation is mentioned in the following contexts:

> Foundation: 'Ask parents or bilingual assistants to assist in translating abstract emotions.'
> Year 2, 'Creating texts': 'use a translation in the student's first language if desired and available.'
> Year 6, 'Literacy: interacting with others': 'Allow longer "wait time" for responses as the students translate, construct a response in their first language, translate this to English and then respond.'
> Year 8, 'Expressing ideas' - nominalisation: 'encourage students to translate these words into their first language where possible'.

Since these are the only mentions in the 78 pages of resources, translation might be considered a recommended but still marginal activity.

4.9.3.3. Other languages

The marginal role of translation is repeated in the official guidelines for the teaching of other languages as well. In ACARA's overview of the Australian curriculum for languages (2011)[157], translation is only mentioned under point 97 'Ethical behaviour', as follows: 'Students should also consider ethics in interpreting and translating' (2011: 33).

4.9.4. Focus city: Perth, Western Australia

Perth is a city of 1 740 000 people (in 2011), accounting for 82 per cent of the state of Western Australia. We thus use some of the data on Western Australia as indications of trends in the city.

Perth lies within the territory of the indigenous Noongar nation. White settlers prohibited use of the Noongar language (or dialect chain), which is now endangered.[158]

The 2006 Census[159] indicated that English was the home language of 82 per cent of all households, and that some 145 other languages or language groups were

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[156]http://www.acara.edu.au/verve/_resources/EALD_Learning_Area_Annotations_English_Revised_06_05_12.pdf. Accessed December 2012. The role of translation is similarly marginal in *English as an Additional Language or Dialect: Teacher Resource EAL/D Learning Progression* (2011): http://www.acara.edu.au/verve/_resources/EALD_Resource_-_EALD_Learning_Progression.pdf. Accessed December 2012.

[157] ACARA, *The Shape of the Australian Curriculum: Languages*. Sydney, 2011: http://www.acara.edu.au/verve/_resources/Languages_-_Shape_of_the_Australian_Curriculum_new.pdf. Accessed December 2012.

[158] Professor Colleen Hayward of Edith Cowan University explains: 'Because this area of Western Australia was settled earliest and for longer than other parts, the negative impact on the maintenance of the Noongar language is greater. Of particular note is the fact that early on in white settlement, the Noongar language was forbidden to be spoken – where Aboriginal children did speak their language, this often prompted government intervention – it was essentially one of the triggers for children being removed from their families and taken into care by government agencies and religious orders (what are called the Stolen Generations). This had the effect of generations of adult Noongars refusing to teach their children the Noongar language and for a long time, the Noongar language would be spoken by hardly anyone' (personal communication, 12 January 2013).

[159] http://www.omi.wa.gov.au/components/statistics/WAPeople2006/WA/Table_2-7.pdf. Accessed January 2013.

spoken in households overall. The main languages other than English were Italian (1.7 per cent), Mandarin Chinese (0.8 per cent), Cantonese (0.8 per cent) and Vietnamese (0.7 per cent). Australian indigenous languages were spoken by just 7 950 households (0.4 per cent), which was a drop of more than 8 per cent since the 2001 Census.

The shift towards Asian languages is clear not only in the census data, but also in the languages being taught at various institutional levels:

- The Noongar language is mostly taught privately (we have been unable to find an official teaching program in Perth). A syllabus for 'Australian indigenous languages in Western Australia' was approved in 2007 and updated in 2011.[160]
- Primary-school language teaching (kindergarten to year 12) was traditionally limited to English as a second language, for children of immigrant families. The languages offered now include Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian and Japanese.[161]
- The languages traditionally taught at secondary level were French, German and Italian (with Latin in a more distant past). Japanese, Indonesian and Chinese are now increasingly available.
- The institutions of higher learning traditionally taught Greek, Latin, French, German, and Italian. The languages on offer now include Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian and Korean.[162] There is a Confucius Institute at the University of Western Australia.

We managed to contact language teachers through the Modern Language Teachers' Association of Western Australia[163], whose Vice-President distributed the questionnaire to members in December 2012. There are also associations for teachers of German, Italian, Chinese, Indonesian and Japanese.

4.9.4.1. Translation in the teaching of Noongar

We have been unable to locate official teachers of Noongar as a full language system in the Perth area, although the Djidi Djidi school, south of Perth, is reported as being active.

Teaching at the Kurongkurl Katitjin centre of Edith Cowan University is nevertheless *about* the language and culture, and particularly language fragments such as place names (many towns and suburbs have Noongar names). There is also teaching of the language for very specific purposes. For example, the Vice-Chancellor of Edith Cowan University 'has undertaken some Noongar language lessons sufficient for him to be able to greet and welcome people in Noongar' (Colleen Hayward, personal communication, 12 January 2013).

In such a context, immersion in an entire language system is clearly not the goal of language teaching – we are in the postmodern realm of mixed language

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[160]http://www.curriculum.wa.edu.au/internet/Senior_Secondary/Courses/WACE_Courses/Aboriginal_L anguages Accessed January 2013. According to Professor Hayward of Edith Cowan University, 'Most of the language classes are private (ie run through community groups) but one primary school just south of Perth, Djidi Djidi, is particularly active' (personal communication, 13 January 2013).
[161] Western Australia School Curriculum and Standards Authority (personal communication, 15 January 2013).
[162] The University of Western Australia teaches French, German, Latin, Greek, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean; Edith Cowan University teaches English, French and Japanese; Curtin University teaches Chinese and Japanese; Murdoch University offers Indonesian and Japanese
[163] http://mltawa.asn.au/MLTAWA/home.html. Accessed January 2013.

resources. The use of translation would thus seem logical, and indeed unavoidable.

4.9.4.2. Translation in the teaching of other languages

Despite the help of the local association of language teachers, the response rate to our online survey of teachers in the Perth area was low – in the order of 10 per cent. The 57 valid responses were distributed as follows: 15 in primary, 38 in secondary, and 14 in higher education.[164] The distribution of the sample is weighted in favour of the more experienced teachers.

The preferred teaching methods were communicative (50 per cent 'very positive') and task-based learning (29 per cent), with the others far behind. Grammar translation is the second least popular method at the institutional level (Figure 27).

Figure 27. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?'- replies from 53 teachers in the Perth area, as means (5='very positively')
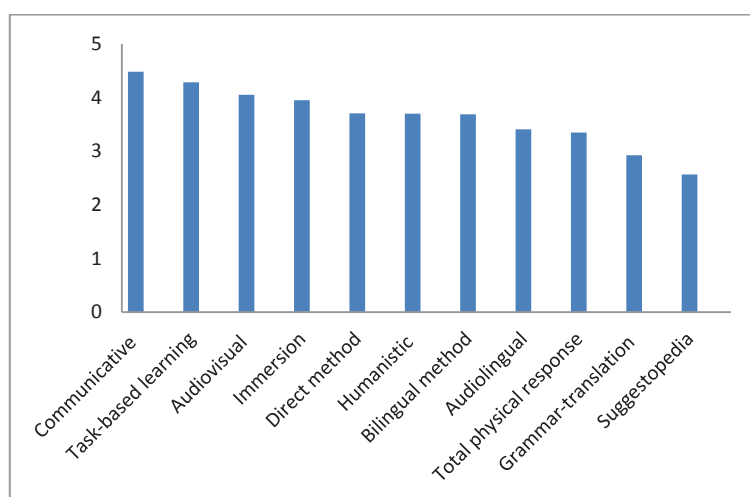
The reported use of translation was relatively low but almost always present, as indicated in Figure 28. There are few significant differences between the three education levels, although the three replies of 'always' are all at university level. The means for the three levels are 2.462 (primary), 2.375 (secondary) and 2.846 (higher education), which may partly indicate residual use of the grammar-translation method at university (one of these three rated grammar translation 'very positively'.

Figure 28: 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching class?' - 50 teachers from the Perth area, as percentages by the level at which they teach
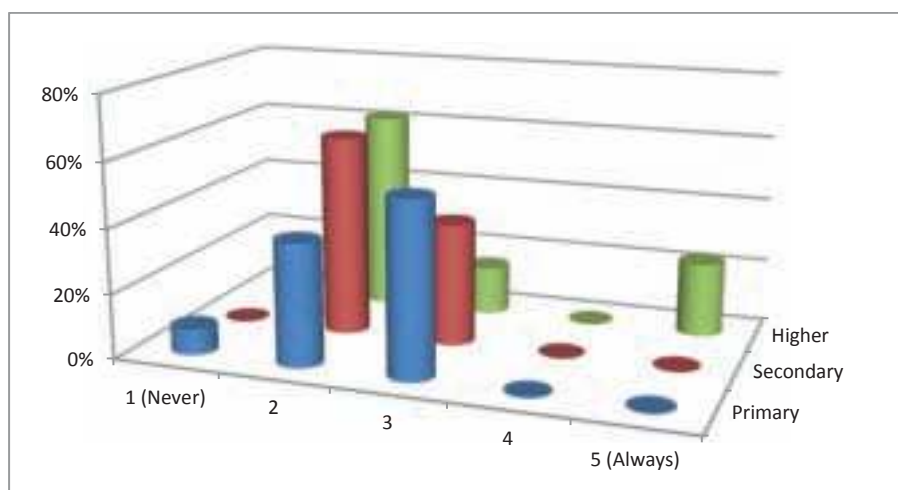
The reasons given for not using translation were that it had 'never been considered seriously' (2 teachers), and the following comments:

> In primary language learning, listening and responding and speaking are paramount. Reading is the skill of translating but you need a good knowledge of the target language to be able to translate in context. Language is not literal and that is why I have problems with Google translator as the children think that they have written a correct phrase, when in fact the sentence construction and use of verbs is incorrect.

> It is looked upon as uneducational- even if not forbidden.

> It is very difficult to be confident in the quality of the translation given time constraints. Very short tasks are easy enough.

> Not enough time and it doesn't suit everyone, but for some students it enables them to 'put the jigsaw together'

> I believe translation has its place in language learning but it is not a focus in my teaching and learning program. I encourage my students to translate for understanding and translate ideas rather than word for word translation, which can be confusing not to mention boring!

The relative marginalisation of translation in the official curricula would seem to correspond to what is reported by teachers.

The 21 teachers who reported using translation with some frequency indicated a marked preference for the translation of individual sentences, with very little use of video material or machine translation (Table 28). Translation into L2 actually scored higher than translation into L1, with respect to both sentences and longer passages. No further translation activities were suggested. In all, these responses indicate a fairly traditional use of translation.

Table 28. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - mean replies from 21 language teachers in Perth, Australia (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.333
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.286
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.550
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.500
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.476
Watching subtitled films	2.263
Watching dubbed films	1.600
Working with machine translated texts	1.150

When asked about our theoretical propositions on translation, the teachers generally agreed that translation is a fifth skill and brings other language skills together, but the degree of agreement was less than the global mean and with significant differences of opinion (high standard deviations) (Table 29). The teachers were unsure about whether translation takes times away from more valuable activities, and about whether it stops the student from thinking in L2. On these questions they were less in favour of translation than were the global means.

Table 29. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 51 teachers in Perth, Australia, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Perth*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.046	3.490	3.734
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.083	3.451	3.666
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.901	2.451	2.451
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.161	2.400	2.388
Translating is for professionals only.	0.939	2.137	2.219

The three experts we consulted affirmed that communicative methods are the most popular in Australia. Robyn Spence-Brown at Monash University added that CLIL is being emphasised in schools, and that 'immersion or CLIL approaches are used in higher education'.

The three experts generally indicated that there had been little significant change in attitudes to translation. Marianne Turner at Monash University felt that translation could be used more in Japanese classes than with European languages in higher education. Robyn Spence-Brown, Convenor of the Japanese programme at Monash, concurred with this and was generally more enthusiastic about the role of translation in higher education, where she claimed that 'translation is viewed as a skill in its own right, which will incidentally aid language acquisition'. Takimoto and Hashimoto's (2010, 2011) empirical research on translation and language learning was carried out in that same department (see 2.2.1 above). Marianne Turner, on the other hand, commented that in general 'translation tends to be a pragmatic way of testing understanding rather than a deliberate approach'.

Ignacio García at the University of Western Sydney, a translator trainer who has carried out research on the way machine translation can be used in class, nevertheless made no claims about introducing translation into language teaching: 'I have always separated translation for units in the Translation program from the other activities in the advanced language units in the main Language program.'

Australia has some of the most renowned applied linguists in the world, especially with respect to the teaching of English. Many of them were contacted but refused politely, stating that they had no expertise on translation, or that translation was simply not on their agenda. With some isolated exceptions at university level, that assessment might hold for Australia as a whole.

4.10. China

China is one of our international comparison countries and a case study of considerable importance. Literacy in China has risen rapidly in recent decades, from 65.5 per cent in 1982 to 94.3 per cent in 2010.[165] As a result of China's increasingly prominent role in the world, foreign-language learning in China has also undergone explosive growth, with English by far the most popular L2.[166] In 2006 the Chinese Ministry of Education reported that more than 300 million Chinese people were learning English, which is one quarter of the population of China.[167]

4.10.1. Chinese language policy

According to Article 18 of the Education Law of the People's Republic of China of 1995, 'the state shall adopt a nine-year compulsory education system'.[168] This system includes six years of primary education and three years of junior secondary education; foreign languages are generally introduced as an elective subject in the third year of primary education, and are compulsory at junior-secondary level (Lam, 2011). The Education Law does not lay down any specific regulations concerning the teaching of foreign languages, but rather emphasises standardisation of the use of Chinese, the vehicle of education across the country. According to Article 12(2), 'schools and other educational institutions shall in their educational activities popularize the nationally common spoken Chinese and the standard written characters', although Article 12(1) provides that 'schools or other educational institutions which mainly consist of students from ethnic minority groups may use in education the language of the respective ethnic community or the native language commonly adopted in that region'. With regard to the methodology for teaching foreign languages, however, there do not appear to be any specific provisions in Chinese law, although the Ministry of Education has issued guidance on the standards to be attained in the teaching of English.

The curriculum of Chinese schools is the responsibility of the National Centre for School Curriculum and Textbook Development, which is part of the Ministry of Education, although provincial curricula and course materials are also developed

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[165] UNESCO Institute for Statistics. 2010. *National adult literacy rates (15+), youth literacy rates (15-24) and elderly literacy rates (65+)*
http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=210, Accessed May 2013.
[166] http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6208/201201/129574.html. Accessed May 2013.
[167] http://www.edu.cn/20060328/3181348.shtml. Accessed December 2012.
[168] http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_2803/200905/48457.html. Accessed May 2013.

at provincial level, resulting in 'increasingly diversified curricula that [...] are both predetermined by the state and developed by provincial-level education departments to incorporate the needs and priorities of individual schools and districts' (Lam 2011).

According to the most recent statistics from the Chinese Ministry of Education, there were 101 353 616 students in primary education and 100 129 290 in secondary education in 2010 (Chinese Ministry of Education, 2012a).[169] However, the student-teacher ratio illustrates some of the difficulties associated with delivering foreign-language education in China. For example, there were 24 273 351 students in senior-secondary schools in 2010, and only 231 885 teachers of foreign languages in such schools: of these, 230 822 taught English, 534 taught Russian, and 473 taught Japanese.[170] This equates to 105 students per teacher for all foreign languages in Chinese senior secondary schools.

Adamson and Morris (1997) explain that the audio-lingual and grammar-translation methods prevailed from the founding of the People's Republic of China. However, the grammar-translation method largely supplanted the audio-lingual method following the Cultural Revolution, for the following reasons:

- Audio-lingualism was associated with American methods of language learning, which had an unhealthy connotation for Chinese educators at that time;
- The relative inexperience of the curriculum developers and their lack of exposure to other methods may have limited their choice to the methodology that they had encountered previously in learning English and their mother tongue;
- Such a pedagogy lends itself to use in situations where there is a shortage of alternative resources, where a teacher lacks expertise in more interactive or communication-oriented pedagogy, or where the main purpose of teaching is to preach political dogma.

It is interesting to note that, following the abandonment of foreign-language teaching during the Cultural Revolution, the Ministry of Education issued a Ten-Year System School English Curriculum in 1978, 'with general requirements being provided for the skills of listening, speaking, reading, writing, *and translating*' (Li, 2007: 154; emphasis ours). The curriculum remained in force until 1982 (Li, 2007), but it is clear that translation was regarded as a fifth skill by the Chinese government. As will be discussed below, translation is still used very widely at all three education levels in China, and is prescribed as a key skill in higher education.

With regard to foreign-language teaching in Chinese primary schools, Qiang (2002: 105) notes that 'there is an obvious shift of paradigm from the structural audio-lingual approach to a global approach to language education through activity-based learning in the primary school.' English has been offered in Chinese primary schools since September 2001, and must be delivered in accordance with the Basic Requirement for Primary School English, which has the following aims (Qiang 2002: 100):

- To develop students' interests, self-confidence and positive attitude towards learning English;

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[169] http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6208/201201/129518.html. Accessed May 2013.
[170] http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/s6208/201201/129574.html. Accessed May 2013.

- To cultivate the students' language sense and enable good pronunciation and intonation;
- To develop the students' preliminary ability to use English in daily exchanges and lay a good basis for further study.

There is no explicit mention of translation in the Basic Requirement for Primary School English, although Qiang states that the introduction of the Basic Requirement constitutes 'a change in methodology and that its performance descriptors clearly reflect an activity-based approach, encouraging teaching and learning through listening, speaking, singing, playing, doing, acting, viewing, reading and writing to provide children opportunities to experience the language and facilitate their own discovery of meaning as a first-hand experience' (Qiang 2002: 101).

The historical popularity of the grammar-translation method in China is not surprising, given that 'grammar-translation pedagogy resembles traditional, indigenous methods for learning Chinese' (Adamson and Morris 1997: 9, note 24). Adamson and Morris did, however, note 'the emergence of a more eclectic pedagogy in schools and a decline in the reliance on traditional grammar-translation pedagogy' (1997: 26) at the time of their paper. The communicative (CLT) approach was introduced to China during the 1990s (Cheng 2011: 135-136). The English Curriculum Standards issued by the Ministry of Education in 2001 and 2003 do not reject the traditional approaches entirely, but rather constitute a 'shift from overemphasising […] a focus on grammar and vocabulary to a methodology that facilitates the development of students' overall ability in language use' (Cheng 2011: 136).

Hu (2009) conducted a survey of the methods used to teach English in three primary schools in Beijing. Translation is listed as the first method used to reinforce vocabulary acquisition and text comprehension (albeit more in the upper grades than the lower ones).

At secondary level, English is one of the mandatory subjects tested in the entrance examinations for senior-secondary school, which are taken at the end of junior secondary school (when students are aged 13-14) (Hu 2007). English is also tested at the end of senior secondary school, along with Chinese and mathematics, as part of the university entrance examinations; these three subjects must be taken by all students, irrespective of their intended subject of university study (Hu, 2007).

At the higher education level, the Ministry of Education syllabus for undergraduate English degrees states that the aim of such degrees is to 'produce multi-skilled graduates who have a solid base in the English language and a broad knowledge of culture and who are capable of proficiently using English in positions such as *translator*, teacher, manager, and researcher, in fields such as foreign affairs, education, trade and business, culture, science and technology, and military' (Chinese Ministry of Education, 2000, cited in Hu, 2007: 75; emphasis ours).

It is interesting to note that 'translator' is the first profession listed by the Ministry.

The important position of translation in Chinese higher education is highlighted by the College English Curriculum Requirements of 2007, which set the standards for English teaching at undergraduate level. All university students must meet at least the basic-level requirements, even if English is not their major subject (Xu, 2008), and the requirements cover the skills of listening, speaking, reading,

writing and translation, at three different levels: basic, intermediate and advanced. The requirements for translation at the three different levels are as follows:

- *Basic*: With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate essays on familiar topics from English into Chinese and vice versa. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 300 English words per hour whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 250 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should be basically accurate, free from serious mistakes in comprehension or expression;
- *Intermediate*: With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate on a selective basis English literature in their field, and to translate texts on familiar topics in popular newspapers and magazines published in English-speaking countries. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 350 English words per hour, whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 300 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should read smoothly, convey the original meaning and be, in the main, free from mistakes in understanding or expression. Students are expected to be able to use appropriate translation techniques.
- *Advanced*: With the help of dictionaries, students should be able to translate into Chinese fairly difficult English texts in literature related to their areas of speciality and in newspapers and magazines published in English-speaking countries: they should also be able to translate Chinese introductory texts on the conditions of China or Chinese culture into English. The speed of translation from English into Chinese should be about 400 English words per hour whereas the speed of translation from Chinese into English should be around 350 Chinese characters per hour. The translation should convey the idea with accuracy and smoothness and be basically free from misinterpretation, omission and mistakes in expression. (Xu, 2008)

It is clear from the College English Curriculum Requirements that translation is an integral part of the curriculum and that all undergraduate students, irrespective of their field of study, must develop skills in English-Chinese and Chinese-English translation. The aim of these requirements is

> to develop students' ability to use English in a well-rounded way, especially in listening and speaking, so that in their future studies and careers as well as social interactions they will be able to communicate effectively, and at the same time enhance their ability to study independently and improve their general cultural awareness so as to meet the needs of China's social development and international exchanges. (Xu, 2008)

We must assume, therefore, that translation is considered helpful in achieving these aims. Given the absence of translation from most of the other government curriculum specifications we have examined, the Chinese requirements stand out as a formal reinforcement of the importance of translation as a fifth skill and its incorporation at all levels of education.

4.10.2. Translator training

According to Xu (2005), there has been translation activity in China since the Xia (c. 2000 BCE – c. 1500 BCE) and Shang (c. 1500 BCE – 1000 BCE) dynasties. The first formal translator school was established in 1289.

In more recent times, the China Accreditation Test for Translators and Interpreters (CATTI) was launched in 2003 by the Ministry of Personnel and comprises four levels: Senior Translator and Interpreter; Level 1 Translator and Interpreter; Level 2 Translator and Interpreter; and Level 3 Translator and Interpreter. According to the Translators Association of China, 'some Chinese institutions of higher learning have incorporated the test into the syllabus and required postgraduates majoring in translation or interpretation to attain Level 2 qualification'.[171]

China's BA programme in Translation and Interpreting was launched in 2006, and its Masters in Translation and Interpreting (MTI) in 2007. Between 10 and 20 institutions[172] have offered these programmes every year since then, which means a massive and very rapid expansion of translator training. In March 2011 there were 42 universities that offered a BA in Translation and Interpreting, while in September 2010 there were 158 universities in China offering an MA programme in Translation and Interpreting.[173]

4.10.3. Responses from Chinese teachers

Given the centralised nature of the Chinese education system, we did not seek to focus on a particular city or region. There were a total of 128 responses to the survey from teachers in China, which was the second-highest response rate after France. The Chinese responses included 35 from primary, 53 from secondary and 40 from higher education. The overwhelming majority of respondents (89 per cent) said that they taught English, while nine respondents taught Chinese, two taught Japanese, one taught Mongolian and one taught Russian. The majority of teachers had been teaching for 7-10 years.

The most popular teaching methodologies among the Chinese respondents were the communicative and task-based learning methods, while the least popular methodologies were the total physical response and suggestopedia methods.

The response rates for each teaching method are given in Figure 29.

Figure 29. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 124 teachers in China, as means (5='very positively')
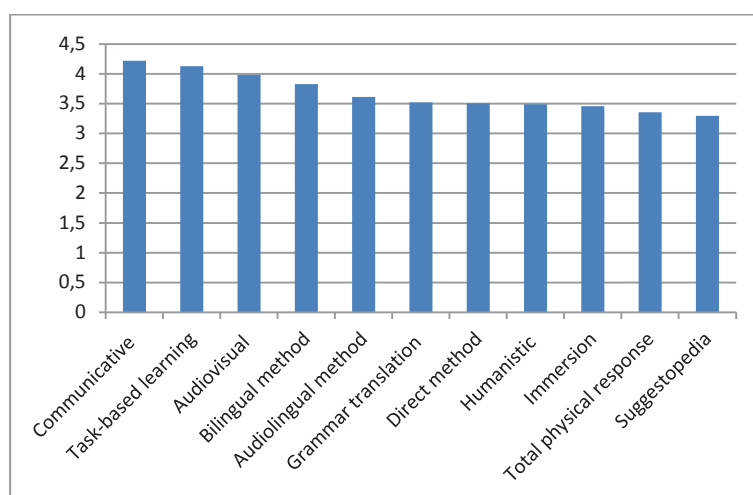
[171] http://www.tac-online.org.cn/en/tran/2009-10/09/content_3174954.htm. Accessed May 2013.
[172] The lists of approved programmes are published by the Translators Association of China:
http://www.tac-online.org.cn/en/node_515756.htm. Accessed May 2013.
[173] http://www.tac-online.org.cn/en/tran/2011-06/13/content_4264230.htm. Accessed May 2013.

The levels of agreement or disagreement with each teaching method can be seen in Figure 30.

Figure 30. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 124 teachers in China. Standard deviations (1 = high difference between replies)
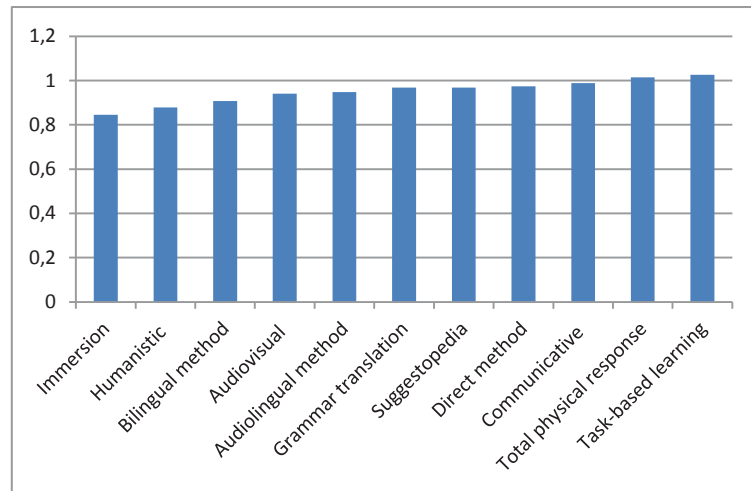
This suggests that opinions are most divided with regard to the task-based learning and total physical response methods. On the other hand, there is substantial agreement on the use of grammar translation.

Among the Chinese respondents, there were similar proportions of responses at each extreme with regard to how often the respondents used translation exercises, with 7 per cent saying that they 'never' use them, and 8 per cent saying that they 'always' use them. The interesting finding here was that an overwhelming 71 per cent of Chinese respondents used translation exercises in the middle of the frequency scale. This trend is reflected across all three sectors (see Figure 31). Of those who responded that they used translation exercises 'never' or 'rarely', 29 per cent said that they had never considered it seriously and 24 per cent said that they did not feel qualified to use translation in their classes.

Figure 31. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies as percentages of 112 language teachers in China, according to the level at which they teach
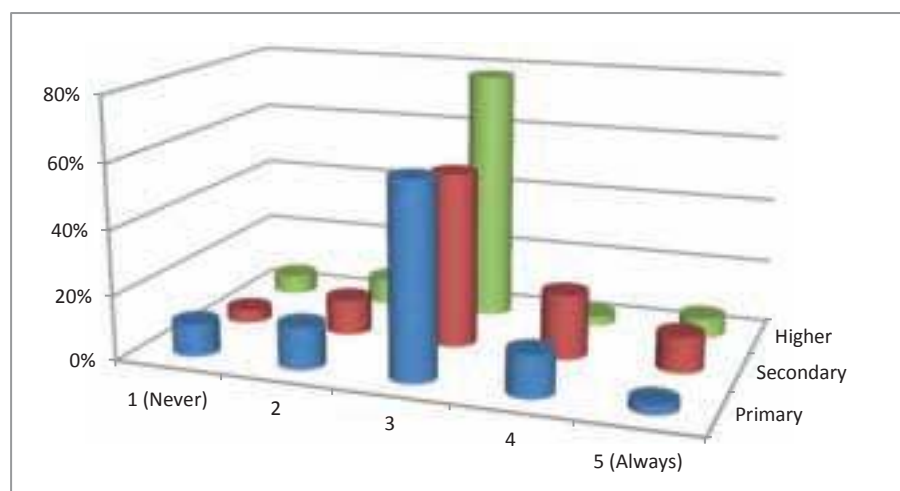
Table 30 provides an overview of the results relating to the types of activities used by teachers. The most popular activity is translating individual sentences into the L1, and there is a clear preference for translating individual sentences rather than longer passages.

Table 30. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - replies from 91 language teachers in China; as means of a 5-point scale (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.182
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.120
Watching subtitled films	2.835
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.821
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.802
Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.571
Watching dubbed films	2.432
Working with machine translated texts	1.916

With regard to the five propositions, the results from the Chinese respondents (Table 31) indicate very high agreement with the idea that translating brings the four skills together, although the levels of agreement with the propositions *against* translation were slightly above the global averages.

Table 31. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation; replies from 113 teachers in China, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5= 'strongly agree')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*China*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.046	3.717	3.734
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.083	3.938	3.666
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	0.901	2.575	2.451
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.161	2.469	2.388
Translating is for professionals only.	0.939	2.292	2.219

4.10.4. Responses from experts in China

The five expert respondents in China reflected the very positive attitude towards translation that characterised the questionnaire results. The consensus of opinion is that translation activities have always played an important role in foreign-language teaching in China, but that a combination of teaching methods is now used rather than strict adherence to a single method, and 'teachers in China can make use of translation activities in a more reasonable way, paying more attention to the differences between two languages instead of rigidly sticking to the form. The change comes from the improved foreign language competence on the part of the teachers' (Yan Zhang). Other reasons given for this were that many Chinese students 'are learning English as a foreign language without the authentic language learning environment in the truest sense' (Dongping Lu), and 'the increasing popularity of the so-called bilingual education since kindergarten, where a lot of native speakers are involved' (Changying Shen), as well as the popularity of the 'interactive' teaching method.

The only significant difference of opinion was in relation to whether the presence of translation activities in the language classroom depends on which language is being taught. The responses included 'Yes', 'No', 'No idea', and 'It depends on who is teaching the language'. The latter remark was clarified by stating that native speakers of the target language will not use translation 'because they don't know Chinese', thus implying that their lack of familiarity with Chinese is the only barrier to their use of translation activities.

The experts informed us that translation is used particularly at primary and secondary levels, since 'translation can check the accuracy of students' understanding' (Zhongshe Lu) and can be used 'for the purpose of consolidating the key words or phrases presented in the lesson concerned' (Dongping Lu). In higher education, 'teachers are expected to use only English in the class', although 'many teachers like to use translation to compare the two languages' (Yan Zhang).

4.11. United States

The United States is of interest as a comparison country because the size of its economy is similar to that of Europe, and its degree of subsidiarity in questions of language policy is in some cases comparable to Europe.

Although accused by one of its own translation scholars as being 'imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home' (Venuti, 1995: 17), the United States is still largely a multilingual country of immigrants, and language teaching plays a growing role in its internal governance.

4.11.1. Language policy

The United States has no official language, although 31 states have some form of law recognising English as an official language. Even in public campaigns to make English official at federal level, there is recognition of 'common-sense exceptions permitting the use of languages other than English for such things as public health and safety services, judicial proceedings, foreign language instruction and the promotion of tourism'.[174]

According to the 2007 data, some 55 million US residents reported speaking a language other than English at home, and of them 34.5 million spoke Spanish or Spanish creoles at home.[175] This would mean that the United States is the world's fifth-largest Spanish-speaking population.

4.11.2. Translator training

Translator and interpreter training in the United States has undergone significant expansion in recent years. The TISAC website lists 103 programmes offered at a total of 45 institutions (2011).[176] Many of these are short-term certificate programmes or summer schools.

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[174] http://www.us-english.org/view/9. Accessed November 2011.
[175] http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/acs/ACS-12.pdf. Accessed November 2011.
[176] http://www.tisac.org/programs/. Accessed November 2011.

The American Translators Association has some 11 000 members and runs a highly respected translator certification programme (Pym, Grin and Sfreddo 2012).

4.11.3. General uses of translation in language teaching

Political debates over L2 language learning in the United States tend to be framed by attitudes to immigration. On one side stand those who favour English-only education for all as a tool of social integration; on the other, the proponents of 'bilingual education', who seek to complement integration with the maintenance of linguistic diversity. Both sides, however, start from the general assumption that many learners' L1 is not English, and that the social environment allows for successful use of 'immersion' methodologies. That is, neither side of the largely political debate has much interest in translation.

As mentioned above (see 3.3), the expert advice we received from the Center of English as a Second Language at the University of Arizona and the School of Translation, Interpretation and Language Education at the Monterey Institute was consistent and coherent in this sense: translation is seen as scaffolding for lower levels of acquisition[177] and is in any case impractical when a wide range of L1s are present.[178]

Other positions can nevertheless be found beyond the immediate context of immigration, notably with respect to the teaching of languages other than English in secondary and higher education, where immersion is not a constant option. In 2007 the Modern Language Association of America (MLA) issued a policy statement in which the aim of foreign-language education was described as 'translingual and transcultural competence', which 'places value on the ability to operate between languages'. This in turn is glossed as follows:

> In the course of acquiring functional language abilities, students are taught critical language awareness, *interpretation and translation*, historical and political consciousness, social sensibility, and aesthetic perception. (MLA, 2007: 4, emphasis ours; cf. Levine, 2011: 39)[179]

What is of interest here is that, even when supporting translation, the MLA characterises it as an add-on, explicitly to *supplement* 'functional language abilities' – as if translation skills were good to have, but not something one would actually do. Translation here is *helped* by language competence, but is not seen as a way of actually acquiring competence.

4.11.4. Focus areas: Monterey County (California) and Tucson (Arizona)

Monterey and Tucson have been selected because of their multilingual societies and the public debates that have taken place in both California and Arizona with respect to bilingual education.

Monterey County has a population of some 421 000 (2011), of which 55.4 per cent are of 'Hispanic or Latino origin'.[180] Some 30 per cent of the population was foreign-born in 2007-2011, and 52.1 per cent had a language other than English

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[177] Reported by Dr. Sonia Colina, personal communication, 7 February 2013.
[178] Dr. Kathleen Bailey, personal communication, 7 December 2012.
[179] MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007, chaired by Mary Louise Pratt: http://www.mla.org/flreport. Accessed December 2012.
[180] United States Census Bureau: http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/06/06053.html. Accessed January 2013.

spoken at home. The county has 134 schools serving 69 000 students.[181] Online publicity promotes Monterey as 'the language capital of the world',[182] partly because of the large numbers of foreign-language speakers, but also because the county is the home of the Defense Language Institute. The California State University at Monterey Bay also houses the Monterey Bay Foreign Language Project, which offers specialised seminars on language-teaching methodologies.[183]

The city of Tucson has a population of some 525 000 (2011), of which 41.6 per cent are of 'Hispanic or Latino origin'.[184] Some 33 per cent of the population speak a language other than English, mostly Spanish but also Navajo.

In both states there are laws that give priority to English in the public education systems. California Proposition 227 was passed in 1998, and Arizona Proposition 203 ('English for children') was passed in 2000. Both stipulate that all children in public schools shall be '*taught English by being taught in English*', and that 'children who are English learners shall be educated through *sheltered English immersion* during a temporary transition period not normally to exceed one year' (Spodek and Sarancho 2006: 369; emphasis ours). These propositions reflect a policy change away from bilingual education and multiculturalism, and in favour of assimilation into an English-only society, where the key teaching method is 'immersion'. Bilingual education can nevertheless be carried out beyond the public education system, and the one-year 'transition' period is reported as being extended to 18 months.

Both situations thus have features that would not appear conducive to the frequent use of translation in L2 classes.

4.11.4.1. The Defense Language Institute

Monterey is home to the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC), which provides language and cultural training to the US Department of Defense, other US security agencies, and overseas clients (students from 100 countries are enrolled). It has some 3 500 military language learners at any one time, and a staff of some 1 700, who also produce learning materials for off-campus use.[185] It carries out curriculum planning and research on second-language acquisition.

The DLIFLC offers free online language-learning materials called *Gloss* and *Headstart 2*, the latter in 21 languages in 2012.[186] The presence of translation is constant in both, in a variety of forms.

The Spanish *Headstart 2* course, for example, begins with a sing-along karaoke exercise in which the English translation of the song appears on the screen; the follow-up vocabulary activity requires the learner to listen to the sound and write the word in Spanish, upon which a pop-up screen gives cultural and linguistic information in English. In the Chinese course, initial exercises include a 'match the cards' game (or 'concentration') where the learner has to turn over cards to match English words with Hanzi characters. Module 10 in the same course has vocabulary exercises where the learner clicks on a Chinese word, which then turns over to reveal the English equivalent. Other activities, however, are not

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[181] http://www.monterey.k12.ca.us/home/districts-and-schools. Accessed January 2013.
[182] http://www.monterey.org/en-us/aboutmonterey.aspx. Accessed January 2013.
[183] http://wlc.csumb.edu/mbwlp. Accessed January 2013.
[184] http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/04/0477000.html. Accessed May 2013.
[185] http://wlc.csumb.edu/mbflp. Accessed January 2013.
[186] http://hs2.lingnet.org/; http://gloss.dliflc.edu/. Accessed December 2012.

strictly translational in the interlingual sense. For instance, the learner has to drag Chinese words to their corresponding images, without the mediation of English. Further, the advanced lessons in *Gloss* have a very reduced presence of English and thus of translation. In general, though, translation is a major scaffolding feature at the initial levels of these courses, which are interactive, colourful, carefully graded, culturally embedded and fun for self-learners. If the structuralism of what became known as the 'American Army Method' once excluded translation, there is little trace of such prohibition in the materials being produced now.

Jay Chung, Program Manager at DLIFLC, reports that the mainstay teaching methods are still communicative and immersive (the courses are extremely intensive), but that the focus is increasingly on what are known as the Final Learning Objectives, which are '*Translation*, Transcription, Summarization and Number Dictation' (emphasis ours).[187] This is a long way from the traditional 'four skills' programs (speaking, listening, writing and reading), and this shift in emphasis might explain the prominent role of translation in the recent learning materials.

A company called CyraCom International, based in Tucson Arizona, provides consulting services to the US defence forces and security agencies. One of their publications is called *Language and culture capabilities: The importance of integrating translation and interpretation pedagogy into general language training* (2012). The publication opens with a citation from Glenn Nordin, Foreign Language Advisor to the Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence:

> We know that we must build an organic civilian and military language workforce of *translators, interpreters, negotiators and language analysts*, capable of supporting our steady state needs and vetting the contract capabilities needed during surge. (Senate Hearing on Foreign Language Skills, 21 May 2012; emphasis ours)

In a country at war, the language needs are not particularly for people with full competence in foreign languages, but for professionals who can work *between* languages.

This need is recognised for national defence (hence the presence of translation activities in the training programmes) but not for internal linguistic diversity within the United States (where L1s other than English are increasingly excluded). If there is a relation between these two levels (a multilingual society might produce a pool of competent interlingual mediators, for example), it is not pursued on the level of official policy.

4.11.4.2. English/Spanish bilingual education

Given the large numbers of households in which Spanish is spoken at home, efforts are made at primary schools to ensure the integration of students from families where English is not the first language. Due to Proposition 227, many of these efforts take place outside the government education system.

The California Association for Bilingual Education advertises programs in Spanish, Russian and Chinese, and stresses parent involvement, electronic technologies, 'dual immersion', and 'how to grow your own program'.[188] The Association presents a bibliography of research on the effectiveness of bilingual education,

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[187] Personal communication, 12 December 2012.
[188] http://www.bilingualeducation.org/. Accessed January 2013.

and criticises studies that claim Proposition 227 has led to an improvement in the English of California students.[189] A 2007 paper reports that, with the severe restriction of bilingual education, 'the achievement gap between English only and English learners has grown every year since the 2002-03 school year'.[190]

Bilingual education tends to emphasise 'immersion' rather than translation. One practical reason for this is the range of L1s that are present in some situations. This is the case in Pacific Grove, which is home to many of the foreign-language speakers at the Defense Language Institute, the Naval Postgraduate School, and the Monterey Institute of International Studies. As Maria Miller, a language teacher at a primary school in Pacific Grove, told us,

> We have many languages among our English Language Learners so translating is not practical (Spanish, Norwegian, Arabic, Korean, etc.). Also, young children are developing language so may not have adequate vocabulary and grammar understanding in their native language for translating to English.

The same informant nevertheless added that:

> Translating was helpful when I taught English to Spanish-speaking adults, as we could compare the similarities of grammar structure and it allowed for quicker learning of vocabulary.[191]

The use of translation is practically restricted to areas where there are large numbers of Spanish-speaking households. Even in those contexts, however, translation seems to be something done in practice but not promoted as a methodology. Susana Dutro is co-founder of E.L. Achieve ('Creating Effective Systems for English Learners'), a company that aims to 'assist educators in equipping English learners for academic achievement' and whose website stresses coverage of the 'four skills'.[192] Dutro replied to our questionnaire request as follows: 'We don't use translation in our work with English Learners.' When asked if there were any reasons for this, she replied that 'translation is not seen as an effective method of learning a new language.'[193] A similar lack of interest in translation was evident among the language-education experts we approached at the Monterey Institute for International Studies.

4.11.5. Replies from teachers

Our sample of teachers includes only five in primary, 17 in secondary, and 29 in higher education. Responses from primary-school teachers were particularly hard to elicit, and were one of the reasons we extended our focus area from Monterey to Arizona. We wrote to all the primary schools in Monterey County and the Tucson area, with a response rate of below 2 per cent. The questionnaire was forwarded to the Arizona Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of French.[194]

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[189] http://www.bilingualeducation.org/resources_public_articles.php. Accessed January 2013.
[190] Recommendations for the reauthorization of NCLB:
http://www.bilingualeducation.org/pdfs/CalTogs.pdf. Accessed January 20013.
[191] Personal communication, 7 December 2012.
[192] http://www.elachieve.org/. Accessed December 2012. Dutro is also co-author of 'Rethinking English Language Instruction: An Architectural Approach' (2003), which stresses the need to teach language 'in every classroom, in every subject area, every day' (2003: 227).
[193] Susana Dutro, personal communications, 12 December 2012, 14 December 2012.
[194] Our thanks to Robin Noudali, Co-President, Arizona AATF Chapter.

The languages taught by the teachers were Spanish (24), English (10), French (4), German (3), Russian (3), Portuguese (2), American Sign Language (2), Chinese (2) and Latin (1). Four teachers taught more than one language.

Replies from the teachers indicate that the preferred teaching methodology is communicative, closely followed by immersion. The relatively low score of the bilingual method may be due to the way in which, in this context, bilingual teaching in the first year of primary (for example, classes in English and Spanish) is *opposed* to the immersion method (everything in English from the beginning). These terms are part of the social debate about the nature of multicultural and multilingual communities. The grammar-translation method is well down on the list (see Figure 32).

Figure 32. 'How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?' - replies from 49 teachers in Monterey and Tucson, as means (5='very positively')
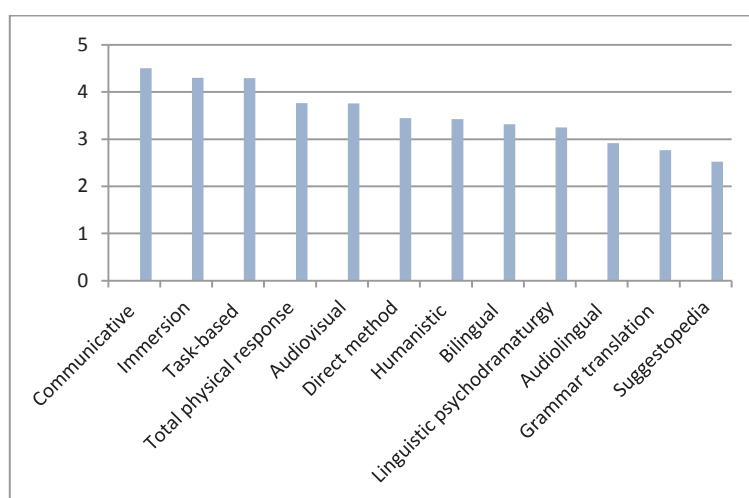
When asked about the frequency with which they use translation in class, the scores for primary-school teachers were predictably low. In secondary education, however, there was a surprising number of teachers who said they use translation 'always' (see Figure 33).

Figure 33. 'Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?' - replies from 47 teachers in Monterey and Tucson, as percentages by the level at which they teach
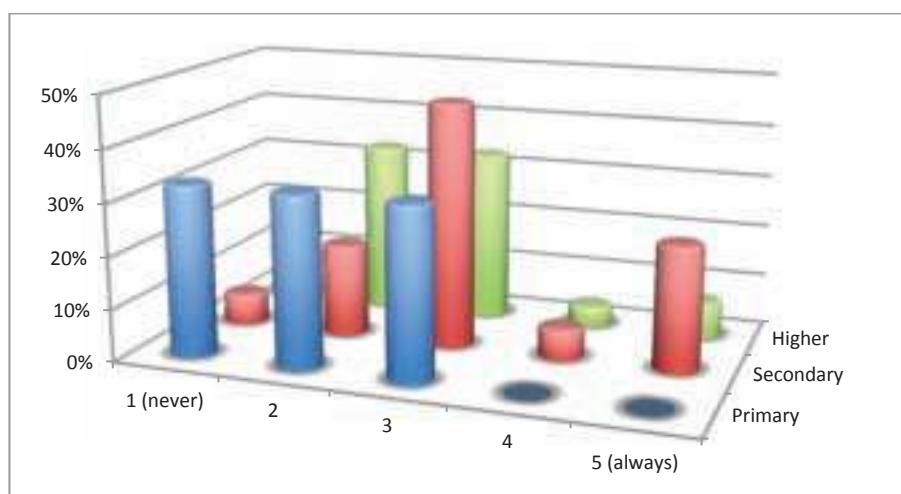
The three teachers who report using translation 'always' report that they teach Spanish, Chinese and American Sign Language. One of them stated that the institutional status of grammar translation was 'very positive'; the others said it was 'negative'. All three use translations of individual sentences into L1 and L2, and longer passages into L2; two of them use dubbed or subtitled video material 'occasionally'. The teacher of Spanish commented:

> I find [translation] elicits deeper critical thinking skills and helps teach students the fact that language is dynamic and can nearly never been translated 'word for word'. It spurs class discussion around how different cultures view and approach things, as communicated through language. As a graduate student at the Monterey Institute of International Studies, I myself studied translation and interpretation and found I learned Spanish as well as my native English language in a deeper, more meaningful context thanks to an approach through translation tasks.

The 19 teachers who reported using translation 'never' or 'rarely' stated that translation was 'detrimental to language learning' (6 teachers), forbidden by the curriculum (2), or they had 'never considered it seriously' (4). Additional reasons included:

> I think that this study is missing a very key element - which LEVEL of the L2 we are teaching. I answered based on Spanish 101, where students will rarely be able to actually communicate in a real-life situation if they are constantly translating from English to Spanish. I find it very appropriate that there are classes specifically for translation, as most students don't take Spanish here to translate, but first to communicate. Then, later, they can translate.

> I work in an immersion program, teaching speaking skills; students come to the U.S. from all over the world to learn English. I don't speak their languages, so I can't translate to communicate with them.

> I try to maintain a monolingual classroom as far as possible in the target language and feel pressed for time. I see translation as a separate, advanced skill, and would love to teach a seminar or workshop on translation.

For these teachers, translation is not detrimental in itself – it just requires advanced, specialised and/or homogenous learning groups.

The 25 teachers who reported using translation with some frequency expressed a preference for work on individual sentences and a surprisingly high use of subtitled films (see Table 32).

Table 32. 'How often do you use the following activities?' - mean replies from 25 language teachers in Monterey and Tucson, in order of frequency (1 = 'never', 5 = 'always')

Activity	Mean
Translating into L1 of individual sentences	3.217
Translating into L2 of individual sentences	3.217
Watching subtitled films	3.217
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion	2.875
Translating into L1 of longer passages	2.696

Translating into L2 of longer passages	2.636
Watching dubbed films	2.087
Working with machine translated texts	1.375

When asked to evaluate our five propositions about translation, the teachers generally agreed that translation is a fifth skill and can bring the other skills together (Table 33). They were undecided about the other proposition, although a slight majority agreed that translation is not 'for professionals only'. The levels of internal disagreement (standard deviations) are high for all questions, indicating a general lack of consensus on these issues.

Table 33. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 47 teachers in Monterey and Arizona, and 878 teachers in the global sample; as means (5 = 'agree totally')

Proposition	Standard Deviation	*Monterey / Arizona*	Global
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).	1.063	3.739	3.737
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.	1.182	3.739	3.631
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.	1.149	2.457	2.482
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.	1.242	2.457	2.450
Translating is for professionals only.	1.100	2.085	2.158

In general, the status of translation is not as negative as one might have supposed from the institutional contexts.

4.12. Responses from experts

Since almost all the experts in language acquisition declined to respond to our questionnaire, the three who did reply no doubt constitute a sample biased significantly in favour of translation.

Jay Chung at the Defense Language Institute affirmed that translation competence was one of their official Final Learning Objectives and that 'it is being more emphasized over the last eleven years'.[195]

Sonia Colina, Professor at the University of Arizona and an expert in translator training, affirmed that immersion was the official policy in Arizona and that most teaching methods are communicative, but she also remarked that grammar translation was still present at all levels of language teaching.[196] She saw this as a survivor from 'pre-communicative language teaching', and not in terms of any innovative use of translation in the classroom.

Tom Lawson, a Programme Specialist in English as a Second Language (ESL) at Salinas Adult School, indicated the significant presence of translation within an immersion methodology:

> We have verb lists in English and several other languages, also dictionaries for sale in the bookstore. Many students bring electronic translators to class. In our 75% Hispanic population, teachers who speak Spanish have an advantage with beginners. While we model English as a part of ESL

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[195] Jay Chung, questionnaire, 14 December 2012.
[196] Sonia Colina, questionnaire, 12 December 2012.

methodology, bilingual teachers may explain in Spanish to individuals or even to the class as a whole.

Lawson also remarked that 'translation must be carefully balanced with Immersion in English to the greatest degree possible during class'.[197]

4.12. Comparisons of case-study countries

The data collected on the case-study countries allow for comparisons between the countries. Here we use those comparisons to address a few questions and speculations that are in addition to those considered central to our research (dealt with in Chapter 3 above).

4.12.1. Mean use of translation

If we take the mean preferences for the use of translation in the L2 classroom, we can order the countries from highest to lowest use of translation (Figure 34). The result indicates no particular propensity for bilingual or multilingual situations to use more translation: Finland uses a great deal of translation, but our samples in Spain and the United States do not. Indeed, looking at this table, some of the more monolingual countries (China, the United Kingdom and Croatia) tend to use considerable levels of translation. (The low score for Germany might be explained by the selection of a *Land* where translation is not in the *Abitur* exam, and perhaps by the popularity of the rival term 'mediation'.)

Figure 34. Mean frequency of use of translation in class (1= 'never'; 5 = 'always') by country, for all levels of education
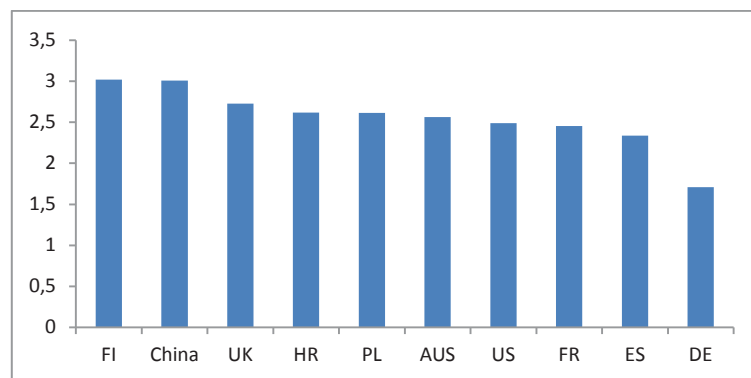
One might ask if the use of translation in class correlates with competence in L2. One way to do this is to use data from the *First European Survey of Language Competences* (2011).[198] The survey gives scores for L2 skills in four of the Member State countries we looked at, with the following results (countries in order of *decreasing* rank):

L2 reading: Croatia, Spain, Poland, France;
L2 listening: Croatia, Poland, Spain, France;
L2 writing: Croatia, Spain, Poland, France.

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[197] Tom Lawson, questionnaire, 1 February 2013 .
[198] http://ec.europa.eu/languages/eslc/docs/en/final-report-escl_en.pdf (2011: 37 ff.). Accessed June 2013.

We see that the order with respect to these skills roughly corresponds to the *decreasing* use of translation in class: the *more* translation, the *better* the scores for these countries.

Something similar happens when we look at the *EF English Proficiency Index* for 2012[199], which gives levels of English skills in the following *decreasing* order:

English proficiency: Finland, Germany, Poland, Spain, France.

Germany is clearly the odd one out here, since it scores highly in English skills and low in the use of translation (possibly for the reasons given above). That relation does not hold for the other countries.

We have no country-level evidence that less use of translation in the classroom correlates with higher performance in the other language skills. More important, we have indications that *a number of countries that score highly on L2 tests use translation frequently in the classroom*.

Just as Morris (1957/1967: 61) travelled to Scandinavia and the Netherlands and was puzzled to find strong L2 oral skills despite 'excessive resort to translation' (see 2.1 above), we might imagine a contemporary applied linguist travelling to Finland or Croatia today and struggling to explain why students there do well at foreign languages despite the presence of translation in the classroom.

4.12.2. Relations between teacher experience and use of translation

Although there is an overall tendency for translation to be used more by very experienced teachers, there is some interesting variation between countries (Table 34). In Croatia, Finland and the United Kingdom, the teachers with fewer than three years' experience reported using translation *more* than the groups with more experience. This might suggest some interest in new ways of using translation in these countries, rather than a continuation of the grammar-translation method.

Table 34. Frequency of use of translation - means for each country, by experience of teachers

	HR	FI	FR	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
<3	3.000	4.000	2.199	2.100	2.333	2.000	3.222	2.792	2.000	2.429	2.608
4-6	2.250	3.000	2.502	2.333	2.550	2.500	2.917	3.130	3.200	2.250	2.663
7-10	2.636	2.909	2.099	2.333	2.696	2.000	2.692	3.206	2.667	2.625	2.586
11-20	2.563	3.316	2.512	2.485	2.640	2.190	2.767	2.947	2.304	3.231	2.696
>20	2.667	2.769	2.685	3.500	2.833	2.519	2.688	3.000	2.692	2.273	2.762

4.12.3. Relations between teaching level and use of translation

We found that there is a general tendency to use translation less in primary education than in secondary education, and less in secondary than in higher education (Table 35). There are, however, differences between countries.

In Croatia, Finland and Australia, translation is used slightly *more* in primary than in secondary education, and in Finland all the scores are roughly the same (Table 35). This means that in those three countries we actually find the pattern we originally hypothesised: translation as scaffolding in primary, less translation as fluency is developed in secondary, and translation as a complex activity in higher education. That pattern is nevertheless in a clear minority.

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[199] http://www.ef.co.uk/epi/downloads/. Accessed June 2012.

Table 35. Frequency of use of translation (means for each country, by education level)

	HR	FR	FI	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
Primary	2.739	1.930	3.063	1.285	2.458	1.783	1.962	2.867	2.462	2.000	2.255
Secondary	2.278	2.422	3.000	2.414	2.714	2.826	3.083	3.217	2.375	3.059	2.739
Higher	2.842	3.004	3.000	2.857	2.667	2.400	3.136	2.944	2.846	2.407	2.811
Mean	2.619	2.452	3.021	2.185	2.613	2.336	2.727	3.009	2.561	2.488	2.554

4.12.3. Distribution of negative opinions on translation

The teachers who said they used translation 'never' or 'rarely' were asked to select reasons for this. The global means indicate that the most frequent reason was that translation is considered 'detrimental to language learning', followed by statements that the teacher had not 'considered translation seriously' (Table 36).

Analysed by country, these responses show that very significant numbers of teachers in Croatia and Spain had not 'considered translation seriously', but such lack of consideration does not correlate with any special willingness to receive training in translation: Finland, the United Kingdom and Poland were the only countries in which groups of teachers said they were not qualified in this field.

Table 36. 'If you have answered Never or Rarely [with respect to the use of translation in class], please say why'; percentages of respondents in each country

	HR	FR	FI	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
Forbidden	0%	9%	0%	12%	7%	3%	1%	2%	1%	4%	4%
Not considered	13%	4%	0%	4%	7%	12%	4%	4%	8%	8%	6%
Detrimental	3%	13%	0%	14%	9%	12%	2%	2%	3%	12%	7%
Not qualified	1%	2%	4%	0%	3%	1%	4%	3%	1%	0%	2%

4.12.4. Opinions about the nature of translation

Teachers were asked to what degree they agreed with a set of propositions on translation. Globally, there was strong agreement with the ideas that translation is a fifth language skill and can bring together the other language skills; there was disagreement with the notion that translation is 'for professionals only'; and there were divided opinions about whether translation 'takes time away from more valuable activities' and 'stops students thinking in L2' (Table 37).

Table 37. Degrees of agreement with theoretical propositions on translation - replies from 878 teachers in all case-study countries; as means (5= 'strongly agree')

	HR	FI	FR	DE	PL	ES	UK	China	AUS	US	Mean
Fifth skill	3.836	3.561	3.994	3.841	3.764	3.597	3.802	3.717	3.490	3.739	3.737
Uniting skill	3.672	3.697	3.631	3.330	3.685	3.224	3.844	3.938	3.451	3.739	3.631
Takes time	2.459	2.415	2.649	2.668	2.393	2.537	2.198	2.575	2.451	2.457	2.482
Stops thought	2.344	2.138	2.015	2.731	2.427	2.537	2.250	2.469	2.400	2.457	2.450
Professionals only	2.475	2.138	2.683	2.155	2.281	2.164	1.854	2.292	2.137	2.085	2.158

The teachers most in agreement with the 'fifth skill' were those in France, Croatia, Germany and the United Kingdom. Those most in agreement with the 'bringing skills together' idea were in China, France, Finland and the United States.

When we look at the negative propositions, however, we find that the countries most in agreement with the idea that translation wastes valuable time are France, Germany, China and Spain; and the greatest believers in translation as stopping L2 thought are France, Germany, Spain, the United States and China.

The point of interest here is the very different responses received from France, which is both for and against translation. The replies from Germany, on the other hand, are very coherent if and when the 'fifth skill' proposition is interpreted as follows: *translation is a fifth language skill, and therefore should be taught separately, not in the general L2 class*. The much lower agreement with the 'uniting skill' idea among German teachers is also coherent with this interpretation.

The countries that most thought that translation is 'for professionals only' were Croatia, Poland, Spain and Germany. This opinion is coherent with other replies from Spain and Germany (where translation is used in class the least), but nevertheless does not stop teachers in Croatia and Poland from using translation activities in class with some frequency.

5. Classroom activities involving translation

The importance of translation in language learning is implicitly recognised in the fact that almost all university first-degree programmes in foreign languages include at least one course in it. This is because translating is one of the things that a student might want to do, professionally or paraprofessionally, with their foreign language after graduation. To that extent, the fact that our respondents have generally accepted translation as a 'fifth skill' should come as no surprise. Quite a different question, however, is when and how translation should be used *beyond* the courses that are specifically on translation. In what way can translation be integrated into the L2 classroom in such a way that it contributes to progress in the other language skills, and indeed to the development of intercultural competence?

As should be clear from the literature review and case studies, translation is rarely seen as a language-learning method in itself. It was part of the nineteenth-century grammar-translation method, but it has since evolved into one kind of activity among many. As such, we must accept that it can and usually is combined with a number of general teaching approaches.

In this context, the question is no longer whether or not translation should be used in the L2 class, but *how* it can be used effectively and creatively. Our aim here is to present a series of variables with which teachers and curriculum designers might be free to experiment. Here we build on overviews of uses of translation in the L2 class given in Zabalbeascoa (1990), García-Mendall (2001), Denner and Rinvolucri (2002), Pariente-Beltran (2006), Leonardi (2010), Cook (2010) and others.

We also present a few suggested activities, in the hope that they might provide a basis for further experimentation. These activities seek to stress that translation can be used in ways that are *communicative* (so there is no conflict with communicative language teaching), adaptable to new technologies, and possible in situations where there are multiple L1s in the classroom. They are also formulated in the belief that, in an age of user-developed online cultures, translating is one of the things that students might actually want to do with their L2s, both in class and in their future lives, be it professionally or as motivated volunteers.

5.1. General models of translation activities

Leonardi (2010: 88) offers the following 'pedagogical translation framework', which is a set of classroom activities that can be associated with the use of translation:

Pre-translation activities: brainstorming; vocabulary preview; anticipation guides (where a question-and-answer process establishes the students' level of prior knowledge).

Translation activities: reading activities; speaking and listening; writing; literal translation; summary translation ('gisting'); parallel texts (the study of texts in L2 on the same topic as the text in L1); back-translation[200] (a text is translated from L1 to L2, then back into L1, by a different person); grammar explanation;

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[200] Leonardi calls this 're-translation', a term that is more frequently used for a second or third translation of a text into L2.

vocabulary builder and facilitator; cultural mediation and intercultural competence development.

Post-translation activities: written or oral translation commentary; written or oral summary of the L1 text; written composition on the topic of the L1 text.

The main point is that any learning activity you can think of, or almost, can be associated with translation. A second message is that 'translation' can involve much more than the mere exercise of 'literal translation', which here very clearly becomes just one possibility among many.

As it stands, Leonardi's proposal is a framework that awaits actual content. It does not address the media to be used in the learning process, the materials required, the use of time, the allocation of roles, or the possible combinations of steps.

A different set of suggestions is offered on the Teaching English website of the BBC (2009)[201], where much attention is given to online sources and electronic text types:

Some ideas for classroom activities
- Learner groups work on translating different sections of a text, and then regroup to connect together their parts into a full text, with suitable connecting language.
- Learners bring in examples of L1 language (in their own country) or L2 (in another country) for discussion and translation. Signs can be particularly interesting. This can also be done by sharing material via group e-mails.
- Learners bring in short texts/proverbs/poems and present them to the class, explaining why they like them. These are then used for translation.

Comparisons
- Learners work in groups on short texts then regroup and compare their versions, before producing a final text. This can then be compared with an 'official' published version.
- Learners translate and other learners back-translate, then compare versions and discuss why there are differences.
- Learners look at 'bad' translations and discuss the causes of errors. Translation software programmes and web pages are good sources of these (see below).
- Ask learners to find different kinds of texts for comparison and translation, for example recipes, e-mails, graffiti, technical texts, post-its, etc.

Project work
- Learners translate the script of a scene from a film, then dub over the scene itself with their new version in the L2.
- Learners develop a webpage or blog with their own translated work.
- Learners participate in live online forums such as Word Reference.
- Learners research and then present their findings on the translations of a particular group of words, such as those of their own professional field.
- Learners evaluate translation software/web pages and then report back to the group.

These suggestions help to fill out Leonardi's basic framework. Thought along these lines will hopefully encourage teachers and course designers to experiment

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[201] http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/articles/translation-activities-language-classroom. Accessed April 2013.

not only with the possible uses of translation, but also with the many different kinds of translation.

There can be little doubt that one general use of translation is as a scaffolding activity for learners in the early stages, when L1 assistance is warranted (and there tends to be much mental translation in situations where L1 is excluded). However, quite different kinds of activity can be used at the other end of the scale, with advanced learners who are able to use translation as an activity that draws on high levels in all other language skills.

The use of translation in the classroom necessarily involves the presence of L1. However, not all activities with L1/L2 comparison are necessarily translational. For example, a comparison of consonant clusters may tell students much about the way phonemics are working in L1 and L2, but does not in any way involve translation.

5.2. Examples of activities

The following activities are presented as no more than ideas that each teacher, in each specific situation, should be able to adapt, extend and experiment with. We suggest language levels in accordance with the CEFR system.[202]

Our aim here is to focus on activities that are communicative (translation is not the opposite of communication), textual (more than sentences are involved) and close to the uses of translation, mostly technological, that tend to be part of the students' everyday experience.

5.2.1. Communicating when it counts

Many respondents said that they did not use translation because they believe it is not a communicative activity or is not 'forward-looking'. This sounds strange to the many translators and interpreters who think they are communicating all the time. The way to dispel the illusion of non-communication is to select translation activities where students have to use translation as a goal-oriented activity. This might be as simple as one group writing directions in L1 on how to find treasure in the classroom, another group translating the directions into L2, then seeing who can actually use the directions to find the treasure.

Activity	**Making gazpacho**
Level	In L2: B1 or above
Aim	To learn to adapt linguistic resources across languages; to discover that text types have different rules in different languages
Steps	1. Students watch a video in L2 about how to prepare gazpacho. In small groups, they then use a second viewing to take notes about the ingredients and steps. 2. With the information gathered from the video, each group writes a recipe for gazpacho in L1. 3. The recipes are then given to the other groups, who discuss problems and possible solutions. 4. The class discusses the different text structures and verb tenses used in recipes in L1 and L2. 4. The class discusses what kind of climatic conditions or

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	cultural values might be implied in the dish.
Variants/Extension	1. This can be done with any dish at all, using the experience and cultural background of the learning group. 2. Students can use L2 language resources from a recipe that is *similar* to the one they have to write (i.e. they can use a 'parallel text'. 3. Students can take the recipe home and make the dish, or see if their parents can use it to make the dish. They then report back to class on the success of the translation.
Groups	Group work.
Special requirements	Video, parallel text.
Online	Suitable.
Time needed	50 minutes.
Reference	Adapted from Pariente-Beltran (2006: 50).

5.2.2. Performing mediation

Many teachers think that translation makes the student look backwards at a text, rather than forwards towards a person. The easiest way to counter this perception is to start translation activities from spoken interactions (i.e. start from interpreting, then move to written translation). Numerous simulated situations can be created in class in order to get students to act as mediators, in roles where they are obliged to use L2 (and L1) in order to create understanding.

Activity	**Liaison interpreting**
Level	In L2: B1 or above.
Aim	To foster speaking and listening skills in L1 and L2; to introduce students to the communicative use of translation.
Steps	1. Two teachers have a conversation where one uses L1 and the other uses L2. They simulate an interaction, for example between a journalist and a specialist on the topic chosen for the lesson. 2. Students take turns to interpret what is said in the other language. 3. Students are allowed to ask for a limited number of repetitions or clarifications. This reduces the chances of misunderstandings. 4. Gestures and facial expressions can be a useful way of getting around a point if students are stuck. 5. Corrections (grammatical mistakes, misuse of lexical items, syntactic errors and misunderstandings) are noted down by the teachers and discussed in a 10/15-minute debriefing session at the end of the class. 6. Teachers can give prompt supportive feedback to correct a mispronunciation or a wrong subject-verb concord.
Variants	1. The topic can be adapted to fit in with other activities and classes. 2. At higher levels, students can be the main participants in the conversation. 3. When foreign or exchange students are present in the class, they should play the corresponding roles in the simulation (i.e. the role of the person who is not supposed to understand the class's general L1).

Groups	Students work as mediators individually. This activity was devised for a limited number of students (eight to ten).
Special requirements	None
Online	Unsuitable, unless you have very good video and audio connections.
Time needed	50 minutes.
Reference	Adapted from La Sala (2007).

5.2.3. Speed translation

Many teachers said they do not use translation in class because it takes up too much time. One way to tackle this might be to make students translate fast, and to organise races between them. They will quickly learn how to render messages rather than words, and how to select the parts of the message that are most needed. This is best done with oral translation (interpreting), for the reasons given above, but students are these days using many written modes of communication that are based on speed and features of spoken language. Short text messages, be they SMS on mobile phones or tweets on Twitter, are ideal for translation races.

Activity	**The SMS race**
Level	In L2: B1 or above
Aim	To break with a literalist conception of translation; to adapt messages to the receptive situation; to learn to make linguistic decisions under pressure
Steps	1. The class is arranged into groups of six: for each message there are two senders (who work in L1), two mediators/translators, and two receivers (who work in L2). 2. Each group of six has to complete a simple negotiation task using translation/mediation via SMS only. This might involve agreeing what film to see, who the greatest superhero is, where to go on a trip at the end of the academic year, or what kind of activities are best in the L2 class. 3. After each completed negotiation, the students change roles. 4. The most successful negotiation is judged to be the fastest per number of messages (so students can't simply agree to everything and thus win the race).
Variants/Extension	1. This can be done in a traditional classroom, where one group produces short messages (on paper or the blackboard) and the others race to produce the fastest acceptable translations. 2. The emphasis on speed can be relaxed in cases of more complex negotiations. 3. Similar activities can be organised with email messages.
Groups	Groups of two or three, but it can be done individually
Special requirements	Computer connections or mobile phones, but it can also be done in simulated mode with traditional means of writing.
Online	Possible, and very possible with a group of students

	communicating with mobile phones.
Time needed	One 50-minute session.
Reference	Adapted from Desjardins (2011).

5.2.4. Working with multiple L1s

The respondents to our questionnaires repeatedly stated that they could not use translation in classes where multiple L1s were present, since the teacher did not know all the students' languages (for example, in classes for foreigners). However, there are several possible ways to deal with this. Teachers can invite class members to translate structures into their L1 and to explain what the differences are, as a way of allowing the group to learn about languages and to experience alterity (see examples from textbooks in 4.4.3.2 above). Another simple activity is one of the oldest children's games in the world, known in various countries as Chinese whispers, operator, grapevine, broken telephone, whisper down the lane, gossip, secret message, the messenger game and pass the message.

Activity	**The telephone game**
Level	In L2: A2 or above
Aim	To explore the reasons why translations are different
Steps	1. Students are put into groups of two or three, so there are at least two groups that share the same L1. 2. Each group writes a sentence in L2 at the top of a piece of paper. They are instructed to write a sentence they think will be hard to translate. The winning group will be the one with the sentence that turns out to produce the most variants. 3. The students take the paper to all other groups in turn, where the sentence is translated into L1, then back into L2, then back into L1, and so on until there are no more groups or no more time. 4. Students present the results to the class, have a laugh, and try to say what went wrong.
Variant/Extension	1. Students are asked to start with a sentence of at least seven words that will *not* vary. The groups whose sentence varies least then wins. 2. Students are asked to start with two sentences: one that they think will vary, and one that they think will not vary. At the end of the exercise they try to say what kinds of elements are subject to variation in translation. (This is for advanced students.)
Groups	Groups of two or three, but it can be done individually.
Special requirements	None.
Online	Possible.
Time needed	One 50-minute session.
Reference	Anthony Pym uses this game with 50 students and seven L1s at the Monterey Institute for International Studies.

5.2.5. Using machine translation

Most L2 teachers are aware that their students are using various kinds of machine translation, ranging from hand-held electronic dictionaries hidden under the table through to free online machine translation as a quick way of completing

an L2 essay assignment. Since the translations are often erroneous, teachers seek to exclude the technologies. It makes more sense, however, to teach student what machine translation can and cannot do. And one of the things it can do is provide a wealth of linguistic resources to be used at the level of suggestions, rather than as instantly perfect translations (on this, see Niño, 2008, 2009; García, 2010; García and Pena, 2011).

Activity	**MT-guided composition**
Level	In L2: A1 or above
Aim	To use machine translation as a linguistic resource; to understand the limitations of machine translation; to discover the causes and limits of variation in L2
Steps	1. The class is divided into two groups: one group will use MT, the other will not. Within the groups, the students should work in pairs, discussing their decisions. 2. All students are asked to write 50 words in L2 on a given topic. 3. The pairs in the MT group produce a text in L1, feed it through an MT service, then modify ('postedit') the output. The pairs in the other group write directly in L2, with the help of dictionaries if necessary. 4. A second writing task is given, also of 50 words, and the two groups change roles. 5. Students compare the experience of writing with and without MT: Which was the fastest? Which taught them the most about L2? Which prompted the most interaction between the students in each pair?
Variants/Extensions	1. More advanced students can produce texts of 100 words. 2. Topics can be adjusted to suit the level and interests of the students. 3. A further phase can be introduced where students back-translate the translations, from L2 into L1. (It is only when you see errors in your L1 that you understand the limits of MT.)
Groups	Two main groups, then pairs to work on the compositions.
Special requirements	Computers and Internet connection for at least one quarter of the students.
Online	Very possible (for once their use of MT will not count as cheating!).
Time needed	One 50-minute session.
Reference	Adapted from García (2010), García and Pena (2011).

García and Pena did the above activity with www.tradukka.com, but any online MT service will do, preferably one that is statistics-based (Google Translate or Microsoft Translator). They used the following prompts for the short compositions, working with English as L1 and Spanish as L2 in higher education (García and Pena 2011: 474-475):

Task 1: You are going to live with a family in a Spanish-speaking country as an exchange student. Everything has been arranged. You just need to send them an email introducing yourself and telling them how you feel and what you intend to gain from the experience.

Task 2 – Level A1: Introduce yourself to a Spanish-speaking Facebook friend. Tell them who you are and what you do, what your daily routines are, which days you come to the university, etc.

Task 2 – Level A2: You are in an expensive hotel in a Spanish-speaking country. and someone has stolen your passport and some money from your room. You are to write an email to the hotel director letting them know what has happened, asking them what they will do about it and telling them what you expect.

5.2.6. Playing with subtitles

Students have translation all around them: beyond the news they receive on television or the press, in many of their books, but especially in the audiovisual material they consume on television or online. Translation is part of their daily experience, and they should know something about it. Of all the media translations, subtitles are of particular interest. It is well known that subtitles help improve general L2 skills (Media Consulting Group, 2011: 26), but there are also specific skills and insights that can be gained by having students actually produce subtitles. With Internet resources, this is free, instantaneous and a lot of fun. The audiovisual material can be adapted to the students' level and interests, and the rules and fine points of subtitling tend to be picked up with practice.

The following activity was originally done with the website www.addic7ed.com, but there are several such sites, and they will no doubt proliferate in the future. Students can also use offline software for subtitling, such as Subtitle Workshop, Subtitle Edit or the LvS Environment.

Activity	**Subtitles in context**
Level	In L2: B2 or above
Aim	To understand how language is affected by communicative context in both L1 and L2
Steps	1. The teacher obtains an episode from a television comedy series, in some legal way. The episode must have subtitles in the original language of the video material, but not in the students' L1. The teacher also obtains the written version of the clip's original subtitles. 2. Students sign on to a site where they can translate the subtitles. 3. The teacher distributes the original subtitles to the class and explains how to translate and save the translations. Pairs of students are given specific clips to translate (20-minute episodes normally have 300-400 subtitles). 3. Each pair of students translates the clip that has been assigned to them. 4. The class watches the series episode with the translated subtitles. Students and teacher take note of possible changes in the subtitles, particularly with respect to age-related language registers. (Do young people speak alike all over the world?) 5. The class discusses the changes to the subtitles, taking into account what happens in the video.
Variants/Extensions	1. The class can be split into two large groups and each group translates a different episode. 2. Then each group watches the other's video with the

	subtitles and makes corrections based on the situations. 3. The subtitles produced by students can be compared with the one produced professionally. 4. It should be possible to do the same with the video games popular among many students.
Groups	Individually/in groups.
Special requirements	Computer and Internet connection.
Online	Highly suitable.
Time needed	Two 50-minute sessions.
Source	David Orrego-Carmona, Universitat Rovira i Virgili.

Teachers and students are invited to invent further activities. There are no rules (beyond the legal ones): feel free to experiment with translation!

6. General conclusions and suggestions for future research

Our various modes of investigation allow us to propose some general conclusions concerning the relation between translation and language learning:

1. Translation is a communicative activity that can enhance the learning of an L2.

2. Translation is not a language-learning method in itself. It can and is usually combined with a number of general teaching approaches.

3. In most countries, translation is not mentioned in the official curricula but it is nevertheless used in the classrooms.

4. There is no consistent evidence that bilingual social contexts are associated with more or less use of translation in L2 classes (see 3.6.6).

5. There is no country-level evidence that less use of translation in the classroom correlates with higher performance in the other language skills, and there are indications that *a* number of countries that score highly on L2 tests use translation frequently in the classroom (see 4.12.1).

6. Neuropsychological research on language lateralisation in bilinguals provides no clear evidence for or against the implication of translation in language learning.

7. Translation can be used as scaffolding in initial L2 learning, and as a complex multi-skill communicative activity at higher levels. These two kinds of activity are quite different, and have different relations to language learning. This may explain why:

    7.1. Translation activities are generally used less in primary education (scaffolding) and more in higher education (complex multi-skill activity);

    7.2. Some empirical research shows translation having a negative effect on learning (because teachers provide excessive scaffolding) while other research indicates very positive effects (because translation as a complex activity is associated with high degrees of student involvement and satisfaction).

8. There are very different concepts of what the term 'translation' means, both in research and among teachers. The more the operative concept involves communication and intercultural competence, the more favourable the attitude to translation, among both researchers and teachers, and the less it is conceptually opposed to language learning. One of the prime struggles is thus over the meaning of the term 'translation'.

9. There is a growing interest in the relation between translation and language learning, as indicated in the rising number of publications (see 2.2) and the increasingly favourable attitude adopted towards translation in those publications.

10. Translation can be a key learning activity in circumstances where the aim is not to produce complete competence in L2 but is rather to train students to use and combine multiple semiotic resources, often passively. This can be seen in the ideals of intercomprehension (see 2.2.6) training for military intelligence, the learning of elements of indigenous languages (see 4.9.4.1) and classes that incorporate the use of language in online interactive media (see 5.2).

These conclusions are restricted by the limitations of our research. There are several aspects that we would have liked to investigate further, and which should be dealt with in future projects:

1. The student's perspective: The severe time restriction on our research did not allow us to gather data on the use of translation from the perspective of the student's experience, both socially (classroom interaction and motivation) and cognitively (eye-tracking). The existing studies on this (see 2.2.2) generally indicate high levels of involvement and motivation associated with translation activities, but we would like to know more about how students react to specific kinds of translation tasks.

2. Different translation concepts: At many points in our research we have found different values and preconceptions being attached to the term 'translation', particularly among L2 teachers and researchers in applied linguistics. It would be useful for all if a questionnaire gathered data on precisely what values and preconceptions are involved in each professional context and in each country. The same might be done for politically polyvalent terms like 'mediation' and 'immersion'.

3. Common yardsticks: One of the problems with the empirical research is the difficulty of comparing the relative success of methods that have different learning aims. If the aim of 'intercomprehension', for example, is fundamentally different from a four-skills course, then there can be no simple direct numerical comparison. The same problem haunts the use of translation: if translation is used in class as a check on learning (as is traditional), then it *is* the yardstick, and not the thing being measured, and if translation skills are being developed entirely in their own right, then success in them cannot be judged in terms of the four traditional skills. For this reason, which is perhaps part-and-parcel of any paradigm shift, comparative research on this issue is obliged to be partly qualitative. It should nevertheless be possible to measure the effects that one kind of activity has on the development of all skills.

4. Different translation activities: In addition to data on student involvement and motivation, it would be good to have data on the way different kinds of translation activity correlate with the development of language skills, and in which environments. Such research could also promote awareness of the extreme internal diversity of translation.

Guidelines for future actions

On the basis of our findings, we are able to formulate the following guidelines concerning possible actions and attitudes affecting the future relation between translation and language teaching:

1. *Translation as communication*: Steps should be taken to foster a view of translation as a goal-driven communicative activity that is compatible with the most institutionally dominant teaching methods and is able to produce interactive knowledge about languages and cultures. This view of translation should include spoken communication (interpreting) as well as audiovisual communication (especially subtitling). Translation should not be proposed as a stand-alone teaching method in itself.

2. *Translation as a fifth language skill*: Beyond its roles as a scaffolding activity at initial levels of language learning, translation should be seen as a 'fifth' language skill (in addition to speaking, listening, writing and reading), with a complexity that draws on all other language skills. These ideas are generally well accepted by the teaching community,

3. *Translation as something teachers can learn about*: L2 teachers at all levels should have access to a communicative view of translation, either through publications, online materials or short training courses. This is particularly necessary in the teaching of English, where the methodologies and textbooks that are institutionally dominant worldwide do not include translation.

4. *Translation as having a measurable impact*: Empirical research is needed to test the results of using translation activities in the classroom. The results can be measured in terms of improvement in language skills, numbers of interactions in the learning process, and student satisfaction. These results should be directly compared with those of other types of activity, especially with those approaches that have been adopted with degrees of enthusiasm that do not always correspond to comparative empirical results (CLIL, intercomprehension, etc.).

5. *Translation as mediation*: In situations where the term 'translation' is locked into a narrow, non-communicative view, the term 'mediation' should be explored as a term for all communicative activities, including translation, that involve more than one language. Care should be taken, however, not to accept that translation is only the most linguistically restricted mode of mediation, and not to accept that translation somehow runs counter to the gaining of intercultural competence.

Many of these points can be picked up and worked on by educators and policy-makers at all levels. The more profound change, however, should come once teachers and learners themselves begin to experiment with translation.

Appendix A: Questionnaire for experts

Translation and Language Learning. An Analysis of Translation as a Method of Language Learning (DGT-2012-TLL)

A research project for the Directorate-General for Translation of the European Commission, carried out by the Intercultural Studies Group, the European Society for Translation Studies, and the University of Leicester.

REQUEST FOR COUNTRY BACKGROUND INFORMATION

We are carrying out a research project on the possible contribution that translation can make to the learning of foreign languages. It is commonly assumed that, after decades of banishment, translation is coming back as a legitimate classroom activity. Our project initially asks if this is indeed the case, and if so, why, and with what legitimacy.

The first stage of the project, to be completed before the end of 2012, involves gaining general background information on a selection of case-study countries. For this, we need in-country experts who are able to provide us with reliable up-to-date information.

The focus of our study is on **the use of translation activities in courses where the main aim is the acquisition of a second language***. This is taken as including bilingual and multilingual classes. We are not focusing on the general usefulness of translation courses, the use of translation in courses of linguistics or literature, the study of terminology, or in the learning of languages for special purposes (such as the use of translation to understand texts in engineering or chemistry).*

We would be very grateful if you were able to answer some of the questions below, or perhaps indicate other experts in your country who would be prepared to participate in this way. We are particularly anxious to gain input on all levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary.

All expert informants will be acknowledged in our final report, they will all have the opportunity to review the sections concerning their respective countries, and they will have access to the final report.

We would be extremely grateful for any help you can offer with this timely and hopefully useful project.

Sincerely

Kirsten Malmkjær
Anthony Pym
Mar Gutiérrez-Colón

PARTICIPANT CONSENT DECLARATION

In completing this questionnaire, I freely and voluntarily consent to be a participant in the research project Translation and Language Learning (http://www.est-translationstudies.org/research/2012_DGT/tll.html) conducted 2012-13. I understand I will not receive monetary payment for my participation.

I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate the use of translation in the teaching of languages, that I am providing information on my personal knowledge and opinions, and that I am free to discontinue or withdraw my participation at any time.

I understand that some of my responses may be cited in the Final Report of the project, with my name as author, only once I have read and revised the sections of the report in which my responses appear. I will authorize a separate Consent Declaration for such uses of my responses, and no citation of my responses may be made until such Declaration is authorized.

I understand that all other responses to the questionnaire will be confidential, and that only Dr. Kirsten Malmkjær, Dr. Anthony Pym, Dr. Mar Gutiérrez and their paid research assistants will have access to these data. The data will be used over the next three years although they will be retained indefinitely as records. I further understand that information from all the respondents will be grouped together to provide general information about translation and language teaching.

I understand that I am free to ask questions concerning the research procedure. I understand that if I would like more information about this research, I can contact Dr. Anthony Pym at anthony.pym@urv.cat.

Country referred to in this report:
Your name:
Pertinent job title:
Institution where you work:
Language(s) you teach or have taught:
Years of experience in language teaching:
Today's date:

All questions refer to courses where the main aim is the acquisition of a second language.

Please name any laws that regulate language teaching in your country.
Please name any current *government* policies or guidelines that regulate language teaching in your country.
Please name any current policies or guidelines *in educational institutions* that regulate language teaching in your country.
What language-teaching methods are popular in your country now?
Have the popular language-teaching methods changed since you started teaching?
Are translation activities present in the teaching of a second language in primary education? (In textbooks, for example?)
Are translation activities present in the teaching of a second language in secondary education? (In textbooks, for example?)
Are translation activities present in the teaching of a second language in tertiary or higher education?
Does the presence of translation activities depend on the language being taught?
In your country, is there increasing willingness among teachers or policy-makers to introduce translation activities in the teaching of second languages? If so, at which level?
If attitudes to translation have changed in your country, to what would you attribute the change?
Do you personally favour the use of any kinds of translation activities in the language-learning class?
Are you aware of any empirical research on the positive or negative effect of translation activities? Could you give references?

Any additional information would be much appreciated.

Appendix B: Questionnaire for language teachers

Translation and Language Learning. An Analysis of Translation as a Method of Language Learning (DGT-2012-TLL)

In completing this questionnaire, I freely and voluntarily consent to be a participant in the research project Translation and Language Learning (http://www.est-translationstudies.org/research/2012_DGT/tll.html) conducted 2012-13. I understand I will not receive monetary payment for my participation. I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate the use of translation in the teaching of languages, that I am providing information on my personal opinions and teaching practices, and that I am free to discontinue my participation at any time. I understand that all my responses will be confidential, in the sense that my name will not appear in any public records or publications, and that only Dr. Kirsten Malmkjær, Dr. Anthony Pym, Dr. Mar Gutiérrez and their paid research assistants will have access to these data. The data will be used over the next three years although they will be retained indefinitely as records. I further understand that information from all the respondents will be grouped together to provide general information about translation and language teaching. I have been told that I am free to ask questions concerning the research procedure. I understand that if I would like more information about this research, I can contact Dr. Anthony Pym at anthony.pym@urv.cat.

       □ Yes
       □ No

What country do you teach in? (If you teach in one of the schola europaea, please select that as a country.)

       □ Albania
       □ Australia
       □ China
       □ Croatia
       □ France
       □ Finland
       □ Germany
       □ Italy
       □ Lithuania
       □ Poland
       □ Spain
       □ Sweden
       □ Turkey
       □ United Kingdom
       □ United States
       □ Schola Europaea

What is your teaching context?

       □ Primary
       □ Secondary
       □ Tertiary

Which languages do you teach?
(Box for free-text response)

For how many years have you been teaching?

       □ 1-3
       □ 4-6
       □ 7-10
       □ 11-20
       □ More than 20

How are these language-teaching methods viewed in your institution at the level at which you teach?
(If a method is unfamiliar to you, please do not indicate any preference with respect to it.)

	Very negatively	Negatively	Indifferent	Positively	Very positively
Audiolingual method					
Audiovisual language teaching					
Bilingual method					
Communicative language teaching					
Direct method					
Grammar-translation method					
Humanistic language teaching					
Immersion					
Suggestopedia					
Task-based learning					
Total physical response					
Other					

(If 'other' selected)
Please name the additional teaching method or methods.
(Box for free-text response)

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Indifferent	Agree	Strongly agree
Translating is a fifth skill (in addition to reading, writing, listening and speaking).					
Translating brings the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking together.					
Translating takes time away from more valuable learning activities.					
Translating is for professionals only.					
Translating does not allow the student to think in the new language.					

In addition to the above, do you think there is another relation between translation and language learning?
(Box for free-text response)

Do you use translation exercises in your language-teaching classes?

        □ Never
        □ Rarely
        □ Frequently
        □ Almost always
        □ Always

If you have answered Never or Rarely, please say why:

        □ The curriculum forbids it
        □ I have never considered it seriously
        □ I think it is detrimental to language learning
        □ I do not feel qualified to use translation in my classes
        □ Other (please specify)

Other reason:
(Box for free-text response)

If you have answered 'the curriculum forbids it', would you use translation if you were permitted to do so?

        □ Yes
        □ No
        □ Don't know

Please say how often you use the following activities:

	Never	Only	Occasionally	Almost	Always

		sometimes		always	
Translating into L2 of individual sentences					
Translating into L1 of individual sentences					
Translating into L2 of longer passages					
Translating into L1 of longer passages					
Translation analysis/criticism/discussion					
Watching subtitled films					
Watching dubbed films					
Working with machine-translated texts					
Other (specify below)					

What other translation activities do you use?
(Box for free-text response)

Please say why you prefer some activities.
(Box for free-text response)

Many thanks for your participation! If you would like to receive the results of the survey, please indicate your e-mail below:
(Box for free-text response)

Appendix C: Translation as a set of transferable skills[203]

An idea that has generated considerable discussion in educational psychology in the past three decades is that of 'transfer'. This refers to the ability to apply skills or knowledge learnt in one context to another context. If we learn how to solve a problem in maths and then apply it to a procedure in economics, this is an example of transfer having occurred.

The concept of transfer should be a key element in thought about the possible roles that translation can play in language acquisition. It seems possible, even probable, that skills acquired in the practice of translation can easily be transferred to various modes of language production and processing, and vice versa. If such transfer occurs, then many of the debates for and against translation would seem to be undermined. Unfortunately, however, we are aware of no empirical research on such transfer. It is in the interests of stimulating research that we include a few notes on the development and guiding principles of the study of transferable skills.

Different types of transfer have been distinguished. For example, some educationalists have distinguished between 'near transfer' and 'far transfer'. If a student applies what she or he has learned at the start of a course to a problem introduced later in the course, 'near transfer' has occurred. However, if the student applies this knowledge in a professional environment subsequent to completing the course, this is an example of 'far transfer'. Salomon and Perkins (1989) also distinguish between 'low-road transfer' and 'high-road transfer'. The former refers to previous learning being applied automatically without reflection: the ability to drive is often quoted as a skill that lends itself easily to low-road transfer as once one has learned to drive one make of car, one can generally drive most other makes of car as well. Similarly the perfection of certain L2 skills can be seen as 'low-road transfer'. 'High-road transfer' requires the learner to consciously make connections between what is learned in a previous situation and a new situation. Were a student to apply what she or he learned about human anatomy in a school biology class to an exercise in life-drawing in an art class, this would be high-road transfer. Finally, Salomon and Perkins distinguish between 'forward-reaching transfer' – when learners think about how they can apply what they are learning to a situation outside the course (which obviously requires them to know about the situations in which they will use this knowledge) – and 'backward-reaching transfer', when we are trying to solve a problem and search back for knowledge or skills acquired in a previous situation.

The relevance of transfer to the growing trend towards vocationalisation in language teaching is clear. The move away from grammar-translation methodology in the 19th century to other more 'communicative' methodologies in the 20th century can be seen in terms of the general trend acknowledging the relevance of the subject taught, in this case the L2, outside 'academic' contexts – in other words the 'far transfer' of skills with a 'forward-reaching' remit. The more recent re-admittance of translation as a teaching methodology in L2 instruction might also be seen in terms of 'low-road' transfer, similar to the teaching of writing in the L2: classroom translation from the L1 into the L2 can be seen as a form of developing L2 writing skills in a way that some might consider more challenging than other writing exercises which exclude the L1 (owing to the potential for the L1 ST to interfere in, say, lexical, syntactic and rhetorical choices in the TT). Translation from the L2 to the L1 was used in grammar-translation

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[203] Our thanks to John Kearns for the information in this section.

methodology as a way of checking comprehension of the ST but, given the traditional preference for professional translators to work into their native languages, instruction in this translation direction can be seen to have potential far-transfer benefits in developing L1 writing skills (though such L1 skills are not typically course outcomes of L2 courses). Indeed the need for inverse translation in the professional translation practices of languages of limited diffusion also points to potential far-transfer benefits of translation into the L2, though as a skill this is considerably more challenging. It is likely that translator training programmes will foreground 'forward-reaching' translation skills more explicitly than will those L2 teaching programmes which simply use translation as a method (e.g. students are more likely to gain a familiarity with the professional use of translation-memory suites in a translator-training course, whereas if such tools are used at all in an L2 course, the focus would still more likely be on their potential to develop linguistic abilities).

In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the development of 'transferable skills' was extolled as an outcome of university courses that would not only leave students better prepared to find work, but would provide them with a repertoire of abilities that would serve them in the range of job options they might have to pursue in an increasingly volatile labour market. Such 'transferable skills' in third-level modern-language programmes have included communicative competencies in native and foreign languages, but also skills in teamwork, research, working to deadlines, etc. Particularly influential in the European (and latterly the Latin American) context in this regard has been the European Tuning Project aimed at identifying points of convergence with regard to competence outcomes (Gonzalez & Wagenaar, 2003). This proposed various very general 'generic competences' seen as desirable as course outcomes in terms of their transfer potential, from instrumental competences (e.g. decision making, problem solving) to interpersonal competences (e.g. interpersonal skills, teamwork) and systemic competences (e.g. research skills, leadership qualities).

There have, to our knowledge, been no studies addressing specifically the transferability potential of translation in L2 learning, though some studies deal with skills transferability in translator training at a curricular level (e.g. Byrne, 2003; Kearns, 2006). Byrne notes the importance of respecting the notion of transfer in vocational translator training, given the number of graduates who did not become translators after graduating. Kelly (2005: 33-34) distinguishes what she refers to as 'generic competencies' (which roughly approximate transferable skills) as standing in contrast to subject-specific competences. There have been studies of transferable skills in L2 learning, both in general (see the contributions to King, 2000) and more particularly in tertiary modern languages curricula, with for example the *Transferable Skills in Third-Level Modern Languages Curricula* project (Curry and Sherry, 2004; Sherry and Curry, 2005). An interesting finding of this project was the way it demonstrated the importance of learners having declarative knowledge of the skills they acquired. The emphasis on declarative-knowledge outcomes is interesting here: while many skills may be learnt, it is often necessary for students' self-confidence that they be sufficiently aware of *having learnt* these skills to be able to articulate them.

The notion of transferable skills has come in for criticism from various quarters. Though transferable skills might largely overlap with skills that would have been traditionally referred to as 'vocational' there may well be a distinction to be drawn between 'vocationality' and 'transferability'. The teaching of Latin, for example, had always been defended on grounds of its transferability potential (learn Latin and you will have a good basis for learning many other European languages, as well as the linguistic acumen to read in the original many fundamental works of Western thought) though Latin as a subject had traditionally been a target for the

ire of vocationalists in their belief that education was primarily to prepare people for jobs (Belam, 2001: 31). Nevertheless, regarding as separate the potentials for transfer and vocational relevance need not pose a major problem to the curriculum developer.

A more awkward issue is what precisely it is that makes certain skills transferable and others not. As can be seen from the examples quoted earlier, many of the generic competences proposed by the European Tuning Project were so general as to be desirable for almost any job. Furthermore, the notion of 'transferable skills' itself posits that the transferability lies within the skills themselves, and this has been criticised on the grounds that, thus located, transferability is divorced from context. Singley and Anderson (1989) have complained that there is scant empirical evidence for transfer and Hinchliffe has further noted that 'our knowledge and skills are divided into more or less self-contained units and… even if these units are apparently close in character, transfer between them is sadly lacking' (2002: 200). Hinchliffe, however, believes that some rehabilitation for the notion can be found in what he refers to as 'situational transfer', where the learner consciously attempts to situate the skills being learned in a situation, either one which has been previously encountered (backwards-reaching) or anticipated (forward-reaching). Learning then more closely approximates Donald Schön's (1983) idea of 'reflective practice', in which the learner considers the value and theories underlying the performance of a skill to provide a developmental insight which will enable the skill to be performed more effectively.

Glossary of key terms and teaching methodologies

The following terms are defined in accordance with the way they are used in this report. The definitions of language teaching methods are largely drawn from Byram (2000). In some cases, we have ignored alternative terms and variant senses that are not used herein.

Aphasia: Condition caused by brain damage (usually following a stroke), where an individual has increased difficulty communicating.

Audiovisual method of language teaching: Developed simultaneously in Zagreb by Petar Guberina and in Saint-Cloud, France, by Paul Rivenc in the 1950s on the basis of structural linguistics and Gestalt psychology, this method was popular in the 1960s and especially the 1970s. In its classic version, the method is strictly monolingual and emphasises the spoken language, often in the form of dialogues, presented along with pictures. Teaching proceeds in five phases: presentation (twice) of a dialogue with pictures, explanation of the pictures by the teacher in L2, imitation of passages of dialogue by the pupils with correction of their pronunciation; exploitation of the dialogue through questioning and role play, and transposition by the pupils of the learnt material to free conversation or a new dialogue.

Audiolingual method of language teaching: Developed in the United States at the same time as the language laboratory, this method was popular in the 1960s. It employs pattern practice exercises in which the same structure is to be completed with different lexis by the learner, who receives instant feedback in the form of the correct version. Short dialogues with parallel texts in the L1 are also used. The method is based on structuralist linguistics and behaviourist psychology; it emphasises speech, and presents language in the order of hearing-speaking-reading-writing.

BALLI (Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory): An instrument designed by Horwitz to evaluate the beliefs held by language students with regard to their language learning.

Barcelona Objective: The aim for all children in the European Union to master their mother tongue plus two additional languages. The name of the objective derives from its formulation at the European Council meeting in Barcelona in March 2002.

Bi-text: Paired text segments or chunks, aligned in two languages.

Bilingual method of language teaching: Developed by C. J. Dodson in the late 1960s and early 1970s as an improvement on the 1960s version of the audiovisual method (see above). It adds presentation in writing of the dialogue being practiced, which helps students with the segmentation of the stream of speech, and oral mother-tongue equivalents of unknown words and structures, which aids their comprehension. Literal translations, called 'mirroring', may also be given, and the method emphasises careful grading of the learning material.

Bilingualism: The ability to communicate in two languages.

CLIL (Content Language Integrated Learning): Also known as 'content-based teaching' and 'immersion' in some contexts, this method involves the use of the student's L2 to learn a subject matter other than the language itself. For example, in Finland the mathematics class might be taught in English.

Co-official language: One of two or more languages having equal status as official languages in a given country (see 'official language' below).

Code-meshing: Communication where a speaker alternates between two or more languages, dialects or discourse types within a single speech event, for example by introducing slang into academic writing, or inserting dialectal variations or words in another language (cf. 'code-switching').

Code-switching: Communication where a speaker alternates between two or more different languages in the one setting (cf. 'code-meshing' above).

Communicative language teaching: Developed in the 1970s in response to sociolinguistic reactions to Chomsky's theoretical linguistics, in particular Dell Hymes' notion of communicative competence, and to the so-called natural language philosophy, or pragmatics, as expressed for example in Austin's *How to do things with words* (1960), communicative language teaching takes seriously the Firthian idea of language as meaning potential, made widely know by Michael Halliday. The first manifestation of the method was the Council of Europe's functional-notional syllabus (Van Ek, 1975), which defined language ability in terms of what learners could do with language. The popular notion of the negotiation of meaning and the teaching of Language for Specific Purposes also derive from the communicative movement, which tends to accord the learner the central place in the classroom, to see the classroom as a particular communicative, social setting, and to seek to develop learner autonomy. Teaching focuses on the use of language, both written and spoken, for actual communication, perhaps in games and activities involving pairs or small groups, rather than on more artificial exercises and drills. Adherents tend to take into serious consideration issues of language policy and language rights.

Communicative translation: Act of translation where the translator's purpose is to communicate information to a person who does not otherwise have access to that information; opposed to non-communicative translation, where the receiver (for example, a language instructor) already has access to the information being translated.

Comparative morphology: Study of differences in morphemes (units of words or characters) between languages.

Comparative syntax: Study of differences in word/character order between languages.

Composition: Process of writing original text, for example writing an essay.

Concurrent translation: Process where the teacher translates everything as it is said.

Context learning: Learning the meaning of a word through its use in a sentence.

Curriculum: Prescribed course of study for a given stage of the education system.

Differential inhibition: Phenomenon whereby, following onset of aphasia, one of a bilingual's languages is 'inhibited' or blocked to a greater extent than the bilingual's other language (see 'non-parallel recovery' below).

Direct method of language teaching: Developed in Europe, especially in France and Germany, in the late nineteenth century in reaction to the grammar-translation focus on the translation of isolated, graded written sentences as a way of learning modern languages. The direct method tries to imitate the way in which a (monolingual) child learns its first language, so the language to be learnt is also used as the language of instruction. Teaching takes the form of question-and-answer sessions between the students and the teacher, and the students are encouraged to talk as much as possible. The method is based on the psychology of association, so mistakes are never repeated but corrected, and the language used by the teachers is spoken at a natural pace, using full sentences. The method is also variously known as the natural, oral, phonetic and psychological method of language teaching.

Dubbing: Process whereby a spoken translation of a verbal soundtrack is overlaid on top of the original, so that the source-language speaker appears to be speaking in the target language.

Empirical study: Study that involves the gathering and analysis of quantitative or qualitative data from observations or experiments.

Equivalence: Relation between a target text or fragment and a source text or fragment which has the same or very similar values.

Fifth skill: Language skill in addition to reading, writing, speaking and listening. Translation can be considered a fifth language skill.

Four skills: Traditional areas of focus in language learning, namely reading, writing, speaking and listening.

Functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI): Technique for measuring cerebral activity by analysing the flow of blood to different parts of the brain using an MRI (magnetic resonance imaging) scan.

Gap-filling: Learning exercise where a student is confronted with a sentence that has one or more words missing. The student's task is to insert the missing word(s) to create a full sentence.

Gisting: Stating the core message and/or basic themes of a text, rather than giving a detailed translation.

Grammar-translation method of language teaching: Developed from the scholastic method whereby well educated individuals would learn Greek and Latin by means of translating texts with the aid of a dictionary and a grammar, the grammar-translation method of teaching modern foreign languages presented classrooms full of children with isolated sentences, graded for difficulty, which they were to parse and translate into their own language, often for homework. The method neglected the spoken language, even in the classroom, where the mother tongue was used for explaining grammatical structures and lexis and for summarising the content of texts that were to be read and translated. Moreover, the method of translation employed has little to do with translation for communication because the focus tended to be on word-for-word relationships, which tends to produce rather unnatural structures; it should not be confused

with the ways in which communicative translation can be used in the language classroom.

Heritage speakers: People for whom the language spoken at home is different from the language of the society in which they live. For example, a person growing up in a Turkish family in Germany could be described as a heritage speaker of Turkish.

Higher education, tertiary education: The third stage of education, after primary and secondary schools. Higher education is not compulsory, unlike primary and secondary education. Higher education institutions include universities, polytechnics and other specialist degree-awarding institutions.

Humanistic language teaching: Approaches to language teaching that focus primarily on the education of the whole person and less on the formal features of the language to be learnt or the competence that the person develops. The title of one of the major publications in the field, *Caring and Sharing in the Foreign Language Class* (Moskowitz 1978) is telling, and concepts such as self- and mutual esteem and respect, learning to learn, and learner autonomy are central to the method. Repetition and pattern practice are avoided and learners are encouraged to express their own thoughts. Teachers are seen as enablers or facilitators of the learners' self-expression.

Immersion: Originating in Canada, immersion language teaching places learners within a context where only the language to be learnt is used. At school, content classes (e.g. biology) are taught in the language to be learnt, by a (near-)native speaker of that language (cf. CLIL above). The method may be implemented totally or partially.

Immigrant language: Language spoken by an immigrant or group of immigrants within their own community in the host nation.

Indigenous language: Language spoken by the native inhabitants of a given country. This often refers to the language of the earliest inhabitants, but is sometimes used to distinguish the languages of a host nation from immigrant languages.

Intercomprehension: Communication where speakers of two different languages attempt to understand each other using their respective languages rather than a shared language.

Intercultural competence: Ability to communicate appropriately with people from different cultural backgrounds.

Intercultural Language Learning: Method of L2 teaching that 'involves developing with learners an understanding of their own language(s) and culture(s)in relation to an additional language and culture. It is a dialogue that allows for reaching a common ground for negotiation to take place, and where variable points of view are recognised, mediated and accepted. It involves the learner in the ongoing transformation of the self, his/her ability to communicate, to understand communication within one's own and across languages and cultures, and to develop the capability for ongoing reflection and learning about languages and cultures' (Liddicoat et al., 2003: 1).

Interpreting: Process of rendering a spoken message from one language as a spoken message in another language.

L1: First language of a person, also called the 'mother tongue'.

L2: Language that is learned by a person for whom that language is not their L1; also called 'second language', 'foreign language' or 'additional language'. A person can have several L2s.

Language acquisition: Process of learning a language without formal instruction, as when infants acquire their L1.

Language learning: Process of learning a language with formal instruction, either as an L1 or L2.

Language proficiency: Skill level attained by an L2 learner.

Languaging: Communicating by using language. Becker (1991) describes 'classroom languaging' as the use of language to discuss language in the classroom, as for example when discussing the use of a particular idiom.

Lateralisation: Dominance of the left or right hemisphere of the brain over language-related functions.

Liaison interpreting: Immediate relay of speech utterances between two speakers of different languages. For instance, if speaker 1 speaks language X, and speaker 2 speaks language Y, liaison interpreting occurs if the interpreter relays speaker 1's utterances into language Y for the benefit of speaker 2, and then relays speaker 2's utterances into language X for the benefit of speaker 1.

Literal translation: Translation on a word-for-word basis, as far as possible, placing emphasis on the primacy of the source text rather than semantic clarity in the target text.

Machine translation: Instantaneous generation of a written translation of a written text by a computerised system.

Mediation: Process that makes 'communication possible between persons who are unable, for whatever reason, to communicate with each other directly' (Council of Europe, 2001:14).

Mental translation: Process whereby a speech or text is translated in the mind, particularly when a student internally renders L2 speech or text into L1 in order to follow a lesson or to complete a task.

Methodology: Method or set of methods used for pedagogical purposes, in this case for to teach an L2.

Monolingualism: Use of only one language by a person (cf. 'plurilingualism' below).

Morphosyntax: A term for grammar, as the union of morphology and syntax.

Multilanguaging: Application of languaging (see above) to several languages, in other words using more than one language to articulate one's thoughts.

Multilingualism: Use of more than one language in a society (cf. 'plurilingualism' below).

Multiple-choice test: Assessment technique in which the student is presented with a series of questions, as well as a number (usually three or four) of possible answers to each question. The student's task is to select the correct response to each question.

Native speaker: Person who speaks a given language as their L1.

Natural bilingual: Person who has acquired two languages without any formal training.

Natural translator: Bilingual who performs translation or interpreting tasks without any formal training.

Non-parallel recovery: Phenomenon where bilingual individuals suffering from aphasia do not recover their language skills equally in both languages (see 'differential inhibition' above).

Official language: Language used for government purposes in a country, often stipulated as the official language in the constitution of that country.

Paraphrase: Re-wording of a verbal utterance or written text using different words to convey the same meaning.

Plurilingualism: Use of more than one language by a person (cf. 'multilingualism' above).

Polyglot: Person who is able to communicate in more than one language (see 'plurilingualism' above).

Position emission topography (PET): Medical imaging technique used to produce three-dimensional images of all or part of the body.

Primary education: The first stage of compulsory education, following pre-school/nursery education and preceding secondary education. Children usually start primary school between the ages of 5 and 7, and the number of years covered by primary education varies from one country to another.

Productive mode: Language use where a person generates language for another person to process; also known as 'active' use, it includes the traditional skills of speaking and writing (cf. 'receptive mode' below).

Receptive mode: Language use where a person processes the language generated by another person; also known as 'passive' use, it includes the traditional skills of listening and reading (cf. 'productive mode' above).

Scaffolding: Support structure that enables completion of the initial stages of a construction. In this context, the construction project is the building of a language learner's skills in L2, and the scaffolding is the learning framework provided by the teacher. When the language skill has been learned, the scaffolding can be removed.

Second-language learning: Process of learning an L2 with formal instruction.

Secondary education: Second stage of compulsory education, following primary education. Secondary education usually culminates in school-leaving examinations.

Semiotic resources: Tools for the creation of meaning, including language, music, colour, gestures, and indeed anything that people can employ in order to make themselves understood.

Snowball sampling: Technique where people who respond to a request for information (for example, a questionnaire) are asked to pass the request on to others who might be able to respond.

Source language: Language of the text being translated; also known as the 'start language'.

Source text: The text that the translator renders into another language; also known as the 'start text'.

Structuralism: A mode of linguistic and cultural analysis that emphasises the relationships between items rather than the items themselves. These relationships may form linguistic and cultural systems.

Subtitling: Process of creating written forms of speech for display on screen, usually for film or television. Subtitles may be interlingual (where the speech is in one language and the subtitles provide a translation into another language) or intralingual (where the subtitles are in the same language as the speech).

Suggestopedia: A humanistic (see above) method of language teaching based on yoga and Soviet psychology, developed in the 1960s by the Bulgarian doctor Georgi Lozanov. It employs role-play, music, games, plays and story-telling in the review part of each class, where what was previously taught is reinforced. The second part of the class focuses on reading, grammar and translation of real-life dialogues, but the third class part, called the *séance,* is what especially distinguishes the method from others. Learners, reclining on chairs with long backs and headrests, listen to the teacher reading the dialogue from the second part twice more. After the first reading, students work on designated parts of the dialogue; the second, more dramatic reading is accompanied by relaxing, slow music.

Target language: Language in which a translation is produced.

Target text: Text produced by a translator; a translation.

Task-based language teaching: A form of communicative language learning that focuses of specific tasks that learners, perhaps particular learner groups with specific language learning needs, require to be able to undertake.

Teacher-led discourse: Classroom discussion instigated and guided by the teacher.

TESOL: Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Total physical response method of language teaching: A method developed by James Asher in the 1960s, which gives a central place to physical movement during language learning. Commands in the language being learnt are accompanied by relevant actions carried out by a teacher and a small subgroup of the class, while the rest of the class look on. Next, the rest of the class mimic the actions, the idea being that internalisation is aided by watching and undertaking the physical response. Speaking is expected to emerge when the student is ready, and in more advanced classes, students provide verbal instructions themselves.

Transferable skills: Skills acquired or learned in one context that can readily be applied in other contexts.

Transformation exercise: Learning exercise whereby a student is presented with a sentence and has the task of re-writing it so that the same meaning is expressed in a different way. For example, the sentence 'I enjoy learning languages' could be transformed into 'Language learning is something that gives me pleasure'.

Translanguaging: Receiving information in one language and making use of that information in another language.

Translation: Rendering of information from one language to another, and the result of that process. For the purposes of this report, 'translation' includes the reception and/or production and/or reworking of spoken or written bi-texts (paired discourses in two languages).

Translation asymmetry: Hypothesis that translation into L1 involves processes that are in some way different from those of translation into L2.

Translation Studies: Formal study of all aspects of translation, interpreting and associated modes of communication from one language to another.

Vocabulary acquisition: Process of learning new words.

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