HANDBOOK OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

VOLUME 3

EDITED BY
YVES GAMBIER
LUC VAN DOORSLAER

JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY

Handbook of Translation Studies

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As a meaningful manifestation of how institutionalized the discipline has become, the new *Handbook of Translation Studies* is most welcome.

The *HTS* aims at disseminating knowledge about translation and interpreting to a relatively broad audience: not only students who often adamantly prefer user-friendliness, researchers and lecturers in Translation Studies, Translation & Interpreting professionals; but also scholars, experts and professionals from other disciplines (among which linguistics, sociology, history, psychology).

Moreover, the *HTS* is the first handbook with this scope in Translation Studies that has *both a print edition and an online version*. The *HTS* is variously searchable: by article, by author, by subject. Another benefit is the interconnection with the selection and organization principles of the online *Translation Studies Bibliography (TSB)*. Many items in the reference lists are hyperlinked to the *TSB*, where the user can find an abstract of a publication.

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Handbook of Translation Studies

Volume 3

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Introduction

With the publication of this third volume in only a few years time, the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (HTS) project can now offer no less than 140 entries on translation and interpreting research. For those who are not familiar with the HTS project yet, we would like to remind you that HTS is an academic resource, but one that also aims at a broader audience, i.e., MA and PhD students, researchers and lecturers in translation studies and practitioners, as well as scholars and experts from other related disciplines. It aims at presenting a relatively broad distribution of research knowledge in the field of Translation and Interpreting Studies.

The editors realize that it is not always the easiest of tasks to address an issue comprehensively while still keeping a potentially broad readership in mind. Readers may come from very different backgrounds and as a result have different expectations regarding entries on topics like 'Media accessibility' or 'Quality in interpreting' for instance. In a similar vein, we also realize that the level of specialization may differ across entries depending on the research already carried out. Moreover, we were faced with a certain number of ambiguities: some of the topics combine a small amount of research which draws on varying sets of terminology (e.g. relay translation), whereas other topics have yielded a considerable amount of research though their object of investigation is unclear to a certain extent (e.g. equivalence). Such differences make it difficult for the authors to deal with these topics on an equal footing.

HTS is the first encyclopedia of this scope in translation studies to offer *both a print edition and an online version*, and to be regularly revised and updated. Another added value is its interconnection with the principles of selection and organization we have used in the online *Translation Studies Bibliography* (TSB). The taxonomy of the TSB has been used pragmatically in order to select concepts for the Handbook. The HTS is searchable in a variety of ways: by article, by author, by subject. The subject index in this volume is cumulative for the first three volumes.

HTS includes relatively brief overview articles (between 500 and 6,000 words each, based on their relevance). They are clearly longer than the average dictionary or terminology entries, but they do not necessarily contain all possible technical details. The limited reference list concluding each article is supplemented by a list of further reading. In the online version, the items in the reference lists are hyperlinked to the TSB, where the user can also find an abstract and keywords relating to each publication. Cross-references to other entries within each volume and between the volumes are also clearly indicated: * refers to volume 1, ** to volume 2, *** to volume 3.

The HTS project relies on a strong International Advisory Board with nine experts in translation and interpreting studies. In addition, the project is supported and backed by a network of collaborating universities (Bloemfontein / South-Africa, Graz / Austria, Oviedo / Spain, Oslo / Norway, HUB Brussels, FUNDP Namur and Lessius Antwerp – University of Leuven / Belgium. The editors would explicitly like to thank all the partners.

Feedback from all the users is more than welcome. If you have any suggestions for further improvement of accessibility or usability, please do not hesitate to contact the editorial team at hts@lessius.kuleuven.be. And last but not least, the *Handbook* is published in English but we will continue to add translations of individual articles to the online edition. This is now already the case for some entries in Arabic. Other translations into Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Portuguese and Spanish are being considered and already partly planned as challenging projects for translation students.

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The HTS editors
Yves Gambier & Luc van Doorslaer
Summer 2012

Bilingualism and translation

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An individual performing translation brings an array of cognitive resources to bear on the task. According to the traditional terminology of Translation Studies*, these translation-relevant mental resources are aspects of translation competence*. The term competence represents what one has to know (and, by implication, what one has to learn) to perform as a translator. From a psychological perspective (see Translation psychology***), translation competence represents knowledge from a variety of cognitive domains acquired, stored and organized in a translator's long-term memory (LTM).

An important research question in Translation Studies is "what is the structure of translation competence?" This question has been dealt with by a significant number of translation scholars. Wilss (1976: 120) defined translation competence as a union of three partial competences: receptive competence in the source language (reading and comprehension), productive competence in the target language (writing), and super-competence, the ability to transfer messages between the linguistic system of the source culture and the linguistic system of the target culture. Without undertaking an enumeration of all the possible ways of partitioning translation competence, most approaches assume that "knowing how to translate" means *at least* having L_1 and L_2 linguistic knowledge, e.g. being *bilingual*.

The exact relationship between bilingualism and the ability to translate has long been a topic of concern in Translation Studies. Brian Harris was among the first translation scholars to consider the relationship in depth, proposing the theory of *natural translation***. This theory postulated that "all bilinguals are able to translate, within the limits of their mastery of the two languages; therefore translating is coextensive with bilingualism" (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155).

As indicated, natural translation and its relationship to professional translation has been the subject of intense disciplinary debate, and we do not renew that discussion here (see Lörscher 2010 for a critical review). However, Harris and other proponents of natural translation (see Gideon Toury's *native translator*) are right to focus on the essential relationship between bilingualism and the ability to translate. Bilingualism and all forms of translation, whether the natural translation done "in everyday circumstances by bilinguals who have had no special training for it" (Harris 1976: 96) or the professional translation of those with advanced translation degrees working in today's language industry, are necessarily connected at a very fundamental cognitive level.

Bilingualism is the substrate for considering all manifestations of translation ability. Regardless of when and why translation skills emerge, they arise from individuals who have acquired linguistic competence in two languages. Because translation is fundamentally a communicative activity occurring in specific socio-cultural contexts, different bilinguals will develop different translating skills along a spectrum from natural translation to highly specialized professional translation. The exact nature of the skills that emerge from the underlying bilingual substrate is dependent on an individual's accumulated task experience (the *acquisition history*). The "forms and functions of translation evolve in conformance with the nature of the communicative tasks they are called to perform" (Shreve 1997: 124).

Any comprehensive cognitive* model of translation competence must necessarily accommodate empirical findings about the nature of the bilingual brain. It must account for an underlying *bilingual lexico-semantic system* (Votaw 1992), the basic cognitive resource that provides the foundation for all cross-language activities, ranging from the speaking and listening that most bilinguals perform in everyday communicative circumstances to the more specialized reading and writing tasks of highly specialized technical translation.

Bilingualism research focuses on explaining how the knowledge of two languages is acquired and stored in memory and then activated during speaking, listening, reading and writing. The central research areas revolve around the *structure of linguistic knowledge* in bilinguals (*bilingual memory*) and specifying the *mechanisms* or processes that act upon that knowledge (e.g. *lexical access*, *lexical selection*). For instance, regarding bilingual memory, early research tried to determine whether bilingual speakers had a separate lexicon for each language or a single bilingual lexicon, what French & Jacquet (2004: 87) have called the "single large or two small" question. When translation scholars study translation processes* from a cognitive point of view their interests partially coincide with those of bilingual researchers, but the research questions are modified by the nature of the task being performed. Thus, if translators are bilinguals, then how does translation task performance affect (especially over longer periods of practice) the nature and structure of bilingual memory? How do lexical access and selection operate during the performance of the translation task (*task context*)? In other words, how does bilingual memory develop and operate in individuals performing primarily translation tasks as opposed to individuals engaged primarily in other bilingual tasks (speaking and listening during conversation).

Since the late 1970's cognitive models of the bilingual brain have generally embraced the idea of a single conceptual representation (semantic system) for the two languages, with linkages to two different *lexicons* (Kroll & Stewart 1994) specifying the phonology/orthography and syntax (lemmas and morphology) for the lexical forms of each language. These so-called *hierarchical models* all assume a common conceptual representation and two lexicons but differ in the nature and number of the links between the three components. Connectionist models of second language acquisition have supported this *language separation* (e.g. the existence of separate lexicons), arguing that they are an emergent property of second language acquisition. There are studies that question the need for positing separate lexical stores, and this remains a somewhat open question in bilingualism research, despite the broad agreement on separate lexical stores.

Given the existence of a knowledge organization with two lexical stores, the next question that arises in bilingualism research concerns the basic mechanism of *lexical access*. Lexical access is, simply speaking, the ability to retrieve from memory the lexical form (word) that corresponds to a particular concept (meaning). Problems can arise in lexical access under several circumstances. For instance, a concept might activate neighboring concepts, and all of these concepts activate their associated lexical forms. Thus, there is more not only more than one concept to choose from but more than one "candidate" lexical item to select. For instance, using an example from Finkbeiner, Gollan and Caramazza (2006: 153), if you are shown a picture of a cat, then the concepts CAT, DOG, PURR, TAIL and FUR may become active, and in turn the words *cat*, *dog*, *purr*, *tail*, *fur*.

Many models of bilingual lexical access assume that selection between activated concepts and their lexical items (nodes) is decided by *competition* on the basis of the *activation level* of the nodes, although some have argued that selection by competition is not necessary and a *selection by threshold* mechanism (where the first node whose activation reaches the threshold will be selected) is all that is required. In the example, if the activation level of *cat* is greater than any of the other activated lexical items, it is selected. However, if activation levels are very close, then it takes longer and longer for lexical selection to occur. This "selection problem" occurs in monolinguals, for instance, when a concept activates lexical items which are close synonyms. In bilinguals there are, by definition, always at least two words that could correspond to a particular meaning. An important research question in bilingualism is explaining how bilinguals choose the right word in the right language when called upon to do so during a language task. "Picking" the right word when several words have become activated involves the mechanism of *lexical selection*.

Empirical studies of bilinguals have shown that the representations of both L_1 and L_2 forms are activated simultaneously during bilingual experimental tasks. How is the problem of lexical selection resolved when two competing language nodes are activated? Some bilingual scholars argue that the potential conflict between the two forms is resolved by *inhibiting* or suppressing one of the forms in favor of the other. A second approach proposes that suppression is unnecessary because the target language nodes are activated (as a result of context and task) to a higher level than source language nodes (differential activation). A third approach, argues that competition only occurs within languages and does not occur across languages. Thus, competition only occurs in the target language (so suppression and differential L_1 / L_2 activation are not needed as explanatory mechanisms). Finkbeiner, Gollan and Caramazza (2006: 164), in a review of the competition-based approaches, go so far as to speculate that none of them accounts for all the data. The authors propose a "differential activation" mechanism as an alternative. Here lexical selection is facilitated by the "intentions of the speaker … to direct activation to one language instead of, or more strongly than, the other," e.g. a *language-switching* mechanism related to task objectives.

A complex cross-language activity such as translation must necessarily include very complex sequences of activation and selection that involve *intentionally* switching between one language and another during task performance For example, translation involves a sub-task (reading) where L_2 forms are the stimuli for extracting meaning and a sub-task (writing) where those meanings induce L_1 forms. Thus, the central issue for scholars interested in the bilingual substrate of translation is the issue of the *active control* of the bilingual lexico-semantic system during task performance. We must be able to connect the more elemental notions of bilingualism research (e.g. lexical access, lexical selection, language-switching) to the more complex activities of translation. A bilingualism paradigm that assumes that the intentions of the translator (guided by his or her acquired knowledge of the translation task) plays a role in lexical selection and language switching, goes a long way toward clarifying the relationship between translation process research and bilingualism research.

Diamond and Shreve (2010) have proposed that bilingualism models acknowledging task context (such as Green's 1998 inhibitory control model) might be a useful starting point in trying to integrate bilingualism findings with translation research. The inhibitory control (IC) model proposes that the activation levels of different language networks can be modulated dependent on the language task to be carried out. A central notion of the IC model that is of specific interest to translation process research is the *language task action schema*. A task action schema is a control mechanism that links input to and output from the bilingual lexico-semantic system to particular behavioral responses. These responses are associated with the constituent sub-processes of translation: source text reading and comprehension, cross-language lexical matching, and transfer and target text production. Put simply, a schema for backward translation, translating from the L_2 to the L_1, would specify the foreign language as the input to the bilingual lexico-semantic system and the native language as the output of the system.

The developmental characteristics of bilingualism under the influence of translation performance are also of fundamental interest to translation researchers. The content and organization of the bilingual lexico-semantic system could be expected to show some effects, not only related to age of first exposure to an L_2 and degree of exposure to the L_2, but also to the nature, extent and sheer number of translation tasks performed over time. That is, the bilingual memory of a translator might be expected to exhibit differences compared to that a typical bilingual using two languages primarily for routine speech production and comprehension. The repeated practice of specific cross-language tasks should alter the nature and operation of the bilingual lexico-semantic system in specific ways. Thus, to understand translation, we have to understand bilingualism, but we also need to understand that the translation capacity is a special case of bilingualism, and that the development of translation skill or expertise may alter the way bilingual memory is structured and how lexical access and selection occur.

There are challenges in merging models of bilingualism with what translation scholars understand about translation. For instance, while it is clear that cognitive scientists have been moving toward models of bilingualism that predicate a common conceptual store and two lexical stores, what is not clear is the effect that the practice of translation has on those stores. How do the linkages between the lexicons and conceptual store that develop in translators differ from those that develop in (the great majority) of other bilinguals whose bilingualism is deployed primarily in listening and speaking in mundane contexts? It seems fairly obvious that in addition to acquiring a more detailed knowledge of the forms and structures of the L_1 and L_2 than the typical bilingual, the translator also seems to develop a deeper knowledge of the correlation(s) or correspondences between them. We could expect this detailed knowledge to express itself in the form of richer, well-established lexical and conceptual networks and faster activation, access and selection times. This greater knowledge of lexical correspondences and possibilities for correspondence is actively deployed during the translation task and represents the most visible behavioral product of the translation process: the fast and efficient replacement of lexical forms. To fully integrate models from bilingualism with the translation activity, we will have to account for how translators manage the fast and effective search and retrieval of target language forms. These linguistic correspondence phenomena are also part of what translation scholars have traditionally labeled transfer.

We also argue that in translation a translator is not just switching from the first language to the second by activating or suppressing one language, language schema, or form in favor of the other, but is also quickly and quite actively selecting among alternative L_1 lexical items, morphological forms and syntactic structures based on correspondences with the L_2 representations that have been established not only by the acquisition of both languages, but also by the practice of the translation activity itself. Thus, the notion of transfer in translation is not just a linguistic notion, or even a bilingual one, but a conception grounded firmly in the task itself. Only experimental studies of translators performing translation tasks will shed light on how translation practice is both dependent on, but also in turn alters the bilingual lexico-semantic system.

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Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies)

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Historically, the distinct activities of translation* and interpreting* underwent a fundamentally different development, interpreting being more deeply rooted in history and presumably practised before the invention of writing. Phenomenologically, however, the two activities and their pertinent research domains share an enduring common basis, which is reflected mainly in such research areas as: the sociology of translation* and interpreting; cultural issues pertaining to translating and interpreting; perspectives of identity or (in)visibility; didactics and methodology (descriptive or explanatory), amongst many others. Given that these shared grounds were ultimately nourished by common interests in research and research policy, interdisciplinarity*** has long been the key word with regard to translation and interpreting research, despite critical voices which claim that interdisciplinary work has not thus far led to a general advancement in epistemological and methodological reflection (see e.g. Gambier 2004).

Works on historical figures in the realms of translation and interpreting tend to focus exclusively on practitioners of one of the two domains, treating them as separate entities. There are only very few publications which analyse both the translator and the interpreter figures, such as Jean Delisle's and Judith Woodsworth's *Translators through history* (1995/2012) with their particular focus on "Interpreters and the making of history." This treatment of the equally constructive and destructive potential inherent in the very nature of interpreters' and translators' roles in a range of research topics such as: the prorogation of religions – also in the context of conquest; the dissemination of technical and scientific knowledge; translators and interpreters in war and conflict situations; and in diplomatic settings, testifies to the important function of linguistic and cultural mediation in historical processes. Recently, studies have shown that both translation and interpreting have sometimes been denominated by a single term, based on evidence demonstrating the difficulties involved in analyzing the two activities separately (see e.g. Lung 2009 in the context of first-century China, or Wolf 2012 with regard to the late Habsburg period). Thus it becomes clear that interpreting and translation do share a common territory, quite independent of historical periods and geographical locations and despite the different conditions under which they are carried out (Riccardi 2002: 84), although the shared ground has frequently and quite deliberately been disregarded and dismantled on the purely pragmatic grounds of academic research decisions and not because the two activities follow fundamentally different purposes on the basis of their respective oral and written modes as has been discussed in detail in the collective volume published by Schäffner (2004).

1. Terms and definitions

Translation and interpreting are ancient human practices that have been described in many languages as separate phenomena. This is traceable in their etymology: "Translation" derives from the Latin "translatus," which means to carry across, to carry over, and both the French word "traduire" (from Latin "traducere") and the German "übersetzen" convey the same idea of moving from one place to the other. The term "interpreting" originates in the Latin "interpres" (middleman, intermediary), while the Akkadian root "targumanu" led to the word "dragoman", the denomination for the key figures of institutionalized translation and interpreting in diplomatic relations between Ottoman Turkey and Western Europe. As both concepts are clearly culture-bound, it is important to bear in mind that they represent a rather (Indo-) European Western bias, which is to say that the very terms "translation" and "interpreting" and the implications they carry remain closely connected with certain theoretical perspectives pertaining specifically to a given culture at a given time (cf. Tymoczko 2007).

Translation and interpreting are two socially situated instances of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural mediation. Commonly, these two forms have been distinguished by drawing on the dichotomy of written vs. oral text production, which on closer examination is not only simplistic but moreover leads to the misleading idea that there are clear-cut boundaries between classes of objects, excluding practices such as e.g. sign language* translation or sight translation*.

An early scholarly and more sophisticated conceptualization of the terms "translation" and "interpreting" was provided by the German scholar Otto Kade (1968), in a work which proved to be seminal beyond the realms of the German-speaking world. Kade coined the German term "Translation" as a "hyperonym" of translation ("Übersetzen") and interpreting ("Dolmetschen") and introduced time and immediacy as distinctive features. For Kade, translation is the activity of translating a source text that is permanently available and can be repeatedly reviewed into a target text that can be corrected and revised at any time. Interpreting, on the other hand, is a form of translation in which the source text is presented only once and therefore cannot be reviewed, whilst the target text is produced under time-pressure with scarce opportunity for correction. Since Kade, there have been several attempts to describe theoretically the differences between translation and interpreting (e.g. Riccardi 2002; Gile 2004). A few empirical studies dealing with the question of the similarities and differences between translation and interpreting have also been published more recently (e.g. Shlesinger & Malkies 2005 or Dragsted & Gorm Hansen 2007). Such studies focussing on cultural*, social, linguistic*, or cognitive* differences and similarities between translation and interpreting are crucial, not least as a great number of people work and earn their living in both fields, which can be explained on the basis of personal preference as much as prevailing market conditions. In this context, Gouadec (2007: 116) points to the fact that we can perceive not only a move towards specialisation, but a parallel reverse move towards dual competence* and dual jobs where "the-translator-cum-interpreter" has to practice both activities, e.g. in business settings, community settings* or legal settings*. Ultimately, this practice is also reflected in research and writings on training and the development of models which aim at helping to develop translation and interpreting competencies more rapidly and systematically and to the full realization of the potential of the learners (Gile 2009: 7).

One ought furthermore to keep in mind that translation and interpreting phenomena are subject to constant change as a result of transformation processes pertaining to their social and cultural practice, such as increasing globalisation* and developments in information and communication technologies. Thus, the categorization of translational phenomena has become much more complex than it was in the past, and there are activities which cannot simply be labelled as either translation or interpreting. Some of these mixed or intermediate forms, such as: sight translation; live-subtitling*; live translation of Internet chats; sign language theatre interpreting; sign language translation, etc. have been referred to as "hybrids" (e.g. O'Hagan & Ashworth 2002: 14; Turner & Pollitt 2002: 41). This demonstrates the extent to which TS and IS have begun to challenge traditions or seemingly clearly defined concepts.

2. Topics and approaches

Translation* and Interpreting Studies* (TS and IS) have tended in the past to explore very different research avenues, not paying attention to the two sub-disciplines' shared ground. However, there have always been researchers who were interested in mapping a wider field and who tried mutually to integrate common research questions, ideas, topics, methods and approaches.

2.1 Cultural turn

The opening up of TS towards broader perspectives in the 1990's was an attempt to explore comprehensively the involvement of various factors conditioning the creation of a translation, focusing primarily on cultural aspects, thus initiating the so-called "cultural turn" in the discipline (see The turns of Translation Studies*). These developments were facilitated by the very nature of the subject, which is itself located in the contact zones "between cultures" and therefore exposed to various and differentiated contextualizations and communication structures. It cannot be denied that the "cultural turn" (Bassnett & Lefevere 1990) brought about an enduring expansion of the general research framework and an interest in the elaboration of broader questions, which enabled a more thorough exploration of historical perspectives, contextual situations and translation conventions, thus bringing the macro-context of translation and different forms of representation into the foreground.

These epistemological shifts primarily took place in the context of translation studies and triggered off an enormous increase and refinement in publications on postcolonial* translation, feminist translation (see Gender in translation*) and ethnographic approaches*. In IS, by contrast, research had long been centred on conference interpreting*, and we have only recently begun to see an increasing emphasis on community interpreting*, sign language interpreting*, and neighbouring fields, including interpreting in conflict and war situations and in some politically committed areas such as social forums. Such primacy tends to fix historical stereotypes and consequently compromises the status and prestige of a whole sub-discipline and its adjacent areas. Cronin's call for a "cultural turn" in IS came in due course: his plea for a "material history of interpreting that examines all forms of interpreting as they are grounded in the economic, political, and cultural conditions of people's lives" (Cronin 2002: 52) did not remain unheard and sparked research which explicitly addressed questions of power, ideology***, gender or race, extending to areas beyond the realms of public service interpreting (e.g. Angelelli 2004; Weber, Singy & Guex 2005). In terms of the insights gained from the cultural turn, the common ground shared by translators and interpreters is undoubtedly located in the trans-cultural nature of their activities, characterized by continuous border-crossing and the ensuing challenges of fixed boundaries and essentializing assumptions – the "crisis of representation" (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Rudvin 2006: 24) has long taken hold of both domains. Methodologically, however, IS, in comparison to its partner discipline, still makes use of fewer research methods stemming from cultural theories. In brief: The cultural paradigm and its ideological quests have undeniably come into contact with both activities. The impulses, however, spring quite clearly from the branch of TS that is informed by Cultural Studies (see Cultural translation***).

2.2 Translation sociology

The establishment of the cultural paradigm led to the rapid emergence of the notion of translation and interpreting as a social practice, which in turn gradually led to the conviction that any translation – and, consequently, any act of interpreting – is necessarily bound up in social contexts: on the one hand, the act of translating, in all its various stages, is undeniably carried out by individuals who belong to a social system; on the other, the practice of translation and interpreting is inevitably influenced by social institutions, which to a great extent determine the selection, production and distribution of translation and the interpreting procedures, and as a result of this influence also affect the (linguistic) strategies adopted. This leads directly to the question of the role played by individual agencies and agents** involved in translation and interpreting processes. The interactive nature of these factors is fundamental to a deeper understanding of the way they work, and shows us that translation (and interpreting) can be viewed as a "socially regulated activity" (Hermans 1997: 10). Thus an analysis of the social implications of translation and interpreting can help us to identify the translator/interpreter and the translation/interpreting researcher as a constructing and constructed subject in society.

Whilst a "sociology of translation" has taken visible shape in the course of the last decade (Wolf 2011), a "sociology of interpreting" has yet to materialize. Bruce Anderson argued as early as 1976 that interpreting took place in "social situations", which are "amenable to sociological analysis" and suggested exploring the variables of class, education, gender, age and situational factors (Anderson 1976); yet, in the longer term, his work did not result in any fundamental re-thinking within the realms of IS. As outlined in the works of Inghilleri (2003) or Turner (2006), among others, what we call the "social turn" in this discipline took place primarily within the subarea of community interpreting, where institutional constraints, strict hierarchical power structures and the quest for stronger visibility have signalled a need to adopt frameworks drawn from social sciences. To date, theoretical approaches for investigating the interpreting activity as a social phenomenon have focused primarily on Pierre Bourdieu (for community interpreting: Inghillieri 2003; for conference interpreting: Diriker 2008; for interpreters in history: Torikai 2009). On the other hand, some scholars have drawn on sociological theories relating to the construction of professions and the concept of professionalism (cf. e.g. Grbić 2010) (see also Status of interpreters**). Cross-fertilization between translation/interpreting and social sciences, and between the two disciplines of TS and IS has, therefore, certainly taken place, but a "common ground" in terms of sociological questions still seems to be at a nascent stage of development.

2.3 Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)

Traditional approaches to translation have been particularly important in terms of highlighting the common ground shared by TS and IS. In this context, DTS* evolved in Belgium and the Netherlands in the 1970's with a view to establishing an academic framework based on empirical research and a concept of translation as historically situated phenomenon. James Holmes (1972/2000) conceived a map of TS as a discipline subdivided into a theoretical, a descriptive and an applied branch, whereby the objectives of the discipline were to describe, explain and predict translational phenomena as product, function or process. As most of the scholars working in this field had a background in literary studies, it is hardly surprising that Holmes only mentions interpreting as a side-line. Following Holmes, Heidemarie Salevsky (1993) proposed a similar map of IS in an attempt to increase IS's visibility.

Gideon Toury (1980) introduced the concept of norms* as a theory central to DTS, arguing that translational phenomena should be studied and explained according to their role in the target culture's system. For Toury, translation is a socio-cultural activity governed by various sets of norms. The norm concept has been applied widely in TS and has been used as the basis for a range of empirical studies. The role of translational norms with regard to interpreting was first discussed by Miriam Shlesinger (1989) and subsequently applied empirically by Anne Schjoldager (1995). It has also been touched upon in several more recent studies on various different aspects of interpreting. Although the norm concept has been subject to criticism, e.g. for not sufficiently taking into consideration instances of individual agency and the ideological effects of translation, it is still very popular both in TS and in IS, and has recently been connected with other concepts, such as Bourdieu's concept of habitus (cf. e.g. Inghilleri 2003).

2.4 Functionalism

The functionalist approach* was developed in Germany in the 1970's and 1980's, primarily by Hans Vermeer and Justa Holz-Mänttäri, as a consequence of the critique of equivalence-oriented translation concepts. For Vermeer, translation is a teleological action within a given social context carried out by an individual with a certain goal in mind. According to the Skopos theory, an adequate translation may have various manifestations, depending on its Skopos (aim, purpose, function). Together with Reiß, Vermeer proposed a general theory of translation*** (1984), which primarily focused on translation, but, as they put it, is likewise applicable to interpreting. Holz-Mänttäri's Translational action theory** (1984) adds to Vermeer's ideas a frame of action based on cooperation, defining translation as an action accomplished by an expert in a complex network/system of social interaction.

Functional approaches have not been widely adopted in the realms of TS and IS, which is partly a consequence of the fact that most of the academic work related to this approach was published in German. In IS, one of the few and certainly one of the most comprehensive empirical studies based on functionalist theories was published by Pöchhacker (1995). He uses Vermeer's and Holz-Mänttäri's theories as a general foundation for a study of conference interpreting, treating them as a link between TS and IS and also demonstrating their limitations.

Functionalist theories have been and still remain particularly popular in the context of translator and interpreter training, not least because of the pragmatic orientation of the functionalist position. For training purposes, analytical models within the functionalist framework prove to be helpful, as demonstrated by Holz-Mäntärri with regard to roles in a translation assignment, or by Nord's model for translation-oriented text analysis.

2.5 Cognitive approaches

Researchers and practising translators and interpreters have long displayed an interest in the mental processes involved in their activities. Cognitive* processes, however, are not self-evident and are not easily measurable, creating a major challenge with regard to research methodology and theoretical model building. Researchers working in this area try to understand how translators' and interpreters' comprehension and production processes function, how they develop and use translation/interpreting strategies, how they develop competencies*, and how their linguistic, social and cultural backgrounds impinge on or otherwise affect their thinking and understanding (Risku 2012).

Cognitive research with regard to interpreting commenced with David Gerver and Barbara Moser's work in the 1970's, whilst the first cognitive studies on translation appeared a whole decade later, in the work of Wolfgang Lörscher and Hans-Peter Krings (Shreve & Angelone 2010: 3), amongst others. In this first period, research focused on the mysterious "black box", in an attempt to detect, reconstruct and explain micro-level processes through experiments in artificial environments. Within this process paradigm, various methods have been applied to study cognitive processes, such as imaging techniques like EEG mapping in IS or think-aloud-protocols* (TAPs) in TS. Today, process research is still a growing field, with the continuous development of more and more sophisticated methods and instruments aiming to make neurological processes visible (see Neurolinguistics and Interpreting**).

Another branch of cognitive TS, rather than studying mental processes in isolation, stresses the importance of social, cultural, historical and physical interaction in cognition. Within this epistemological framework, cognition is modelled as being situated and embodied (i.e. inseparable from context, action, agents, culture, etc.), as well as distributed (between individuals, artefacts, and environments) (Muñoz Martín 2010; Risku 2012). Interestingly, this framework was initially imported from cognitive science by translation scholars and then adopted later by interpreting scholars (Pöchhacker 2005).

3. Future paths to common grounds

As we have seen, the common grounds that TS and IS share covers a wide range of research objects, approaches, and methodologies. Over the years, the two disciplines have fostered a considerable mutual awareness and exchange of ideas and have often shared joint research topics. Moreover, there is an evolving series of translation/interpreting types and settings, such as sight translation/interpreting, live subtitling, theatre interpreting, and live translation of internet chats, etc. which might well have the potential to trigger off a comprehensive re-consideration of the prevailing established concepts of translation and interpreting. The coming years will show how these will impinge on the development of new theoretical approaches, research methods, cooperative projects as well as training concepts and models***.

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Court/Legal interpreting

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Interpreters, whether they are spoken language interpreters or signed language* interpreters, work in a range of environments including legal settings, and events that involve legal discourse. The legal right to have an interpreter in the courtroom and/or in legal matters has been well established through several legislative bodies, as early as the 1966 United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The rights of litigants to access interpretation in order to protect individual rights have been well documented, for example, the European Union places an obligation on countries to provide interpreters for legal matters, and there is a great deal of lobbying across many continents to make interpreter provision a right, and not a matter of discretion (Gibbons & Grabau 1996; Hertog 2010; Laster & Taylor 1994; Mikkelson 2000; Phelan 2011).

As well, recent studies have exposed the complex nature of interpreting in legal settings, addressing questions such as the evaluation of witness testimony though interpretation (Hale, Bond & Sutton 2011), the accuracy of interpretation when using simultaneous* and consecutive interpreting* (Russell, 2002), perceptions of role of the interpreter (Hale & Russell 2008; Mikkelson 2000; Morris 1998), preparation approaches used by interpreters with legal personnel (Russell 2008), the linguistic decisions interpreters make that impact an interpreted interaction (Berk-Seligson 1990/2002; Hale 2001, 2004; Jacobsen 2008; Kolb & Pöchhacker 2008; Wadensjö 1998) and the abilities of Deaf jurors to participate in the judicial system (Napier & Spencer 2008) to name but a few of the topics that have received research attention.

Two dominant themes that have emerged across many studies are the differing perceptions of the interpreter's role in a legal proceeding, and how accuracy is determined in interpretation. Court and legal personnel have traditionally viewed the interpreter as a "machine" or "conduit", who will provide literal word for word interpretation, which courts often perceive as the most accurate interpretation. However, interpreters that conceptualize the task of interpreting from a bilingual and cultural context, view their work very differently, and this has led to considerable challenges in legal settings (Berk-Seligson 1990; Mikkelson 2000; Morris 1998). Much of the research emphasis has pointed to the need for highly trained, specialized interpreters in order to offer the most effective interpreting possible, while reducing the influence of the interpreter on the interpreted event. As well, we see research exploring the interpreter's involvement in interpreter-mediated events, resulting in new understandings of what impartiality and neutrality may mean for interpreter involvement and alignment in events.

Across various language communities, studies have shown that producing accurate and/or impartial interpretation in legal settings is a huge problem especially when using untrained interpreters (Hale 2004; Morris 1998). This research, along with the movement to professionalize interpreting, has led to the wide-spread development of training opportunities for interpreters in general, and specifically in the provision of targeted education for legal interpreting.

While the majority of available data-driven studies stem from courtroom or police interview studies, there are numerous other events that involve legal discourse and recent studies have explored areas such as refugee hearings (Kolb & Pöchhacker 2008), interpreting legal matters via Video Relay Services (Roberson, Russell & Shaw 2012) (see Remote interpreting**) and serving Deaf jurors (Napier & Spencer 2008). A relatively recent development in the field of signed language interpreting has been the inclusion of Deaf interpreters who work in teams with non-deaf interpreters in order to meet the communication needs of the consumers and the situation (Stone 2009).

However, one of the challenges that persist in the field of interpretation has been the setting of professional standards for interpreters serving community settings, including interpreting legal interactions. While some countries have stringent requirements (for example, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Canada) demanding qualified spoken and signed language interpreters with academic and/or professional accreditation qualifications, there are many legal systems that continue to use incompetent and untrained interpreters, resulting in significant problems for the consumers of interpreting services and decreased job satisfaction among interpreters (Hale 2011; Phelan 2011) (see Quality in interpreting***).

Napier (2004) compared testing models across several countries, suggesting that countries with formal testing systems have increased the awareness of the role of professional interpreters and demonstrated leadership in the area of accrediting both signed and spoken language interpreters. The need for legal interpreting certification has also been stressed in recent literature (Witter-Merithew & Nicodemus 2011; Roberson, Russell & Shaw 2012). The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf in the United States of America offers a specialist certificate for signed language interpreters in legal settings. This degree of specialist legal training and resulting certification for either spoken or signed language interpreting is not typical of many countries, regardless of the stage of development of the profession of interpreting.

Several professional organizations representing spoken and signed language interpreters have emerged as a strong lobby for advancing standards, introducing codes of conduct and assessment and certification standards (for example, Chartered Institute of Linguists in the United Kingdom, the Canadian Translators and Interpreters Council (CTIC), the National Accreditation Authority of Translators and Interpreters of Australia (NAATI), and the European Forum of Sign Language Interpreters (efsli)). As well, Critical Link[1] conferences have drawn international participation from both spoken and signed language researchers, interpreters and educators to explore community interpreting*, and the organization has had a significant role in shaping the research agenda in legal interpreting. Five conference proceedings have been published, demonstrating the diversity of research methodologies and breadth of topical areas that are being studied in this field (see Benjamins Translation Library for a complete list of all five volumes). Hertog (2010) argues that community interpreting, and in particular, the professional research community, developed significantly after the first Critical Link Conference. Numerous research journals now address interpreting research and legal interpreting is often featured in the articles (see *Meta, Journal of Interpretation, Interpreting, The Translator, the International Journal of Interpreter Education*, etc.).

The area of interpreting legal discourse and working in legal settings continues to develop as an area of specialization. The number of research projects studying legal interpreting continues to grow globally, enhancing our understanding of the complexity and realities of legal interpreting and bridging research and practice between spoken and signed language interpreters (Russell & Hale 2008).

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Essential Reading

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Cultural translation

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Cultural translation is a concept with competing definitions coming from two broad fields, anthropology/ethnography* and cultural/postcolonial* studies. In anthropology, it usually refers to the act of describing for members of one cultural community how members of another interpret the world and their place in it. In cultural studies, it usually refers to the different forms of negotiation that people engage in when they are displaced from one cultural community into another, or it refers to the displacement itself. In both cases, scholars have typically explained the term's use by pointing out that "translation*" derives from the Latin *translātus*, the past participle of *transferre*, meaning "to carry across." (Scholars who cite non-Latin etymologies are exceedingly rare.) What is "carried across," however, varies by field. For anthropologists, foreign cultures are "carried across" to domestic readers in textual form, as described in articles and books, while for cultural studies scholars, what is "carried across" is not so much culture as it is the people who leave their place of origin and enter a new locale, bearing their culture with them.

1. Anthropology

Perhaps the best-known essay on cultural translation is Talal Asad's "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Cultural Anthropology." Asad notes that since the 1950s, "'the translation of cultures' […] has become an almost banal description of the distinctive task of social anthropology," and he cites Godfrey Lienhardt as the author of "one of the earliest – certainly one of the most subtle – examples of the use of this notion of translation" (1986: 141–142). Lienhardt explained in a 1953 lecture that the "problem of describing to others how members of a remote tribe think [appears] largely as one of translation, of making the coherence primitive thought has in the languages it really lives in, as clear as possible in our own" (1954: 97). A couple of years later, Ernest Gellner described the anthropologist's task in similar terms:

> The situation, facing a social anthropologist who wishes to interpret a concept, assertion or doctrine in an alien culture, is basically simple. He is, say, faced with an assertion *S* in the local language. He has at his disposal the large or infinite set of

> possible sentences in his own language. His task is to locate the nearest equivalent or equivalents of *S* in his own language (1970: 24).

Although these accounts appear similar, they differ with respect to the object of translation. For Lienhardt, what was transformed was anthropological culture itself, or the system of beliefs and customs that structured how members of a cultural community interpreted the world. For Gellner, it was a "concept, assertion or doctrine" as seen within the context of a given anthropological culture, but not the culture itself. The distinction is important. Lienhardt's idea of rewriting anthropological culture is paradoxical because of the way it collapses the distinction between objects and the context that makes them meaningful. If "cultural translation" refers to an attempt to translate an entire system of beliefs and customs—that is, the context itself—then that distinction is lost.

Gellner and other like-minded anthropologists provided one solution to this paradox by taking a "concept, assertion or doctrine" as the object of translation, rather than the system of beliefs itself. Since the 1980s, anthropologists have taken a different tack by arguing that the object/context paradox is symptomatic of the imbalance of power on which cultural anthropology has historically been premised. For instance, Tim Ingold writes that although anthropologists strive to overcome the forces of ethnocentrism, "the project of […] using observation and reason to transcend the limited horizons of species and culture, is none other than the [Western] project of modernity." Anthropologists, by his account, reduce the culture they seek to discover to an object, which they then interpret against what appears as "universal reason" but is really the horizon of Western modernity in disguise (1993: 217–223). Such critiques have prompted anthropologists to become more reflexive, for instance by advocating approaches that "test the tolerance of [their] own language for assuming unaccustomed forms" as a way to subvert their own authority (Asad 1986: 157). Where cultural translation is concerned, they have come to emphasize its transformative effect on anthropologists themselves: "To produce cultural translation is not a question of replacing text with text […] but of co-creating text, of producing a written version of a lived reality, and it is in this sense that it can be powerfully transformative for those who take part" (Jordan 2002: 98).

2. Cultural studies

In cultural studies, "translation" tends to refer to processes of displacement, much as in mathematics, for instance, where "translation" refers to the repetition of a geometric shape without alteration at a new set of coordinates. The term's use in this sense is more recent than in anthropology, having been popularized by postcolonial scholars such as Homi Bhabha in the 1990s. These scholars were interested in the potential of cultural translation to destabilize or otherwise challenge received notions of "foreign" and "familiar," especially in contemporary Western society, where narratives of national identity are based on artificially clear distinctions between the West and its former colonies. They saw cultural translation as a tool, at least potentially, to challenge oppressive or restrictive social norms. As Tomislav Longinovic writes, "The impossibility of absolute sameness in translation opens a horizon for a new performance of cultural identity as a process of dynamic exchange between semiotic registers motivated by non-hierarchical openness and movements of meaning and identity" (2002: 7–8).

Scholars differ in their accounts of the form that such a performance takes. Longinovic, for example, considers it from the perspective of people occupying a minority position. Specifically, he examines how "legal and illegal immigrants, refugees, asylum-seekers as well as itinerant academics" negotiate their way through their new environment and adapt their identity as a result of being the "other" of the community they have entered (2002: 6–7). In contrast, Boris Buden and Stefan Nowotny consider cultural translation from the perspective of people occupying positions of power, examining how figures of authority either enforce or challenge restrictive ideas of national identity. They cite a poem by Bertolt Brecht about a man applying for U.S. citizenship. The judge administering the citizenship test realizes that the man is answering "1492" to every question because he does not speak English. The judge then asks when Columbus discovered America, at which point the man's answer is correct. Buden and Nowotny argue that the judge posed the correct question to a wrong answer, which leads them to ask, "is 'democracy' simply a wrong answer still waiting for a correct question? The search for this question, and nothing else, is cultural translation" (2009: 207). For them, the negotiation of cultural translation implicates not only people like the itinerants considered by Longinovic but also the members of the community into which they enter. Cultural translation, in their view, involves acts of hospitality and cannot be separated from the ethical dimension of people's encounter with cultural "others." Because of this necessary ethical dimension, cultural translation holds the potential to bring about positive social change.

Critics of this notion of cultural translation find fault with it in at least three ways. First, they find it abstrusely theoretical: "the theoreticism of the commentary preempts any close textual analysis," according to Lawrence Venuti (2003: 244). Second, they argue that such abstraction encourages sloppy thinking: theorists fail to "break 'cultural translation' down in terms of appropriate distinctions (like the one between translations as products and translating as a process)," according to

Anthony Pym (2010: 7). (It should be noted that Pym's critique is directed at Buden and Nowotny in particular.) Finally, they worry that scholars have been seduced by what appears to be the utopian potential of cultural translation and that, as a result, they will abandon the study of literary translation: "[I]f literary translation is allowed to wither away in the age of cultural translation, we shall sooner than later end up with a wholly translated, monolingual, monocultural, monolithic world," according to Harish Trivedi (2007: 286).

3. Cultural translation outside of anthropology and cultural studies

In spite (or perhaps because) of the decades-long history of the term "cultural translation," its definition is still actively contested. In 2009 and 2010, the journal *Translation Studies* published a forum on the topic, consisting of Buden and Nowotny's (2009) "introduction to the problem" and a series of responses. The division between anthropology/ethnography and cultural/postcolonial studies was clear, although a number of respondents did try to bridge the gap.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the *Translation Studies* forum was, in fact, the attempt to find points where competing notions of cultural translation are complementary. As debates about cultural translation continue, one productive approach will be to examine socially and historically situated circumstances where the types of negotiation described by both anthropologists and cultural studies scholars have taken place.

In this respect, scholars from outside these fields have insights to offer. Communication scholars, for example, have examined how journalists explain how immigrants and other newcomers experience the community to which their readers, listeners, and viewers belong. In other words, they have described journalists' efforts to engage in cultural translation in the anthropological sense, as a form of explanation. At the same time, sociologists have examined how immigrants and other newcomers negotiate their way through the communities they have joined. In other words, they investigate cultural translation as a function of displacement. In this way, the competing definitions are also complementary: in this example, both the communication scholar and the sociologist are interested in the dynamic relationships between cultural communities in which the distinction between "foreign" and "familiar" is increasingly blurred. Such work has the potential to provide insight into a broader set of questions of interest to Translation Studies scholars, such as what happens when notions of "translation" are expanded beyond linguistic re-expression. However, this type of synthetic analysis is still in its infancy, although it appears to be a promising path of inquiry.

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Development and translation

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At this point in time, I do not think one can claim that development as a phenomenon or development studies as a field of study is, as such, a sub-field or a particular point of interest in Translation Studies*. One would not find monographs or even journal articles in which Translation Studies scholars venture into the field of development studies, as such. For their part, development scholars only on rare occasions venture into the field of translation, but then not necessarily into the conventional notion of translation proper (see Lewis & Mosse 2006). My argument is rather that the recent turns* in Translation Studies imply that Translation Studies is inadvertently becoming involved in issues of development. First, I shall provide a brief conceptualisation of development and development studies. Then, I shall indicate how one could conceptualise the relationship between translation and development. After that, I shall set out the prospects for the future of this interdisciplinary*** relationship, arguing that Translation Studies does not have a choice about being involved in notions of development.

1. Conceptualising development

Development is not only a highly emotional socio-political issue; it is also a much debated academic issue. Therefore, it is no surprise that conceptualising development is a contested issue. It ranges from highly Westernised notions of attaining technological and scientific advances or culture, i.e. modernising, to transferring advances to the less advanced, to very general views of adapting to historical reality (see Coetzee et al. 2001 for a good overview). As far as theoretical approaches are concerned, it ranges from systemic approaches to individual, personal approaches. It is viewed as a panacea by some and a curse by others. Similarly, the goals of development are contested. These may vary from transfer of knowledge, skill, technology and wealth to mere survival in modernity. How far development should go and what its relationship should be with local forms of knowledge are hotly debated issues. Critical approaches to development point out that development could be a mere cover for imperialist practices such as creating markets for the industries of developed countries.

Development studies is usually conceptualised as an interdiscipline in which economics, political science and sociology combine to study the phenomenon of development (see, for instance, Coetzee et al. 2001). One does also find a growing interest in development from anthropology and postcolonial* fields such as African studies and gender studies (Lewis & Mosse 2006; Olivier de Sardan 2005).

Broadly speaking, one can conceptualise two main streams in development studies, i.e. macro and micro approaches. The macro approaches typically deal with macro-economic, ideological, and political matters such as capitalism and neo-capitalism, liberalism and neo-liberalism, socialism and Marxism. The micro approaches typically deal with participatory models, agency approaches and more practical approaches at grass-roots level. The last two decades seem to have favoured approaches that focus more on the micro, grassroots, personal, hermeneutical level, or, as has become a buzz-term, development from below.

One of the (very few) current theoretical efforts to connect translation and development is through the suggestions made by Latour when he uses the concept of translation in his action network theory. In particular, Lewis and Mosse (2006), who build on Latour, are the only reference I could find which, in the title, connect translation and development. Latour seems to be looking for a way in which various actors are connected into a system or network. This process, he conceptualises as translation. In their book, Lewis and Mosse (2006) take over Latour's (2000: 113) notion that "The adjective "social" now codes, not a substance, nor a domain of reality (by opposition for instance to the natural, or the technical, or the economic), but a way of tying together heterogeneous bundles, of *translating* some type of entities into another (translation being the opposite of substitution)". Latour thus views translation as a way of bringing widely different actors in a social project onto the same page, as it were. Latour, and a sociologist like Renn, (see Tyulenev 2011: 92–101) grapples with the problem of relating the variety of actions and actors in a social context to the social patterns or programs that emerge out the interactions. How is some form of unity created out of a variety of individual interactions? To answer the question, Latour says that actors are translated into a project, i.e. they are changed, while staying the same, to be become part of the project. In this way, he conceptualises the changing of various ideas into a hegemonic project. It is his way of dealing with difference and the transfer of difference into a social reality while the differences remain intact. This particular view of translation actually sees acts of translation as homogenising by moving actors into thought worlds of which they have not previously been part. What is lacking in this debate is a meta-theoretical perspective on the various conceptual uses of the term translation.

Another link between Translation Studies and development is suggested by the work of Chalmers (2005). In typical constructivist fashion, he problematizes the use of language in development contexts for its power to construct reality and thinking. The fact that this reality and ways of thinking about it are contested in contexts of development leads Chalmers (2005: 189) rightly to ask: 'Whose language counts?'

He does not, however, develop his thought to include multilinguistic contexts in which translation could play a role. It is precisely here, at the level of different languages and conceptualisations that the development context becomes of interest for scholars of Translation Studies.

As can be seen from the discussion above, the relationship between translation and development is, theoretically spoken, wide open and in serious need of conceptualisation.

2. The relationship between translation and development

There seems to be at least three developments in Translation Studies itself that are suggesting that development is becoming a point of interest in Translation Studies. The first is the movement led by Maria Tymoczko (2006; 2007) to expand Translation Studies beyond its Western bias. She claims that Translation Studies is caught up in a Western bias that, amongst others, limits the focus of the field to phenomena that are written, that fall within the formal economy and that are professional in nature. This bias, she claims, causes a large number of phenomena to be left out of the purview of Translation Studies. Underlying Tymoczko's argument is a distinction between West and non-West. As has been argued before, this 'West' is a construction and one may even find phenomena that Tymoczko associates with 'non-West' in the West. As part of the issues of the non-West, it thus seems that the notions of developed/developing, though not without contestation, could be explored to conceptualise the issues to which Tymoczko refers. If this movement grows, and all indications are that it will, Translation Studies will shortly have to concern itself not merely with cultural and ideological differences between West and non-West but with theoretically having to grapple with the role of translation in the development of societies. To achieve this move, Translation Studies will need to change its focus from literary texts to communicative texts and from the formal to the informal economy, a move that is in progress but that has not yet been studied as to its relationship to development. Translation Studies will need to move away from a sterile type of analytical postcolonial studies that only analyse developmental or postcolonial problems as power issues to an approach that is able also to include an understanding of the impact of translation on development. It will need to engage with the notion of development, asking how translation is a factor in development and how development is a factor constraining or enhancing translation. One of the great divides in the current world is that between First and Third World, a topic which Translation Studies has not seriously engaged as yet on a theoretical level. Examples of small studies engaging with the informal economy is that of Makhado (2010) and Motsie (2010) in which they studied translators working in rural areas and informal advertisements** and views around their translation respectively. Much more is needed, however.

Secondly, Translation Studies has, over the past three decades, moved from viewing translation as a linguistic activity and the translator, to some extent, as a conduit through whom meaning flows to viewing translation as a cultural/social/ideological activity and the translator as an agent of social change. Revisiting what Venuti (2006) labels as the 'Foundational Statements' of Translation Studies, one finds that St Jerome (2006) already makes use of arguments from the social reality of his time to motivate translation choices. For him, the choice of translation strategy impacts the well-being of his social reality. Much later, in an article which could be read as a philosophy of development, Friedrich Nietsche (2006) viewed translation as conquest. His argument boils down to explaining how civilizations develop: by conquering others, translating the best of their ideas into their own, and building on it. It is thus not surprising that the vision of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN, n.d.), closely connected to the African Renaissance movement, is to translate large numbers of literary and scientific works into African languages. Building on the work by Bassnett, Gentzler (2008) is an exponent of the claims that translation is an agent in the creation of culture. He claims that both North and South American culture has significantly been influenced by (non)-translation. Milton and Bandia's (2009) book is an example of this trend to study the developmental implications of translation. Contributors to their book provide evidence of numerous historical cases in which translation programmes were employed to develop/Westernise/modernise societies. To this, one can add the work of Bandia (2008) in which he claims that African authors are developing African literature and reclaiming a cultural space by their hybrid** literary texts, which combine African orality** and conceptualisations with Western languages and textual technologies. The gap in the above works is that development itself and its relationship to translation are assumed rather than theorised.

Thirdly, the move in Translation Studies away for an exclusive focus on literary* and religious* texts to understanding the translation of communicative texts opens the door for studying the developmental impact of translation. The data from the study of communicative texts needs to be incorporated into Translation Studies in order to understand the impact of (the lack of) translation on the development of societies. Understanding how, in multilingual contexts, (a lack of) translation influences economic interaction, service delivery by governmental institutions, medical and legal services, academic research, religion, etc. could help scholars from various fields and even policy makers to understand society better. In this regard, one also has to keep in mind the developmental role of the work that has been done by community interpreters (e.g. Erasmus, Mathibela, Hertog & Antonissen, 1999).

3. Prospects

It seems inevitable that Translation Studies will have theoretically to engage in research on the notion of development. Apart from it being inherent in the theories of translation as indicated above, Translation Studies cannot sit idly and allow the development crisis to pass by unnoticed. Recent calls for ethically responsible Translation Studies necessitate an intellectual contribution from translation scholars on the issues of development.

The move in development studies towards a micro-, agent-based approach to development opens up an interface with translation. One can conceptualise the interface in various ways, one of which would be Jakobson's notion that all interpretation is translation. In this sense, the approach claiming that development is a hermeneutical phenomenon in which people integrate the new, other information, skills and ideas into their existing frame of knowledge (Olivier de Sardan 2006) could be enriched by viewing development as a process of translation. It is another typical 'inter' situation, where differences meet, where someone is an 'other', and where the foreign has to be appropriated.

The point of interface which lies open is, to my mind, the following. Whether one conceptualise development at a structural, macro level as a system or a policy that has to be implemented or whether you view it as a hermeneutical, micro-level activity that has to be appropriated, one issue pertaining to development has not yet been considered: language. Inevitably, development implies the meeting of people speaking different languages and having different conceptualisations of reality. How do people from different language groups communicate when they meet in development project? How does knowledge travel from developed to un(der)developed areas when development policies are localised? What happens when knowledge travels from, say, First World contexts to, say, Third World contexts? How is the foreign (knowledge, skill, technology) indigenised when it arrives at a given locality? How do people negotiate the new into their world view? The question is thus twofold: First, linguistically, what happens in the process of development? How do development agencies communicate in a foreign language when they arrive at a development site? How are development policies translated, if at all? Second, conceptually, what happens in the process of development? How are foreign concepts, ideas, technologies, which are all linguistic or at least semiotic in nature, indigenised?

The problem with many development initiatives is that they seem to remain foreign. It remains one of the riddles of development why development sometimes succeeds and often fails. There seems to be no blueprint. From the perspective of Translation Studies, one could argue that development fails because it is translated neither into the language nor into the conceptual world of the recipients. A contrary case in point testifying to the success of translation in development is that of Bible translation. Naudé & Miller-Naudé (2011: 324), for instance, claim that Bible translation is the reason why the church has become indigenised in Africa. Theorising the relationship between translation and development could contribute to understanding the workings of social development.

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Editorial policy and translation

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The publication of a text in translation* depends on editorial policies, that is, sets of choices and strategies adopted by editorial agents – publishers, journal editors, translators, literary agents (see Agents of translation**) – on the basis of objectives and values, which may be cultural, political and/or economic. These policies, which are partly conscious and partly unconscious, can be reconstructed on the basis of archives, interviews and a quantitative analysis of publishers' lists or of the table of contents of journals, through which the coherence and evolution of these policies can be observed.

1. In the recent past

Publishers and journals are major intermediaries in the circulation of texts from one language to another. Since the middle of the 19th century, translation became the main medium for the circulation of literary** works. In many countries, publishing in the vernacular language, which had become the national language, developed by translating or adapting texts from other languages (see Adaptation*). Whereas Balzac in his time had been read in French throughout Europe, Zola's novels circulated abroad rather through translation, which allowed them to reach a readership beyond the cultural elite who mastered French. Publishers launched series of foreign literature in translation. Through this process, a new modern literary canon was built. By the interwar period, the Greco-Latin heritage had been replaced by works of the 19th century in the national languages (Milo 1984). Translation was also a way to build national identities as illustrated in the cases of Brazil and Argentina (Sora 2002; see National and cultural images***).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, intercultural exchanges became increasingly structured by nation-states attempting to control the expanding book market (Merkle 2009; Wolf & Backleitner 2010). The Berne Convention, adopted in 1885 on the basis of the 1793 French legislation on literary property, was the first attempt at international regulation of the market to curb unauthorized editions (Translation rights ***). Boosted by international competition between nations, the number of translations reached a peak in the 1930s and fell dramatically during the Second

World War. During this period, translation was more than ever used as an ideological weapon (Rundle & Sturge 2010; see Ideology***). The second half of the twentieth century marked a new era that saw the world book market become progressively freer and more unified, apart from exchanges with the communist regimes, which were highly politicized (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007, 2009; Popa 2010). American hegemony gradually came to assert itself over this market, while French hegemony declined. In Europe, the geographic map of translations began extending to non-Western literatures, especially from Latin America and East Asia. At the same time, translations from the Western world into Japanese increased.

According to the UNESCO database *Index Translationum*, literature occupies the primary position among translated books in the contemporary period (from 1980 to 2002), with about half of the books translated in the world. The human and social sciences are second (about 22%), followed by books in the physical and life sciences (16%), religion (less than 7%), arts, games, sports (6%), and bibliographies** (1%). Because of the role it has played in the construction of national identities, notably through the codification of language and the creation of national literatures (Even-Zohar 1990; Delisle & Woodsworth 2012), the translated literature market is also the market with the most diversified intercultural exchanges, as measured through the number of translated languages.

2. Asymmetry of the world market

But the exchanges are unequal. The core-periphery systemic model, which has been insightfully applied by Wallerstein in his world-system analysis, was used by de Swaan (1993) to build the system of power relations between linguistic communities as assessed by the number of primary and secondary speakers. Using this model to describe the translation flows in the world system of translations, Heilbron (1999) shows that the market is highly concentrated in terms of source languages, and that translations move mainly from the "core" to the periphery, the position of a language being defined by the share of books translated from it.

The English language occupies a hyper-central position in this market: in the 1980s, about half of the translated books in the world were originally written in English. Translations from French, German and Russian represented 10–12% of this market till 1989, and could thus be defined as central. A few languages had a semi-peripheral position, with a share that varied from 1% to 3% of the global market (Italian, Spanish, Polish, Danish, Swedish and Czech). The other languages all had a share of less than 1% of this market, and may thus be considered peripheral (on less-translated languages, see Pym & Chrupala 2005).

Though this asymmetry results from the concentration of the publishing industry in a few cities like New York, London or Paris, it is not the mechanical reflection of the volume of the book production in each country. Rather, it also depends on cultural and political factors, as proved by the decline, from 11.5% to 2.5%, of translations from Russian after 1989 (Sapiro 2008b). Moreover, variations between different categories of books are an indicator of the relative autonomy of cultural fields: some languages are endowed with a high literary capital on the international scene (Casanova 1999), or with a high capital in a specific domain like philosophy*, which is, for instance, overrepresented within the books translated from German.

The unequal position of languages in the world system of translations is also obvious from the fact that, for a work published in a peripheral language, initial translation into a central language is often a precondition for circulating to other (semi-)peripheral languages (Heilbron 1999): the chance that a work in Korean will be translated into Romanian is higher if it has been translated first in French, for instance. In the past, many works written in peripheral languages were translated from these central languages which served as lingua franca. This "indirect translation" is less frequent today, at least in the case of what literary agents and publishers term "upmarket literary" or "serious" books (mainly academic essays) (see also Relay translation***). The norm in publishing today is to translate from the original.

3. Globalization and the publishing industry

Globalization* has increased the exchanges within the world market of translation. But far from fostering diversity, globalization has reinforced the domination of English: the share of books translated from English reached 59% in the 1990s (v. 45% in the 1980s), whereas the decline of Russian left only two other central languages: French and German, the position of which has been more or less steady. Among the semi-peripheral languages, Spanish strengthened its position, from 1.7% to 2.6%, while Italian has kept its share around 3%. The share of all the other formerly semi-peripheral languages has declined, falling under 1% (except for Swedish). Among the ongoing changes, one must stress the growing presence of books from Asian countries, mainly China, Korea, and Japan which has strengthened its position on the market of translations in large part thanks to the success of the manga genre. In parallel way, the number of translations in China and Korea has increased significantly. But it can be said that, quantitatively speaking, linguistic diversity has diminished. Moreover, many world regions remain excluded from translation exchanges, in particular African countries, where the publishing industry is little-developed and the book trade is under the domination of large companies from the former colonial states (namely France and England).

Peripheral countries in large linguistic areas also have to fight to enter the market of translation, since publishers in the central countries (or even central cities) are perceived as more attractive and tend to claim world rights. American publishers have acquired a central position, shared with English publishers since the 1960s, and together they concentrate most translations in the Anglophone area. In the last decade, however, Australian publishers have become more active in the world translation market. In the Francophone area, two-thirds of the translations into French are published in France, though Québec publishers have become much more active in the realm of translation publishing. In the Spanish-speaking world, Latin American publishers compete with their very powerful Spanish homologues to obtain translation rights (Sapiro 2009). The Arabic publishing sphere is concentrated around two cities, Beirut and Cairo; a State translation policy was implemented in Tunisia in the first half of the decade 2000.

Though useful at a macro level, the core-periphery model cannot explain variations within the national publishing fields. The book market is structured around the opposition between small-scale and large-scale circulation, each of them implying different rules of the game (Bourdieu 1999): the pole of large-scale production (mass market) is ruled by the law of the market, which means that editorial policies are first directed towards profitability in the short run; conversely, publishers and editors located at the pole of small-scale production tend to give priority to intellectual or aesthetic criteria, hoping to accumulate symbolic capital in the long run, when works will be acknowledged and, in the best case, recognized as classics.

In the globalization era, the growing concentration of publishing around large conglomerates has stiffened the economic constraints on the world market of translation. In the dominant Anglo-American field of publishing, these large conglomerates are reluctant to undertake translations for two main reasons. First, their cost: publishers must pay for the translation and for acquisition rights when the work is under copyright, which is in principle the case for works published in the last 70 years (to share costs, English and American publishers sometimes prefer to co-publish works in translation; see Buzelin 2009). Second, translation is time-consuming: texts must be checked, sometimes revised, and translators may work more or less slowly, etc. While they export many books to other languages, these large companies publish very few books in translation. It is true, however, that editorial policy can vary among the imprints within a conglomerate, because some literary upmarket imprints in the United States have maintained a translation policy (Sapiro 2008a). But in the Anglo-American market, translation has been in large part taken over by small independent publishers, either trade or not for profit (Sapiro 2010). For a young publisher, translation can be a means for accumulating symbolic capital (Serry 2002). Yet because translation is costly, publishers often seek financial support. The nation-states have developed cultural policies in order to support the translation of their national literatures and scholarly work into other languages. These policies tend more and more to adjust themselves to the demands of foreign publishers, thus depending on the latter's translation policies.

4. Language diversity in different markets

As a result, linguistic diversity significantly varies when moving from commercial to upmarket production (Sapiro 2010). Anglo-American book production is dominant everywhere in the world at the pole of large-scale circulation (best-sellers, mysteries, thrillers, romance novels), and competes with production in the national languages of non-Anglophone countries. Conversely, at the pole of small-scale circulation, especially in the literary upmarket sector, linguistic diversity is very high. According to the *Three Percent* Database, in 2008, in the United States, at least 361 fiction and poetry books were translated from 47 languages and 64 countries. In the United States, small independent publishers and translators have allied with the American section of the Pen Club in a struggle to promote what they prefer to call, in the context of the devaluation of translations, "international literature": this struggle represents for them both a cultural and political case in favor of opening to other cultures and fostering a more equal exchange in the globalization process (Sapiro 2010). In France, the most prestigious series of "foreign literature" publish works from more than 30 languages and 40 countries. Translations from English are relatively underrepresented in these series (about one third), and they include not only American or English authors, but also authors of Irish, Indian, African, or Filipino origin, among others. The editorial policy of these series is thus characterized by cultural diversity. But this principle can compete with another typical editorial principle of literary publishing, which applies to translation: the policy of following an author. Under this principle, an editor will aim at publishing a writer's complete works in order to accumulate symbolic capital for the author in the long run. Consequently, the diversification of languages is limited by faithfulness to authors (Sapiro 2008b). Thanks to the high linguistic diversity of translations in France, French publishing today plays a pivotal role on the world market of translations in promoting writings from certain languages, especially Arabic (on the history of translations from Arabic into French, see Santini 2006).

5. In the academic world

In the Anglo-American academic book market, the share of translations has also decreased since the 1990s. There are two reasons for this phenomenon. First, a crisis in the traditional scholarly publishing world was provoked when academic libraries reduced the budget they dedicated to books in favor of buying increasingly expensive access to on-line scientific journals. Second, large academic presses such as Oxford and Cambridge University Press have redefined their editorial policy as global publishers, targeting new markets, especially the Asian one. The issue of translation in the academic world is also related to the question of the lingua franca. On the one hand, more and more scholars in the social and human sciences, especially from peripheral countries, write directly in English, attempting to get published by Anglo-American publishers. On the other hand, publishers are increasingly reluctant to translate academic works from English, since they assume scholars can read directly in this language. It is, however, obvious that in countries like France or Italy, foreign works reach a much larger public (including in the academic market) when they are translated in the local language. In France, a group of small committed publishers born in the two last decades have undertaken to publish translations of academic works having a critical political resonance. When they are not already in English, academic journals in many countries are considering the possibility of publishing English versions of their articles. This requires funds that some academic institutions or even some governments are ready to invest.

6. Conclusion

Globalization has fostered the unification of a world market of translation and intensified exchanges, but it has not favored cultural diversity as measured through the source language of translated books. Growing economic constraints and the concentration of the book industry in large conglomerates have influenced translation editorial policies. But the reaction of small independent publishers, eager to promote "international literature", and the investment of nation-states in policies supporting translation, have both countered these tendencies at least at the pole of small-scale production. Translation editorial policies, like editorial policies in general, may be affected in the near future by the development of e-publishing. It is not possible to predict these future changes, particularly not in the academic publishing world, where new opportunities may arise (see Web and translation*).

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Equivalence

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Dynamic, formal, functional, communicative, connotative, denotative, text-normative, pragmatic, textual, total, approximative, one-to-one, one-to-many, one-to-nil, semantic, content, stylistic, lexicographical… equivalence types galore. Indeed, the question of equivalence is as old as translation practice itself. For Mary Snell-Hornby (1988: 18–19), it was Roman Jakobson's 1959 "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation" that "unleashed" the heated debate on equivalence that marked the following decades. For Kevin Windle and Anthony Pym, the "first concepts of equivalence" date back to Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet's 1958 *Stylistique Comparée du Français et de l'Anglais* (Windle & Pym 2011: 16). Wolfram Wilss, in contrast, goes as far as to claim that equivalence has been in the spotlight of theoretical reflection on translation since ancient times (Wilss 1977: 156).

From the cornerstone and ultimate objective of translation to the epitome of logocentric thought, equivalence has at times been in the spotlight, and at others in relative obscurity over the past several decades. Not to mention all the various in-between stages, such as (1) a useful criterion to assess translation quality, (2) a fitting term to describe the relationship original-translation, (3) a taken for granted blanket concept, and (4) a much too impalpable, subjective and most importantly worn-out notion to have any serious use in translation. And here is probably where the fascination with this issue lies: its multifaceted definitions unveil a myriad of ways to perceive the phenomenon we all call translation. Moreover, thanks to its intimate relationship with notions such as sign, meaning, reference and language, one's understanding of equivalence lays bare one's understanding of processes that lie beneath translation.

1. Equivalence between the 1950s and 70s

1.1 Prescriptive or descriptive?

One of the very first issues that arises when one is faced with equivalence in translation is whether it is a prescriptive notion, in the sense of a goal or ideal condition to be fulfilled, or rather a descriptive concept that simply depicts an existing relationship between source and target text. One must nevertheless note that one such watertight polarity "prescriptive versus descriptive" is an oversimplifying generalisation, as any definition of equivalence can but contain both.

In his 1979 *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft*, Werner Koller distinguishes between the notions of equivalence in Translation Studies (TS) and in contrastive linguistics. In his view, the latter takes equivalence solely at the level of the *langue* and hence should be named "correspondence" ("*Korrespondänz*" – Koller 1979: 183) rather than equivalence. In TS, in turn, the *parole*, i.e. actual utterances and texts, is in the spotlight. For this reason, Koller sees "correspondence" as relevant for translation only in that it assists in foreign language acquisition, while "equivalence" remains the true object of translation (Koller 1979: 185). Before Koller, John C. Catford had already made a similar distinction in his 1965 *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. For Catford, a "textual equivalent" is "any TL [target language] text or portion of text which is observed (…) to be the equivalent of a given SL [source language] text or portion of text", whereas a "formal correspondent" is any source language category that occupies more or less "the 'same' place in the 'economy'" of the target language (1965: 27 – his emphasis).

So for Catford and Koller, equivalence is first and foremost an "empirical phenomenon" (Catford 1965: 27) rather than a prescriptive category. Koller describes equivalence as a *relationship* between a given source text (or source text elements) and target text (or target text elements), stressing that it is the nature of one such relationship that defines the equivalence type (1979: 186). In his view, the task of TS is to comparatively analyse as many source and target situations as possible, so as to lay down the principles that will govern each equivalence type. In this sense, his notion of equivalence can be said to have a prescriptive tone as well.

Similarly, at first glance Catford appears to stick to a more descriptive notion of equivalence, relying on a "competent bilingual informant or translator" (Catford 1965: 27) to determine, *a posteriori*, whether a particular source text or item is "relatable to (at least some of) the same features of substance" of a particular target text or item (1965: 50). But he also contends that advances need to be made in linguistics so as to establish the "distinctive features of contextual meanings of grammatical or lexical items", thus leading to better defined equivalence categories and an improved translation practice (Catford 1965: 50). So in Catford's work the concept of equivalence arguably includes a prescriptive dimension, too.

Eugene Nida's work also generally seems to embody this duality, as his notion of equivalence simultaneously stems from the observation and description of his own work *and* dictates what translators *should* do (mostly Nida 1964). The same can be said of Vinay & Darbelnet, who in the introduction to their abovementioned volume assert that their objective is to firstly observe and describe "*les voies que suit l'esprit, consciemment ou inconsciemment, quand il passe d'une langue à une autre*" (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958: 26 – in Juan Sager & M.-J. Hamel's translation "the way our minds work consciously or subconsciously when it moves from one language to another", 1958/1995: 10), and then develop translation methods to be followed.

All in all, much of the canonical literature on equivalence of the late 1950s, the 1960s and 70s is sometimes conveniently (and more frequently than not unfairly) pushed into the "far too prescriptive" category – Windle & Pym, for instance, speak of a "rich and complex paradigm often reduced to some of its more naïve formulations" (Windle & Pym 2011: 17). At any rate, as Windle and Pym maintain, these theories are perceived today as an equivalence-oriented *paradigm*, in which the notion of equivalence obviously plays a central role not only as a (1) a useful criterion to assess translation quality*, but also as a (2) a fitting term to describe the relationship original-translation (see above). And thanks especially to the key role played by equivalence, the approaches that make up this paradigm are primarily source-oriented and retrospective. In other words, equivalence – whether descriptive or prescriptive – worked as an instrument to measure how close target texts were to source texts, hence keeping *source* texts and contexts in the spotlight.

1.2 Equivalence typologies

One of the most renowned equivalence typologies of these times – and perhaps of all times – is the one proposed by Nida (1964: 159), whereby enabling target readers to slip into the shoes of source readers is named "formal equivalence", whereas adapting source texts according to target culture expectations is referred to as "dynamic equivalence". In Koller's view (1979: 125), these categories coincide with Friedrich Schleiermacher's in his celebrated "*Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersetzens*", whereby formal equivalence is analogous to leaving the author in peace and moving readers towards him/her, and dynamic equivalence corresponds to leaving readers in peace and moving the author towards them.

Another translation theorist that proposed a binary opposition along more or less the same lines is Peter Newmark. The year 1977 witnessed the publication of his "Communicative and Semantic Translation" (in Babel 23:4), which may be associated with Nida's dynamic and formal equivalence, respectively. But Newmark does not present these categories as equivalence types as such and, as a matter of fact, he would later assert that it is "fruitless to define equivalence – a common academic dead-end pursuit – or to pronounce where equivalence ends and where correspondence, or adequacy, begins" (1991: 3). However, when presenting the features of semantic and communicative translation, he does list a number of "related notions" (1991: 13), amongst which feature not only the abovementioned contributions by Schleiermacher, Koller and Catford, but also Georges Mounin's ethnographic versus linguistic translation, Vinay & Darbelnet's direct versus indirect procedures, Juliane House's overt and covert translation, John Postgate's prospective and retrospective translation, amongst others.

Noteworthy as these binary categories may be, they certainly represent only a drop in the ocean of equivalence typologies devised up until the 1970s. The Leipzig School, for example, produced numerous intricate equivalence typologies, amongst which Otto Kade's is probably one of the best-known. In 1968 (p. 79) Kade proposed four equivalence types, namely "*total*" (when two terms in different languages coincide completely), "*fakultativ*" (when one term corresponds to many in another language), "*approximativ*" (when one term only finds partial correspondence in a term belonging to another language) and "*null*" or nil equivalence (in the case of culture-specific terms that have no correspondent in another language).

Following the same strictly "scientific" trend, Koller (1979: 187) devised five types of equivalence, namely (1) "*denotativ*", which refers to the extralinguistic reality in question and is in principle always achievable; (2) "*konnotativ*", which regards the type of verbalisation and constitutes one of the major unresolved problems in the area; (3) "*textnormativ*", which concerns the textual and language norms in question; (4) "*pragmatisch*", which refers to the target receiver; and (5) "*formal*", which regards certain aesthetic language features, such as puns and figures of speech. This typology remained the same in the 2011 edition of his *Einführung*.

2. Equivalence and the paradigm shift of the 1980s

2.1 Change to descriptivism?

Up until the 1980s, research on translation saw equivalence types flourish, along with source-oriented approaches. For Kirsten Malmkjær (2011: 113–114), from the late 1970s onwards the focus on *equivalence* shifted to *purpose*, giving way to a brand new paradigm in the then newly born discipline of Translation Studies*. Lawrence Venuti (2000: 5) very aptly summarises this great paradigm shift, or "cultural turn" (Mary Snell-Hornby – see The Turns of Translation Studies*), as follows:

> In (…) the 1960s and 1970s, the autonomy of translation is limited by the dominance of thinking about equivalence, and functionalism becomes a solution to a theoretical impasse; in (…) the 1980s and 1990s, autonomy is limited by the dominance of functionalisms, and equivalence is rethought to embrace what were previously treated as shifts or deviations from the foreign text.

Indeed, in Katharina Reiß's 1971 *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik*, her text typology was still *the* guiding element, based on which *semantic equivalence*, lexical adequacy, grammatical correctness and stylistic correspondence between source and target text was to be achieved or assessed. More than a decade later, nevertheless, when Katharina Reiß and Hans Vermeer wrote *Grundlagen einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* together (1984), it became clear that Reiß' text typology was but a special case in translation, namely when source and target text functions remain the same. The most common and hence general principle guiding translations was actually its purpose, Vermeer's *Skopos*, thus placing equivalence far lower in the hierarchy of factors to be taken into account. Being skopos-oriented meant being *target*-oriented and *prospective*, rather than *source*-oriented and *retrospective*. However, it is essential to remark that the German functional approach embraced a prescriptive component, as it was primarily designed to attend to the needs of translator and interpreter training. In fact, Christiane Nord's work continues this trend till today (see Functionalist Approaches*).

But at the same time that these developments labelled "functionalist" or "skopos-oriented" were being made in Germany around Vermeer, another target-oriented, prospective school was unfolding around Gideon Toury in the Netherlands, namely Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). In this approach, equivalence as an "a-historical, invariant" concept had no place at all, being replaced with a "functional-relational, historical, variable" notion of equivalence whose aim was strictly descriptive. In other words, by observing existing translations one should be able to determine the "norms of translation equivalence" in force, together with how equivalence is actually obtained (see Descriptive Translation Studies*). So although DTS and the Functionalist Approaches led the way as far as target-oriented approaches are concerned, the former seemed to have clear descriptive aspirations, whereas the latter was predominantly prescriptive.

Therefore, this cultural turn of the 1980s had little to do with turning equivalence – and translation theory in general, for that matter – into a descriptive rather than prescriptive concept. Instead, it placed equivalence within a target-oriented framework concerned first and foremost with aspects of *target cultures* rather than with *linguistic* elements of *source* texts. Today, the question of whether equivalence is (or should be) prescriptive or descriptive is relatively outmoded, leaving the stage free either for questions surrounding the possibility and most importantly the relevance of equivalence in translation, or for the use of the term equivalence primarily as a blanket – but useful – concept.

2.2 Equivalence revised and relativised

As we have seen above, the 1950s, 60s and 70s were marked by rigid equivalence typologies, largely inspired in the scientific models of the exact sciences. Indeed, it was not until the 1980s that TS witnessed the emergence of the first outcries for a relativisation of equivalence in translation – very much in line with the paradigm shift mentioned above. Here Mary Snell-Hornby's 1988 *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach* may be said to epitomise these trends, as she shows that the idea of symmetry between languages (that inevitably underpins the notion of equivalence) is simply illusory. In order to do so, she thoroughly analyses a particularly witty example, namely the disconcerting lack of equivalence between the English word "equivalence" and the German word "*Äquivalenz*" (1988: 16–18). In her work, Snell-Hornby stresses that whether equivalence has more rigid, scientistic contours – as was the case in the so-called German tradition of the 1960s and 70s – or whether it is all too "approximative and vague" – as was largely the case in the English-speaking world – it remains an illusory concept that must be taken – if at all – with a large pinch of salt (1988: 21–22).

Witness, for example, the attitude of the German functional approach and DTS towards equivalence: both took it with far less scientistic determination than their predecessors. Toury, for instance, devised a postulate whereby equivalence is a "descriptive term, denoting concrete objects – actual relationships between actual utterances in two languages" (Toury 1980, 113 and 39). Likewise, Vermeer warns that every time he uses the word "equivalent", he should actually say what is considered to be equivalent, what is taken as equivalent (Reiß & Vermeer 1984/1996: 27). Indeed, Reiß adds that equivalence is always "product and result-oriented" ("*produkt- bzw. resultatorientier[t]*" – Reiß & Vermeer 1984: 140).

So following the new trends established by the paradigm shift of the 1980s, the concept of equivalence still permeated the works of various translation scholars in the 1990s and 2000s, though much of the scientistic determination that went hand in hand with equivalence in previous decades did indeed get lost. By shifting the focus from language to culture, source-texts were not the only ones to be dethroned, but the notion of equivalence also seems to have lost much of its vigour. Yet until today equivalence in translation is very much present, predominantly as a blanket, useful concept.

Mona Baker's 1992/2011 *In Other Words* is a good example of this new attitude towards equivalence: "the term equivalence is adopted in this book for the sake of convenience – because most translators are used to it rather than because it has any theoretical status" (1992/2011: 5). Instead of proposing an intricate equivalence typology, Baker goes on to investigate how equivalence does (and does *not*) take place at various levels (word level, grammatical level, textual level, etc.). Other recent examples of a rather taken for granted use of equivalence include two entries in the present Handbook, namely M. Teresa Cabré's Terminology and Translation* and Marianne Lederer's Interpretive Approach*. Like Baker, both Cabré and Lederer mention equivalence "for the sake of convenience", simply as a blanket concept to which translators have grown accustomed.

3. Equivalence and contemporary thought

Within what is loosely labelled as post-structuralist thought in translation (see Deconstruction**), the reliance on equivalence is perceived as the epitome of essentialism or logocentrism, which in short refers to the understanding of meaning as a stable and hence easily transferrable entity from language to language, regardless of circumstances and ideology. In a poststructuralist light, one could even question to what extent the cultural turn represented a paradigm shift, precisely because *both* source *and* target-oriented approaches *still* rely on concepts such as equivalence. For Rosemary Arrojo (Philosophy and Translation*), for instance, "those who believe in the possibility of separating themselves from things and meanings from words tend to view translation as the impersonal transference of essential meaning across languages", and this belief in translation as "impersonal transference" or pure equivalence "has dominated the ways in which translation is conceived and theorized in the West for more than two millennia".

From a deconstructionist perspective – and deriving inspiration particularly from Friedrich Nietzsche and Jacques Derrida – Arrojo asserts that notions such as equivalence are fiercely rejected because "translation can no longer be conceived in terms of transportation of essential meaning across languages and cultures". Instead, translation is a kind of "*transformation reglée*" (or regulated transformation – Derrida 1972: 31), an idea that has a significant impact on the notion of philosophy itself. In the wake of the critique to Western metaphysics, if translation involves transformation and equivalence is ruled out, philosophy cannot investigate *the* truth as a univocal and stable principle.

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Eurocentrism

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1. In general

Generally speaking, 'Euro-centrism' means viewing the world from a European perspective. As this practice is often linked to the European colonization of other parts of the world, the term was coined in the decolonization period. Similar terms expressing a geocultural perspective (although related to different periods and under very different circumstances) are for instance Americentrism, Sinocentrism or Afrocentrism. The use of the term 'Eurocentrism' is not typical of Translation Studies* only. Similar debates on this topic have been conducted in other scholarly fields to varying degrees of closure, like for instance in the social sciences (the seminal work in media studies by Shohat and Stam 1994 being a case in point).

2. In Translation Studies

In the wake of postcolonial* and postmodernist thinking, 'Eurocentrism' has also been criticized in Translation Studies (Cheung 2009: 228). Mainly during the last decade, the concept of 'Eurocentrism' has turned up now and then in Translation Studies publications. A search in the online *Translation Studies Bibliography* (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2011) yields 26 publications where Eurocentrism is part of the title or the abstract [accessed 15 March 2012]. 24 out of 26 were published from 2000 onwards. In 2000, Marilyn Gaddis Rose edited *Beyond the Western Tradition*, in an explicit attempt to approach translation globally or regionally, but not Eurocentrically. Maria Tymoczko in particular has used the term extensively over the last years in several publications dealing with the enlargement of translation and translation research for instance, or with the internationalization of the discipline. In her article 'Why Translators Should Want to Internationalize Translation Studies' she describes 'Eurocentric' as a term used "to refer to ideas, perspectives and practices that initially originated in and became dominant in Europe, spreading from there to various other locations in the world, where in some places, such as the United States and the rest of the Americas, they have also become dominant" (Tymoczko 2009: 403). She suggests putting into question the frameworks of discourses in Translation Studies and broadening the conceptualizations of translation. Martha Cheung's special issue of *The Translator* dealing with 'Chinese discourses on translation' (Cheung 2009) along with Judy Wakabayashi and Rita Kothari's edited volume on *Decentering Translation Studies: India and beyond* (Wakabayashi & Kothari 2009) can be seen as two fine examples focusing on non-European, in this case Asian translation matters.

3. Terminological choices

Very recently the use of the term 'Eurocentrism' in Translation Studies has also been criticized for several reasons. In most cases critics basically accept the viewpoint that Translation Studies in the second half of the 20th century has been dominated by European scholars and thought. On the other hand they point to certain risks involved when using a term that is continent-based. An example is the special issue of the journal *Translation and Interpreting Studies* (TIS) on the topic of 'Eurocentrism in Translation Studies' (van Doorslaer & Flynn 2011). Peter Flynn asks whether theories and concepts "can actually be attributed to a given geographical space, let alone a cultural or regional mindset" (116). In the same vein, Dirk Delabastita asks how "the *geographically* based idea of continents can be relevant to a *cultural* analysis to begin with" (Delabastita 2011: 151). In his contribution, Delabastita starts from an analysis of Edwin Gentzler's book on *Translation and Identity in the Americas* (Gentzler 2008) as a challenge to Eurocentrism. Although he praises the volume for its impressive range of challenging ideas, Delabastita also illustrates that a critique of the term Eurocentric (and of continent-based categories in general) may merely mean its replacement by paradigms based on a similar logic and underlying beliefs: in this case, when he observes the construction of a pan-American identity in Translation Studies. Delabastita fundamentally disagrees with the narrative that 'European' and 'American' ideas on and approaches to Translation Studies (and by extension 'continental' sets of ideas on the matter) differ: "Inasmuch as Eurocentrism is a problem in Translation Studies, it will first of all need to be identified more accurately before it can be addressed" (Delabastita 2011: 154).

A certain terminological fuzziness is often involved when 'European', 'Eurocentric' or 'Western' are used. Tymoczko herself had already pointed at the problematic use of a term like 'Western' when the world is characterized by a widespread interpenetration of cultures, and given the fact that Western (as well as other) ideas have permeated the world (2009: 403). To her, 'de-Westernizing' Translation Studies means "to de-centre inherited Eurocentric conceptualizations that continue to be commonplace and even dominant in the field despite their decreasing relevance. Though I give preference to the term *Eurocentric* in this article, at times it is also used interchangeably with the term *Western*" (ibid.).

But not only has the worldwide spread of some ideas made the use of these terms problematic. In a footnote, Kothari and Wakabayashi draw attention to the risk of "a simplistic and polarising East-West dichotomy" and to "fuzzy and artificial constructions" (2009: 3). In this respect van Doorslaer (2010) notices that in most cases Eurocentrism is used to refer mainly or exclusively to British and French culture, meaning that a geographical term for a very complex and multicultural continent is reduced to two languages or cultures. According to him, this reduction of Europe in Eurocentrism seems to be based "upon an odd blend of political-historical reasons (the main colonial powers England and France), image building and perceived cultural exposure" (2010: 40). Once again, one can ask how appropriate it is to use a geographical, or at least a clearly geographically based term for a phenomenon that is a complex mixture of political, cultural and historical facts and developments.

The TIS special issue does not only include 'European' criticisms on the use of Eurocentrism, but also an 'American' interview article expressing the views of Maria Tymoczko, Judy Wakabayashi and Sherry Simon (2011: 225–234). In a reaction to the critics, Tymoczko explains the difference between the terms 'Eurocentric' and 'European'.

> As the term 'Eurocentrism' is generally used, the dominant cultures of the Americas and Australia are Eurocentric, because the dominant cultures of those continents use European languages and share their major cultural concepts and tenets with Europe. The dominant cultures in the Americas and Australia are rooted in European history, European textual traditions, and European intellectual history, among other things (231).

4. Data and/or theories

Any Translation Studies researcher mainly works with materials from the languages, cultures and contexts he is familiar with. It is very likely that African scholars want to concentrate on African materials they know best, and Asian scholars presumably prefer to work with Asian materials. However, Tymoczko argues that "in order to expand contemporary theories of translation, it is not sufficient merely to incorporate additional non-Western *data* pertaining to translation histories, episodes and artifacts" (2006: 14). On the other hand, the use of specific materials can also result in new theory building. Very often the reciprocity between theory and data as described by Tymoczko in a footnote functions remarkably well in this respect: "Theory drives the collection and interpretation of data, but data in turn refine and refurbish theory" (2006: 14). Through a process of dialectical dynamics, it can be assumed that the use of non-European data will lead to the adaptation of assumptions and to differentiated theory building. An example to illustrate this is research on orality** (for instance Bandia 2008). The influential position of oral practices in some non-Western cultures is an important difference, in some cases even an added value. They can supplement, correct or enrich existing European conceptualizations, without the latter being necessarily counterproductive when it comes to studying orality in translation.

5. Conclusion

The term 'Eurocentric' is sometimes experienced as being too antagonistic in its view, as it stems from a selection of arguments that in many cases do not reflect the whole complexity of the situation in Translation Studies, either geographically or in terms of content. Although most scholars are aware of the dominance of European and Western thinking in modern Translation Studies up to now, the term is often seen as too limited in its scope to have any differentiating potential. Moreover, it runs the risk of replacing old national and cultural paradigms by a confrontational geographical model characterized by a continentalization of discourse.

Nevertheless Wakabayashi notes that such continentalized labels are not only geographical markers, but also mental constructs, and that reductionist geographical labels are probably unavoidable to some extent. Simon stresses the historical value of the term 'Eurocentric' for questioning pre-existing models of thought. But she is also aware that to a certain extent its ideological aspect cannot be avoided: "Terminology always carries its own ideological agenda" (in van Doorslaer & Flynn 2011: 230).

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General translation theory

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General translation theories refer to the entire object field of Translation Studies* by offering explanation models for fundamental problems in the field. The range of a general translation theory depends on the theory's epistemological premises and is interdependent with the concept of translation* that determines the theory's object field. How translation is defined, in turn, is conditioned by other founding concepts such as language, culture and communication. This article will look at how the term 'general' is understood in the context of translation theory without aspiring to provide an exhaustive or chronological account.

1. Some 'roots': Approaches to language

Before the emergence of Translation Studies as a discipline in its own right, translation was theorised in a variety of disciplines, such as theology, philosophy of language, linguistics**, or literary studies*. Up until the late 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, translation and translation theory assumed a marginal status and was ascribed an auxiliary role in supporting the primary research interests of those disciplines. The absence of institutional structures such as independent academic departments and chairs for Translation Studies and translation theory also strengthened the dependency of translation research on prevalent paradigms in other fields, some of which have been highly influential in the development of Translation Studies.

Among these, language and communication theories which have enjoyed popularity beyond disciplinary boundaries warrant special attention given that translation concepts are based on language concepts. How the relationship between language, thought and objects in the world is understood and how the interaction between language, culture and communication is seen determines the way a theory understands translation. For example, if a semantic theory that assumes the existence of a supralingual truth and conceives differences between languages as neglectable variations of the surface structure is taken as the basis, it is highly likely that translation will be defined as an exchange of surface structure entities by keeping "the meaning" invariable. Such an idea of language has its roots in Platonic philosophy and has long been predominant in Western thinking where differences between languages were seen as an obstacle in the search for truth. The effect that this view has had can be found in attempts to establish a universal language, such as that of the Port Royal Grammarians in the 17th century or Leibniz in the 18th century, which were later followed by Chomsky's generative grammar. Universalist and metaphysical approaches to language, which assert the existence of an ahistorical 'meaning' which can be conveyed across languages, have been highly influential in translation thinking. They have led to theorising on translation on the language system level (the Saussurean *langue*) rather than on the performance level (the Saussurean *parole*), and to basing the theory on an ideal by dismissing the pragmatics of translation and its being embedded in history, culture and ideology.

Another view of language which foregrounded difference rather than trying to overcome it and which conceived of language variety as an opportunity to discover the new and the foreign came about in the 19th century. It is generally agreed that the reflection on translation in this century preceded systematic translation theories. For the theory of language, Wilhelm von Humboldt is an outstanding figure of the age. He was the first to formulate a close relation between what he called a *Weltansicht* (linguistic worldview) and language structure. Humboldt's ideas initiated a paradigm shift in the view of language, which in turn laid the foundations for an anthropologically oriented translation theory (Vermeer 1996: 52).

German Romanticism generally proved to be a fertile ground for reflections on translation. Friedrich Schleiermacher's treatise entitled "*Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens*" (1815) ("On The Different Methods of Translating") is one of the most influential texts in translation theory. Therein, Schleiermacher introduces the dichotomy of domesticating** vs. foreignising translation, favouring the latter which he considers as a means to broaden the boundaries of one's language and of one's own mental and emotional horizons. Schleiermacher's opposition continues to be one of the most cited oppositions in Translation Studies and the treatise is considered a founding text of a hermeneutic* approach to translation – which was subsequently represented by authors such as George Steiner and Fritz Paepcke.

2. The claim of scientificity and theory design

Together with conceptions of language, the concept of science has also affected ideas of translation and translation theory. In the 19th century, science became more and more associated with measurability, exactness and the ability to come up with general laws. The understanding of translation and translation strategies* were influenced by expectations of (linguistic) exactitude and the articulation of normative statements on translation and the act of translating. The rejection of such an attitude was one of the forces behind the emergence of Translation Studies as an independent discipline. However, the legacy of this positivistic notion of science remained and influenced theories which were first articulated within the context of the newly emerging field of translation. Most scholars agreed that in order to be fully recognised, the discipline had to be organised analogously to other already well-established scientific fields. For this, Translation Studies needed its own concepts, terminology, theories and methods.

In 1963, Kade stated that it was the task of general Translation Studies (*Übersetzungswissenschaft*) to work out the principal regularities of translation in order to formulate a translation theory (*Übersetzen*) which would function as a model for analysing specific translation processes (Kade 1963: 89). Holmes' map from 1972 was another milestone. There, Holmes envisaged an organisation of the field as an empirical discipline divided into a theoretical ('pure'), a descriptive and an applied branch.

In his search for a general translation theory, Toury (1980) also followed this idea of Translation Studies as an empirical science. To counteract normative and non-systematic approaches to translation which had dominated the discourse for centuries, he argued for a strictly descriptive theory basis and the method of induction which, when enough empirical data was collected and analysed, could enable the scholars to determine general laws. In an effort to free translation theory from an essentialist definition of translation, Toury's target-oriented approach placed the focus on the 'translation' that was assigned to a text by members of a target system. In order to analyse such texts that were assumed to be translations, Toury redefined the concept of equivalence "from an a-historical, largely normative concept to a historical one intended as a descriptive device" (Toury 1980: 56). Toury was criticised mainly for his strictly empiricist approach and for disregarding the observer's perspective and agenda.

Vermeer, who also worked on developing a general translation theory in the 1970s, pursued another direction by opting for a deductive method. Basing his theory on assumptions drawn from action theory, he formulated a parsimonious theory basis, consisting of a body of elementary principles offered to explain translation phenomena. The first and most important of these was called the skopos* rule which stated that all interaction, therefore also translation as a specific kind of interaction, was determined by its aim (skopos) (Vermeer 1978: 100). As a general theory's task was to explain and predict phenomena, it did not have to be directly applicable and solve specific translation problems**. But a subtheory could combine elements of practical action, and rethink the practice of translation, which in turn, could have effects on the translators' actions.

The fact that these two levels were not always neatly differentiated in Reiß/Vermeer's work and Vermeer's individual work, led to accusations of normativity in skopos theory. Skopos theory, which has initiated the functional approach* to translation shares some of its basic features with the theory of translatorial action** formulated independently by Holz-Mänttäri in 1984. Vermeer himself has continuously developed and modified his theory and partly distanced himself from earlier formulations.

3. How "general"?

In Holmes' map (1972), the theoretical branch divides into general and partial theories. General here means that which is not partial, i.e. theories which are not restricted by a concentration on specific aspects, such as certain text-types or translation problems. A theory of poetry translation** or one which operates on the level of syntax or lexicon, or a theory about the translation of metaphors** would not be a general but a partial theory.

Similarly, for Vermeer, a general theory refers to the whole field on a more abstract level and is independent of specific texts, languages etc. Specific theories may be formulated to address, for example, issues relating to a certain culture and language pair. Another criterion for a theory's generality may be the inclusion of oral and written translation. In the German-speaking world, the introduction of the umbrella term *Translation* by Kade (1968) drew attention to aspects which were common to interpreting* and translation. In fact, it was rather a re-introduction of the term as the words *translatze* and *transla(t)zion* were already being used in the 15th century (Vermeer 2000: 537). This reintroduction enabled to the range of 'generality' with regard to the orality** explicit in the name of the theory, as Vermeer did in his 1978 article entitled "Ein Rahmen für eine allgemeine Translationstheorie" ("A Framework for a General Translation Theory"). When generality is understood in this sense, theories relating to either translation or interpretation become subtheories of a general translation theory. Some scholars working in the field of Interpreting Studies* would agree with this subdivision, while others who regard Interpreting Studies as a separate field, would not.

In the context of the theories of Toury and Vermeer, as well as the scholars working with their approaches, that is, the systemic paradigm and the functionalists, 'general' further implies that translation is not understood as a merely linguistic phenomenon. Linguistic approaches would be partial from this perspective in that they foreground one of the many factors to be considered when theorising on translation. In Vermeer's holistic approach, language is part of culture and subordinate to it. Similarly, Toury argues that an overemphasis of linguistic factors and their isolation leads to disregarding the more general historical and cultural context acting upon the translation norms*, which in turn determine the linguistic surface structure of a translation. When seen from this perspective, equivalence*** theories which are mostly based on contrastive linguistics, such as those formulated by

Catford, Jakobson, Nida, Koller and others, cannot be considered general translation theories. Furthermore, as normativity is clearly allocated to the applied branch for Holmes and Toury, theories with an equivalence requirement naturally fall outside the realm of a general theory. One crucial aspect of such equivalence theories is a focus on potential translation and a determination of a translation ideal on the language system level rather than an analysis of actual translation phenomena. Such a "defective conception of the theory of translation" (Toury 1980: 26) excludes those translations which do not conform to the equivalence postulate from the object field as "non-translation".

Another major source of 'restriction' on a general theory was the adoption of sender-receiver models of communication which conceive of the communication act as a process of transmitting a message by encoding and decoding it. The mathematical theory of communication by Shannon and Weaver (1949) and the model proposed by Jakobson (1960) have been highly influential in Translation Studies. According to these models, a correct transmission of the message largely depends on how well the code, its rules and grammar are mastered. Furthermore, they suggest a linear process and rely on the idea of sensory channels, according to which the process of perception is modelled as unidirectional and one-dimensional (see also Directionality**). Vermeer (1996: 48) criticises sender-receiver models as being too simplistic for explaining translation and includes non-conscious and non-rational aspects in his theory. He also finds Sperber and Wilson's assumption of a mutual cognitive environment a too simplistic premise. This is a reaction to Gutt who based his book *Relevance and Translation* (1991) on Sperber and Wilson's relevance* theory. Gutt basically argues that relevance theory could explain translation phenomena to the extent that a general translation theory would become superfluous.

In recent years critical approaches from other disciplines such as philosophy*, ethnology or sociology* have helped to reshape Translation Studies and theories. The claim for a 'general translation theory' is not promoted as insistently as it once was when the discipline first emerged. One reason for this is the criticism of 'theory hope' as articulated by postmodern approaches, where the theory's will to control a field is critically brought into discussion. And today, hardly any scholar would pronounce a wish to unite all the different approaches within a kind of metatheory – which would be another possibility to interpret the adjective 'general'. The claim of generality is also often associated with universalism, which implies universal validity irrespective of the historical and cultural context. Arrojo states that in order for Translation Studies to develop its potential as an appropriate field of study, the need to accept difference should be foregrounded and "the only sound universal principle to maintain is exactly that of the refusal of any absolute universal."(Arrojo 1997: 21–22). Models which aim at representing an organisation of what is 'real' subtly present themselves as 'realistic' which means that the model substitutes or constitutes 'reality'. For example, the 'reality' of mechanistic models and metaphors which played an important role in conceptualising human communication as a process of 'transfer' is associated with ideas of conserving and transmitting meaning, of an ideal understanding which avoids 'distortion' and 'loss' of the message and misunderstanding.

4. The reflexive turn

The dichotomy of subjectivism-objectivism, in spite of acknowledging the possibility of discrepancies between the 'real' qualities of a given object and its perception by an individual, has led to blind spots in empirical and experimental work in Translation Studies. Derived from the Cartesian conception, the idea of the subject as a self-present individual grants the subject with an active role and allows him/her to be considered as distinct from the surrounding world and gifted with cognition and will. The object, on the other hand, remains in a space outside the subject and therefore assumes a passive role. A neat distinction between subject and object has been furthermore associated with a possibility that the subject can perceive the object accurately through sensory perception and by way of experience and evidence. The reception of anti-essentialist approaches from philosophy, most prominently deconstruction**, and sociology (sociology of translation), where the Bourdieusian approach has been influential, has foregrounded the importance of reflexivity in Translation Studies. Approaches from ethnology and anthropology have also helped to question the observer's role in translation research. In Interpreting Studies, where the empiricist and experimental paradigm has enjoyed extreme popularity for many years, a turning point was experienced with work that draws from authors such as Bhabha, Hall and Bourdieu (for example, work by scholars such as Bahadır and Inghilleri).

Vermeer has adopted concepts of Luhmann's theory of social systems to point to the importance of reflexivity in translation research. He suggests that his functional approach should be expanded by theorising on translational action from the point of view of Luhmann's conception of self-regulating systems. He relativises the concept of objectivity by stating that there are as many levels of objectivity as there are methodological approaches, that is, objectivity is always relative and relational with regard to the approach which defines it.

'Objectivity' for Vermeer might only serve as a pragmatic tool for studying translation (theory). This is a type of objectivity which cannot be generalised or has no absolute value, as the conclusions attain validity only within the framework of that given approach and are not easily translatable into other frames of reference. Subjectivity, on the other hand, is always given through embedding the object studied in the world, and the complexity of interdependent factors which affect the scholar who has a position and a perspective from which s/he observes the object, reflects, and writes. Being decisive in the constitution of the object, theory and method, in turn, depend on the scholar's choice and (thereby also) on the prevailing conditions at the time of the decision.

Pointing to the epistemological paradox concerning the relation between the describer and the object of description, Hermans proposes to amend the shortcomings of the descriptive* approach by also introducing concepts from Luhmann's theory and discussing problems such as the assumption of a neat separation of an object-level and a meta-level (Hermans 1999: 144). Empirical work in Translation Studies carried out under the auspices of traditional dichotomies experienced a crisis when the untenable nature of a value-free and detached point-of-view and the embeddedness of human sciences in culture and ideology started to be foregrounded in Translation Studies. It then became crucial to recognise that theory itself is ambivalent and contingent and that a certain fragility is inscribed in any attempt to theorise.

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Ideology and translation

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The workings of power and ideology are the preconditions of language use. Consequently, translation*, like any linguistic activity, shapes and is shaped by power relations and the individual and collective ideologies involved. Although ideology has been relevant to the study and practice of translation since time immemorial (cf. Fawcett's 1998 insightful historical account), its significance and pervasiveness in relation to translation has not always received its due recognition. Moreover, in Translation Studies*, theoretical reflection on ideology as a concept by itself has been somewhat neglected in contrast to other fields in the humanities and social sciences. Ideology's pervasiveness in translation relates to the recognition that the recontextualisation of linguistic material involves negotiations about values and beliefs pertaining to the linguistic communities involved.

1. Translation as ideology?

The complexity and elusiveness of the concept of ideology is widely acknowledged. Eagleton (1991: 1–2), for instance, lists 16 definitions from a variety of disciplines, some of which display large differences in meaning. Since the term ideology had first reached the public domain in the late 18th century, it has had a checkered history. The academic Antoine Destutt de Tracy, who coined the term, endeavoured to establish a science of ideas following the people's revolution in France. Napoleon dismissed de Tracy's project as merely suitable for abstract speculation about human affairs. Since then ideology tends to be associated with manipulation and deceit, and especially in the field of politics it is mainly the political opponents' views and actions which tend to be branded as ideological, often in connection with being out of touch with people's real needs and desires (Bennett et al. 2005: 175).

Apart from its pejorative connotations concerning its wider usage, there are largely two theoretical perspectives on ideology. A negative and narrow class-based conception goes back to Karl Marx and relates ideology to a distorted view of the world. Since the ideas of dominant classes are always the ruling ideas, they are internalised by subordinate classes in the form of a 'false consciousness' about their own fate and position in society. Here ideology is tied to class interests which serve to sustain political power and influence (Bennett et al. 2005: ibid.). A neutral and much broader conception sees ideology as a shared system of thought tied to group interests in the pursuit of individual and collective objectives. From this perspective, van Dijk (2006: (729) defines ideology as "the foundation of the social representations shared by a social group".

Ideology is rooted in individual and social consciousness. Ideology regulates how people perceive the world, what they know and believe about it. Being closely related to perception, knowledge and beliefs, ideology determines what people regard as the aesthetic or factual truth at a certain place and time. It is essential to realise, however, that people tend to be unaware about many of their taken-for-granted assumptions about reality. Some reviewers of translated literature into English, for instance, praise translators for providing a fluent writing style and thus smooth reading experience, unaware that stylistic fluency, a literary ideology in large parts of the Western world, might not have been a literary value inscribed in the source text. A prevalence of such 'domesticating' translation strategies can lead to a distorted image of entire national literatures and ethnic mentalities in the eyes of an anglophile Western readership (Venuti 1995).

From a Translation Studies perspective, Mason (2010: 86) describes ideology as follows:

> not in the commonly used sense of political doctrine but rather as the set of beliefs and values which inform an individual's or institution's view of the world and assist their interpretation of events, facts and other aspects of experience.

In the absence of a universal truth, all interpretations of reality can only be partial and thus biased. Partial views are reflected in people's attitudes about what they regard as the truth. Such attitudes are articulated in discourse. Discourse – or language as a social practice – shapes and is shaped by ideology. Conversely, ideology – or socially shared consciousness – is produced and reproduced through the medium of discourse. Althusser (1984: (44) recognises ideology's pervasiveness and social potency by claiming that "there is no practice except by and in ideology". Furthermore, he sees people as so deeply embedded within ideology that they cannot even recognise its powerful restrictions on their own practices.

Since ideology is substantially concerned with knowledge and truth it is largely a problem of epistemology: 'What can we know about the world in general and about the truth value of a given state of affairs in particular?' This epistemological question is crucial in order to approach an understanding of the knotty interface between translation and ideology. Therefore, is it reasonable at all to suggest that the theory and practice of translation as a form of (inter)disciplinary and cross-cultural communication can be seen as ideological *per se*? If any act of translation is seen as ideological, is then the translation of the French term *une baguette de pain* as *a loaf of bread* just as ideological as keeping it as a loan word (to take Fawcett's (1998: 107) seminal example)?

Any attempt at solving this dilemma depends on the interpretation of the context and purpose of the translation. Any translation event is therefore embedded in a situational and sociocultural setting and conditioned by the *agency* (see Agents of translation**) of the individuals involved. Questions such as how these individuals are positioned within networks of power or which values and beliefs are at stake may help to form a coherent interpretation about contexts and purposes. Any interpretation, however not only depends on the purpose of the translation and thus on its situational context, but also to a large degree on the analyst's viewpoint (or ideology) of the concept of ideology itself.

2. The ideologies of Translation Studies

It is generally acknowledged within the philosophy of science that scientific findings are subject to partial interpretations. Thomas Kuhn (1970) pointed out that scientific evolution progresses through a series of 'revolutions' in which old theories may be virtually destroyed by new ones. Kuhn's assertion stands in stark contrast to the traditional view which posits that the human intellect advances by accumulation of facts and theories. Therefore, behind any scientific 'paradigm shift' exists an ideological driving force conditioned by its historical and sociocultural environment. Theories and ideas are thus inevitably subject to different ideological interpretations of reality.

In this light, simplistic views of translation as they have prevailed (and partly still do prevail) throughout the centuries can indeed be regarded as long-standing ideologies. Translation used to be seen as a derivative and thus negligible activity. Added to this, translations have mainly been discussed in view of their perceived equivalence*** to an original text, whilst a distinction was primarily made between the polarised opposites of either free or literal translation practices. Deviations in meaning between originals and their translations were generally deemed as undesirable, as people tended to revert back to an original whose linguistic material should not be unduly changed (as is widely attested concerning the translation of religious texts* such as the Bible). In the same vein, translators only ever were ascribed a marginal status whilst the popular phrase 'traduttore traditore' condemned translation to the shadowy practices of manipulation and deceit. The low status granted translation throughout the centuries also resulted in a stubborn reflex to link responsibilities for perceived manipulative practices to translators themselves, who in many quarters are still regarded as the sole responsible agents in the translation process, rather than to link these responsibilities to the wider historical and sociocultural contexts in which these practices are embedded.

With the simplistic view of translation still predominant, which was also manifest in its fragmented treatment in diverse fields such as linguistics* or literary studies*, the beginning of Translation Studies as an independent field is often located around the 1970s. Since then, there have been gradual shifts in methodological focus which, importantly, need to be seen in conjunction with their respective dominant intellectual climate. It is thus not changes in methodological focus – changes which are being referred to as 'turns' in Translation Studies – but the gradual move from an essentialist to a non-essentialist *Zeitgeist* since the middle of the last century which aids our understanding of shifting ideologies within Translation Studies research.

An essentialist ideology posits that reality is 'out there' to be observed, that material phenomena have an 'essential' inner structure. Accordingly, words are seen as having an inherent 'kernel of meaning' and research can be objective and neutral. Anti-essentialism, on the other hand, posits that humans construct reality and that material phenomena can only be seen in relation to other phenomena. Accordingly, research can never be objective and neutral, and the meaning of words can only be inferred (if this is at all possible) in relation to other words (an idea which is based on Derrida's concept of Deconstruction**).

From a non-essentialist perspective, a translation is a form of meaning creation, rather than a mere imitation of an original text. Such a view rejects seeing translation as a derivative, secondary activity as manifested in the marginal and invisible status** of translators and their translations (Arrojo 1997: 21). A non-essentialist ideology of translation invalidates the age-old tradition of ascribing translators and their translations only a marginal, even immoral status, and radically revises notions such as authorial presence and neutral meaning transferral across language boundaries. Non-essentialist approaches contribute to a redefinition of the relationships between "originals and translations, between authors and translators, and between translators and their readers, which are no longer described in terms of the traditional notions of meaning recovery, fidelity or equivalence" (ibid: 30). In this context, Tymoczko (2007: 68) maintains that recurrent Western metaphors of seeing translation as bridge-building could be reconsidered in the light of quite divergent non-Western conceptualisations such as the Indian *rupantar* or *anuvad* ('change in form' or 'speaking after' respectively).

Within the current non-essentialist climate, most translation research takes translation's historical and sociocultural environments into account. Within this climate, and throughout the last 20 years or so, postmodern and cultural theories of translation have significantly advanced on questions of power, ideology and agency. Even research on translation pedagogy (see Translation didactics*) has recently drawn attention to the ideological role of the 'hidden curriculum' which determines teaching methodologies (Kearns 2008). Non-essentialist research combines close attention to questions of agency, identity and hegemony with a rejection of conceptual dualisms. Over the centuries many taken-for-granted assumptions have dominated scholarly thinking on concepts such as fidelity, faithfulness, authorship or binary oppositions (such as good/bad, literal/free translations, etc.), yet these conceptions are all tied to the dominant ideologies of their times.

Translation happens across power differentials. Scholars examining these power differentials tend to be affiliated to postcolonial, feminist or sociological research, which deals with the imposition of ideological values mainly to the detriment of less economically and politically powerful cultures (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*, Gender in Translation*, Sociology of Translation*). That translation frequently cannot be regarded as equal cross-cultural exchange implies that there is no straightforward 'meaning transfer' between languages. Because it is always an effect of sociocultural contingencies, meaning cannot be seen as a stable conceptual entity. It is therefore not seen within texts but rather as dynamically constructed through the process of interpretation. Thus, the production and interpretation of meaning and by extension thinking about and practising translation is to a large extent ideological.

3. Translation strategy as ideological and political practice

There is a large body of research investigating the elusiveness of meaning and the unequal power relations involved in cultural exchange. In order to draw attention to the perceived 'invisibility' of translators, a range of translational strategies to overcome unequal power relations has been proposed. Venuti (1995) advocates a 'foreignising' translation strategy in order to highlight the recurrent 'domestication' (see Domestication and foreignization**) of foreign literature in English translation which is mostly adapted to target-cultural needs in order to cater for a 'fluent' reading experience. Likewise, feminist approaches draw attention to the important historical role of women translators, attempting to expose male-dominated canons of writing in historical and contemporary literature. Pursuing a similarly committed* and activist approach, a group of Brazilian scholars argues for cultural enrichment by means of translation. In order to liberate Third World cultures from 'mental colonialism', they pursue a translation strategy which aims to inject mainly desirable foreign-cultural values into the Brazilian target culture (Vieira 1999). Translation within nationalist contexts can also be regarded as a form of cultural enrichment, yet here the focus lies largely on motivations to create literary or national identities.

Against the background of such strategies it needs to be realised that translators as social agents are positioned within fields of discursive practice. Social agents are entangled in the constraints and restrictions of discourse, whilst any discourse within a particular historical configuration (or social system) is powerful inasmuch it successfully functions as an instrument to establishing and securing prevailing power relations. This phenomenon of 'discursive entanglement' has been researched with an increasingly sophisticated theoretical apparatus by translation scholars working from a sociological perspective.

In this context, it should be stressed that discourse as political practice is most visibly linked to power relations, but as ideological practice it may refer to the way ideology might be hidden or naturalised (Fairclough 1992: 67). By extension, it is worthwhile to differentiate between political and ideological translation strategies. *Political translation strategies* are those which are pursued in a conscious attempt to gain influence and power (see also Political translation*). *Ideological translation strategies*, in contrast, may also result from unconscious mental dispositions. Both types of strategies can be analytically recognised on the sociocultural, situational or textual levels of any translation event.

Political translation strategies are mainly, but not exclusively, invoked with respect to the translation of texts dealing with political values, ideas or activities. Such strategies come most visibly to the fore in sociocultural contexts subjected to censorship* and political oppression. This can be illustrated by taking an example from the English translation of Adolf Hitler's notorious work *Mein Kampf*. One theme in the book repeatedly, yet implicitly, links a demand for more 'living space' for the German people in Eastern Europe to an inevitable necessity of war. In the following example, this demand is only half-heartedly concealed in the metaphorical proposition that territorial expansion can only be achieved *by a powerful sword (durch ein schlagkräftiges Schwert)*.

> It is not by flaming protests that oppressed lands are brought back into the embrace of a common Reich, but **by a power – or combination of powers**.
> (1933: 242; translator E.T.S. Dugdale)

> For oppressed territories are led back to the bosom of a common Reich, not by flaming protests, **but by a mighty sword**. (1943: 558; translator Ralph Manheim)

This example vividly illustrates the difference between a Nazi-sponsored translation from 1933 and an American translation from 1943. Without recourse to the German original, the choice *a power – or combination of powers* suggests a slightly tamed 'fanaticism' and thus a restrained 'territorial urge'.

Ideological translation strategies can often only be inferred when one accounts for dominant translation norms prevalent at certain periods in history (Toury 1995). Social norms* underlie correctness notions which have a certain regulatory function. Correctness notions are inextricably linked to specific values and ideas shared by groups and communities, which attests to their largely ideological function. One well-known example is a dominant translation style during 17th and 18th century France, when foreign-language material tended to be fit as closely as possible into the French literary system. Similarly, a recent study on the translation of Portuguese academic discourse describes how this discourse tends to be shifted from a neo-romantic non-linear style towards a linear plain-prose 'scientistic' style in English (Bennett 2007).

The reason for this shift is mainly due to the application of (partially subconscious) self-censorship on the part of the (mostly academic) translators who attend to a rationalist ideology prevalent in academic discourse today – a discourse which is dominated by Anglo-Saxon values.

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Information, communication, translation

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In the 1970s Daniel Bell predicted a dramatic change in the industrial modes that had prevailed since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (1973). Bell anticipated a new age in which services would replace manufacturing as the main economic engine of the world. In his classic work *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society. A Venture in Social Foreboding*, Bell discussed how the coming of this era would bring changes to innovation processes and social structures. Castells would later call this "the information age" (1996) and would relate it to the revolution brought about by the introduction of the information technologies, which has made the global economy more interdependent. In Castell's view the most important transformations we are experiencing as a result of this revolution refer to "technologies of information processing and communication" (2000: 30). In turn, he argued, these involve tools and processes.

In the 1999 prologue to the reprint of his work, Bell recognizes the work of sociologists like Castells, but emphasizes a major difference between his own approach and Castells's: knowledge and information are two different concepts that, according to Bell, Castells conflates (1999: ii). Bell prefers the term "post-industrialist society" (which he had used in 1973) to "informational society" (also used by Castells), because, he argues, knowledge provides the basis for economic and social changes in a new time where Fordist systems of mass production are relegated to a secondary position, whereas information is merely a sum of events and data organized in such a way that a context is established to understand them: "Information is knowing about news events, and happenings. Knowing of the significance of events comes from the knowledge by context or theory" (1999: lxiii). On the other hand, knowledge refers to "a set of organized statements of facts or ideas, presenting a reasoned judgment or an experimental results, which is transmitted to others through some communication medium in some systematic form" (Bell 1999: 175). In this light, information has become closer to entertainment, a trend that the appearance of twenty-four hour news outlets like the CNN in the United States and Euronews in Europe exemplifies. Translation becomes very visible as these media offer their services in a variety of languages (e. g. the Internet version of the CNN is available in English, Spanish and Arabic, Al-Jazzera in English and Arabic, France 24 in French, English and Arabic, Euronews in twelve languages, the BBC in twenty-seven languages and so on – see Journalism and translation*).

For his part, Castells does often conflate the two concepts, but also implicitly distinguishes between them when explaining the advent of the information society, where the advances in technology depend on past and new knowledge (see, for example, Castells 2000: 54–59). As as result of this, as the twentieth century drew to a close, the information society grew rapidly. However, its origins can be traced back to the birth of journalism itself in sixteenth and seventeeth century Europe. At that time the transfer of information was not only physical, but also linguistic. Pamphlets were produced in the Low Countries, Germany and France and transported to England, Scandinavia and Spain, where they were first communicated orally and later translated and printed for the new readership. In some cases, the texts were published in more than one language. The London *Gazette*, for instance, was published for a period in both English and French, the purpose being to allow the readers to become familiar with a foreign tongue (Valdeón 2012).

However, the distinction between knowledge and information becomes more relevant for Translation Studies in the global economy of the twenty-first century (see Globalization and translation*), as, in global mass media, translation is more often connected with information (and entertainment) than with knowledge. In an enlightening review of the concept, Webster speaks of the five dimensions of information: technological, economic, occupational, spatial and cultural (2006: 8–9). He stresses that the first definition of information that comes to mind is the semantic one, which implies meaningful instruction about something or someone (2006: 26). However, this approach seems to be relegated to a secondary level as researchers in information theory are more inclined to consider its more technological side. On the other hand, Webster argues, economists prefer to work on the value of information as a commodity that can be traded and made a profit out of. Oddly, he adds, the qualitative problem has been replaced by a quantitative approach where information is measured in dollars (2006: 27).

The exclusion of meaning as a fundamental component of information undermines one of the main concerns of other communication and translation scholars, for whom the content of the information (or its quality using Webster's terms, 2006: 26) is of paramount importance. Issues such as relevance, accuracy, appropriacy and manipulation have the same, if not greater, impact as the technological advances upon which the transmission of information rests. These various approaches reflect the many factors that characterized information: economic, cultural and, of course, technological. Although this may be more obvious in the twenty-first century, as media conglomerates reach global markets, the information industry was among the first ones to become internationalized through news correspondents and agencies. Both needed to have recourse to translation as a means of communicating with the actors of the news events, on the one hand, and their readership, on the other. In fact, as Bielsa and Bassnett point out (2009: 39), the first news agency was a translation agency.

Havas started translating information in 1832 for embassies, government agencies and banks (Hamilton and Jenner 2004: 309) before becoming a news agency under a new name, Agence France Press. The nineteenth century sees the birth of some of the companies that remain key-players in the information industry in the twenty-first century, including Reuters in Europe and the Associated Press in North America, both reaching global markets now.

Communication scholars have attempted to underpin the significant changes brought about by the digital revolution of the late twentieth century to the dissemination and influence of information. The Internet has been crucial in the spread of information, a change that can only parallel the appearance of the printing press, although its rapid effects have been far more far-reaching. Craig approaches communication as the study of texts by means of a systematic, critically reflexive, and relatively abstract discourse (2005: 663), which partly addresses the concerns expressed by Webster. Communication studies deals with the semantic component of information but, as Craig stresses, it is also about other factors that intervene in the process, such as the breakdowns and the remedies, as well as the ideological manipulation and the reception of the multimodal texts (by viewers, readers, etc.). As a result of this combination of factors, communication, like information, defies definition. In his seminal introduction to the discipline, Fiske (2011[1982]) considered a number of elements that could characterize it: communication involves signs and codes that are organized in a way that carries meaning. They are transmitted through the various media present in a culture. Thus, communication is understood as "social interaction through messages" (2011[1982]: 2). Fiske admits that this definition does not produce a stable meaning for Communication Studies. Depending on the theoretical framework scholars use, their understanding of terms like "signs" or "messages" vary and so does their analysis of instances and contexts of communication. Fiske speaks of two major schools, the process school, which goes back to Shannon and Weaver's model (Fiske 2011[1982]: 5), and semiotics, which focuses primarily on the generation of meaning (2011[1982]: 37). Fiske regards Jakobson (whose work has been widely used by translation scholars, see, for example, the entries Translation, Translation Studies and Semiotics and Translation) as a bridge between the two models (2011[1982]: 32–34). Although Fiske's approach is more theoretical, he does not exclude the value of empirical research or the study of ideology as contributing elements to the advancement of the discipline.

In fact, empirical and ideological approaches were also burgeoning in the 1970s. Communication scholars like Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw were interested in the influence of the media on society at large and developed a theory to explain the selection and deselection choices and processes used in news writing to portray political events in a certain light. The development of an agenda-setting theory, which had originated in the early 20th century and which has been a driving force within the discipline since the 1970s, aimed to investigate the filters used by news media to select the news events that were to be communicated to their audiences. In the 1972 study of the 1968 US electoral campaign, McCombs & Shaw found that the media exerted a great influence on the voters by determining the important issues. By agenda-setting they implied that the "media force attention to certain issues" (1972: 177) even if they did not succeed to impose their views in the long run. In other words, the media influence what to think about, if not what to think.

As the theory progressed researchers studied not only the importance of certain issues but also the relevance of certain elements or attributes of those issues. Following McCombs, attributes are the "entire range of properties and traits" that characterize a certain issue or an object (2004: 70): as news writers give salience to certain events, attributes can also be differently accented. McCombs mentions two levels of agenda-setting: in the first level news corporations/writers decide on the salience of the object itself. In the second level, the salience of the attributes is decided (2004: 70–71). This will ultimately make an impact upon the perception of the event (and the actors taking part in it) by news consumers. Reports of terrorist attacks taking part in various parts of the world exemplify this process. Depending on the ideological position of the news outlet, a terrorist attack may be given salience or not: in the past, Eta bombings in Spain were largely ignored by US media whereas Islamic violence was readily reported. Equally, US media emphasized the political attribute ("separatist") of Eta rather than the violent actions ("terrorist") whereas they accentuate violence in the case of Islamic groups.

This selection process is reminicent of approaches to the study of translation, notably those investigating the ideological bias of certain transformations of the original text (omissions, adaptations*, additions…), through which the media can impose their interpretations under several disguises (impartiality, editorial routines, space-saving strategies). Returning to the topic of terrorism, translated reports about terrorist attacks in Spain translated terms like "terrorista" as "separatist" to conform to the ideological stance of the Anglophone medium. Hernández Guerrero has recently stressed the significance of the tenets of agency-setting theory in her discussion of the translational activity in Spanish newspapers (2009). Hernández Guerrero points out that the major news agencies make the decisions concerning the events that are worth publishing, thus feeding national news outlets through translation. The reliance on (translated) texts varies depending on the economic size of the medium: whereas only between 5 and 10% of the material published by the major companies comes from news agencies, this figure goes up to between 60 and 80% in the case of local paper (2009: 52–53). Large news agencies have, thus, a great influence on small regional markets via translation.

Another significant approach to communication is based on the concept of framing, which Entman defines as selecting "some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (1992: 52). Framing has been instrumental in providing description and analysis of how media companies and writers define the contents of their multimodal texts as well as consumer reception. It has also been noted that the value of framing resides in that it engages with the ideological component that informs the various processes of news production (Reese 2001: 11), which involve selections, omissions, elaboration and other strategies akin to the translational activity, upon which news writing largely depends (see, for example, the discussion of news agencies in Bielsa & Bassnett 2009). In other words, framing has a potential to cover all the elements within a particular story, from production to reception, allowing the writers to establish a relation of power with those who might be interested in receiving and retrieving information. Tankard (2001: 101) has provided what can be regarded as the most complete mechanism to study framing by highlighting ten elements within any text: headline, subhead, photos, photo captions, lead, source selection, quotes selections, pull quotes, logos, statististics and charts, and concluding statements. The list can be expanded to include other elements characteristis of multimodal texts such as moving images. Although framing has been applied primarily to the analysis of news production, it can be useful to study other informative text types such as tourist brochures (what elements do tourist boards select for the promotion of their nations/regions/cities?).

Framing has been applied to the analysis of the translational activity. In her adaptation of narrative theory to translation, Baker uses the concept of framing (or reframing) as a useful tool to delve into translational choices and their ideological implications. Based on previous conceptualizations in linguistics and psychology, framing is presented as "structures of anticipation" through we participate in a certain "construction of reality" (2006: 167). Framing can be performed through a number of devices, of which Baker mentions four: temporal and spatial framing, selective appropriation, labelling and repositioning of participants (2006: 112). Through these devices, reminiscent of the those mentioned by communication scholars, translators project a certain interpretation of events onto the intended text consumers (readers, listeners, viewers). Above we pointed out the diverse application of terms such as "terrorist" and "separatist" in Anglophone and Spanish media. Baker, on the other hand, mentions the BBC's reframing of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as an example of how translation can undermine certain narratives in an effort to balance rival framings of news events (2006: 127). However, impartiality can be spared when one of the rival factions involved in the news events is the self rather than two others (for example, Israel and Palestine), as is the case when the BBC posts original and target texts involving the Falklands/Malvinas archipelago in its multilingual and largely translated Internet site (Valdeón 2011).

All this comes to show that information, communication and translation are three areas of research that have much to say to each other. Although, as van Doorslaer (2010: 180) indicates, in recent years a number of publications have begun to explore the relations between them, it is also true that scholars tend to focus on one of the aspects, usually the one closer to their own primary research area. The special issue of *Journalism* (2011) devoted to translation practices within BBCWorld exemplifies this separation of the disciplines. In the introduction Baumann, Gillespie and Sreberny emphasize the importance of translation in news production (2011: 135–137) and propose an analytical model covering the areas of transporting, translating, trans-posing/trans-editing and transmitting (2011: 137). They also quote a number of translation scholars that have explored news translation. However, most contributors to the issue come from Communication Studies and translation is studied from the perspective of communication with hardly any references to the work carried out and published by translation scholars. Thus the exploration of the interface between them is at its infancy but the potential for interdisciplinary future research is immense, as pointed out in Valdeón 2010.

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Institutionalization of Translation Studies

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Translation* (including interpreting*) as a professional occupation has been institutionalized for a long time in many countries and internationally through translator training schools, professional associations, codes of ethics, corporate departments and administrative departments in governments (a good example is Canada) and international organizations (there is a specialized European Commission Directorate-General for translation and another Directorate-General for interpretation).

The institutionalization of Translation Studies*, i.e. the academic discipline which encompasses research on the various branches of translation and interpreting (T&I), is far less advanced. This article explains the importance of the matter and analyzes historical and other aspects of TS institutionalization.

1. On the importance of institutionalizing TS

Research on T&I *per se* is desirable because of the potential for research-based findings leading in the long term to improvements in its practice and training. Some practitioners claim they have yet to see the contribution of TS to the practice of translation, and it is indeed difficult to measure with any reliability what this contribution has been so far – but this is equally true for the contribution of research in political science or economics to the practice of managing political systems or a country's economics. On the other hand, TS has clearly contributed to the training of translators (see Teaching translation / Training translators***), if only by providing fundamental concepts and theories around which methods have crystallized and guiding principles have been formulated e.g. Skopos theory, Interpretive Theory and the Effort Models for interpreting (see papers in Gile et al. 2010 and in Nicodemus & Swabey 2011 for further discussion of the usefulness of such research).

The institutionalization of research on T&I is also important, for both technical and 'sociological' reasons:

First, in order for research on a given topic to be effective, it requires a large volume of studies, especially when there is high variability in the relevant phenomena, as is the case in translation and interpreting. Theories and methods are developed, tested and improved through a collective process which involves numerous researchers and many replications of studies. But research takes many man-hours and sometimes a considerable amount of money – though TS belongs to the less costly disciplines, as most of it is done with little equipment and technology. This raises the issue of motivation: why would anyone devote much time and efforts to research into translation or interpreting? Since there is little by way of financial incentives, except perhaps when working on machine translation for private businesses, the best driver of research is the set of research requirements associated with an institutionalized academic discipline: graduating students need to write theses, and members of the faculty are required to do research.

Second, in order for research to be effective, research questions need to be relevant to specific concerns, and methods need to be adapted to the research environment at hand. When T&I research is conducted not within a TS department, but within a department of sociology, history or cultural studies, the main problems are 'economic': translation-related phenomena can be very low on their list of priorities, and hence in the share of resources allotted to researching them. When TS is conducted within linguistics, it tends to be viewed primarily as a linguistic activity as opposed to acts of situated targeted communication, and important strategic and tactical components of the translation process and product are ignored. In a psycholinguistics and cognitive psychology environment (see Cognitive approaches*), methodological challenges are associated with the fact that the dominant paradigm is experimental, with a theoretical requirement of fully controlled variables and data processing based on measurements of reaction times and correct response rates topped by inferential statistics. In T&I, it is difficult to measure reaction times to specific stimuli, there are generally no single 'correct' responses, inferential statistics lose much of their power because of high variability and small samples, and attempts to control variables 'fully' jeopardize the ecological validity of the tasks.

Having an institutionalized TS discipline seems to be the best way to achieve maximum freedom to draw up one's own list of priorities as regards research foci and to develop one's own methods, if only by adapting techniques imported from other disciplines.

Third, institutionalized TS can contribute to the status of translators and interpreters through academic legitimacy: the academic community, and indirectly society at large, are more likely to grant full academic status (with the associated economic and labor market benefits) to a profession which requires training at a tertiary education institution and which has full academic attributes, including its own advanced degrees and research activity. There is a definite advantage to research on T&I under the institutionalized name of 'Translation Studies': if such research is conducted within linguistics, modern languages, psychology, communications, literary studies or cultural studies departments, its social contribution to translation is likely to be far weaker than if it is done within an autonomous, clearly identified discipline.

2. The institutionalization of Translation Studies: An overview

2.1 Genesis

Some modern disciplines start out as fields of research within an established discipline or at the interface between two disciplines (e.g. psychology and linguistics). Over time, as more research is devoted to the relevant issues, theories emerge, sometimes with specific methods, symposia are organized, groups of researchers who are particularly interested in the new field are formed. Eventually, dedicated academic journals are created, academic departments and research institutions are set up with associated academic and administrative positions. Once the new discipline gains such institutional recognition, its members can claim a new disciplinary identity and be recognized by the academic community and authorities as belonging to that discipline.

In this respect, TS is rather atypical. The practice of translation and interpreting dates back to times immemorial, and writings about them have been traced back to ancient Greece and Rome, to the Middle Ages and to the Renaissance, but very few were meant to be academic. It is not until the 1950s that 'scientific' publications were devoted to translation. The early texts by Catford, Jakobson, Mounin or Vinay & Darbelnet were clearly written within linguistics. Even Nida's seminal Bible-translation inspired 'Science of Translating' (1964) did not sketch out or lead to actual work towards a distinct institutional discipline devoted to translation.

In the late 1960s and in the 1970s, research work on translation and to some extent on interpreting in various parts of the world gradually started to develop its own research questions and foci. The often cited article by James Holmes's "The name and nature of Translation Studies" (1972) is a symbolic milestone which marked the wish of a group of mostly Western literature scholars to conduct research on translation within a dedicated discipline. Also important is the action of translator and interpreter trainers in the same direction. One interesting example, well known to interpreters worldwide, is that of Danica Seleskovitch, a French conference interpreter and interpreter trainer who, also in the 1970s, explicitly called for a new research discipline dedicated to translation and interpreting and based on professional practice. She set up within the professional translator and interpreter training program at ESIT, Université Paris 3 Sorbonne Nouvelle, the first doctoral program *in* translation and interpreting, which inspired most of the doctoral studies on interpreting in the 1970s and 1980s in countries around the world.

Many academics had been doing the scholarly work, but had not campaigned in favor of a disciplinary entity dedicated to T&I. Without the input of the practitioners and trainers, the number of academics interested in translation and in breaking away from their mother disciplines might have been insufficient to generate enough activity and drive to make things happen. The steady flow of graduating students and faculty of academic training programs in the nineteen-nineties enhanced spectacularly the demographics of TS-in the making. Four decades after TS was born, an overwhelming majority of its authors are still 'practisearchers', practitioners and trainers of T&I who also do research.

It is equally clear that academic members of the community who are not practitioners of translation or interpreting themselves have contributed immensely to the academic dimension of TS by providing practitioners with more extensive and deeper theoretical vision of translational phenomena, by guiding them into academic norms of research and writing, by managing efficiently relations with academic authorities. Some of the most prominent personalities of TS, recognized by all for their contribution to the field, are academics, not active practitioners of translation and interpreting, though some of them were at some point in their career.

2.2 Towards TS institutionalization

Judging by indicators such as the existence of journals, dedicated academic departments and positions and research organizations, including learned societies, in the 1970s and 1980s, relatively little progress had been made towards a general institutionalization of TS in spite of the hundreds of papers, books, theses and dissertations written during that period – and despite growing institutionalization of the professional practice of translation and interpreting in various parts of the world through training programs, professional associations and codes of ethics. Academics continued to engage in research on translation and interpreting within their existing non-TS departments and faculties. ESIT did consolidate its institutional academic status in France through sustained local activity and extended its influence among translator and interpreter training institutions internationally, but did not connect with the more academic branch of TS or with other centers where research on translation was being conducted, in particular in Germany, in the Soviet Union and in Eastern Europe.

A number of developments occurred in the 1990s which had important implications on the development of TS.

Firstly, with the disappearance of barriers between East and West in Europe, translation and interpreting requirements grew dramatically and many new translator training programs were set up, mostly within universities; the associated academic requirements naturally led to an increase in the volume of research dedicated to T&I. Moreover, information flow about such research was no longer hampered by political barriers (though linguistic barriers were still significant), and many exchanges took place, including international symposia and conferences. This was a major change, because while at national level, in most countries, the number of TS scholars remained far too small to count as a meaningful academic community (up to a few dozen people, as opposed to hundreds or thousands in established disciplines), at international level, they could interact with hundreds of colleagues sharing the same interest in research into T&I.

Also at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, important markers of institutionalization appeared in the field, including new TS journals and other publications. Previously, translation journals such as the University of Montreal's *Meta* and the International Translators Federation's *Babel* published some research alongside didactic and professional papers, but there had been no journals devoted specifically to research into T&I. *The Interpreters Newsletter* was founded in Trieste in 1988 to publish research into interpreting; *Target*, a scholarly translation journal, was created one year later, *The Translator* in 1995, and *Interpreting* in 1996. Many more TS journals appeared in the following decade. The Benjamins Translation Library was set up in the early 1990s. It already had a list of 30 volumes by the end of the decade, and close to a hundred by January 2012. St Jerome, a publishing house specializing in translation, was set up in 1995.

In parallel with the spectacular development of publication space for scholarly writings on T&I, the TS community started to organize. One remarkable initiative by Jose Lambert of the Catholic University of Leuven (KUL) was the creation of the CERA Chair: a prominent international TS scholar, starting with Gideon Toury in 1989, was appointed every year for a doctoral summer school with lectures by him/her and seminars and tutorials by a staff of TS scholars. The contribution of the CERA (now CETRA) Chair to the crystallization of a TS community, and thus to its institutionalization, has probably been considerable: a substantial proportion of the world's best known TS scholars have been associated with the program, and hundreds of graduate students from all over the world have been through it and have had the opportunity to interact directly with them. This is likely to have generated a feeling of belonging to the same international research community. The success of CE(T)RA inspired other initiatives, in the UK and elsewhere. Perhaps the largest one was the international doctoral program (now a master's program) set up by Anthony Pym at Universitat Rovira i Virgili in Tarragona, Spain in 2004, with a winter session, a spring session with lectures and tutorials as well as online seminars between the sessions. The URV program, which leads up to a master's degree, and for those students who complete the requirements, to a PhD, shares many instructors with the CE(T)RA program.

Strongly related to CE(T)RA was the founding, in 1992, of the European Society for Translation Studies (EST) at the initiative of Mary Snell-Hornby of the University of Vienna, Austria. Many of its officers over the years were either former CE(T)RA Chair professors or members of the CE(T)RA staff, and many EST members were CE(T)RA alumni. In spite of its name, EST is not strictly European and has members from other parts of the world. It has contributed to the institutionalization of TS by providing an international learned society to the community. IATIS, the International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies, was set up 12 years later. There are also national learned societies dedicated to TS, such as the very active CATS (Canadian Association for Translation Studies), ATISA (American Translation and Interpreting Studies Association), AIETI (Asociación Ibérica de Estudios de Traducción e Interpretación), JAITS (Japanese Association for Interpreting and Translation Studies), ABRAPT (The Brazilian Association of Translation Researchers) and the recently founded Israeli Society for Translation Studies.

Through their existence, which helps federate national and international researchers focusing on translation and interpreting, through their congresses, publications, committees and prices, these learned societies contribute to the cohesiveness of Translation Studies as a social group. Inter alia, they have managed to bring together researchers from a wide spectrum of environments, focal points and methodological traditions, ranging from literary translation to court interpreting, from a linguistics background to a philosophical background, from political foci to cognitive foci, something which is far from trivial and has raised time and again the question whether it was reasonable at all to speak of a single discipline. Actually, TS seems to be increasingly inclusive with respect to research on all forms of translation. This is particularly spectacular in its Interpreting Studies* branch, which started out with an exclusive focus on conference interpreting and gradually extended its scope to community interpreting*, with prominent conference interpreting* research personalities becoming personally involved in research into community interpreting, court interpreting and sign language interpreting*, and scholars from these branches of interpreting showing interest in conference interpreting. This is reflected inter alia in the make-up of editorial boards of journals such as *Interpreting* or the more recent IJIE, the *International Journal of Interpreter Education*.

2.3 Where does TS stand now with respect to institutionalization?

Socially speaking, within the TS community, TS seems to be perceived as a genuine disciplinary entity with its learned societies, summer schools, rich calendar of TS events – though it is an extensive network with many markedly different branches. In terms of publication space, with its dozens of TS journals, the Benjamins Translation Studies collection and the existence of a publisher specializing in Translation Studies, it also meets the standards.

However, major components are missing for TS to be fully recognized as a discipline. First and foremost, there are few universities with departments *of* translation. Translation is generally seen within academia as one 'linguistic' exercise or activity within the study of literature and modern languages. Even in translator training programs, research degrees tend to come under the label of applied linguistics or modern languages. In other words, while academic and governmental authorities may recognize translator training as being entitled to specific schools, with a few exceptions such as Spain or Austria in Europe and China in the Far East, they do not recognize its research component as deserving a dedicated institutional label. The lack of institutional recognition of TS is also indicated by the fact that TS journals assessed by international bodies such as ERIH (the European Reference Index for the Humanities) come under the Linguistics discipline, not under an autonomous discipline.

3. Prospects for the future

Within TS, ample evidence is available to demonstrate that T&I is best investigated not as a purely linguistic activity nor as a purely literary activity, but as an act of communication in which social, psychological, cognitive, economic, cultural and historical factors play an important role. Autonomy and interdisciplinarity*** are now widely considered essential to the discipline in the TS community – this is a recurring idea in numerous TS congresses and publications – which precludes the integration of investigation into T&I within any established cognate discipline. Moreover, the diversity of foci of interest, themes and methodologies found in TS journal articles and in TS conference proceedings and reflected in the membership and attendance of congresses of learned societies such as EST shows that TS researchers feel they belong to the same discipline in spite of their differences. In sociological terms, TS exists and is getting stronger and stronger.

The question is: when will it achieve full academic recognition? The Spanish and Chinese examples suggest that the best way forward is to integrate research into translator and interpreter training programs, with research requirements from graduating students and staff. As research into translation and interpreting gains volume and improves in quality, recognition of the discipline should follow.

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Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies

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CETRA / PGET

Since 1992 (Snell-Hornby et al. 1994) Translation Studies* (from now on TS) has claimed to be treated as an 'Interdiscipline'. There remain doubts about its academic status, which is younger than its professional status. Since Holmes 1988 [1972], the development of TS has often been treated as a success story, although it is not at all clear whether academic achievements (particular arguments or components related to prestige, e.g. books, societies, scholarly renown, congresses) have been more decisive than the translation market in the progressive recognition of TS. Indeed the use of a common name (in the new *lingua franca)*, as well as the recognition of a PhD curriculum in some 50 centers worldwide, has obvious links with the waves of Internationalization since World War II and the Globalization* dynamics at the end of the 20th Century.

Strangely enough, the Institutionalization of TS*** is hardly questioned when applied to translation, translators and translation training (see Teaching translation / Training translators***), although much more so as soon as it is an academic issue. Except for a few sociological initiatives (see further), the claims for Interdisciplinarity and cooperation on behalf of translation scholars (most explicitly in Ferreira Duarte, Assis Rosa & Seruya 2006 and in Gambier & van Doorslaer 2011 [2004]) have hardly inspired more than individual attempts for innovation in Biblical Studies, Law Studies, Media Studies or Historiography and even (Comparative) Literary Studies or Linguistics.

The History of Science as well as the history of universities, including the encyclopedias and dictionaries produced (e.g.http://www.societes-savantes.org/Wikipedia) in different ages and countries illustrate more or less explicitly, notwithstanding their commitments to global knowledge, that "disciplines" are neither universal categories, nor are they forever. In their various definitions (e.g. "a branch of knowledge that is taught and researched at the college or university level" [Wikipedia accessed on 16 July 2012]), they share many features with Wenger's idea of (learning) "Communities of Practice" (Wenger 1998). Moreover, universities around the world seem to behave like institutions: they vary in relation to societies, (political) institutions, leaders and leadership, etc.

1. Positions and neighbors

Instability may have a positive connotation when cooperation/interdisciplinarity are at stake. In the first generation of translation theories, between the 1950's and the 1970's, TS was a conflictual issue between (Comparative) Literary Studies* and (Applied) Linguistics** only, not because these two fields of study happened to have spectacular fights about such matters, but because the researchers publishing about translation happened to represent one of the two areas (see also The turns of TS*): until today, many translation scholars tend to link the position of TS with the people who represent it (Lambert 2005). The idea of *The Integrated Approach* (Snell-Hornby 1988) itself, then the idea of the Interdiscipline made it clear that new academic landscapes were needed.

Many new partners for TS have since shown up. Their identity and order (of importance) in courses and handbooks refer to the language component, but recently the *Translation* Studies Bibliography (2004-ongoing, see Gambier & van Doorslaer 2011) has mentioned a large number of other related fields of study such as ethics, law studies, dubbing*, subtitling*, community interpreting*, discourse analysis, colonial studies, humour*, hermeneutics*, transfer studies*, psycholinguistics, photography, advertising**, etc. Partner disciplines such as Linguistics, Literary Studies, and Biblical Studies, however, refer to translation but not to TS.

Within the new interdisciplinary discussions, one of the main reasons why the position of TS cannot be envisaged any longer as it was before 1975 is the explicit use of one particular but central sociological concept, i.e. the idea of norms* (originally Toury [1976] 1978). The idea that TS was simply part of linguistics, i.e. of one discipline only, has gradually been given up, at least in explicit terms (see in particular Hermans 1985; Snell-Hornby 1988). Translation (research) has a lot to do with language(s), but societies and their constituent translators, ideologies***, religion*, media, and publishing houses (see Editorial policy and translation***) cannot be excluded as other key factors. Hence, new debates between and about disciplines within TS have provided further structural grounds since (at least) the mid-seventies.

2. Turns & shifts in the translation concept: Within TS only?

Organized research on interpreting* began at a later moment than TS (Pöchhacker 2004) and has gradually developed as a more or less parallel field within TS. The specific implications of oral communication, however, have been a handicap in its integration into academic research. Very different traditions have hindered the recognition of research on dubbing, subtitling ('audiovisual translation*') or even the printed media.

Whether such new areas are subareas of TS or bridges into media research or oral discourse is not fully clear. The distinction between inner and external interdisciplinarity reflects the ambiguities of academic disciplines. Translation scholars can hardly deal with translated discourse without borrowing concepts and instruments from established fields of research. But such 'contact' between (scholarly) communities deserves to be accepted as interdisciplinary work only from the moment the exchange between related fields becomes systematic and/or explicit and organized, in particular when the added value of the interaction is the *raison d'être* of the border crossing. In most cases of 'bilateral interdisciplinarity', such initiatives start within one of the (dominant) research fields, but interdisciplinary research on translation phenomena has proven to be particularly rewarding in situations where the combination of several research competences was used in conjunction with internationalization from the past or present (organized multilateral interdisciplinarity). The truth is that interdisciplinary contact in TS is hard to avoid and is frequently implicit. And (large-scale) projects, e.g. on internationalization, seem to require new methodologies** (Lambert 1989) since they may imply multilateral interdisciplinarity as well as multilateral intercultural relationships.

3. Internal/external interdisciplinarity

Every new distinction implies redefinitions of particular (sub)areas, sometimes in terms of fundamental neighbor relations (e.g. research on interpreting and community interpreting). It remains an open question, however, whether the many turns recorded and analysed have their origin within the new discipline or rather within larger interdisciplinary developments such as technology, communication, sociology*, etc. (linguists, interpreters, dubbers and subtitlers are very different neighbors). Technology, the Internet, Communication (Studies), etc. have provided large new (theoretical and methodological) frameworks for the Humanities in general and, hence, to TS. One of the difficulties is whether, in such revolutions, TS develops in harmony and in parallel with Communication Studies, Sociolinguistics*** or Anthropology.

After the self-definition movement of the new discipline had taken off (often in conservative terms, i.e. in terms of languages rather than in terms of norms, which has complex implications for interdisciplinarity), general theoretical discussions (e.g. Lambert 1989; Lambert & Delabastita 1996) stressed that the neighbor relation between the media, the Internet and various other disciplines was a sine qua non for TS. How could we deal with the language(s) of film, television, the media, without the support of competences from media research, i.e. without new interdisciplinarities? Linguists and linguistics often leave the language of the media to communication studies and vice versa (we could call this negative interdisciplinarity, i.e. the silence surrounding new intermediary areas) (Cattrysse 2000). As in the case of the oral language(s) of interpreting, academia seems to be full of interlinguistic no man's lands.

One of the advantages of such no man's lands is that they also have unexpected positive consequences such as the (slow) 'discovery' of sign language* and semiotics*. And this kind of interdisciplinarity confirms again that political institutions and "systems" have their direct impact: is sign language part of TS? In the various answers to this question (e.g. in Portugal and North and South America), the link with national language policies and with literacies appears to be one of the decisive factors.

It is not surprising at all that Interdisciplinarity has been – timidly? – recognized as a crucial issue for TS, especially by those working with media/screen translation. For a number of years, Yves Gambier has warned against a more or less mechanical (often bilateral) exploration of neighbor disciplines, be they linguistics, narratology, sociology, semiotics, etc. He has warned mainly against the unidirectional use of neighbor disciplines from the perspective of TS, especially against the use of key concepts whose efficiency has not been tested out in the new environment (TS) in terms of their contextual relevance (Gambier in Fereira Duarte et al. 2006: 29–42).

4. Resistance to revolutions?

It would not be difficult to enrich such debates by referring to the history of the many translation theories: interdisciplinary transfers belong to the dynamics of research. In fact, we do not know beforehand which methods or disciplines will be compatible with others. Imported concepts and methods may look attractive or suspicious or both. But a definitive conclusion as to whether interdisciplinarity, as such, is either good or bad cannot be drawn.

The progressive redefinition of translation and TS also makes clear that the list of neighbors tends to remain more limited and selective (or conservative?) in theoretical discussions than in bibliographies and that the circulation of scholarly information between bibliographies from different disciplines, especially beyond the language areas (e.g. Janssens et al. 2004), is very limited.

Bassnett and Lefevere 1996 introduced the idea of the 'cultural turn', which indeed refers to a fundamental redefinition of the field. The difficulty may be – again – when and where (and how) exactly 'culture' has become a central issue for translation scholars and when it has stopped being 'the context'. In case any cultural redefinition has taken place within translation theories, methodologies and actual research, one does not see why the turning point would not include the use of norms since the mid-70's nor that Cultural Studies would be the exclusive gateway into culture.

When looking for some order and clarity in "Questions in the sociology of translation", Andrew Chesterman (in Fereira Duarte et al. 2006: 9–27) suggests that culture and sociology be distinguished. But would language (translation) be an exclusive area of either one (culture) or the other (society)? And what kind of neighbors from cultural and social research/sociology are compatible with TS when they exclude language, for example? This may show that culture, language(s) and translation(s) cannot be approached in either/or combinations.

Whatever may have been written on shifts and turns within (and acting upon) TS since the very beginning, we may assume that (at least) two components have had a major impact on interdisciplinarity: (1) within TS, the shift from 'language(s)' into 'norms'; (2) in the global everyday world, outside of academia: the shift into (electronic and other) networking and into new kinds of societies. In both categories TS is heavily indebted to other research fields and the dynamics of societies (culture?) and communication.

And this is why a discipline like TS indeed needs to evaluate and recognize its (positive/less positive) experiences with other disciplines. Without ignoring naïve movements into disciplines, and without contradicting Gambier (in Fereira Duarte et al. 2006), it is also time to detect and evaluate research on translation outside of TS.

1. When TS started, it was a new area of research where basic insights had to be established (e.g. on the relative importance of languages, individual translators, communication channels, genres, institutions), and at that moment there was no equipment or infrastructure for the new discipline; hence a *conditio sine qua non* was that any start depended on the exploration of (already) canonized neighbor disciplines;
2. this implied pragmatic as well as theoretical (a) priori) exploration – the fact that a given concept had been used in other disciplines was not necessarily a basis for positive/negative consideration;
3. the assumption that neither insights about translation nor TS research – which are not the same thing – have made inroads into neighboring disciplines seems to be widespread, but it may turn out to be unjustified in the coming years, e.g. in the case of the literary book market (see Lambert 1989; for the new "World Literature", see Casanova 1999), the internationalization of the (printed/audiovisual) media, or perhaps also in the case of historiography. Whether linguistics and literary studies will (ever) recognize contributions from TS will not simply be a matter of historical truth, but rather of power and scholarly markets. Maybe we are also entitled to distinguish between institutionalized and local ('topical' and non-institutionalized) interdisciplinarities.

Nevertheless, the former group (i.e. the institutionalized one) can no longer be regarded as an illusion any more. In the last decade, quite a few translation scholars have stressed the links with sociology as one the most important among the many turns in TS (Ferreira Duarte et al. 2006). What has not been noticed so far is that: (1) in several countries and channels, sociology as such claims to develop 'applied' research on translation as a task for sociologists in cooperation with TS (Parada & Diaz Fouces 2006; Heilbron & Sapiro 2002); (2) very different areas of innovation in 'social research', i.e. in organization studies, with ramifications in social psychology and economics, also refer to TS (Janssens et al. 2004), and references in TS since the 1990's have remained unnoticed. This indicates that not all interdisciplinary exchange with TS is a one-way story.

At this moment it can be demonstrated that there are more areas of real interdisciplinarity, i.e. bidirectional or multidirectional research where translation scholars play(ed) an inspiring role together with 'neighbor' partners: the parallel corpora* in corpus linguistics (Olohan 2004), the new books on 'cultural production' and on literary globalization can hardly remain peripheral in linguistics and in literary studies; similar predictions may apply to historiography (Declercq et al. 2012) and to library science or interdisciplinary and interactive (electronics based) bibliography (Van Bragt 1995).

5. Research on translation: Privilege or responsibility?

While calling TS an Interdiscipline, translation scholars and (many among their) scholarly organizations have recognized that research on translation can be neither the responsibility nor the competence of TS alone.

One of the embarrassing conditions of interdisciplinary research happens to depend on (wo)manpower, hence on budgets or – simply – on power. Translation scholars coming from different disciplines are also linked with their research culture. The linguistic background of quite a large group of colleagues is not necessarily a positive component, since collective projects have a greater chance of being devoted to linguistics than to TS. Such collective initiatives are still rather rooted in the literary/cultural academic environments, as we learn from projects at Göttingen (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1987–2000), Leuven, Warwick University, Turku and Istanbul, where local, national and even EU funding has been provided. The (long-term) impact of such projects on interdisciplinarity, including the profiles of the researchers and their academic careers, is obvious. While the academic visibility of research disciplines is heavily conditioned by interdisciplinarity and internationalization/globalization, as the recent history of academic rankings may illustrate, research funding is still largely a national privilege. And this is a handicap for young academic fields.

Given the fact that international research is more and more influenced and conditioned by international fora, organizations and rankings, besides the many national research agencies, new chances for cooperation have to rely – first – on research programs. As in the case of the EU or the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, collective projects start not only with limited time, budgets, staff, etc. but also under the supervision of an external (and international) interdisciplinary board. Besides joint publications and research reports with neighboring departments, such projects have lead to further publications, theses, courses, symposia, new scholarly profiles and other projects after the official end of the original project. There is no need to stress why it is difficult for individual scholars to reshape the configurations of disciplines. But the resources actually available in worldwide bibliographical information (e.g. Books in Print, library catalogues) on the one hand, or textual information ('corpus linguistics') on the other hand also offer fascinating new challenges for individual translation scholars, as exemplified in Van Bragt 1995; Heilbron and Sapiro 2002 etc. Why would 'the discipline' focus on small scale research only (individual texts, languages, translators), and not on large scale projects and programs?

In the age of Globalization, there are a few good reasons for assuming that translation (and multilingual issues) will never be an issue for a few languages (and countries) only, nor exclusively for language departments. Since all scholarly disciplines and universities rely on discourse, languages and communication, none of them can claim to be translation-independent or translation-neutral, which positions them by definition as objects for research. Many decades ago UNESCO considered that collecting information on translation was a worldwide duty in terms of information, but not as an object for scholarly work. There can be no doubt about the language- and translation-based concepts present in all sciences nor about their intercultural and interlinguistic history. Hence, one does not see how the History of Science could exclude translation and multilingualism* from its indexes and bibliographies**; nor how universities could exclude translation and multilingualism from their Internet and ranking programmes. The distinction between ('positive') sciences and the mainly language-based disciplines, from sociology, economics or philosophy to linguistics, historiography or literature hardly requires any justification, since discourse and verbal argumentation are more central in 'the Humanities' than in mathematics or chemistry. Whether language and translation are rather peripheral aspects of given disciplines, or whether they play/have played a substantial role obviously depends on the cultural backgrounds and history involved, as well as the object of study, which may be of a verbal and, hence, multicultural nature. The traditions of the various scholarly disciplines will have their impact on the exact position of multilingual debates and conflicts, as 'the linguistic turn' in organization studies or the history of literary studies and philosophy may illustrate. TS would radically reduce its own future from the moment it narrows its access to the many interdisciplinarities.

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Language philosophy and translation

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This article deals with the role played by the concept of translation* within 20th century Analytical Philosophy of Language. Within this tradition, the question of translation is central in developing a theory of meaning, because the task of that theory is to explain how it is that two people can know that they share a language: How do I know that your English translates into my English? In Davidson's words ([1973] 1984: 125):

> The problem of interpretation is domestic as well as foreign: it surfaces for speakers of the same language in the form of the question, how can it be determined that the language is the same? Speakers of the same language can go on the assumption that for them the same expressions are to be interpreted in the same way, but this does not indicate what justifies the assumption. All understanding of the speech of another involves radical interpretation. But it will help keep assumptions from going unnoticed to focus on cases where interpretation is most clearly called for: interpretation in one idiom of talk in another.

Two questions need to be answered with respect to the kinds of evidence that might be relied on to show speakers that their language is shared (ibid): (i) What kind of evidence would it be and (ii) how could speakers obtain it? The answers to these questions vary depending on how we think of language. If, for example, we agree with Locke (1690, book 3, ch. (2) that "The use […] of words, is to be sensible marks of ideas; and the ideas they stand for are their proper and immediate signification", then access to the ideas words stand for – which make up thoughts, in Locke's account – would clearly tell us what the words meant; the problem is that there is no way of getting at the speaker's ideas other than by way of their utterances. I cannot know (in any significant detail) what you are thinking unless you tell me, and Locke's theory provides no answer to the second question posed above, about how we could obtain the knowledge that would explain how it is that we understand the utterance.

Because of the inscrutability of thoughts and ideas, most philosophical accounts of meaning have at least supplemented a psychologically oriented account with an account of the relationship between utterances and features of the world. The most influential account of this type is that developed by Gottlob Frege, who reacts to theories of utterance meaning, according to which utterances mean by referring to things in the world, by highlighting some difficulties that they encounter. For example, if the meaning of a term is the thing in the world that it refers to, then expressions like "The present king of France" would be meaningless; and identity statements like "The morning star is the evening star" could not be informative for anyone who knew the meaning of the two definite descriptions. Besides, as Strawson points out, such theories have the absurd consequence that I can take the meaning of the expression, "my handkerchief", out of my pocket ([1950] 1972: 40) or, we might add, store it in my drawer. Frege suggests that in addition to the item in the world that a linguistic sign stands for, its reference, the linguistic sign also has a sense "wherein the mode of representation is contained" – a way of conceptualising the thing, we might say. Then "the reference of 'evening star' would be the same as that of 'morning star' but not the sense" ([1892] 1977: 57). Some expressions lack reference (i.e. "the present king of France"), and their meaning resides solely in their sense. When this theory is extended from individual expressions to utterances, we acquire a theory according to which the sense of a sentence is the thought it expresses, and the reference of a sentence is its truth value, where by "truth value", Frege understands "the circumstance that it [the sentence] is true or false" ([1892] 1977: 63). When a sentence contains an expression lacking reference (e.g. "The present king of France is bald"), then the sentence will lack truth value: It will be neither true nor false, although it will not be meaningless, since it has sense (the thought it expresses). Most philosophers since Frege have retained a distinction similar to his between sense (or intension) and reference (or extension) and the two questions posed by Davidson can be re-cast as the question: How can extension/reference take us to intension/sense. According to Quine, it cannot; according to Davidson it can. An early expression of Quine's argument was published in Brower's volume on translation (1959), but I will mainly draw on Quine (1960).

Here (Quine 1960: 28), we are invited to imagine the efforts of a field linguist "who, unaided by an interpreter, is out to penetrate and translate a language hitherto unknown", an activity which Quine refers to as "radical translation". If, now, a rabbit should run by, prompting the linguist's informant to say "Gavagai", the linguist might write down "the sentence 'rabbit' (or 'Lo, a rabbit') as tentative translation, subject to testing in further cases" (*op. cit*: 29). Testing completed, the linguist has the "stimulus meaning" for "Gavagai", and observes that it is the same as for "Rabbit" (*op. cit*: 38). But this apparent stimulus synonymy of the utterances "Gavagai" and "Rabbit" may hide radically different ontological commitments on the parts of the two speakers (*op. cit*: 51–52):

> For, consider 'Gavagai'. Who knows but what the objects to which this term applies are not rabbits after all, but mere stages, or brief temporal segments of rabbits? In either event the stimulus situations that prompt assent to 'Gavagai' would be the same as for 'Rabbit'. Or perhaps the objects to which 'Gavagai' applies are all and sundry undetached parts of rabbits. When from the sameness of stimulus meanings of 'Gavagai' and 'Rabbit' the linguist leaps to the conclusion that a gavagai is a whole enduring rabbit, he is just taking for granted that the native is enough like us to have a brief general term for rabbits and no brief general term for rabbit stages or parts.

Clearly nothing that the linguist could do or say would help us out of this dilemma: nothing extensional (reference) will give us access to anything intensional (sense), so there is no possibility of identifying anything beyond a speaker's words as evidence for their meaning, and that is very bad news for the theory of meaning. It is perhaps also worth pointing out that it can be very bad news for our theory of humanity. Quine himself (1960: 77) refers to arguments by Cassirer, Lee, Sapir and Whorf to the effect that "deep differences of language carry with them ultimate differences in the way one thinks", an argument which, in the wrong minds, has been used to support the most appalling instances of human rights abuse and genocide. So let us see if there is a way of living with the underdetermination of radical translation by "the totality of dispositions to verbal behaviour" (1960: 78) without succumbing to the radical relativisation of human cognition and reason.

As we saw above, Quine's linguist begins the process of deriving translations of the new language by observing speakers' reactions (utterances) to aspects of the environment (reference/extension). But as Quine points out, this route does not lead to the sense/intension that the utterances have for the speaker, and therefore not to the translation of their utterances. As he puts it (1960: 26),

> Two men could be just alike in all their dispositions to verbal behavior under all possible sensory stimulations, and yet the meanings or ideas expressed in their identically triggered and identically sounded utterances could diverge radically, for the two men, in a wide range of cases.

So beginning from an empiricist position has led us nowhere: the meanings of utterances cannot be derived from any observable features of any environment. Instead, Donald Davison (e.g. [1975] 1984) adopts a more rationalist approach to language and its relationship to speakers and to the world. He points out that "to speak is to express thoughts" ([1975] 1984: 155), although, of course, our problem is to decide *what* thoughts. Nevertheless, the very act of attempting to interpret the utterances of another person is an act of faith that their utterances express their mental state, for (*ibid*):

> Someone who utters the sentence 'the candle is out' as a sentence of English must intend to utter words that are true if and only if an indicated candle is out at the time of utterance, and he must believe that by making the sounds he does he is uttering words that are true only under those circumstances.

The example above illustrates an important difference between Davidson's approach and Quine's. Whereas Quine's examples involve relating utterances to utterances (e.g. the utterance, "Gavagai" to the utterance "Rabbit" or "Lo, a rabbit"), Davidson's example essentially involves redescription, as we can see more clearly when using an example where the utterance is not in the same language as the redescription, for example (Davidson [1974] 1984: 141): "We know that the words 'Es schneit' have been uttered on a particular occasion and we want to redescribe this uttering as an act of saying that it is snowing". This important difference reflects an even more important difference between saying what it is to know what a term or utterance means, and saying what a term or utterance means the same as. The latter is only helpful if one of the terms or utterances involved is already known; the former is the job of a theory of meaning, and meanings, as we have seen, cannot help us here.

Instead of meanings, Davidson ([1973] 1984: 130) opts for the notion of truth as developed by Alfred Tarski (1956), whose theory of truth entails, for every sentence, *s*, of a language, a sentence of the form: "*s* is true if and only if *p*", where *p* is the redescription (e.g. it is snowing) of the sentence (e.g. "*es schneit*") to be interpreted. This theory has the advantage of finiteness: a theory of meaning needs to be able to account for all utterances of a language, and since the number of utterances is in principle endless, the theory cannot be stated by listing cases. Instead, we need a finitely stated theory from which infinitely many interpretations of utterances can follow, and the evidence for this theory "must be describable in non-semantic, non-linguistic terms" ([1974] 1984: 143), that is, it must not assume that we already know the meanings of the terms in the utterance. A truth theory fulfils both these criteria, *and* it provides evidence that an interpreter can be assumed to have access to. First, "truth is a single property which attaches, or fails to attach, to utterances, while each utterance has its own interpretation" ([1973] 1984: 134) and secondly (Davidson [1974] 1984: 135),

> the attitude of holding a sentence true, […] is a single attitude […] an interpreter may plausibly be taken to be able to identify before he can interpret, since he may know that a person intends to express a truth in uttering a sentence without having any ides *what* truth.

Using this theory to derive interpretations of speakers' utterance we do of course need to make the important assumption that Quine invokes against: we must assume a certain sameness between us and other speakers; but according to Davidson ([1974] 1984):

> The methodological advice to interpret in a way that optimises agreement should not be conceived as resting on a charitable assumption about human intelligence that might turn out to be false. If we cannot find a way to interpret the utterances and other behaviour of a creature as revealing a set of beliefs largely consistent and true by our own standards, we have no reason to count that creature as rational, as having beliefs, or as saying anything.

Davidson takes Wilson's principle of charity, according to which (Wilson 1959; quoted in Quine 1960: Footnote 2). "We select as designatum that individual which will make the largest possible number of […] statements true", as an axiom, rather than as an option we can select for purely pragmatic reasons. Any attempt at understanding the linguistic and other behaviour of others implies an assumption that they have beliefs, and since having a belief is the same as holding something true, it implies an assumption that they have something they hold true. The work then lies in establishing what it is they hold true, of course, but even though people from different cultures may have "a very different body of truth than we have", this does not mean that they have "different criteria for truth" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 181), where by "truth" is meant "belief" or "holding true" in Davidson's sense.

Tarski (1956) defines truth by assuming translation; Davidson takes truth (holding true) as basic and derives translations. Either way the two notions are inextricably linked, and that is enough to get us going on the interpretation track. For Translation Studies, the greatest advantage of knowing this is knowing that although there will always be "trade-offs between the beliefs we attribute to speakers and the interpretations we give their words" the remaining indeterminacy will not be so severe as to make interpretation, and therefore translation, impossible (Davidson [1973] 1984: 139; see also Malmkjær 1993). This is especially important given the notoriously fluid nature of what we call meaning. As Malmkjær (2003: 121) argues, the belief, so often relied on in the teaching*** of translation and in the construction of corpora for pedagogical purposes, that the future will resemble the past as far as meaning and translational behaviour is concerned,

> has no basis in either the facts of linguistic behaviour or in semantic theory: It is a fiction required to sustain descriptive linguistics and language pedagogy, and while it should be vigorously supported as such, all tendencies to assign it factual status ought to be equally strongly resisted.

Every instance of linguistic** interaction is new and unique and potentially full of surprises; Davidson's semantics gives us a way of living with the resultant indeterminism (see further Davidson 1986).

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Media accessibility

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1. Accessibility, media accessibility and audiovisual translation

Generally speaking, the concept of *accessibility* refers to the degree to which a product, service, environment, concept or even person can be used, reached, understood or accessed for a specific purpose. It also implies that the accessible product has been manipulated in some way in order to appreciate it or *make* it "accessible". This is the sense in which the adjective is used, for instance, in the entry on Children's literature and translation* in this handbook: "The text may be *simplified* in order to become more *accessible* […]."(my emphasis). Obviously, translation itself is a form of accessibility: it provides access to texts in a foreign language, and by extension, the culture that has generated them.

Today, however, accessibility in the more narrow sense of the word is linked with the idea of full access to our globalized world as a *human right* (cf. the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities). The concept in this context refers to the need to overcome barriers caused by physical and/or mental disabilities; while the combined term *media accessibility* covers research and practice aiming to ensure that information and entertainment disseminated via audiovisual media, including the Worldwide Web, is accessible to all. In Translation Studies* (TS), accessibility is associated with translation modes such as (Media) Interpreting*, Translation and the Web*, Localization* and, especially, Audiovisual Translation* (AVT), which is sometimes subsumed under Media Accessibility or occasionally renamed Audiovisual Accessibility (Díaz Cintas et al. 2007). Recent developments in the field are due to the *digitization* of the media, because this has exponentially increased the possibilities for rendering audiovisual content accessible.

A prime objective of accessibility research is *inclusive design*, i.e. designing mainstream products so as to make them accessible from their inception (Clarkson et al. 2003). However, even though the issue of accessibility is central to many forms of audiovisual translation today, the road to inclusive design is still long.

2. Central issues in media accessibility practice and research

Research and practice in AVT and media accessibility are both interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary. The disciplines involved include: text linguistics and (audiovisual) translation studies, media studies, ICT and design, engineering, cognitive psychology, social science, economics and (international) law. Much research is therefore applied project research,[1] however, AVT scholars tend to focus mainly on accessible *content*.

2.1 Content, platforms and devices

A number of components must be fully integrated if audiovisual media are to be accessible, and in compliance with quality standards (see 2.2). This includes: content (e.g. TV and radio programmes, films, social media and video games), platforms (e.g. DVDs, digital broadcast, Internet Protocol Television or IPTV, Open Internet, Mobile and Wireless Net), and devices (e.g. digital TV receivers, PCs, smartphones, tablets, and peripherals such as remote controls that are user-friendly). In other words, for a TV programme (content) to be accessible to visually impaired users, for instance, it must be audio-described (3.1), then broadcast (e.g. via digital broadcast), received and decoded by a digital television set (or another device), and activated with the help of a custom-designed remote control. Thanks to digitization, television now offers audio-description (AD, 3.1), subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing (SDH, 3.2) and sign language interpreting (SL interpreting, 3.3). Likewise, internet users can select options with or without AD, SDH or SL interpreting, when watching productions on fully accessible websites on their computers or even hand-held devices.

2.2 Stakeholders, legislation and standardization

The users of accessible media constitute a heterogeneous group with many sub-groups. Providing accurate figures about people with disabilities worldwide and the use they make of audiovisual media is therefore extremely difficult. The World Health Organisation states on its website that in 2005 about 278 million people had some form of hearing impairment and that 285 million people are visually impaired worldwide today. However, all countries and institutions use different classifications to define disabilities and the figures relating to the use that disabled persons make of audiovisual media are dispersed. On the one hand, a growing group of younger disabled people is technology savvy, and on the other hand, the incidence of disabilities increases with age.

Substantiated figures about who uses what media are important for research, but also to convince governments that legislation ensuring accessibility must be

1. CAIAC, a research Centre within Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, for instance, is composed of two complementary groups: CEPHIS from Engineering, and TransMedia Catalonia from Audiovisual Translation. (http://centresderecerca.uab.cat/caiac/en/content/about-us).

implemented. Providing accessible services always comes at an additional cost. Initiatives like the European Audiovisual Media Services Directive (2010) state that governments must "encourage" media companies under their jurisdiction to make audiovisual content accessible, but leave implementation to the discretion of national governments. Likewise, the Worldwide Web Consortium has issued guidelines (http://www.w3.org/standards/) that can serve as a basis for accessible labels everywhere, but the way in which they are implemented varies greatly.

Awareness of this state of affairs has led to an increased interest in research into standardization of both accessible content and form. Research into the standardization of platforms and devices is supported or carried out by such institutions as the European Broadcasting Union (EBU) and the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), which set up a Focus Group on Audiovisual Media Accessibility in 2011.

3. TS-linked media accessibility research

The development of standards and methods to make media content accessible, falls within the domain of AVT research. Below we consider a selection of accessibility modes in more detail, but due to limitations of space, the discussion will be limited to television. The availability of the different modes still varies greatly from country to country.

3.1 Audio-description and audio-subtitling

Audio-description, video description in the USA and Canada, renders essential visual information from an audiovisual production in a verbal narration that is timed to fit between the source text dialogues and designed to interact with the aural sign systems of the source text (including music and sound effects; see Fryer 2010; Remael 2012). In the case of foreign language films, the AD can be combined with audio-subtitling (AST), an adapted aural version of the subtitles that appear at the bottom of the screen (Braun & Orero 2010).

The target audience of AD is visually impaired users, but the service also helps people with cognitive disabilities, giving them extra tools with which to reconstruct the contents of an audiovisual production. Within the visually impaired group, only a minority is born blind, most users have lost their sight at a later age or have impaired vision, which has implications for the way in which the content is described.

AD is produced in two stages: first an AD script is written, then it is recorded and mixed. Much of the research into AD focuses on the AD script and the ways in which it functions (Braun 2008). Some national scripting guidelines exist but they remain very vague and are based on practice rather than research (the website of the Royal National Institute for the Blind offers an overview). The creation of reliable and flexible guidelines is therefore the purpose of various research projects today (see e.g. ADLAB, www.adlabproject.eu). Some research also aims to develop methods for a more judicious selection of information to be included in AD scripts using, for instance, insights from narratology (Kruger 2010; Vercauteren 2012). Other research investigates what the typical features of the hybrid AD text and language are (or could be), often using corpus linguistics (see Braun 2008 for an overview). On the reception side, research looks into the limits and possibilities of the target audience processing the AD (Chmiel & Mazur 2012).

3.2 Subtitling for the deaf and hard of hearing and live subtitling

The entry on Subtitling* provides an overview of all the forms subtitling can take today. The user group of SDH, closed captioning in the USA and Canada, which addresses access barriers of an aural nature, falls into two main categories: people who are hard of hearing or 'deaf' but relate to the oral language as their mother tongue, and the 'Deaf', who, "[…] constitute a social and linguistic minority, who use sign language as their mother tongue and read the national language as a second language.' (Neves 2008: 129).

The group that uses SDH is itself heterogeneous and the linguistic abilities of its members differ greatly. Recent research has paid special attention to SDH requirements for children (Zárate 2010 and various in Matamala & Orero 2010). Some die-hard "fallacies" related to SDH, listed by Neves (2008), still constitute the object of debate today. Pressing issues remain the need for more research into visual presentation, reading speed and linguistic formulation as well as the rendering of sounds and intonation (Neves 2010), especially with the current increase in interlingual SDH. Many (European) countries have introduced legislation on quotas that broadcasters must meet.

It is partially due to quotas, often calling for 100% SDH, that broadcasters must also subtitle live programmes such as newscasts and sports programmes. Live subtitling, now accomplished with the help of speech recognition technology, is currently the only option. Depending on the display mode (scrolling or block), the reading speed of the subtitles varies (Romero Fresco 2011). The schematic representation of block live subtitling in Figure 1 will be used to describe one version of the process.

The subtitler/respeaker listens to the audio input from the TV programme (TV audio), respeaks this input in an edited form into the speech recognition program (respeaker audio), the speech recognizer produces a concept subtitle (which in the case of scrolling subtitles is usually the final subtitle), and the concept subtitle is edited

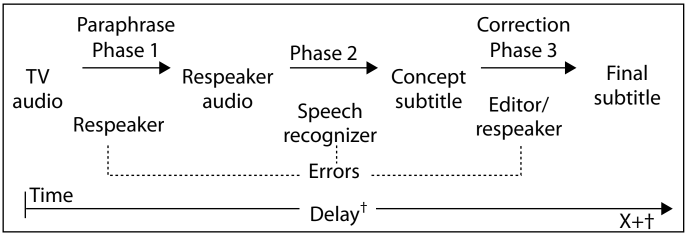

Figure 1. The live subtitling process (from Luyckx et al. 2010: 4)

and broadcast. Errors can occur in all stages, while the sum of the subsequent actions causes a delay between the input time of the audio and the output time of the subtitle. Research topics include: determining the causes of errors and classifying them, finding ways to reduce the delay, improving the training of the speech recognition technology and the respeaker, etc. To date, the quality of speaker independent respeaking technology is insufficient to eliminate the respeaker. In addition, it would produce subtitles with extremely high reading speeds (Romero Fresco 2011).

3.3 Sign language interpreting for television

The Deaf are the target audience of sign language interpreting for audiovisual media, which shares a number of features and research questions with Sign Language Interpreting* and with Media Interpreting*. The main additional challenges (Guitteny 2011) are: the limited space available for the insertion of the interpreter on screen, the lack of acceptance of some members of the hearing public of SL on TV, the speed with which news programmes - the main candidates for SL interpreting - are delivered, user insistence on employing (D/deaf) native speakers as well as the training and organisational issues. Moreover, some (fiction) programmes by and/or for D/deaf people, presented in sign language, constitute new challenges for delivery (McDonald 2012). Digital television offers options for closed signing that can be accessed by those who need it only, whereas the BBC iplayer, for instance, allows viewers to watch programmes with sign language interpreting (as well as AD and SDH) live on their computers or over mobile networks. In addition, the use of 3D human computer-generated models capable of producing natural-looking sign language may allow the elimination of labour-intensive work and elaborate training in the future (Olaf Looms 2011).

4. Concluding thoughts

One could conclude that the prospects for media accessibility are good, even though the task at hand is still considerable. A great need for more standardisation and legislation exists, which may be difficult to match with the heterogeneity of the target groups and the increasing complexity of contents, platforms and devices to be made accessible. However, new technologies are also offering innovative solutions. A word of caution seems warranted nevertheless: researchers in all areas of (media) accessibility must be mindful of the need to further develop accessibility for all, not merely accessibility for the young and affluent. Accessibility in developing countries too, remains a major challenge.

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Migration and translation

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The connection between translation and migration is a growing area of interest in Translation Studies*. This increase in attention is due to a combination of factors. On the one hand, it is a consequence of the marked visibility of migration phenomena in the contemporary world and of the centrality they have acquired in the social, economic and political spheres. On the other, it is also the result of theoretical moves which have shifted the focus of Translation Studies towards cultural phenomena (see The turns of Translation Studies*), the political* and ethical* dimensions of translation, as well as issues of power, agency and visibility. A parallel move, directly linked to language practices connected to migration, is also leading to broader definitions of translation, expanding strictly linear conceptions of the process (understood as a shift from Source to Target Language, Text and Culture), in order to encompass phenomena such as plurilingualism, heterolingualism and self- or auto-translation (Tymoczko 2006; Grutman 2006; Cronin 2006; Polezzi 2012). This move is having an impact both on macro-conceptualizations of translation (for instance, in the area of sociology of translation*) and on micro-analytical approaches (such as the analysis of translation strategies*). Current work on translation and migration draws on research in areas such as ethnography*, post-colonial studies*, globalization*, or cultural translation***, and it has direct links with language politics and policies, as well as with developing fields such as community interpreting* (Wadensjö 1998) or with the role of interpreting and translation practices within social movements (Doerr 2012).

1. Mobility and identity

Both translation and migration involve forms of mobility. In the case of migration, this is mostly geographic mobility and it concerns the displacement of people. Translation, on the other hand, is conceptualized primarily as the movement of texts across linguistic boundaries. Foregrounding the connection between migration and translation, however, highlights the fact that cultures, languages, texts and people often move together and that the permeability (or otherwise) of any borders to one type of movement also carries implications for the others.

Migration phenomena are notoriously complex to define. They are a constitutive element of social formations at national, infra-national and trans-national level. Any attempt at definition also has to take into account the variety of forms in which the geographic mobility of people can emerge, encompassing economic migration (often the dominant sense of the word in the contemporary context), as well as forced or voluntary exile, diaspora, nomadism, cosmopolitanism. All of these areas have been the subject of new or renewed interest in recent times (Papastergiadis 2000; Vertovec & Cohen 2002) and all of them have implications for language as well as translation practices, whether this is through the presence of plurilingualism in the everyday life of local communities or the creation of what Arjun Appadurai has called "diasporic public spheres" (2004: 4).

As noted by Michael Cronin, once we take the mobility of people into account, "it is no longer possible to limit histories of translation to literary phenomena within the territorial boundaries of the nation state; account must be taken of the multiple translation activities of a country's diasporas", so that "any history of translation must be a 'transnational' history rather than a 'national' history" (2006: 23). At the same time, migration, in all its forms including intra-national ones, inscribes language variation and translation within the nation itself, stressing that although "[m]onolingualism has been taken as the norm, […] it may turn out to be the case that plurilingualism is more typical worldwide" (Tymoczko 2006: 16). These two, specular perspectives have radical implications both for translation and for the theorization of the relationship between language and nation. They underline how the myth of the homogeneity of national languages is a crucial element for the construction of the nation and of national cultures – but also how this homogeneity is, precisely, a myth, which nevertheless carries strong political implications and acts as an internal as well as an external instrument of power and control. As for translation, its conceptualization as a linear act of transfer or substitution is also shown to be both insufficient and potentially complicit with exclusionary notions of identity and belonging (which in turn have crucial implications for the apportioning of rights). In what Naoki Sakai has called the regime of "homolingual address", translation is denied its "hybridizing" nature (see Hybridity and translation**) and is defined, instead, as a form of repetition which substitutes an unintelligible message with a perfectly intelligible one (at least ideally), thus bringing the foreign within the supposedly homogeneous confines of the nation and thereby domesticating it (Sakai 1997). What is left out, on the other hand, is the heterogeneity of language practices, the cohabitation of multiple codes and variants, and the possibility of mis- or even non-translation as communication strategies rather than just as communication accidents (Gentzler 2008; Grutman 2006; Sakai 1997). It is precisely this heterogeneity of language and translation practices which the nexus between translation and migration, between linguistic and geographic mobility brings to the fore. And in doing so it also calls into question any static, essentialist models of identity, reminding us instead that, whether "at a social, or more intimate personal level – many individuals now seem to be, more than ever, prone to articulate complex affiliations, meaningful attachments and multiple allegiances to issues, people, places and traditions that lie beyond the boundaries of their resident nation-state" (Vertovec & Cohen 2002: 2).

2. Agency

Given its direct connections with question of identity and power, the nexus between migration and translation also raises crucial questions about agency in translation practices (see Agents of translation**). A conceptualization of translation as a border-crossing process which is undertaken by specialised cultural operators within carefully controlled production and distribution systems will not be able to contain, nor to explain, the plurilingual language practices which we encounter when we enter the terrain of migration, in all its different incarnations. Additionally, as pointed out by Talal Asad in a seminal article on the concept of cultural translation and its practice in the field of ethnography, if we assume that the translator/ethnographer can treat an entire culture as a self-contained text and "translate" it by "matching written sentences in two languages, such that the second set of sentences becomes the 'real meaning' of the first", then the results of that translation process will only reinforce unequal relationships of power between those who translate and those who are translated. As a consequence, the translator will assume the role of a privileged agent who "can afford not to engage in a genuine dialogue with those he or she once lived with and now *writes* about" (1986: 155).

Migration, on the other hand, compels us to acknowledge that we need both translation practices *and* translators who are fully engaged in dialogue and in processes of meaning production which do not ossify cultural and linguistic phenomena into their "real meaning" but rather stress their dynamic, interactive, and ongoing nature. Studying migration from a translation perspective (and vice versa) reminds us that "the everyday life of today's cities unfolds through the continuous negotiation of linguistic, historical and cultural heterogeneity, carried on through the human meaning machine's prodigious powers of comprehension, improvisation and adaptation" (Pratt 2010: 95). These heterogeneous practices are marked by the presence of multiple agents as well as processes, and they take place in multiple locations. This in turn means that we need to widen our traditional research field if we are to understand how translation comes to be a pervasive process in our world. We need to ask who translates, for whom, when and where. And we need to understand the mechanisms which legitimize or de-legitimize forms of translation (and more generally of language behaviour).

Migrants, both as individuals and as communities, adopt complex practices which involve both auto- and hetero-translation – but these practices do not take place in a vacuum. Rather, they operate within multiple constraints which come both from the norms of a group and from the legal framework as well as the social expectations of the broader community in which that group operates. One of the key tasks for research over the coming years will be precisely that of mapping translation and its agents in social contexts characterized by the presence of migration and plurilingualism. Migrants can act as self-translators, often addressing multiple audiences, belonging to home and host communities, at one and the same time. Members of a migrant group can be invested, whether officially or unofficially, with the role of interpreters and translators and can thereby acquire particular visibility and "audibility" (Cronin 2006: 73). Translation can take place in public as well as private spaces, and can be intended as a private or a public gesture. State agencies and other institutions can prescribe the presence of officially sanctioned processes of translation under specific circumstances, also dictating who needs to be translated and who can or cannot perform the task of translation for them. And different agents as well as locations will privilege different translation strategies, from the most visible and explicit to those which remain imperviously hidden from view, from user-friendly approaches to those yielding intentionally intractable results.

Within this composite context, both the practice of translation and the figure of the translator/interpreter can play positive, ethically informed and conciliatory roles – but they can also enforce forms of control, exclusion and voice-deprivation (Baker 2006). The containment of language, of its hybridity and its productivity can in fact be seen as one of the crucial areas of what Michel Foucault described as the "bio-power" at the core of modern state apparatuses, which he understood as "the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life" (1998: 139–40). Among the key targets of biopolitical control, Foucault had already identified the question of migration (*ibid*.: 140), while Giorgio Agamben, developing Foucault's notions of politics and bio-power, has also pointed to language as the distinctive trait which singles out human politics from any other form of social interaction (Agamben 1998, 3, 7; 2007, 8). Seen in this perspective, it is not surprising that the locations and the agents in and through which language practices meet or overlap with migration should become key concerns for modern state apparatuses, as shown by repeated attempts to regulate language practices and contain their proliferation; by efforts to incorporate interpreters within "the public *system of control*" (Wadensjö 1998: 13); by the impact of translation practices and of their agents on democratic practices (Doerr 2012); or by the fact that translators can even become the direct object of acts of violence.

It is also unsurprising that precisely the practice of translation as well as the figure of the interpreter/translator should play such an important role in writing marked by experiences of migration. This is often the case in post-colonial contexts, although the use of self-translation* strategies goes well beyond the binomial created by "native" and "colonial" language (Polezzi 2012). Writers and other artists who have experienced migration are themselves agents of translation within plurilingual contexts and they also tend to dramatize the act of translating, its impact on individuals as well as on groups, its importance for the transmission of memory as well as for processes of assimilation or hybridization within host communities. Their work foregrounds the pervasiveness of translation and, in doing so, also calls into question traditional constructions of homogeneous national audiences, as well as national spaces.

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Models in Translation Studies

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A model can be defined as a kind of empirical theory which aims to show some kind of isomorphic relation with its object. A model offers a simplified representation of what are believed to be the essential features of the object. Good models not only describe their object accurately, but also incorporate or generate possible explanations, and predictions that can be tested. A good example of a powerful predictive model is Mendeleev's one of the periodic table of the chemical elements, which he developed around 1870. His table had gaps which the model predicted would be filled by elements that would be discovered later. This prediction eventually came true, which was powerful evidence that the explanatory principles on which the table was based were correct.

In Translation Studies* (TS) we do not yet have such powerful predictive models. But we do have many models, which can be classified in different ways. They illustrate different theoretical approaches to translation, and show how the field has developed. We also find the term "model" used in a less specific sense, meaning 'approach' or 'theory in general', a usage sometimes reflected in conferences focusing on research methodology (see e.g. Olohan 2000, a volume based on one such conference).

1. Comparative models

Historically, our first models were comparative** (see Chesterman 2000 for further discussion of this classification). They can be formalized simply like this: ST ≈ TT. That is: there is a source text ST and a target text TT, and the relation between them is approximately equal. This "approximately equal" is of course where the concepts of correspondence and equivalence*** and similarity come in, always much debated. This kind of model is static and product-based, and was influenced by Contrastive Analysis in linguistics**, which studies the similarities and differences between languages. In TS, the focus was not on languages as such but on texts. Early examples of comparative models are to be found in the work of Catford, and Vinay and Darbelnet.

More specific comparative models showed possible translation equivalents for particular source-text items. Catford's "translation rules" (1965: 31) are based (in theory) on detailed formulas showing when a given source item is translated as a given target item in a given target language. This way of thinking reflected early ideas about how to develop a machine translation* system: what corresponds to what, under what conditions?

Later developments in TS introduced another version of the comparative model, when scholars started comparing translated texts in a given language with non-translated texts in the same language. The focus of interest here is in how translations* (TTs) differ from non-translations (NTs), so the underlying relation is: TT ≠ NT. This approach led to research on translation universals**, understood as features that typically distinguish translations from non-translations (and also features that characterize the differences between translations and their source texts).

Comparative models thus investigate relations between two kinds of text. Models of the source-target relation can also be seen as being implicitly causal, if the source items are interpreted as "causing" the occurrence of the equivalent target items, although it would be more accurate to say that they influence the translator's decision to select these target items, rather than cause their occurrence directly.

2. Causal models

Causal models aim to be more explicit about cause-and-effect relations. By introducing causality, they also make the models more openly explanatory, not just descriptive. Causal models aim to represent both the various causes that affect translations, and the various effects that translations can have. The translations themselves are therefore seen as both effects and causes, like this: Causes → Translations → Effects.

There are of course many kinds of causal conditions that may affect translations: socio-cultural and historical factors such as traditions and norms, economic factors, the translator's personality and mood, the time and resources available, the text type, the translation skopos* (purpose), the translator's competence, and so on. (See further Chesterman 1998.).

Translations can have many kinds of effects, including cognitive effects in a reader's mind, behavioural effects on readers' actions, and broader effects on whole societies and cultures. Think of the huge effects of the translations of Greek scholarship into Arabic in the 12th and 13th centuries, or the long tradition of Bible translation (see Religious translation*).

Translation criticism is also a manifestation of translation effects. A translation review is in fact a report of the effect that the translation had on the critic in question: first a cognitive or emotional effect (wow, that's good / terrible / clumsy / wrong…), which then finds expression in an act, i.e. writing and publishing the review. The analysis of translation causes and effects is also central to translator training***. An instructor gives feedback based on the effects a translation has had on her, perhaps pointing out that an alternative version would have better effects, or why a given error has serious negative effects.

3. Process models

Causal models are not static but dynamic, as they include the idea of a causal process. Early process models in TS were not explicitly causal, though, but purely descriptive, although they may have causal implications. They represented a series of changes or stages through time.

A famous example is Nida's model of the translation process (e.g. Nida 1964), where the translation process is split into three stages: analysis of the source text into its basic semantic components; transfer into the target language; and then restructuring this initial target version into an appropriate stylistic form. Nida's model was grounded in the idea of representing translation as a special form of communication. In normal communication, according to the very earliest models, a Sender (S) sends a Message (M) to a Receiver (R). In translation, then, we have this picture: S1 > M1 > R1/S2 > M2 > R2. The translator is modelled here as being in the middle (symbolized as R1/S2), both a Receiver (of Message M1) and a Sender (of M2). Between M1 and M2 there is supposed to be some kind of equivalence, but, more importantly for Nida, the reactions of R2 should be similar to those of R1. That is, the translation should aim (typically) at similar effects: this aim Nida called dynamic equivalence. The notion therefore does not apply to translations that are intended to have a different effect, a different function.

Nida's model looks descriptive, but it obviously had pedagogical aims. So did other early process models, for instance that of Sager (1994). Writing in the context of the translation industry (not Bible translation, like Nida), Sager proposed a four-stage model that would serve to organize translation projects in technology and commerce, and assure adequate quality. The stages were: Specification > Preparation > Translation > Evaluation. Sager's model thus drew attention to the importance of checking the translation brief (specification), preparing the necessary glossaries and background texts etc. and having a separate stage for checking, perhaps done by a person or persons other than the translator. There are causal implications here: if some stages are gone through carelessly, for instance, quality* will suffer.

A similarly pedagogical goal underlies Nord's "looping model" (1991), where the translator is described as looping back and forth recursively between the source text, the evolving target text, and the skopos.

In later developments, process models have also guided research on the translator's cognitive decision-making. TS borrowed from psychology the basic black box model of the mind: Input > Black box > Output. This model implied that the only way to gain access to what goes on inside the mind is to look at input and output under various conditions, and then infer what must be taking place in the black box in between. Later, a number of techniques were borrowed into TS in order to gain more direct access to the translator's cognition, including think-aloud protocols* (TAPs) and eye-tracking. (For a recent collection of papers on the cognitive process, see Alvstad et al. 2011.).

4. Nexus models

Because there are many kinds of causes that affect translations, and often many people involved in producing a translation, some scholars have proposed network or nexus models (e.g. Pym 1998; Koskinen 2008). Unlike simple process models, nexus models are not linear. In these, a translation is represented as the product of a complex process involving a network of actors or agents, some of which may be collective or non-human (institutions, computers). TS scholars developing nexus-type models have drawn e.g. on Actor Network Theory in order to represent the relations and interactions between all the agents** involved in a translation situation. This has been one way to develop a sociological approach to translation (see Sociology of translation*), focusing on the people involved rather than just the texts.

Nexus models are not explicitly causal, but they do have some explanatory power, in that they strongly contextualize a translation process*, showing the relations that surround and compose it. In this way they "make sense of" a translation process.

5. What do models actually model?

There are two more distinctions that affect a typology of translation models. Both derive from Gideon Toury's work. The first is the difference between models of the translation *act* and those of the translation *event* (Toury 1995: 249; 2012: 67f). The act is understood to take place at the cognitive level, inside the translator's head. The event is a sociological concept, beginning from the client's selection of a translator, or perhaps from the translator's first reading of some of the source text, and ending when the translation is submitted to the client, or perhaps when the translator is paid or the translation is read. The act is thus embedded in the event. The translation act can only be studied indirectly, by inference from think-aloud protocols or keystroke data (such as Translog), for instance. But the event can be studied directly, for example by observing how translators behave when they revise, or how workplace procedures are organized, or how a team or network of agents cooperate and communicate during a translation project.

The second additional point to be made derives from Toury's discussion of different senses of the notion of a translation problem** (Toury 2002, 2012: 35f). Some models are virtual or optimal ones, designed to assist translator trainees in solving potential translation problems. They aim to model helpful processes leading to possible solution types. They may be based on experience, or on the analysis of lots of translations, but they do not describe how a *particular* translator has arrived at a given solution. Examples are Nida's general model mentioned above, or e.g. Leppihalme's model (1997) for translating allusions.

Other models are built retrospectively from existing translations: given a feature in the translation (such as an unusual solution, or an error of some kind), the scholar aims to reconstruct the probable problem-solving process and thus explain the solution. These models are reverse-engineered, then. They might indeed represent what really happened, but not necessarily. An example is Gile's Effort Model of interpreting* (see e.g. his paper in Alvstad et al. 2011), which posits three main "Efforts" which must be kept in balance by a fourth Coordination Effort if interpreting is to succeed: Listening and Analysis, Production, and short-term Memory. Errors or weaknesses in the product are inferred to have been caused by a deficiency in one or more of the Efforts.

And finally there are actual models of real translators working in real time, either modelling the translation act or the event. A recent example, which combines aspects of both act and event, is the research reported by Jakobsen (e.g. in Alvstad et al. 2011).

6. How predictive are the models?

Good empirical models are testable. The more explicit a model is, the easier it is to test. Most models in TS are not made explicit to the degree of being formalized, but one attempt to do this is Garcia-Landa (1990). If a model can make predictions, it is certainly testable. Models with pedagogical aims (virtual, ideal models) are in principle testable, in that we can check whether the use of a given model in teaching or in translating really does tend to lead to better translations, compared to other contexts which do not use the model in question. But such testing seems to be extremely rare. Ideal models can also be tested against real translation behaviour outside the training context. For instance, do professional translators analyse source-text items down to their basic meanings before transferring them to the target language, as Nida's model describes? Evidence from research on the literal translation hypothesis suggests that this does not always happen: on the contrary, translators often tend to make the language transfer before an analysis, leading to a literal translation, which is then polished. (See e.g. Englund Dimitrova 2005.).

General descriptive* models, such as the reverse-engineered ones, are weakly predictive in the sense that they are assumed to apply also to not-yet-examined cases. They can be tested in the same way, against real-life cases. Here too, there is much testing still to be done.

Any model with an explicit causal element is strongly predictive, because it can be checked whether the claimed causal conditions actually do affect other translations in the predicted way. This testing of a causal model can be done experimentally, under controlled conditions, or via the observation of naturally occurring translation in the appropriate conditions.

It might be felt that TS has not yet matured enough to set up properly testable models, and that empirical research should aim at more modest goals, such as generating and testing individual hypotheses. Well-supported hypotheses could then be built into models. But a model itself is also a hypothesis, in the sense that it should be testable, and then perhaps refined or even rejected. The early model of communication, for instance (often jokingly referred to as the ballistic model, because of its assumption that communication is a matter of throwing messages at receivers), has now been rejected by many scholars in favour of more complex models giving space to the receiver's activity in making inferences from clues provided by the sender and the context. This abandoning of one model and the adoption of another is reflected in Gutt's work on relevance theory in TS (Gutt 2000).

In building and improving models in TS, a major challenge is therefore to make them as explicit and predictive as possible so that they can be tested, and we may then arrive at better explanatory theories.

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Music and translation

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The translation of musical texts – or music-linked translation, in Harai Golomb's terms (2005: 121–162) – has only recently started to receive attention from translation researchers. One reason for this may be the methodological challenges that its study entails, for it redraws traditional boundaries such as those between 'translation*', 'adaptation*' or 'rewriting', it questions essential concepts such as 'authorship' or 'source-text' and it clearly calls for a multidisciplinary approach (Susam-Sarajeva 2008: 188–9). Two monographic publications have now joined the small group of articles so far devoted to Music and Translation: Gorlée 2005 and Susam-Sarajeva 2008, which show that the translation of musical texts goes well beyond opera, taking multiple forms – from the (literal) translations of CD inserts or printed libretti to sung translation, the rewriting of song lyrics, surtitling, subtitling* or dubbing*. This entry will present an overview of the field, focusing mainly on the translation of opera in its various forms – as it has attracted most attention –, and that of songs and musicals.

1. Translating opera for the stage

Music, performance and verbal text all collaborate in the creation of meaning in an opera piece. Nevertheless, the powerful presence of music has traditionally framed the conception of opera as an essentially musical genre, rather than as a dramatic art, and this can be observed in sung translation: the music is normally considered untouchable and becomes the code that functions as the axis for translation decisions; the verbal text is thus subordinated to the music so that the translator must adhere to the notes and the tempo of the original score. Translation strategies* will therefore be constrained by phonetic factors such as sound quality, vowel length, rhythm and prosody, and word and sentence stress (Herman & Apter 1991, among others, provide a detailed analysis of these constraints).

Figures of speech, such as rhyme, alliteration, repetition or onomatopoeia, will also frequently influence the choice of verbal text, but most experts on opera translation recommend adopting a flexible stance there. Each language presents the translator with different difficulties and achieves 'singability', a key issue in opera translation, in different ways: characterization is conveyed by the singer's register, so it is important for performers to receive a verbal text which they feel they can sing and which forms a whole with the musical pattern.

The translator of opera will not only need a good command of (at least some of) the languages which have most commonly been used for opera libretti (Italian, German, French, English, Russian and Czech, mainly), but also some knowledge of music, vocal technique and rhythm; at the same time, s/he will have to be aware of the dramatic nature of the script and be sensitive to each composer's style. In his analysis of opera as a multimedia text, Kaindl (1995) insists that an opera piece is not simply the sum of several codes and firmly proposes a holistic approach to opera translation, paying attention not just to the close relationship between words and music, but also to aspects relating to the stage performance. The translator should therefore work hand in hand with the director, the conductor and those responsible for the various scenic elements, so that translation decisions may be adjusted to the production in question.

Opera translation is generally surrounded by a controversy over its feasibility. Those against sung translation claim that, as the music component is the pivotal element of opera works, there is no need to understand the text, or, conversely, that the text is an integral part of the music and cannot be changed (see Herman & Apter 1991). Those in favour state that, while opera translation inevitably entails the loss of the original match between words and music as was devised by the composer, it also has a lot to gain: the operatic performance is enhanced, enabling the opera to re-capture its true essence of musical drama. In fact, the history of music offers innumerable examples of operas sung in translation for theatre audiences in various target languages. There are also recorded translations of famous arias with important voices.

The linguistic issue has run parallel to the development of the genre: Italian, its tongue of origin, was adopted as the main operatic language until the 19th century, when other languages, like German and English, put an end to the nearly constant presence of Italian and French in European opera houses (see Desblache 2007). Up to the Second World War, though, it was not unusual to have operas sung half in Italian half in the local language (Desblache 2007: 159–160). Financial reasons were behind this, and also decide on the issue today: singers are now engaged for productions all over the world so it is more economical to have one common language of performance for each particular opera – generally, the libretto's original language. Some countries, however, habitually alternate productions in that language with performances in translated versions.

The reasons for the (non) translation of opera are in fact more closely related to sociological, historical and economic factors than to linguistic or technical ones: the 'incongruity principle' inherent to musical drama (in which characters communicate through *singing*); the perception of opera as an essentially musical genre; opera audiences' claim that they know the pieces by heart; the conception of opera as a 'difficult' genre which only a social and cultural elite can enjoy, etc.; all these factors have probably contributed to modern audiences' frequent rejection of sung translation.

2. The translation of opera libretti

Before the 20th century, audiences demanded to understand the libretto, which they could follow in translated printed versions. In fact, the text and librettists enjoyed a prominent place in opera until the 19th century; but things changed completely halfway through the century, when a black-out was introduced in the auditorium – preventing audiences from reading libretti during the performance –, the music took precedence over the verbal text, composers took control of the libretto and the practice of adapting texts from foreign operas – which had been a common practice till then – became unacceptable (see Desblache 2007).

Opera libretti are available in foreign versions today in most CD recordings, which commonly offer inserts in two or three languages – usually English, French, German or Italian. There are also bilingual reader-oriented publications, and some opera vocal scores show a translation of the libretto printed below or above the original text. All these target texts are usually literal translations, meant for opera lovers' reading or singers' study. Unfortunately, opera audiences' and critics' judgements of libretti have often been based on these semantic translations which were never meant to be performed or on readings of the original libretto separate from its music, while in fact the hybrid nature of opera implies that the text is not an autonomous entity but one more element in a complex semiotic whole. The quality of these literal translations of libretti can only be judged by bearing this and their very specific skopos in mind (see Functionalist approaches*).

3. Opera surtitling

The non-autonomous nature of the libretto also becomes clear in a new translation method which arrived in the 1980s to complement sung translations and prose versions of libretti for opera performances. Registered as SURTITLES^{TM} by a team of Canadian professionals, this technological innovation which was aimed at making opera understandable and widely accessible has radically changed the experience of opera audiences.

The target texts produced through surtitling are projected on a screen (usually) above the proscenium as the opera's source verbal text is being sung on the stage. Although they do not entail such great verbal difficulties as sung translation, they are constrained by technical, format and timing factors. The written text on the screen must agree with the performance on stage and be subject to the timing impositions of the music. The functional nature of surtitles – whose essential purpose is to facilitate comprehension of the libretto without too much interference with the overall reception of the opera – strongly affects translators' textual choices too. As a consequence of these constraints, the principle of economy is of paramount importance, so surtitles imply a considerable reduction of the source text (between one third and one half). This reduction, however, is always dependent on the music, which becomes the most determining factor, marking the division of the verbal text into the different captions to be projected as well as their synchronization and time of exposure. Each title should be projected through the corresponding singing, while ensuring a comfortable reading speed.

The surtitling process and the reception of the texts are also affected by the transitory, unrepeatable, nature of the opera performance and the fact that the titles are projected live. On the microtextual level, this entails the simplification of vocabulary, syntax and punctuation, the compression of verbal repetitions and deletion of secondary detail, and the tendency for each title to form a consistent meaningful unit. The fact that the audience has simultaneous access to the source text – sung on the stage – and the target text – projected on the screen – will further limit the translator's choices and increase the difficulty of the task. S/he will often have to choose which contents to keep or roles to prioritize, which must be decided by continually paying attention to the libretto, the music, the production and the audience. Surtitlers must therefore work in collaboration with other agents involved in the production; as in most cases of Audiovisual Translation*, then, teamwork is vital, both for the creation of the titles and for the projection during the performance.

Despite the controversy which surtitles initially excited in some countries, like Great Britain and the USA, in general most audiences have welcomed them enthusiastically. Indeed surtitling has significantly increased the size of audiences, making opera more accessible and changing opera goers' expectations towards the performance (they now expect to understand the plot, the characters' emotional states and verbal exchanges); it has also widened the repertoires of opera houses, introducing new languages, works and composers; lastly, it has brought about a new way of watching opera, a more active and fragmented one, but also one which enhances its enjoyment. (See Desblache 2007; Mateo 2007 and Virkkunen 2004 as some relevant studies of surtitling.).

Other accessibility techniques have also recently been introduced in some opera houses, such as **audiodescription** and **audio introductions**, through which blind audiences receive, respectively, a full narration of or an introduction to the various visual aspects of opera performances (see Media accessibility***). Both methods have already received attention within Audiovisual Translation (see Díaz Cintas et al. 2007).

Important issues in audiodescription are the various linguistic codes involved in the transmission, the narration's overlapping with the music, the problems posed by improvisations or incongruities on stage, the contentious issue of neutrality in the description of emotions or whether information should be synthesized.

4. Foreign musicals in a target context

The translation of stage musicals shows the same type of technical problems as that of opera translation for performance (although musicals alternate sung parts and spoken dialogue more than operas), and both genres share with drama translation* the semiotic complexity of the process, the transitory nature of the reception and the multiple agents** involved in a production (Mateo 2008: 321). However, different translation policies** prevail for each type of musical drama today: while most opera houses (at least in the Western world) resort to surtitles for performances of foreign operas, sung translation is the norm for stage musicals in most target systems (*ibid*: 320). The divergent perceptions of each genre in the music and theatre worlds (as canonised *vs* non-canonised, or as elitist *vs* popular products) have probably induced a different attitude in the respective audiences towards the language of performance: while most opera-goers are quite content with the condensed translation offered in the surtitles, translated (Anglo-American) musicals would probably not have attracted such wide audiences in European countries, had they been exported 'only' with surtitling. This different attitude may also be explained by the fact that opera seems to be more strongly associated with convention and artifice while musicals are perceived as more realistic (for instance, in singer-role matching).

But there are economic and cultural factors involved too, not just in the translation method chosen but also in the translation process* and the selection of the source texts, as shown in the few articles which have been devoted to this genre in music translation research so far: financial considerations have been behind the unsystematic and partial transfer methods employed for the importation of popular American *film* musicals into some European countries like Italy, while the successful introduction of Anglo-American *stage* musicals in other countries, like Spain, has been grounded both on commercial devices and on factors such as the need to fill a 'cultural gap' in the country's artistic production (see Di Giovanni 2008 and Mateo 2008).

These macro-level approaches to the translation of musicals are complemented by John Franzon's micro-level and semiotic analysis (2005). With a functional* view of the translation of lyrics and taking into consideration the multimedia nature of stage musicals, Franzon suggests that even when the purposes of the source and target texts are similar (in this case a musical performance), one must only expect similarity between them on the contextual and functional levels, rather than on the textual-semiotic one.

5. Translating songs

The translation of songs is commissioned more rarely than that of other musical genres (Franzon 2008: 373): usually only for a film's subtitling, occasionally for the theatre or for the lyrics quoted in publications and CD inserts. The technical problems presented by song translation are quite similar to those of opera or musical sung translation, but researchers on the genre agree that the translator's priorities may be quite different. Besides, it is usually professionals other than translators that undertake song translation: this is frequently done by singers, songwriters, opera specialists, even playwrights and, very commonly now, fans of the source song on the internet (Franzon 2008: 373–4).

Several (sub)genres can be included in song translation: from folk songs, to German *lieder*, choral works by classical composers, religious hymns, French *chanson*, pop songs, children's songs and poems set to music; the history of music offers examples of all of them in translation.

Franzon proposes a functional view of singability and states that "a song might be recognized as a translation if it is a second version of a source song that allows some essential values of the source's music *and/or* its lyrics *and/or* its sung performance to be reproduced in a target language" (2008: 376). The translator thus has several *theoretical* choices (2008: 376–389): from leaving the song untranslated to adapting the translation to the original music, through translating the lyrics without taking the music into account, etc. The main decisive factor for these choices will be the mode of presentation (printed songs, subtitling, sung performance – for recordings, the stage, etc).

From a functional standpoint too, Peter Low proposes his 'Pentathlon Principle' for the study of song translation, which he considers as a balance of five criteria: singability, sense, naturalness, rhythm and rhyme (2005: 185–212). Like Franzon, Low insists on a flexible and pragmatic approach to all those features, paying special attention to the overall effect of the translated song, which should create the illusion that the source music was actually devised for the target lyrics. For his part, focusing on popular songs, Kaindl suggests that song translation must be understood as a product in which words, music and image are interdependent, so its study should be interdisciplinary (2005: 234–62).

6. Conclusion

Music-linked translation offers an extensive range of topics for research: the specificity of numerous musical genres and various translation methods, microtextual analyses of source and target musical texts, descriptive studies* of texts and contexts, the role which cultural and sociological issues clearly seem to play, reception studies, the issues of intertextuality, creativity and identity in music translation, etc. (see Susam-Sarajeva 2008: 191–5). Whatever the focus, it is quite clear that solid research on this field must adopt a multidisciplinary approach – drawing on disciplines such as musicology, theatre studies, semiotics*, sociology*, literary history and translation studies* –, so as to fully account for the translational norms* and process, which involve linguistic, discursive, aesthetic, socio-cultural, historical, ideological, economic and technical dimensions.

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National and cultural images

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Every act of information distribution potentially includes the spread of 'images' (in a general sense). Every concrete act of text production has been preceded by selection and decision procedures, including framing and formulation choices. Since the emergence of nation states and the related construction of national and cultural identities especially during the 19th and 20th centuries, these choices have also been influenced by national and cultural image building. When these choices, perspectives or frames are being transferred to a new target text, as in the act of translation, an additional selection and decision process about these choices is unavoidable. New considerations (on the basis of a different knowledge or perception base between source and target audience) will be taken into account when transferring information about national and cultural images. This may lead to conscious and/or unconscious changes of perspective, the use of stereotypes, omissions or additions, and manipulations, up to and including varying features of censorship*. These changes make the study of national and cultural image building a highly interesting field for Translation Studies. As Cristina Marinetti puts it in her HTS entry on 'Cultural approaches**': "translation is one of the ways in which works of literature are 're-written', and these re-writings are the primary way in which cultures construct 'images' and 'representations' of authors, texts and entire periods of history."

1. Nation states and national identities

The construction of nation states and related national identities in the 19th and 20th centuries inevitably included special attention being paid to the construction of national histories, national literatures, national heroes etc. The emergence of national writers, languages and canons took place in conjunction with translation, implicit or explicit translation policies** and the often unstated role translation has played in these areas.

In November 2011, a conference was organized in Antwerp and Amsterdam on the topic of 'Translation and National Images'. In the call for papers, the organizers pointed to the relationship between translation, image-building and national or cultural identity formation:

> Languages and their multiple repertoires and translation in its various guises constitute powerful elements in identity formation and image-building – be they conflicting, constantly renegotiated or relatively harmonious – in multi-ethnic states, regions, cities and other sites (e.g. Ireland, Canada, Israel, Flanders). In which way do these identities, images and related stereotypes become visible in and through language and translation?

It is no coincidence that Ireland was mentioned as a case in point. In the 1990's, not only a seminal work of imagologist Joep Leerssen was published on the 19th century representation of Ireland in historical and literary sources (Leerssen 1996), also two Translation Studies scholars devoted thorough studies to the role of translation in the image and identity building process of Ireland. Michael Cronin (1996) not only wrote a kind of history of translation activity through the centuries in Ireland, he also showed how translation was used as a tool with political impact, as a means of bringing about cultural renewal and as a catalyst for the distribution of images and representations. In a same vein, Maria Tymoczko (1999) examined the history of translation in Ireland from a postcolonial* perspective, more particularly the use of translation and translation practices in the Irish struggle for independence. Resistance to cultural oppression and to British colonialism as articulated by the translators in their translation practices illustrates the fact that the representation of cultures is never neutral or innocent. "Irish cultural nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries attempted to create new images of Irish culture that would counter English stereotypes and serve Irish nationalist purposes" (Tymoczko 1999: 5). The author elaborates on a number of aspects demonstrating the link between translation and image-building, such as the representation of Cú Chulainn as an ideal of militant Irish heroism for example. Another example is the translation of proper names, in which issues of knowledge, power, cultural prestige, and identity coincide – the theme of the Irish playwright, Brian Friel's play *Translations*.

2. Imagology or image studies

Representation and image-building in (mainly literary) texts have been studied over the last decades in 'imagology' (as the discipline is called in German – *Imagologie* - or French – *imagologie*) or image studies (in English). Because image studies is being increasingly used in translation research, I believe it is important to provide some more information about the origins, aims and more recent developments in image studies.

The roots of imagology are to be found in literary studies*, as the discipline considers itself a specialization of comparative literary research (see e.g. Beller in Beller & Leerssen 2007: 7). Imagology studies national and cultural stereotypes from a transnational point of view, in order to offer a perspective on a theory of cultural or national images. It is important to note that it is not a theory of national or cultural identity. Imagology does not study what nations or nationalities are rather how they are represented. Imagologists are well aware of the evolution through history of loaded terms such as 'nation', 'people' or 'identity' and attempt to concentrate on more constructionist models, away from essentialist definitions. This stance is important: it is descriptive, rather than explanatory, for "it is the aim of imagology to describe the origin, process and function of national prejudices and stereotypes, to bring them to the surface, analyse them and make people rationally aware of them" (Beller in Beller & Leerssen 2007: 11–12).

The descriptive and diachronic viewpoints allow imagology to register and examine contradictions and gradual changes in perception, thus also allowing it to deal with hybrid and fluid images. Let me give an example to illustrate this: Ruth Florack has explored the image(s) of France and the French, where a repertoire of very similar stereotypes may carry both positive and negative connotations, depending on the stance or the viewpoint: civilized behaviour, verbal eloquence and refined social manners can also be perceived as arrogance, showiness and vanity.

> It should be taken into account that for many a century, France has had a dominant position in Europe – the prototype of royal absolutism, symbolized in Versailles, so deeply affected the European aristocracy that not only its architecture and fashion were borrowed from it, but also the general use of French as an elite lingua franca […]. As a result of this hegemony, many French stereotypes have been defined as hierarchically superior. However, this hierarchical difference results in demarcation strategies from inside, as well as from outside, implying that the examples which had been considered as positive earlier, are now perceived as negative (Florack in Beller & Leerssen 2007: 155).

Already in 2000, Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu published an article that attempted to look for the point of intersection between imagology and Translation Studies. She explicitly focused on several stages of the image creation process in translation (see Kuran-Burçoğlu 2000).

3. Prolific fields

Some textual or thematic categories seem to have more reason for being studied than others, particularly textual transfers whereby aspects of (cultural context) adaptation are more evident. Children's literature* is a fine example: Helen T. Frank (2007) studied the images of Australia spread in translated French children's literature. The book deals with interpretive choices and how they work when texts are moved from one culture to another, with the way images of a nation, locale or country are constructed. Several issues are examined, like the selection of books for translation, the packaging of translations, the linguistic and stylistic features specific to translating for children, intertextual references, the function of the translation in the target culture, etc. Another example is Martina Seifert's work on the images of Canada in German juvenile literature (Seifert 2005). A modern, urban version of Canada is totally absent in the German target texts; the patterns of perception are bound to very traditional images and clichés. Or as Seifert describes it in her entry on Canada in *Imagology*: "wide-open spaces, crystal-clear rivers and lakes, bears, moose, and 'Mounties' – and the Canadian wilderness is safeguarded and idealized as a haven of innocence, beauty, and human values, a physical and mental healing place, a spiritual and ecological sanctum, a paradise untouched by the destructive effects of civilization" (in Beller & Leerssen 2007: 116).

In her study on the images of Sicily, Paola Smecca (2009) has shown how tourist guidebooks can be changed, sometimes even manipulated by editors and translators in order to meet target readers' expectations. The changes sometimes clearly appeal to culture-bound prejudices and stereotypes. Once again, it is shown how important the mediating role played by translators is. The idea people often have about Sicily is based on a construction (partly by the author, partly by the translator) and is based only to a limited extent on the real conditions of the Italian island.

Recently some authors have tried to enlarge the object of study in the field of imagology, which originally only concentrated on literary texts. Luc van Doorslaer (2010) for example has examined the image building potential and impact of journalistic texts. News text production is a complex process of textual adaptation*, translation proper and journalistic rewriting (see Journalism and translation*). One of the complexities is the role of image setting and of the construction of national images that potentially co-determine the selection and de-selection procedures involved. "The combination of many source texts and their vague status may invite the journalist to select particular aspects or stereotypes of national images" (2010: 186).

Other recent case studies interconnecting translation and image studies deal with image projection through website localization by Canadian brands (McDonough Dolmaya, 2010) or with the role of the translator as mediator, like Sundaram (2011) in her publication on the policy of text selection for translation into Russian. Very often aspects of ethics* are explicitly or implicitly involved in such case studies: translators are at the cultural interface and have a complicated relationship with their source texts (see for instance Bermann & Wood 2005).

4. Points of interest for future research

Researchers dealing with image construction or modification in or through translation should be well aware of the paradoxical relationship between nationalism and transnationalism, since the act of translation inevitably also involves the transfer of nationally and culturally constructed symbols, norms, values and images. For future research, it is important to consider the researcher's position with regard to his or her topic. Every research angle provides the reader with a perspective on the data under discussion. For that reason it remains important to problematize possible naive data collection methods or essentialist readings of the data. Both translatorial and research ethics are involved in the treatment of materials at the crossroads of translation and image studies.

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Postmodernism

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In the contemporary international academia, postmodernism is perhaps one of the most frequently used terms in almost all the relevant disciplines or areas of humanities and social sciences. Whether there is such a thing as postmodernism has been, and will continue to be, controversial, not only in the West, but also elsewhere in the world. Some scholars (Wang 1997) prefer to use the more inclusive term postmodernity to describe the contemporary intellectual condition beyond the Western context. For the past thirty years or more, the debate about postmodernism or postmodernity has been of acute interest to major Euro-American scholars and critics in the humanities and social sciences. Some, moreover, have extended the consideration of postmodernity to Asian and other Third World cultures and literatures (Dirlik & Zhang 2000). Until over ten years ago, many Western scholars who think that postmodernism does, in fact, exist had held nevertheless that it is a Western phenomenon that is irrelevant to Third World and Asian societies, which lack the conditions for postmodernity. Frequent cultural and academic exchanges in the past decades have inclined increasing numbers of Western scholars to think of postmodernity as a universal phenomenon, even if it germinated in the cultural soil of Western postindustrial society. In recent years, when the debates about postmodernism overlap with questions of postcolonialism* or postcoloniality and globalization* in the non-Western world, the relevance of postmodernism to scholars, writers, and literary critics in the East is enhanced even further. From today's point of view, we should say that postmodernism, as a literary and art movement in the Western context, has already become a past event which can only be described in history. But postmodern ideas and ways of thinking have permeated almost all the aspects in contemporary culture and are still influential in many fields of humanities, including Translation Studies*.

The global extension of postmodernism has other consequences. Arguably, postmodernism is no longer a monolithic phenomenon but rather has generated different forms both in the West and in the East. So to observe postmodernism – as either a cultural phenomenon, a contemporary episteme or *Weltanschauung*, a literary and artistic current, or something else – it is necessary to construct this concept at different levels in a pluralistic way.

In this entry, I will first give a brief survey of the evolution of postmodernism from its beginning to the present era before dealing with the postmodern elements in contemporary Translation Studies. For the purpose of non-linear description and analysis, I will try to avoid using the controversial term postmodernism, as it is undoubtedly a Western cultural product characterized by various postindustrial symptoms. Instead, I will use the more inclusive terms postmodern and postmodernity to map its travel, spread, and development in the world.

The discussion and debate on postmodernism first started in North American cultural and literary critical circles in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Almost all the major literary scholars and critics were more or less involved in this debate. Postmodernism in the debate was chiefly viewed as something against the elitist modernist literature and culture. It soon attracted the attention of some European theorists known as poststructuralists, such as Jean-François Lyotard whose small book *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on* Knowledge (1979) certainly aroused heated debates and heightened the discussion chiefly confined to the American literary and cultural circles to the philosophical and intellectual level. Although such French theorists as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida seldom used the term, they are still viewed as chief thinkers of postmodernism. Since the beginning of this international debate, postmodernism has undergone continual redefinitions and redescriptions. Apart from Lyotard, Fredric Jameson (1984, 1991), Matei Calinescu (1987), Ihab Hassan (1971, 1987), Leslie Fiedler (1972), Douwe Fokkema (1997), Hans Bertens (1997), Linda Hutcheon (1985), Jonathan Arac (1986), and Brian McHale (1987), among others, have also offered their own definitions and descriptions of postmodernism within the fields of literature and culture. But their constructs are based largely on Western cultural and literary practices, seldom touching on Asian or Third World cultures and literatures.

From an international perspective, I would, largely based on the ready made researches by the above theorists, argue that postmodernism could be re-described in terms of the following eight forms it has assumed within the scope of literature and culture alone: (1) a fundamental cultural phenomenon in highly developed capitalist countries or postindustrial societies that occasionally appears in unevenly developed regions within underdeveloped countries; (2) a kind of worldview, or a way of looking at the world and life, in which the world is no longer a world of totality but rather one of plurality, fragmentation, and decentralization; (3) a main current of literature and art after the fall of modernism, both continuous and discontinuous with modernism, and relevant both to avant-garde experimentation and to popular literature; (4) a narrative style or kind of discourse that is characterized by suspicion of "master narratives," or "metanarratives," and that resorts to nonselective or quasi-nonselective devices and to a certain "schizophrenic" structure of the text, in which meaning is actually decentralized and deconstructed in the course of a fragmentary narration; (5) an interpretive code or a reading strategy beyond the limitation of time and space with which earlier and even non-Western texts can be analyzed from the perspective of postmodernity; (6) a philosophical trend that is contrary, in the current postindustrial and consumer society, to the elite preoccupation with the Enlightenment, or as a sort of post-Enlightenment phenomenon characterized by the crisis of legitimation and representation; (7) a cultural strategy adopted by Asian and Third World critics during their economic modernization and struggle against cultural colonialism and linguistic hegemonism; and (8) a critical mode that emerged after the failure of structuralism and that is characterized by Foucauldian and Derridean poststructuralist approaches to literary texts, which once dominated contemporary cultural criticism and cultural studies. With the advent of globalization, scholars, such as Appadurai (1996) and Jameson (2002), come back to reflect on the issue of modernity with globalization overlapping both modernity and postmodernity. Postmodernism is thereby viewed as a sort of "extended modernity" or "modernity at large" (Appadurai, 1996). When dealing with Translation Studies, the most influential theoretic doctrine is characterized by the deconstructive attempt at all the established consciousness of centrality, totality and fidelity (see Deconstruction**). The act of translation is no longer thought of as merely faithfully rendering from one language into another, but rather, relocating one individual culture in a broad context of global culture. Two of the most influential translation theorists, Walter Benjamin and Jacques Derrida, will be dealt with later on, for both of them have made tremendous influence on the postmodern trend in contemporary Translation Studies.

Juxtaposing postmodernism with modernism may not be novel for Western scholars. Many non-Western scholars as well as critics and translators still think that there is little difference between the two, but others maintain that postmodernism actually marks a distinctive break from all modernist conventions and even a powerful challenge against modernism. For those who take the latter position, modernism is canonical and thus conservative, while postmodernism is avant-garde and thus very progressive. I would rather view the relationship between the two from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. That is, as a movement that follows modernism, postmodernism evidently has something in common with the latter; but it differs from postmodernism in its philosophical foundation (see Philosophy and translation*), aesthetic ideals, artistic representation, as well as in the cultural context in which it originated and developed. It is true that in their debts to the irrationalist trends of culture and philosophy, modernism and postmodernism are quite similar. But modernism is based largely on the assumptions and ideas of Schopenhauer, Bergson, Kierkegaard (partly), Nietzsche, and Freud,; while postmodernism is more indebted to existentialists such as Nietzsche (as rediscovered by Foucault), Kierkegaard (partly), Heidegger, Sartre, and Freud (as reinterpreted by Lacan). Thus, it is not surprising that they are more different than alike in many respects.

Recent examination of postmodernism would probably reveal more differences between the two, but these are sufficient to indicate that postmodernism not only appears after modernism but also runs counter to the dominant code of modernism in content. As an undercurrent, postmodernity can be traced back in history, for it is anticipated by the baroque period, by realism, and by the historical avant-garde in Western literature and art. But it emerged completely only after World War II, when modernism became more canonical and exhausted itself. While in recent years, postmodernism has lost some of its popularity in the West, it has been gradually penetrating Third World and Asian societies as a globalized cultural phenomenon and as a literary and artistic current responding to the frustration with modernism. Nevertheless, modernism is the logical starting point of postmodernism; as Lyotard has observed, the postmodern is essentially "part of the modern" (1984: 79) and is an inevitable product of the development of modernism. We cannot neglect the intrinsic connection between the two, but instead must understand the postmodern according to the paradox of the "post" and the "modo."(1984: 81).

Postmodernism as an international cultural and intellectual movement first comes from architecture and then quickly sweeps literature and other branches of art and culture, and finally, "Culminating in the magisterial work of Fredric Jameson" (Bové 1995: 1), who "has also provided us with carefully discriminated analyses of many schools of thought about postmodernism, linking these schools to various ideological attitudes and positions within postmodernism itself" (ibid.). Now we might well agree that there are three types of postmodernism on a global scale: the poststructuralist postmodernism as an intellectual deconstructive attempt, the avant-garde revolt against the old-fashioned literary modernism and the challenge made by contemporary popular culture and even consumer culture.

It is true that contemporary Translation Studies from cultural** perspectives are most influenced by such pioneering postmodern thinkers as Walter Benjamin and Jacques Derrida. Many of the ideas that appeared in the "cultural turn" are indebted to the two thinkers. If we recognize that Benjamin's challenging essay (1968) on the task of the translator did anticipate the deconstructive approach to translation, then Derrida's attempt has paved the way for the legitimacy of a deconstructive thinking of translation, both in theory and in practice.

Benjamin, in dealing with the task of the (literary) translator, pertinently points out, "For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life. The idea of life and afterlife in works of art should be regarded with an entirely unmetaphorical objectivity."(1968: 73) It is true that to Benjamin, translation is no longer merely linguistic rendition, or word for word translation only. It has some other functions, among which it helps a literary work to become international or cosmopolitan. So according to Benjamin, it is translation that endows a literary work with a "continued" life or an "afterlife", without which it might remain dead or "marginalized" in a particular literary and cultural tradition.

Inspired by Benjamin, Derrida goes even further. To him, no translator could affirm that he has grasped the truth (faithfulness); what he might have achieved is only approaching the truth. Following Derrida's deconstructive approach to translation, other scholars of cultural translation, such as Gayatri Spivak (1974), Homi Bhabha (1994) and Lawrence Venuti (1995), have all put forward their deconstructive strategies in their studies of translation, and Edwin Gentzler (2000) even tries to broaden the scope of contemporary Translation Studies in a more interdisciplinary*** and theoretical way: Spivak's long "Translator's Preface" to her translation of Derrida's *Of Grammatology* has initiated a new way of interpreting theoretical translations from a poststructuralist perspective; Bhabha's concept of "cultural translation" has anticipated a broader range of studies of translation and construction of cultures from a postcolonial perspective; and Venuti's concepts of "foreignization" and "domestication" (see Domestication and foreignization**) undoubtedly point to two oppositional directions in literary and cultural translation by giving full play to the subjective and dynamic function of the translator. Through their deconstructive efforts, translation, especially literary translation, is no longer viewed as mere linguist rendition, but rather, as cultural representation and creative construction.

Although literary postmodernism has become a historical event, in Translation Studies, it is still a cutting edge theoretic topic attracting the attention of more and more scholars in the field.

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Quality in interpreting

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1. Quality of what – for whom?

When people communicate in a multilingual setting, they are often assisted by interpreters* and rely on the quality of their service if they do not speak or understand the foreign language. What is regarded as the quality of interpreters' service depends on whether the setting is balanced and unidirectional, as is usually the case in conferences* and similar events mostly interpreted in the simultaneous* mode, or asymmetrical and bidirectional, as in typical community* settings such as social and healthcare interpreting where short consecutive* and whispering is used. In the former case the focus is on the quality of what an interpreter produces, i.e. his/her output in terms of content, language, and delivery. In the latter, interactional competencies and discourse management are crucial as the interpreter often acts as a gate-keeper (Wadensjö 1998: 67). In a wider sense, quality also refers to interpreter reliability, compliance with principles of professional ethics, empathy and trustworthiness. Management of interpreting assignments is gaining significance, and in the future professional interpreters working in all types of settings will be expected to provide evidence of their own quality assurance system. Quality expectations of users may differ depending on setting, e.g. legal settings where interpreting is expected to be verbatim as against a community setting where the interpreter acts as mediator and assumes a more active role.

In all interpreting, distinguishing good quality from poor interpretation requires assessment or evaluation**, which is a complex task in itself (cf. Pöchhacker 2001; Jacobson 2009). Speakers wishing to convey a message in a certain manner and form are unable to judge whether the interpreted version conveys exactly what they would like to express (Wadensjö 1998). Users who depend on an interpreted version of an original discourse cannot normally judge whether it is exactly what an original speaker has said (Shlesinger 1997: 123ff). In an asymmetrical setting, lay clients are in a weaker position than the expert with whom they interact, and if they are not satisfied with the result of the discourse they may well hold the interpreter responsible. Trainers who teach or test students, or potential employers and recruiters who screen candidates want to be sure that the work of the candidate complies with a certain quality standard, which may again differ between different settings, and researchers in and outside the discipline assess interpreter output in their effort to apply objective criteria when analysing empirical corpus data (cf. Mack 2002; Jacobson 2009; Collados Aís et al. 2011).

If quality means different things to different people, such as users at conferences, parties to legal proceedings and medical experts in dialogue with patients who do not speak the language of a country in which they need medical assistance, it is impossible to define universal criteria that any quality interpretation must fulfil; moreover, personal preferences and subjective judgement on the part of evaluators with differing interests will always affect the objectivity of quality assessments. Criteria not only vary between different interpreting modes and settings, but also between and within different types and groups of users. In the words of Pöchhacker, there is "evidence that preferred interpreting styles may differ from one sociocultural context to another" (2005: 159). Linguistic criteria refer to the quality of the text produced and its capacity to convey a message delivered in one language and culture in another language and culture. A sociolinguistic approach regards the quality of an interpreting product as a social construct and its evaluation as time-, culture- and context-bound (Grbić 2008), and the different roles of participants in consecutively interpreted interaction are emphasised by Wadensjö (1998); see also Hale et al. (2009).

2. Interpreting quality as a paradigm of interpreting studies

2.1 Conference and business interpreting

For the purposes of this article, conference interpreting (simultaneous and consecutive) will include all types of conferences, high-level dialogue and business meetings, training seminars, debates and media* shows, as well as videoconference and remote** conference interpreting. Essentially, quality studies concerned with these settings have focussed on differences between source and target text in terms of coherence, accuracy and fidelity, completeness, and acceptability.

The first empirical quality study was undertaken by Bühler (1986), followed by Moser (1995) and Kurz (2003) and many others. However, even large-scale surveys failed to produce a conclusive, uniform picture of preferences or expectations of users. Obviously, they respond subjectively and not necessarily in accordance with their actual preferences in the conference situation. Relative agreement was found only on such parameters as sense consistency, logical cohesion, correct terminology. Conference interpreters themselves seem to be unanimous that delivery is an important aspect of quality, especially when it comes to the acceptability of simultaneous interpreting where elegant delivery is often rendered difficult by processing constraints. The discussion about methodologies for carrying out user surveys and interpreting their results continues. There is no guarantee that what respondents state in surveys actually reflects their preferences in practice. An overview of the methodological challenges is given by Pöchhacker (2005). Pöchhacker (1994) and Kalina (2011) have developed text profiles that show the different parameters and attempt to quantify the relationship between source and target text quality. Collados Aís et al. (2011) offer a number of thorough studies on delivery parameters.

2.2 Legal interpreting

In intra-societal settings where intercultural communication is of great significance, quality is regarded much more as a function of cultural sensitivity than of linguistic or prosodic parameters. Here, too, however, different criteria are applied in the different settings. In interpreting for courts and the police, the crucial requirements are completeness and accuracy as well as absolute neutrality. In the United States, different assessment and certification systems are in place at State and Federal level (cf. Shlesinger 1997: 128, Mikkelson 1998), and in Europe, where quality perceptions and certification have differed between countries and cultures, the establishment of EULITA (European Legal Interpreters and Translators Association) in 2009 and Directive 2010/64/EU of the European Union on the right to interpretation and translation in criminal proceedings, especially Article 5 on quality, are an indication that similar efforts are underway. In many countries, legal experts expect word-for-word (verbatim) interpretation, as they regard interpretation as a language code replacement process, whereas e.g. in Austria, quality means that style and register are maintained without an obligation to be literal (cf. Kadrić 2006). For a successful initiative to raise the awareness of both interpreters and clients (judges and lawyers) to the requirements for quality of interpreting see Hofer 2010; Driesen & Petersen 2011.

2.3 Healthcare interpreting

Public service interpreting or community interpreting comprises a number of different settings, of which medical** and healthcare interpreting, including telephone and video interpreting, is one important field. Standards for training, testing and certification are being developed (cf. Arocha 2009). As Skaaden (2003: 74) points out, it is extremely difficult for those who study community settings to distinguish between good and poor quality, as the character of the data is highly sensitive and too little monitoring and testing is performed (ibid: 81) (see Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies***). Working conditions such as speakerphone, teleconferencing, extended working hours without breaks (cf. Angelelli 2008: 148) affect quality. Again, health professionals tend to assess quality exclusively by the degree of lexico-semantic accuracy, whereas interpreting professionals include criteria such as discourse management, turn-taking strategies, visibility and involvement as essential features of quality (cf. Jacobson 2009: 50).

2.4 Sign language interpreting

Sign language interpreting* is provided for conference as well as legal and community settings. In addition, it is practised for TV news, talk shows and other types of media coverage. The quality of these services varies; its assessment by those who depend on the service (the Deaf) is difficult as user surveys are problematic. Visibility and adaptability are important quality factors, as is clarity of signs (finger spelling) and thorough knowledge of the Deaf culture (cf. Kellet Bidoli: 269f). Testing of sign language interpreting quality is still under-researched; assessment has to include personality factors such as perceptual-motor coordination and assertiveness (Bontempo & Napier 2009: 253).

3. Constraints on interpreting quality

Researchers attempt to distinguish between those features affecting quality which are under the control of the interpreter, and external factors, such as time constraints, paralinguistic features of source text, situation, working conditions, and others.

Conference interpreters agree that the quality they provide is generally best when they work into their mother tongue and interpret directly from a source to a target language without having to make use of relay interpretation*. Nevertheless, the need to work into B (retour language) and use relay interpreting is growing, e.g. in the European Commission conference interpreting services (SCIC). On the other hand, in legal and community settings, interpreters generally work in both directions, but these settings are as a rule bilingual and not multilingual. Interpreting for the media** has its own quality parameters and constraints (see e.g. Straniero Sergio 2003).

One factor that has a considerable bearing on quality is the technical equipment. The growing use of cheaper tour guide equipment instead of fully equipped booths for simultaneous interpreting is bound to affect quality. Remote conference interpreting appears as a cost-cutting solution but results in earlier fatigue of interpreters and may thus affect quality. Videoconference and remote interpreting, where much depends on technical conditions of sound, view etc. is used across all settings, with standards agreed in conference interpreting so as to guarantee quality, but widely varying technical conditions in other settings. Fowler (2007) discusses the potential hazards of interpreting by videolink from prison to the courtroom and the negative impact of lower technical standards as compared with conference interpreting; see also Braun (2007) and, for telephone interpreting, Rosenberg (2007). The recruitment of (cheaper) paraprofessional interpreters in community settings adds to the problem (cf. Corsellis 2008).

4. Quality assurance

For assuring the quality of interpreters' services in the different settings, an established accreditation system and professional associations are necessary. For conference interpreting, these exist on a world wide level and are comparatively uniform, whereas for community or public service interpreting some countries have well-developed systems but others are still lagging behind. The picture is similar when it comes to training, where a formal university degree is required for conference interpreters everywhere but public service interpreting is, in many countries, offered at undergraduate level. It would be desirable and help the recognition of the profession to have full university degrees as a compulsory precondition for all interpreting.

A number of researchers have developed systems for quality assurance (see Kalina 2005, 2011). Professional associations are aware of this and offer QA workshops. For certain settings (court and police), it is impossible for interpreters to record themselves, and in others (e.g. medical), the information exchanged is extremely sensitive so that data from the parties can hardly be obtained. In settings with contrasting interests of the parties, such as court proceedings, the parties concerned may well come to very different conclusions. Nevertheless, quality control is essential and a prerequisite for higher professionalisation. The current trend – cutting costs by all means – may, however, counteract these efforts.

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Relay translation

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Relay translation refers to a chain of (at least) three texts, ending with a translation* made from another translation: (original) ST > intermediate text (IT) > (end) TT.[1] A plethora of terms has been suggested for this practice, creating a conceptual "mess" (Pym 2011: 80). Pym's recommended "indirect translation", although widely used, has several competing usages (like content-oriented translation, e.g.); "retranslation", another ambiguous term, now seems less current in the sense of relay translation (cf. Pym 2011: 90). The term "indirect translation" tends to focus the end product, whereas "relay translation" highlights the process (Dollerup 2000: 23; cf. Relay interpreting*). Normally, it is in the end target culture that relay translation will be observed; witness the long-standing research project in Germany on early-modern translation via French into German (summarized in Graeber 2004). There is no equivalent interest in Germany's own mediating role in relation to eastern and northern Europe (nor, for that matter, any comprehensive Anglo-American research on English as an intermediate language in today's world). Consequently, research on relay translation – scant though it may be – tends to emanate from scholars linked to (semi)peripheral languages like Catalan, Chinese, Dutch, Hebrew, the Scandinavian languages etc.

1. Reasons for and attitudes to relay translation

Relay translation may be resorted to for various reasons, the most obvious being a want of competence in the original SL among (available/suitable) translators. When an IT is preferred (or imposed), this can be as a means of controlling the contents of the TT (religious*, moral, political*); the use of Russian as an intermediate language in the Soviet Union may partly have been a censorial act (see Censorship*), although the line between control and convenience can be difficult to draw (cf. Zaborov 2011: 2071). Relay translation may also be authorized or even made mandatory due to authorial rewriting in the primary translation process; the Yiddish writer I. B. Singer,

1. Following Kittel and Frank (1991: 3), the intermediate language should differ from the original and target languages, a definition which excludes intralingual translation made from interlinear cribs (L_1>L_2>L_2), but includes "back translation" (L_1>L_2>L_1).

exclusively translated from English, is a case in point (Simon 2008: 76). Furthermore, shifts or adaptations in the IT may conform to tastes in the target community, and in subtitling* the condensation present in the IT offers a way to economize (Gambier 2003: 55). Another, special case of relay translation is the use of an *interlingua* in Machine translation*.

Despite its obvious importance through history – suffice it to mention Bible translation or Arab mediation of the Greeks – the notion of relay translation is laden with negative connotations; cf. Qvale (2003: 68): "a very unfortunate procedure." This repudiation reflects a (post-Romantic) Western view of translations as *a priori* inferior to originals and of relay translation thus "replicating the stigma attached to translation itself" (St André 2010: 71). Walter Benjamin (2004: 79) even deemed relay translation unfeasible, due to the special "relationship between content and language" present in originals but non-replicable in translation. Still, as writers in peripheral languages are well aware, the alternative to an indirect (relayed) translation is often no translation at all.

Disapproval of relay translation has been voiced at least since the 18th century (cf. Stackelberg 1984: 125f.), and it is prevalent today; cf. the 1976 UNESCO recommendation that recourse be had to relay "only where absolutely necessary" (Ringmar 2007: 3). Likewise, important translational contributions may be dismissed off-hand because of indirectness, a presumption which possibly favours Retranslation* (at the expense of republishing an older translation). There is, thus, a tendency for indirect translations to precede direct, an order of priority which may provide support for the "retranslation hypothesis".

2. Research on relay translation

Admittedly, relay translation is likely to (further) remove the end TT from the original ST, and case studies, intent on showing how (much) the former differs from the latter, normally bear this out. Observed phenomena include ambiguity in the intermediate language obscuring potential distinctions common to both the original and the end target languages (e.g. *tu/vous* > *you* > *du/Sie*), as well as the reinforcement of tendencies like explicitation, lengthening etc. (cf. Stackelberg 1984: 167). Misunderstandings in the IT will normally be repeated in the TT, as will various cultural or stylistic adjustments (including omissions or additions) made with the IT-audience in mind but potentially unnecessary or irrelevant for end TT-readers.

In a wider context, relay translation can be examined as a "juncture where systematic relationships and historically determined norms intersect and correlate" (Toury 1995: 130). According to Toury, it was the alternating prestige of German, Russian and English that accounted for their subsequent status as favoured intermediate language for Hebrew, rather than (a lack of) linguistic proficiencies in the target culture at a given time. Similarly, the passing from relay to direct translation of English literature in 18th century Germany was not primarily a matter of enhanced language competence, but rather one of changing literary models. In fact, translation via French helped to smooth the transition by diluting the foreignness of English literature, and "eclectic translation" – i.e. the combined use of English originals and French ITs – served the same purpose (Graeber 2004: 97f.; Roche 2001: 282f.).

Generally, the eclectic use of several STs – including or not the original – is often concomitant with relay translation and it is, likewise, a sensitive practice that tends to be concealed or denied. Consequently, claims in prefaces and other paratexts** to (exclusive) directness are not always trustworthy, nor are, of course, paratext-dependent bibliographies (cf. Ringmar 2007: 7f.).

Globally, the structures of relay translation align with a hierarchic "translational world system" (Heilbron 1999), insofar that the IT is, as a rule, in a dominating language whereas the original SL (and possibly the TL) is dominated; cf. English > French > German in the 18th century. This pattern is replicated locally, as when in Scandinavia the central languages Swedish and Danish mediate to and from the peripheral Finnish and Icelandic, respectively (Ringmar 2008). The chains are thus prolonged and translations originating in local peripheries may, in fact, be tertiary (third-hand) on reaching the global centre.

During the 20th century, English has gradually replaced French as preferred intermediate language. Given a correlation between translating "upwards" and acceptability, cf. the notorious French "belles infidèles" or domesticating translation into English today (Venuti 1995: 17), the consistent use of a dominating language as a pivot could thus seem to counteract an assumed "evergrowing emphasis on adequacy" (Toury 1995: 143).

So far, research on relay translation has had a historical slant, which may have reinforced the assumption that it is (or ought to be) a thing of the past. This cannot be taken for granted, however. Admittedly, due to "globalization*", peripheral languages once linked by relay – say Japanese and Finnish – are increasingly being connected directly. On the other hand, globalization will also produce phenomena like, for instance, a sudden world-wide interest in Icelandic crime fiction, without necessarily providing translators from Icelandic to match this demand. Furthermore, the increasing dominance of English in most, if not all, target cultures tends to marginalize translations (and translators) from other SLs, adding to the appeal of English ITs (not least from a publisher's practical point of view). Moving from influence to dependency (Toury 1995: 140), the general literary taste may consequently be anglicized to the extent that English mediating will not only be tolerated, but actually preferred.

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Representation of translators and interpreters

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1. Translators and interpreters as a theme and motif in literature and film

Translators and interpreters as fictional characters in literature and film have seen an enormous boom since the 1980s. The fact that the popularity of this motif has been continuously increasing since the beginning of globalization* is certainly no coincidence as literature never takes place outside society, but always reacts to social developments, changes and transformations in a versatile way. However, literature and also film have not only discovered translation as a topic and motif recently. In the literature of the Bible, for example, already the role of translators and interpreters was mentioned (e.g. in the Joseph story in Genesis 41–42). Also in the 12th century, interpreting* was used as a literary motif in epic poetry** (cf. Wiech 1951). And since a fictional translation and a fictional translator have been played with in *Don Quixote* (1605) by Miguel Cervantes, which has often been referred to as the first modern novel, this motif has been a permanent feature of literary work. Film also took up this subject very early. *The Dragoman* by the Briton Edward Sloman from the year 1916 or the early film version of Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Greek Interpreter* with the director George Ridgwell from the year 1922 show that the narrative potential of interpreting was recognized in silent films already.

In this context, the literary and filmic handling of translation* and interpreting* subjects are often related to the search for identity and especially the loss of old orientation criteria and the search for new criteria over the centuries. While the search for identity in the 17th century was connected to the fact that humans began to conceive of themselves as individuals who had to find their way in a gradually secularized world (cf. Hagedorn 2006: 19), today it is related to globalization and the social changes connected to it, such as hybridization (see Hybridity and translation**), deterritorialization, multilingualism*, etc. (cf. among others Kaindl 2008; Cronin 2009). What seems to make translators and interpreters an ideal projection screen for questions about identity in literature and films is their multilingualism and – related to this – their commuting between cultures. Thus, they become a metaphor for the foreign and the other or for the in-betweenness of the individual. In this context, it is conspicuous that translators and interpreters often serve to give a face to the negative consequences of globalization – above all, in contemporary literary and filmic works. Hence, Kaindl

(2008) came to the conclusion that translation in literature is often connected to illness. In contrast to this, Cutter (2005), who investigates English novels and autobiographies of contemporary ethnic writers, concluded that the trope of translation was applied to transcode ethnicity in a positive way. In general, it can be stated that authors or directors use the humorous as well as the dramatic, but in any case the socio-political potential which is related to translational actions or to the character of a translator.

In view of the great number of literary and filmic works employing the motifs of translation and interpreting, it is important to consider which functions of translation and interpreting have been employed as a subject for literature and the effect upon Translation Studies* of the boom of fictional translators.

2. The function of translation in literary and filmic works

In an essay from the year 1999, Simon stated that translation as a literary motif was limited – above all – to post-colonial* texts and "various modes of 'border writing'" (cf. 1999: 58f). Investigating films and literature that narratively deal with the subject of translation and interpreting today, it can be stated that this topic can be found in all literary and filmic genres. We find fictional translators and interpreters in plays, novels, tales, and short stories as well as in TV series, movies, silent movies, short films and experimental films. At the same time, we also find examples in all genres like historic novels or science fiction films, romance novels/films or thrillers, gay literature and westerns. If not only fictionality is taken into account as a criterion, fields like (auto-)biographies of translators and interpreters or documentaries about translation can be included.

From a narrative-functional perspective, five different categories can be distinguished: In literary works, the *figure-characterizing function* can probably be found most frequently: Authors and directors give their fictional figures certain attributes and thus characterize them from a social, emotional and psychological perspective. As Kaindl and Kurz (2005: 10) stated, certain typologies like, for instance, betrayers, bridge builders, pedants, traducers, language acrobats, helpers, homeless or uprooted people can be found in characterizations of translators and interpreters in fictional works again and again. According to Lévi-Strauss's thesis (1985: 9), which says that certain characteristics are consistently related to certain occupations in societies, literary and filmic works can give information on societal ideas, clichés and stereotypes of translators.

As Hagedorn (2005: 15f.) stated, translating and interpreting can also have a *symbolic function* in fictional works. Thus, the subject of translation functions as a motif for social, historic, philosophical or aesthetic questions of an age or society, like, for example, in *Le Désert mauve* by Nicole Brossard, where the relation of language and reality was dealt with, or in Ingeborg Bachmann's story *Simultan*, where questions of communication are dealt with on the basis of an interpreter, or in the film *Babel* by the director Alejandro Gonzalez Iñárritu, where translation is also related to basic questions of communication in the setting of globalization. In SJ du Toit's travel novel *Di Koningin fan Skeba* (The Queen of Sheba) (1898), pseudotranslation** functions as a symbol for the creation of linguistic identity (cf. Naudé 2008).

A third possibility is represented by the *metaphorical function* of translation. In works like David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon*, Jean Kwok's *Girl in Translation* or the experimental film *The Task of the Translator* by Lynne Sachs, translation is not seen as an occupation based on a text, but as a metaphor for cultural processes. In this metaphorical manifestation, the concept of fictional translation becomes interesting, also for cultural studies.

The fourth category comprises works with a *meta-narrative function*. Here, the subject of translating or interpreting itself represents the focus of the narration, something about the process, the problems of translation are told, like, for instance, in Laura Bocci's *Di seconda mano*, where literary translation is dealt with, or in Hans-Ulrich Möhring's Vom *Schweigen meines Übersetzers*, as well. In this context, it is conspicuous that these works were often written by practising translators and interpreters who thus theorize translating and interpreting with literary means.

Finally, the fifth category comprises works with a *meta-fictional function*. With the plot device of a fictional translation – a work is presented as a translation of another work – the border between fiction and reality is dissolved. As already stated by Borges (1989: 239), translation is especially suitable for narratological considerations as the translator in his double function as a reader and as an author symbolizes the borders between fiction and reality and, as a consequence, deconstructs between the original and the translation. Examples for meta-fictional works would be, apart from Luis Borges's story *Pierre Menard, autor del Don Quijote*, Sarah Dunant's novel *Transgressions* or Carlos Somoza's crime story *La caverna de las ideas*.

Often several of the functions mentioned above have been realized in one work, and thus, many works also bring up different questions and analytical approaches for research.

3. Approaches of research

The analysis of fictional translators and interpreters or fictional translations affected Translation Studies only relatively late. In fact, Vieira postulated a "fictional turn in translation studies" (1998: 141) in 1998 already, where literary works should be used as sources for theorizing translation. However, first there were only a few investigations that often did not comprise much more than summaries of the respective works. Only the field of science fiction represented an exception. Very early already, linguistics dealt with phenomena of translation in novels and films of this genre. Thus, Meyers (1980: 118–130) investigated different forms of communication between aliens and terrestrials in science fiction novels and, among other things, the plausibility of automatic translators, which he measured by the state of the art in the field of machine translation*. However, with three book publications (Cutter, Delabastita & Grutman, Kurz & Kaindl), the year 2005 can be seen as the real birth of the fictional turn (see The turns of Translation Studies*). Since then, numerous books and essays with different questions and analysing approaches have been published.

Several investigations deal with the field of tension between fiction and reality. For example, in the volume by Kurz and Kaindl (2005), literary descriptions of the occupational reality were contrasted with results of Translation Studies, and literature was used as a source for folk theories about translating and interpreting. Some historic surveys (e.g. Bachleitner 1989) tried to get information about the historic reality of translation from literary works of past centuries. In this context, fictional translators were regarded as historic characters, and literary works were seen as sources in order to write some kind of social history about everyday life of this occupation.

Apart from the relation between literary fiction and social or scientific reality, several works deal with the question of how the subject of translating and interpreting was literarily dealt with, worked with and applied. In this context, there are works that purely deal with aspects of the field of literary criticism, like the thematological and diachronic study by Hagedorn (2006). Here, he investigated literary works that were presented as fictional translations by their authors with regard to different narrative functions that the fiction of translation fulfils. Apart from studies purely based on literary criticism, there are also several works that support these analyses by means of theoretical approaches of translation. In this context, for example, Strümper-Krobb (2009) and Cronin (2009) investigated – based on the concept of visibility – in what way translators and interpreters are presented in literary works and films.

Moreover, investigations that deal with identity constructions of fictional translators and interpreters are focused on. In this context, Andres (2008) related approaches of literary criticism to approaches of Translation Studies. Based on imagological concepts of comparative literature and results of interpreting studies, she investigated the self-perception as well as the perception of the others as concerns fictional interpreters, with the aim of showing stereotypical images (see National and cultural images**).

In conclusion, it can be stated that the boom of fictional translators and interpreters as well as the utilization of fictional translations as a literary plot device is – without any doubt – a sign for a greater social awareness of the importance of translation in a globalized world. Dealing with translational phenomena apart from scientific and occupational practise-oriented reflections in literary and filmic works, a new dimension has been opened where translation is separated from its initial real-life context and transferred into literature or film. In this context, fictional works can serve as a source in order to investigate the theoretical understanding of authors and directors about translating and interpreting. Moreover, comparing the scientific perspective with the occupation's reality can show differences and convergences between the literary, scientific and occupational practise-oriented discourse about translation. And finally, the fictional turn of Translation Studies makes it possible to have a deepening sight into relations of intellectual history between translation, culture and society.

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Rhetoric and translation

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Rhetoric is the oldest doctrine of language and the cradle of translation* scholarship. This entry will explore this time-honoured bond by setting out the main reasons why translation scholars, teachers, and practitioners can benefit from a good knowledge of rhetoric – especially in its classical form. But before exploring these reasons, the opening sentence above must be specified under three important respects; (i) how old is rhetoric exactly; (ii) what did the phrase 'doctrine of language' mean in the distant past; and (iii) in which sense rhetoric was the cradle of translation theory. The answers to these questions will open a clearing where rhetoric and Translation Studies* can meet again today.

1. Applied study of language and cradle of translation theory

Let us first see how rhetoric became an independent domain of intellectual inquiry. A traditional account attested since Aristotle's time has it that the fathers of rhetoric were a man named Corax and his pupil Tisias who lived in the Greek colony of Syracuse, Sicily in the fifth century BC. According to the tradition, they charged people fees to teach them how to defend their cases before a court and wrote a handbook of precepts[1]. The purpose of their teaching was to impart a method to find persuasive arguments and organise them in a verbal text. These objectives will be presented later as useful skills for the practice of translation and as tools for translation research.

The second aspect in the opening sentence that must be specified is the phrase 'doctrine of language'. Classical authors from the pre-Socratics to Augustine had fairly sophisticated views of verbal and other signs. For a very long time, rhetoric catalysed the investigation on language and communication and was a central part of education curricula. To translate the status of rhetoric in modern terms, one can call it the oldest *applied science* of language. Thanks to its pragmatic character, the doctrine fits quite naturally the purpose of describing and understanding what translators do and

1. Parts of this account are now questioned; including that the two fathers of rhetoric may in fact be the same person – a man called Tisias and nicknamed Corax – that is, 'crow'.

the processes that they follow. As a matter of fact, rhetoric was central to the "body of principles and procedures which were arranged in a system so as to cover all the steps of the process of translating" (Rener 1989: 8) – a remarkably stable system which governed the reflection on translation in the west for about 18 centuries.

Finally, the opening sentence claims that rhetoric was the cradle of translation theory***; let us see why. The earliest formal reflections on translation are customarily located in Rome in the first century BC; specifically Horace's *Ars Poetica* ("*nec verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus / interpres*", lines 133–134) and Cicero's *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*. The latter is a preface to the translation of two Greek speeches which have not survived. In a short passage, Cicero explains how he translated the speeches:

> [...] I did not translate them as a translator but as an orator, keeping the same sentences with their forms and figures, but using a language that would correspond to our usage. And in so doing, I did not consider I had to render word for word, but I preserved the character and force of the language. For I did not think I ought to count the words out one by one to the reader, but give him an equivalent in weight, as it were (Cicero, *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*, V.14, my translation).

Cicero used his exercise in translation to show to his readers – who could read Greek, anyway – what a speech in Latin should be like if it were to have the same impact as the best Greek speeches in the Atticist style (Copeland 1991: 9–36). To explain how he 'translated as an orator', Cicero specified that he paid attention to the readers, to figures of speech, and to the expressive power of the text. In contrast, he made scant reference to the reproduction of the formal features of another text written in a different language. In the final sentence, he used a market-place figure to sum up his position; the goods traded through translating are described as something like wheat, which you must weigh on a scale, rather than something like figs, which you can count out. This figure is reminiscent of the etymology of the main Latin word for translator – *interpres* – which views a translator as a mediator who negotiates and sets the price (*inter pretium*, see Folena 1991: 6).

2. The canons of rhetoric as heuristic tools

On the strength of these stories from the distant past, let us see how the tools and insights developed in the course of this long tradition of scholarship can help us understand translation and guide us in the practice.

Rhetoric provides a heuristic toolbox – i.e. a procedure or method – that translators can use in two ways; first, to interpret the original text in the source environment and the contextual information linked to it and, second, to compose a new text for the target environment. The rhetorical toolbox would be very large indeed, but if one had to identify the single most useful tools the choice would fall on the so-called canons of rhetoric. These are five stages developed to help orators plan their textual work and they are the mature version of the methods devised since the 5th century BC to find the things to say and organise them into a text. The canons of rhetoric are *inventio*, the discovery of the arguments that would go into the new text; *dispositio*, the arrangement and structuring of the material selected; *elocutio*, the verbal composition of the text, associated with style; *memoria*, because ancient speakers would not read in public from a written text; and finally *actio* or *pronuntiatio*, which deal with the actual delivery of the speech.

The first three canons are especially useful for translation research, starting with the notion of *inventio*. It would be a mistake to think of *inventio* as synonym to 'invention', because according to the rhetorical tradition the things to say in the new text cannot be invented; they are already in existence and can only be discovered or found. This has important implications for the status of translation, endlessly threatened by issues of copy and originality. *Inventio* shows that the gap between writing and translating has not always been as wide as it is today; translating is more creative than we normally assume and writing less so (Moreno Hernández 2010). The notion of *inventio* can be useful in another line of research as well; it can help us draw a line between translators and other writers. Both translators and non-translators bring a new text to life; however, the former can find most of the semiotic material they need in the region of the source environment delimited by the original text and its relevant context; in contrast, the latter – the non-translators – are not expected to keep within these limits and can look for the things to say in a wider territory. This is one of the essential differences between the two types of semiotic work (Stecconi 1991).

These paths of investigation can be of interest to pure theorists, but *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* have stimulating practical applications as well; together, they provide a method to guide us in the analysis of the text in the source environment and in the formulation of a stable interpretation of it. Moreover, they can be extremely helpful when it comes to composing the new text in the target environment (Chico Rico 2009).

One recurrent application is the treatment of rhetorically complex originals and of figures of speech. Rhetoric can help us find answers to such questions as: What should I do when I meet a metaphor** or some other trope in the original? To give an example, a trope often cited by translation scholars is the Biblical phrase 'Lamb of God', which Nida identified as a translation problem** because "words do not always mean what they seem to say. […] The problem" – he added – "is that metaphorical meanings only suggest relations; they do not define them" (2003: 129). Rhetoric provides precious insights into the nature of figures; take for instance the modern idea that figures – and metaphors in particular – should not be regarded as deviations from standard language. A metaphor is not something that we may choose to add to plain text to adorn it; it is instead a universal of expression and a form of thought which allows us to look at conceptions and to establish relations that would have otherwise escaped us (Arduini 2004). It can be observed in passing that this approach tends to lead to prescriptive discourse, but there is nothing wrong in being prescriptive on condition that one also provides the instruments to assess critically the suggested methods and solutions.

3. Contrastive rhetoric

Finally, although many rhetorical treatises focus on style, especially by providing long lists of figures to be used at the level of *dispositio* and *elocutio*, one should not conclude that the contribution of rhetoric is limited to the textual surface. One field of research that can help us understand how we can mediate between different languages and cultures – a more relevant issue for Translation Studies – is the area known as Contrastive Rhetoric. The research agenda of Contrastive Rhetoric was originally set to investigate problems in second-language writing and moved from the hypothesis that rhetorical conventions are culture-specific. More recently, Connor proposed to update the field and extend its scope; among other things, linking it explicitly to Translation Studies (1996: 117–127). Translation scholars have taken notice of Contrastive Rhetoric; Beeby (2003), in keeping with the area's original scope, applied it to reverse translation – which is a form of second-language writing; Chesterman (1998) saw the relationship with translation research under a broader perspective and used Contrastive Rhetoric as an extension of his work in contrastive methodology; Colina (1997) looked into the potential gains of applying the insights and methods of contrastive rhetoric to the teaching of translation. These are all promising lines of investigation; translators would greatly benefit from the realisation that the semiotic behaviour of different communities is guided by different rhetorical habits. For instance, audiences in the Anglo-Saxon world – and especially in the US – expect public speakers to catch their attention with an opening joke or some other amusing remark. In certain settings, such as in political communication, this would strike audiences in other parts of the world as odd and even as bad manners. Becoming aware of different rhetorical conventions would extend in important and significant ways the range of the differences that translators are supposed to negotiate to carry out their task. Similarly, familiarity with the issues and discourse of Contrastive Rhetoric would give teachers, critics and theorists a fuller and more realistic picture of translation and its problems.

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Sociolinguistics and translation

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The development of Translation Studies (TS)* as a discipline has, at times, been marked by an (already plentifully diagnosed) tension between linguistic* and cultural approaches** to translation*. Fortunately, it is now frequently acknowledged that both disciplines have much to offer to each other, thus rendering such a dichotomy largely obsolete. Regarding the particular case of Sociolinguistics, it is important to first contextualise the attention given to it by translation scholars within a broader functional and communicative approach to text during the 1980s and 1990s along with the turn from structural to functional linguistics. One of the central criticisms of linguistic approaches to TS is in the underlying assumption that meaning is stable, as well as independent of language and culture. Such a view is in stark opposition to Sociolinguistics, which understands meaning as dynamic, subjective and context-dependent, as briefly explored in the following section.

1. The scope of sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics encompasses a very broad area of research, which, as Meyerhoff (2006) puts it, "can be confusing if you are coming new to the field". Hence, it is important to start by clarifying what can be taken as sociolinguistic research.

In clear contrast with other linguistic approaches (such as Psycholinguistics), the focus of Sociolinguistics is on language use, that is, on what can be said in a particular language, by whom, to whom, in whose presence, when and where, in what manner and under what social circumstances. For sociolinguists, the process of acquiring a language is not just a cognitive process involving the activation of a predisposition in the brain, but a social process as well. It is thus not enough to acknowledge language as a set of linguistic items. The focus lies on understanding the uses of language within a society. This implies studying the possible relationship between linguistic items and concepts such as identity, class, power, status, solidarity and gender*.

Within Sociolinguistics, a distinction has sometimes been made between core Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language. Though the distinction is not always clear-cut, Sociolinguistics is largely concerned with the study of the possible correlations between certain social attributes (e.g. class, sex, age) and certain language varieties or patterns of use in an attempt to understand how social structures influence the way people talk. Sociology of Language, on the other hand, focuses on issues such as how these social groups can be better understood through language, the attitudes behind the use and distribution of speech forms in society, the protection, replacement or change in languages and the interaction of different speech communities (Coulmas 1997: 2). There is also a methodological division between authors who believe sociolinguistic research should be limited to correlation studies, and authors claiming that the aim of Sociolinguistics should be not only to provide an account of how language is used in a given community but also to investigate its causes (Chambers 2003: 226). This second perspective shows an underlying assumption of language use as an identity-creating practice, thereby stimulating studies into how power relations in society constrain linguistic expression as well as interpretation. It sees language as a system and focuses on the rules governing that system. As sociolinguistic variation is to be regarded as correlated with contextual elements rather than merely fortuitous, there are social and cultural dimensions to the language choices to be considered. Hence, the dynamics of discourse can be analysed to expose cultural conventions and individual strategies, relationships of power and solidarity, status and stigma or conflict and consensus. In this article, Sociolinguistics will be taken in the broader sense as encompassing both fields.

Sociolinguistics is thus a vast field, operating as an umbrella for studies focusing on multiple variables with an impact on language use. Contrary to popular belief, it is by no means limited to *regional and social dialectology* and the study of language variation according to geographic areas and social groups – a line of inquiry that has in fact been criticised for being one-dimensional and unable to account for variables such as *register* that cut across dialect and social variation. Indeed, the concept of register and the study of language variation according to situation is another important area of study that has become very influential in other disciplines. Within register analysis, the model proposed by Halliday & Hasan (1991) has been particularly well received by TS scholars. This model studies language as communication, assuming meaning in the speaker/writer's choices, which, in turn, are systematically contextualised and interpreted within a broader sociocultural framework.

Other areas of study within Sociolinguistics are language change, multilingualism*, language interaction, language contact and language planning/policy. Regarding *language change*, sociolinguists focus on variation in time, on how a given change spreads internally within a language and possible correlations between that change and concepts such as prestige. But change can also happen through *language contact* with other languages and, in this respect, Sociolinguistics focuses on the outcomes for speakers and their languages when new languages are introduced into a speech community. This area of study develops concepts such as power, prestige and status, and considers different forms of interaction from colonisation to immigration. This is very much related to another area of study, *multilingualism*, concerned with variation and language use in communities with two or more languages and looking at how multilingual speakers choose which language to use on a given occasion. Another aspect of interest to sociolinguists is *language interaction* and how forms of language are used to communicative effect in particular cultural contexts. This directly challenges the one-directional assumption that context impacts on language in the sense that it is now accepted that in speaking in a particular way, speakers may help to construct contexts as well.

Finally, another area that has attracted attention within Sociolinguistics since the 1960s is *language planning*, concerned with all conscious efforts aiming at changing the linguistic behaviour of a given community, such as the role of minority languages in education, the selection process of an official language, etc. Along with language planning we can find the concept of *language policy*, concerned with more general linguistic, political and social purposes behind the actual language planning process.

The development of these concepts has only been possible because Sociolinguistics has been open to insights from other disciplines such as Pragmatics, Sociology* and Ethnography*. In this respect, it is important to mention the development of what Mesthrie et al. (2009) have called *Critical Sociolinguistics*, an umbrella term for what came to be known as Critical Linguistics and, more recently, Critical Discourse Analysis. With authors such as Fowler and Fairclough as their key proponents, this area of study is concerned with exploring how language creates, sustains and replicates fundamental inequalities and identity structures in society.

2. Sociolinguistics and translation

The attention given to Sociolinguistics by translation scholars needs to be considered within the broader context of what came to be called the "Cultural Turn" by Bassnett & Lefévere in the famous introduction to *Translation*, History and Culture (1990) (see The turns of Translation Studies*). With the move towards translation as a social practice conditioned by social configurations, there was a clear break with formal linguistics (and formalist linguistic approaches to translation), bringing TS closer to a branch of linguistics that had pioneered a similar move within Linguistics. For authors such as Nida, the bond between these two disciplines is indeed "a very natural one, since sociolinguists deal primarily with language as it is used by society in communicating" and that the "different ways in which societies employ language in interpersonal relations are crucial for anyone concerned with translating" (1992: 25).

Since Nida, many translation scholars have built on sociolinguistic concepts to examine translation and the contextual elements conditioning it. The points of contact between the two disciplines have in fact multiplied with the growth of TS as a discipline and the diversification of its areas of study.

Let us now look more closely at the points where the paths of these two disciplines cross.

2.1 Translation and dialectology

The days are now gone when most articles focusing on the translation of any form of linguistic variation would start by proclaiming the impossibility of translating culture-specific elements. Studies into regional and social dialectology have been of clear use in this matter. They have allowed both scholars and translators to better identify which varieties were being used and their communicative meaning in the source text. This, in turn, has helped translators make informed decisions about how to better recreate linguistic varieties in the target text, while scholars have been helped to better interpret the translational options. Building on sociolinguistic studies regarding the status recognised to dialects and sociolects, and their relationship with the concepts of prestige, power, solidarity and stereotype, authors such as Leppihalme (2000) and Nevalainen (2004), have been working towards a model capable of accessing the varieties' communicative meaning in the text.

Similar power relations have been recognised at a more macro level, and concepts such as standardisation (i.e. the use of the standard variety in the target text when regional or social varieties are used in the source text) have entered the discussion along with the contextual aspects leading to them. Factors promoting standardisation include censorship*, institutional pressure, translation status and notions of language correctness (Ramos Pinto 2009). This has, in fact, been such a recurrent phenomenon in translated texts that it has already been proposed as one of the translation universals. However, the opposite movement of using regional or social varieties in the target text when the standard variety was being used in the source text has also been identified along with the promotion of contextual elements (Brisset 1996).

2.2 Register analysis and translation

Like dialectology, register analysis has not only facilitated an understanding of context in fiction (enabling a more accurate characterisation of the situation in which characters' speech occurs) but has also encouraged consideration of context at macro level (i.e. the situation surrounding the translation itself as communicative act). This raises questions of discourse variation in accordance with factors such as genre (the discursive characteristics of an instruction manual are very different from those of a science textbook, with each genre having its own established discourse community, even though this may differ from culture to culture), tenor and target audience (e.g. differences between translation for children or adults; see Children's literature and translation*) or mode (discursive differences between speech and writing). This last aspect is particularly relevant in subtitling* (where the spoken source text appears simultaneously with the written target text) and theatre translation (where both the source and target texts are written to be spoken; see Drama translation*).

Halliday's model has become one of the most popular among Translation Studies scholars, and multiple articles could be cited in this respect. However, two pioneering publications by Basil Hatim and Ian Mason – *Discourse and the* Translator (1990) and *The Translator as* Communicator (1997) – deserve special mention. Halliday's textual function has attracted the attention of scholars such as House (1997), but Hatim and Mason focus their analysis on the ideational and interpersonal functions, adding a semiotic level of discourse. These authors claim that a multiple-layered analysis is capable of accounting for the way tradition and power relations are negotiated, challenged or perpetrated in translation. More recently, register has deserved attention by scholars such as Marco (2001), working with literary analysis, Pettit (2005) working on audiovisual translation* or Marmkjaer (2005) on a broader perspective on translation.

2.3 Language change and translation

Another area of Sociolinguistics that has influenced Translation Studies is the area of language change. This is a growing area of research not only because translation can be a promoting agent for language change (Kranich et al. 2011), but also because the natural changes in a language can promote translation activity. In this context, it is important to consider the phenomenon of retranslation*, the production of new translations of works that have previously been translated into a particular language. This is an important fact to consider within Translation Studies as the need to update or modernize a given translation's discourse has often been given as a reason for the existence of more than one translation of the same text. This issue has received particular attention by scholars working on the translation of religious* texts. However, scholars in other areas – drama translation (Aaltonen 2003), audiovisual translation (Ramos Pinto 2009) or translation theory (Brownlie 2006) – have also looked into the phenomenon of retranslation, focusing on the aesthetic, linguistic, ideological, and commercial factors that motivate the production of those new translations.

2.4 Language contact, multilingualism and translation

Taking a more synchronic view of language change through translation, some TS scholars have turned their attention to aspects of language contact, as confirmed by the special issue of *Target* devoted to *Heterolingualism in/and Translation* 18:1 (2006, ed. Reine Meylaerts). As Meylaerts explains in her introduction, "[…] the issues of linguistic diversity and multilingualism are inherently tied to translation. The question of which language(s) can/cannot/must be used necessarily implies: which one(s) can/cannot/must be translated from or into, by whom, in what way, in which geo-temporal, institutional framework, etc. This is why translation seems heavily institutionalised in multilingual societies" (2006: 2).

Multilingualism has traditionally been considered one of the insurmountable "translation problems**". However, recently, freed from the tag of the "untranslatable", it has been perceived in a new light and found to shake the foundations of the "traditional dichotomy of source text vs target text, as well as many other structural notions such as fidelity and equivalence" (Suchet 2008: 151) (see Multilingualism and translation*).

2.5 Language planning/policy and translation

Language planning and language policy has been a growing area of study since the 1960s, and since these tend to include translation policies**, more attention is being given to translation in this context. Multiple studies have been promoted into community interpreting* in order to explore the links between interpreting policies and interpreting services. However, despite this, the field is still lacking a systematic account of translation policies and the link between these and translation services.

3. Final remarks

The rapprochement between TS and Sociolinguistics, mostly promoted by the former, was motivated by the need to include the contextual elements surrounding the production, circulation and reception of translated texts in TS analysis. Context can either be considered at the micro level of the text or at the macro level of the context of translation, and the theoretical models and concepts developed in Sociolinguistics have proved to be relevant at both levels. At micro level, it has allowed a better understanding of communicative acts and specific situational contexts, while at macro level, it has stimulated a new approach to translation as the product of a communicative act itself, promoter of change or a safe keeper of specific speech communities.

Context can, nevertheless, be a daunting concept for translators and scholars alike as there are many factors to be taken into consideration. In a world paradoxically becoming more global as well as local, context is simultaneously becoming larger and more diversified as well as smaller and more specific. Drawing its analytical tools both from social sciences and Linguistics, Sociolinguistics seems to be a natural and fruitful friend to TS, whose insights can have an important impact both on methodological and theoretical terms.

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Teaching translation / Training translators

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1. A changing landscape

From the first few teaching courses in translation[1] at the university level (the 1930s in Mannheim, Heidelberg and Ottawa) to the many translator- training programmes in existence today, attitudes and pedagogical points of view have been multiplied (Pym 2009). Conferences, workshops, round tables and special issues of Journals dedicated to pedagogy now occur frequently. Two journals are specialized in the area: *The Interpreter and Translator Trainer* (since 2007), *Revista Electrónica de Didáctica de la Traducción y la Interpretación* (REDIT, since 2009). The number of publications has increased enormously. However, this does not imply that translation pedagogy is now based on clear and strong pedagogical and translation principles. There is actually no consensus on a basic methodology of translation training, even though we can notice a shift in many places from a teacher-oriented approach to a learner-centered approach, or rather a mixture of approaches.

Three remarks here:

– The structure and length of the curriculum* are quite different between programmes. MA programmes seem to be available in greater numbers than undergraduate and postgraduate programmes.
– Reform policies in higher education in many parts of a more competitive globalized world, and the development of communication, information and computer technologies (ICTs) are also bringing about certain changes in attitude and conception with regard to education and translation.
– One of the latest challenges concerns professionalization (Jääskeläinen et al. 2011) including both employability, the different job profiles and professional integration. The necessity of training translators overcomes the traditional dichotomy between the academia and the vocational in translation education: training is nowadays oriented towards providing students with the different skills, knowledge and tools required by the different translating professions (Robinson 2003).

1. For reasons of space, the entry does not deal with interpreting.

Most of the training programmes would aim today at producing qualified and highly competent* translators – transforming students with certain language competences into professionals able to translate, localize, revise, etc. Those programmes would be competence-based training (Hurtado Albir 2007), with permanent assessing learning outcomes. The training can be initial (organized at the university level), further training, intensive training, self-training, distance learning or lifelong learning. It is not to be associated with the use of translation in language learning*.

The EMT (European Master's in Translation) and OPTIMALE are currently studying the underlying rationale in more than 70 programmes in Europe, the ways curricula and courses are structured and seek to achieve their goals, and methodological issues.

2. Different activities within different approaches

Textbooks have been produced extensively here and there before various innovative pedagogical techniques occurred in translator training (Delisle 1992). Those books, with literary texts and newspaper articles, were supposed to explain how to translate, giving a model of "good" translation, or sometimes discussing a few alternatives but out of context. Students were supposed to reproduce the given solutions. The approach of those textbooks, based on a pair of languages, was more often than not contrastive and prescriptive, with a strong focus on lexical and syntactical problems.

When, in the 80s-90s, translation became clearly both a purposeful activity and a complex mental activity, the tasks and procedures in the classrooms changed: they were designed to develop reading skills, problem spotting and solving, resourcing, technical skills, etc. with student participation. The emphasis lies now more on the transference skills and the reflexive capacity needed to complete a translation assignment in an appropriate way. On the other hand, students are not necessarily a homogeneous group: their motivation, their background, their learning style, their knowledge and their expectations might differ. Therefore they demand a great variety of means, whatever the translation direction is.

For the sake of clarity, we have distinguished three different focuses in the training but they are interrelated. What is the most relevant, in all cases, is to bear in mind the outcomes: i.e. the competences to be acquired and developed in the different types and modalities of translation activities that are organized. These approaches are referred to in Translation didactics*.

1. We can consider here several types of **process-centered activities** entailing a great deal of metacognitive monitoring:

– Activities which help students reflect on their beliefs about translation and on their self-concept of translators (Stefanink & Bălăcescu 2009).

– Activities which motivate students. Student's intuition on thought and creativity can contribute to a certain reduction of inhibition and even learning anxiety (Kussmaul 1995).
– Activities which help students grasp the importance of understanding through reading. Translators are not ordinary readers, searching for information or pleasure. They sense allusions, double meanings, ambiguities, connotations, polysemy, etc. (See Hermeneutics and translation*, Cognitive approaches*, Semantic models and translation*).
– Activities which help students with problem spotting and solving (See Translation problem*, Translation strategies and tactics*). Students need realize when they are confronted with a translational problem, verbalize it and learn how to identify it by a name; they also need to search for an appropriate solution.
– Activities which allow ad hoc knowledge acquisition and management (how to look for valid and relevant sources and resources; how to become acquainted with new information; how to evaluate what is available on the Internet) (González Davies 2004: 152–167, Gile 2009: 129–156).

All those activities can also be structured according to a sequential model of translation consisting of two-phase processing operations (comprehension + reformulation) (Gile 2009: 101–128), or a more complex sequence of task and operations (pre-translation + information retrieval + transfer + proof reading + editing + post-translation) (Gouadec 2007: 13–27).

With such a process-oriented perspective, students develop their ability with regard to reflective behaviour which soon or later becomes routinized behaviour.

2. With the **situational approach**, several activities with an emphasis on the analysis of the translation commission can be carried out: Who is the commissioner? To whom, what for, by what medium, when, why is the translation needed? Such activities can be grouped around two main keywords: simulation and immersion.

Simulation: the purpose of all the activities here is to make students understand the importance of the translation assignment and the targeted-recipients, the influence of the deadlines and quality requirements (Gouadec 2005: 33–108).

Both large and small groups are relevant for simulation: they forced the learners to think about who will do what, how and when, to decide about the division of work, team and time management, and to define the use and consequences of e-tools in their decisions since work can then be achieved in and/or out of the classroom. Such collaborative translation** in order to make a successful performance of an action (and not just translating something in pairs or small groups) copes with problem identification, information acquisition, information analysis, and problem resolution (González Davies 2004: 216–224).

Collective projects enable students to engage in different tasks and work together towards an end product. They imply not only interaction among students but also negotiation with the commissioner and between themselves. Projects allow both for a holistic approach (during the work) and an analytical one where the entire translating process is consciously, rationally, and systematically presented to students (during the evaluation** or the application of quality control).

Obviously, utilizing group dynamics does not always help all the students in the same way and to the same degrees. Some questions remain. When to introduce teamwork in the learning process? How to make sure that all the students are motivated and active and are working together and not against each other?

We can mention here two particular types of group activity:

- Bi – or multilingual groups (e.g. with Erasmus students; through distance learning platforms) where translation projects (especially proofreading and revising) can be achieved by using all the different linguistic competences in the groups (Pym 1994).
- Emulation in a project like *Tradutech* (Gouadec 2000: 97–104; 2001: 77–85): in one week, groups situated in different contexts/ countries realize different translations of the same document – the students exchanging questions, data, information and solutions. Or like an on-line simulation of work in a translation agency (Olvera-Lobo et al. 2009).

Immersion: The multicultural and multilingual classroom is very often an important result of student mobility. This brings us to immersion. By immersion, we understand all learning activities where the students are either in a target culture or in a professional environment. In both cases, they are confronting what they have already learnt with what the new situation "teaches" them.

Thanks to mobility programmes, such as Erasmus in Europe, and study abroad periods, translation students can improve their command of the foreign language, achieve an in-depth understanding of the host country, experience new teaching methods, see their home country in a different light, study new subjects, reinforce their motivation for their studies, demand clarification of the overall intended outcome of their training programmes, develop greater confidence and feel more responsible for the way they organize their studies, etc. (Kelly 2008).

Internship and practicums are also examples of immersion, with similar effects to mobility programmes. In both cases, assessment procedures are important. They should be aligned with explicit statements regarding intended learning outcomes (in both content and method) and take into account the specificities of the new environment.

Through the POSI project (Praxisorientierte Studieninhalte / Practical orientation in Studies in T & I), launched in 1996 and co-developed in 12 European countries over the period 1997–1999, and today via internships and through different surveys, the needs of users of translation services have been refined and quality control in translating training has been set up. Such co-operation between the different agents (translation companies, associations of free-lance translators and higher education institutions) can only reinforce the relevance and adequacy of the training programme.

3. With the **text-based approach**, the focus is on text, the different types of texts, their conventions of presentation and style, the use of parallel texts and electronic corpora* (Yuste 2008; Beeby et al. 2009). From the first typology for translators (informative, expressive and operative texts) elaborated by Reiss (1971/2000) to the current situation (with multimedia texts), the different professional types/genres have always challenge trainers. This is for at least two reasons: a text is meaningful, "authentic", within a given cultural and communicative context. On the other hand, selecting a text to be translated, even one with a real brief and explicit translation purpose, is not an easy task. Different factors determine the choice (Nord 2005: 41–141). Overall, the selection is linked to the expected learning outcomes and to the competences to be mastered (and not only the textual or sociolinguistic sub-competence). The functional quality of the output obviously interferes with the type of text and the extent students are familiar with it.

Activities can pay attention to textual meaning, reading comprehension skills, reading strategies and inferring, which seem to be overlooked in many translator training courses, especially when students are now used to hypertext (fragmented reading by successive links).

Errors analysis (see Translation 'errors'*) and interference can also be the core of exercises in order to explain when students misrepresent text-type focus, make incorrect assumptions, misinterpret argumentative markers, etc.

3. E-learning

Open and Distance Learning (ODL), online courseware can be organized by public institutions, like Rennes 2 (Specialized translation), Barcelona (Audiovisual translation), Montreal (Medical translation), New York University (Specialized translations) (Schmit 2006), or by private companies, such as Logo Group, SDL, TGP Consulting.

The Internet-based translation training encompasses:

– Virtual Learning Environment (VLE) with chat room, discussion e-mails, synchronous and asynchronous activities, online assessment.

- Translation courses designed for the Web, with course and tutorial material.
- The use of a platform, such as Moodle and Prometheus, for sharing documents, reference material, translating the same text together along with comments (learning while doing).
- Self-training.

The virtual mode of taking and teaching courses has been on the agenda of different universities for some time now and for different reasons (lower costs, wider audiences, flexibility of management and access, etc.) but the results and the pitfalls of the different experiences, the most effective setup, the effects of the design of an online course, the feedback of the learners are far from being clearly known and assessed (Pym et al. 2003: 80–96). The online collaborative learning exchange, the ways of participating in shared-knowledge making practices, cannot be only a matter of technology, of globally networked learning environments. They challenge traditional teaching boundaries, binary categories (on-/off-line, national/international, local/global) and redefine the position of the teacher assuming versatile roles (tutor, mentor, facilitator). However, simulation, problem-solving exercises, team work and large group projects can be common to any kind of training – in the classroom or online. Whatever the support is, the learning objectives and the competences one wishes to work on must always be stated beforehand.

4. Challenging issues

In any training programme, the following issues impact upon the ways that teaching is organized and done.

Learning progression or how one gets from analytical, declarative tasks to complex, procedural projects. Is there a direct line between an atomistic approach and a holistic one? Progression is both at the level of the syllabus and with the different types of exercises which are offered. Obviously, the length of the studies (one/two years or more) affects the rhythm of the progression.

Specialization can be understood in at least three different manners: as domain specialization (legal*, technical*, commercial*, medical*, scientific* expertise), as specific types of documents to be translated (e.g. localization*, audiovisual translation*), and as closely-related practices, such as revision**, technical writing, editing (Lavault-Olléon 2007). The volume of contact hours, the number of credits, the approach (with or without an introduction course to the thematic area), the profile of trainers (translation professionals, field experts, faculty staff) influence the types of activities (from simple exercises in terminology to hand-on workshops in editing) which can be compulsory or optional.

Evaluation/assessment** is a rather controversial issue in Translation Studies, partly because of the multiplicity of parameters to take into account, the various causes of translation errors* and the relative nature of quality*. In training, we must also include the different types of assessment (diagnostic, formative, summative, peer assessment, self-assessment, professional certification). What is a clear trend today is the diversity in the methods (Gonzáles Davies 2004: 31–34): some teachers use a grid with more or less explicit parameters based on a functional model of translation while others use oral feedback, collective discussion, students' portfolios and diaries (learning journal) (Fox 2001) or rely on self-evaluation. According to the context and the objectives of the assessment, the focus might be on the product or on the process.

Last but not least, training implies trainers: who are the **teachers**? What is their background and experience? What is their profile? What competences do they have or should have? Very few studies are available on this issue which has become hot now the number of training programmes has multiplied, and their quality has been questioned.

There is no unique model today of translation competence acquisition, of translator competences. However, training is more practice-oriented: i.e. translation activities are defined in terms of professional goals, learners are becoming aware of the translation process*, the translation strategies and tactics* and their own learning process (with a role given to meta-cognition and meta-language used in the training). The lack of a consistent, systematic, scientific methodology/pedagogy is being compensated little by little by a more empirically – based pedagogy, with more explicit objectives and learning outcomes (Gouadec 2007: 327–360).

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Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies

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1. A note about terminology

A test (or exam) can be used to measure a test taker's knowledge, skill or aptitude on translation* (T) or interpreting* (I). Assessment (e.g. of a person, course, or educational institution) is the process of documenting knowledge, skills, aptitude, and beliefs in a measurable way. Evaluation refers to the systematic determination of merit, worth and significance of someone or something against a set of standards. In Translation* and Interpreting Studies*, frequently the term "evaluation" has been used as a misnomer for testing.

2. Introduction

In the last ten years we have witnessed an increased interest in testing. Initially, it appeared to be an area mostly driven by experiential knowledge, "passed through training and professional socialization" (see Evaluation/Assessment**) or "hit and miss" approaches (Hatim & Mason 1997: 199) and conducted mostly by practitioners and teachers of T&I. Currently, testing is evolving into an area of study in its own right. Since testing and assessment of T&I calls for a different kind of expertise than the teaching or practice of T&I, much of the progress made has been possible thanks to researchers who have pushed boundaries within the field. As a result, we have seen projects of interdisciplinary*** nature that bridge bodies of knowledge across fields (e.g. translation/interpreting with cognitive psychology, applied linguistics, or education to name a few). Interdisciplinary projects (Angelelli 2007 & 2008; Clifford 2005; Muñiz et al. 2001) have contributed to opening a closed circle, allowing T&I to benefit from available research in related fields of inquiry (Angelelli 2004: 22–26). There are similarities and differences between testing for translation and testing for interpreting, They differ in the construct they measure (e.g. translation versus interpreting skills, producing written language versus producing oral language respectively) and, at the same time, they are part of a larger whole (e.g. translational/interpreting competence, communicative competence, respectively). In this article I will focus solely on those areas in which testing for T&I have common ground.

3. Common test constructs in T&I

While most of the reports of T&I tests have not discussed the operationalization of test constructs specifically, one could argue that there has been a tendency to focus on quality, aptitude, and skills.

Quality*/*** is perhaps the main concern that has been central to T&I testing. Especially in Interpreting Studies (IS), psychometric testing is gaining traction as research proves it to be more reliable than the quality-assessment technique popular in the field (Clifford 2005). Psychometric tests based on text materials (e.g. recall tests: text, "logical" memory; completion/detection tests: cloze, error detection), linguistic sub-skills (e.g. associational fluency: synonyms test; expressional fluency: rewriting test; and verbal comprehension: extended range vocabulary test), and speed-stress (e.g. speed stress-based test: Nufferno test) have been studied and correlated with the graduation rate of specific interpreter training programs (Gerver, Longley, Long, Lambert 1989).

Additionally, we have seen an increasing interest in the study of aptitude for interpreting and the correlation between interpreter aptitude and the quality of the rendition, especially in sign language interpreting*. In formative testing, student translation quality has been measured in various ways, ranging from more holistic models to testing of specific discrete points. For example, while Bensoussan and Rosenhouse (1990) designed a model of translation analysis based on the main principles of discourse analysis and the levels of reading comprehension Waddington (2001) focused on (1) error analysis and possible mistakes (e.g. inappropriate renderings that affect understanding of source text/ expression in target language), (2) error analysis considering the effect of errors on overall quality, (3) a holistic method of assessment, and (4) a combination of methods 2 and 3 in a proportion of 70/30.

Aptitude has also been the focus of discussions on testing (Lambert 1991, Rosiers, Eyckmans, & Bauwens 2011; Russo 2011, López Gómez, Bajo Molina, Padilla Benítez, Santiago de Torres 2007). Some studies have focused on learning styles, motivation, and cognitive flexibility (Timarová, Salaets 2011).

Skills (see Competences*) are sometimes tested separately. In translation and sight translation*, reading comprehension or lexicon are examples of isolated subcomponents of translation tested separately. Entrance exams for certain interpreting programs evaluate written and oral skills such as reading comprehension, word recognition, summarization skills, shadowing, aural comprehension, cloze tests- both written, oral- (Dávila Garibi, Lopez Islas 1990), as well as sight translation, sight interpretation, memory tests, and sometimes require an interview (Lambert 1991).

4. Characteristics of tests

As to test characteristics, specifically in terms of process or product-oriented tests, product is generally measured more often. Nevertheless there are increasing efforts to include process measurements (Yoon Choi 2006) in the context of training programs. For example, Orlando (2011) discusses evaluating translations of students in a translator-training program using grids for product-oriented evaluations and process-oriented evaluations.

Tests can be classified into several categories according to their purpose. In educational T&I programs, tests are used to provide information for making decisions (rather than to provide feedback), either at an individual (tutoring), class (moving on to the following unit) or national level (standardized tests) as well as to provide feedback and gauge instruction. Admission tests, selection tests, placement tests are examples of summative evaluation, the purpose of which is to make decisions on the basis of test results. Feedback on the effectiveness of learning, which is useful both for teachers and students to track progress, is considered formative evaluation. Achievement tests can be used to determine if goals established in syllabi or programs have been met, and proficiency tests are used to measure abilities required for a particular purpose (e.g. certification).

5. Principles in test development

Perhaps one of the most notable issues in T&I papers on testing has been the little discussion on principles of test development. This raises the question of awareness and observance of basic principles such as initial considerations of test, nature of tests, validity, reliability, test authenticity, task authenticity, and practicality. Except for some exceptions reporting on research on T&I constructs (e.g. Angelelli 2004 & 2007; Clifford 2005; Macnamara, Moore, Kegl & Conway 2011; Stansfield, Scott & Kenyon 1992; Stansfield & Hewitt 2005) testing principles have been either overlooked or not reported. Validity is the most important consideration in test development and evaluation. Test validation refers to the process of gathering evidence to support inferences made from test scores. Discussions about test validity include construct validity, content validity, task validity, and face validity, among others (Bachman 1990; Bachman & Palmer 1996; Fulcher 2003; Messick 1989). Validity refers to the appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of the specific inferences made from test scores Construct validity refers to the extent to which a test measures what it is designed to measure (e.g. translation, interpreting, memory, lexicon). In other words, it is a specific theoretical construction about the nature of human behavior. For example, if a test of interpreting measures (or focuses) mostly on memory and anticipation (two subcomponents of the construct of interpreting), it raises issues of validity as it only measures specific subcomponents of a construct rather than the whole. Content validity demonstrates to which degree the tasks, questions or items in a test are representative of a domain (e.g. translation or interpreting).

The nature of T&I tests often requires working across language pairs. Variations in the wording of instructions are sometimes unavoidable for all versions of an exam administered in different language pairs (e.g. certification exam) as they may not all be written or spoken/signed in the same language. Therefore the question of consistency of test instructions across languages should be posed. At times, this may become a translation problem in and of itself. If the instructions are in fact consistent across languages then there would be no likely threats to the reliability stemming from this aspect of the test rubric. If, however, there is variation in the language and/or phrasing of the instructions on separate versions of the test, there is a possibility of some threat to reliability.

While tests in T&I might not always have observed basic principles of testing, they have strived to replicate the reality of the challenges in the professional field. In this sense, the principle of authenticity appears to have been observed in both educational and professional certification tests. This means that test takers are asked to perform a reflection of the type of task that a professional will perform in the target situation. Some of the issues that still may pose some authenticity problems are the following: for translation, the response format (paper/pencil versus computer based), the availability of tools currently used by translators (translation memory, etc.), or the arbitrary inclusion/exclusion of editing and/ or proofreading. For interpreting, authenticity problems arise when discrete areas or subcomponents of interpreting are measured in isolation, or when no weight is pre-assigned to sub-components of the construct (e.g. interpreting constructs can have the subcomponent of pragmatics, delivery, etc. as well as content) and general decisions are made on the basis of isolated subcomponents.

6. Conclusion

T&I testing varies in terms of approaches and constructs. In the last twenty years, testing has evolved significantly and it is gaining more interest among T&I scholars. Undoubtedly, methodology and rigor are essential components of test development.

Both academe and industry will continue to benefit enormously from making accurate and sound decisions on translation/interpreting ability and quality, processes and products, based on meaningful testing.

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Text linguistics and translation

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When one considers the relationship between linguistics and translation, one wonders how precarious this relationship has often been made out to be (see Linguistics and translation**). This is rather surprising, since translation is undeniably, at its core, a linguistic operation. When it comes to text linguistics, its intimate connection with translation should be even more obvious. This entry will highlight important features of this connection and trace its importance for Translation Studies* then and now. Since the terms *text* and *discourse* are closely related, and thus often considered together in the literature, this entry will first clarify their meaning and use. Secondly different approaches to analyzing discourse and text and their importance for translation will be described; thirdly, discourse analysis and its use in translation will be examined, and finally functional approaches* to text and translation* will be reviewed.

1. Text and discourse: Clarification of terms

The concepts of text and discourse have undergone diverse interpretations inside different linguistic schools. Structural linguistics taking up the Saussurean distinction between langue and parole focused on the former, essentially dismissing the messy reality of actual text or discourse, and generativists operating with the comparable dichotomy of competence and performance, also veered towards langue. However, other approaches that took a more integrative view of the language system and language use developed at the same time: for example British Contextualism and Prague School Functional Linguistics. Here the significant units of analyses are texts and discourses as suprasentential stretches of language in use.

Today, text and discourse are either used interchangeably or with confusingly many meanings. Text often refers to a stretch of written language, discourse to spoken language performance. Widdowson's (2007: 6) conception of the two terms will here be followed. For him, text is a purposeful use of language. In a text, language is used with the intention of referring to something for some purpose. Human beings make up texts in order to get a message across, express or explain ideas, get people to do things and so on. This communicative purpose is the discourse underlying the text. In interpreting a text, readers, listeners and translators have to make the text a communicative reality by retrieving its meaning, i.e. they have to interpret the text as a discourse. In short, a text refers to the language produced by a person in the communication process. A text is the linguistic trace in the speech or writing of a person's intended discourse. A discourse refers to the meaning a person intends to express when producing a text, which an addressee is to interpret from the text. In spoken interaction, speakers produce texts jointly, in written text no such joint construction exists. Due to the "dilated speech situation" in written texts (Ehlich 1984), these texts are typically designed by the writer alone. The text is then interpreted in a separate, displaced process, such that the original writer's intention and the addressee's interpretation are delayed and often fraught with difficulties. For translation as a phenomenon of written language, this is a critical conceptual distinction. It has recently been addressed by Bührig, House and ten Thije (2009), who linked the translation process to the dilated speech situation and came up with new insights for translation production and reception.

2. Approaches to analyzing text and their relevance for translation

Text Linguistics has its roots in the study of rhetoric***, a branch of knowledge that, since Aristotle, has dealt with the means with which language is tailored to situation and addressee(s). As a system for producing texts, rhetoric traditionally comprised a number of different phases, such as *inventio*, in which ideas suitable for a certain purpose were discovered in a text producer's mind; *dispositio*, whereby these ideas were ordered to fit the text producer' intention, or *elocutio*, involving the realization of ordered chosen thoughts via semantically and stylistically appropriate linguistic expressions. It is important to keep this tradition in mind, since it links with later developments in linguistics and stylistics**, speech act theory, relevance theory* and linguistic pragmatics that have strongly impacted on Translation Studies.

An important early strand of text linguistics was developed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), who considered both written and spoken texts. Prime concern is the 'texture' of a text that resulted from the connectedness of individual textual units through processes of reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion as well as semantic relations which "enable one part of a text to function as context for another" (Halliday & Hasan 1989: 48). Other fields of interest within text linguistics are the distribution of information as old information (known *per se* or mentioned previously) and new information (new for the addressee), referred to as theme and rheme or topic and comment, as well as related studies of lexicogrammatical and phonological devices employed to produce marked word order patterns for certain effects. All of these were recognized as relevant for translation, e.g. by Baker (1992, 2011) or Gerzymisch-Arbogast (2001).

Particularly influential for Translation Studies has been the work of de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). In trying to determine what it is that makes a text a text, i.e. a unified meaningful whole rather than a mere string of unrelated words and sentences, they set up seven standards of textuality: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality. These were famously made relevant for translation by Hatim & Mason (1990), and can be briefly characterized as follows: Cohesion is the network of lexicogrammatical and other relations that link various parts of a text. These relations organize a text by requiring readers to interpret expressions by reference to other expressions in the surrounding linguistic environment. Coherence is the network of conceptual relations that underlie the 'surface text.' It expresses the logical consistency of the sentences in a text in terms of content. While cohesion is a feature of the text, coherence relates to a reader's response to the text. The coherence of a text is the result of the interaction between knowledge presented in the text and readers' own knowledge and experience of the world. While cohesion and coherence are to a large extent text-centered, intentionality is clearly user-centered referring to the purpose a text producer has. Acceptability is equally user-centered, but relates not to the text-producer but to the addressees and their sociocultural background which predisposes them to 'accept' a text as coherent and cohesive on the basis of their ability to infer missing items. Informativity refers to new information presented in a text or to information that was unknown before, and situationality concerns the relationship of a text to a particular socio- temporal and local context. Finally, intertextuality is the relation between "a given text and other relevant texts encountered in previous experience" – obviously highly relevant for a translator (cf. already Neubert & Shreve 1992: 117).

Several of these textuality standards reveal that in producing and understanding texts in translation one must go beyond linguistic analysis and look at a text's psychological and social basis. In doing this, one views the text in terms of the cognitive processes underlying its production and comprehension. These processes involve representation at three levels: the surface or verbatim level, the propositional text base and the situational model (Kintsch 1998). Characteristic of this strand of text linguistics is its dynamic view of a text as part and parcel of human psychological and social activities. There is of course a great affinity between this paradigm and the practice of translation, the latter being never solely concerned with texts as linguistic strings but also with the human beings involved in selecting, comprehending, reconstituting and evaluating texts. On this view, then, the nature of a text is not to be found in the text itself as a static, independently existing artifact, rather it is to be sought in the kinds of actions human beings are capable of performing with a text as a communicative event. Especially influential in this paradigm of text linguistics have been models of cognitive-semantic relationships in the form of scripts, plans, schemata or frames – concepts that go back to Gestalt theory and Piaget. They have readily been applied to translation, e.g. by Wilss

(1992). More recently, models of cognitive-neurological networks have been suggested, where general mental and text linguistic activities are assumed to shed light on translation processes (cf. e.g. Price et al. 1999).

3. Discourse analysis

The historical roots of discourse analysis range from classical rhetoric, Russian formalism, French structuralism to semiotics. In the 1970s, discourse analysis began to establish itself as a discipline in its own right. It was influenced by sociolinguistics*** with its emphasis on language variation and the crucial role of the social context; speech act theory, where a discourse is seen as a form of social action and cooperative achievement such that a speaker's intention and her relationship with her addressee(s) are taken into account as added features of meaning; anthropology, where studies on the 'ethnography of speaking' link up with linguistics and stylistics – all these played an important part in widening our understanding of the role of discourse in human life. They were integrated into a multidisciplinary translation model for text analysis and evaluation by House (1977, 1997, 2009).

Branches of discourse analysis that are of immediate relevance for translation are contrastive rhetoric and contrastive discourse analysis. They compare underlying text conventions holding in different linguacultures and examine their influence on the production and comprehension of different discourse types. Research methodologies employed in cross-cultural discourse analysis include discourse organization, coherence, use of cohesive devices, and the presence of reader or writer perspective. Findings suggest differences in the sequencing of topical strands in texts (linear or circular), presence or absence of digressions and other arrangements of textual parts in different genres and languages (cf. Connor 1996). The culture-specificity of discourse structuring is also exemplified in the work by Clyne (1987) and, with reference to translation, by House (2006) for the typologically close languages of English and German. Findings of a variety of contrastive discourse studies using diverse genres, subjects and methodologies led House to hypothesize different L1 and L2 discourse norms as the basis of the 'cultural filter' necessary in a certain type of translation. Contrastive discourse analyses are crucial for translation because they provide translators and translation evaluators with the necessary empirical foundation for explaining changes in the target text. There is a need for more language-pair specific contrastive discourse research. Translation Studies would greatly benefit from its findings.

Another research strand that has had an impact on Translation Studies for the past 20 years or so, is Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. e.g. Fairclough 2003). Here, power relations and ideology*** and their influence on the content and structure of texts are regarded as most important for the analysis of discourse.

4. Functional views of text and translation

The importance of the total sociocultural environment enveloping a text has been captured early on by the anthropologist Malinowski in his concept 'context of situation', which strongly influenced British contextualism (cf. e.g. Halliday 1994). The concept embraces the human participants in a situation, their verbal and non-verbal actions, the effect of these actions and other relevant features, object and events. Detailed descriptions of the context of situation in which a given text functions, involve the notions of *Field* (the general sense of what the text is about, its topic and social actions), *Tenor* (capturing the interpersonal and role relationships, the writer's stance, and the participation of the addressees), and *Mode* (referring to the particular part played by the language used in the text, i.e. if and how a spoken or written medium is used, and how coherence and cohesion are manufactured). These categories have influenced what came to be known as *Register*, i.e. the variety of language according to use. *Register* is a semantic concept referring to configurations of meaning typically associated with particular situational constellations of *Field*, *Tenor* and *Mode*. In Register analysis, texts are related to context such that both are mutually predictable, the outcome being the isolation of different text types or genres. Register analysis has been fruitfully used in Translation Studies by House (1997) and Steiner (2004).

Other suggestions of types of texts – a popular quest in translations studies – have involved the concept of 'function of language'. Many different views of functions of language have been proposed, most famously by Bühler, Jakobson, Ogden and Richards, Halliday and Popper. Although they vary greatly, a basic distinction between an informative, cognitive function and an interpersonal function to do with the 'me' and 'you' of language use can be found in all functional classifications. Classifications of language functions were often used to devise 'text typologies' following the equation 'one function – one text type' (Reiss 1971). This equation has been very popular in Translation Studies, since it is often assumed that knowledge of a text type is an important prerequisite for effective translation procedures. Koller (2011), on the other hand, recommends a division into two main (idealized) text types for translation: *Fiktivtexte* und *Sachtexte* (fictional and non-fictional texts). However, preferable to any externally motivated text typology seems to be a view of a text as being in principle multifunctional (i.e. not embodying a predetermined function), such that each text is to be analyzed and translated as an individual 'case', considered in its particular context of situation and culture on the basis of an explicit set of text linguistic procedures for describing and explaining how a text is what it is, how it fares in translation, and what the effect of the translation is in each individual case.

Such a text linguistically based case-study approach to translation can today be combined with reference to large text corpora featuring original texts and translations in L1 and L2 in many different languages (see Kruger et al. 2011), fruitfully combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

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Translation criticism

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Translation criticism has been defined and used in a number of different ways. The clearest distinction is between criticism as an academic activity and criticism as a journalistic practice. One of the first persons to outline the newly emerging discipline of Translation Studies*, James S. Holmes (1972/1988: 78) brought up journalistic criticism and included it in what he called applied Translation Studies.

> The level of such criticism is today still frequently very low, and in many countries still quite uninfluenced by developments within the field of translation studies. Doubtless the activities of translation interpretation and evaluation will always elude the grasp of objective analysis to some extent […] But closer contact between translation scholars and translation critics could do a great deal to reduce the intuitive element to a more acceptable level.

Holmes thus envisaged a situation where the applied extension of Translation Studies (see Applied Translation Studies*) would be directly influenced by developments in the mother discipline.

Holmes' description has been much quoted and is now best known as his 'map'. However, the applied extension, including translation criticism, has been paid little attention. In his otherwise detailed discussion, Gideon Toury (1991) leaves criticism largely untouched. In a critical discussion of Toury's application of the map, Anthony Pym (1998: 5) proposes another division, this time of historical translation research, into archaeology, historical criticism and explanation. Here, too, criticism is largely sidelined, not because Pym sees it as an applied extension of the discipline but because he relates it to assessing "the way translations help or hinder progress", "an unfashionable and perilous exercise" (ibid.). Luc van Doorslaer (2009: 39), for his part, re-creates Holmes' map, keeping Holmes' applied extension of the discipline and its sub-area translation criticism. Criticism is here linked with evaluation/assessment**, quality* control and errors (see Translation 'errors'*).

Another map, the beginners' guide to doing research in Translation Studies (Jenny Williams & Andrew Chesterman 2002: 11, 56) relates translation criticism to prescriptiveness and evaluation, giving religious texts and their study as an example. Values, evaluating and assessing are among the key concepts associated with criticism in all the approaches listed above, but the *what* and the *how* of evaluation are largely dependent on the theoretician.

Whilst both Pym and Williams & Chesterman seem to include the philological study of translated texts within translation criticism, another potential influencing factor in the coining of the English-language term may have been the Anglo-American usage of *literary criticism* to refer to the study of literature. As with translation criticism, literary criticism may also be used of a broad range of activities, from scholarly study to reviewing literature in newspapers. The broad sense in Translation Studies is exemplified by the recent book by Lance Hewson, called *An Approach to Translation Criticism: Emma and Madame Bovary in Translation*, which focuses on developing a methodology to study the orientation, style and idiosyncracies of the translator of literary texts (Hewson 2011: 6–7). In other words, Hewson uses the word 'criticism' to (1) denote academic research (as opposed to non-academic reviewing of translations) and (2) to *understand* where the text stands, not to judge it. The narrower sense of translation criticism as the practice of reviewing translations in the media is evident in certain languages' framing of criticism as reviewing. In Finnish, Swedish and Estonian, the respective words for (literary/translation) criticism do not carry connotations of scholarly study (although the adjective 'critical' as in 'critical editions' does refer to textual scholarship). In these languages, criticism *is* reviewing – which can, obviously, also be based on a scholarly study of literature.

In German, the word *Übersetzungskritik* was part of the name of the influential book by Katharina Reiss (1971), and in French the word *critique* figured in the work of Antoine Berman (1995: 13). Reiss' criticism is a systematic model for the study and evaluation of translations with a pedagogical twist; Berman's framework is interpretive and aims at "*dégagement de la verité d'une traduction*" (1995: 13–14; "releasing the truth of a translation" (in Lance Hewson's translation)). Richard Sieburth (in Maier 2000: 321) sees Berman's *critique* as "a translation of the German notion of *Kritik* – that is, as a practice fusing criticism and critique" [italics in the original].

Criticism can thus be understood as (1) a hermeneutic tool (as in Berman and Hewson), (2) as related to prescriptivism or values and ideological choices (as in historical criticism or in the translation of religious texts), or (3) as the (journalistic) activity of reviewing translations (as in Holmes 1972/1988). Some of the analytical and scholarly frameworks of criticism are discussed in Comparative approaches to translation* and Hermeneutics and translation*. What is of concern here is the journalistic practice of reviewing translations, since it provides a wealth of information to the translation scholar on the ways translations are portrayed to the wider public.

1. Reviewing in practice

Despite Holmes' early optimism, reviewing has not been much influenced by translation research. In a tentative investigation carried out by students of James Holmes in

1982–1983 and reported in van den Broeck (1985: 55; Footnote 1), it transpired that reviewing practices are amateurish, random and non-systematic. Later studies have reported similar results. The reasons for this haphazardness may stem from general journalistic constraints such as lack of space and time. Literary journals' reviewers are not always aware of developments in Translation Studies, or of translators' imprint and agency in the business of book publishing in general (see Agents of translation** and Editorial policy and translation***). They may also react against the demands of doing detailed analyses or point out the lack of source language skills needed for a comparative analysis, at least of the systematic and labour-intensive kind devised by, for example, van den Broeck.

The *where* and the *who* of reviewing are relatively simple to establish. Reviews of published translations appear in newspapers, literary journals, reviewing services such as Kirkus, or on the internet, where there are several sites for reviews. The reviewed translations are usually literary texts but also non-fiction gets reviewed (a controversial book may elicit a large number of reviews, see Kemppanen 2011). Newspapers may have a specially designated journalist writing reviews of literature (albeit normally not concentrating on translated literature only), or they may accept or invite reviews from outsiders (literary/translation scholars, authors, other specialists). A big newspaper may have a large section or a special supplement for literature, and there are journals such as *The Times Literary Supplement*, *The New York Review of Books* or *Le Monde*'s weekly literary supplement. Increasingly, newspapers and literary journals also appear on-line with discussion pages, where translation reviews can be found. There are also institutions and sites that accept reviews written by readers. Non-fiction is normally reviewed by outside experts.

In Finland, the translators' and translation scholars' dissatisfaction with the invisibility of translation in reviews in the late 1990s led to a series of meetings, symposia and lectures and the publication of books, articles and academic dissertations on the topic. Andrew Chesterman (in Paloposki & Makkonen-Craig 2000) discussed the different roles of the critic and proposed a model for reviewing, and Leena Laiho (1999) devised a model for studying reviews.

2. Reviews as objects of study in translation studies

Reviews form part of the extratextual material which can be studied alongside paratexts** to shed light on a number of issues of importance in Translation Studies. Despite this fact, reviewing practices, reviewing agents, the contents of reviews and their influence on the reception of translations have only been studied sporadically and reviews are often mentioned only in passing. Furthermore, studies on reviews are difficult to find since keywords such as *translation criticism* and *reception* cover such wide areas.

Reviews of translations have been studied in TS for several reasons. In a large number of cases, reviews supplement some other body of data, for example the study of a certain author or source language in translation, where reviews add an aspect of reception onto a textual study (for example Ria Vanderauwera's doctoral dissertation in 1982 on Dutch novels in English translation also dealt with criticism, summarized in Vanderauwera 1985). Study of translation norms* or a particular translation culture can be accompanied with review data (e.g. Sütiste in Chalvin, Lange & Monticelli 2011). Reviews are often studied in connection with retranslations* (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003) to shed light on the changing (or, as it may be, non-changing) attitudes towards translations, retranslations and the aging of the language. Lawrence Venuti used reviews to illustrate the dominant requirement for fluency in translations (1995: 2–5).

Several studies have appeared in which the material consisted of translation reviews in newspapers during the decade of the 1990s. Isabelle Vanderschelden (in Maier 2000) contends that in France, translations receive very little comment in the reviews (despite the fact that translators do not seem to be as invisible on the whole in France as in the Anglophone world): "The overwhelming majority of reviews do not comment on the translation and this applies even more to specialized publications" (ibid: 282). Her material consisted of *Le Monde* and *Libération* (dailies) and *Lire* and *Le Magazine littéraire* (literary journals) during the period 1991–1999. In England, Peter Fawcett (in Maier 2000) studied translation reviews in *The Observer* and other broadsheets during the 1990s. The total number of reviews is not mentioned in the article, but, according to Fawcett, only 11 reviews dealt explicitly with the fact that the reviewed book was a translation. Both researchers contend that the reviewers' judgments about quality are vague and lacking in evidence to back up criticism. Fawcett (ibid: 296) notes a strong preference for transparency in reviews ("the feeling that one is not reading a translation at all", whereas Vanderschelden (ibid 287), perhaps a little surprisingly, has found accuracy to be a criterion which is often relied on by the reviewers.

Vanderschelden mentions special cases where "translatedness" does come up, such as 'star' translations and translators. This coincides with Finnish researchers' findings that some common features can be found in translations that end up being commented on in the reviews. Stöckell (2007: 452) reports that if a translation was commented on *as* translation in Finnish newspapers during 1972–2002, the reason was most likely one of the following: the reviewed work was poetry; a classic (from Antiquity); or a retranslation. Enwald (in Paloposki & Makkonen-Craig 2000: 191–192) notes that whereas translated poetry** is very seldom reviewed at all, there are cases where this happens. If a translation belongs to one of the four following types, it may end up in reviews: (1) translation has 'news value': it is translated out of a little-known language or perhaps from a geographical area recently portrayed in the news for one reason or another, and the translation is therefore considered to be a 'cultural feat'; (2) a metric translation has been rendered freely; (3) the reviewer is especially keen on spotting errors, and the translation happens to be riddled with them; or (4) two or more books have been translated from the same poet within a short time span, or there is a new retranslation. Koskinen & Paloposki (2003: 32) report that retranslation was a major theme in 15 translation reviews in the year 2000.

Reviews of retranslations seem to confirm a finding about the reception and publishing policies of retranslation in general: retranslations are marketed as modern and fresh, and in reviews, they are compared favourably with older translations (the new translations are described as "more complete", "more accurate", "closer to the original", "modern", "fresh", and "enjoyable"; older translations, in turn, are "outdated", "dry" and "dusty"). A common comment in retranslation reviews in Finland is "finally", or "it was high time!" (Koskinen & Paloposki 2003).

Reviews thus offer important insights into a number of questions in Translation Studies: translators' visibility, translations norms (expectancy norms of readers and critics), retranslation, and, above all, translation discourse in general. Reviews can shed light on how translation is perceived and portrayed.

3. Methods of review study

In most review studies, the method of analysis (although not spelled out directly) is a simple close reading, a content analytical or discourse analytical point of view. Reviews can also be studied from the point of view of imagology (as suggested for newspaper research by van Doorslaer in Chalvin, Lange & Monticelli 2011: 50; see National and cultural images***) or linked to research on visibility and agency. Probably the most extensive analysis carried out is that by Laiho (1999), in which, in addition to a study on 12 national newspapers from 1995 (with a corpus of 700 reviews of translated literature), a model for researching reviews was designed. Laiho's model divides reviews into three categories: product, process and reception oriented reviews. In the Finnish material, most of the reviews concerning translation were reception oriented.

4. The future of reviewing

As reviewing is increasingly on-line, there may be more space for up-to-date, interactive criticism. *The Times Literary Supplement* reviews page, for example, features a multi-voiced discussion on the Swedish Nobel-prize winning poet Tomas Tranströmer ["Tranströmer squabbles"]. The boundaries between different ways of reviewing may also disappear or become less rigid with the advent of literary blogs.

The different agents – critics, readers, authors, translators, scholars – may engage in a more open interaction. Holmes was hoping for the development of Translation Studies to bring about a more informed kind of criticism. Along the same lines, Andrew Chesterman (in Paloposki & Makkonen-Craig 2000: 77) coined the term 'thick criticism' analogically to Appiah's 'thick translation'. Open sites may finally bring about the kind of integration of reviewing theory and practice that Holmes envisaged.

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Translation psychology

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1. Introduction

In 1972, in the paper discussing the name and nature of the field of research focusing on translation-related phenomena, James S. Holmes (1988) envisioned a process-oriented branch of Descriptive Translation Studies* which he also called 'the psychology of translation.' According to Holmes (1988: 72), translation psychology would carry out research dealing with 'the process or act of translation itself,' including 'systematic investigations under laboratory conditions.'

At the time Holmes presented his initial idea, process-oriented research in this sense did not exist. There were, however, numerous writings about the translation process* by translators themselves which can be regarded as 'introspective' accounts in which translators explained their translation* principles or ideologies and the reasons for their translation solutions (see e.g. Lefevere 1992). Levý's article (1967/1989) is another example of the early contributions to translation psychology. Using game theory as his point of departure, Levý views translation as a decision process; he proposes that translators tend to use a 'Minimax' strategy, aiming at maximum effect with minimal effort (see also Cognitive approaches*). Systematic empirical translation process research, in the sense envisioned by Holmes (1988), emerged in the mid-1980s and focuses on investigating what goes on in the translator's mind during the translation process.

The first empirical studies into the translation process used mainly think-aloud protocols* as research material. Their focus was on the cognitive aspects involved in translation (see Cognitive approaches*), i.e. identification of translation problems** or difficulties and the strategies used to solve them (cf. Translation strategies and tactics*) as well as decision-making.

While translation process research constitutes the core of 'translation psychology,' in the widest sense translation psychology can be seen to comprise a great deal more than what is happening in the translating mind during the translation process. The scope of psychology as the field dealing with the workings of the human mind ranges from cognition (perception, memory, learning, problem-solving) to affect or emotion (motivation, attitudes) as well as personality. For example, the organisation of a translator's, or an interpreter's in particular, bilingual or multilingual memory (see Bilingualism and translation***) provides the basis for multilingual acts of communication. The ability to operate between different language systems, especially in simultaneous interpreting*, has attracted the attention of scholars in other disciplines as well (e.g. de Groot 2000; see also Interpreting Studies*, Neurolinguistics and interpreting**). Social psychology, in turn, deals with human minds in interaction with each other (communities, networks**). In addition to the translating mind working alone or in interaction with others, translation psychology can also be seen to extend to other minds in the form of reader responses to translated texts, therefore reception studies are of interest from the point of view of translation psychology.

Finally, the very way in which we conceptualise 'language' or 'translation' is largely based on our conceptualisations of the human mind. For example, different linguistic approaches to translation are built on particular theories of language processing or communication, such as systemic functional linguistics, cognitive linguistics, or relevance theory (see e.g. Malmkjaer 2011; Relevance and translation*). The interpretive approach* by the Paris School has its origins in Piaget's developmental psychology. Research into (or search for) translation universals** is also partly based on the assumption that there may be psychological mechanisms involved in translating which result in features shared by all (or most) translations irrespective of the language-pair in question.

Consequently, as this article aims to show, there is a psychological angle to most translation-related phenomena, which could offer interesting avenues for fruitful, multi-disciplinary research cooperation within Translation Studies as well as with other disciplines.

Think-aloud as a data elicitation method provides access to translators' conscious processing and emotional responses. The method is arduous and time-consuming, the resulting data usually rich but messy. As a method of data elicitation, think-aloud is not without problems and limitations and should therefore be subjected to an in-depth methodological study. Since the 1980s, other data elicitation methods have been developed and adopted. In addition to think-aloud, the pool of research data now comprises retrospection, dialogue protocols, keyboard-logging, screen recordings, and eye-tracking. Most process studies employ multi-method approaches and combine different types of data to allow for triangulation of research results. Research projects building and analysing large corpora of process and product data are also emerging, which will facilitate analysing general tendencies in processing and establishing links between process and product (e.g. Alves et al. 2010).

While translation process research and the cognitive approaches have been discussed extensively in previous volumes of the handbook, this chapter will focus on the areas not covered earlier.

2. Cognition, affect and personality traits

Creativity is often understood as belonging mainly to the realm of literary translation* only. However, creativity also plays a role whenever there is no ready-made answer (i.e. translation solution) available; therefore creativity is part and parcel of the cognitive problem-solving in other kinds of translation tasks as well. Kussmaul's study (1991) of student translators' creative problem-solving paved the way for other studies focusing on creativity in translation. Bayer-Hohenwarter (forthcoming) presents a method for measuring creativity by taking into account process and product data. Her research material includes data from five professional translators and 12 students of translation at the BA level. Bayer-Hohenwarter (forthcoming) sums up creativity indicators into 'product creativity' and 'process creativity' values. Product creativity refers to e.g. novelty and acceptability of the solutions, while process creativity includes indicators such as translation time and dwell ratio. Interestingly, the results show that professionals show more creativity as well as more routine. Bayer-Hohenwarter explains that this paradox results from 'producing non-literal target texts automatically or by producing a large variety of creative shifts and other creative processes such as imaginative thinking (= creativity) within relatively little time (= routine).'

The role of affective or emotional factors has also been touched upon in process studies. For example, Jääskeläinen (1999) attempts to identify the role of translators' attitudes towards or personal involvement in the task at hand. The preliminary findings indicate that a committed and enthusiastic attitude (i.e. personal involvement) may contribute to translation quality. Tirkkonen-Condit (2000: 141) looks at how translators deal with the uncertainty typical of translation or indeed any cognitive task 'riddled with potential ambiguity'. The results indicate that translators tend to have a high tolerance of uncertainty or ambiguity, which shows for example in their willingness to postpone decisions and perseverance in looking for solutions.

More recently, Hubscher-Davidson (2009) focuses on the identification of translators' personality traits and their influence on task performance. In the study, 20 student translators translated a literary text. The students' personality traits were analysed by a test of personality types (Myers-Briggs Type Indicator) and the quality of the produced translations was assessed by teachers of translation. Hubscher-Davidson's findings indicate that students belonging to the 'intuitive' type (who tend to 'perceive possibilities, relationships and meanings of experiences') outperformed students of the 'sensing' type (who tend to 'perceive immediate, real practical facts of experience and life') (id.: 182, 184). She also points out that 'sensing types like to take a practical approach to tasks' and tend to be uncomfortable in situations in which they need to use their imagination (id.: 186); consequently, the literary translation task may have favoured the intuitive type of students. However, there may be other kinds of translation tasks in which the sensing type excel.

The potential links between personality type and translation quality are interesting not only in terms of increasing our understanding of the different psychological mechanisms at play in translation, but also in terms of translator education: although personality testing might not be feasible as a selection procedure, it might be useful for students in assessing their own strengths and weaknesses as translators.

Although the majority of process studies deal with the translation of non-literary texts (news texts, tourism texts, instructions for use), recently a few scholars have also ventured to the realm of literary translation. For example, Jones (2011) investigates poetry translation as expert action. He analyses the politics and networks of poetry translation** as well as the processes involved. Jones' process data include translator interviews and think-aloud protocols from five poetry translators. The interview data illustrate the way translation projects and teams work as well as the translators' motivation and attitudes. The think-aloud data show the emergence of the target language poem through different versions and stages of problem-solving and decision-making. Thus Jones is able to present a comprehensive picture of poetry translators: their cooperation and networking, motivation and processing as well as their politics.

Kolb (2011), in turn, examines the translation process of a short story by Ernest Hemingway. Kolb employs a multi-method approach and her research material consists of concurrent and retrospective verbal reports, keyboard logs, written drafts and final translations produced by four professional translators of literature. The study addresses questions such as how the translator's voice or style emerges in the target text and the translator's agency** in this process. These questions are examined by looking at the way in which the translators deal with repetition and ambiguity in the source text; both relate to proposed translation universals (avoidance of repetition, disambiguation by explicitation).

By investigating literary translation processes, these studies show that even the areas of translation which are clearly 'art' involve a great deal of conscious problem-solving and decision-making, which contributes to the de-mystification of translation: translation is a cognitively complex and demanding task, but it is not a completely mysterious talent that cannot be learnt or explained.

3. Didactics: Competence and expertise

Translation didactics* deals with the way in which translators and interpreters are educated (see also Teaching translation / Training translators***). For this purpose, educational psychology and different theories of learning (e.g. social constructivism, Kiraly 2000) have a great deal to offer to Translation Studies. Because it is by changing the process that we can hope to bring about changes in the product, process research is closely connected to the aims of translation didactics. Process research has therefore been interested in identifying the processing patterns of translation students and comparing them to those of professional translators. Not surprisingly, the results show that professionals tend to approach translation tasks more holistically and work with larger chunks of text; they also have a larger repertoire of strategies at their disposal.

The composition and acquisition of translation competence* have been investigated in several research projects (see e.g. Göpferich et al. 2011; PACTE 2011). Research shows that translation competence is not an automatic by-product of mastering two or more languages; instead, it is comprised of several sub-competences, such as the strategic and the instrumental (the skills related to use translation tools) sub-competence. The identification of different sub-competences and their development will offer useful tools for improving translation didactics and translator training programmes. Particularly strategic and instrumental sub-competences can be fostered in the education of translators.

At the other end of the fledgling translator's learning process is professionalism or expertise. Both terms can be defined in a number of ways and classified into different varieties of expertise, for example (Jääskeläinen 2010). Expertise can refer to consistently superior performance or the possession of considerable amount of knowledge and skill, while professionalism can relate to occupational status**, quality delivered, or professional ethics, for example. For didactic purposes, translation process research has been interested in identifying professional or expert processing patterns to teach them to translation students. Therefore, process researchers have sometimes assessed the quality* of the produced translations and found them lacking (e.g. Jääskeläinen 1999). The caveat here is that experts are assumed to excel in their own areas of specialisation and experience which, in turn, have not necessarily been the areas of interest in the research designs. That is, for research purposes, professionals have often been asked to perform tasks that are outside their area of expertise. We also need to learn how translation experts excel in their own fields of expertise and how the quality of their performance is rated in their own work, instead of using 'academic' quality criteria only.

4. The bigger picture

Translation psychology may also be understood to include more than the translation process and the translator's personality traits, for example, the way in which translated texts are interpreted and understood by their recipients. Indeed, the principle of dynamic equivalence*** or functionalist approaches* to translation would seem to call for knowledge of what the recipients know or expect of a translation or how they read and react to a translation. Still, until recently, relatively little research has focused on the reception of translations, with the exception of formal reception in the form of translation criticism* or eliciting reader responses relating to specific translated items (e.g. allusions; Leppihalme 1997). For example Kenesei's study (2010) represents a new interdisciplinary approach to investigating the reception of translations. Kenesei (2010: xvii) sets out to examine 'the personal responses of readers to poems and their translations' and does so by combining text linguistic and literary analyses of text as well as cognitive approaches to reader responses. Although the number of reception studies seems to be on the rise, reception studies still seem to be conspicuously absent from the entries of Translation Studies handbooks and encyclopaedias, even their subject indexes.

The sociological turn of Translation Studies (see Turns of Translation Studies*) has focused research interest in 'the mechanisms underlying translation viewed as a social practice' (see Sociology of translation*). Understanding the humans involved in these social practices creates an interface with translation psychology. Issues such as translation ethics and translator's agency can also be approached from a psychological vantage point. For example, the ethical dilemmas faced by translators in the production networks typical of the translation industry today, have cognitive and emotional implications for translators. As Abdallah (2010: 28) points out, there is an emotional aspect to agency.

On the whole, research into translation psychology highlights the complexity of the phenomena involved. Recent research also illustrates the interconnectedness of translation psychology and translation sociology. In fact, following in the footsteps of James S. Holmes (1988), Chesterman (2009) proposes a new branch of translation research called 'Translator Studies' which partly overlaps with the scope of translation psychology presented in this chapter. Chesterman's Translator Studies places the translator in focus, and brings together translation process research and translation sociological research among others.

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Translation rights

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1. Historical context

Only a few decades after the creation of copyright within the two great western legal traditions (England's Statute of Ann, in 1709, and the 1793 decree of the French National Assembly), translation rights were born along with the multilateral system protecting literary and artistic works, as a result of numerous meetings between authors as prestigious as Hugo, Whitman, and Tourgueniev at first, and soon after, of jurists and diplomats, from ALAI (1878) to the Berne Convention (1886–1971).

In fact, we can even state that international copyright law resulted from the issue of translation*, to the point where the rapporteur of the Commission of the Paris Conference declared, in 1896, that "translation is the international question *par excellence*" (WIPO 1986: 153; our translation). Due to the absence of an international legal system in the 19th century, a number of translation and counterfeiting havens had developed. At the dawn of international copyright law, translation was assimilated to reproduction, counterfeiting even: "to translate is to counterfeit," declared Eugène Pouillet (1879: 426; our translation).

Against these allegations of piracy expressed by the most popular authors, others were defending fundamental principles that were to guarantee the spread of knowledge and the right for all people to develop themselves. Invited as president of the Congress for the Protection of Literary Property of 1878, Victor Hugo had reiterated the necessity of prioritizing public interest over that of the individual author. In fact, he even added that "we shall grant to the blood heirs their right, and we shall give to the spiritual heirs what is theirs, by establishing an immediate fee-based public domain" (SGDL 1879: 273–247; our translation). This is saying, by extension, that translation already possesses some legitimacy, though perhaps indirectly, in terms of its role in spreading culture and knowledge, and therefore, in the development of a right of "retransmission" that is somewhat implied in translation.

But the context of the 19th century cannot be separated from that of the colonization, even after independence, in the creation of an international copyright regime. The presence of new independent states at the Brussels Conference (1948) marked the end of the *Convention*'s Eurocentric orientation. Less than twenty years later, at the Stockholm Conference (1967), those new countries were expressing a large number of objections against Berne and UCC, and fighting for the addition of concessions favouring developing countries, including compulsory licensing of translations (CLT) for educational and cultural purposes. Industrialized states and corporations rejected these requests with such rigidity that no compromise was possible, which led to the failure of the conference overall. Over four years of informal diplomatic negotiations to formulate a protocol acceptable to all parties finally led, at the Paris Conference (1971), to the adoption of the "Special Provisions Regarding Developing Countries", but which sets limitations that prevent any substantial losses to authors and artists – in other words, to the publishers, as *they* are usually the exploiters of the conceded rights.

However, it should be noted that, since then, these concessionary measures have almost never been applied due to the administrative burdens that the applicant would have to endure, as well as the limitations that they imply. In fact, despite UNESCO's Nairobi *Recommendation on the Legal Protection of* Translators (1976) and the IFT's Charter (1963–1994), the provisions of Berne concerning translation rights and their dependence on those of the author have never been questioned (Basalamah 2004). Since 1995, international copyright law has been further strengthened, since it is no longer administered by the WIPO, a special agency of the UN, but integrated, almost as is, into the WTO's Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). This latter development has pulled translation out of the sphere of influence of the humanitarian and principled charter of the UN, and placed it into the grip of economy and trade logics of the Bretton Woods agreements (1944).

2. Between copyright and Translation Studies

The issue of translation from the perspective of copyright law can be summarized as follows: Translation is a work derived from an original, and which merits protection for the contribution of the translator to the final product – except for the underlying original work – but which remains conditioned by the author's authorization. In other words, the original always remains there, right under the surface of the translation, and in a certain way, inseparably mixed with it, to the point where it is simply inconceivable to imagine one without the other in the resulting translation. But copyright contains the principle of "idea/expression dichotomy": it is only the expression of a work that is protected under this regime. And yet, despite the existence of this foundational principle, copyright law suffers from a flagrant contradiction: since it protects only the expression, what is owed to the original, aside from the idea, when translation is essentially a modification of the form, or expression, through the operation of language change (Venuti 1998: 53)?

Furthermore, since Benjamin (1923), and especially through Derrida's interpretation (1985), and also since Octavio Paz (1971 in Bassnett 2002) and Borges (1964), translation theory scholars are well aware that the original is neither transcendent to the translation, nor even different from it; every original is itself composed of a chain of translations in the manner of intertextuality, so the works respond to each other by borrowing parts from each other, or by calling out to each other through subtle – and not-so-subtle – references. Creation, in other words, is translation.

But such a conception of originality could never be drawn from a reflection on authorship which, during the period of the recognition of its rights by western legislation built for itself a symbolic capital that found its climax in romanticism. If copyright was able to rely on this discursive assumption to establish itself in the international forums and solidify the dominant position of the author, contemporary scholarship in the humanities no longer conceives it in that manner; as thinkers were starting to question the notion by reassessing the function of authorship (Foucault 1969/1994), the death of the author and, as a consequence, the rise of the reader, were being proclaimed (Barthes 1968/1984). This promotion of the reader was not without consequence for Translation Studies*, as it required from the translator – the privileged outpost reader – to play an eminent role in shaping as well as interpreting the work. When we compare this kind of development to the legal conception, it seems that the secondary status of the translator** is not only unsatisfactory, but that s/he has every reason to demand a visibility that is aligned with the tradition of "linguistic hosting" (Berman 1998) or of an "ethics of difference" (Venuti 1998).

This entire debate ultimately comes down to the definition of translation: its reach, its comparative value, its status, and its characteristics. Is it a reproduction, a derivation, or a creation? By distinguishing it from a reproduction, copyright law can no longer treat it as the simple replica of an original work. In itself, though it can not be considered entirely as an independent creation, translation – be it literary or pragmatic – is a sufficiently significant modification to deserve more from being a mere "derivative work". And that is because a translation can, on one hand, have a separate fate from the original, and, on the other hand, constitute what Benjamin according to Derrida (1985) views as "surviving a death" (*überleben*), or a "debt" incurred by the original in order to continue to exist through its avatar. Perhaps this paradox is what provides the best definition of translation: it is simultaneously a singular originality because of the freedom and autonomy that it claims for itself, as well as a secondarity because of the deep textual memory on which it relies. Translation is therefore a mercurial dialectic which copyright law has yet to fully grasp – and then risk a radical transformation.

3. A new paradigm in the information age

It follows from the above that translation carries a dimension that is not only challenging, "scandalous" even, through its questioning of the established order of the original, of the author, and of the law which consecrates them, but also of a paradigmatic dimension that cannot be ignored. Indeed, in this age of a globalized information society, of frenzied recycling and mash-up, of user-generated content (UGC) and notions of pro-active and participatory consumption ("prosumption"), translation seems to be evolving along the same lines as those of contemporary cultural production, through the immanent, decentralized, and pluralistic transformation of an ever-becoming human memory, which could lead up to a sort of economy of knowledge if it were linked at the semantic level (Levy 2011), that is, in a position of mutual translation. Cultural symbol of the assumed secondarity, of the "re-bindings" ("reliances") and the "linking of knowledge" (Morin 2000), translation presents itself as the representative of a new epistemological paradigm which tends to go beyond the narrowness of legal positivism in order to cope with our time where the permanent transformation of significations and forms has a lot to gain from a rationality imbued with ethics (Basalamah 2010).

Stuck in the pendulum that is presently oscillating from the (legal) epistemology of the *pyramid* to that (translational and philosophical) of the *network* (Ost & van de Kerchove 2002), translation seems to be the point of convergence of all the rebelling notions against hierarchies, and aspiring for the freedom to transmit and transform culture, outside the bounds of domination, or simply, aspiring for a *right to translate*.

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