HANDBOOK OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

VOLUME 4

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.

All articles are written by specialists in the different subfields and are peer-reviewed.

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Introduction

In 2009 we conceived of a new *Handbook of Translation Studies* (HTS). Four years on, we now present the fourth and (for the time being) last 'classical' volume of this series. Altogether, the four volumes offer 174 entries on translation and interpreting research topics written by 135 different authors coming from all five continents. Although most of the authors can be considered well-established scholars in the discipline, we also invited several younger and promising researchers to contribute. We believe that such a mix of backgrounds and generations rightfully represents the dynamics of the discipline. Of course a *Handbook* mainly presents overviews of the already existing research. On the other hand, younger scholars often prefer slightly different perspectives or even innovative interpretations, thus adding value to the existing format. We would like to express our sincere thanks to all of the authors, who sometimes had to meet rather tight deadlines.

From the outset we explicitly aimed to provide an academic resource, but one that also had a broader audience in mind: not only fully fledged Translation Studies researchers, but also MA and Ph.D. students, practitioners willing to reflect on their translation activity, as well as scholars and experts from other related disciplines. The HTS series aims at a relatively broad distribution of research knowledge in the field of translation and interpreting studies. We believe this broad view on our research is also reflected in the fields and approaches covered in the HTS volumes: not only do they cover the history of TS and the process of translation, but also views on methods, resources, effects, impact and agents, all topics that have fundamentally changed the appearance of the discipline over the last few decades.

In the introduction to the first volume, we wrote that our first selection of topics was based on the topical and conceptual maps we had developed for the online *Translation Studies Bibliography*. The taxonomy of the TSB has been used to draw up a less rigid and more flexible selection of topics. The maps underlying the keyword system in the TSB are also being constantly adapted to new developments in the discipline. And the open character of the maps is something we experienced in our topic selection for the Handbooks as well. Some of the entries in this fourth volume would probably not have made it into the first volume yet, but have gradually gained the attention of researchers in recent years. These open maps offer the possibility of refining the present selection and adding new items.

This brings us to another important added value of HTS: it is the first encyclopedia of this scope in translation studies to offer *both a print edition and an online version*. The online version will continue to be regularly revised and updated. The HTS is also variously searchable: by article, by author, by subject. The subject index in the online version is cumulative for all four volumes.

For those we are not familiar with the HTS series yet: the *Handbook* includes relatively brief overview articles (between 500 and 6,000 words each, based on 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 also finds the abstract and keywords of 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, **** to volume 4.

The HTS project relies on a strong International Advisory Board of 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, Namur and Leuven/Belgium. The editors would like to thank all the partners for their support.

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. Over the last years we were surprised by the many enthusiastic offers we have received for translations. At this very moment you can already find translations for some entries in the online version in Arabic, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Ukrainian. More translations are being prepared in these languages, as well as in Chinese, French, German and Turkish, partly also as challenging projects for high-level translation students. This enthusiasm shows that Translation Studies is alive and kicking and certainly much more than an English-only academic activity. Feedback from all the users is more than welcome. If you have any suggestions for improvement to the translations, or regarding accessibility or usability, please don't hesitate to contact the editorial team at hts@kuleuven.be.

Handbook of Translation Studies: www.benjamins.com/online/hts
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The HTS editors
Yves Gambier & Luc van Doorslaer
September 2013

Anthologies and translation

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1. Introduction

Translation anthologies, as a subcategory of anthologies, are configurated corpora of translated texts. They result from a three-step process of collecting, selecting and displaying those texts with the two main purposes of either storing and preserving a certain heritage within a specific topic (a literary genre, an author, a subject, a literary period, etc. or a combination of some of these) or of introducing innovation and change in the literary polysystem of a given culture. Although considered "indispensable for the study of translation and literary culture", translation anthologies have been largely overlooked in Translation Studies research (Frank 1998: 13). The interest in anthologies was inaugurated in the 1990s within the famous *Sonderforschungsbereich 'Die literarische Übersetzung'* based at the University of Göttingen and acquired a new impulse recently with Baubeta (2007) and earlier with Korte (Korte et al. 2000).

However, the activities of collecting, selecting and displaying are crucial to processes of identity formation in Western culture (Clifford 1994: 220). Moreover, this form of publication, the anthology, is in keeping with the postmodern taste for combining the heterogeneous, and deconstructing and reconstructing canons, given its "concern with fragmentation and wholeness, and its alleged crisis of values and evaluation" (Korte 2000: 3). Korte remarks that at a moment when "personal and communal identities are claimed to be increasingly threatened by processes of fragmentation and differentiation, Western culture appears particularly inclined to all forms of collecting, storing and displaying the collected as means of constructing and exhibiting identity" (idem). Moreover, while the electronic revolution has provided almost unlimited access to information, the need for selection and evaluation has increased accordingly. The translation anthology illustrates precisely one of the main aims of culture planning (Toury 2002/2003) and mediation: to select and, through selection, evaluate "collectibles" for a certain public, thus configuring and/or manipulating the reception of a foreign culture by native readers.

2. Etymology and neighboring notions

Let us look at the etymology of the words "anthology" and "collection" (both are used interchangeably in several definitions). The word "anthology" derives from the Greek word *ἀνθολογία* (*anthologia*) from *anthos* ('flowers') + *-logia* ('collect') and therefore denotes flower-gathering. According to the *OED* the word came to mean metaphorically "a collection of the flowers of verse, i.e. small choice of poems, esp. epigrams, by various authors" (vol. 1: 510). Beauty, selection, and re-arrangement are thus qualities and activities present in the genesis of the anthology form. As for "collection", it originates in the Latin word *colligere* denoting "the action of collecting, or gathering together", which does not necessarily imply a selection, but rather the mere reorganization of the materials gathered. The difficulty of distinguishing an anthology from a series or collection was pragmatically answered by Essmann & Frank who spoke of a "matter of magnitude", hereby characterizing the anthology as "what you can carry home in one hand" (1991: 67).

The concept of the anthology needs to be distinguished from neighbouring notions such as the archive, database, thesaurus, album, catalogue (of a publishing house for example), museum, exhibition, literary history, canon and even translation. However, defining a conceptual core for the "anthological object" raises an epistemological challenge (D'hulst 2013). It may involve the presumably shared activities of deliberate selection and deliberate restructuring and recontextualization of a specific corpus (of translated texts, authors, genres, objects, data, music, paintings, etc). Moreover, the significance of the new anthological object is greater than the sum of its parts taken individually (Frank 1998: 13), which build up a new textual fabric, entering into new relationships and performing new functions.

Several parallels may be drawn between anthologizing and translation as two forms of rewriting (Lefevere 1992; Damrosch 2003). Both result from a selection based mainly on value, on whatever ground, followed by a transfer process involving national as well as international and intercultural contexts. Both reflect, as well as create and project an image of the "best" text, author or genre from a given culture, thus manipulating its reception by the public, as well as the consequent relations between national literatures. Baubeta also points out that "the anthology goes hand in hand with literary historiography and may even function as a history of literature in microcosm" (2007: 14). Indeed, it might even operate as a "miniature canon" (Kilcup in Baubeta 2007: 22), which applies, of course, not to a single translation, but to a translation anthology.

3. Purposes and types

The main, generic purpose of (translation) anthologies is to make (canonical, unknown, forgotten, marginalized) texts available and usable, with a general canonization effect for the latter three. According to Barbara Benedict, the basic function of anthologies is "always and inevitably" to reflect and shape contemporary literary taste (quoted in

Schneider 2000: 296). More specifically, as tools of intervention within both intra- and intercultural dynamics, anthologies (and collections) have a number of functions. These include: “pleasure purposes; educational purposes (either as teaching anthologies directed at young readers since the 18th century and created with the explicit purpose of educating taste or associated with the dissemination of mainstream ideological, political, social, ethical, aesthetical, and moral values); preservation purposes (representativeness of a given literature; anthologies work as a repository or means of creating a national cultural memory and canon as well as a universal canon (Bloom); innovation purposes (re-evaluation of texts and canon as well as introducing novelty into a system); protection purposes (literary production of minorities tends to become available and known by means of anthologies, since it seldom reaches autonomous publication or a wide reading public); structuring purposes (as a means of structuring a branch of culture); accessibility purposes (to make a structured selection available to a wide reading public); dissemination purposes (to make literary and textual models available so that they may become productive); subjective purposes (particularly powerful or prestigious cultural agents use anthologies to disseminate personal predilections although often implicitly claiming a certain representativeness and excellence); profit purposes (certain anthologies and collections aim to meet a generalized taste or preference with the purpose of making profit for a publisher)” (Seruya et al. 2013).

Functions and purposes are usually related to certain types of anthology. For example, in the context of British popular culture, Ralf Schneider speaks of two major types of popular anthology: (i) the “general anthology of popular taste”, subclassified into the “democratic anthology” (which comes into being “through audience participation”) and the “favourites anthology” (“put together by publishers, editors and compilers who address the public under the silent or explicitly voiced assumption that their collections meet the tastes of a great number of people”) (Schneider 2000: 292); and (ii) the “special-interest anthology”, with the love anthology as largest subcategory (297). Whereas the democratic anthology is not likely to be a translation anthology, the same cannot be said about the other types and subcategories.

Another possible typology distinguishes between programmatic anthologies, which tend to have an innovation purpose, and survey anthologies, functioning as representative repositories of a given subject, author, literature, genre or period. Survey anthologies are, moreover, traditionally used in schools and universities to introduce students to both national and foreign literatures (e.g. English poetry for German students, see Löffler 2000). In the latter case they would be translation anthologies and would have a dual canonical value: as regards the authors and texts selected, and, if a specific one is unique in the teaching system, as a representative of the respective literature with repercussions on its reception. The same canonization process would then apply to the editor(s), the translator(s) and the publishing house of the volume.

Survey anthologies may also be called general anthologies, to distinguish them from those restricted to an author, subject, genre, period or artistic movement. If the language category is considered (texts from one or several source languages and cultures), the result would be bilateral or multilateral translation anthologies, in which case new questions could be addressed, such as the power relations within the whole set.

Another terminological distinction can be drawn between publisher and translator anthologies. A publisher anthology usually selects already existing translations, while a translator anthology may gather the translator's own work or translations specifically ordered for a certain volume (Essmann & Frank 1991: 84; Frank 1998: 14).

4. Selection criteria, recontextualization and authorship

As products of a deliberate selection, anthologies presuppose excellence and representativeness, postulated by a subject. Baubeta has offered a comprehensive list of selection criteria underpinning an anthology (and translation anthology in particular):

> (…) in order to convey a particular message (moral, religious, sentimental, ideological), to illustrate a theme (…) or exemplify a particular mode of expression, a literary school or artistic trend, to allow the anthologist to share his or her favourite poems or stories with the reading public, to present readers with what are purportedly the best or most beautiful lyrics, the most moving or even the most terrifying short stories, or allow a publishing house to foreground its authors. (2007: 34)

Some of these criteria may overlap with the country of origin, the language of the original, a period (e.g. a German anthology of contemporary love poems from Japan). The selection may also be determined by the targeted readership, in that the work may be aimed at a certain age group gender or sexual orientation or at different levels of expertise (scholars, students or the general public). Baubeta also mentions the "opportunist anthology", which takes advantage of special dates or occasion (2007: 44), creating a subcategory of "theme illustration" (Christmas, Father's Day, e.g.).

It is also worth analyzing the criteria underlying the internal organization of anthologies. Besides more general ones such as original country and language, these include alphabetical and chronological order, structural principles (e.g. literary periods) or poetological ones (e.g. genres).

Considering the novelty of the anthology, the anthologizer becomes a "secondary author" (Seruya et al.), whose presence is also explicit in the peritexts (see also Paratexts**). If the anthologizer is also the translator, authorship is reinforced.

5. Anthologies and Translation Studies

The short history of Translation Studies shows how much the development of the discipline in academia owes to anthologies inasmuch as they have made available (often through translation) seminal texts about translation from different periods and cultures. Sourcebooks, readers or programmatic anthologies deserve to be mentioned (Lefevere 1992; Venuti 2012; Baker 2010, among many others). Having fulfilled their canonizing function, some programmatic anthologies have even become survey anthologies (Lefevere 1992). Research on anthologies about translation has already started (see Sabio Pinilla & Ordóñez López 2012).

6. Future perspectives

Ideally, future research into translation anthologies will concentrate on how they differ from similar non-translated works as regards not only their genesis (text selection, purpose, organization, structure, readership), but also the reception process and functions they perform in the target culture. The difference between translation anthologies and single translated works also deserves reflection. The historical dimension in the study of anthologies must complement the Comparative approach**. Literary historians and translation studies researchers are called upon to work cooperatively so as to answer questions regarding intercultural and interliterary transfer where anthologies, because of their features, play an outstanding role.

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Assumed translation

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1. Historical relativism

Most of the common terms and concepts in Translation Studies are subject to critical assessment, including readjustment to new developments and orientations. Yet, the fact that Translation Studies, perhaps more than other disciplines, tends to foreground metalinguistic issues is no doubt also instigated by the very nature of translation as a practice involving interactions between different languages and cultural traditions. And it should not come as a surprise that the responsiveness to these interactions is concomitant with the growing interactions between different research traditions worldwide. Correspondingly, "objectivist" approaches have receded since a few decades opening up space for "relativist" and more specifically historical viewpoints on the translation*concept and on the most appropriate methods to frame and study it.

One of the first and most influential outcomes of the latter evolution has been Gideon Toury's tentative design of the concept of "assumed translation" (1995, second edition 2012), even though, as will be discussed, this design has not yet given way to the elaboration of a systematic historical approach of other aspects of translational communication as a whole. Let us first recall Toury's definition: a translation will be regarded as

> any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture/language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by a set of relationships based on shared features, some of which may be regarded – within the culture in question – as necessary and/or sufficient. (Toury 2012^2: 31)

Toury has embedded this concept in a larger theoretical model, known as a "target-oriented" theory on translation. The definition of assumed translation takes into account three postulates: a source text postulate assuming that there is another text in another language and culture that precedes the translation, a transfer postulate assuming that the translation is derived from its source during a process of transfer, and a relationship postulate assuming that there are certain relationships between the translation and its source.

This theory deliberately goes against the use of *a priori* definitions of translation. It has been widely acclaimed as an appropriate way to encompass semantic variations in the translation concept, and even as an adequate tool for research on all "utterances in a [target] culture which are presented or regarded as translations, on any grounds whatever" (2012: 27).

2. Critical reception

To what extent the concept of assumed translation has been truly used by scholars as a methodological tool for the purpose of translation analysis would need further research. Overt debates have undoubtedly kept the focus on the concept itself, starting with Vilen Komissarov's reply to Toury's definition, of which he ponders in particular theoretical aspects:

> It is clear that I share with Toury the conviction that translation should be defined descriptively on the assumption of a specific status of translated texts in the target culture. Thus we can both speak of 'assumed translation'. We differ in that I emphasize the intention or the pretension of the translator rather than the acceptance of the text as translation by the users (though the acceptance is also there as an important factor). (Komissarov 1996: 371)

Others have approached the concept from a methodological viewpoint, laying bare a possible conflict between a general definition used by the researcher, a sort of "common denominator extrapolated from all occurrences of translational action through space and time" (Hermans 1995: 220) and the historical understanding of the same or of similar concepts by practitioners, readers or critics of the past. This is no doubt a major issue of practical methodology, which has a.o. been tackled by Tymoczko admitting that "any research may and usually even must limit the scope of inquiry for practical reasons" (2002: 17). One of the last contributions to the debate is Halverson's (2004), who attempts an epistemological move forward by recalling Searle's views on institutional facts. Considered as such facts, translations depend on "a number of human institutions (languages, communicative situations and purposes, etc.)" (Halverson 2004: 347), and these institutions preclude the need to identify all translations as such:

> We accept that translation exists in our culture, and that many of the texts we encounter (some more than others, depending on the culture) have been translated from other languages. We do not need to know which texts are which, because we have institutionalized a means of their creation and authorized (to a higher or lesser degree) a means of qualifying or enabling individuals to create them. We defer to those individuals as our experts and we view their identification claims as legitimate by virtue of their expert status. (Halverson 2004: 352)

Turning back to Toury, it is rather striking that much of his proper historical work, in particular the second part of his book (2012), has been overlooked by most translation scholars who refer to his concept of assumed translation. In fact, this inattentiveness is a token of the state of affairs in translation studies at the end of 20th century, when constructivist or relativist approaches searched to pave their way by reacting against objectivist ones. Yet, there is hardly any doubt that Toury himself was less interested in designing a proper historical approach towards translation (see Translation history*), adhering rather to the idea that "the opposition between theoretical and historical approaches is utterly false" (2012: 19; see also Delabastita 1991). As a matter of fact, since Toury has time and again emphasized that his "working hypothesis" only aimed at "providing guidelines for the establishment of corpora for the studies of one basic kind, sharing one set of goals" (2012: 27), his view on assumed translation has triggered several critical remarks, such as the following one by Pym:

> To carry out historical research on assumed translations, we would have to locate subject positions for which the three postulates all hold. Someone in the target culture should actually believe these three things. Or is it enough for the analyst, the historian, to make the assumptions? If so, on the basis of what? Toury has remarkably little to say on the matter. (Pym 2007)

Be that as it may, from a historical viewpoint, a more elaborate study of assumed translations would not only have to locate subject positions, but also other variables such as hearer and reader positions, and the interactions between both, and it would have to consider what made the interactions possible and effective (entailing change, for instance). Moreover, the concept of assumed translation should not only be applied to utterances or products, but also to Translation processes*or parts of processes. Further, one could think of correlate concepts referring to other instances of translational discourse such as an assumed translator or an assumed source language or an assumed source text, etc. But above all, a historical way of looking at positions or other discursive items is expected to access these as historical facts, rather than as stepping stones for a theory to come.

3. Towards assumed transfer?

Conceiving the concept of assumed translation as a heuristic tool during the phase of corpus design, be it of "one basic kind", is a way of getting us closer to the "real-life situations we set out to account for" (Toury 2012^2: 28). Such a starting point also invites for further conjectures. For instance, if this tool is able to reveal variable meanings and uses, it is at least partly so because translation is, as already mentioned, a practice involving interactions between different languages and cultures. But it may also hide the variable interdependence between these meanings and uses and other meanings and uses, notably those belonging to other practices with which they are closely related if not merging: one may think of the variable interdependence between translation and adjacent practices such as writing, speech, text transformation, dubbing and more. Translation historians may choose to put the focus on assumed translations or on the interaction between the latter and these adjacent practices, which are often covered by the umbrella concept of "transfer". As a matter of fact, there is a growing number of recent attempts to relate both practices, following the suggestion of Even-Zohar: "Sooner or later, I believe, it will turn out to be uneconomical to deal with transfer and translation separately" (Even-Zohar 1990: 73; see also Weissbrod 2004; Buzelin 2007; Vorderobermeier & Wolf 2008; Göpferich 2010; D'hulst 2012).

For most cultures, however, when approached from a historical viewpoint, the study of transfer*has remained totally unbalanced, whereas one should bear in mind that translation has not always been prominent in comparison with other outcomes of transfer procedures, even when the latter have also to be considered as institutional facts. A small research project on German-French transfer relations between 1810 and 1840 has shown that the major transfer procedure from German at that time was "imitation". Of all the "imitations" in French, 56% are German in origin, while of all "translations", only 11% are German; the highest number of "imitations" is found in Children's literature*(D'hulst 2009: 94). The understanding of both the formal and functional specifics of "translation" from German does not only benefit from a comparison with elder or later translations from German, or with translations from other languages, but also from a comparison with other transfer procedures such as "imitation".

A potential means of overcoming the isolation of translation (or of other separate transfer modes) is to conceive of transfer as "assumed transfer" insofar it may apply to all utterances presented or regarded as transfer utterances (including translation) within a given cultural setting. The preceding does not mean, however, that the concept of assumed transfer is simply a partial replica of the concept of assumed translation. In contrast with Toury's "source-text postulate" (2012: 29) inherent to translation, transfer may aggregate several types of relations. In addition, if one cannot assume a one-on-one relationship between a source and a target, there is little chance that such a transfer relationship is always spontaneously recognized by contemporary agents as a token of a given type of transfer. Many products of transfer remain partly invisible and hence only partly observable, which is why they may also escape the scholar's grasp. This may well be one of the reasons why the transfer concept has so far been less successful in comparative research than the translation concept: unlike the former, the translation concept possesses a relatively permanent core meaning – interlingual translation – capable of functioning as a more or less firm point of reference. This, however, should not prevent future researchers to invest more energy in developing methods to expand the scope and design adequate corpora for the study of the relations between translation and other transfer utterances: the historical facts simply do not leave us much choice.

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Author and translator

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1. Introduction

The debate on the invisibility of the translator first launched by Venuti (Venuti 1994) and also taken up by Simeoni in his seminal article on the translator's habitus (Simeoni 1998) is usually understood in contrast to the relatively high visibility**** of authors of literary works or against the backdrop of literature and the numinous aura of the (national) creative writer. Though the importance of the role played by translators in introducing the work of foreign writers to readers in other cultures is in itself beyond dispute, their translations have been and continue to be a locus of broad institutional and public debate and even dispute both within and across cultures throughout history (see Literary translation* and Literary Studies and Translation Studies*). However, the debate on translator invisibility may have inadvertently obscured more complex relations between translators and authors, including former, more subtle or less visible delineations of authorship (see Davidson 2008, inter alia) and 'translatorship' (Toury 1995: 53) and, more particularly, how such delineations might be perceived or have been perceived in various cultures or throughout history. Next to this, we also have to consider how we should treat the authors of other works, like those working in philosophy or the social sciences for example, and their respective translators? In this respect, it would seem imperative to re-examine the role of genre as a determining factor in relationships between authors and translators (see Genres, text-types and translation****).

It is the purpose, therefore, to provide an outline of the main aspects of the debate by referring to important works on the topic of "author and translator" and to trace its main lines of inquiry as far as translation research is concerned. In this respect, it would seem appropriate to treat these various aspects as they present themselves to us firstly by discussing in brief the shifting meaning of authorship, and subsequent views on translatorship, and then by outlining possible relations between the two words in the title of this entry: "translator" and "author".

2. Authorship: A shifting concept or quality

The role and status of the author in society as it is understood today is a relatively recent development and must be examined in relation to a whole set of stances and acquired positions in relation to ownership of the (printed) word that began to form in the course of the 19th century (Bourdieu 1992: 75ff; Ong 2002: 144–5; Editorial policy and translation***). This is what Venuti (1992) has called the "romantic" conception of the author, i.e. someone who represented and voiced the ethos of a culture or more specifically a nation. It is in the 19th century that we witness the beginnings of strong polarization: the rise and the newly gained independence of the author and subsequent fall of the translator, as it were. Viewed in translational terms, the work of such an iconic writer was in clear danger of being misrepresented by pedant translators who lacked any true understanding of the greatness of the writers they were translating. This is the basic assumption underlying the "author-translator" polarization discussed by Venuti – a polarization he and other translation scholars have clearly wished to resolve. Though translation scholars have provided empirical evidence of the creative input of translators (see Bush & Bassnett 2008, among many others), the assumption still holds sway to this very day, albeit mainly outside of Translation Studies*: see Robinson (2010) on debunking clichéd views on translators. It can be argued that such persistent views are the result of a lack of systematic theorization of translation or translators in other (related) disciplines, such as literary studies, cultural studies or comparative literature (Trivedi 2007). They may also stem from a lack of systematic analyses of translations in these disciplines, something which has been amply done in TS. As Jíří Levý pointed out in the early 1960s, criticism alone is not enough for gaining a clear understanding of translation (Levý in Hermans 1999: 21), let alone the creative input of translators. Be that as it may, the relation between authors and translators still remains troubled if not in (TS) theory, according to some, then in practice, according to many others.

Whether this stemmed from academic debate or not, in the world of publishing the assumption in turn gave rise to such questions as "must a translator also be a creative writer in order to be able to translate another writer," or "shouldn't one be a poet or playwright in order to translate another poet or playwright"? What we also witness here are logical forms of correlation and subdivision that are directly related to the status (social or even ontological) of these actors in their respective cultures and more specifically the genres such actors are working in – to the extent that these genres completely overlap, which is something that cannot be taken for granted or overlooked (see Section 5). For example, publishing houses may and certainly do ask writers to translate other writers, notwithstanding their lack of linguistic or cultural competence. To phrase it in Bourdieusian terms, the reasoning is that a given writer's symbolic capital will override other forms of capital, hence safeguarding prospective economic capital for the publishers. So, the polarization that Venuti attacked is still extremely well anchored both in public and professional discourse and cannot be that easily resolved or debunked.

The questions asked above can also be posed with respect to authors and the respective translators of works that border on the literary or those stemming from other areas of the humanities or sciences: can only a philosopher or social theorist translate a philosopher or social theorist, for example? Drawing on more recent views on genre, it is argued, however, that other criteria of identification or identity and genre-specific practice are at play both for authors and translators in these areas or disciplines. This, of course, remains to be shown and requires close study in each case (Susam-Sarajeva 2006).

In relation to what has been outlined so far, we wish to make suggestions in Section 4 below for an overarching model that might encompass the complexity of the topic and tie the various aspects of the debate together. It must also be remembered, however, that the sharp distinctions between author and translator discussed above are also of more recent vintage and hence need to be viewed in their historical perspectives and in their respective contexts. In the next two sections we will explore various aspects of relations between authors and translators.

3. The translator as author

Despite the many studies that advocate and indeed demonstrate a rapprochement between authors and translators, to the extent that translators show varying degrees of creativity in their translations, (Buffagni et al. 2009), this rapprochement has also been contested from within Translation Studies. Pym (2011) raises some serious and well-considered arguments on the notion of translator as author. Drawing on Habermas's formal pragmatics and validity claims and using Goffman's definition of authorship, he insists, albeit with a certain degree of regret, on making a categorical distinction between author and translator. The stance he adopts is ethical and pragmatic rather than literary: the translator is the one in the translational situation who does not use the personal pronoun I to refer to him- or herself but to refer to the author. He or she is the agreed non-I in the situation. He/she does not have to assume or can even waive responsibility for what is said in a translation. Interestingly, this is also the logic underlying pseudo-translation**. In following Habermas then, translators cannot rightfully claim that they are the author of a source text. The most they can do is represent the source text and make authenticity claims about their representational work.

Perhaps more immediately telling are the legal consequences of making such truth claims, particularly nowadays. Despite the desirability of rapprochement, in legal terms there can be no total overlap between translator and author, unless of course the author is the translator. And even then, can there be complete overlap? This may still not be the case, as it can be argued that authoring is never fully contiguous with translating even when carried out by the same person. This is where findings from process research can be brought into play, according to Pym (2011: 39–41). And it is in these findings that the "creative" common ground between authors and translators lies, whatever activity they may find themselves involved in: writing or translating. Commenting on a study of professional translators by Dimitrova he states:

> This degree and level of awareness is surely indicative of authorship in at least the "creativity" sense of the word, if not as an indicator of responsibility for the direction and success of the discourse. (Pym 2011: 41)

But similar forms of creativity can also be laid bare though comparative analyses of source and target texts. In the early 1960s already, Jíří Levý (2011: 57–58) argued that (literary) translation was both reproductive and creative: "a borderline case at the interface between reproductive art and original creative art." So both process- and product-oriented studies of literary translation can and do show that in *representing* the creative work of an author the translator taps into similar forms of creative artistic expression in another language, as it were. Such forms of creative representation and indeed even impersonation have even found their way into works of fiction where the role of the translator is thematised (see Representation of translators and interpreters***).

Despite their representative nature or purpose, paratexts** of every type authored by translators can also display degrees of creativity in introducing a new writer to a new readership. As translators show preferences for particular writers and work from particular languages, such choices and their related discourses can also form an object of study. The creativity discussed so far has been and continues to be demonstrated in studies by translation scholars, particularly now that we can use powerful computers and software to help us carry out the work and also discover less visible aspects of such creativity (Oakes & Meng 2012).

If creativity is required of the literary translator, what qualities and competencies are required of the translators of works of philosophy, social theory, etc.? This question is particularly relevant for works and authors who have had a considerable impact on thinking about translation and translation studies, e.g. Foucault and Bourdieu to name but two. What was expected of Bakhtin's or de Certeau's or Cixous's English translators (Susam-Sarajeva 2006)? What form would their "creativity" be expected to take on in such cases? As was asserted above, the importance of genre is vital in determining how a work is interpreted and what the subsequent translation strategy might be. We must also ask how and to what extent has translation been theorised in these genres and related disciplines? Here too reader expectations, both professional and other, have to be taken into account (see Section 4).

4. The author as translator

Under this heading we can list authors who have either translated the work of those working in another language and culture or those who have translated their own work into one of the languages they worked or work in – an eminent example but surely not the only one being Samuel Beckett (see Self-translation*). Perhaps it would be better to arrange such writers along a cline: at one end those who only translate others and at the other end writers who translate themselves. This would allow us to deal with varying degrees of translatorship and authorship in each case. There are some enigmatic characters who are difficult to place anywhere along such a cline. Fernando Pessoa, for example, wrote under various names in various languages and also worked as a translator (see Multilingualism and translation*). As far as these authors are concerned we can rely on a number of historical studies that demonstrate the roles they played in introducing local or national readers to works from other cultures over the centuries. For example, many of the names included in Douglas Robinson's book on Western translation theory were renowned authors in their own right (Robinson 1997). It is through their translations that various literary forms and movements and poetics moved across languages and cultures: one of the main focuses within comparative literature, which often plays down the significance of translation as such. Yet translation, whether by authors or professional translators, is being increasingly regarded as the hidden motor generating and driving national literatures (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995; Tak-hung Chan 2001; Weissbort & Eysteinsson 2006, inter alia).

Intersecting the first cline is another which contains authors' views and discourses on translators, which run the gamut from complete distrust to total respect. Perhaps the most iconic figure in this regard is Milan Kundera (see Margala 2010). Kundera's position on translators and translation can be considered as forming one end of a cline, the other being respect and close cooperation:

> My translators are my best critics […] translation addresses the literary work, shows it in its true nakedness […] translation tells the better truth. Unveils its masks.
> (Isaac Bashevis Singer in Delisle & Woodsworth 1995)

Though the basic assumption is that all translators are by necessity at least bilingual, an author may not necessarily be so and many are not. Here we witness the vanishing point, as it were, between authors and translation, notwithstanding the fact that certain writers were heavily influenced by others they only read in translation. On the other hand, bilingualism may not necessarily be a given in the case of some "translators" either. There are many authors who have published "translations" or "adaptations" of work from other languages without being familiar with the languages in question, the "crib translation" often being provided by a "native speaker" of the language in question. And yet authors still claim translatorship (pace Pym), while dismissing the crib translator as being incapable of their literary prowess and insight.

To return to again Pym's reasoning, it is interesting to note that authors too have made untenable claims to authorship in two respects: (a) by claiming authorship for what was really a translation, e.g. Baudelaire's translation of Poe, issued as original work; (b) by claiming a work was a translation of some (obscure) foreign author's work. Whereas plagiarism has become increasingly difficult, pseudo-translation** is still very much alive (Seifert 2005). Yet translation work can still form an often hidden and formative part of individual writers' careers. However, given their social status, such forms of appropriation or identity play are somehow permitted among authors yet frowned on among translators.

For authors in the humanities or social sciences such play would seem totally out of place, though "appropriation" might perhaps take on more subtle forms: the propagation of "schools" of thought across languages and cultures in which translation plays an important role. Despite his/her much announced demise, the author lives on both as a legal entity and the initiator of a set of much-needed ideas for the propagation of a school or discipline. In such cases the translator may be a peer versed in the same discipline and often an author in his or her own right. One can then inquire: is such a person "merely" a translator?

All of the authors mentioned so far can be said to hold some position with respect to translation, no matter how far removed from actual translation practice that position is. At one end of the scale there are authors who translate others or themselves and have direct experience of translation and what it means to be a translator. Their discourse on translation and the theorising it encompasses will invariably be grounded to some respect in translation practice. The discourse of those at the other end of the scale will be necessarily more removed or perhaps couched in more poetic or other terms. Much depends on the case under investigation, a sketch of which will be attempted in the conclusion.

5. Concluding remarks: An attempt at encompassing the debate

To conclude, it is argued here that a key element in understanding the complex set of relations between translators and authors is genre (Bakhtin 1986; Vološinov 1986). As shared social practices, genres are now viewed not merely as sets of discourse features that crystalize into (iconic) texts that are expressions of individual genius alone. Rather, they also form "orienting frameworks, interpretive procedures, and sets of expectations," (Hanks 1995: 670). Genre is the primary level at which both authors and translators engage with language in a given form in their professional practice – be it a novel or a treatise on philosophy. Language here is understood as comprising a variety of languages, dialects, etc. Like authors, translators engage directly with the various elements of language and style that are typical of a given genre in which they are often specialised. They also understand how these elements play out across languages and cultures, something which authors may not necessarily have access to. It is through their experience with and knowledge of genre that their "creativity" or at least their translational competence becomes manifest. Depending on the genre, relations between authors and translators are further mediated by a number of state, semi-state and private bodies These bodies may be private publishing companies, universities (see the chapter on The American Translation Workshop in Gentzler 1993), state-funded associations for the promotion of literature through translation like Irish Literature Exchange, or international festivals who work with in-house translators, like Poetry International in Rotterdam for example. All such bodies frame and have a particular understanding of how a work in a given genre is or should be. In negotiating and promoting translations within given genres they also act as go-betweens or buffers between authors and translators.

This equation also involves orders and degrees of readership ranging from literary critics and academics to the casual reader. It is within this framework that all the evaluative pronouncements visible in the various discourses and stances mentioned above are made. Such evaluative pronouncements, whether they are highly theorised or not, or whether they stem from detailed studies of or from impressionistic views on translation or not, can also tell us something about relations, both perceived and real, between authors and their translators.

Hence, a key question in undertaking any study of the often prickly relation between authors and translators is 'which genre?' We can then move on and examine the specifics of the genre (discourse features, etc.) and see how they play out across the languages and cultures concerned. We can then explore how authors and translators have connected with and positioned themselves with respect to these specifics at various places and times throughout history (see Methodology in Translation Studies**). This point of departure should permit a more even-handed approach to understanding the often troubled relations between authors and translators outlined above.

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Bibliometrics

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The following entry will discuss bibliometrics as a subfield of the social studies of science which focuses on the analysis of academic publishing. The article has a dual focus, providing an introduction to the basic concepts, approaches and methods pertaining to bibliometrics in general as well as a presentation of the specific application and contribution of translation and interpreting (T&I) studies to this field of research.

1. Bibliometrics, scientometrics and webometrics

Bibliometrics is an empirical branch of the social studies of science and can be defined as the science of measuring and analysing academic publications and scholarly communication. Bibliometric analyses have proved to be a valuable instrument for studying the evolution, dynamics and trends of academic disciplines, employing methods such as counting publications or citations. The terms "bibliometrics" and "scientometrics" are not used consistently in the pertinent literature. Some scholars use the terms synonymously; others prefer to see scientometrics as subfield of bibliometrics. Björneborn and Ingwersen (2004: 1217) introduced a more differentiated terminology in an attempt to include the emerging field of webometrics. In this framework, informetrics as an umbrella term encompasses the overlapping fields of bibliometrics and scientometrics, bibliometrics being defined as the quantitative study of the production, dissemination and use of recorded information. The field of scientometrics exceeds the scope of bibliometrics partly, as it also addresses societal, economical, and policy questions not covered by bibliometrics, using other quantitative aspects of a discipline as e.g. economical data and not just records in bibliographies. Webometrics is a subfield of bibliometrics which partially overlaps with scientometrics and addresses "the study of the quantitative aspects of the construction and use of information resources, structures and technologies on the Web drawing on bibliometric and informetric approaches" (ibid.).

In T&I studies, the terms bibliometrics and scientometrics have been used interchangeably. Furthermore, albeit to a lesser extent, the term bibliometrics has also been used in the realm of the Sociology of translation*, in studies focussing on the analysis of the circulation of literary texts and their translations based on data generated from bibliographies of translated literature (e.g. Popa 2006: 210).

2. Bibliographical databases

Bibliographical databases are essential sources of data for bibliometric and/or scientometric (B&S) studies. Whilst they are serving as digital collections of references to published literature, citation databases or indexes are also used to count the number of times a given publication has been cited. B&S research is therefore heavily dependent on the quality of research bibliographies. The rapid development of B&S research was triggered by the emergence of digitized bibliographical databases and citation indexes pertaining to academic literature. In 1960, Eugene Garfield, one of the pioneers of B&S studies, founded the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI), introducing the first citation indexes for papers in scholarly journals: the *Science Citation Index* (SCI), the *Social Sciences Citation Index* (SSCI), and the *Arts and Humanities Citation Index* (AHCI), which are still frequently used for B&S research and which are run on a commercial basis. As T&I studies are not comprehensively documented in those databases, (at the time of writing in 2013 only ten T&I studies journals have been indexed by the SSCI or the AHCI), scholars tend to rely on Bibliographies of Translation Studies**, although they do not include citation counts. Given the fact that T&I scholars do not publish their work exclusively in T&I journals and collective volumes, it often makes sense to expand a given search to include databases pertaining to neighbouring disciplines. It is important to take into account that no database will ever be able to cover the entirety of scholarly production. In order to obtain a representative corpus for a B&S analysis, scholars therefore often make use of several databases. Grbić and Pöllabauer (2008a) e.g. referred to fifty different databases in order to obtain the largest possible number of relevant documents for a comprehensive overview of the evolution of the field of Community interpreting* in German speaking countries. In addition to traditional research databases, *Google Scholar* is a useful complementary resource, as it automatically extracts bibliographic information and cited references from electronic documents retrieved from websites and digital archives.

3. Research areas and methods

B&S research covers four main areas: (a) the evolution and (b) the characterization of a given field, (c) the evaluation of scholarly communities and (d) diffusion studies, which focus on the evolution and transfer of ideas within and across disciplines (Borgman 1990: 17–20). This means that data can either be used for descriptive historical or sociological analysis or as the basis for an evaluation of individual researchers', research groups', departments', universities', or a given country's scientific productivity. In T&I studies, the main focus has been on studying the evolution and characterization of the disciplines or their various subfields. Recently, though, as a consequence of assessment and evaluation trends at universities, research on evaluation has started to gain ground. Rovira-Esteva and Orero (2011) e.g. conducted a study on the publication performance of scholars affiliated to Spanish universities. There are also a few publications which address technical, methodological and/or theoretical issues and problems in B&S research on a meta-level (e.g. Grbić & Pöllabauer 2008b).

The following methods are frequently applied in B&S studies: publication counting, citation counting, word analysis, and social network analysis, whereby some authors also use a combination of various methods. Results of quantitative studies are usually communicated using tables, diagrammes, (co-)author graphs and topic maps. Although qualitative methods such as interviews have gained ground in recent B&S research, e.g. when studying citation behaviour and the underlying motives for citing a certain author or article in a given context, they have not yet been adopted by T&I scholars.

Publication counting was the first and most widespread method to be applied in the context of T&I studies, whereby research tends to focus on a specific field (e.g. asylum settings, Audiovisual translation*) and/or on a geographical area (e.g. China, German speaking countries). The data obtained from bibliographies can be analysed with reference to various different parameters, such as the year of publication, the author/s, the language of publication, or document type (book, paper in journal, journal etc.). The first B&S studies were published by Pöchhacker (1995) and Gile (2000). For want of online databases, they based their analysis primarily on a corpus compiled by Gile. Studying research output in the field of Conference interpreting*, they combined publication counting with word analysis in order to determine the research topics of the publications in their data. Whilst Pöchhacker's study can be characterized as a blend of descriptive and evaluative approaches, in that he introduced a type of weighting system to rank authors according to their productivity, Gile's contribution is descriptive, linking output parameters to qualitative components.

Citation counting has not been particularly prevalent, for the simple reason that T&I databases do not allow for citation searching, but there are exceptions, such as Gile's (2006) analysis of the references in two collective volumes in T&I studies, which identified not only the authors who were cited most frequently but also collated interdisciplinary links and reference types, which he classified as theoretical, conceptual or terminological import.

As mentioned above, simple word analysis is a very common method applied by most authors when categorizing the thematic content of publications in the corpus under study using either keyword analysis or a quantitative title/abstract word analysis based on word frequencies. In the latter case, software programmes are used as analytical tools. More complex word analysis (e.g. co-occurrence analysis) are rare although they are also a vital tool, especially when focussing on the evolution, diffusion or transfer of scholarly concepts within and across disciplines (for a keyword analysis see van Doorslaer 2005; for a word frequency analysis see Grbić & Pöllabauer 2008a).

Finally, (social) network analysis (NA) is a highly complex analytical instrument, which has not only widened the scope of B&S studies but has also been adopted in a range of sociologically orientated T&I studies projects (Folaron & Buzelin 2007). In B&S research it is employed for the analysis of social or thematic structures and the relations between different agents or concepts acting within those structures. Formally, networks can be defined as a set of nodes and links, whereby the relations differ in terms of the form, intensity, or frequency of contact, amongst other factors. Typically, a NA approach is used to present (co-)authorship networks, (co-)citation networks, and concept/word co-occurrence networks. It involves a distinct set of methods and uses graph theoretical and statistical tools and routines. In order to calculate NA properties and portray network structures in diagrammes, the data is processed using specialized computer software (for an application of NA see Grbić & Pöllabauer 2008a).

4. Controversial issues

There are still a number of unresolved methodological problems and controversial issues in the field of B&S research. Methodological problems encompass e.g. the imprecise coverage of publications in databases; the high subjectivity of weighting systems pertaining to document types; or various different ways of counting of co-authorship. A particularly predominant controversial issue is the evaluation of research performance, whereby the sensitivity of the debate points to the danger of simplifying scholarly communication by conflating qualitative evaluations with publication and citation rates, which could lead to the inappropriate or sloppy application of bibliometric data. This is particularly pertinent in the view of the fact that in many countries, research evaluation serves as the basis for budgetary decisions and is outsourced to special institutions or companies which analyse the data externally (for a comprehensive discussion of problems in B&S research see Grbić & Pöllabauer 2008b). Despite the problems and challenges mentioned above, B&S research can certainly be seen as a valuable approach to the social studies of our discipline, which will become increasingly important in the next few years, not only in terms of a general diversification of methods and approaches but also with regard to meta-theoretical reflection.

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Communism and Translation Studies

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Rooted in an internationalist ideology and having deployed itself on what was intended as a worldwide scale, Communism has inspired a rich multidisciplinary historiography. By means of state control, nationalisation, planning, ideological constraints and censorship, Communist regimes deeply transformed the functioning of cultural production in the countries where they came to power. They also determined the international circulation of works, favouring it according to political criteria of selection; or on the contrary, curbing or preventing it through various forms of control, when not repression. In addition to which the circulation of works was elaborated as a tool of the Cold War by geopolitical rival camps. Strangely enough, however, translation, one of its main vectors, has for the most part until quite recently been neglected by this historiography. This is all the more true of the practice of interpretation. Studies dealing with the cultural history or with a historical sociology of Communism and the Cold War have only recently been enriched by a reflection on translation, particularly monographs on the subject (Friedberg 1997; Popa 2010). Likewise, in the domain of Translation Studies*, collective works on the relations between translation and ideology***, power****, resistance and activism have only on occasion included case studies (Baer 2010, for example) on this particular socio-historic context (see also Committed approaches and activism*). Collective works on censorship* through translation have however devoted somewhat more research (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007; Špirk 2008; Gallagher 2009; Rădulescu 2010) to this particular period. This subject seems to have inspired the most individual contributions so far.

Thus to a large extent, Translation Studies have fresh ground ahead. They can benefit from a historic context now past, but one that enables researchers to consult sources (archives, in particular) which were earlier inaccessible, even to interview actors still alive today on their past itineraries and translation practices. A reflection on the relationship between Communism and translation supported by empirical inquiries could provide material for more general questions on the politicisation of the international circulation of texts, the asymmetries of these circulations, rationales of domination as well as forms of political engagement and resistance using translation as a support. This article outlines a few major directions taken by existing works, suggesting at the same time issues and objects emerging from them.

1. Mapping translation flows

During the 20th century, Communism existed in many geographic areas – from the USSR to China throughout Eastern Europe and Latin America – and sometimes at specific chronological moments. This scattering of terrains where the practices of translation agents** have been analyzed in relation to Communism makes it indispensable to map out the places in which, or between which, exchanges (most often literary) and the circulation of books have been studied from the viewpoint of translation. The cumulative data thus produced would make it possible to sketch out a "geopolitics" of translation flows, as favoured by political affinities (backed up by Socialist countries' internationalist aims) or, on the contrary, curbed because of ideological cleavages (particularly East/West). International cultural and political hierarchies in power over a period of time and their gradual direct and indirect effects on translation could also be observed more closely in this way. For the moment, however, there has been little systematic and even less comparative research on the subject. Although most of what has been done concerns case studies, some research also quantifies (if partially) the flow of translations, in the aim of setting up a framework for the construction of specific issues.

Most of these studies target a Socialist country of ex-Eastern Europe at the receiving end of the translation. They often choose a broad chronological period: the analyses by Friedberg (1997) devoted to the Soviet period are part of a much wider cultural history of literary translation in Russia dating back to previous centuries. Studies link particular aspects of resistance and censorship practices in the USSR to older traditions of politicising translation and state control of printed material in Russia (Baer 2010; Tax-Choldin 1986). Finally, Leighton (1991) analyzes the theories and practices of translation in the USSR from a comparative viewpoint with the United States. Studies on other Socialist countries give priority to specific periods during the Cold War era (Špirk 2008; Monticelli 2011 for example). Some analyze the choice of foreign authors translated and the consequences of censorship on the overall image (classic/contemporary), national origins, aesthetic and political orientations of those authors. Studies may also target the import of a particular Western European or a Latin American literature (Dimitriu 2006: 60–63, among others), and a literary genre, such as drama (Antochi 2012) or Children's literature*(Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009; Inggs 2011, among others) to show the aesthetic and political interests of these imported works. Moreover, in Socialist countries, children's literature was not considered minor or governed by norms different from those applied to adult literature. On the contrary, its status was high, since its role was to educate the younger generations by preparing them to build Socialism in turn. The scope of other studies could also be narrowed down to the reception of a particular author making it possible to gain better insight into overall tendencies, concerning translation policies and practices after the installation of Communism. Finally, institutions devoted to the import of foreign literatures have also been selected for study (Safiullina & Platonov 2012).

Researchers note that translations in one Socialist country of works originating in another are subjected to less censorship than others, in particular those imported from 'Capitalist' countries. Among the former, translations of Soviet literature were given quantitative and symbolic, as well as prescriptive pre-eminence, especially when imposing Socialist Realism as the single creative method in all Socialist countries. Following on Friedberg (1997: 172–177) and Leighton (1991: 13, 18), Witt (2011) emphasizes the importance of studying literary translation on the scale of the USSR, that is, a multinational State in which translation becomes a matter of nationalities policy. The originality of this translation context is notably in the supposed ideological coherence underlying it and the considerable number of languages concerned. Finally, China is another country where direct and indirect translations of Soviet literature (Gamsa 2008, among others) played a political role, at least during certain periods. Along with translations of texts of "Marxist inspiration" made from other languages, they were intended, from the 1920s on, to prepare and then consolidate political and social change (Hsiang-yin 2012). More generally, translation of the canonical texts of the international Communist movement and of the works of its principal thinkers could constitute another research area, thus documenting the role of translation in the production and spread of political ideologies.

Finally, literary transfers between non democratic regimes (where the works were produced) and democratic regimes (where they were translated and received) also underwent various forms of politicising. Working on this direction of the international circulation of texts during the Cold War, Popa (2006, 2010) analyzed the social conditions determining the possibility for such transfers and their specific mechanisms, offering an approach in terms of "translation channels". This approach makes it possible to go beyond a non-differentiated analysis of translation flows and binary oppositions between authorised/non-authorised transfers and submission/dissidence. It also enables a comparison of the transfers of several East European literatures translated in France, thus rendering apparent different historical and national configurations.

2. Censorship/circumventions, subversions, resistances

Aside from the effects of censorship on editorial selection, some studies analyze forms of intervention on the original texts during the process of translation. Modifications thus operated led to effects of intertextuality with Marxist-Leninist terminology and the official literary canon, a specific consequence compared to other censorship contexts. Not only textual aspects are taken into consideration (Tax-Choldin 1986; Rădulescu 2010; Sherry 2010; Inggs 2011 among others), but the institutional aspects of censorship as well, recreating the complexity of relations and strategies of a plurality of actors: State and Party institutions, editors, translators (Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2007, 2009; Antochi 2012: 257–258). Underscoring their multiple localities and not the centralisation of their practices (Leighton 1991: 45; Sherry 2010: 5) results in a different picture from that of top-down interpretations of censorship often associated with the totalitarian paradigm mobilised in the analysis of Communism. Finally, other studies identify subjects frequently censured in relation to Communist ideology.

However, translation is also seen as a means of subversion, of resistance and challenge in face of these constraints. Thus textual strategies and the translator's room for manœuvre have particularly attracted the attention of researchers, since they have allowed translators to get round what it was politically impossible to say, to transmit a forbidden or subversive message using "Aesopian Language" (Baer 2010; Dimitriu 2006; Gallagher 2009 among others). Other angles of analysis target the externalising of forbidden texts through their translation and legitimation in the West, as well as the know-how, strategies and stratagems making this international circulation possible (Popa 2010: 245–310, 387–533) and that liken translation to a form of political intervention. On the other hand, we still know very little about the publication of translations in Eastern European underground editions.

3. Practices and status of the translator in a politicised context

Writers forbidden to publish their own works were nonetheless authorised to make and sign translations. This situation, sometimes interpreted as paradoxical on the part of Communist authorities, has inspired investigations particularly concerning the writers-translators most well-known today (Boris Pasternak, Anna Akhmatova, Josef Brodski, etc.; see also Author and translator****). Having become an economic necessity for them, translation was also seized upon as a creative opportunity, which may have influenced their translation practices. This is why the analysis of their approaches is often linked to the debate over literal and free translation first among Soviet (Friedberg 1997: 69–113; Leighton 1991: 58–64), then East European translators. This debate was politicised: beginning in the 1930s, the first approach was denounced as a manifestation of formalism, then of cosmopolitanism. The official preference for free translation has been interpreted by some researchers as having facilitated censorship and intervention on source texts. This controversy has also been approached through an analysis of the aesthetic, professional and political positions of those who promoted it, including those who left the USSR, like Roman Jakobson and Vladimir Nabokov (Baer 2011). Other translation theories and methods are analyzed in connection with the political issues they raised in the USSR, such as realist translation, the correlative of Socialist Realism (Leighton 1991: 63–81) and the use by adaptors of interlinear trots produced by native speakers (Friedberg 1997: 172–177; Witt 2011: 160–163). The practices of "poet-translators", not knowing the languages from which they translated, as well as their literary and political itineraries are also studied in the context of French importers of East European literatures (Popa 2010: 343–371).

Finally, the specificities of the status and organisation of the translation profession (Friedberg 1997: 191–201; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009: 107–114) have been studied in particular through the existence, in Socialist countries, of a section on the Writers Union devoted specifically to translation (see Status of translators**). Translators were thus considered creators and attributed the same rights and advantages as writers. The historical data we possess on professional associations and training for the translating profession however await the enrichment of future research.

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Conflict and translation

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Much of the academic discourse on translation and interpreting, has been articulated more or less explicitly in terms of conflict. Whilst some authors have focused on the tensions that are inherent to the process of translation (source text versus target text, adequacy versus acceptability, literal translation versus free translation, semantic translation versus communicative translation, and formal correspondence versus dynamic equivalence, to name but a few of the dichotomies and constructed oppositions that underpin discussions of translation and classification of approaches and strategies), others have represented translation as an aggressive act (see Translation strategies and tactics*).

The discussion of translation as 'appropriation' (Steiner 1975), or as a potentially distorting process (Berman 1984/1992), or work that has stressed its 'violence' and the uses that can be made of it (Venuti 1995), all allude to an overarching context of 'conflict'. Translation has also been increasingly framed with reference to unequal power relations and ideological encounters (Calzada Pérez 2002). Whilst contemporary discussions eschew sharp contrasts and oppositions, give further scope to historical and personal contingencies, and are more likely to assume a continuum of engagement, translation and interpreting tend to be considered as sites of conflict.

What is relatively recent however is the sharpened focus on translation and interpreting in actual situations of violent conflict, past or present, and on the complex agency of translators and interpreters 'embedded' in armed conflicts, whether they are directly operating in war zones and engaged on the ground (Salama-Carr 2007; Stahuljak 2010) or dealing with conflict-related texts (Apter 2006). Over the last decade, a number of academic conferences have put under scrutiny the interconnection between conflict and translation and interpreting, some explicitly focusing on the translation of key 'conflict' terms or 'sensitive' texts as part of a larger ideologically-laden discourse on 'security' and 'intelligence gathering', or in order to challenge and rethink the assumed 'neutrality' of language mediation.

A number of factors can perhaps explain the growing interest shown to the "politics" of translation and the move away from a "naïve model of communication" (Baker 2010: 48) where the neutrality of mediation is taken for granted, towards a greater appreciation of the role played by translation and interpreting in the construction and representation of conflict as well as its resolution. The interrogation of translation and interpreting practices in 'conflict' situations is promoted by the increasingly explicit ideological or political engagement of translation and interpreting researchers in the context, for instance, of gender studies, postcolonial studies, etc. Brownlie (2007) discusses Committed approaches* to translation research and suggests a distinction between those approaches shaped by a specific ideological or political engagement- for instance Venuti's critique of 'invisible' translation into a dominant language such as (American) English -and approaches which have as a premise that political engagement is inevitable. Brownlie maintains that the latter approach can be exemplified with the work of Maria Tymoczko (1999, 2000), and Mona Baker (2006). Both Tymoczko and Baker focus on translation and interpreting in conflict situations and as means of resistance and construction, reconstruction and reframing of public narratives which shape the perception of events.

From within the discipline itself, the traditional issue of mediation linked with the increased visibility of the translator and the interpreter as agents, a shift of perspective promoted in great part by the so-called 'cultural turn' in translation and interpreting studies, followed and complemented by a 'sociological' engagement (see The turns of Translation Studies*) has paved the way for the growing interest in the role and responsibilities of translators and interpreters in relating and formulating conflict, and in issues of trust and testimony that often arise in that context of shifting power differentials.

Translation and interpreting studies have come of age and researchers have greater confidence in the methodologies and theoretical apparatus they can now draw on to engage more explicitly with the politics of translation, rather than focusing solely on the textual aspects of the translation event (see Ideology and translation***). Translation studies researchers, however interdisciplinary their work might be, have at their disposal an established, sometimes canonised, body of works, as evidenced by the number of reference works, encyclopaedias and anthologies in the field. It should not be forgotten, however, that the earlier development of descriptive and systemic translation studies which, according to Hermans "can be the critical conscience of translation studies' (Hermans 1999: 161) has promoted, to a great extent, the contextualisation of translation and interpreting from historical and sociological perspectives (see Sociology of translation*), and has helped to position translation and interpreting as integral parts of the understanding of war.

The highly mediatised and globalised conflicts of the last two decades (the dismantlement of the former Yugoslavia and the Balkans War, the Gulf War and the invasion of Iraq, together with the pernicious consequences of the continued occupation of Palestine, the terrorist attacks on New York and the ensuing so-called War on Terror) have brought to the fore the centrality and complexity of the translators and interpreters' roles. Emily Apter acknowledges that her book *The Translation Zone*, a collection of essays which focuses on 'the role by mistranslation in war' (Apter 2006: 3), 'was shaped by the traumatic experience of September 11, 2001' (ibid: vii). The contingencies of war and conflict (for instance the woefully inadequate provision of translators and interpreters with Arabic in the US, or the lack of trained interpreters in the Balkans and the conflicting allegiances of locally recruited linguists) (Salama-Carr 2011), and the dangers to which translators and interpreters in conflict zones are exposed have foregrounded the centrality and complexity of translation and interpreting in relation to conflict.

Scholarly inquiry into translation and interpreting in situations of conflict has also rekindled interest in the notion of ethics* which had been so far absent from much of the debate, outside literary translation. From the ethical dilemmas faced by translators and interpreters in terms of allegiances, and their adherence to established professional codes of practices, to the realization that the ethical dimension had to be integrated further in translator and interpreting training (Salama-Carr 2007; Baker & Maier 2011), research into language mediation and conflict in itself exacerbates the methodological and ethical issues linked with the inevitable personal engagement and positioning of the researcher.

The greater articulation of language rights in the overall discourse on Human Rights (for instance in the context of the European Union, or in the context of translation and interpreting for asylum seekers and refugees) has also awarded greater visibility to the translation and interpreting processes. Such 'contingencies', it can be argued, have led an increasing number of translation and interpreting researchers to interrogate and challenge existing models of agency, and of linguistic mediation by drawing on 'conflict' generated data.

Research on translation and interpreting in conflict is frequently collaborative in that it draws on the experience of the translators and interpreters themselves who are articulating their concepts of neutrality and interrogate the way they negotiate codes of conduct and issues of ethics (Kahane 2007). The challenges faced by those 'embedded' interpreters are compounded by the fact that they are not necessarily trained linguists, and the Association Internationale des Interprètes de Conférence (AIIC) has developed a field guide for interpreters working in conflict zones.

Baker's work on translation and conflict has opened a particularly promising avenue for the description of the role of translators and interpreters in the representation and construction of narratives, an approach that allows for a more nuanced and less binary description of language mediators' stances and can lead to new directions to account for the work of less mainstream mediators, for instance activist translators (see for instance the work of Translators without Borders http://www.tsf-twb.org/) and interpreters challenging hegemonic narratives of cultural encounters and geopolitical realities by giving a voice to less dominant constituencies or supporting the work of NGOs or engaging with civil society. Closely related to research on translation and interpreting in situations of (violent) conflict is the work which takes as its focus the framing and delivery of global news (see Journalism and translation*)

Historical and archival research has also helped to shed light on the role of linguists in the aftermath of war and in post-conflict contexts, and on the ethical and professional challenges that they faced. Historians interested in problematising the intervention of translators and interpreters in situations of armed conflict can also draw on some of the models of translation and interpreting studies. One such research project, carried out in collaboration with the London Imperial War Museum (see Footitt et al. 2012 and 2013), has focused on translators and interpreters in war-torn Europe (1944–47), and has foregrounded the involvement and the agency of linguists in the context of peace-keeping in Bosnia (ibid.).

Researchers have also anchored their work in more linguistic approaches to discourse (for instance Discourse analysis****) and applied their models and frameworks to the exploration of conflict. A contrastive analysis is applied to French translations published in *Le Courrier International* and their Arabic originals which dealt with the topic of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict (see Guidère 2009).

Focus on conflict has also opened new interdisciplinary avenues where language mediation (of which translation and interpreting 'proper' are forms) is interrogated within the context of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction, in terms of military-civilian relations and the identification of different narratives, or with specific reference to communities in crisis, for instance displaced communities or communities dealing with the aftermath of conflict (see for instance, in the UK, the Arts and Humanities Council funded project on Languages and International NGOs: Cultural Knowledge in Communities in Crisis). New interdisciplinary work brings together academics from Linguistics and Conflict Studies as well as conflict resolution practitioners.

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Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies

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1. Introduction

Today Translation Studies and Contrastive Linguistics are considered distinct fields of study because of their different research objects and perspectives: Contrastive Linguistics, which started in 1820 with von Humboldt, focuses on differences between languages both in terms of system and usage, whereas Translation Studies, whose (normative) approach has been traced as far back as Antiquity with Cicero and Horace, describes and explains the typical characteristics, and individual and social functions and contexts of translation products and processes. These narrowly-defined fields of research, both of which developed considerably in the latter decades of the last century, still have one basic element in common: translations, which necessarily arise in the context of two different languages (or language varieties) and are therefore useful data types for both domains. Often, and depending on the focus, questions that attend translation are seen as either translation studies questions or as contrastive linguistic ones. At the same time, however, Translation Studies can be informed by Contrastive Linguistics when describing, explaining and predicting linguistic features of translation products and processes (Section 2); and, vice versa, Contrastive Linguistics can be informed by Translation Studies when describing and hypothesizing about different languages, building on translations and their source texts (Section 3).

The relation between Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies became more explicit with Vinay and Darbelnet's *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais* in 1958. Since the appearance of this study, contributions by Contrastive Linguistics to Translation Studies have been both severely criticized for their neglect of other characteristics that can be called typically translational (Koller 1979: 185) and advocated as something that can provide insights that are mutually profitable (Chesterman 1998; Hatim 1997), as described, for instance, by Laviosa (1998), Malmkjær (1999) and Albrecht (2004). In more recent years, from the early 1990s on, Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies have shared an interest in large sets of multilingual data containing translations, which has led to significant progress in both fields and stimulated cooperation between the two fields (cf. Ramon Garcia 2002). Such cooperation is reflected in a growing number of conferences and journals that explicitly focus on the intersections between Translation Studies and Contrastive Linguistics (Section 4).

2. How Contrastive Linguistics informs and influences Translation Studies

With Vinay & Darbelnet's *Stylistique* in 1958 and Catford's *A linguistic theory of translation* in 1965 (see Linguistics and translation**), which are essentially intuition-based contrastive studies that introduced a new descriptive apparatus for categorising Translation strategies and tactics*, the impact of Contrastive Linguistics on Translation Studies had grown to be such that Catford and other scholars considered Translation Studies a sub-discipline of Contrastive (or Comparative) Linguistics. In other words, contrastive linguistic results affected translation theory and applications, whereas the contribution of Translation Studies to Contrastive Linguistics was limited to the fact that source texts and their translations (translation or parallel Corpora*) were useful tools for scholars working in the field of Contrastive Linguistics.

Under the influence of Polysystem theory*and a Descriptive Translation Studies* approach, many translation studies took a Cultural approach**, and a research agenda was set for empirical**** translation studies to focus on the function and status of target texts in the target cultural system. At the same time, however, with the advent of corpus-based methodology in the 1990s, language-oriented translation scholars started to investigate the specific features of translation corpora compared to original texts immediately written in the target system (comparable corpora). The underlying assumption of this new perspective was that any source language effect on translation will be balanced in large corpora containing translations from various languages. In consequence, translation scholars could devote more attention to identifying the so-called universal features of translation (see Translation universals**), which are not part of original texts but occur in all translated texts, and thus they moved away from specific linguistic systems and Contrastive Linguistics. Nevertheless, their interest in comparable corpora was shared by Contrastive Linguistics, and both fields developed corpus-linguistic methods, whether at building corpora, corpus software development or corpus tools. However, in recent years more and more translation scholars such as Bernardini and Ferraresi (2011) have expressed dissatisfaction with this approach, which has led to a revaluation of contrastive linguistic information as one of many factors that shape translations (De Sutter et al. 2012).

Next to the theoretical and methodological contributions of Contrastive Linguistics to Translation Studies, language differences and similarities have remained important in Translation didactics* (see also Teaching translation/Training translators***). Not only do traditional top-down methods by means of contrastive grammars and handbooks acquaint translation trainees with the different linguistic conventions of the source and target languages, new bottom-up methods, such as the use of bilingual – and translational – corpora in the classroom, have proven to be very effective in the acquisition of translation expertise (Bowker 1998).

3. How Translation Studies informs and influences Contrastive Linguistics

Translations (as a data type) and Translation Studies (as a field) have been important for Contrastive Linguistics both empirically, conceptually and theoretically. First, translations and their source texts have provided important data for contrastive linguists to describe linguistic differences and similarities, both as a system and in usage: they constitute a multilingual set of data with the unique property that the data are considered 'equivalent' for a variety of parameters (semantic content, topic, register, genre, etc.). Second, translations have been used by contrastive linguists as a tool to tackle the intricate issue of the tertium comparationis or invariant, i.e. the independent property that is shared by the elements that are assumed to have a relationship in the two languages that are compared. After all, before contrastive linguists can start comparing specific aspects of languages, they first have to determine whether the morphemes, lexemes, grammatical or textual structures under scrutiny have the same meaning or function (i.e. whether they are equivalent, see Equivalence***). In order to find out which elements are cross-linguistically equivalent, contrastive linguists have often resorted to translations and accepted translation equivalence as the most easily accessible frame of reference, the underlying assumption being that translations show which elements are commonly associated with each other across languages, with many possibly confounding factors (e.g. topic, genre, and semantic content) being stable.

The third respect in which Translation Studies influenced Contrastive Linguistics is situated at a more theoretical level. Whereas many contrastive linguists consider the translation part of a corpus as representative for that language in general, many researchers have warned against such over-generalisation (e.g. Johansson 2007: 5), because translations may exhibit features that are specific for translation as a mediated communication event. These features can be due to source language interference or a tendency to normalise language behaviour, to name Toury's two exemplary laws of translation. To deal with this potential translation effect, contrastive linguists combine the parallel (or translation) corpora with comparable corpora, which also have sets of original texts. In this way, contrastive linguists can distinguish between similarities and differences that are due to the translational process and those that are contrastive linguistic in nature. Pioneering work was done when the English-Norwegian Parallel Corpus was compiled (Johansson 2007), and other, more recent examples of this type of corpora are the CROCO-corpus (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2012) and the Dutch Parallel Corpus (Macken et al. 2011).

4. Translation Studies and Contrastive Linguistics as cooperative fields

The tendencies in the areas mentioned above clearly reflect increasing mutual cross-fertilization of the two fields. In fact, findings in Contrastive Linguistics can predict those passages that will yield Translation problems**. Translation scholars can verify such predictions and describe translators' solutions: Translation Studies can formulate hypotheses about the Translation process* and its products such as translation solutions including shifts. Contrastive Linguistics gathers new insights from translations for the description of similarities and differences between languages or for the description of monolingual language use, whether in the source or the target language. Translation Studies describes the extent to which translated language differs from the target language and formulates hypotheses about general tendencies, while Contrastive Linguistics enquires into the influence of translationese on the language system of the target language, extending into the larger field of general linguistics by taking a developmental approach to language contact and language change.

The broad questions above are usually narrowed down in terms of one or more particular linguistic or text-linguistic features. The results are usually restricted to textual features and cover the lexicons/terminologies of source and target languages (borrowings/loans/calques, word clusters, collocations, colligation, semantic preference and semantic prosody, lexical density, etc.), their grammars (word formation, diminutives, grammatical metaphors, motion verbs, progressive verb constructions, passives, existential constructions, causative constructions, etc.) and discourse issues (cohesion, information density and distribution, reformulation markers, deixis, moves, etc.). Very few studies adopt a semantic or pragmatic approach, except for phenomena such as functional correspondences, polysemy and explicitness. In recent years, more attention has also been paid to the particularities of text types and their translations: technical texts, business texts, scientific texts, or judgements, and the roles that these texts play in their particular situations (see also Genre, text-types and translation****).

The increasing strength of cooperation between Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies can be observed in many contrastive linguistic and translation studies, but it has also become apparent in the increasingly institutionalised framing of the interface between both fields, as can be seen in the mission statements of academic journals (e.g. *Languages in Contrast*) and international academic conferences, such as Using Corpora in Contrastive and Translation Studies (UCCTS). In 2013, UCCTS3 was organised in combination with the biannual International Contrastive Linguistics Conference, thereby stressing the growing interest in cooperation between both fields.

At the same time, recent technological developments in translation practice may bring about changes in the future relation between Contrastive Linguistics and

Translation Studies. The use of corpora and the implementation of different Quality* benchmarks that are becoming essential in translation practice may lead to an increasing use of Contrastive Linguistics knowledge by translation practitioners, which may again be relativized in view of the importance of statistical machine translation that does not involve the implementation of linguistic rules. One journal has already addressed the issue of bringing together the fields of Contrastive Linguistics, Translation Studies and Machine Translation*, i.e. *TC3*, *Computation, Corpora, Cognition*, in its special issue in 2012, which aimed at cross-fertilisation between the three fields.

If there has been a love-hate relationship between Contrastive Linguistics and Translation Studies, it can perhaps be characterised as the young fraternal struggle for independence between two communities of researchers: one focussing on language and linguistic competence, the other on translation and translation Competence* as something distinct from linguistic competence. The relationship between both areas has now taken the form of mutual recognition, with each recognizing the value of and insights gained by the other. Mason, for instance, points out that "if we are to study and adequately describe translator behaviour as a distinct behaviour, it will surely be useful to have evidence of non-translational language behaviour as a yardstick against which we can measure the very specificity of the translator's action" (Mason 2001: 69). As long as verbal communication in different languages remains a human feature, it will not be possible to set up a fully-fledged theory of translation without the aid of Contrastive Linguistics. By the same token, the interdisciplinary*** character of Translation Studies will necessarily involve other domains of knowledge, such as philosophy, literature, sociology, history, economics, media studies, etc. In addition, if the Contrastive Linguistics approach drawn on by Translation Studies scholars is not limited to form-based issues only, the resulting studies could offer new conceptual insights that will be valuable in terms of revealing unknown general features of translation, find their application in the translation industry and be incorporated in cultural macroscopic approaches in Translation Studies.

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Creativity

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As many scholars have observed, the status of translation has long suffered from being considered derivative, by contrast with 'original' literary writing, which is considered to be creative. Indeed, the importance of the concept of creativity to Translation Studies is partly due to its use by scholars and critics with a view to improving the status of translation by showing that it is, indeed, "creative". Several different approaches have been adopted. Some scholars have focused on fields of translation activity in which creativity is generally supposed to be important, such as Literary translation**, Poetry translation**, the translation of wordplay** and, more recently, transcreation, adaptation* and multimodal translation (see Multimodality and audiovisual translation****). There have been studies of the work of writers, such as Samuel Beckett, Joseph Brodsky or James Joyce, who translate their own work. This Self-translation* is perceived by some critics as intrinsically more creative than translation 'proper', just as writers who translate have often been analysed as using Translation strategies and tactics* which differ from those of professional translators. Some scholars have argued that creativity is an intrinsic part of the translating process. Creativity is understood by others as a choice on the translator's part, a function of the translator's agency (see also Agents of translation**), and therefore paradoxically something which potentially sets (creative) writing and translation apart from translation "proper". Eugenia Loffredo and Manuela Perteghella have usefully pointed out that distinctions between 'original' and 'derivative' writing are themselves cultural constructs and increasingly untenable in a postmodern critical era (2006: 3–6); if translation is a mode of writing, then it cannot be separated from the broader concept of literary writing itself: both are 'creative writing'.

As we can already see, creativity has proven a rather slippery concept for translation scholars. Much work which invokes the concept does so without an explicit definition, or invokes the complexity of the concept as a way of avoiding the necessity for definitions. References to creativity tend to presuppose the existence of a *tertium comparationis*, a literal translation against which non-literal translation strategies can be labeled as creative.[1] As Michel Ballard has observed, "l'idéal conscient or inconscient de l'équivalence est le littéralisme. C'est par rapport au mot pour mot, au calque des structures, que le traducteur conscient s'est défendu et justifié tout au cours de l'histoire de sa fonction" [the conscious or unconscious ideal of equivalence is literalism. It is in relation to word for word [translation], to the calque of structures, that the conscious translator has defended and justified himself throughout the history of his practice] (Ballard 1997: 90). The result of such a state of affairs is that creativity becomes linked with the general concept of translation shifts. So Georges Bastin (2003: 348, emphasis added) speaks of "la réexpression, la reformulation idiomatique, fonctionnelle, *donc non littérale, donc creative*" [re-expression, reformulation [that is] idiomatic, functional, therefore non-literal, therefore creative]. For Margherita Ulrych, in a similar vein, (2003: 137) creativity in translation is manifested when translators "make the necessary changes […] to compensate and account for cross-cultural differences pertaining to genre".

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[1] Cf. Gideon Toury's use of the invariant of comparison (cited in Hermans 1999: 56–57). I am indebted to Alice Colombo for this point.

This approach is strongly articulated in corpus-based and process research. Mona Baker (1996: 179) argues for the study of creativity as an important justification for corpus-based research:

> One of the main reasons we want to study the patterning of any kind of language or text production, including translation, is that patterns are the backdrop against which creativity can take shape: norms enable the creative use of language and identifying them allows us not only to capture universal features of translation, and hence understand translation as a phenomenon in its own right, but […] also […] to make sense of the individual example […].

Baker and other scholars have done extensive work on translators' style using a corpus analysis approach which allows for comparison of linguistic behaviour in translated and non-translated texts. Style is related to, but distinguished from, creativity; it is defined as 'the manner of expression that is typical of a translator, […] the translator's characteristic use of language, his or her individual profile of linguistic habits, compared to other translators" (Baker 2000: 245).

There is a tension between scholars who see creativity as the bread-and-butter of translation – in other words, a basic requirement for effective translation production – and scholars who see it as something which exceeds everyday translation practice. Dorothy Kenny's 2001 study identifies source-text lexical creativity as "unconventional, or text-specific, lexical features in source-language texts" (2001: 111) and target-language creativity as the ability to avoid normalisation, defined as drawing on "more conventional target language resources" (ibid.). Here creativity is about practical problem-solving to produce adequate translations. By contrast, Gerrit Bayer-Hohenwarter (2009: 40) gives several definitions of creativity or "translational novelty" which form a cline of innovativeness from humdrum "non-obligatory translational shifts" to manifestations of "exceptional performance that considerably exceeds translational routine". The notion of creativity as involving choice on the translator's part depends heavily on the fact that the term "translation" continues to be understood in a restrictive sense as "synonymous with transcoding, word for word" (Gambier & Gottlieb 2001: x). But as concepts of translation become enlarged (see e.g. functional, pragmatic and sociological approaches) and move away from equivalence-based models, it becomes easier to see translation as inherently creative. As Michel Ballard points out, "la réécriture à l'aide d'une autre langue suppose des écarts ou des transformations qui font partie d'un acte de creation" [rewriting with the help of another language implies shifts or transformations which are part of a creative act] (1997: 86).

Paul Kussmaul, who has done some of the most extensive work on creativity and translation, draws on Poincaré's four phases of creative processes: preparation, incubation, illumination and evaluation (Kussmaul 1991: 93) to argue for making translation students "more aware of what goes on in their minds during the creative process". A key question is: can creativity be learnt? A number of scholars, including Wolfram Wilss (1996: 168) believe it can:

> Translation creativity is not an inborn faculty, but the result of a protracted learning process in the course of which 'dumb' capacities are made smarter with the aim of successful interaction of the translator with the surrounding textual environment. It is the burden of translation teaching to develop raw intellectual capacities into some sort of translator behaviour that can function properly in a wide range of translation situations.

In one of the most interesting reflections on translators' creativity, Douglas Robinson (1998) underlines the importance of Kussmaul's work in arguing for training in divergent thinking among students in all areas of translation:

> Even in technical translations, traditionally thought of as the least creative realm of professional translation, the translator may well profit from a brainstorming technique involving divergent thinking and wild imagination – when faced by a truculent syntactic structure, for example.

Robinson believes that the emphasis in translator training has been much too strongly on equivalence, that "the traditional focus on normative structures of equivalence has stifled translators' creativity" and created a "demoralising pedagogy" (ibid.). Robinson reads many of the standard translation techniques, including literalism, transliteration, calque and fluency, as "timid practices designed to protect the translator from attack" and his comments that the emphasis on such techniques over "'maverick' creative solutions" has militated against developing translators' skills in this area, while provocative, strike a chord. His statements, made in 1998, do not of course take into account the many publications on translation creativity with a pedagogical focus which have appeared since then, and which may go some way towards remedying what he calls the "deficit model of translation".

Other scholars concur with Robinson's view, for instance by arguing that students of translation should also take classes in creative writing. This potentially evokes a return of literature to the translation classroom. Although literary texts are by no means the only texts which prompt creative responses, they are an important resource for promoting student creativity and language sensitivity. As Michael Holman and Jean Boase-Beier (1999), among others, argue, literary texts feature complex constraints which can also act as a catalyst for ingenuity in translating.

Given the nature of the contracts which translators sign and the (sometimes unspoken) assumptions about the limits of properly 'translational' activity, it may be worth asking the question: who has the right to be creative? Clive Scott has observed that "while the evidence of practice makes creativity unproblematic when we consider the author-translator, we are confronted by a tangle of controversy when it comes to identifying and locating creativity in the conduct of the translator-translator" (Scott 2000: ix). One result of the deeply embedded perception of translation as a derivative rather than a creative activity has been a perhaps rather disproportionate interest in translations by translators who are also authors in their own right, at the expense of the study of the work of "professional" translators.

We might sum up by asking: is creativity something which operates over and above what 'normally' happens in translation? This would call for a definition which, in turn, exceeds the 'translation' concept. I do not believe so. Creativity is most usefully defined as something which happens in translation and is demanded of translators. It is, arguably, unhelpful to define it too closely. Bearing in mind that we are talking about its use in scholarly discourse rather than in general discourse, nevertheless it is clear that evaluations of translation and creativity tend to be made intuitively.

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Discourse analysis

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In his introductory chapter to the two volumes of *Discourse Studies,* van Dijk spoke of the "ubiquitous presence of the term 'discourse' in the humanities, the social sciences and even in the mass media" (van Dijk 1997: 1), also pointing out that the "notion of discourse is essentially fuzzy" (ibid). This fuzziness is reflected in diverse definitions and also in a variety of analytical methods. This also holds true for the way discourse analysis has been incorporated in Translation Studies.

1. Discourse and discourse analysis

The term 'discourse' is essentially linked to Applied Linguistics to refer to investigations of language in use, in contrast to the traditional structural linguistics which focused on language as a system. Discourse has variously been defined in a wider or a narrower sense. The term has sometimes been used to describe oral communication and thus set apart from the term 'text' for written communication. For oral communication, discourse analysis has investigated communicative behaviour in, for example, teacher-student or doctor-patient interaction, identifying turn-taking mechanisms, face-work, etc. In the wider sense, 'discourse' has been used as an umbrella term for both text and talk to signal commonalities beyond one individual text. Such common features can be related to text typologies and genres (see Genres, text-types and translation****), or to a specific author (e.g. the discourse of Margaret Thatcher), or to a specific field (e.g. the discourse of medicine), or to a common topic or ideology*** (e.g. the discourse of feminism, the discourse of terrorism, the discourse of the far-right). In this context, discourse usually includes various genres.

Discourse as a form of verbal interaction, as an actual instance of communication, is meaningful in a specific context of situation (and in culture). Discourse analysis as the examination of the structure and function of language in use thus involves the analysis of context and participants. Halliday's work on systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Halliday 1978), which is based on a view of language as social semiotic, forms the basis for a large area of discourse analysis. For other scholars, influenced by Foucault (e.g. 1972), 'discourses' "are conventional ways of talking that both create and are created by conventional ways of thinking. These linked ways of talking and thinking constitute ideologies (sets of interrelated ideas) and serve to circulate power in society"

(Johnstone 2002: 3). Discourse analysis thus goes beyond the linguistic aspect and aims at revealing patterns of belief, patterns of habitual action, and social roles and power relations. Such aspects are also the focus of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA, e.g. Fairclough 1995) which sees discourse as social practice and has a special interest in revealing the discursive (re)production of power and social inequality.

2. Methods of discourse analysis

As van Dijk (2008: 2) argues, "discourse analysis is not a method but rather a domain of scholarly practice", and he suggests to speak of Discourse Studies rather than of Discourse Analysis (although Discourse Analysis is more widely used). Within this domain, scholars have used a variety of methods, depending on the aims of investigation. In examining structures and functions of language in use, scholars have conducted grammatical and syntactic analyses, pragmatic analyses of speech acts, analyses of specific genres, conversation analyses in oral interaction, analyses of relationships of various features in multimodal discourse, etc. Or as Johnstone (2002: 8) says: "the basic question a discourse analyst asks is 'Why is this text the way it is? Why is it no other way? Why are these particular words in this particular order?'" A CDA perspective, by extension, would add questions such as 'What does the structure of an individual text reveal about the wider discourse? How do texts and discourse reflect social structures and power?' etc.

In order to find answers to their research questions, discourse analysts work with actual instances of discourse, which are most frequently referred to as 'texts' (this use of 'discourse' and 'text' as synonyms contributes to the fuzziness of the notion, as said above). These 'texts' can be written documents, transcripts of oral talk, audio- or videotaped material, on-line communication, etc. In investigating the structure and function(s) of text and discourse in context, discourse analysts also use concepts (e.g. cohesion, coherence, speech act, genre, style, rhetorical purpose, transitivity) that have their origin in other sub-disciplines of Applied Linguistics, such as text linguistics, pragmatics, stylistics, rhetorics.

3. Discourse and discourse analysis in Translation Studies

Translation is often defined as an act of communication across linguistic and cultural boundaries, or as interlingual and intercultural communication, as text-production for addressees in a new cultural context. Translation typically involves two texts in two languages, which represent language in use and in context. Based on this view, concepts and methods of discourse analysis have been found useful for Translation

Studies*. Methods of discourse analysis in the oral sense have been used in Interpreting Studies*as well, most notably by Wadensjö (1998) for investigating public service interpreting as discourse (see also Community interpreting*), analysing turn-taking mechanisms and strategies of footing, thus highlighting how the triadic nature of the exchange influences the communicative interaction. Similarly incorporating concepts from discourse analysis and pragmatics, Hale (1997) and Mason & Stewart (2001) investigated politeness and face work in Court interpreting*** settings.

There is, however, a larger body of literature illustrating the use of discourse analysis for translation research. Since discourse can be a synonym to text, and text linguistics can be a synonym to discourse analysis, all work done on text types and genres within Translation Studies can by extension be given as examples. For a theoretical and methodological framework, translation scholars frequently draw on Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Hatim & Mason 1997; Trosborg 2002; Munday 2012) and the text linguistic model of de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) with its standards of textuality (e.g. Neubert & Shreve 1992). Some researchers compared specific genres cross-culturally in order to identify genre conventions and draw conclusions for translation purposes (e.g. Göpferich 1995; Colina 1997). Others investigated the functioning of speech acts (e.g. requests, apologies) or politeness phenomena across languages and cultures to reflect on implications of cultural differences for foreign language learning and for translation (e.g. Kussmaul 1990; House 1998). Other research investigated specific features, such as discourse markers, theme-rheme progression, connectors, rhetorical devices, lexical repetition, particles of domain-specific discourse (e.g. political discourse, scientific discourse, legal discourse, media discourse, academic discourse), involving various genres (e.g. Steiner 1998; the chapters in the edited volume by Trosborg 2000). Such descriptive research was often aimed at identifying patterns in actual translation practices (e.g. shifts in coherence and cohesion, Blum-Kulka 2004, shifts in transitivity, Calzada Pérez 2007). Findings of such discourse analysis studies are also used to check that specific discourse features and/or genre conventions are adequately handled in translation, which is of particular relevance if these features function in significantly different ways in the two languages and cultures concerned.

(Contrastive) discourse analysis and/or cross-cultural pragmatics, sometimes combined with corpus-based studies, have also been used to make predictions about what translators could or should do. Such predictions often have pedagogical implications, and there is a body of literature illustrating how discourse analysis can be made useful for the teaching of translation and/or for translation evaluation** and assessment (e.g. House 1997; Kim 2007; Colina 1997; see also Teaching translation/Training translators***). Whereas most of the scholars deal with specific discourse features (either in the analysis of authentic translations or from a cross-cultural or discourse comparative perspective), there are a few publications in which a systematic discourse analytical model is presented in more detail and then applied to texts for illustrative purposes (especially Hatim & Mason 1997; Hatim 2009; Trosborg 2002; House 1997). These models, despite minor differences, are all influenced predominantly by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics and combine the concept of discourse with the concepts of register, genre, and text.

Halliday's main interest is in investigating how language is used to construe meaning as people interact in a specific situational and cultural context. The language used, and thus the features of a text, are derived from the features of the situation in which it is used. The immediate situational context which accounts for language variation is referred to as 'register', described by three areas of contextual activity: what is actually taking place, the event and subject matter (field), who is taking part, the type of interpersonal role interactions (tenor), and the role language is playing, the channel (written or spoken). Field, tenor and mode collectively make up the register membership of a text, and they are related to three meta-functions: field to the ideational function, tenor to the interpersonal function, and mode to the textual function. The expression of content constitutes the ideational function, the way language is used to encode and present our experience of the world (reflected, for example, in nominalisation, transitivity, frames). The role relationship between sender and receiver (status, level of formality) as influencing language choice constitutes the interpersonal function. The textual function refers to the linguistic realisation of mode, and comprises aspects of textuality such as cohesion, thematic organisation, text types (e.g. expository, argumentative). Genres are defined through the overall communicative purpose of the interaction and are thus super-ordinate to register features. Genres as conventionalised communicative events are culture-specific.

For Hatim & Mason, Trosborg, and House, the text as an individual, concrete occurrence is the unit of discourse analysis, and 'discourse' indicates a higher level which involves regular patterns in the use of language by social groups in areas of socio-cultural activity. Trosborg (2002) presents her approach, based on Halliday's register analysis and on Swales' genre analysis (e.g. Swales 1990), as a model of pre-translational text analysis in a training context. Using a concrete text, she illustrates how the three metafunctions are realized in features of the language used, such as lexical chains or metaphors for the ideational function, the level of formality or grammatical complexity for the interpersonal function, and cohesion or thematic progression for the textual function. Translation decisions as to what should be kept in the target text and what changes should be made are to be taken on the basis of such a detailed analysis and in view of the translation brief. House too argues that systemic functional linguistics is relevant to translation quality assessment, and she uses Halliday's categories of field, tenor and mode for a comparative analysis of original and translation. In her model, the ideational and the interpersonal functional components are to be kept equivalent in translation, which may require changes on the level of text and register to account for culture-specific discourse preferences.

The main aim of Hatim and Mason (1997) is to develop a unifying approach by which all the diverse forms, modes, and fields of translating and interpreting can be explained. They start from a register analysis perspective, analysing field, tenor and mode through the realizations of ideational, interpersonal and textual functions in source texts and target texts. In their more recent work, they have extended their discourse analytic approach to reflect on aspects of agency and ideology. Hatim (2009: 37) argues that "situational appropriateness established by registers, together with textual well-formedness, generic integrity and a discourse perspective, may more helpfully be seen as layer upon layer of 'socio-textual practice'". Speaker's attitudes are conveyed in and through discourse, and texts thus become vehicles for the expression of ideology and power relations. Or, "[f]eatures of texts thus conspire with discursive practices and collectively act on society and culture" (Hatim 2009: 49). Textual features concern ideational choices (e.g. in the linguistic system of transitivity, passivisation), interpersonal choices (e.g. in the linguistic systems of mood and modality), and in the way the text is structured through mode (e.g. suppressed agency).

Any shifts in register, text or genre that occur in translation therefore inevitably involve discourse. This is illustrated, for example, by Mason (2009) who investigates the traces of systematic ideological shifts in the language used in a text about Mexican history and its translation. His analysis reveals that the source and target texts express two very different world views and ideologies. Similarly, Munday (2012) investigates the linguistic signs of a translator's intervention and evaluation shifts. His discourse analytical model is amended by the addition of appraisal theory, which describes components of a speaker's attitude, the strength of that attitude, and speaker's engagement. He illustrates how such an approach can uncover values inserted into a text by the translator or interpreter and also identify those points in a text that have most evaluative potential.

In sum: Discourse analysis has been used as a method for conducting a detailed pre-translational source text analysis, as a method for identifying culture-specific genre conventions, as a method of comparing source texts and target texts with a view of assessing their appropriateness and quality, and as a method for uncovering attitudes and ideologies conveyed in translation.

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Empirical approaches

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1. Introduction

Translation Studies has long been dominated by speculative and prescriptive writing, relying on theoretical entities or anecdotal evidence rather than on facts derived from direct experience or systematic observation. Holmes' 'map' of Translation Studies, with its descriptive and applied branches, was developed in the 1970s and is considered by many as the founding statement for the emergent discipline. It was also a reaction against these shortcomings, and aimed to establish the use of the empirical method within Translation Studies (see Munday 2008: Chapter 1.4). Since then, empirical research has become an essential part of the field. Working empirically means analysing problems by means of data rather than relying solely on logical argument. Many researchers therefore make a distinction between empirical approaches on the one hand, and what are either termed non-empirical, semi-empirical, theoretical or rational approaches (for example, hermeneutics*, deconstruction** or postmodernism***) on the other. This dichotomy is, however, debatable, as even empirical research generally is based on theoretical assumptions and/or supposed to develop or refine theories.

There are different ways to categorise empirical research. One is to distinguish between qualitative and quantitative approaches (see Methodology in translation studies**). *Qualitative* research involves the study of a relatively limited number of phenomena: representativeness or generalisation is not its primary concern. Instead, it focusses on achieving an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny, identifying the reasons behind it, and describing it in its complexity. *Quantitative* research, on the other hand, involves the collection and analysis of large data sets, yielding results that provide more focussed information. It aims to say something about how widespread a phenomenon is. Therefore, it generally requires a good knowledge of inferential statistics and of statistical software. Quantitative research has been on the rise in Translation Studies in recent years – most likely also as a result of the research efforts of a new generation of translation scholars with the necessary training in research methodology and quantitative data analysis. Qualitative and quantitative research can be combined in a mixed methods approach: an initial quantitative survey to identify the role played by translation revision** within the overall workflow of the translation production process in translation bureaus in a given country may be followed by qualitative, in-depth interviews with key informants (see also Ethnographic approaches*).

There are many other ways of categorising empirical research (for example, see Breakwell et al. 2006; Coolican 2004; Robson 2002). An adequate and sufficiently detailed categorisation for our purposes is that by Giroux and Tremblay (2009). They identify three basic types of empirical research in human sciences: (1) the enquiry, (2) the experiment, and (3) trace analysis. They further distinguish between the overall research method or design on the one hand, and the research technique on the other. For example, observation – a type of enquiry – is used as the overall *design* when the translation processes of a group of translators are analysed for a specific phenomenon such as the allocation of time to the different phases of the process (reading, writing and revising). Observation is used as a *technique* within an experimental design when the allocation of time to the different phases is studied under two different conditions: one where half of the translators are given access to information sources; the other where no such access is permitted. The three types of empirical research outlined are presented in more detail below.

2. The enquiry

Enquiries gather data by observing behaviour, evaluating opinions or attitudes, and measuring the impact of socio-demographic variables (age, gender, education, professional status, for example). Enquiries can be conducted by means of three data collection techniques: (1) surveys, (2) interviews, and (3) observations.

The *survey* technique can be used in face-to-face settings, by telephone, by post or electronically as online surveys. The latter have the advantage of rendering data collection and analysis relatively efficient in terms of the time and costs required. Online surveys are an interesting tool in Translation Studies, for example, for investigating the reception of translations (see also Reception and translation****). It is indeed still common that studies evaluating specific translations or translation solutions offer only speculation as regards their effect; the researcher's own reaction to the translation often being regarded as prototypical. Online surveys can be used to test the extent to which these conclusions hold when confronted with a larger sample of the readership or audience.

Interviews can be categorised according to their procedure – from the non-directive to the fully structured type – and their setting: either individual or collective. The idea of the latter is to bring together a group of people in order to collect their opinions on a specific matter. Surveys and interviews are research techniques that are widely used in social research. Since the sociological turn of Translation Studies (see Sociology of translation*), they have been employed in our field to investigate issues such as translator status (see Status of translators**), job satisfaction or income, but are probably still less widespread than experimentation (the latter having been the predominant research design in psycholinguistic and Cognitive approaches* to Conference interpreting*) or trace or text analysis in particular. Thus, we might think of a focus group study in which the members of a national association of professional translators meet to discuss compliance with the association's code of ethics or professional practice, to evaluate to what extent the association actively pursues the different actions mentioned in its mission statement, or to assess the benefits the participants believe they get from their membership.

Finally, *observational studies* are conducted to gather data on people's behaviour in relatively unconstrained settings (more or less naturally occurring situations). A great deal of process-oriented translation research (see also Translation process*) has resorted to observation, by means of instruments such as Think-aloud protocols*, keystroke logging or screenshot recording in order to analyse the translator's task definition, problem solving or decision making (see Hansen 2013 for an overview). In contrast to the experiment, no independent variable is manipulated in observational research designs. Therefore, enquiries do not permit the establishment of a causal direction between two variables with confidence, but only the existence of a relationship between a phenomenon and possible influencing factors.

3. The experiment

An experiment tests the effect of one variable on another variable. Its two essential features are the random allocation of participants to conditions and full control over the manipulation of the independent variable (Coolican 2004: 98). Many empirical studies of translation lack one of these features, and can therefore be regarded as quasi-experiments, naturalistic designs or *ex post facto* research. However, Breakwell et al. (2006: 92) rightly point out that the latter can be used to test the practical importance of laboratory-based experimental findings. Group difference studies are an example of a quasi-experiment, where members of one group, defined by certain characteristics, are compared with members of another group (Coolican 2004: 101). In empirical translation research, quasi-experiments have been used to compare the processes or performances of groups of people with different amounts of experience of translation, such as trainee translators and professional translators. Different types of data collection techniques are used within experimental designs, such as observations, pre- or post-experimental questionnaires, or retrospective interviews. An excellent example of a mixed methods study with an overall (quasi-)experimental design, is Robert's (2012) research on translation revision.

Recent developments in experimental Translation Studies include the use of psychophysiological techniques, such as the measurement of eye movements (electrooculography). Eye-tracking can be employed as a data collection technique in Audiovisual translation* research. In a mixed methods design, one might think of a study in which participants initially answer a questionnaire with open-ended questions on the use they (claim to) make of subtitles*, prior to viewing a series of movie excerpts on a computer screen under two different conditions: one with subtitles, one without. Such a study would allow the investigation of the extent to which the use movie viewers claim to make of subtitles actually corresponds to reality.

4. Trace analysis

Trace analysis (see also Corpora*) refers to the analysis of data not collected by the researcher himself or herself but already available. The classic example in Translation Studies is the analysis of a translation with its source text. However, many other types of analyses are possible. Reiss (1981) mentions the following:

1. Intralingual translation analysis: This involves the comparison of two texts in a translation relationship with each other within the same language, such as the translation of a text written in dialect into standard language or the adaptation of a specialised text for laypersons.
2. Interlingual translation analysis: Two types of analyses are possible, namely (a) the comparison of a single translation with its source text – the prototype of empirical translation research – either from a descriptive perspective or as a form of translation criticism; or (b) the comparison of several successive versions of a translation done by one and the same translator, or of several translations by different translators, with the source text.
3. Multilingual translation analysis: Here, translations in different languages of one and the same source text are compared with each other and with the source text. A specific case of multilingual translation analysis is the analysis of indirect or Relay translations***. Of course, the more languages involved, the higher the requirements on the researcher's linguistic competence.

Moreover, in order to get a better understanding of the translator's decision making, it may be necessary to take into account the paratext**. Genette (1997: 1–5) defines the paratext as material that accompanies the main text and influences the reading process. He distinguishes on the one hand elements around the text and within the same volume (title, cover, foreword, footnotes, or the *peritext*); and, on the other hand, those elements outside the text (interviews, letters, diaries, or the *epitext*). This type of trace analysis may require archival research, such as access to a publishing house's archive to trace documents (correspondence, bills, etc.) telling the researcher something about the relationship between publisher, author and translator during the production process of a book. Along with manuscript research investigating the translator's decision making, archival research is underexploited in Translation Studies, as Munday (2013) rightly points out. The combined use of translation analysis and archival research is an example of triangulation (the use of different data sources), which is considered to enhance the validity of the findings and at the same time reduce "*inappropriate certainty*" (Robson 2002: 370; italics in the original) by the researcher.

Another type of trace analysis is the use of statistical records. The *Index Translationum*, for example, contains a large variety of statistical information: the evolution of translation in a given country, the authors most translated for a given original language, or the languages most translated to a given target language. Such records could be used in a second step for statistical tests, such as for investigating to what extent there are significant differences in translation activity between different countries, or regarding different languages and authors.

5. Summary

Gile (2009: 36) argues that poor research – research which does not comply with the fundamental rules of the scientific method – is still frequent in Translation Studies. I believe its proportion among the total output of empirical research in Translation Studies is rapidly declining. There is a growing awareness among translation researchers of the importance of giving serious thought to what they are doing, how and why; taking into account and accepting divergent findings; and following a code of conduct for research – in other words, working systematically, sceptically, and ethically (Robson 2002: 18). The fact that courses in epistemology, research methodology and statistics have been introduced at different levels in translator training worldwide has certainly played a major role in this development.

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English as a lingua franca and translation

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One of the most influential developments in the worldwide use of languages today is the spread of English in many contexts and genres worldwide. This situation also has consequences for translation. A recent breakdown by source languages presented by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) (2009) shows that as many as 72.5 % of source texts translated by the DGT (including those originating outside the Commission) were drafted in English, not by native speakers of English, but by speakers of English as a lingua franca (ELF). What this surge in ELF texts means for translation and for translators is a field of inquiry that is as yet rarely taken up (for an exception see Taviano 2010). But let us first look at what ELF actually is.

1. What is English as a lingua franca?

The term 'lingua franca' is often said to derive from Arabic *lisan al farang,* (literally 'the Italian language'). In its original meaning, the term referred to an intermediary language used by speakers of Arabic to communicate with travellers from Western Europe. It was spoken along the South-Eastern coast of the Mediterranean between the 15th and the 19th century and consisted of elements and structures of different origins. Different lingua francas certainly existed before this time; but they were not labelled 'lingua franca'. The meaning of the term 'lingua franca' was later extended to describe a language of commerce in general, a rather stable variety with little room for individual variation. As a mixed contact language, a lingua franca is more or less neutral, since it does not belong to any national language, national language community or national territory. One of the historically most important lingua francas is Latin during the Roman Empire, a language that survived for a long time afterwards as a language of science and religion. More recently, French was also used as a lingua franca with status as the language of European royalty, aristocracy and diplomacy. Other kinds of lingua francas are artificially constructed systems, the most well-known being Esperanto.

At present, English is without doubt the most important lingua franca in the world – a new and truly global phenomenon (cf. e.g. Crystal 2003). ELF is characterized by its great variability. It is *not* a fixed code, and it cannot be captured with reference to certain formal characteristics, rather it is a kind of 'open-source phenomenon', a resource available for whoever wants to take advantage of the virtual English language, on which ELF is based. ELF is negotiated *ad hoc* varying according to context, speaker constellation and communicative purpose. While clearly based on English, ELF tends to be full of interlingual and intercultural adaptations*, with the result that it typically contains elements from different lingua-cultures, and fulfils many different functions ranging from simple small talk to highly complex arguments. Why English, and not any other widely spoken language should have turned into a global lingua franca, is easily explained: the former world-spanning British Empire, which was replaced after the Second World War by the United States and its current dominant political and economic status have paved the way for ELF's global spread. Another important factor seems to be the recent advances in technology and, with these, the need for fast, efficient communication – preferably in one widely-used language.

Since the prime aim of any lingua franca communication is mutual intelligibility in communication, correctness tends not to be an important criterion (cf. Cogo & Dewey 2012). Equally unimportant in ELF use are Anglo-specific forms such as idioms or other routinized phrases full of insider cultural-historical references based on national tradition, convention or class (cf. Seidlhofer 2011).

ELF can also be regarded as a special type of intercultural communication (House 2011). Since the number of ELF users is now substantially larger than the number of native speakers of English, English in its role as a global lingua franca can be said to be no longer owned by its native speakers. ELF speakers are *per se* multilingual and multicultural speakers, for whom ELF is simply a useful 'Language for Communication', a medium which can be given substance with different national, regional, local and individual cultural identities. As a 'language for communication' (House 2003), ELF does not generally offer itself as a language for emotional identification: users of ELF prefer their own L1 for this purpose. ELF and speakers' L1 are thus in complementary distribution.

Main areas of recent research into ELF include 1. Negotiation of meaning focussing on strategies such as repetition and rephrasing that are used to pre-empt or resolve misunderstanding and non-understanding (cf. House 2010; Mauranen 2012; Cogo & Dewey 2012); 2. Strategic re-interpretation of interactional elements such as discourse markers aiming at managing and co-constructing successful discourse (cf. House 2009a; Mauranen 2009; Baumgarten & House 2010; House 2013); and 3. Exploitation of multilingual resources (particularly code-switching) in order to facilitate a shared sense of non-nativeness in multicultural communities and to enable the collaborative construction of meaning (cf. House 2010).

ELF's 'inherent variability' (Firth 2009) implies that it is much more flexible than other mediums of communication, and that it depends more critically on interlocutors cooperatively co-constructing a shared repertoire.

2. ELF: A threat to multilingual communication and translation?

The global use of ELF has often been criticized as embodying 'linguistic imperialism' and threatening linguistic human rights by preventing people from using their mother tongues. However, when making use of ELF as the language with the currently highest 'linguistic capital', people do know what they are doing, and is an empirical question whether it is the spread of ELF that causes other languages to fall into disuse, or whether other factors are to blame.

That the global use of ELF will eventually 'kill' other languages is unlikely given the complementary distribution of ELF and speakers' native languages. Further, the widespread use of English often strengthens indigenous languages used by speakers for affective and identificatory purposes, and the *Internet*, long assumed to marginalize all languages other than English, now boasts a growing number of different languages.

Does the increasing use of ELF threaten translation? The very same phenomena that have caused ELF to grow have also influenced translation, i.e. globalization* from which ELF profited has also led to a continuing increase in translations worldwide (cf. House 2009b: 79ff). Information distribution via translation today relies heavily on new technologies that promote a worldwide translation industry. It is well-known that translation plays a crucial role in multilingual news writing for international press networks, television channels, the Internet, the World Wide Web, social media, blogs, Wikis etc. Today, the BBC, Al Jazeera International, Russia Today, Deutsche Welle, and many other global and multilingual TV channels heavily rely on messages translated into many different languages (see Journalism and translation*). Translation is of course also essential for global tourist information and for information flow in globalized companies where ELF is now often replaced by native languages (see Commercial translation*). Further, there is a growing demand for translation in localization*industries. Software localization covers diverse industrial, commercial and scientific activities ranging from CD productions, engineering, testing software applications to managing complex team projects simultaneously in many countries and languages. Translations are needed in all of these. In order to make a product available in many different languages it must be localized via translation. Producing a localized, translated, version of a product is essential for opening up new markets, as immediate access to information about a product in a local language increases its demand. An important off-shoot is the design of localized advertising, again involving massive translation activity. Translation can thus be said to lie at the very heart of the global economy today: it tailors products to meet the needs of local markets everywhere in processes of globalization.

Translation is also increasingly propelled by the World Wide Web*, whose development has spread the need for translation into e-commerce globalization.

Another important factor contributing to the growing importance of translation is e-learning. The expansion of digital industries centered around e-learning and other education forms spread over the Web in many different languages again shows the intimate link between translation and today's global economy. In sum, globalization has led to a veritable explosion of demand for translation. Translation is an integral part of the global capitalist consumer-oriented and growth-fixated economy. ELF, another important part of that economy, co-exists with translation and cannot be said to threaten it.

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Genres, text-types and translation

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In order to decide what we will see, read or buy, we tend to categorize all the communicative events, to classify a given verbal production in a given genre. All the disciplines, e.g. literary studies, history of arts, film studies, linguistics, and information sciences, resort to the concept of genre or type. Translation Studies (TS) has not escaped from the need to define genres and text-types. The distinction between the two concepts is not new and remains problematic, even if, in a simplistic way, we could say genres are socially oriented and text-types are linguistically marked.

1. Genres

In a bookstore or a library, volumes are classified in different ways. Books are not characterized there as categories of text or structure but as categories of experience, subject matter, domain of knowledge. If you search for a book in literature, you choose beforehand a genre: action, adventure, comedy, crime, fantasy, romance, science fiction, etc. If you want to go to movies, you select a genre: animation, western, thriller, adventure, etc. If you wish to listen to music, you opt for baroque, rock, folk, blues, etc.

The concept of genre was initially restricted to folklore studies and literature but it has been widened to refer to non-literary genres, in research on Discourse Analysis****, LSP (Language for Specific Purposes) and TS. Bhatia (2004) has expanded the genre framework to cover legal and commercial professions and has addressed the theoretical problem created by the complexity and diversity of professional genres: in real life, genres are very often mixed, hybrid. These conventional forms or genres are often associated with a particular situation of use, social occasion, e.g. the code of criminal procedure with a trial; an order and a job application fulfill also a social task in themselves. They are dynamic constructs and by no means fixed or stable categories. They change over time and across cultures while at the same time they continue to be "recognized" as "genres" (Frow 2005). Security documents, legal case reports, instruction manuals and partnership agreements may be regulated by normative rules, while some corporate texts, sale brochures, annual reports may be subject to variation.

2. Specialization and training

In the 1980s, when training translators was becoming an important issue, pragmatic or non-literary translation was differentiated from literary translation. Then, specialized translation was used in many curricula, with different meanings, referring to academic disciplines (as subject-matter) or to methods, tools (translating patents, instructions for use, safety regulations), or to special language texts (research papers on nanotechnology, EU directives in forestry, working papers in biotechnology, procedural texts in institutional documents).

Text-types were not systematically defined nor included in translation pedagogy: functionalism has not yet led the way and text linguistics was not yet familiar in TS. However, almost every specialized translation tried to provide a text typology suitable for its own sake, e.g. in Medical translation**, we had textbooks, research monographs, press articles, testing procedures, leaflets, popularized texts, documents on accident prevention, etc. – mainly based on terminology and textual conventions, or in Legal translation* with contracts, claims, reports and any other legal act (part of Court proceedings). Some studies looked then at Translation problems** caused by different culturally determined conventions and compared, for instance, business letters, work certificates, travel guides, and tourism brochures in different languages (Göpferich 1995). Today, some training programs are mainly based on genres or text-types (translation of scientific, legal, political, literary, promotional texts).

In the 1990s, a corpus-based approach to the Training of translators*** developed new tools to define and analyse styles and genres – for instance by comparing at a linguistic level parallel corpora compiled according to specified design criteria (e.g. an English-Spanish corpus in marketing, English-Spanish biomedical texts, etc.). From that perspective, text-types are defined by their content and their linguistic features through statistical methods – not without a certain circularity (a range of texts is selected for their pre-established genres, and then some features relevant for classification into text-type are determined).

However, we can observe that the distinction between genre and text-type remains vague and there is a constant terminological confusion as to how texts may be referred to. In the German research world, the term *Textsorte* is used in discussing the qualities and especially the structure of professional texts (Gläser 1990). This can be considered to correspond to the term *genre* as used in the Anglophone text-linguistic tradition. In contrast, *texttyp* allows classifying texts on the basis of their internal, linguistic qualities.

3. Text linguistics and text-types

In Text linguistics***, the interdependence between genre and text type is unclear, even when text classification is within a larger framework, such as Systemic Functional

Linguistics (Neumann 2003). Text-type has often been viewed as superordinate to genre, also labelled *text prototype*, *deep structure genre*. In the functionally-oriented definition, text-types are aligned with the Jakobsonian language functions: Werlich (1975) has therefore analysed five text-types based on "dominant contextual focus" (narration, description, exposition, argumentation and instruction); de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) have proposed seven text-types (descriptive, narrative, argumentative, scientific, didactic, literary and poetic); Hatim and Mason (1990: 153–160) have developed for translation purposes three major types (argumentative, expository and instructional); and Adam (1992) has defined five text-types (narration, description, argumentation, explanation and dialogue). Other taxonomies have been suggested, often confounding speech acts with rhetorical strategies and modes of text organization, and forgetting to a certain extent the communicative functions (or purposes).

4. Translation and text-typology

As early as the mid-70s, the classificatory concept enjoyed wide acceptance in TS for at least two reasons:

a. Translators need to understand the working of a specific document in order to adequately apply Translation strategies*. Is the process different if they identify different text-types? What similarities can be observed in the text-types of original and translated texts?
b. Is translator specialization not only conditioned by subject matter, but also by text-type? What are the implications in the training (cf. Section 2)?

Both concerns lead little by little to the communicative functions related to the purpose of texts, opening up the way to Functionalist approaches* and also to the role of translation in accepting new genres in a given target system where needs and conventions govern what happens both in the translating process and in the fate of the translated texts (Trosborg 1997, especially chapters by J. Sager and by C. Nord). The source-text based text typology is valid as long as the function of the target text is the same as that of the original document.

K. Reiss (1971/2000: 24–47; 2013: Chapter 11.12) was one of the first to propose a translation-oriented text classification, with three basic text-types – assigning to each of them a number of *text varieties*, combining contextual and structural features (Reiss 1981):

i. Informative (content-focused type), e.g. press releases, news reports, scientific reports, operating instructions, directions for use, patent specifications, treaties, educational texts, pulp fiction, etc.

ii. Expressive (form-focused type), e.g. essays, biographies, novels, short stories, most of the different forms of poetry, etc.
iii. Operative (appeal-focused type), representing the persuasive function of language, involving a non-linguistic result, e.g. advertising, preaching, satirical poems, propaganda, promotional texts, etc.

Later on, a fourth category was added, which is less content and textual-based than medium-based: audiomedial/multimedial texts, relying on technical media and on graphic, acoustic and visual kinds of expression, e.g. radio/TV scripts, radio news casts, dramatic productions, songs, operas, etc. (see also Multimodality and audiovisual translation****).

Some other classificatory attempts were also suggested based on communicative-functional criteria and always with a top-down approach (e.g. Newmark 1981; Nord 1988/2005). J. House (1997) provided a scheme for analyzing and comparing original and translation, where linguistic/textual features are correlated with situational features.

Trosborg (2000) understands genre as the purpose of an interaction, combining the translation-oriented investigation of genres with Skopos theory. However, texts with the same function can be realized with different types: a medical report and a police report can be informative whereas a book review (a report on a book) can be expressive. And very similar types can be used for texts displaying different textual functions, e.g. consumer advice and contracts can be both operative but serve different purposes.

It is easy at this point to see the shortcomings of text taxonomy (language cannot be reduced to a system of static and clear-cut categories, and text-type is not finally the major determinant of translation strategies and the benchmark for translation quality assessment) and why TS seem to be abandoning the theoretical dilemma with text-types. TS is in this case in line with the general trend in text linguistics. However, new text-types exist with electronic tools and a certain reconceptualization of the notion of text-type does not abandon the problematic, borrowing insights from Speech Act theory and Relevance theory (see e.g. Unger 2006; Tsiplakou & Floros 2013).

5. Text-types and technology

In the previous sections, we did not mention types of text in Conference interpreting*, partly because we referred to written texts to be read and translated. However in Simultaneous interpreting*, B. Alexieva (1994) has suggested a text typology dealing with the code of production (from written texts to improvised speech), the functional content of the source text, the complementary use of language, tables and diagrams, the speaker's command of the source language, and the intertextual relationships between a given text and the other texts of a conference, and also texts referred to in quotations and allusions. The large number of parameters could create a complex typology, useful both for training and evaluating the quality of interpreter performance. The time lag in the output confirms the validity of the different types.

Another field in which text-types could be relevant is the printed and audiovisual media. In newspapers, the informative type is found next to persuasive and expository texts. Audio-description (AD) which transfers images to words and generates an aural target text also raises the question of text-type: what text-type is AD and how can it be related to other text-types in audiovisual translation studies (see also Media accessibility***)?

Indeed, all multi-semiotic texts deserve a thorough investigation: they are dominant in our culture(s) today and question the object of TS which so far has been language-centered. From stage production to Audiovisual translation*, from children's illustrated books to advertisements (printed, TV or video-clips), from tourism brochures to comics, from websites to video games, most texts to be translated/localized are now multi-semiotic texts (Kaindl 2013), with perhaps a key element: rhythm – the rhythm of the original dialogues, the rhythm of the interplay of visual, aural and verbal cues, and the rhythm of the reception by the viewer-reader-listener.

New textual practices can also be observed with information and communication technology, promoting changes in the consumption and distribution of translated/localized texts. Texts are not only becoming more multimodal (using different systems of signs) but also multimedia (using different media, e.g. a press article can be remediated on a website or a smartphone).

Machine translation* (MT) vendors and scholars are also quick to point out that the type of source text can affect the output: literary pieces, such as poetry and metaphors, do not translate well when done by machine. In any case, predictions of the acceptability of the output to a reader-user usually hold across a range of text-types (and target languages) (see already Melby 1993). Therefore, the concept of text typology is not obsolete but must be redefined in new perspectives.

Hypermedia texts on the web offer at least four challenges for any taxonomy:

- the interaction of multimodality and hypertextuality,
- their fluidity,
- their generic hybridity, calling for digital genres,
- and the way they are read (from a slow, meditative reading of printed matters to a fragmented, frenzied reading on screen).

A new media novel can be an assemblage of text, film, music, photography, animation, painting and the spoken word that comes on DVD for reading on a computer. On-line leaflets or public service announcements consist of moving pictures, pictograms, tables, short texts and can inform or influence specific behaviors – e.g. following a healthy diet, getting exercise, or deterring the public from certain behavior, such as excessive drinking or smoking.

6. Conclusion

Function-oriented taxonomical approaches provided a theoretical basis when attempting to understand a text or create a translation. However, we have noted the confusion as to the terminology (genre, text-type, language function, style, field or domain) and the categories used for such taxonomies. One of the reasons is that theorists argue from different perspectives (pragmatics, text linguistics, discourse analysis, pedagogy, contrastive studies, discourse for specific purposes and translation studies) and with different aims (categorizing source texts, finding textual equivalence***, justifying translation strategies or teaching special fields). Another reason is that texts are never clear-cut types. They display features of more than one type. Multifunctionality (more than one purpose) is the rule rather than the exception. Should we have done with text-types? Typologies have been developed in the wake of structural studies of narratives (in the 60–70's) taking advantage of studies in poetics and semiotics of description, in argumentation and explanation.

Our perception and knowledge about text-types and genres are based on a series of prototype features which are more than linguistic: there is a social action, a social demand behind the way we identify and interpret text-types and genres. Perhaps and first of all, we should question our assumptions on text and textuality (Toury 2006: 58–64). From the conventional text as a linear arrangement of sentences or as a sequence of verbal units to the hypertext on the Internet, the concept becomes ambiguous, if not fuzzy. Do literary translators, subtitlers, conference interpreters and localizers refer to the same concept of text? The current perception of *text* concept and text-author-reader-translator relations has itself a dynamic/changing nature in theories of TS.

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Impact of translation

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In his speech at the Nobel banquet in Stockholm, the 2012 laureate of the Nobel Prize in literature paid tribute to his translators. Without them "there would be no world literature," Mo Yan said, "[their] work is a bridge that helps people to understand and respect each other" (Mo Yan 2012).

Most notable among the translators referred to in this speech is Howard Goldblatt. Considered to be the foremost Chinese-English translator in the world, Goldblatt has translated over fifty books, including most of Mo Yan's novels, and has edited several anthologies of Chinese writings. In this case, the role of the translator is all the more significant as the coveted prize was awarded to Mo Yan, at least in part, because Goldblatt submitted a letter of nomination to the Nobel Prize committee whose members did not read Chinese.

While this is indeed a striking testimony to the impact of translation, repercussions of this nature are not new. Translation* has existed for millennia, likely as long as the written word itself. Bilingual vocabularies in the ancient Sumerian and Eblaite languages were inscribed in cuneiform script on clay tablets dating back some 4,500 years, attesting to one of the earliest forms of translation. As long as people speaking different languages have come in contact with one another, translation and its oral form, interpretation, have been required for communication and exchange across cultures. Not only does the practice of translation have a long history, translators and translations have been instrumental in bringing about vital change in a broad range of endeavours, over time and across geographic areas.

The impact has generally been positive, although, with the passage of time and change in perspectives, certain consequences of translation have been re-evaluated. As we shall see later, some have come to be viewed less favourably, and are even seen to be negative or deleterious. These shifting assessments are reflected in metaphorical language used to describe translation. The trope of the "bridge," used by Mo Yan in his Nobel speech, has been a commonplace in documenting communication across linguistic communities, described as such by historians of translation, translation scholars and practitioners reflecting on their own work. Owing to inequities among linguistic groups, however, there is not always this kind of symmetry. Instead, we find references to other relationships: "metaphorically speaking, most instances of translation are not so much bridges between languages as slippery slopes or steep hills …" (Grutman 2013: 200).

Translation has played a central role in the sphere of religions (see Religious translation*). Broadly speaking, religions fall into one of two categories. On the one hand, in religions like Judaism and Islam, in which sacred texts are linked with a single sacred language, translations are regarded as an adjunct to, rather than a substitution for, the original text. In religions like Christianity or Buddhism, on the other hand, translations may and do replace the original text (Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 153). Thus certain religions have embraced translation while others have attempted to outlaw it. All sacred texts have nonetheless been abundantly translated: in the Islamic tradition, for example, translations were needed as the religion spread to parts of the globe where Arabic, the language of the Koran, was not spoken. These versions were presented as "interpretations" or "commentaries" rather than translations as such, thus remaining within the limits of ideological acceptability. In all cases, translations of religious texts have brought about great change: not only have they led to the spread of the religions themselves across vast territories, they have also spurred cultural by-products such as the creation of alphabets and the development of national languages.

The work of evangelization, for example, provided a strong motivation for creating a written language into which religious texts could be translated. In the fourth century, Bishop Ulfila created the Gothic alphabet, allowing him to transcribe the sounds of the Gothic language into which he translated the Bible. Similarly, Mesrop Mashtots invented an alphabet, from 392 to 406, for the purpose of translating the Bible into Armenian, and Cyril and Methodius, sent to preach the Christian faith among the Slavs in the ninth century, devised a system of writing that enabled them to translate scriptures and liturgy into Old Slavonic. This pattern extended to nineteenth-century Canada, where the Protestant missionary James Evans devised a writing system he could use to translate and print material for the First Nations people he sought to educate and convert (Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 3–18).

One of the major events in the history of Christianity, the Reformation, is inextricably linked to translation. Translation was so important, in fact, that the Reformation has been considered, in essence, a dispute over the freedom to translate the Bible into the vernacular. Translators of the Bible captured the breadth of the vernacular languages of their time and thereby contributed to the progress of their respective languages. Martin Luther was the driving force and catalyst in the development of a literary language for Germany; his translations not only enriched and standardized the language in his own country, but he also set an example for Bible translators elsewhere. William Tyndale has been hailed as the patriarch of English language and literature, having demonstrated that English was able to reflect the wide spectrum of styles contained in the biblical texts he translated (Daniell 1994: 290).

Literature has circulated and been disseminated through translation (see Literary translation**). Certain works have had a long journey through time and space, undergoing significant transformations according to the values and norms of the cultures in which they were translated. Based on Arabic, Persian, Indian and Egyptian sources, among others, the work known in English as *One Thousand and One Nights*, or the *Arabian Nights*, was collected, compiled, and adapted over many centuries by different authors and translators from Asia and North Africa to Europe (see Adaptation*). The fables attributed to the Ancient Greek storyteller Aesop, which had its roots in both Buddhist and Hindu traditions, were translated into French by Lafontaine in the seventeenth century, and into Chinese around the same time.

As literature migrated through translation, it triggered innovation and in many cases led to the growth of national literatures. By importing new forms and new themes from a foreign culture, translators have helped to build the resources of their own literature and have given it new direction.

Examples abound, illustrating the specific ways in which translators introduce new elements that enrich and strengthen the literature, body of knowledge and language of a target culture, while also contributing to the construction of national identity more generally. Writing in the fourteenth century, a time when Latin still enjoyed cultural prestige and French was still widely used, Geoffrey Chaucer combined composition in English with translation, adaptation and compilation. He translated, or claimed to have translated, from Latin, French and Italian; he built on French works such as *Le Roman de la Rose*, and the works of such well-known authors as Boccaccio, Petrarch and Dante, to establish a language and literature for England. This tradition continued into the following century with William Caxton, who introduced the printing press into England and published English versions of French romances and other works of chivalry, many of which he translated himself. The example of Yan Fu is also noteworthy: at a critical time in the history of China, following its defeat by Japan in the late nineteenth century, he imported Darwinian thought through translation and helped bring about openness to ways of strengthening his country (Wong 2004). A further illustration is the case of Atatürk, under whose authority the Turkish state manipulated translation to build a modern society based on Western values (Askoy 2010).

Translation, broadly taken to include both its written and oral forms, has served as a means of exchange and negotiation among peoples, nations and states. While not the primary focus of this article, the contribution of interpreters is worth mentioning, particularly in contexts where the spoken word took precedence over the written one. Traces of the practice of interpretation go as far back as the well-known Egyptian hieroglyph from 3000 BCE (Delisle & Woodsworth 2012: 246–248). Interpreters continued to occupy an important position in the West throughout the Middle Ages, as well as the Renaissance, when humanism sparked an interest in foreign languages and all fields of knowledge. As Europeans embarked on journeys of exploration, conquest and empire-building, around the same time, they made use of interpreters as well as translators in order to achieve their objectives in the New World.

However successful these efforts were, thanks in large part to the linguistic, cultural and practical skills of these often improvised or coerced go-betweens, the history of interpreting and translation in the New World is an ambiguous one. From a more recent vantage point, to which we will return, translation is associated with colonization, with all the negative connotations it has today.

The history of interpreting and that of diplomacy have long been intertwined. In the early twentieth century, translators and interpreters became key figures in the world of international relations. Consecutive interpreting* was at its pinnacle at the time of the Paris Peace Conference, convened in January 1919 to resolve issues associated with the end of World War I. Ironically perhaps, the meetings held in Paris were the occasion on which French lost its longstanding status as the language of diplomacy. It was agreed, after some debate, that both French and English would be used in deliberations, a decision that would expand the presence and impact of interpreters and translators at international political meetings. With the rise of supranational organizations such as the League of Nations and later the United Nations, both translation and interpretation have figured prominently and have exerted considerable influence. The 27-member European Union, which functions in 23 official languages, is a prime example of an arena in which both translators and interpreters play an important role, so much so, in fact, that, according to the *bon mot* attributed to Umberto Eco, "translation is the language of Europe."

Translation, by its very nature, negotiates exchange and change. Imported material – literary forms or philosophical, political, and scientific ideas – can be complementary and hence beneficial to the receiving culture, helping it to advance. In other cases, however, the new ideas may clash with those of a more closed society. Translation studies scholars have focused on the ways in which translators fit – or do not fit – into existing power structures, evoking circumstances in which they may have an ambiguous allegiance, acting as "double agent[s] in the process of cultural negotiation" (Gentzler & Tymoczko 2002: xix).

In extreme cases, when they were in the forefront of change at times of significant religious and political upheaval, some translators have been put to death for their work: Jan Hus (John Huss), Czech translator and commentator of the Bible; William Tyndale, English translator of the Bible; and Étienne Dolet, a French humanist who translated and printed works of a religious nature. We are less aware, perhaps, of the persecution endured by modern-day translators, whose "crime," like their past counterparts, is to have introduced new concepts or beliefs that run counter to prevailing ideologies. The gravity of their punishment derives not merely from the power of the authorities meting it out, but as much from the impact, or perceived power, of translation, which serves as a vehicle for expressing and introducing something foreign and unwelcome.

In studies deriving from the "power turn" (see also Power and translation****)or from the Sociology of translation*, attention has been paid, in addition, to the more subtle ways in which translators and translations are repressed through choices editors or publishers make as to what gets into print in the first place. Translations, and hence their influence, are altered through various forms of censorship*(Merkle et al. 2010). Once again, the move to suppress or control translated texts is a reflection of the extent to which translations are perceived to exercise influence.

It is clear that translation has done much to enrich, advance or strengthen individual societies, nations or cultures – through language, art, scientific thought or values that have been imported. The impact of translation, however, can also be construed as negative. Seen through the corrective lens of postcolonial theory, translation has been regarded in a less positive light (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*). Susan Bassnett, for example, deplores the "shameful history of translation" because translation has facilitated colonization (Bassnett & Trivedi 1999: 5). The work of missionaries, while beneficial in many ways, has been viewed as fundamentally imperialistic, and decried for its negative impact on indigenous peoples around this world – although this is being rectified, for example, by an Afrocentric approach to Bible translation undertaken in "postmissionary Africa" (Aroga Bessong & Kenmogne 2007).

In addition to serving as an important medium in the dissemination of literature and knowledge, translation has also had an impact as a motif in literature and other media, and as a theme in theoretical writing about culture. The figure of the translator appears in works of literature, and even the movies (Woodsworth 2007; Cronin 2009). Sherry Simon (2011) has studied the effects of translation in "contact zones," a term she has borrowed from Marie Louise Pratt to refer to cities or regions in which two or more cultures and languages intermingle (see Translation zone****). The presence of translation effects and multiple languages helps to reverse the negative model of translation as colonization, inaugurating a "new politics of in-betweenness" (Bassnett & Trivedi 1999: 5), a "third space," to use a concept developed by Homi Bhabha, which enables us to "elude the politics of polarity" (1994: 56). Increasingly, scholars from other disciplines have appropriated the notion of translation, using its concepts and terminology to articulate their views. In this way, the impact of translation transcends the sphere of practice and intersects with and enriches general theories of cultural and power relations.

A crucial element in the circulation of ideas and cultural products across borders, translation has also been associated with the exchange of more practical goods and services, particularly within a progressively more global marketplace. As technology has developed, and products are produced in one part of the world for export to another, translation has been required so that consumers can make use of those goods. Thus instructions, user manuals, and so on, have been translated, typically from Asian languages to Western ones. In the early days, these translated instructions were a source of more confusion and hilarity than enlightenment. This improved with a growing proficiency in translation techniques. Ironically, with advances in computer-assisted Translation tools*, and the increasing availability on the Internet of free software such as "Google Translate" (http://translate.google.com/), often used indiscriminately, we run the risk of reverting to random meaning transfer and, once again, potential incomprehension when we use equipment such as cameras or computers, or read signs as visitors to hotels or restaurants in a foreign country.

Despite the undisputed influence of translation on all sectors of human activity in today's world, and despite the many advances in practice, training and scholarship made since the mid-twentieth century, translation remains in many ways an undervalued profession. Translators work in the shadows; many works of literature do not bear the names of their translators on the cover. Despite a theoretical discourse that increasingly equates the translator's status with that of the writer, that blurs the line between so-called "originals" and translations traditionally viewed as mere "imitations," translators are insufficiently recognized in the minds of many. Promotion of the profession, therefore, remains a concern, although some initiatives are promising. The EU Directorate-General for Translations, for one, has launched a series of studies to identify the importance of translation for society, the economy and governance, to promote excellence in translation, and to enhance the perception of the translation profession (Pereira 2011: 3).

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Impact of translation theory

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1. Preliminary remarks

The first question that may come to the *Handbook* user's mind when reading the title of this entry is: impact on what? Without any doubt it could be a challenging adventure to look at the impact of translation theory on other disciplines. When other disciplines, like Cultural Studies, start using the concept of the 'translation turn' (Bassnett 1998) or when we encounter the Translational turn**** in the humanities in general, we may assume that translation theory, or translation studies, or translation reflection, is perhaps not entirely without impact in the world outside of Translation Studies. Translation is not merely a productive metaphor; reflection on translation activity can also be considered a "useful tool" for discussing many other issues in the humanities (see Slavova 2011: 454 who refers to Jean Boase-Beier). However interesting these developments are, we wish to make clear from the beginning that the influence on other disciplines is outside the scope of this entry. Here we wish to cover the forms of impact that translation theory and translation studies have on the translation world itself, including translation practice, translation didactics and, last but not least, translators.

The second preliminary remark deals with the direction of the impact. There is no doubt that translation practice informs theory. Brian Mossop (2005: 26–27) convincingly explains that every new translation practice potentially calls for new views on that practice, new 'theory' building. The semi-autonomous development and institutionalization of Interpreting Studies*, as a separate sub-discipline, stems from practice and reflects the distinction between oral and written discourse and differences in professional structures. Mossop predicts a similar, already on-going, development for Web translation*: if the translators of web materials should organize themselves in a separate profession, "then a theory of Web translation will arise" (27). Another illustration coming from a very different area also shows the interaction of translation theory with social reality. This is pointed to by Edwin Gentzler when he deals with language and translation practices of ethnic minorities in North Africa and the United States. As a result, he suggests that "translation theory in these areas will be equally challenged and redefined" (Gentzler 2011: 135).

Although these examples show that we have to be well aware of the bi-directionality of influence, of the to and fro of impact, we will here deal with one direction only.

2. A thin line between impact and irritation

Everyone active in translation studies is confronted sooner or later with the tension between theory and practice. Although this tension is certainly not characteristic for translation studies only, it is often perceived as such. One could say that this tension is unavoidable, as theoreticians and practitioners have different roles to play in society. Let's make this concrete for the world of translation and translation studies. A translator works hard to *solve problems*, i.e. translation and transfer problems. When he is more or less satisfied with the solution he has found, the translation scholar gets to work and begins to *problematize the solutions*, not necessarily criticizing them as such, but problematizing them for the purposes of scholarly inquiry. It is self-evident that a potential source of tension is present in this relationship.

The publication that deals most explicitly with the problematic relationship between the theoretician and the practitioner is Chesterman & Wagner (2002), which is presented as a dialogue in which a theoretical scholar and a professional translator discuss and argue about the usefulness of translation theory. The subtitle 'A Dialogue between the Ivory Tower and the Wordface' acknowledges existing stereotypes yet approaches them with a positive and constructive attitude. The title 'Can Theory Help Translators?' is a question, and not by coincidence. It expresses the doubts that continue to exist between the two sides, even at the end of the book. Taking into account the different roles explained above and the possible perspectives on the specificity of scholarly activity, for some researchers the book title could be preceded chronologically and logically by another question: Is Theory Supposed to Help Translators at All? Andrew Chesterman offers an interesting insight into this tension by distinguishing between the internal and external progress of translation studies (in Chesterman & Wagner 2002: 34–35). The external progress is reflected in the social visibility of a discipline. What is socially visible inevitably shows points of contact with practice and will be evaluated by a larger group. Internal progress is limited to scientific progress towards a theory. As such it remains within the smaller group of peers. The tension arises when aspects of internal progress are confronted with a different set of norms as they become socially more visible. We could give news translation as an example. Recent research (see Journalism and translation*) has shown that forms of a broader concept of translation (including rewriting and adaptation) are omnipresent in everyday news production practice. However, journalists usually use a more traditional and narrower concept of translation and do not want to be associated with translation work.

An outstanding example from the last decades is the impact of Deconstruction** and Postmodernism*** on translation theory. Authors like Jacques Derrida and Walter Benjamin ("who seems to be everybody's best friend" – Boyden 2011: 179) are being referred to by numerous theorists and scholars nowadays. The influence of postmodernist and deconstructionist approaches is indisputable within scholarly and essayistic reflection on translation. As these approaches do not really offer easy access to their exact way of thinking, there also exists considerable resistance to them within translation studies itself. Kaisa Koskinen for instance qualifies Derrida as an author who "does his best to lead the reader of his texts astray and to avoid any possibility of final interpretations" (Koskinen 1994: 446). Such differences in reception and appreciation are normal and broadly accepted in a scholarly environment.

On the other hand, the tone of the reactions to postmodernist and deconstructionist thinking in translation practice seems to be almost univocally critical and oppositional. Emma Wagner's suspicious attitude towards translation theory turns into irritation and hostility when dealing with literary and philosophical approaches, "especially the postmodern scholars with their esoteric concerns" (in Chesterman & Wagner 2002: 41). Such reactions show that also in these cases, there is an impact of theory, albeit not the intended impact (assuming that there was any intention at all in the first place). Postmodernist discourse does not seem to be compatible with the general down-to-earth and down-to-translation expectations of practitioners regarding theory. A general complaint from within translation practice is that theory should be *of use* to them, should provide them with guidelines for actual translation work. This is an expected or hoped-for impact that a considerable part of translation theory does not aim at. In other words: research can be theory-driven or data-driven, and it is not strange that practitioners are mainly, if not exclusively interested in the latter.

3. Theory small or theory extra-large?

In a contribution with the slightly provocative title 'On the Impossibility of Practising Translation without Theory' Ernst-August Gutt explains that both practitioners and theoreticians necessarily rely on views, i.e. on mental representations of reality. Even so called common-sense notions from practitioners are only views of reality, and in this sense are no different from theories.

> Thus, in a very basic sense, *all* our notions of the world surrounding us are actually *theories* – our views of looking at things, as shaped by our perceptual and cognitive systems. If these considerations are correct, then practice is inherently and necessarily dependent on theory – that is, the practitioner's views – 'theories' – of reality. In this sense, practice without theory is impossible. (Gutt 2005: 15)

A basic view like Gutt's also makes clear that the discussion about the exact definition of 'theory' is at play when we cover an entry like this. The extent to which theory affects or can affect practice depends on that definition (see also Translation Studies* and Models in Translation Studies***). In a similar vein Martha Cheung reports on her doubts about the right term to use when compiling a Chinese translation anthology (Cheung 2006). She started by using the word 'theory' and later moved on to 'thought' and 'discourse', also including more impressionistic ideas and reflection on translation. Whereas Gutt used theory in a very basic and broad sense, Cheung criticizes the notion of translation theory prevalent in the West as being very rigid and emphasizing features of systematicity, reflection and rationality (Cheung 2006: 91–93). It seems self-evident that a broader understanding of 'theory', as in the sense attributed to it by Gutt, potentially informs practice much more than a limited scientific understanding of it.

To conclude this part, it can be added here that even the history of translation is nowadays often viewed through a theoretically informed translation studies perspective. A recent example of such a combined view on translation history and translation theory is Vega and Pulido (2013), a contribution in a volume of the journal *MonTI* entirely devoted to 'The History of Translation within Translation Studies'.

4. Social impact and institutionalization

There is more to translation theory than its contribution to science, described by Daniel Gile as "the discovery of facts and/or the development of theories with a positive and preferably measurable impact on Translation" (Gile 2010: 252). Scholarly activity also has social consequences for the translator's profession and status. In many cases, the work of translators still remains socially invisible, ranging from literary translation over legal translation to the ubiquitous translational acts in the media. In modern knowledge-based societies, academic degrees, theoretical reflection and scholarly production raise the status of and the respect for practical activity; they provide it with greater credibility because of the academic environment in which it is studied and the institutionalized research it produces about such activities (see also Status of translators** and Status of interpreters**). Translation theory and translation studies in general play an important "role as a social determinant of the status of Translators as a group in society at large" (Gile 2010: 257).

Given the above, the tendency among practitioners to reduce translation theory to a tool for practical help and guidelines may be understandable but also counterproductive for their own position and status in society. Instrumentalizing reflection on translation merely to solve translation problems runs the risk of narrowing the activity down to its vocational dimensions, whereas the critical acceptance of additional theoretical reflection would also add value to their societal status and would raise self-awareness, or as Chesterman puts it: modern translation studies has put translators on the map.

> Actually, modern translation studies has done quite a bit to put translators on the map, I think. Historical studies have brought translators (usually literary, granted) into the limelight, and feminist scholars have discovered long-lost women translators […]. Cultural studies have shown the influence of translations on cultural development and cultural identity. There is a fascinating history of translating and interpreting […] that looks at the achievements of individual translators and interpreters through history. There is even polemical work […] that studies translator's copyright and argues for the wider acceptance in law of the notion of dual authorship. Never before have there been so many departments of translator training in universities throughout the world. And there are dozens of professional associations that have helped to raise the visibility and impact of translators in society. Sociologically and institutionally, surely, translators in general have never had it so good.
>
> (in Chesterman & Wagner 2002: 33–34)

5. In translation didactics

The most obvious impact of translation theory is a direct consequence of developments in institutionalization***: the presence of all sorts of reflection on translation in translator training and Translation didactics*. After a period of mainly linguistic and structuralist input during the sixties and seventies, the influence of functional theories in particular (translation brief, text-internal and text-external considerations, *skopos*), has been undeniably visible in training programs, in many cases lasting up to the present day (see Functionalist approaches*). The "very fact that time is devoted in class to discussing issues such as fidelity, acceptability, skopos, applicable norms, language interference, on-line decisions and Translation tactics" (Gile 2010: 256–257) shows how deeply reflection has become integrated in training activity nowadays. This does not mean that translation theory is accepted without any problem. Sometimes the position of theory remains difficult and unclear in practice classes (see for instance Ortiz Garcia 2010), but the very fact that theory provokes resistance is in itself a sign of impact.

Some recent small-scale research based on questionnaires indicates that the introduction of theory and reflection may change the view of students both with regard to the concept of translation and with regard to their attitude towards translation theory. Bouhadan (2011) investigated the extent to which students had a traditional view on the definition of translation within a translator training program in Antwerp (Belgium). She concluded that first year students thought in a much more traditional way, whereas Master students generally problematized translation more and clearly used a broader definition of the term. Gile (2010: 256) in reporting on evaluation questionnaires in a professional translator training program in Lyon (France) shows that most participants were very positive regarding the significant contribution of the theoretical component in the workshops.

Probably the most meaningful institutionalized sign that the traditional gap between theoreticians and practitioners can be overcome, is the European Master's in Translation of the European Union. The detailed description of the competences serving as minimum requirements for these high-level translators includes several components or dimensions which are clearly related to theoretical reflection, if not a direct result of it (see Gambier 2009). Just two examples out of many suffice here: "Mastering the appropriate metalanguage" (p. 5) and "Knowing how to identify the rules for interaction relating to a specific community, including non-verbal elements" (p. 6) are considered essential competences for such translators. Such competences cannot be achieved without a thorough and critical confrontation with theoretical reflection on translation, transfer and intercultural communication. Despite existing and on-going irritation within translation practice, the impact of theoretical reflection on the practice of translation, though often indirect, is undisputable.

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Intercultural mediation

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1. Introduction

Intercultural mediation (IM) is a form of translatorial intervention which takes account of the impact of cultural distance when translating or interpreting. The aim is to improve access, and involves 're-writing' (see also Cultural approaches**) 'recreating' or 'transcreating'. There are two principal ways of considering IM. First, as intervention to ensure successful communication across cultures, whereby the translator/interpreter (T/I) accounts for possible cultural misunderstanding (loss or distortion of meaning); and second as intervention to support vulnerable cultural groups, to ensure that their voice is heard and that their differences and rights are respected.

The idea of a translator as a mediator between cultures began to gain popularity with the cultural turn in the 1980s (see The turns of Translation Studies*), and with the warning that "the translator treats the text in isolation from the culture at his peril" (Bassnett 1980: 14). Interpreting scholars began discussing the issue a little later, but now the issue of what to account for "lies at the crux of the interpreter's dilemma" Mikkelson (2008: 87).

Beaugrande and Dressler explain that the text needs more mediation, or interpretation, the more that meaning in the text is hidden. If meaning in the text is "self evident" (1981: 163) then no mediation is necessary. Hence, translation itself is mediation. However mediation of the discourse is not enough. The mono-cultural listener/reader, as outsider, will necessarily associate their own context of culture or model of the world to the discourse, and thus is likely to lose or distort the intended arrays of meaning. So, mediation becomes intercultural when the T/I manipulates the discourse to account for what is hidden, lost or distorted due to culture.

However, there is heated debate over not only how and how much the T/I should intervene, but also regarding intervention itself. In fact, IM is specifically forbidden by most T&I institutions. For example, Canada's *National Standard Guide for Community Interpreting Services* (2007) (similar to most translation guidelines) clearly states that "there should be no distortion of the original message through additions, omissions, or explanation" (p. 23), and that "Standards of Practice do not endorse cultural brokering" (p. 21).

The following discussion divides IM into its two principal areas of focus: language and communication, and cultural identity. The order of progression in the discussion, from language, communication to identity also reflects the historical discussion regarding the academic view on the T/Is' role, which is continually pushing towards greater levels of intervention and responsibility in their consideration of cultural difference.

2. Language and communication

Within this area are two levels of IM: lingua-cultural intervention focusing on univocal language and the text, and intercultural intervention focussing on the more equivocal discourse and its various contexts. Katan (2009, 2011a) explains these levels in terms of E. T. Hall's Iceberg theory which divides culture into three levels: a first visible and unequivocal level of cultural artefacts and language; and then a second and third level of more hidden, and equivocal, co-construction of connotations, frames* (see Text linguistics and translation***), culture-bound communication styles, norms, values and beliefs. The first level is more 'self-evident', and hence requires less mediation. Instead, the more hidden levels will require more active intervention.

2.1 Lingua-cultural intervention

The very essence of translation/interpretation, and the core of mediation is the negotiation and reconciliation of difference. At this more lingua level, the T/I will focus on accounting for unusual turns of phrases, metaphors, or culture-bound terms (culturemes or realia**) evincible from the original discourse, as exemplified by 'la théorie du sens' (in Katan 2011a, see Interpretive approach*). More often than not the T/I will make the text more explicit (see Translation universals**), add a gloss or a specification so that the term is as manifest to the listener/reader as it was to the original speaker/reader. This form of IM is "mediation […] constrained by equivalence" (Pym 2013: 8).

2.2 Intercultural intervention

At this more hidden level of meaning, the T/I investigates the *effect* intended or produced within the source culture (SC) and on the target culture (TC) listener or reader, both cognitively and emotionally; and so meaning in text or talk is associated to its context of culture. In interpreting, the task is to coordinate the non-converging worldviews, so allowing the participants to communicate to mutually acceptable levels. In a similar vein, Pym (2002) asserts that mediation to be worthwhile must move from a focus on linguistic replacement to one on "cooperation between cultures" and "mutual benefit".

In particular with regard to translation, Katan (2002: 188) takes his cue from Relevance* Theory:

> The task of the mediator will always be to empower the reader enriching his or her cognitive environment, whether through accessing what is foreign or what is new. The key concept is access, and the question to be asked is 'what minimum changes are necessary to ensure the maximum level of uptake and cognitive effect?'

An important aspect for the T/I is to analyze the SC and TC ranges of acceptability, manifestness and normality. The T/I, focussing on *affect*, then takes account of probable tolerance for difference regarding the 'other's' use of language and cultural ways. In practice this means that the T/I may well actively adapt (or accommodate) register and delivery, but will also intervene on topic organization, and add, foreground or omit elements according to acceptability and understanding.

This level of IM is at the heart of intercultural communication (ICC) theory. One ICC theorist often quoted in T&I literature is Taft (1981: 53), who states that:

> The role of the mediator is performed by interpreting the expressions, intentions, perceptions, and expectations of each cultural group to the other, that is, by establishing and balancing the communication between them. In order to serve as a link in this sense, the mediator must be able to participate to some extent in both cultures.

Taxonomies of T/I role are most evident in the interpreting literature. Witter-Merithew (in Metzger 1999: 22) terms the interpreter at this level, no longer the "conduit", but the "bilingual, bicultural specialist" who "considers situational and cultural factors as relevant to the interpreting task" (see also Leanza 2007 for a fuller discussion of typologies) (see Bilingualism and Translation***).

We mentioned earlier that there are two levels of intercultural intervention. At the first, 'formal' level, focus is on accounting for difference in communication style (e.g. direct/indirect), politeness norms, register and cultural practices. At the more hidden 'informal' (or 'out of awareness') level, the T/I will gauge the cultural distance in terms of connotations, beliefs, values, and in general *affect*.

Following Katan (e.g. 2002, 2009), in both case the T/I makes conscious, reflexive, use of her ability to hold and respect two worldviews (see Hermeneutics and translation*), and on her ability 'to stand back' from the vantage point of a "third perceptual position", to understand likely frames of interpretation in both cultures, and mindshift between them. Crucially, at this level the mediator remains, as Roberts (1994: 272) puts it, "ostensibly neutral", seeking a "solution" rather than "an outcome".

In reality, there are a small minority of professional institutions (though restricted to Community interpreting*) which do now include in their Standards, along with "accuracy" and "impartiality" both "respect" and "cultural awareness". The example below is from the American National Council on Interpreting in Health Care (NCIHC 2005), written two years earlier than its Canadian counterpart, reported earlier:

> 14. The interpreter strives to understand the cultures associated with the languages he or she interprets […].
>
> 15. The interpreter alerts all parties to any significant cultural misunderstanding that arises.

3. Cultural identity

This understanding of IM from this perspective begins neither with the text nor with its context of culture but with the identity and roles of the participants, including that of the T&I. Hatim and Mason (1997: 122), taking their cue from Beaugrande and Dressler, define mediation as "the extent to which one feeds one's own beliefs and goals into one's model of the current communicative situation". Here, the T/Is take active responsibility for the acceptance and the communicability of their work. Interpreters see their role as an equal and integral part of what is now seen as a 'triad' (Wadensjö 1998: 62). Leanza (2007: 29) suggests that the interpreter will either be an agent for the 'community' or for the 'system'. The community agent** advocates for the minority (migrant) norms and values; and so IM is understood here as a means of compensating for the unequal powers in discourse so that the weaker is "presented as potentially equally valid" (*ibid*). The system agent, on the other hand, will advocate the dominant discourse of the institution and will tend to elide or assimilate cultural difference in favour of the dominant culture. Translators, too, may act more as 'system' or as 'community' agents. A literary translator, for example, may create a more sensitive literary translation focusing on protecting or emphasizing cultural differences (foreignization), or equally may decide to domesticate the text to foster communication (see Domestication and foreignization**).

For IM, both procedures are valid, and IM itself is seen as the art of arriving at a synthesis between these alternatives – access to the insiders' world being a key concern. This means that foreignization is not incompatible with IM. Indeed, it needs IM to manage the relative cultural filters to allow the outsider access to at least some of the insider's culture (Katan 2002, 2009).

However, a number of scholars, such as Tymoczko (2007: 225) have heavily criticized mediation, and its focus on cooperation as simplistic. They suggest that culture must be 'problematized' (i.e. understood to be imbued with ideology***). From this viewpoint neutrality is simply "a myth" (Metzger 1999). Consequently, as there are always power**** relations, 'mediation' means necessarily accepting the dominant discourse, and 'bridge-building' metaphors are at best 'naïve'.

This view differs radically from the intercultural, and legal sense of mediation, which is that of an 'arbitrator' or 'adjudicator' (Roberts 1994: 273). Both the ST and the TT interlocutors are equally obligated to what Roberts calls "the umpire", and to the umpire's task. The mediator's task is to find a solution, rather than to advocate *a priori* beliefs about which side (SC or TC) to take in the translatorial event. Katan (2009) sees *a priori* advocacy as outside the cultural Iceberg, and hence when T/I support is clearly prescriptive, ideological and political, then the T/I is no longer a mediator but an activist (see Committed approaches and activism*).

That said, IM and cooperation has its limits. Examples of T&I's in extreme situations of armed conflict demonstrate that mediation is not always possible or ethically tenable. Similarly the NCIHC standards previously discussed also allow for advocacy in extreme situations, whereby the interpreter may speak out "to prevent harm to parties that the interpreter serves" (NCIHC 2005).

4. IM today and in the future

The academic community has been talking of IM for over 30 years. Yet, most T/Is themselves do not consider IM an essential subject of study for the profession, and, apart from community interpreters themselves, few believe in intercultural intervention (Katan 2011b: 28). Those that do intervene find themselves in the "zone of uncertainty" (Inghilleri 2005), where ill-defined ideas of IM and roles combine with low status and training. Indeed, one of the problems beleaguering translators and community interpreters in particular is low status and authority (Wadensjö 1998: 64), which enforce the servile rather than mediatorial role necessary to interpret the 'non self-evident' (see Status of interpreters**). The net result is that the responsibility for IM lies with the listener/reader, who, without the ICC skills, will distort or lose the more culture-bound meanings.

While T&I theory and practice wrangle over 'fidelity', 'neutrality', 'visibility****' and 'advocacy', other professions have now sprung up with IM at their core, and without the concerns that the T&I's have. Indeed, what is more rapidly taking place is the emergence of new institutionalized non-T&I roles in response to increased globalization* and immigration.

At points of contact with 'the institutions' (refugee camps, hospitals, police stations), unpaid 'ad hoc' T&Is, usually friends and relatives who already had some bilingual skills and usually some bicultural understanding, are now being institutionalized as 'bilingual advocates'[1] and '(inter)cultural mediators'. They have the remit to translate, interpret and do whatever else is necessary to reduce the linguistic, cultural and institutional barriers in favour of their client. These new more advocatorial professions are Natural translators** and are no longer bound to text equivalence. However, like the community interpreters, they suffer from low status and are constantly in the "zone of uncertainty".

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[1] http://www.bicom-eu.net/booklet1.html

The business side of globalization, on the other hand, has provided the new IM professions with status and certainty about their mediational authority. There are 'intercultural consultants', 'writing consultants' and 'transcreation' specialists, all part of the localization* phenomenon. While localization experts make a discourse "linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale" they marginalize translation itself to a "phrase-replacement activity" (Pym 2006).

Clearly, both sets of emerging professions have little knowledge of translation studies, and have almost no contact with the profession. Though, globally there is no one direction that is being taken, there do seem to be two distinct patterns emerging. The first is for the moment most prevalent. Professional T&Is remain as they were, limited to neutral and unobtrusive relaying, while IM is ceded to the new professions, who have little or no training in T/I. According to some, this is a viable future, with clients choosing one or other type of T/I according to need (e.g. Martín & Phelan 2010).

Secondly, IM is seen as part of the T/I role. The explosion in academic T/I interest in IM has revolutionized *Translation Studies*. Bassnett (2002: 6), 20 years after her warning, prefaces the 3rd edition of her volume asserting that translation "is now rightly seen as a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures […] mediated by the figure of the translator". As a result, (inter)cultural competence is also seen as crucial for T/I training (e.g. Kelly 2005).

There have also been isolated examples of the institutionalized profession of "cultural interpreters" who are according to Mesa (2000: 68–69) halfway between what she calls "mere translators" and fully-fledged "mediator-interpreters": "They transmit all verbal and non-verbal information in strict confidentiality, while helping each party to understand the values, concepts and cultural practices of the other. They do all this with neutrality, and using vocabulary adapted to each party".

5. Conclusion

IM is inherent in any act of communication across cultures, and is necessary whenever meaning is not 'self-evident'. Who is responsible for mediating, for making the discourse accessible, how it is done, and at what level of the cultural Iceberg are still matters for argument. For the moment, most institutions and practicing T&I's are convinced that full IM is unprofessional, and that it is the responsibility of the listener/reader to mediate the non-self-evident, more hidden aspects of the cultural Iceberg. T&I activists are also critical of IM, as they believe that it will always play into the hands of the dominant culture.

In the meantime, IM is developing rapidly within other non-T&I professions in response to immigration and to the effects globalization. It is still too early to see whether T/Is themselves will themselves become intercultural mediators or will become increasingly marginal figures.

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Knowledge management and translation

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Knowledge Management (KM) is an interdisciplinary area of management research and practice that deals with the systematic, planned coordination and development of knowledge in organisations and individuals. It comprises all the activities an organisation or individual carries out to support the generation, storage and distribution of knowledge (e.g. Davenport & Prusak 1998). Its advance as an independent area of research and development goes hand in hand with those economic developments in the 20th century that saw knowledge become an important form of capital alongside financial capital and other factors of production. Knowledge that is of strategic value to an organisation is referred to as "intellectual capital" and consists of human, structural and customer capital (Edvinsson & Malone 1997: 52). It includes collective knowledge, experience and competences, as well as artefacts and intangible resources, such as the capabilities and interactions of employees, formal and informal communities, customers, partners and other stakeholders.

KM has to be distinguished from information management (IM), which deals with the documentation and retrieval of information, mainly through information and communication technologies (ICTs). The distinction between knowledge (management) and information (management) is in turn related to the popular data-information-knowledge-wisdom hierarchy (Ackoff 1989): data becomes information when it is selected and organised for a certain purpose, information becomes knowledge when it is understood and made relevant for activities-in-contexts, and knowledge leads to wisdom when the relevance of those activities and contexts can be reflected upon.

A further distinction has to be made between explicit and implicit/tacit knowledge. Since knowledge is inherent in human cognition (see also Cognitive approaches*), it is predominantly implicit, experience-based and closely related to its context of use. Roehl (2002: 19–21) describes knowledge as the product of contexts (i.e. the links, correlations, ties and relations that allow experience to develop and become effective) and maintains that it is this contextuality which characterises knowledge. KM thus faces the challenge of handling not only explicit knowledge that can be codified, stored, and transmitted, but also implicit/tacit knowledge that is personal and hard to formalise and share with others. Explicit knowledge can be communicated in the form of hard data, formulae, codified procedures or principles (Nonaka & Takeuchi 1995: 8), with translation related examples including language and grammar rules, terminologies, reference material, legal requirements, contact and industry information, and documented information on the subject matter. Tacit/implicit knowledge, on the other hand, is not easily made visible and expressible (ibid.; Polanyi 1966: 4). Translation related examples here include being able to grasp the context of the target communication situations, understanding meanings behind source text utterances and being able to make intuitive decisions in text production.

To tackle the complex task of translation, translators need to be able to retrieve both explicit and tacit knowledge. Risku, Dickinson and Pircher (2010) identify different KM tools and instruments for these forms of knowledge in a translation context. The retrieval of explicit knowledge is supported by various instruments and methods, like glossaries, translation memories, style guides, newsletters, handbooks, websites, knowledge portals, topic maps, customer relationship management tools, and project management tools. The non-codifiable, implicit/tacit aspects of translation are supported by personal experience with and exposure to different communication situations, access to discussion forums such as mailing lists, online communities, translator associations, courses and collaboration tools, but also by taking part in mentoring and storytelling projects.

1. Translation and KM from the KM perspective

There are many ways in which translation and KM can be related to one another. In KM, the different ideas, experiences, and perspectives of people with different cultural backgrounds are considered valuable intellectual capital ("culture as a knowledge resource", Holden 2002: xiv). Translation and cross-cultural communication are thus increasingly seen as a form of KM – preserving and supporting the diversity that is essential for sustainable development. Similarly, KM is "becoming increasingly the management of the transfer of knowledge generated by cross-cultural teams" (Holden & Von Kortzfleisch 2004: 127; see Transfer and Transfer Studies*).

With one of the challenges facing KM being the need for messages to be heard and understood across large distances, in other locations and in different contexts, "translation" and "interpretation" are often used as metaphors. For example, Cranefield and Yoong (2007) found that managers and analysts act as interpreters ("creating meaning and relevance"; ibid.: 98) and translators (adapting the words and ideas into new language and images), describing their translation and interpretation activities as "critical to successful knowledge transfer" (ibid.: 95).

In a shift from a prior emphasis on cultural differences and the difficulties they cause for translation as knowledge transfer, contemporary KM literature now views translation as an essential part of interpersonal and organisational sense-making that is "concerned with personal cognition (…) from head to head and into social networks" (Holden & Von Kortzfleisch 2004: 133). The interdependency of diverse views in hybrid communication situations is thus seen as an innovation asset.

2. Translation and KM from the translation studies perspective: Translation as knowledge work

In addition to these connections between translation and KM, the latter is also relevant for translation in its own capacity as knowledge work (Haussteiner 2004). Drucker (1957) defines knowledge workers as people whose work primarily involves the development and use of knowledge. Translators are clearly good examples of such knowledge workers, because their knowledge of communication, languages, cultures, Translation strategies*, subject matters, clients, technology and other areas forms the basis of their work (see also Status of translators**). They also allocate significant portions of their time to knowledge-oriented activities such as research, managing information, maintaining glossaries or networking, and make frequent (and often extensive) use of ICT (Dam & Engberg 2005: 1; Haussteiner 2004; Risku, Dickinson & Pircher 2010).

A typical feature of knowledge work is that there are no ready-made procedures and rules to follow to master the task. This is also clearly the case with translation: translators are dependent on their own skills, intellectual capacity and creativity, on constantly expanding their knowledge, and on the availability of technological and social knowledge resources when seeking solutions to the problems posed by a specific translation. According to Haussteiner (2004), translators add value by generating and making decision support available and by acting as quality filters in the value added chain.

3. Organisational and personal KM

KM includes both the systematic support of knowledge creation and sharing in an organisational context (e.g. a translation agency or department) and the managing of personal knowledge by individual translators. Organisations that have developed adequate strategies to share their existing knowledge, decide what new knowledge they need, and identify or generate this new knowledge, are often referred to as "intelligent organisations". They develop their organisational memory and learning on a social network and system level, rather than just making sure that they have knowledgeable employees. In a translation context, organisational KM centres on the realisation that knowledge forms a key corporate asset for a translation company.

Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) describe organisational KM as a process of socialisation, externalisation, combination and internalisation, which corresponds to the four modes of knowledge transfer in their SECI-model. In the socialisation process, individuals interact and share experiences. Their tacit knowledge is thus externalised and conversed to an explicit form, e.g. in narrations. It can now be systematised and categorised for communication and/or later use, where it will be internalised and understood by others and made relevant for their own activities.

Personal knowledge management focuses on the strategies used by individuals to keep their knowledge up-to-date, find prior and new solutions and be prepared for the next challenges they face in their work. In a translation context, the integration of knowledge mapping methods and technologies into translator training has been suggested as one possible personal KM option for handling subject matter knowledge (cf. Grove Ditlevsen & Kastberg 2009).

Yet whether personal or organisational, the goals of KM are always similar: to make knowledge available when and where it is needed, to be prepared for future challenges, and to avoid continually re-inventing the wheel. Ultimately, the aim is not to be dependent on the occasional ideas of individual experts or the workings of individual memories, but to be able to act wisely even when experts and experienced employers retire or leave the organisation, individuals forget former solutions and the half-life of knowledge is rapidly decreasing.

4. KM, terminology and technical translation

Judging by the frequent mentions in publications, KM is strongly associated with terminology* in Translation Studies and related fields like technical* communication. Studying and systematically documenting the terms of a language for special purposes, its concepts and their relations in a special field undeniably creates a valuable information resource for (technical) translators and interpreters. Hebenstreit and Soukup-Unterweger (2011) identify the types of knowledge needed by interpreters when preparing for their assignments and view terminology work as a means of modelling the knowledge of a field and thus organising its knowledge base for quick retrieval. Steurs (2007) discusses the terminology infrastructure in Europe as a support to sustain the multilingual Europe and thus as an asset to multilingual knowledge management (see also Multilingualism and translation*).

The regularly held International Congress on Terminology and Knowledge Engineering (TKE) bears witness to the lively interdisciplinary activities between terminology and computer science to research and develop instruments for KM in multilingual and technical communication.

5. KM in translator and interpreter training

Since translators and interpreters frequently have to be able to translate and interpret in a wide range of domains, it is often stressed that translation study programmes should include KM (e.g. Grove Ditlevsen & Kastberg 2009; Rütten 2007, Conference interpreting*, see also Teaching translation/training translators***). As information managers, translators need to able to choose and use the tools of their trade, and as knowledge managers, they need to know how to evaluate, exploit and use information in a creative way, and communicate and share it competently (Sturz 2009: 239). KM can thus be seen as one of the main management challenges facing modern-day translators (Budin 2002: 83), alongside, for example, project, process and quality management.

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Multimodality and audiovisual translation

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Multimodality or "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001: 20) is not a new field of study in that everything is to some extent multimodal, but in the modern world, archetypal multimodal texts such as films, television programmes and websites, have greatly broadened the scope of such studies. The term 'semiotic mode' has been variously labelled as 'semiotic modality', 'semiotic resource', etc. by different authors, but in this article for the sake of clarity the term mode will be used throughout. The ever-growing importance of multimodality concerns practically all disciplines and, by extension, the field of translation. In particular, research in Audiovisual translation* would seem by its very nature to be dependent on multimodality studies, and a limited number of scholars have in fact ventured into this field (Baldry 2000; Taylor 2003, 2004; Gambier 2006; Perego 2009; Burczynska 2012). The opposite perspective, that is the role of translation in multimodality studies seems, on the other hand, to have attracted little or no interest. The Routledge Handbook of Multimodal Analysis (2009), an authoritative 340-page volume on the state of the art of multimodality, does not even mention translation in the index. It would therefore seem to fall on audiovisual translators themselves to seek and find the keys to unlock the potential of multimodal analysis in the service of the translation of screen products.

Works by, for example, O'Toole 1994; Baldry & Thibault 2006; Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006; Kress 2009, opened the door to a growing interest in how different modes (words, pictures, sounds, colours, etc.) worked together to create meaningful texts. From classic works of art to school text books, even to bus tickets, multimodal studies have shown how meaning was created in these artifacts by the integration of a series of semiotic components. Especially with the advent of the digital age and more advanced technology in such fields as three-dimensional cinema and hand-held video appliances, more recent research on film (e.g. O'Halloran 2004; Tomaszkiewicz 2010), interactive websites (e.g. Jones 2009) and video games (e.g. O'Hagan 2009) have widened the scope still further, and more scholars are entering the field. As Jewitt (2009: 1) says:

> There is an increasing interest among academics, professionals and students in the role of image, gesture, gaze and posture, the use of space in representation and communication – in other words, multimodality.

Taking research into multimodality a step further, Baldry (2005) conducted in-depth multimodal analyses of car advertisements, films and TV documentaries using an innovative corpus-compiling and concordancing tool called MCA, concluding that such research "leads to the identification of what is recurrent in the meaning-making processes of film texts". This ties in with the theories of Kress & Van Leeuwen that modes are shaped socially and culturally and are familiar to those within a particular culture through their appearance and reappearance in what constitutes the concept of intertextuality.

These scholars, and numerous others, at some point refer to the tenets of systemic functional linguistics in their treatment of multimodality, in the Hallidayan perspective of language as a social semiotic (Halliday 1978). Some resort to system networks, that is diagrams mapping the semiotic choices available to a text creator. Van Leeuwen, for example, traces a system network for voice quality ranging from tense to lax, from rough to smooth, from breathy to non-breathy and so on. The paradigm choices made by any text creator could thus, for example, be tense, smooth and non-breathy, or any other variation. Martinec and Salway (2005) looked at the relationships between images and words and classified them as elaboration, extension and enhancement, based on Halliday's 1994 classification of relationships in verbal language use. Basically elaboration consists of one mode clarifying another, extension involves one mode adding something to the other and in enhancement one mode qualifies the other by providing some circumstantial feature. For the identification of such relationships, Baldry states that his MCA system enables users "to segment film into functional units and, while viewing them, type out detailed annotations relating to patterns of meaning made by the various modes deployed with each unit". If these relationships can be identified, even predicted, then a translator may have a tool that can assist him or her in the sifting of verbal material to translate, especially where there is a time constraint, as is often the case with subtitling* or dubbing (see Voiceover and dubbing*).

So, in the case of audiovisual products for translation (films, television programmes, DVDs, etc.) the patterns of meaning referred to above are conveyed by written and spoken words plus all the other modes that may accompany those words. Translation is typically understood as the transposition of words and meaning from one language to another, as in the translation of a novel or an insurance contract, even though these texts are not entirely monomodal in that they may be accompanied by pictures, like a Dickens novel, or by graphs and charts, as in the small print of contracts. They may be written in various fonts and divided into chapters or clauses with headings and sub-headings, and so on. But essentially they are translated at word level. In the case of audiovisual texts it is still practically always the words that are translated but it is reasonable to assume that other modes have an influence on the translation choices made, as well as the translator's knowledge of the world or the readership, the context of situation and culture, the requirements of censorship, etc. Starting from the assumption that speech or writing cannot 'say' everything, it is the interaction between word, image, sound, etc. that needs to be studied. This interaction between verbal elements, traditionally the object of translation studies, and the visual, acoustic, kinetic and other semiotic modes, is what should occupy audiovisual translators. Through the work carried out by multimodal researchers, the translator of screen texts is facilitated in the search for modes other than language that convey meaning more directly than words in some instances, or can at least be seen to work together as an integrated whole.

> Some things can be signified in an image as well as through talk, while some others can only be realised in an image and others only in talk. (Jewitt 2009: 25)

For example, simple instructions or commands can be signified by the use of words and gesture, or by one or the other. In the case of someone saying 'Come here' the gesture of the curling finger extends (using Martinec and Salway's term) the meaning of the words or vice versa. If the speaker, on the other hand, says 'I need to talk to you' the same hand gesture would serve to clarify the act. If the speaker says 'Come with me' but points simultaneously to a space on the other side of the room, the gesture is enhancing. A surreptitious wink, on the other hand, cannot be supplanted by words as this would remove the surreptitiousness of the act. But only words can really express many elements of modality without ambiguity.

An interesting case of the interplay between words and images in the rendering of meaning is to be found in the Quentin Tarantino film *Inglourious Basterds*. In a tense scene involving a disguised, German-speaking British soldier and a Nazi officer, the former gives away his identity while ordering drinks. Though he uses German words to order whiskey for three people, he indicates the number three with his fingers. Unfortunately for him, he uses the American arrangement of fingers, which differs from the German usage, and gives rise to a shoot-out. This mistake, which is the result of inadvertently flouting a long-established, culturally defined norm, is later explained in words but the scene itself gives the informed viewer the meaning visually. This is not a problem for the translator of the film (because the explanation is eventually given) but in the case, for example, of the writer of an audio description of the film for a blind audience (a kind of translation from the visual to the verbal) this is important (see also Media accessibility***). The gesture has to be described in words but the question arises as to whether it should be explained at that point or left for the blind audience to pick up the significance later when, in fact, the gestures are repeated during the explanation, as time factors make it difficult to get through explanations such as 'he raises his right middle finger, right index finger and thumb'.

One innovative way of approaching multimodal texts, namely the multimodal transcription (MT), was devised by Thibault in 2000 and further developed by Baldry and Thibault in 2006. The MT consists of a breakdown of a multimodal text into individual frames displayed in a table (of rows and columns) containing a minute description of the contents in terms of the visual image, the kinetic movement, and the soundtrack. A much simplified example of a multimodal transcription is illustrated in Figure 1.

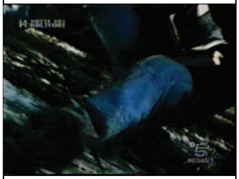
T	Visual frame	Visual image	Kinetic action/movement	Soundtrack
1		Camera moves around jeans, focussing on stud-button. Light flashes on stud. Otherwise, very subdued light.		Piano tinkling. Song 'April skies' begins, sung by soft female voice. *April skies…* *Are in your eyes* *But darling* *don't be blue.*
2		Leg (with jeans on) bent at an angle to hard ground. Foot in bottom centre of screen. It is night-time.	Foot dragged.	Sounds of fighting. Muffled cries. (American film scenario?) Song continues *Don't cry…*
3		Both legs of man on hard ground	Man dragged along ground, legs apart.	Sounds of boots being dragged along the hard ground. Song continues *…honey, don't* *be that way…*

Figure 1. Multimodal transcription

The three frames depicted (1, 2, 3) in the time column (T) appear at intervals of several seconds as the political advertisement unfolds (the subject is Amnesty International). The number of frames used and the intervals between them can be adapted to the purpose of the transcription. If a very detailed description is required, or if the text is particularly rich in information-carrying images, it may be necessary to opt perhaps for one frame per second, as Thibault did in his multimodal transcription of the *Westpac Bank* advertisement (2000: 374; see also Advertising translation**). In the case illustrated here, the visual image column is used to describe what can actually be seen by the viewer. Again the amount of detail inserted will depend on the type of description sought. More detail in terms of camera position, perspective, colour use, lighting effects or gaze vectors can be added. In the kinetic action/movement column, principally bodily movements are recorded, but movements of any other kind can be mentioned. The soundtrack column records all background noise, musical accompaniments and, above all, any dialogue or spoken comment.

It was later seen (Taylor 2003) that the multimodal transcription could be a useful tool in establishing where meaning was being created in a multimodal text and whether resources other than the spoken word could relay that meaning. If other modalities carried some aspects of the meaning, then translation of the spoken word by dubbing or by subtitling could be suitably trimmed in line with time and synchronisation restraints. It could also be useful in the spotting of the subtitles, that is the art of timing and placing them precisely. Thus Baldry & Thibault's multimodal transcription underwent some modifications: the columns containing visual image and kinetic action, basically what can be seen in the frame and what movement is taking place, were merged into one, while the soundtrack column remained. The final column would now contain a translation of any verbal element (see Figure 2).

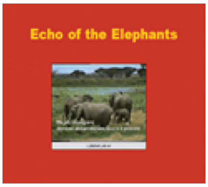
T	Visual frame	Visual image + kinetic action	Soundtrack	Subtitle (in Italian)
1		Group of elephants grazing in grassland. Pond in background. Nearest elephant moving and waving trunk.	But eating and drinking means abandoning Echo and her newborn calf.	Ma per mangiare devono abandonare Eco e il piccolo.

Figure 2. Multimodal transcription including translation

In the case of the above line taken from a multimodal transcription of the David Attenborough documentary 'Echo of the Elephants', the picture shows clearly that the pachiderms are eating and drinking and that there is a newborn calf. The subtitle in Italian therefore only mentions eating (and could feasibly also omit this fact) and refers only to 'a little one'. Indeed, Araújo (2007) sees the multimodal transcription as a tool that could be usefully adopted by professional subtitlers.

However, in the case of a full-length feature of up to two hours or more, such a multimodal transcription divided into frames at short intervals would be impracticable. To facilitate the description and analysis of a long film, it needs to be divided into bigger chunks known as phases (see Gregory 2002 on the phasal analysis of literary texts). Very simply a film, like a book, is seen as consisting of a number of major phases (macro-phases) which can in turn be divided into minor phases or subphases. But what defines a phase? Typically a scene or sequence in a film can be seen to be made up of a number of semiotic modes working together. For example, a scene featuring a particular set of characters, in the same setting, with the same register of dialogue, accompanied by a particular piece of music can be recognised as a phase. When the scene or sequence changes and different characters in a different setting with a different musical background takes over, another phase can be identified. Slight changes in the composition of characters or setting may simply represent a subphase of a macrophase, but are in any case perceivable. A particular phase may appear only once during a film, but usually phases re-emerge at intervals during the length of the feature. They can thus be descibed as continuous or discontinuous. As Thibault (2000: 320) puts it, phrases are…

> continuous and discontinuous stretches of discourse which share ideational, interpersonal and textual consistency and congruity, i.e. consistent selection from the various semiotic systems.

The changes between phases are signalled by transitions, which may consist of immediate scene changes, fade-outs or obviously repeated actions. For example the film *Inglourious Basterds* (Tarantino 2009) consists of a number of discontinuous phases. These include actions taking place in the French countryside, scenes in Adolf Hitler's office and events unfolding at a cinema premiere. Each of these is represented by a number of modes harmonious within the phases but which distinguish those phases very sharply from the others. Phasal analysis allows us then to see how (multimodal) texts are constructed, continuously and discontinuously, and thus where to look for patterns at a lexico-grammatical, phonological and semantic level. These patterns must be recognised and, if possible, respected in translation.

To conclude, it is now clear that the analysis of multimodal texts can show where meaning is created by the various semiotic modes contained within them. The audiovisual translator who wishes to exploit such analyses in order to make reasoned choices as to which verbal elements to translate, can also make use of tools such as the multimodal transcription and phasal analysis to assist in this process. More sophisticated tools such as Baldry's MCA and corpus-based approaches, where for example relational databases will be able to match a great many examples of text with other modes, all stored on computer, can be expected to give further impetus to research into the relationship between audiovisual translation and multimodality.

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Narratives and contextual frames

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The use of narrative beyond the field of literature and poetics, both as a source of data and a tool for academic investigation, has steadily gained ground throughout the twentieth century, and is now firmly established in a range of academic disciplines in the humanities and sciences, with several academic readers, collected volumes, journals, conferences and university research projects, networks and centres dedicated to the subject. This conceptual shift has only relatively recently made its way into Translation and Interpreting Studies, where scholars working with literature and fictional forms, including poetry, drama, song and cinematic subtitling*, have tended to remain focused on literary concepts of narrative construction. Work on socially-situated and politicized interpreting, which highlights the crucial role of narrative in establishing the credibility and institutional-acceptability of asylum seekers, might be said to be the first wave of scholarship in interpreting studies that drew on social, psychological and communication theories of narrative. Nevertheless, scholars, such as Robert Barsky working with refugees in Canada, Jan Blommaert and Katrijn Maryns working with analogous populations in Belgium and Marco Jacquemet in Mediterranean Europe, came to the subject from communication studies, sociolinguistics***, linguistic anthropology, Discourse analysis**** and ethnography* rather than Translation and Interpreting Studies.

1. Narrative theory in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Baker (2006) brings together several interdisciplinary strands of narrative inquiry (including this work on interpreting) in what is the first monograph to offer a detailed examination of the tenets of social narrative theory with specific reference and application to translation and interpreting. She draws on social and communication theory scholars (particularly Somers & Gibson 1994) to elaborate a definition of narrative, a typology of four different types of narratives and a broad-spectrum illustrated discussion of eight “features of narrativity”. Baker also elaborates on how narratives are not only reconstructed but framed in translation and draws extensively on Fisher’s narrative paradigm (1987) to discuss ways in which people evaluate narratives deciding whether to “subscribe to them, dissociate ourselves from those who subscribe to them, or even actively set out to challenge them” (Baker 2006: 141).

To summarize, personal narratives are elaborated by individuals to configure our own personal life history and place in the world; public narratives are those elaborated by social groups and institutions; conceptual or disciplinary narratives are elaborated in and about academic and scholarly endeavours; and meta-narratives are powerful, abstract and pervasive narratives characterized by great "temporal and physical breadth as well as a sense of inevitability or inescapability" (Baker 2006: 45). To this typology, Boéri (2010) adds professional narratives, and Harding (2012) further adapts it by emphasising the distinction between personal and shared or collective narratives. She also adds the category of local narratives to refer to narratives bounded or limited in some way and that configure particular events in particular places at particular times.

Baker's eight features of narrativity are adapted from social psychologist Jerome Bruner, who sketches out ten features "in the spirit of constructing an armature on which a more systematic account might be constructed (1991: 5). Temporality refers to the idea that narrative elements are always placed in some spatial and/or temporal sequence. Relationality concerns the idea that narratives are constituted by connected and related elements and that we cannot make sense of elements that are not configured into narrative. Causal emplotment is that which enables us to make moral and explanatory judgments about cause and effect. Selective appropriation concerns that which is included and privileged and that which is deselected and omitted, while particularity concerns the resonance of a particular narrative with larger, recurrent storylines that are then used (advertently or not) to fill in any gaps of detail or information found in the narrative. This feature is similar to genericness, whereby genre-specific signals shape the interpretation(s) or possible reconfigurations of a narrative. Normativeness concerns the interplay between that which is expected in narrative configuration and that which breaches these expectations; and finally, narrative accrual concerns the repetition and reiteration of certain narratives to the point whereby they become so normalized and widely accepted that they pass as a default status quo beyond question or challenge. All of these features can be, and are, manipulated by communicators, including translators and interpreters, either intentionally or unintentionally. Baker argues that unintentionally and unawareness are no excuse, and advocates an ethical approach (see also Ethics and translation*) to translation and interpreting whereby agents, aware of the stakes involved in the competition and contestation of narratives, especially in the waging of war and violent political conflict, take responsibility for their choices and actions.

A significant shift from a literary approach to narrative (or narratology) to social narrative is the idea that narratives constitute, rather than merely represent reality. Thus, narratives, which are constructed, elaborated and realized across an open-ended range of verbal and non-verbal media and resources rather than restricted to single, discrete texts, are key, even essential, in shaping, informing and directing people's morality and behavior. Consequently, they are the primary means of human engagement and used to explain and justify the behavior of individuals and the practices of institutions.

These assumptions, along with the idea of the narrative as the unit of analysis, have several implications for data selection and research methodology** in Translation and Interpreting Studies. Rather than a focus on linguistic and/or textual patterns within binary poles of comparison and contrast such as fidelity, betrayal, Domestication and foreignization**, Overt and covert translation*, for example, narrative theory is able to take into account the potential significance of even one-off anomalies. It can also account for the narrative position(ings) and agency (rather than 'neutrality') of actors and narrators, including both scholars and translators/interpreters, in an approach that actively encourages self-reflexivity. Furthermore, all narratives are seen as being interconnected in a relationship that can be seen as fractal (a concept taken from complexity theory), with the elements of a narrative both determined by and constituting any one narrative, and with smaller, more localized and personal narratives functioning as episodes in larger, more socially institutionalized narratives. This means that researchers can move freely between micro and macro-levels of investigation, accounting for both close (textual and linguistic) detail and wider (textual, social, performative and political) contexts of any translated event and/or interpreter-mediated encounter.

Since the publication of *Translation and Conflict*, several scholars have taken up these ideas and applied them to a range of data in various fields of Translation and Interpreting Studies. These include civil activism and social movements, particularly with regard to volunteer translator groups such as Babels (e.g. Boéri 2010); news reporting and online media (see Journalism and translation*); theatre translation in Finland, Sri Lanka and Spain (see Drama translation*); code-switching in Canadian migrant literature (see Migration and translation***); Children's literature* in Egypt; Palestinian folktales and national identity; author reception****; Greek historical fiction; Chinese novels; Bible translation (see Religious translation*); and website localization*. Much of this work is still very new, found in doctoral and masters' theses and occasional papers; arguably a strong indication that narrative in Translation and Interpreting Studies is still far from the established tool of enquiry that it is in other fields.

While these topics are not new to Translation and Interpreting Studies, the social narrative approach in these studies means any textual and linguistic analysis is firmly situated within a social and political inquiry, contributing to our understanding of power**** relations and contestations between and among individuals, institutions and nations, and the prevalence of translator and interpreter intervention in the configuration and circulation of narratives. At the same time, while Baker clearly distances her methodology from literary and linguistic approaches to narrative, some scholars have deliberately attempted to combine sociological with narratological approaches, arguing that the conceptual tools developed by narratologists can provide a comprehensive inventory of precise analytical tools with which to describe and analyse socially constructed and elaborated narratives. Harding (2012), for example, draws on Bal's (2009) concepts of text, fabula and story, as well as narrators and temporary narrators, actors and characters to map out a systematic model of narrative analysis that examines, for example, which elements are included in narrative configuration, at which temporal point in the narrative they are included, what is omitted, who may speak and how speakers are positioned and contextualised. Other studies have drawn on narratological notions of focalization, plot and voice, while others focus on paratexts**, the packaging and surrounding material of texts, both within the text (peritexts) and outside it (epitexts) (Genette 1997). These are key components of framing, discussed in the next section.

2. Contextual frames and notions of framing

Several of the studies that followed in the wake of *Translation and Conflict* also take up the theoretical concepts of framing and contextual frames. While sociolinguistic, pragmatics and discourse literature (such as the work of Erving Goffman, John Gumperz and Deborah Tannen) on frames, frameworks and framing (and context and contextualization) have tended to focus on these as components of meaning-making in terms of perception, interaction and situational communication and interpretation, Goffman also acknowledges that "[f]rame…organizes more than meaning: it also organizes involvement" (1974/1986: 345). It is this aspect of framing, a strategic action performed by agents that Baker, following the literature on social movements, uses to argue that translators and interpreters are responsible for their actions that "consciously or otherwise…accentuate, undermine or modify aspects of the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance" (2006: 105).

Thus, Goffman's "frame ambiguity" or "doubt about what it is that is going on" (1974/1986: 302), for example, is useful in analyzing ways in which conflicting narratives compete for consensual interpretation of words and/or events. Several features of narrativity (see above) as well as the features of various paratexts can also be manipulated to (re)frame or (re)contextualize a narrative. The temporal and spatial shifting of a text through its later translation(s) into new periods, cultures, geographical and geo-political locations; the omissions and additions of narrative elements; the naming and labeling of key elements, actors, places and events; the titles given to narratives and the (re)positioning of participants "in relation to each other and the reader or hearer through the linguistic management of time, space, deixis, register, use of epithets, and various means of self- and other identification" (Baker 2006: 132) are all means by which translators and interpreters participate, either actively or passively, consciously or not, in re-narration: the elaboration and reconfiguration of narratives.

Finally, because of the fractal interconnectedness of narratives and the porous nature of their boundaries, narratives themselves can act as frames. Narratologists recognize framing narratives that embrace one or more other, embedded narratives; the *Thousand and One Nights* and Victor Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* are classic examples. However, while acknowledging the (varying degrees of the) interpretive function(s) of the framing narrative, this narratological understanding differs from the active means by which larger narratives, such as metanarratives, are used to envelop and obscure the details of smaller (local or personal) narratives. Harding's (2012) study of online reporting, for example, finds that by immediately configuring the local narrative of the 2004 Beslan hostage-taking as an episode in the "international war on terrorism", the Russian government focused on "destroying the terrorists", and failed to take into account the local circumstances of the very particular situation on the ground which may have enabled the pursuit of alternative, less violent responses to the crisis. Translation, the study found, tends to reinforce these larger, reductionist narratives and argues that it could, instead, play a more strategic role in the construction of more complex and multivalent resistant narratives.

Indeed, complexity theory, as developed out of mathematical theories of chaos, includes a portfolio of terms and concepts common to both complexity and narrative, such as frames and framing, elements, actors, agency, meta-narrative, causation, networks, connections and relationships. A combined approach thus, arguably, offers a potentially rich means of further developing and refining social narrative theory as applied to Translation and Interpreting Studies. Already there is an overlap of interests in the area of civil activism and social movements, with both social narrative and complexity theory brought to these fields. Furthermore, a pioneering interest in the application to translation of complexity and emergence theories is opening up the possibilities of a narrative-complexity combined approach as a promising and innovative avenue of theoretical and methodological inquiry.

Similarly, notions of frames and framing, increasingly gaining momentum in communication studies in the areas of media, journalism and news coverage and their relationships with elites and public opinion (see, for example, the work of Robert Entman & Claes de Vreese) resonate with many aspects of narrative. The selection, deselection and assemblage of elements in the dynamic process of frame building and setting, and the notion of 'priming' to raise the salience of certain elements in order to strategically create an intended effect are the more apparent examples. Typically, much of this work draws on monolingual data or cross-cultural comparisons and has yet to take into serious consideration the role of translation in international news framing.

The strand of narrative theory and accompanying notions of frames and framing as outlined here are still nascent in the field of Translation and Interpreting Studies, especially in comparison to other disciplines, and there is much to do to further develop its uses and applications. This can be done in terms of data focus and selection, both at the level of themes, events, and range of genres, and on a micro-level "by exemplifying a greater range of textual and non-textual devices through which a narrative may be elaborated" (Baker, in press). More systematic and sustained analytical approaches, that seek to increase the robustness of the vocabulary of the theory and empirically illustrate the interdependency and interplay of the features of narrativity, are also needed.

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Nation, empire, translation

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Nation is a highly problematic concept. Geller has suggested two approaches to deal with it, the cultural and the voluntaristic (2006: 6–7), although he admits that neither is satisfactory and points out that nations can only be defined in the age of nationalism (2006: 54). Thus, the concept of the modern nation can be a recent European construct, but, on the other hand, the role of language as a key to define/create nations is not. Similarly Translation Studies* might be a modern discipline but the role of translation* in the construction of empires is not new (Robinson 1997: 9). The Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Chinese, the Ottomans and many others promoted their nations through the use of translation, as their respective empires expanded through military conquest and, later, trade (see Scientific translation*).

Although less documented than their Western predecessors, translators played a fundamental role in the success of the Chinese empire. During the rule of emperor Taizong, for instance, China promoted the acculturation of the regions that came under its influence. Although benevolent in comparison with other emperors, Taizong expected the assimilation of foreigners into Chinese culture. Large numbers of Türks, Uighürs, Tibetans and Sogdians, among others, settled down in China (Lung 2011: 151). The Sogdians, who were active traders, also became agents of assimilation. Their linguistic skills allowed them to survive and thrive under those circumstances, but their role also contributed to provide the empire with political cohesion. Like in China, language skills facilitated travel, trade and social mobility in the early modern period in Europe (Lezra 2005: 215), and, thus, language itself became a commodity, as movement of goods necessarily entails movement of people and their languages (see also Globalization and translation*).

In contrast to China, where Mandarin Chinese imposed its rule across the empire, in Europe Latin never became the language of a truly universal political system (Anderson 2006), although Roman authors used translation as part of the nation-formation process. As was the case with other elements of Greek culture, the Romans appropriated Greek texts and reshaped them for their colonial interests (Robinson 1997: 50–54) and their nation-building efforts. After the fall of the Western Empire, the trend took an ecclesiastical turn. Latin remained the language of certain communities rather than states (Anderson 2006: 42). Anderson links the invention of the press to the emergence and spread of nationalism and the use of language as a commodity.

In his view, the production of the print word was intended for literate Europe, whose small proportion of bilingual readers of Latin (and their own vernaculars) allowed them to consume books, often translated (2006: 46).

Translation played an important role during the Middle Ages: language and translation were at the base of the rivalries between the emerging nations of the continent. England and Spain, for instance, imposed their rule in Ireland and the Low Countries respectively, and later in other parts of the world. Others struggled to survive and translation was also a part of their own nation-building process. Corbett, for example, documents the translation of classical works into the "langage of Scottis Natioun'" to serve national and moral ends (1999: 28–29). Translation, which continued to play a role in the formation of empires during the modern period, has been considered from two distinct perspectives: as a tool of empire or as a feature of the hybrid societies that emerged out of colonialism (Robinson 1997: 10, 84).

1. Translation as a sign of hegemony

During the early modern period, the number of translations into Latin reflected the hegemony of nations whose language derived from it. Translations of Spanish, French and Italian works into Latin were made for the benefit of German and Slav speakers (Burke 2007: 22). The translations of the time remind us of the emergence of languages such as Breton or Basque, although the smaller number of translated texts reflected their limited economic and political importance. On the other hand, the number of translations into English from languages like French, Italian and Spanish was much higher than the other way round. There was also a great deal of translation between the Romance languages, including Spanish, in spite of the stereotype that Spain was a "closed country" (Burke 2007: 23). Latin remained a lingua franca during the early modern period, whenever translation between the vernaculars was not possible. Often texts such Christopher Columbus's letters, originally written in Spanish, were first translated into Latin and, subsequently, into other European languages.

The Latin alphabet imposed its own rule in the coming centuries as the Europeans conquered other parts of the world. Colonial expansion was indeed aided by translation and the imposition of the Latin alphabet upon the languages of the colonized, many of which did not have an alphabetic system. Conquerors tended to regard the language of their colonial subjects as barbarian, e. g. the Egyptians (Robinson 1997: 48) and the Chinese (Lung 2011). However, as the conquered lands gained independence, translation became a tool of resistance first and later helped shape the nations in a post-colonial context (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*), often in a problematic way. For instance, in the Irish context Cronin has shown that translation was used as a political weapon that contributed to the creation of new images of Ireland as a nation and a revival of Irish culture (1996) (see National and cultural images***).

2. Translation, nation and religion

Translation had also contributed to the appearance of modern nations in Europe. It has been underlined that the translation of religious texts (see Religious translation*) is the pillar of the European concept of the nation state (Tymoczko 2007: 7), upon which Spain, Portugal and England built up their empires. Lezra recalls the use of the symbol of the tower of Babel representing "Nationum Origo", or the origins of nations, in Richard Verstagan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1628). Verstagan associated the biblical separation of languages with the emergence of European modern nations: "the *Restitution* envisages a mythico-religious model of linguistic and national identity" (Lezra 2005: 215). Translation epitomized a supranational state where religion prevailed over other considerations, and provided some geographical areas with distinctiveness as nations within the larger framework of nation-states (Corbett 1999: 125), often as the result of linguistic and cultural contact.

Wycliffe's version of the Bible (1382) epitomizes the hybridity of a language like English, which would eventually replace Anglo-Saxon, Latin and Norman-French as the official language of the Court (Anderson 2006: 43). The so-called Authorized Version of the Bible, or King James Version, connects language, nation and empire like no other. Even though the purpose of this text may have been similar to that of Pope Damasus when he commissioned St. Jerome to produce a revision of the Latin Bible, that is, "to arrive at a single authoritative text" for the sake of unity (Weissbort & Eysteinsson 2006: 115), the Authorized Version had a more far-reaching effect for the connection between one language, one religion and one nation. As the English settled in other parts of the world, they took their Bible with them, which came to represent their king and their nation as well as their God. The book was regarded with awe by native Americans (Cheyfitz 1997: 197), who surely viewed it as the origin of their troubles.

As European nations emerged out of the Middle Ages with the strong emphasis on language and religion, they imposed similar notions upon the areas of the world they colonized. The Reformation and the Counter-Reformation gradually introduced translations of religious texts into the vernaculars, first in Europe, then in the new colonies of the Americas and beyond. Translation was first forbidden and later promoted as the only means of converting indigenous peoples. When the languages of the colonized did not provide appropriate alternatives, then source language words were introduced, as was the case with the translation of religious texts in the Philippines (Rafael 1993: 20–21).

Many of the religious groups that settled down in North America contributed to the creation of the new nation precisely by resorting to a translation, the King James Bible. Even Mormonism, the most quintessential of all American religious movements, whose origins are rooted in a mythical pseudotranslation**, considers the Authorized Version as one of the four pillars of their faith. Joseph Smith, the founder of the church, undertook a new *translation* of the Bible to adapt it to the American vernacular, but the King James Version remains at the very heart of the movement, speaking of the relevance of religion in the formation of the United States as a new nation and, above all, as the twentieth-century empire *par excellence*.

3. Translation, religion and imperial expansion in the modern period

Writing about the connection between empire and translation, scholars have resorted to a wealth of metaphors that reflect the violence of the encounter between the colonizers and the colonized. Greenblatt posits that translation was the first crime in the New World committed as a result of the interest in language: “kidnapping natives to serve as interpreters” (1991, 107). Both Spanish conquistadores and English colonizers were given slaves and seized natives, who were subsequently taken to the metropolis where they were quickly trained to act as intermediaries between the local populations and the Europeans.

Speaking of one of the most famous translators of this period, Arrojo has referred to the role of Doña Marina/La Malinche, who acted as Hernán Cortés’ interpreter during the conquest of Mexico, as an example of “the brutal violation of the land and the women of Mexico” (2002: 142). More recently Tageldin has spoken of translational seduction as being at the heart of cultural imperialism in North Africa, and more precisely in Egypt. As a descendant of the political and economic dominance of the past, cultural imperialism is best exemplified by translation, being a reflection of “the copulation of the colonizer and the colonized” (Tageldin 2011: 14), which ultimately “annexes a colonized people far more effectively than arms” (Tageldin 2011: 16). For Tageldin, the power of translation is associated with the seduction of the colonizer and the prostitution of the self under the fascination of the foreign (2011: 242).

One of the issues raised concerning the connections between translation and empire relates the practice of interlinguistic transformations to literacy rather than orality. European conceptions of religion were clearly linked to the translation of sacred texts. However, in the Americas the Europeans encountered peoples who lacked the literary traditions of Europe or writing. Writing has indeed been used by some authors to justify European superiority over the cultures they conquered in the modern early period and beyond. However, Kothari & Wakabayashi argue that it is problematic to apply Western approaches to translation to other parts of the world, where orality** was of greater importance (2009: 4, see also Eurocentrism***). Thus, it would be inappropriate to impose European conventions upon regions where "sub-national units and supra-national links undermine the language-nation connection" (Kothari & Wakabayashi 2009: 4).

4. The normativization of indigenous languages

Beyond the metaphors, the establishment of imperial rule prioritized some local languages in order to be able to communicate with the indigenous peoples. In the Americas, for instance, Spanish colonialism entailed the normativization of Nauhatl and Quechua. The administrators and missionaries soon realized the importance of learning native languages. However, the considerable number of regional varieties and the existence of a large number of different languages prompted the promotion of the so-called *lenguas generales*, that is, a standard variety of languages such as Quechua and Aymara that could be used in the dealings with the native population. It was a mirror image of the situation in the metropolis where Antonio de Nebrija had published a grammar of Latin first and of Spanish a few years later. The latter, which he presented to Queen Isabella, became well-known for the connections Nebrija made between language and empire. Nebrija's books served as the basis of many of the grammars that the Spanish missionaries themselves produced in the colonies. In New England John Eliot wrote a grammar of "the Indian language." The author's declared aim was to "bring the Indian language into rules." The situation was similar in other empires where the Europeans not only imposed their languages, as in the case of Algeria, they also selected the languages to be used as vehicular in the colonial context. The Belgians, for instance, chose Shaba Swahili as the general language of the Congo and forced the natives to learn it as the lingua franca of the area (Fabian 1986).

The need to teach and learn the languages of the natives also prompted the creation of the first universities of the Americas, in the Andean region and in Mesoamerica, both in 1551. The Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos and Universidad del Perú were chartered by emperor Charles V. A Chair in Quechua was in charge of the teaching and learning of this language, as it was considered vital for the future missionaries of the Andes. In New England John Eliot did not only write a grammar of the "Massachusett" Indian language, he also translated religious texts into it for the purposes of conversion.

On the other hand, the Spanish administrators also regulated interpreting as a profession. Translators and interpreters contributed to a large extent to the creation and spread of the administrative machinery and the conversion of the native populations to the Christian faith. On the other hand, in Spanish America, native and mestizo writers such as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, who was also a translator, were responsible for the creation of the literary canon. Thus, linguistic mediators played a dual role within the new societies. Their knowledge of the language of the colonizers was part and parcel of the normativization of Spanish, while they also consolidated some of the local languages.

5. The translator as a traitor to a nation

Native and semi-native translators were criticized by their role during the conquests and the subsequent European administrations. Throughout the colonial period translators have been accused of collaborating in the construction of empires. For instance, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Mexicans regarded Doña Marina as a traitor to her people, whereas in twentieth-century Cameroun the interpreter-writer Moumé Etia was regarded as a traitor not only for cooperating with the Whites but also for writing and translating the stories of the people of Cameroun (Nama 2009: 53). However, it seems unfair to judge these intermediaries by today's standards, as many of them were trying to survive in a new environment, which could hardly be defined as their nation. In fact, some of them used their linguistic abilities as a way of resisting the invader. Interpreters like Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl, Domingo Chimalpáhin and Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala worked for the Spanish administration but they also wrote chronicles in which they criticized the conquerors and praised their own ancestors. Additionally they used their knowledge of the Spanish legal system to recover or retain their possessions. These native intermediaries were, for the most part, of noble descent. They fought against the new regime but they also attempted to preserve the privileges they had had in the old one.

6. Translation in old and new empires

From the old empires to the new world order, translation continues to define nations and empires. In the twentieth century, translation has indeed defined the invention and expansion of new nations and new economic empires. In the post-colonial and post-cold war world, translation plays a vital role in the promotion of invented and old nations alike. One of the outcomes of the fall of the Berlin Wall was the accession of a series of regions to nationhood, including the Baltic states, and the emergence of Slovakia and the Czech Republic as two separate nations. After their accession to the European Union, translation has characterized the relationship between old and new members. The European Union as a political and economic entity has relied heavily on translation policies, which rather than unite seem to have created new barriers among

European nation-states. Among this administrative Babel, English has come to reign triumphantly.

On the other hand, the widespread English-only policies and campaigns of the remaining political super-power, the United States of America, have been particularly successful in some states where English has become the official language for the first time. Additionally, the new transnational entities (Venuti 1998: 165) that emerged in the post-war years resort to translation as part of the colonization process of the world's consumers. Large American corporations, including banks such as the Bank of America, telecommunication companies such as ATT and Verizon, and technological corporations like Apple use English as their first language. However, they have gradually adapted to the linguistic realities of their markets, including the domestic one. Companies such as the Bank of America offer services in Spanish for the large and increasingly influential Hispanic minority of the country.

Whereas it is easy to compare the use of translation during the European expansion in the modern era for evangelical purposes and the position of the colonizing corporations and the colonized consumers of the present (Venuti 1998: 165), there remain important differences that translation scholars tend to overlook, such as the interest of many of the early missionaries in the cultures and languages of the natives and their efforts to preserve them in one way or another, and the role of translation as resistance mentioned above. Today translation continues to be an instrument of resistance against the forces of capitalism in what Hardt & Negri have labelled the Empire with a capital E, as opposed to the policies of expansion of nation-states during the early modern period (2000). In their view, the deterritorialization of empires caused by globalization can be fought by means of translation (2000: 51–57) emerging as a common language that "functions not on the basis of resemblances but on the basis of differences: a communication of singularities" (2000: 57).

From the economic transactions and political rule of imperial China to the global corporations of modern-day America (and, apparently, back to China) translation has cemented the power of political and economic empires of various types, whether we call them nations, nation-states or corporate-nations.

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Official translation

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The concept of Institutional translation** has attracted considerable attention of late, while generating controversy in response to the "ambiguity of the concept of *institution*" (Kang 2009: 141) with translation scholars referring "either to translating *in* or *for* specific organizations" (ibid.). The literature invariably refers to institutional translation as "mostly centred on translation practice at large and important institutions" (Kang 2009: 144), without necessarily making a clear distinction between official and non-official language contexts (e.g. Pym 2004), or between national and supranational contexts (Koskinen 2008). Furthermore, "the concept is slowly but clearly being used as a means of understanding and studying translation practice in general" (Kang 2009: 144), adding to the ubiquity of the term. A potential subfield of institutional translation which could help nuance meaning and fine tune contributions to theory is "official translation" with a further subdivision between national and supranational contexts. While this term is also polysemic, its potential application is, nevertheless, far narrower than that of institutional translation. However, the term is rarely found in the Translation Studies literature, other than to distinguish certified and notarized translations of official documents (birth or death certificate, driver's license, school transcripts, etc.) from those that are not.

One promising definition of official translation, inspired by the online OECD (2002) definition of official language, is translation and interpretation between the legislated languages within a legally constituted political entity, such as a State or part of a State, a city, or a supranational organization such as the EU. Furthermore, the term could apply to text types to be translated (legal* or administrative, for example) as identified in official languages legislation. Translation Studies research to date has concentrated on translation in supranational organizations, especially the linguistically pluralistic and egalitarian EU, with the notable exception of Brian Mossop's work on the Canadian government translation bureau (1988, 1990). More research on officially multilingual States, Belgium and Canada being oft-cited examples, and non-state cultures (e.g. regions and cities) could provide useful insights into the position of translation and interpretation in such regimes, as well as into the distinctive features of their translation and interpretation policy.

An officially multilingual political entity will have official languages legislation that may or may not spell out explicit translation and interpretation rights. For example, the Canadian Constitution of 1867 requires that certain government documents be produced in the country's two official languages (English and French), but makes no specific reference to translation. The absence of explicit reference to translation and interpretation in this example of language legislation begs the question of how documents will be produced in both official languages: Will they be written in both official languages? Or will they be translated? For historical reasons, one of a State's official languages may enjoy greater cultural or economic prestige than another of its official language that, paradoxically, may be a major world language beyond the State's borders. The "minority" official language will then likely be relegated to the status of translated language (see Minority languages and translation**).

In order to protect and promote a minority official language, unambiguous political support from all official language communities is required. One concrete expression of support is the investment in official-language institutions – e.g. education, health, legal, literary, cultural – that allow the official minority-language citizens to communicate in their language. Translation and interpretation services provide the opportunity to read and speak in one's language when these institutions do not exist. However, an official "translated language" can also be very costly from a cultural point of view, since the culture and language may run of the risk of becoming calqued onto the dominant language and culture over the long term (Daviault 1944; Branchadell 2011: 98).

Conferring official language status on a language of limited diffusion can be politically motivated. The national language of Israel is Hebrew, one of its official languages, the other being Arabic. Initially a primarily written and translated language, Hebrew has been successfully transformed into a modern living language thanks to proactive language planning policies that include translation. Indigenous languages can be given legal status in an effort to bolster their chances for survival. For example, in New Zealand the Māori language gained official status under the Māori Language Act 1987 that identifies courts and tribunals where the Māori language may be used. The Act stipulates that qualified certificate holders must act as interpreters and translators of the Māori language during legal proceedings (New Zealand 1987). Other endangered languages raised to official status are Irish in the Republic of Ireland and Welsh in the United Kingdom. As part of language planning efforts to protect their vulnerable languages, the local Welsh government created an internal Translation Service, whereas the Irish government relies heavily on outsourced translation services.

In a legally constituted political entity with more than one official language, one of four "malleable" translation and interpretation schemes is generally in place. Reine Meylaerts (2011) identifies one scheme that is particular to officially multilingual federated States: *1. Institutionalized official multilingualism* (*federal level*) *combined with institutional unilingualism* (*local level*): "This linguistic and translational territoriality regime seems to be reserved for the so-called historical territorial minorities […]

in officially multilingual countries like Belgium, Canada, Switzerland, South Africa, India" (Meylaerts 2011: 752). The federal level is officially multilingual with a multidirectional Translation policy**, whereas the local level tends to be unilingual. This scheme can prove problematic for official minority language communities at the local level and is a potential source of conflict. In addition, three alternative schemes can be identified. *2. Institutionalized egalitarian official multilingualism with obligatory multidirectional translation between official languages:* This scheme is "characterized by *complete* institutional *multilingualism* with *obligatory multidirectional* translation" between all official languages (Meylaerts 2011: 746). Consistent and high-quality translation is a legislated obligation designed to provide written documents and spoken texts in all of the legislated languages. Thanks to institutionalized official translation, citizens can stay unilingual in their mother tongue (Meylaerts 2011: 746). *3. Institutionalized egalitarian official multilingualism and non-translation:* The third scheme is one of official institutionalized multilingualism without any form of translation. Citizens communicate in the language of their choice. Legislation requires that documents be produced in all official languages, but does not legislate translation *per se*. All institutions are fully multilingual, yet citizens who do not work for State institutions can be unilingual. This scheme promotes production of original texts in all official languages. *4. Institutionalized inegalitarian multilingualism with unidirectional translation into the minority language(s):* The fourth scheme is one of multilingualism with translation primarily, if not exclusively, into the minority language. Compared with the third scheme of non-translation, this one foresees *unidirectional* translation from the dominant to the minority language(s). The types of texts to be translated will likely be restricted to those identified in language legislation. This scheme is put in place for one of two reasons: to protect and promote vulnerable, often indigenous, languages, or to acquiesce to minority language rights in anticipation of the official minority population's linguistic assimilation (Meylaerts 2011: 750).

In official languages contexts, there is often an infrastructure, such as an official translation and interpretation service – that may or may not be legislated. Translators are integrated into the civil service usually after successfully completing standardized training, passing a State exam and being submitted to security clearance. As official translators, they contribute to terminology banks in order to normalize terminology and to translation memories in order to standardize style and usage, in addition to participating actively in language planning efforts. Furthermore, they may be required to be members of professional associations that monitor the profession.

Empirical research and theories on translation between official languages and on translation policies in various official language settings are needed to add to our understanding of the specifics of these translation institutions and institutional translation, and the impact of official translation policy and translation decisions on minority official language vitality.

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Original and translation

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One way regarding the question of 'being an original' is to link it conceptually with the issue of 'being a translation', and understand all this as an ontological issue about a literary work of art. Put in a philosophical framework, as suggested, the relationship between original and translation is approachable through '*identity*', and consequently, the criteria for being the same. In this article, the notion of 'identity' is followed by 'similarity' and 'difference' as further vantage points for exploring original and translation. The focus is on a few accounts to exemplify the diversity of concepts, and their origins in the Western tradition. Epistemic assumptions determine the notions of original and translation, and their relation, and even the relevance of the issue, *per se.* Binary opposition as a standpoint may not encourage a post-structural scholarly thinking in non-essentialist terms.

1. Identity in the form of 'functional identity'

Some notions on the relationship between original and translation in Translation Studies allow using 'identity'. From this, it does not follow yet that we could understand 'identity' here in ontological terms of 'being the same'; 'identity' rather determines itself as 'functional identity'- as an ideal goal of translation, or just an observable convention. "Functional identity" tells about the effect a translation has on its reader.

1.1 Identity in terms of 'aesthetic effect'

Jiří Levý (2011 [1963]), influenced by Czech Structuralism and the Prague School, addressed 'original' and 'translation' explicitly. Focussing on Literary translation**, he studied the process of translating extensively. Levý distinguished between *illusionist* and *anti-illusionist* translation methods. An illusionist translation is supposed to be read like an original. The readers, knowing not reading an original, are challenged to "require the translation to preserve the qualities of the original" (2011 [1963]: 20), and aesthetically rewarded by the belief of being in touch with the original work. "To establish an 'illusionist' translation theory" was Levý's (ibid: 20) aspiration.

For Levý, the work of art as a historically conditioned fact was unique and, consequently, unrepeatable: a translation cannot be identical with the original. Instead, Levý suggested a relation similar to the relation between a literary work and "its execution in different [sic] material" (ibid: 91). By translating an original consisting of a chain of decisions (Levý 2004 [2000]), ideally, the focus was put on the translation's concretisation in the mind of recipients to evoke the "impression or the illusion of its historical and contextual environment" (ibid: 91). According to him, (ibid: 169), literary translations were not independent artefacts, but rather something aspiring to "be reproductions of their originals, and indeed, it was the relationship to the source that is their most essential feature"; a good aesthetic-semantic reproduction does not ignore the "dialectic of content and form" (ibid: 105).

1.2 Identity provoked through familiarity

Distinguishing between Domestication and foreignization**, a similar approach to the relationship between original and translation is described by Lawrence Venuti (1995: 19–20). A domesticating translation, which Venuti regards as a suitable tool for Western cultural imperialism – and hence to be avoided –, should be read as an original with regard to fluency and familiarity. "The popular aesthetic requires fluent translations that produce the illusory effect of transparency […]," Venuti (1998: 12) comments on the Anglo-American context. Transparency excludes the domestic reader from an encounter with the foreign, since the appearance of a translation does not reveal the cultural and textual origin of the text but rather resemblances to the originals of the target culture.

For both Levý's illusionistic translation as well as Venuti's domestication, the desired effect on the reader is the illusion of originality; creating the illusion just differs. While domestication strives for familiarity, Levý's method advocates the making the foreign of the original approachable to the reader of the translation. As we saw, 'meaning' is not explicitly foregrounded in these descriptions; with his 'concretisation' in allusion to phenomenology, Levý (2011 [1963]: 27, editor's Note 5) regards the relationship between original and translation more holistically.

2. The relation original-translation in terms of interpretation, perception and inference

In this section, approaches with an emphasis on the role of an individual in a textual encounter are illustrated. All of these – hermeneutics, phenomenology and semiotics – share a tighter or looser linkage with phenomenological philosophy.

2.1 Identification through interpretation – the hermeneutical tracing

Arguing in terms of hermeneutics*, Radegundis Stolze focusses on the 'message' which is embodied in texts and that a translator is supposed to communicate further.

How does she grasp what the original writer says and means? In an allusion to Hans-Georg Gadamer (2004 [1960]), Stolze emphasizes the role of an interpreter in every encounter with texts by others. Involved in a hermeneutical conversation with a text, a reader aims at a "fusion of horizons" (Gadamer 2004 [1960]: 389), in which she as a historical person grasps the original message, from her point of view, successfully. Because of these subjective elements, there cannot be any objective interpretation for a text; however, a translation hermeneutist encourages enquiring what the writer meant. About the original-translation relation Stolze writes: "Translation expresses messages, and is not a reaction to language structures or a linguistic derivation from the source text" (Stolze 2010: 143). The issue of identity between original and translation becomes complex – it is only thinkable in terms of a hermeneutic identification. Stolze actually questions speaking of "source" and "target" texts.

2.2 Perception as the link between original and translation

Using Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology as his vantage point, Clive Scott (2012: xi) approaches translation with an emphasis on perception, and writes: "We translate psycho-physiological perceptions which derive from a source text into target text which embodies those perceptions." Discussing Gadamer's hermeneutic concept of textual understanding, interpretation and meaning (see 2.1.), Scott (ibid: 3) rejects "the view of translation as the interpretation of a text." A translator, for him, is a creative writer, who has to "write language *into existence*" instead of selecting it from existing linguistic sources (ibid: 64).The translation-original relation has become a reciprocal issue, and, dynamic. The task of a translator is according to Scott to translate first of all the invisible.

2.3 Similarity through inference

Exploring translating within the Peircean semiotic framework Ubaldo Stecconi links the question of the relation original – translation with the process of *semiosis* (see Semiotics*). In semiosis, objects as "chunks of reality" – *Dynamical Objects* as Charles S. Peirce terms them – as only indirectly approachable entities – get a mental representation and become *Immediate Objects*. How does this happen? *Signs* are the crucial link between "existent individual things" and *interpretant*s, which essentially differ from existent entities. Let us look at translation semiosis now. Because of the indirect apperception of the world, the Object-original involved in the process of translation cannot be any physically materialized text itself but an interpretation of this by a translator. Stecconi (2004a: 161) writes: "The Immediate Original is all that can enter into the process which eventually leads to a translated text." The new translation-Sign then behaves similarly; as a material text it has to be interpreted. How does a translator use the Immediate-Original to produce a new Sign? According to Stecconi, instead of a static equivalence*** formula A=B referring to the two semiotic systems involved in a translation process, the inference formula A>B describes a translator's activity more correctly. Translating is problem-solving in which the translator is forced to make interpretative hypotheses ("interpretative bets") and prefers a certain alternative as long as nothing better is found. Stecconi (ibid: 156) states: "[T]ranslating determines a certain reading of the source to the exclusion of others." As in all semiosis, translation entails losing and gaining something. Consequently, the relation between translation and original is describable by the notions of 'similarity' and 'difference', and additionally, by 'mediation' as 'speaking on behalf' of. (Stecconi 2004b: 482).

3. Similarity and differences defining the original-translation relation

The notion of identity, as seen above, is only limitedly useful for regarding the relationship between the original and translation today. Especially postmodernist approaches, rooted in deconstruction, reject any essentialist postulates on literary works of art, text, meaning etc. and find 'identity' inadequate: there are no clear-cut entities to be related to each other (see Postmodernism***). The issue of identity is also easily connected with the issue of power. A postmodern line of thought focused on ideological aspects of translation does not favour the traditional view of an original as supreme in comparison with a translation. The same doubt concerns the question of authorship. Here the influence of Jacques Derrida and Roland Barthes has been crucial.

Why did clear-cut entities become problematic? A crucial role is played by Derrida (1985) and his reading of Walter Benjamin (see Deconstruction**). The opposition between a signifier and signified is questioned, and there is no 'meaning' further to be transferred from one language to another. According to Derrida, each sign refers to another sign in a continuous play of differences (*différance*); there are no fixed meanings and 'originality' becomes a contradiction. Not only 'original' and 'translation' but also the entire notion of ontology is challenged. With its emphasis on difference and heterogeneity, the deconstructive approach as such shifted the focus in Translation Studies. Translation is seen as an ideological and political instrument, as a chance to intervene, especially in post-colonial* studies, but also in the context of feminist approaches (see Gender in translation*). 'Similarities' and 'differences' were operationalized in various forms, as shown next.

3.1 A relation similar to 'family resemblance'

Instead of 'identity', Maria Tymoczko (2004) proposes the notion of 'being similar to' and writes (2004: 31), "By definition similarity is not sameness: it involves difference." According to Tymoczko, there are only similarities in respect of something (cultural or stylistic features, ideologies, or subject positions, etc.). These vary according to the individual decisions and desires of translators, and even the similarity criteria differ. In reference to Ludwig Wittgenstein, Tymoczko proposes considering the relation between translation and original as a kind of 'family resemblance'. A translation never entails its original completely: intended or unintended, certain features of the original are left out, and yet it represents the original. Tymoczko (ibid: 36) characterizes translation as a process, in "which a part substitutes for the whole."

3.2 The ideal translation as unavoidably and intentionally different

Influenced by Derrida, Venuti disbelieves in fixed entities and rejects dichotomies. All translation is challenged by the difference. Venuti (2010: 68) writes: "Translation is the forcible replacement of the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text with a text that will be intelligible to the target-language reader." Contrary to domestication (see above), foreignization recognizes and signifies this difference – "by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the target language" (ibid: 69). Syntactic, cultural discontinuities and others yield to the Other: a translation is identified by these. For Venuti (2008 [2002]: 237), these irreducible differences between two languages or cultures or even of the axiological or ideological sort, force a translator to seek similarities. 'Similarities', strategically construed in the process of translating, refer to two kinds of resemblances, to that "between the foreign and translated texts", or, that "between the translation and other values and practices in the receiving culture" (ibid). The search for similarities is accompanied by unconscious desires such as political attitudes creating further differences -caused by the translator herself (ibid: 238). In general, the issue of the relationship between original and translation is seen by Venuti as a part of a wider communication between cultures.

3.3 Translation and original – forms of writing

Susan Bassnett (1998: 25) follows Venuti, and questions the entire relationship between "what is termed 'translation' and what is termed 'original', because they are vague entities and inevitably linked with 'authority and power'." All texts being tissues of quotations, the quality of 'being truly an original' disappears; "literary echoes" are present in every work. For 'translation', as a process to be characterized by difference and relativeness, Bassnett (ibid: 39) suggests an encounter as a "set of textual practices with which the writer and reader collude." Similar to Bassnett, Rosemary Arrojo (1998: 26) finds postulating an "original" problematic. Arguing for a non-essentialist approach (ibid), entities, according to her, cannot be seen as clear-cut, they rather are relative. For Arrojo, meanings are context-bound, which is why the original – translation relation gets complex; translation should be approached as a form of writing, as 'transformation', and the translator's authorial role recognized (ibid: 42). The need for a new translation ethics is announced here, and by all post-structural approaches (see Ethics and translation*).

4. Translation and original – not the same work

The issue of the relation between translation and original looks different when approached as an ontological question. Looking at the being of entities as a metaphysical issue differs from the way how things and relations are presented in Translation Studies. However, every notion of 'translation' and 'original' indicates an ontological commitment (Laiho 2009). Ontologically conceived, the issue of these commitments could be approached this way: Does a literary work survive a translation?

Regarding the Action Type Hypothesis (ATH) by Currie (1989) as an elegant ontological notion of a work of art, Laiho (in preparation), modifies Currie's model to include translation. According to Currie, a work of art is an action type and expressible as follows: [x, S, H, **D**, τ]. Being an action type, a literary work can be tokened more than once. Two tokens are identical, and thus tokens of the same work, when they have the same structure [S]and the same heuristic path [H]to the structure. These are the constitutive elements that serve to identify works. In this model the *person* and *time* are variables. The structure [S] Currie defines as a *word sequence* and the heuristic [H] as the way an artist arrives at the specific word sequence [S] summing up all the factors that influenced this arrival. What is the consequence of the identity criteria conditions of [H] and [S]? The conclusion is that a translation is not the same work as the original. Since the original [S] is the materialized basis for a translation, this can be seen as a 'derivative work of art', but not in any narrowing sense. In this model, the original – translation relation is not established by the "meaning" of a literary work, and consequently it clears the way for difference.

5. Conclusion

The approaches presented here indicate how philosophical postulates are manifest in the notions of 'original', 'translation' and the relationship between these entities. In Translation Studies, as far as considered here, 'similarity' and 'difference' are more adequate in addressing the relation between original and translation than 'sameness'. Asking an ontological question, instead, takes advantage of using 'being the same'.

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Popularization and translation

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1. The concept of popularization

Popularization in this article specifically refers to "a vast class of various types of communicative events or genres that involve the transformation of specialised knowledge into 'everyday' or 'lay knowledge'" (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004: 370), so is not to be confused with the meaning which is usually associated with the adjective *popular*, i.e. to be liked, or enjoyed by a large number of people. Lay public is different from science experts in that they are more concerned about the application, the utility and the consequences of science findings in relation to their daily life, rather than the advancement of science theories or methods (Calsamiglia 2003: 139). The expert-lay communication has attracted much interest from researchers in a range of disciplines, including linguistic studies, media studies, and science communication (Myers 2003: 265). Popularization can take place in different modes, not only in the written form, but also through audio-visual channels, internet, and other sites such as science museums. Therefore, popularization research often involves multimodal analysis (e.g. Macdonald 1996; Santamaria, Bassols & Torrent 2011). In fact, the emergence of new media is a main reason of the wide dissemination of science knowledge to the public.

The studies on popularized texts have shown that popularization is not a process of simplification, but a process of recontextualization to meet the existing knowledge of the lay readers (Calsamiglia & Van Dijk 2004: 371), and a process of interaction which involves persons and identities as well as message (Myers 2003: 273). Studies on the discursive features of popularized texts have demonstrated that the genre of popular science is distinguished from other specialised texts particularly in its interactive features. Studies in social sciences and histories have shown how popularization has influenced the perception of the public on science or science debate over governmental policies.

2. The relationship between popularization and translation

In the studies of popularization, translation is often taken to mean intralingual transfer, i.e. the process of moving from the specialised terms to the popularized version (see a detailed review in Myers (2003)). However, it has also been argued that popularization is a distinctive genre, and is not necessarily derived from a specialized text, i.e. the traditional view of simplification. In interlingual transfer, because popularized texts are often translated into several target languages, such as the case of the monthly-published English magazine *Science American*, they are widely used by translation researchers as data to investigate various research topics, including, Translation universals** and the influence of English as a lingua franca****. However, popularization as a genre with its own communicative purpose is still an under-researched area in translation studies.

3. Main research interests

3.1 Translating popularized texts

Some of the concerns in the study of translating popularized texts are similar to those related to the study of other Scientific translations*, such as how to translate terminology* and how to ensure the accuracy of science information. However, with lay readers in mind, accessibility*** to the target readers may be even more important than accuracy of science information in the evaluation of the translations.

When discussing technical translation, Bryane (2006: 93–94) highlights the importance of readability (whether the technical language is at the correct level for the intended audience) and usability (whether the text is easy enough for the users to follow and achieve the intended task). The issue of accessibility is even more complicated in multimodal contexts when knowledge is disseminated through multiplicity of codes and channels. Cámara and Espasa (2011) analyse the audio description in a TV documentary and a scientific talk on the website *TED* for visually impaired users, and present a detailed discussion on technical challenges involved in accessibility to multimedia scientific texts.

How translators manage the relationship between writers and readers or speakers and listeners presents another interesting research question. Liao (2011) finds in her *Scientific American* study data that the Chinese translators often add interactive features that show the involvement of the writers (such as hedges), encourage the participation of the readers (such as second person pronouns), and visualise the textual world vividly (such as proximal deixis *this*, *here*, and *now*). Translating metaphors, which are important in explaining difficult and abstract scientific concepts to the lay readers in popularized texts, is another research focus (Shuttleworth 2011; Merakchi & Rogers 2013).

3.2 Translation as a process of popularization

Other researchers are interested in the translating activity as a process of popularization. This includes translators who mediate between an expert and a lay audience, for example, in the context of doctor-patient interaction in Medical interpreting**. In written communication, it is also true that throughout history, translations often popularize source texts to reach a broader audience in the target society. Forget (2010), for instance, regards some translations of scientific or philosophy texts in the 18th and 19th centuries Europe as essentially a process of popularization. At the time when well-educated readers could often access source texts (often written in Latin, French or English), the purpose of many translations was not intended just to overcome the language boundary, but to overcome the knowledge gap and make source texts more accessible. Strategies used by translators to popularize source texts for the consideration of the target readers included adding explanations in prefaces or in footnotes, paraphrasing or even omitting some of the content.

3.3 Creation of a new genre

Translators of popularized texts can also face the challenge that some popularized genres may not exist in the target culture, and therefore cannot resort to readily and recognizable generic linguistic features. If the trend of the translations in a given time in the target society is to maintain the norms of the source text (e.g. for the reason that the source text culture is highly valued by the target society), this may result in the creation of a new genre in the target language. Pahta (2001) shows that when science knowledge which had previously been communicated exclusively in Latin was translated into vernacular English in the 14th and 15th centuries, the translators developed not only new technical terminology but also new rhetorical strategies. Liao (2010) compiled a corpus of English popular science texts, Chinese translations and Chinese original texts, and found that the translations demonstrate a pattern of interactive features which are not present in other non-translated Chinese science writings. The diachronic study carried out by House (2008) shows that the interpersonal features have increased significantly in both German translations and non-translations of popular science produced over two decades (from 1978 to 2002), and indicates that a new set of conventions and norms have emerged in the target language.

4. Further research directions

The emerging study of popularization and translation has added new perspectives to existing research areas in Translation Studies. For example, the translator's role in mediating between writers and target readers particularly draws researchers' attention to the pragmatic and interactive dimensions in the use of languages, and reception**** studies. The influence of translations on dissemination of knowledge in the target society or on the norms of the target language is also a future research direction. Finally, science popularization through multimodal channels opens a new research area for the translation researchers.

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Power and translation

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The relationships between translation and power structures of all kinds have attracted significant scholarship in the past several decades. The "power turn" in Translation Studies* connects with wider studies of politics, culture, and society as well as with discussions of translation and gender, post-colonial theory, and translation ethics (see Turns of Translation Studies*). This article situates research on power and translation with regard to wider discourses in Translation Studies and beyond.

The methodological foundations of studying the intersections of power and translation lie in the field of Descriptive Translation Studies* although early scholars were criticized for ignoring issues of power. Over the past half century, scholars looking at the way translations are conceived, created, published, marketed, and distributed have observed that the processes and products of translation have important connections to existing power structures, such as governmental initiatives, social dynamics including those related to immigration and language use, international politics, and many others. The power dynamics that are connected to translation affect not only individual translation choices but also larger trends in book publishing, intercultural relations, and international politics. Furthermore, notions of power can also be applied to the way translation is discussed; that is, to Translation Studies itself.

1. Translation and power in Translation Studies

In their introduction to the book *Translation and Power*, a collection of essays by scholars from around the world, Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler (2002: xii) describe how the study of power and translation evolved from early work by scholars such as James Holmes and Anton Popovič, who begin theorizing on how normative translation choices represent an ideological choice (see Norms of translation*). They trace this interest through the political movements of the 1960s and 1970s to the anthology *The Manipulation of Literature* (1985), edited by Theo Hermans, which they identify as the starting point for what would become the power turn in Translation Studies. The "cultural turn" in Translation Studies, marked by the volume *Translation, History and Culture* (1990), edited by Susan Bassnett & André Lefevere (see Cultural approaches**), reinforced the notion that scholars should look beyond questions of linguistic matching in their research on translation. This cultural approach to translation prioritized questions of cultural power and influence as well as allowing an investigation of ideology in translation. As studies of culture branched out into other, intersectional areas, such as post-colonial and feminist theory, Translation Studies grew as well.

With this history as a background, it seems difficult to separate discourses on translation and power from discourses simply on translation. Seen from this perspective, any translation has implications for power and ideology, and even a discussion that explicitly excludes power as a framework is making an ideological decision by doing so (see Translation and ideology***). This article aims to investigate some of the ways that discourses about power appear in Translation Studies rather than trying to outline a particular area of Translation Studies that is dedicated to power and ideology.

Two main distinctions are relevant to this attempt. The first is that translation can act either as a tool or a manifestation of power by those who already have other kinds of power, or it can be used by those without other types of power as a means of resistance. The second distinction is that power can be discussed as intersecting with translation at several levels. Translation as a practice and translations as products can affect cultural, social, and political power structures at a macro-level. On a micro-level, individual translations or relationships between individual translators, authors, audiences, and texts can produce ideological effects and highlight power dynamics. Finally, in Translation Studies there is a meta-level at which discourses about translation and power themselves constitute the exercise of power and imply ideological frameworks. These levels are neither entirely well-defined nor mutually exclusive, but it is possible to think about the ways in which power operates differently and the different approaches that translation theorists can take at each of these levels.

2. Translation and power at the macro-level

Discourse on the macro-level of translation and power has taken many forms. The foundation of such discussions is the acceptance that translation intersects with wider cultural forces in ways that often have significant consequences for culture, society, and politics. Many of the connections between Translation Studies and other areas of inquiry can be viewed on this level. Translation as a tool for colonial and post-colonial power relations has been taken as a premise by many scholars (see Post-colonial literatures and translation*). In many of these cases, the discussion of translation draws on individual case studies but focuses on the wider implications of translation as a practice or of translations considered as a group. Translation in a broad sense affects the formation and perception of national and cultural identities (see Migration and translation***, National and cultural images***). Broadly considered, that is, the choices of what to translate and what not to translate in a situation of power imbalance are loaded decisions that can come to represent an entire culture, ideology, or power dynamic. In addition, translation can facilitate or impede international communication in political, social, and economic spheres, and as such is of great significance in discourses about globalization* (see Baker 2009: 1.Part 4).

The notion of systems as explored by Itamar Even-Zohar is relevant to these macro-level views of translation and power (see Polysystem theory and translation*). Translation as a system interlocks with systems of political, cultural, economic, and social power as well as linking literary systems across languages. From a systems perspective, many of the power relationships related to translation can be theorized as marking intersections between literary or textual systems and other social, cultural, and governmental systems. Because of the constant potential for such connections, translation is always implicated in negotiations of power between these different areas.

Translation is related to the exercise of colonial and governmental power in a number of ways, both explicit and implicit. Explicit uses of power related to translation include both censorship* and government programs that encourage or mandate translation in particular areas or of particular types of document (see Translation policy**). Programs of government-mandated translation can contribute domestically to power structures connected with immigrant rights and multiculturalism. They are also able to function on the international level, both as the mechanisms through which traditional diplomacy may be carried out, and as a form of international propaganda or "cultural diplomacy" (see Luise von Flotow 2007; Venuti in Baker 2009: 3.66–82). Such programs, both domestically and internationally, may either be programs of translation of explicitly political documents or politically motivated translations of other types of text (see Political translation*; Baker 2009: 3.Part 11). Translation plays a mediating role not only between nations but between national and international practices (see Inghilleri in Baker 2009: 3.306–25). These concerns intersect with issues of globalization and migration as transnational phenomena. In addition, translation and interpreting play significant roles in conflict situations, as recent research explores (see Conflict and translation****).

Such external forces that impinge upon translation are complemented by implicit forces that can also be external, for example the unspoken norms of translation practice (see Theo Hermans 1996) or the economics of translation publishing. In the first chapter of *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995/2008), Lawrence Venuti analyzes some of the economic and market forces behind translation, as well as some of the implications that perceptions of translation have on those same forces. André Lefevere's analysis (1995) of systems of patronage in translation also approaches the question of how economic, political, and social power can shape translation and translation practices.

Power can also, however, be challenged from within translation itself, by the translator (see Committed approaches and activism*). In this area again, post-colonial theories about translation as a form of resistance are particularly relevant (see Tymoczko 2010: 15). Translation does not always reinforce existing power structures. As many post-colonial scholars have shown, it can also be used to subvert those structures. Román Álvarez and M. Carmen-África Vidal acknowledge this potential in their edited collection *Translation Power Subversion* in the introductory chapter: "Translating: A Political Act". If conformity to norms indicates an acceptance of existing power narratives in a culture, then the subversion of those norms represents a resistance of power. Such resistance can in turn create its own power structures and form new systems of norms.

One example of such a core of resistant practices that has come to form a new and powerful scholarly approach is the school of feminist translation theorists that developed in Canada in the 1990s (see Gender in translation*). The work of Sherry Simon, Luise von Flotow, Barbara Godard, Suzanne De Lotbinière-Harwood, and others begins as a challenge to existing gendered power structures that affect translation. Resistant feminist practices expose conventions of translation and attitudes toward translation linked to dominant discourses on gender. These resistant practices, however, also gained enough traction in the Translation Studies community that they acquired power in their own right.

3. Translation and power at the micro-level

These large-scale power dynamics surrounding translation are made up of individual translational movements, and scholars have been actively pursuing research into translation and power at this micro-level as well. Large-scale analyses of the prevalence or economics of translation, such as that of Venuti (1995/2008), focus on the cumulative effects of translation, but many of the macro-level explorations discussed above make use of evidence from case studies in order to support theories about wider trends. The complicated power dynamics of colonialism can be seen not only from a broad perspective of the social and cultural implications of colonial power relations but also at the level of individual texts and their translations, that can be seen as constructing or perpetuating those power dynamics. Many post-colonial scholars organize reflections on translation and power in a broad way around particular translational events, reflecting on such cases as symptomatic of larger social, political, and economic phenomena.

There are, however, micro-level translational events that are not always as visible through large-scale narratives about translation and power. The practices of individual translators or interpreters as businesspeople or in less public forms of translation are fruitful ground for investigation about how translators and interpreters negotiate the power structures of each translational interaction (see Agents of translation**, Status of interpreters**, Status of translators**). In these interactions, the translator or interpreter has a certain amount of power by way of being the linguistic broker through whom the interaction must take place. By contrast, however, a commercial client of an interpreter or commissioner of a translation (see Functionalist approaches*) has a different type of power in the relationship as the paying or commissioning agent. Third parties – target audiences or source authors in the case of translation, or the other interlocutor in the case of interpreting – may have varying degrees of power. Their relationships to the commissioner and translator or interpreter may have profound implications for the interaction.

Translator or interpreter ethics* is another area of particular concern in micro-level discourses on translation and power (see Baker 2009: 3.Part 8). The potential for power imbalances and ethical dilemmas in a single translational exchange or interpreting event has been a subject of increased attention, particularly from scholars of interpreting. The relative autonomy of the translator or interpreter has become a key area of investigation, particularly in situations in which other power dynamics are clearly visible, such as court interpreting or language mediation in conflict zones (see Inghilleri 2012). Discourses about autonomy and ethics, however, often connect back to normative ideas about the role of translators or interpreters, and as observed above, conformance to normative practices can be considered an ideological stance in itself.

At the micro-level of thought on translation and power we can situate discourses on the responsibilities of the translator or interpreter, whether economic, social, political, or other. Macro-level discussions locate translation within power structures at the social, governmental, or international levels, often by drawing from the observed micro-level behaviors of individual translators or interpreters. Macro-level discussions, however, can also, in turn, inform prescriptive statements about translator and interpreter responsibilities at the individual level. Codes of professional conduct, for example apply wider norms of business ethics to the practice of professional translators and interpreters. Particular situations, such as document translation for the War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague or the system of political translation in the European Union, give rise to their own systems of norms and instructions for individual practitioners that then inform micro-level practice.

4. Translation and power at a meta-level

A recent increased push for the globalization of translation studies itself is a good starting point for thinking about translation and power at a meta-level. Various critiques have been leveled against translation studies as Western-centric or Eurocentric and exclusive, and against even the impulse to expand translation studies to include "non-Western" discourse (see Eurocentrism***). In an article from 2002, Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva makes the point that the very terms "Western" and "non-Western" reflect hegemonic and homogenizing tendencies connected to imbalances of power in academia, and that the practice of bringing examples from the periphery to support or deconstruct existing theory is in fact a way of reinforcing the primacy of existing theory and the centrality of "Western" discourse on translation. Martha Cheung (2006) engages in similar reflections on the topic of her *Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation* in her article "From 'Theory' to 'Discourse': the Making of a Translation Anthology". Cheung explores the ways in which the very words used to describe the field – "theory", "thought", "discourse" – can reflect vectors of power in scholarship and must be carefully considered.

In a similar way, although related to gender rather than colonial power relations, Lori Chamberlain's essay "Gender and the Metaphorics of Translation" (2004) highlights how discourses about translation and perceptions of translation play into patriarchal norms and reinforce gendered stereotypes about cultural production and national power relationships. As a meta-theoretical article, Chamberlain's work shows how the gendered power structures that many of the feminist scholars examined at the macro- and micro-levels of translation were also embedded in the discourse of historical and contemporary translation studies.

Other meta-level discussions include recent debates both in Translation Studies itself and in the humanities in general on the practices of world literature in the academy. Translation as a prerequisite for certain types of course content is increasingly being made the topic of discussion both in Translation Studies and in wider circles devoted to comparative or world literature. In his article in *Translation Power Subversion*, André Lefevere (1996) makes an argument for the role of translation in canon formation, noting the general conservatism of anthologization and the implications for educational situations that make use of anthologies****. Mona Baker's *Translation Studies* unites reflections by prominent scholars on the subject of canon formation, world literature, colonialism, and gender studies in a section titled "World Literature and the Making of Literary Traditions" (2009: 2.83–219), highlighting the intersectionality of these discourses.

5. New directions

There are a number of developments in scholarly research in Translation Studies as well as wider areas of cultural studies and literature that seem directly relevant to discussions of translation and power. An increased interest in indigenous languages and literatures is a potential site for new enquiry into power relations regarding translation.

Similarly, research on minority languages that are not indigenous (the products of migration or socio-cultural language shifts) promises to contribute new information to the subject. Shifts in the interests of domestic and international governmental policies may also prove to encourage research in new areas: current international interest in languages like Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Chinese, Farsi, Russian, and the many languages of the Indian subcontinent may prompt new research not only on how those traditions intersect with Western theoretical notions of translation and power but also on how they have constructed and negotiated alternate theories of translation and power. Developments in connected areas of enquiry on questions related to race, class, gender, and other socially constructed structures of power will also have the potential to affect the directions taken by scholars researching translation and power.

On a technological level, the proliferation of translation technologies as well as the key role of social media and the internet in international communications will be able to contribute important information to our understanding of power dynamics between languages and cultures. The prominence of social media in recent events in international politics and the structures of translation that contributed to the dissemination of information about those events provide fertile ground for investigating the role of translation in political struggle, social change, and revolution.

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Reception and translation

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1. From the text and author to the reader

Reception is a term that, since its introduction in literary studies in the 1960s, shifted the focus from the text and the author to the reader. The bottom line is that a text has no meaning without the contribution of the reader. In the conceptualisation of reception we can distinguish two main traditions: a European and an American one. One of the most influential scholars in the first was the German Hans-Robert Jauss who worked within the framework of the 'Rezeptionsaesthetik' (aesthetic of reception) in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Jauss introduced the term 'Erwartungshorizont' (horizon of expectations) to designate the set of cultural norms, assumptions and criteria that shape the way in which readers understand and judge a literary work at a given time. The process by which the reader concretises the potential of the text into a specific meaning or sense is what Jauss calls reception. Jauss' main goal was to find new ways to write literary history. He claimed that the evolution of the audience, not the historical period of the author, explains the history of a literary text. A second important scholar of this 'Konstanzer Schule' (Constance School) is Wolfgang Iser. He introduced the concept 'Leerstelle' (Textual Gaps). For Iser, texts provide only a schematic structure, leaving many things unexplained to the reader. Through the reading process, the reader fills in the gaps and realizes the meaning of the text in a subjective and imaginative way.

In the 1970s, almost simultaneous with the Konstanzer Schule, literary scholars in the US initiated Reader Response Criticism, which equally shifts the focus from the text to the reader. One of the most influential scholars here is Stanley Fish, whose theory states that a text does not have meaning outside of a set of cultural assumptions (Fish 1980). Fish claims that we interpret texts because we are part of an 'interpretive community' that imposes upon us a particular way of reading a text. This concept of 'interpretive communities' has been very influential and is widely used. It entails that our 'horizon of expectations' is not just subjective or individual, but is collective and based on aspects such as history, geography, status, education, age or gender giving the concept of 'reception' a political dimension.

2. Reception in Translation Studies

This paradigm shift towards the reader can be said to have had a considerable impact in the study of translation, as it promoted the consideration of translations as a product of the target context. For the study of translation, this meant moving away from a linguistically oriented approach focused on the concept of equivalence*** and the comparison between source and target texts, towards the study of translation within the receiving culture and the role translations played in the identity formation and dynamics of the target culture (see Descriptive Translation Studies*).

The connection between Reception Studies and Translation Studies* (TS) is thus historical and central to TS. However, the links between them go far beyond that. From a Translation Studies perspective, the concept of reader – necessarily extended to include the viewer in Audiovisual translation*, the spectator in theatre translation as well as the translator itself as the first reader – also encompasses concepts such as implied reader, interpretive community, critics, target culture, and empirical reader. In this context, it is relevant to distinguish two levels of analysis in the study of reception within TS: one looks at the reception of translations at a social level and focuses on 'theoretical readers', the other looks at reception at a more individual level and focuses on 'real readers'. This article presents a short review of the studies developed following both approaches and methodological differences between them.

2.1 Reception from a social perspective

Looking at the reception of translations from a social perspective means focusing on how translated texts are received on a supra-individual level. Such focus has been assumed by a number of approaches related to Translation Studies, namely Adaptation* Studies, Histoire Croisée, Imagology, Cultural Transfer, Cultural Studies, Comparative Literature (see Literary Studies and Translation Studies* and National and cultural images***).

The study of reception does not always deal with translations; however, the booming of Translation Studies in the last decades has, undoubtedly, made translation a more common topic in Reception Studies. Conversely, Translation Studies does not always consider the reception of texts, but almost from the beginning of the discipline this has been a widely practiced line of approach. According to Raymond Van den Broeck (1988), the rise of Reception Studies in the 1960s caused translations to become a widely studied object because it incited scholars to study the way translations function in the receiving culture and the importance of translated literature in the development of national literatures.

It was especially Descriptive Translation Studies, with its focus on the functioning of translated texts in the target culture, that made the concept of 'reception' relevant to Translation Studies. The Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar, in his seminal text "The Position of Translated Literature Within the Literary Polysystem" (dating from the 1970s, but revised in 1990), deals with the introduction, by means of translation, of a cultural product from a source culture into a target culture, focusing mainly on how and why these translated texts and authors take a central or peripheral place in the target culture. The translated text can either function as an innovatory ('primary') or as a conservatory ('secondary') force. This idea is related to Jauss' 'aesthetic distance'. Even-Zohar also focuses on the nature of the target culture when he sums up characteristics of cultures that are more likely than others to receive cultural products from across their borders: (a) when a literature is young; (b) when a literature is peripheral or weak and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. In his text 'The making of culture repertoire and the role of transfer' he introduces the concept of repertoire. (see Polysystem theory and translation*) Andringa (2006) has refined this concept for the study of literary reception. She redefines the concept as 'mental equipment' with three components: (1) knowledge of works and oeuvres that serve as models and frames of reference; (2) internalized strategies and conventions that govern production, reception, and communication; and (3) sets of values and interests that determine selection, classification, and judgment. The components are interconnected in that all are value-laden or interest-driven.

The combination of translation and reception has appeared very useful in the study of literary** and Cultural translation***. Both a qualitative and a quantitative approach are relevant. In a quantitative approach, one can gather bibliographical information, count translations, map translation flows (cf Heilbron 1999), make inventories of translations in a certain era, by a certain translator, from a certain source culture, etc. (see also Bibliometrics****). In a qualitative approach, one can study aspects such as how an author, oeuvre, genre or source culture was received in the target culture, e.g. by looking at literary criticism, influence and intertextuality, censorship, etc. One can also use questionnaires or interviews to assess the reputation or interpretation of a work or author in a certain community. The influential concept of 'norms' (see Norms of translation*) often plays an important role in this kind of approach to reception. Less studied is the translated text itself as a means of productive reception. Discourse analysis can show how a translation functions as an 'interpretation' of the source text. This line of approach – the reception of translated texts studied at a textual level – can complement the study of reception at a social level.

Especially the study of cultural transfer, focusing on the reception of e.g. Slovene literature in Italy, John Dos Passos in The Netherlands or Shakespeare in Turkish cinema, offers a rich variety of topics for Translation Studies scholars. It can also lead to a more abstract kind of topic like e.g. the translation and reception of Darwinism in France, etc. 'Translation' is then sometimes used in a more metaphorical manner.

Outside the realm of literature and culture, this concept of 'reception' has not been used very frequently within Translation Studies. The study of the reception of e.g. technical or audiovisual translations has received very little attention. Exceptions, however, can be found in authors such as Chen (2011), who uses the concept of reception aesthetics (Jauss and Iser) to discuss the reception of news texts.

Baker (2006) does not limit her research on reception at a social level to cultural or literary texts, but also looks at e.g. political translations. She explores the terms 'frame' and 'framing', which can account for the ways in which discourses are altered when transferred, because they are injected by other, personal or collective narratives in the translation practice. She starts from the assumption that the meaning of narratives is defined not only by their production, but also by their reception, which is clearly the crux of Reception Studies.

2.2 Readers response and assessment

Contrary to this first approach focused on how translations are received at a supra-individual level, this second perspective focuses on the 'real reader' and how specific translation strategies affect readers' response and assessment. Researchers try to answer questions related to (a) the cognitive processes invoked at the moment of reception of translated material; (b) the effect of specific contextual, sociological, technical or linguistic aspects on reception; and (c) the readers' assessment of particular translation strategies. In the context of Translation Studies, this kind of research has mainly been focused on the translator and the cognitive processes invoked when translating (see Cognitive approaches*); however, more attention has gradually been devoted to readers, their competence, needs and expectations. Back in 1995, Kovačič was already calling for more empirical studies on reception and 'readers'. She considered that, without more empirical data on readers' response and assessment of translated texts, current translation strategies and tactics would continue lacking empirical testing; the process of audience design would continue unable to address the needs and expectations of 'real readers'; and finally, translators would continue to be left to their own devices and to work based on assumptions often grounded on individual stereotypes and prejudices.

Moving away from the concept of ideal viewer, this second approach to reception assumes a clear focus on 'real readers' and makes use of similar data collection methods, such as questionnaires and interviews, and more specific methods such as simple observation, eye-tracking and interactive tasks. Interviews and questionnaires are used both to collect information on readers' assessment and measure comprehension and processing effort. The amount of data collected is normally higher using these methods, but they also force the researcher to rely on viewers' perception. Among the more specific methods, simple observation is a relatively unobtrusive method to collect data; however, besides the risk of having the researcher's own subjective judgement influencing the results, readers' reactions will be difficult to scale and compare. Technological advancements have led to an increase in the use of eye-tracking in the study of reception of translated material. The data on gaze location offers the researcher insight into behaviour features of reception such as reading speed, attention distribution, the order in which elements of the translated product are received and how often they are fixated. Interactive tasks such as, for example, the use of a protest button can be used to illicit simultaneous responses; however, previous studies (Gottlieb 1995) have raised concerns regarding over or under-responsiveness from participants. Given the difficulty in collecting data on cognitive processes and the fact that every method has its advantages and disadvantages, the adoption of triangulated methodologies has been deemed more suited by many researchers. In this context, triangulation means the combination of different methods so that the results collected through one method are contrasted with the results collected by a second or third method.

Besides the problems regarding the collection of data, researchers also face problems regarding the myriad of variables that can impact on reception such as: translation mode; sociological variables (age, gender, etc.); contextual variables (genre, year, etc.); paratextual variables (translation notes, glossary, etc.); interplay between modes (specially in the case of audiovisual and theatre translation); technical aspects (in/out subtitles, etc.) and linguistic parameters (lexical frequency, linguistic variation, etc.).

Although still in its infancy, this approach has already promoted a considerable body of work in the context of Translation Studies. It is, however, interesting to notice that, contrary to what was described in the previous section, most studies focused on reception at an individual level were, until now, developed in the context of audiovisual translation (AVT). It is worth mentioning the work of Puurtinen (1995) and Kruger (2013) on the reception of children's literature, or Kenesi (2010) on the reception of poetry; however, the number studies focused on the reception of literary translation seems always small when compared to the much higher number of studies focused on the reception of audiovisual translation. Such studies have considered different modes such as subtitling*, dubbing and audio-description as well as different audiences (hearing and viewing people, deaf, hard of hearing, blind) (see also Voiceover and dubbing*; Media accessibility***). They have focused on topics such as the effectiveness of subtitling and dubbing, the translation of humour*, culture specific items, and linguistic variation. They have also tested the impact of variables such as age, gender, knowledge of source language, subtitling speed, lexical frequency, word-by-word rendition in live subtitling, the use of additional subtitles with contextual information, and the level of condensation in subtitles (see Caffrey 2009 for a good summary of some of these studies).

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Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies

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1. The scientificity issue in Translation Studies

As explained in Institutionalization of Translation Studies***, Translation Studies was pioneered by academic scholars, mostly from comparative literature, but also by translator and interpreter trainers, some of whom had no scientific background. They developed much of their theoretical work ("personal theories" – Gile 1990) on the basis of personal observation and introspection without systematic empirical testing or systematic engagement with existing theoretical work. Some of their immediate successors who were dissatisfied with the situation started to call for more "scientific" work. This was particularly salient in Interpreting Studies* (see Gran & Dodds 1989), where cognitive issues were the first to attract interest and cognitive science became the main reference discipline for research into interpreting. In research on written translation, initial work on the translation process was done in the mid-eighties with the Think Aloud Protocol* (TAP) method, which was imported from cognitive psychology. Epistemologically speaking, the experimental paradigm prevalent in cognitive science thus found its way into a discipline with linguistic and literary roots. It soon became clear that there were major differences in how scholars from different academic backgrounds viewed the requirements of good research, and in how self-trained researchers from the ranks of translator and interpreter trainers did research. Another difficulty with which TS has had to contend were the doubts and sometimes the hostility of the translation and interpreting profession towards research as discussed in Chesterman & Wagner 2002 (see also Impact of translation theory****).

The issue of scientificity became salient as meetings and exchanges involving the various traditions became frequent, in particular in the yearly CE(T)RA summer school doctoral program. Fundamental epistemological differences surfaced in seminars and discussions on issues such as the need to back claims with empirical testing, the ecological validity of experimental research, the extent to which concepts needed to be theorized and subjectivity vs. objectivity in research.

In a 1994 paper, Moser-Mercer described the Interpreting Studies community as composed of two groups which followed two different "paradigms", the "natural science paradigm" and the "liberal arts paradigm". She wrote: "members of one community may often not enter into a dialogue with representatives of the other" (Moser-Mercer 1994: 17). Actually, Moser-Mercer probably targeted idiosyncratic theories developed by translator and interpreter trainers ("personal theories"), not the research of TS scholars who had come from literary traditions, but the issue came up again and again within the larger context of TS, in doctoral schools, in conferences and seminars and within EST, the European Society for Translation Studies (see for example *EST Newsletter* issues 16 (2000) and 18 (May 2001), as well as the relevant 'research issues' on the EST website at http://www.est-translationstudies.org/resources/research_issues_index.html). In a debate on translation research and interpreting research (Schäffner 2004), Gile suggested that one key to address the misunderstandings was to acknowledge the legitimacy of different approaches within science and try to understand the norms of each so that individual studies could be viewed in the applicable framework (p.126).

There is some reluctance within TS to give up the idea of unitary principles of what good research is (see Chesterman 2008; Pöchhacker 2011). And yet, as illustrated in the debate between Pöchhacker and Gile in Schäffner (2004), mutual criticism and misunderstandings between scholars who follow different approaches can be problematic, especially for beginners in research who have to choose one normative framework or another for their project for fear of seeing their work severely criticized from both sides.

For instance, if an author presents a source text and its target text rendition and makes claims on the reasons for the shifts observed on the sole basis of a theory and a few examples, s/he may be criticized by some scholars for failing to show that the examples are representative of all the shifts in the target text and for failing to consider and systematically eliminate all other possible explanations before making claims. If s/he looks for specific shifts from the source text in a translation to answer a specific question without referring to the general context or to theory, s/he may be criticized by other scholars for taking a narrow view of the phenomenon and ignoring some important theoretical issues. Such criticisms are rife in the discipline.

One way of taking on board the diversity in research approaches within a unitary conceptual framework would consist in differentiating between fundamental principles and norms common to all scientific endeavors on the one hand and operational norms on the other. Operational norms can be 'scientific culture-specific' or discipline-specific. Science can thus be represented in a three-layered architecture, with underlying fundamental norms, operational norms above them, and actual research methods on the top layer (Figure 1).

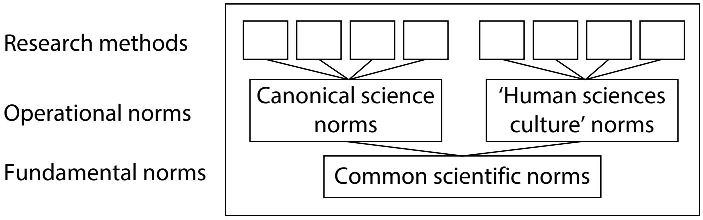

Figure 1. 'Science': an architecture of norms and research methods in science

2. Two scientific cultures

Many academic institutions and public authorities in charge of science nationally and internationally officially recognize two families of 'scientific' disciplines, the 'natural sciences' and the 'social and human sciences'. Natural sciences essentially rely on empirical research. In the social and human sciences, some disciplines are more empirical (psychology, ethnology, part of sociology, linguistics, history) and some are more theoretical (philosophy, cultural studies, literary studies). Operational norms, especially with respect to data, inferencing and theory, vary widely between the two families, because the two respective cultures, as they have been called by Snow in a famous lecture delivered in 1959 (see Snow 1990), may not understand each other. The situation described in the previous section within TS mirrors this division.

There is less dispersion in operational norms within the family of natural sciences. In human and social sciences, however, divisions reappear. Experimental psychology, for instance, follows scientific norms similar to those of physics, while some literary or sociological analyses proceed differently, with some observation and much theorizing. In the social sciences, in particular, one finds references to a "quarrel" between positivism and interpretivism. It may therefore make sense to re-define the families not as natural sciences vs. social and human sciences, but as disciplines and sub-disciplines which take as a model the ideal of the Canonical Scientific Culture (CSC), classically typified by physics, and those which are based mostly on theoretical development. These will be referred to here collectively as forming Human Sciences Culture (HSC) because such theoretical work is typical, though not exclusive, in many disciplines in the human sciences.

Both cultures share fundamental beliefs and norms about science, which define scientificity at the deepest layer of the architecture proposed in Figure 1:

1. Science is about exploring/understanding reality.
2. Good science is systematic and rigorous.
3. Science is collective and communicative: it involves the careful examination of previous studies on and around the phenomena being investigated and systematic

references to them in one's publications, publication being an essential part of scientific activity.
4. Science is critical. Critical engagement with existing research is an important driver of progress.
5. Science is conducted within well-defined social settings such as academic institutions and research institutions and is subjected to the associated social and institutional norms. These include, inter alia, career paths with certain hierarchically defined positions and critical examinations in various forms, in particular peer reviews, throughout a researcher's career.

As regards operational norms (the intermediate layer in Figure 1), there are typical differences:

6. In CSC but not in HSC, inferences and claims are only made on the basis of explicitly defined and analyzed data and strict logical reasoning.
7. In CSC, an explicit distinction is made between documented claims on one hand and speculation, assumptions or tentative hypotheses on the other. Not necessarily in HSC.
8. In CSC, researchers seek to avoid subjectivity. In HSC, this is not always the case.
9. CSC does not allow prescriptive statements, except perhaps as conclusions of a study. HSC does.
10. CSC does not require explicit theoretical references and/or reflection. HSC does.

Specific empirical research methods or paradigms within CSC are located at the topmost layer in the architecture illustrated in Figure 1. CSC methods and research paradigms cover a wide spectrum, and operational specifications vary as well, from naturalistic studies with qualitative data collection to strict empirical designs with complex quantitative analysis through the analysis of electronic corpora, retrospection and surveys. While CSC scientists immersed in their home discipline may only be familiar with their own research methods and operational norms, they generally recognize the scientific nature of research done in other disciplines and with other methods when these are clearly compliant with the fundamental norms of CSC. Note that in the scientific community at large they do not necessarily acknowledge HSC endeavors as science, but this is less the case in Translation Studies, where both cultures are present, CSC is in a minority position and some HSC scholars and their theories are in high regard.

Recognizing science as a federation of scientific cultures will not put an end to disagreements about which culture and which sub-culture is 'better', but may help when the 'scientificity' of specific approaches is challenged.

3. What are scientific theories?

In CSC, the scientific process is typically presented as starting with observations of reality which lead to speculative generalizations in the form of a theory, which is then tested empirically by confronting predictions derived from it with data. When discrepancies arise, the theory is amended so as to become compatible with the new data, and the testing begins anew. Theories are required to have the ability to be tested empirically and to be proved false if they do not explain and predict reality. Such 'falsifiability', as it has been called by Karl Popper, is considered by some authors a *sine qua non* condition for a theory to be considered 'scientific'.

In reality, not all existing theories in science, including physics, are easy to test empirically. This inter alia is the case of Unified Field Theory, a highly theoretical attempt to reconcile quantum physics with Einstein's theory of general relativity. In some cases, there is too much variability in the relevant phenomenon to reach conclusions about the correctness of the theory; in other cases, the required tools to collect the necessary data and analyze them are not available. And yet, scientists refer to these explanatory and only potentially predictive constructs as theories.

Reality also differs from the canonical picture in another sense: in CSC, theories are presented as originating from observation or from consideration of evidence that contradicts existing theories. In both cases, they are based on data, perhaps on knowledge about other theories, and on reflection, data being an essential component of the process, the only legitimate proof that a theory (still) deserves to be maintained or that it has been shown to be false. Moreover, the test and the theory are considered truly worthy of science only if there are strong, exclusive links between the data observed and the relevant theory. If the data are compatible with several theories or cannot considerably reduce the uncertainty about the correctness of a given theory, according to the canons of traditional science, not much has been gained. But again, reality is more complex. Theories are the product of efforts by scientists to integrate numerous observations into a coherent structure. Even when they are not falsifiable because they are too general or for technical reasons, they provide a platform for further empirical exploration and theorizing. Science being a collective endeavor, the product of reflection and theoretical development work done by some can be used by others who thereby save time. In applied science, the usefulness of theories with wide explanatory power but which have not demonstrated their predictive power or which have been shown not to explain adequately all of reality is also clear: Newtonian physics, to take a well-known example, does not account adequately for some known physical phenomena, but it is used successfully on an everyday basis in engineering and in construction work.

It follows that rather than try to define 'theory' unitarily, it may make more sense to look for core elements found in all uses of the term across science:

1. Theories are mental constructs, not descriptions of known facts.
2. Theories propose generalizations beyond what has already been observed and/or measured.
3. Theories are used to help researchers advance in their exploration of the universe. They can do so by proposing explanations for known phenomena, by predicting phenomena, by guiding exploration or reflection.

Note that under the wider meaning of 'theory' adopted here, boundaries between theories and hypotheses become fuzzy. For instance, Blum-Kulka's explicitation hypothesis, according to which translations tend to be more explicit than the respective source texts, can be viewed as a theory *per se*. As a matter of fact, it is being tested empirically, in compliance with one CSC requirement from theories.

Similarly, under the wider meaning of theory suggested above, the boundaries between theories and models become fuzzy, because models are used not only to help visualize complex structures and highlight some of their important components and assemblies, but also to represent assumptions about links between entities. Such is for instance the case of process models of interpreting in the information processing paradigm. In the following discussion, they will be viewed as theories.

4. Scientific theories in Translation Studies

In Translation Studies, there are few theories in the canonical science sense of the term. Perhaps the so-called Translation universals** could qualify if they are considered theories, albeit in very rudimentary form, mostly as single-hypothesis theories. There have been a number of tests of universals, with less than clear-cut results so far.

Popular theories in TS can roughly be classified into three categories depending on their origin:

Interpretive Theory and Skopos Theory were developed from within the ranks of translator and interpreter trainers and practitioners, though they took some inspiration, mostly indirectly, from psychology and linguistics respectively (see also Interpretive approach* and Functionalist approaches*).

Relevance Theory and Polysystem Theory* are imported theories which have been used for reflection and analysis within Translation Studies (see also Relevance and translation*).

Well-known models developed in Interpreting Studies are of mixed origin. Moser's process model of Simultaneous interpreting* is basically an adaptation and extension of cognitive psychologist Dominic Massaro's speech comprehension model. Robin Setton's model of interpreting is a combination of psychological and pragmatic models and theories. Like Interpretive Theory, Gile's Effort Models were originally developed intuitively, on the basis of observation and introspection, but were rapidly analyzed and rebuilt around fundamental concepts from cognitive psychology.

None of these theories is strong in the Popperian sense. They are more explanatory than predictive, and none of them has been tested systematically, though the concept of deverbalization, a main pillar of Interpretive Theory, and several hypotheses derived from Gile's Effort Models and the associated Tightrope Hypothesis (according to which interpreters work close to cognitive saturation) have been tested over the years.

If the canonical view of science is taken as the single authoritative reference, it is tempting to conclude that few existing theories in Translation Studies are scientific. But when including HSC, this is no longer the case.

5. Conclusion: Is TS scientific?

As an academic discipline, TS has some of its roots in comparative literature, which would place it within the scientific culture of the humanities. However, research conducted by translation practitioners and trainers over the years has shifted this position and it has come a long way since the beginnings. Half a century ago, there were numerous observation- and introspection-based prescriptive texts without attempts to engage with the relevant literature and/or systematic and rigorous empirical testing. These texts, which can arguably be excluded from 'science' as non compliant with the fundamental criteria listed earlier, are now rare in the literature. Methodological and other weaknesses are still rife in the discipline, but the problem lies in the quality of the scientific endeavors being conducted, not in their scientificity per se.

Qualitative improvements of TS research are clearly essential to its success, both technically and institutionally, and this is perhaps where the CSC/HSC model is most helpful. Constructive criticism of research is based on the assessment of compliance not only with the most fundamental norms, which, it has been argued, are shared by all forms of science, but also with operational norms and with practical research methods and their implementation in the relevant studies. Operational norms differ in CSC and HSC, and experience has shown that it is difficult to satisfy the requirements of both at the same time. Unless it is possible to demonstrate the absolute superiority of one over the other – which has not been done so far – it is therefore reasonable to acknowledge the legitimacy of both as 'science' so that each may lead investigators to the best possible results in their respective paradigms, with a possibility of cross-fertilization – as can already been seen in TS, the most visible example being perhaps the considerable volume of empirical work done on translation norms.

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Social media and translation

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Communication has increasingly become an online activity, as the proliferation of mobile media devices and online applications and platforms indicates. Given that translation is a form of intercultural and interlinguistic communication, it follows that translation activity has also migrated to the mobile, virtual world. While scholarship on the relationship between the Web and translation* has been undertaken since the Web's early iterations in the 1990s (e.g. localization*, crowdsourcing, to name only these examples), specific aspects of this vast area of study have yet to be researched and analyzed, particularly the interdependent and complex relationships between translation and online social media (OSM).

Gouadec (2007) has discussed the evolution of professional translation and the impact new technologies have had on the role of translators; specifically, he asserts that the "new translator" must master a wide array of skills, many of which involve online media literacy. He argues that translators must possess a firm command of Web competencies in order to carry out their daily tasks. As a result, translators are now required to be "tech-savvy" not only in terms of Translation tools* and technologies (e.g. CAT-tools, Machine translation*) but, additionally, must possess a wide range of Web-based competencies, including (though not limited to) Web-site design, file management, Web-page integration, content curation, etc. (*ibid*). While localization, understood as "the additional linguistic-cultural phase of adaptation required for successful exportation of software into international markets" (Folaron, 2012), is undoubtedly a significant market segment of Web-based translation activity, new niche markets are being created in light of online social media-generated communicative practices.

To begin, it is necessary to define what is meant by "online social media" (OSM). The concept of social networking is not new. However, the power of online networks and the importance of online networking, facilitated by OSM, have never been more important. In order to create an OSM *presence*, businesses, professionals and individuals have turned to OSM platforms to communicate with broader audiences. Kaplan & Haenlein (2010) define OSM as user-generated content (UGC) that is created, exchanged and curated on Web 2.0 platforms and applications. Different online social media sites cater to different types of UGC; for example, some OSM platforms may showcase visual content in the form of photos or videos (e.g. *Pinterest, Flickr, Youtube*), while others may combine blogs and microblogs (e.g. *Tumblr, Twitter*), while still others enable users to upload an amalgamation of different UGC (e.g. *Facebook*). The ways in which translation plays a role on these platforms is largely contingent on the type of platform itself. For instance, little verbal communication occurs on OSM sites such as *Pinterest*; in this case it is, quite literally, the images that "speak".

OSM has progressively impacted research conducted in Translation Studies. Three main areas will be considered here, though research avenues continue to grow exponentially. First, because OSM has changed the very nature of the texts that circulate on the Web (e.g. from predominantly verbal to visual texts or texts with increased reader interactivity), translator education must adapt accordingly, otherwise students will not be suited to work in the marketplace that awaits them upon graduation. As part of the technological competencies imparted to students, translation educators need to think about the OSM skills their students will use to respond to new market demands. How might translators tackle the challenges of translating a business' *Twitter* feed? These new forms of text (e.g. 140-character microblogs, use of *hashtags,* etc.) have markedly changed how some translators must approach their work. Translation students will need to be taught new forms of media literacy; specifically, students will have to understand and identify the minute but significant differences between various OSM platforms in order to effectively translate content. Here, translation is not restricted to the translation of the platform itself (i.e. translating the OSM site's interface exclusively), but encompasses the translation of the UGC as well. For example, *Facebook* has asked its users to translate the site's interface (Mesipuu 2012) – a *crowdsourced* approach to translation – but this example casts a shadow over other forms of translation taking place simultaneously. For instance, German-speaking *Facebook* users looking to communicate with a larger Anglophone audience (say their international list of *Facebook "friends"*) may choose to *self-translate* their original German posts into English in order to communicate with their international network more effectively (see Self-translation* and Networking and volunteer translators*). Companies looking to broaden their online presence have also created *Facebook pages* and *Twitter feeds* to reach wider audiences. In these cases, these companies may choose to have bilingual pages and bilingual feeds (or even multilingual pages and feeds) to appeal to international markets and clients (Oswald 2012), resulting in varying degrees of translation activity and intersecting with research pertaining to the understanding of specific discourse communities. This indicates the necessity of integrating OSM literacy into translator education; if translators wish to stay current in an increasingly competitive market sector, they must possess the same digital competencies as other elite bilinguals with communications and cyber studies backgrounds. In short, the integration of OSM literacy should be included in a translation curriculum. Desjardins (2011) has studied the benefits of integrating *Facebook* into the translation classroom setting in order to foster a sense of community among translation students early in their career (see Teaching translation/ Training translators***). She argues that students exposed to OSM in an academic setting or education context are better equipped to engage with these platforms throughout their careers. Desjardins' preliminary research indicates a favourable response from students in this regard.

Second, OSM have created new translation "tools" and reference materials. Because e-terminology evolves rapidly, traditional reference materials used by translators may lack new terms used in the online market. Translators have thus started to consult more "novel" reference materials. Crowdsourced dictionaries and *wikis* constitute relevant reference materials for social media-related terminology and are, in and of themselves, another form of OSM. For instance, the *UrbanDictionary* (www.urbandictionary.com) is a crowdsourced dictionary that provides web-specific UGC e-terminology. This site, however, must be used judiciously as it includes content that has not been vetted by expert terminologists (though they can and do contribute). Further, the nomenclature of the *UrbanDictionary* includes vulgar and slang terms that may be inappropriate in some contexts. Nonetheless, tools such as the *UrbanDictionary* can be very useful. Traditional dictionaries may unfortunately provide limited insight with regard to up-to-the-minute OSM usage, and translators cannot always afford thorough research when they are translating time-sensitive content (some *Twitter* feeds are updated and translated on a minute-by-minute basis!). Another benefit of UGC dictionaries is that they track language evolution and usage in *real time*. For instance, a recent entry defined the term "e-void". If a translator were to encounter the term "evoid" in a source *tweet* (e.g. "Our company does not wish to e-void its clients") and had to provide quick turnaround with an equally engaging and creative equivalent, it would be difficult to do so without knowing the meaning of the expression (particularly because of the polysemy of the word "void" and the prefix "e"). The *UrbanDictionary* provides a definition and usage examples that could assist the translator in creating or finding a functional equivalent in little or no time. Furthermore, it is interesting to note how OSM platforms such as the *UrbanDictionary* have been quite successful at creating spaces of alternative linguistic practices, where users are called upon to define the world on their own terms. In some cases, these alternative linguistic practices can be subsumed under the category of *activist linguistics* and *activist translation*. Translation Studies researchers have begun investigating the links between collaborative and activist online translation practices, with a particular emphasis on professional ethics (McDonough-Dolmaya 2011a; Drugan 2011). Even non-translators are interested in the role translation has played in activist activities and have used OSM as their discussion platform. This is the case for *Translating the Maple Spring*, a group that assesses the translation of press releases on *Tumblr*.

A third area in which OSM is having a tremendous impact is with respect to translator networking. Translators are now marketing themselves and their services through OSM sites catering specifically to professionals (e.g. *LinkedIn*). As Folaron (2012) has stated, translators are forming communities of practice and new networks, thus facilitating the discussion of translation-related topics across various disciplines and fields. This constitutes a particularly compelling area of research, as it is possible through these online accounts to assess how translators are self-describing, using online media, their tasks, their work and their role in communicative practices within professional institutions. In addition, because these OSM sites are not exclusive to translation professionals, studies could analyze the online relationships translators are creating and sustaining with other professionals from other fields. Questions that may rise include: do translators tend to connect with other language service professionals exclusively or do they tend to connect with professionals from other fields? Do they tend to connect with other professionals who practice in the same language combinations? Do they use OSM forums and platforms to "sell" their translation services? If so, how? These questions are similar to those explored by McDonough-Dolmaya (2011b) (her research does not focus on OSM sites per se, but could be applied to an OSM context) and Gough (2011).

The links between OSM and translation are only starting to be made. In the years to come, OSM will likely become one of the focal areas in which to explore translation practices, not just in terms of interlinguistic transfer, but also in terms of creating and sustaining OSM presence for translation and translation professionals, as well as in terms of translator education, translator networking and novel approaches to translation strategies.

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Social systems and translation

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1. Early systemic thinking

Translation has always been implicitly or explicitly associated with structures larger than itself: it was considered as a factor in exchange between languages, cultures or semiotic domains. The "Manipulation group" and polysystem theorists theorised translation in system-theoretical terms in the wake of literary structuralist and systemic studies (the Russian Formalists and the Prague Linguistic Circle; see in detail in Polysystem theory and translation*).

Inspired by the systems thinking of polysystem theorists, André Lefevere theorised translation as a form of rewriting practiced within a literary system, itself a part of a complex system of systems – a culture (1992; see Cultural approaches*). Lefevere's theory was also influenced by the German literary systems theorist Siegfried J. Schmidt. In his research, Schmidt applied Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory (see below), which did not consider human actors as part of social systems. Schmidt, however, introduced human agency into his theory of literary systems (1998). So did Lefevere, for whom the system is a series of constraints; yet the translator-rewriter retains freedom to act either according to or against constraints. Constraints are imposed both from within and without the literary system. Poetics is an example of internal constraints; ideology is an external constraint coming from political or religious authorities. The aesthetic and ideological constraints are closely linked and this is how the literary system is joined to the social system within which it is embedded.

2. Social-systemic paradigms

Although systemic thinking was quite prominent in several translation theories of the cultural turn, it is within the sociological turn that specifically social-systemic approaches have moved centre stage (see The turns of Translation Studies* and Sociology of translation*). There are two main kinds of sociological systemic paradigms – those focussing on systems as macrostructures above the human level and those focussing on systems or networks as microstructures formed by human actors through social interactions.

Pierre Bourdieu and Niklas Luhmann considered society to be composed of macrostructural units. These two scholars have provided much inspiration to translation students, yet they are by no means the only macrostructural sociologists whose theories have been applied to the study of translation. Building on Luhmann's notion of the social system, Jürgen Habermas' theory of communicative action studies the relationship between the Lifeworld, the basis for cooperative communicative action, and the bureaucratised System in modern society. There has been an attempt to trace the Lifeworld-System relationship in present-day translator training (Tyulenev 2012b). Anthony Giddens studies social systems in the context of globalisation. His theory has been applied to the study of the translation of news (Bielsa & Bassnett 2009; see also Journalism and translation*). Translation has been studied as a factor in another type of social macro-systems – in a world-system. The world-system theory is a perspective introduced in sociology for the analysis of international relations, especially in terms of inequalities and centre-periphery dynamics (Shannon 1996). This social-systemic theory has been used to examine international translation flows and the role translation plays in various local and national contexts (Heilbron 1999). Another approach is to look at the role translation plays in the emergence of social systems from the viewpoint of complexity theory (Marais 2013).

In contrast to macrostructural theories, the microstructural approach views social reality as networks developing from 'below', on the level of interacting individuals. This approach is prominent in Bruno Latour and Michel Callon's actor-network theory, which has been applied to Translation Studies (see Agents of translation** and Models in translation studies***).

Since the Translation Studies (TS) research based on theories developed by Habermas, Giddens, world-system and complexity theorists is only at an initial stage and the relationship between Bourdieu's theory of social fields and the actor-network theory is not straightforward, what follows focusses primarily on Luhmann's social systems theory, directly working with the notion of social systems.

3. Translation as a social system

The German sociologist Niklas Luhmann's social systems theory (SST) allows translation to be viewed as a social system or a subsystem, part of a larger social system. Luhmann theorised modern society as a system consisting of subsystems with their distinct functions ('function subsystems'), such as religion, politics, education, art, translation.

Andreas Poltermann was the first to apply SST to the study of translation (1992). He concentrated on literary translation as part of the national literary subsystem (cf. polysystem theory), which is a subsystem of art, which is a subsystem of the social system. Later Theo Hermans considered translation mostly as a system in its own right (1999: 137–150). Another attempt to apply SST was made by Hans J. Vermeer (2006). Both Hermans and Vermeer applied Luhmann's theory as a sideline to their research. For Hermans, SST provided inspiration for deploying a new conceptual apparatus (Hermans 2007: 111); Vermeer explored SST in the hope of deepening his skopos theory (see Functionalist approaches*). A fuller monographic treatment of SST in application to translation both as a system and as a subsystem was carried out in Tyulenev 2012a.

In a nutshell, Luhmann sees the social system as separated from its environment, everything that is not the system, by a boundary. All social systems are self-reproducing (autopoietic) systems. Luhmann distinguishes between biological, psychic and social systems. Human beings are at the intersection of three systems: biological (body), psychic (mind) and social. Luhmann interprets society as a communication system, comprised of communication events, rather than a collection of individuals. Each social function subsystem has its own communication – its own type of operations governing relationships between its elements. Social systems are operationally closed, yet they do interact with one another.

Translation can be described as a social system, because it can be shown to have all the properties of a social system. Translation has its unique element, namely the translation communication event (TCE), comprised of two or more communication events connected through mediation. The simplest TCE involves three parties (not necessarily three individuals!): A< >B< >C, where A and C are parties interacting through the mediator B in both directions. A and C come from the environment and only B belongs to the translation system: only in B can the operational nature of TCE be observed. B understands A's utterance in the sense that it chooses only a few of all possible pieces of information extractable from A's utterance. B's understanding becomes the utterance that reaches C. Out of all pieces of information extractable from B's utterance, C also selects a few and this constitutes C's understanding. Schematically, A: $\text{Utterance}_1 > \text{Information}_1 \cong$ B: $(\text{Understanding}_1 = \text{Utterance}_2) > \text{Information}_2 \cong$ C: Understanding_2. TCE and the conditions of its performance are the focus of TS as an academic discipline. TCE allows both the identification of translational phenomena, despite the multitude of its forms, and the conceptualisation of translation, despite its diversity.

Every social system has its function, efficacy, code, programmes and medium. Translation's function is mediation. Translation ensures social interaction across boundaries; this is its efficacy. Translation treats all phenomena as either mediated or unmediated. This is the basic binary systemic code of translation. For instance, in the case of interlingual interaction, translation sees any text as either translated or not. Translation also has flexible programmes reflecting changes in the mediation policies from culture to culture. Finally, each TCE has its medium, of which it is formed. Translation uses different media depending on the semiotic domain within which it occurs: language is the medium of interlingual translation; colour is the medium of the intersemiotic translation in painting.

Translation qua system has its subsystems – networks of relations between elements. For example, intra- and interlingual and intersemiotic subsystems are commonly distinguished. Within those subsystems, still smaller bundles of relationships may be singled out – subsubsystems (Legal translation* in the interlingual translation subsystem).

4. Translation in the social system

As a next step, translation should be viewed as a subsystem of a larger social system – another social-systemic formation (it would be a mistake to identify social systems exclusively with nation-states!).

Translation facilitates interaction across boundaries – both intra- and intersystemic. Therefore, translation is a social boundary phenomenon: it is 'located' and functions on boundaries. While mediating between two systems, translation does not become a third system. Translation is always an integral part of one of the interacting systems. SST sees the system-environment interaction as a dyadic relationship. The boundary is a liminal phenomenon belonging to the system, rather than an independent separate entity. The boundary stabilises the difference in degree of complexity between the less complex system and the infinitely complex environment (Luhmann 1995: 29, 504 (n. 49)). Thus, translation's allegiance is to the system commissioning its activities.

SST offers a fresh way of theorising the relationship of translation and power. Modern societies are function systems; each function subsystem is unequal to the other subsystems by dint of having its unique function. The only property shared by function subsystems is inequality: they are equally unequal. Social systems are multipolar; this has ramifications for the distribution of power in society. Power is one party's influence over another's decision-making ability. There is, for instance, an undeniable influence of the function subsystem of politics over business, education, art and translation, yet this influence is never absolute, the reason being that politics needs the other function subsystems because it cannot do what they can do. Hence, all subsystems are interdependent. Translation is no exception: translation may act at politics' beck and call, but also it can undermine political regimes.

5. Negotiating between structures and agents

Although significantly different from Luhmann's SST, Bourdieu's theory of social fields, actively applied in TS, converges with SST in seeing society as composed of system-like social spaces, namely fields. Fields are relatively autonomous, yet interconnected areas of activity (1990: 87–88). Bourdieu's structuring of social space is comparable to the Luhmannian social system with its operationally closed and interactionally open subsystems (Tyulenev 2012b: 206–207).

Bourdieu attempts to overcome the dichotomisation of social reality as an opposition of social institutions (structures) and individuals (actors or agents) and allows the researcher to analyse relations between structures and actors. A similar perspective is found in Giddens' structuration theory (1984) and Bernard Lahire's sociological theory showing the social world on the scale of individuals (2013: 11; see an application to translation studies in Meylaerts 2008). Such theories attempt to strike a balance in describing the relationship between structure and agency.

Such theories also link macrosociological and microsociological visions of translation. Microsociological theories attempt to study the social at the grass-roots level (see Ethnographic approaches*). Rather then trying to conceptualise ready-made systems, these theories study how social actors create social networks. One of such theories, the actor-network theory (ANT) developed by Latour and Callon, has been discussed in application to translation (Buzelin 2007; Bogic 2010).

Latour and Callon call their theory a "sociology of translation." They conceive of the term 'translation' in a sense broader than used in TS. Translation for them is a process in which agents recruit other agents into their projects. In TS, the angle of application of ANT is different, since translation is understood as interlingual transfer and networks are projects involving 'translation proper' (Jakobson). ANT has proved helpful in describing the role that translators play in publishing (together with commissioners, authors, editors, etc.).

6. Why study translation in relation to social systems?

Studying translation as a social activity has led to considering it as part of social systems, whether on the macro- or micro-scale, and as a social (sub)system *sui generis*. Such a view of translation is productive for several reasons. It shows translation's natural social habitat: translation is never practiced outside of social systems. Social systems theories also help us substantiate TS's claim that translation is a unique social activity deserving to be studied as such. Translation's uniqueness makes it equal with other social activities. Systemic views of international communication, such as those conceptualised by world-system theory (similar approaches have been developed based on Bourdieu's and Luhmann's theories, see Sapiro 2008; Tyulenev 2012c: 201–224) help to explain international translation flows and differences in the consumption of translation products. The sociologically-informed theorisation of translation should not necessarily be carried out using only one social systems theory. Social-systemic theories form a continuum between structure and agency. With due methodological care, moving between these two poles allows one to zoom in or zoom out on translational phenomena.

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Subtitles and language learning

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Foreign-language learning by means of subtitled audiovisuals has been the object of scholarly study for more than four decades. Studies converge in observing that the use of subtitles facilitates linguistic and cultural comprehension, in both formal and informal settings. Karen Price (1983: 8), a forerunner of this teaching/learning practice, explains how a group of ESL students, from twenty different language and educational backgrounds, improved foreign language/culture acquisition after watching intralingual subtitled TV programmes.[1]

Price's study was rapidly imitated by a number of foreign-language-teaching scholars, and at the turn of the century Henrik Gottlieb (2002) published a vast bibliography on subtitling*, covering the period from 1929 to 1999. Updated lists of titles on Audiovisual translation* and the pedagogical relevance of subtitled videos[2] are available on the web, but a pivotal source of information for this entry is Gambier (2007). This is a comprehensive, very well-referenced overview of empirical experiments with comments backed up by scientific insights.

The rapid growth of multimedia digital technology has fostered the dissemination of e-books, articles, projects and websites on the educational value of subtitles on the Internet and other forms of social media. Also, the European Commission, through its Educational, Audiovisual & Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), has funded many projects on subtitles as a means of enhancing foreign-language acquisition.[3]

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[1] Learning and acquisition are used interchangeably.

[2] For online sources, see http://www.transedit.se/Bibliography.htm (accessed July 2013), and http://www.fremdsprache-und-spielfilm.de/Captions.htm (accessed July 2013).

[3] See, for instance, *Media Consulting Group* (2011) http://eacea.ec.europa.eu/llp/studies/study_on_the_use_of_subtitling_en.php, and the ongoing *ClipFlair* (http://www.clipflair.net) (accessed March 2013).

1. Subtitled audiovisuals in informal and formal language-learning contexts

1.1 Subtitles and informal foreign-language learning

In most countries, films, TV programmes, documentaries, DVDs, together with the ever-growing range of audiovisual products supplied by the digital market, are among the most common types of entertainment that people can enjoy. Multilingual leisure-oriented viewers understand the dialogues by reading subtitles. As a result, the populations of subtitling countries, compared with those of dubbing countries, exhibit a better command of the foreign language they are accustomed to listening to (Media Consulting Group 2011: 3; Gambier 2007: 98). The primary purpose of this category of viewers is to enjoy the film/TV programme and understand what it is about. In such contexts, foreign language learning is incidental, that is, it is subconscious and unintentional.

In practice, the difference between intentional and unintentional L2 learning rests mainly with the relaxed disposition of people watching subtitled audiovisuals for entertainment. When the primary objective is learning a foreign language, viewers are consciously or unconsciously hindered by their level of anxiety, which is usually associated with the intellectual commitment of formal learning.

1.2 Subtitles and formal foreign-language learning

When subtitled videos are used in teaching/learning contexts, they are usually introduced by pre-viewing and followed by post-viewing activities. This implies that learners watch the video with prefixed learning tasks in mind. The type of audiovisual material used in such contexts may be an episode from a TV series or a short extract from a film or television programme, since long viewing time reduces concentration and favours passive watching to the detriment of language-learning objectives.

These objectives may focus on pronunciation and intonation, vocabulary, idioms, syntactic structures, etc. When the viewing activity starts, learners instinctively generate interrelated cognitive processes (Caimi 2011) which make them focus on the video clip with the aim of picking up what was required by the previewing lesson.

Such processes are based on each learner's cognitive potential as well as on his/her language/culture pre-requisites and degree of concentration. If the learning commitment is small, learners may still pick up language unconsciously, as if they were not learning-oriented but leisure-oriented viewers.

2. The pedagogical relevance of interlingual, intralingual and reversed subtitles

2.1 Description of the three types of subtitles

There are three types of subtitle combinations used in teaching/learning contexts. *Interlingual* (or standard) *subtitles* provide translation of the dialogues into the viewers' native language. They are beneficial at all levels of language acquisition, from elementary to advanced, and can serve many language/culture goals by means of graded cross-linguistic and cross-cultural exercises (Ghia 2012: 7–48).

Reversed subtitles are interlingual subtitles the other way round, i.e. the film sound track is in the viewers' native language and the subtitles translate dialogue into the foreign target language. They are addressed to learner-viewers and are successfully employed in L2 formal acquisition (Danan 1992).

Intralingual subtitles (bimodal, same-language, unilingual subtitles or captions) provide the transcription of dialogues in the language of the sound track. Same-language subtitles reinforce the acquisition of pronunciation, intonation, orthography, vocabulary learning, idioms, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic expressions, and are recommended for intermediate and advanced learners (Vanderplank 2010).

2.2 Subtitles as learning aids

It is now taken for granted that the most common way of communicating and receiving information is by means of visual/spoken and written media. For this reason young generations are likely to be better stimulated by subtitled audiovisual learning tools than by printed books. That is why the exploitation of subtitled audiovisuals as foreign-language-learning aids has been validated by extensive research matched with careful examination of practical experiments and followed by encouraging testing results (Gambier 2007; Vanderplank 2010).

While the referential interconnections between image and text are unquestionable across the board, the acquisitional value of the different types of subtitle combinations depends on many variables and on the aims of the course design.

2.3 Interlingual standard and reversed subtitles

Interlingual subtitled video clips can be released to classes of beginners, intermediate and advanced learners within a framework of pre-viewing instructions and post-viewing testing exercises, aiming to make learners grasp cultural and behavioural patterns, improve listening/viewing/reading abilities, and enhance vocabulary or syntactic learning according to their level of language competence. The learner-viewers' acquisitional feedback also depends on how often they watch subtitled videos. The standard version of subtitled videos is usually released to beginners, who need the support of L1 mediation, or to intermediate and advanced learners to test their language/cultural feedback when submitted to the subsequent release of the same video clip with different subtitle combinations. To date, the primary function of interlingual subtitles is framed within a sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspective supported by the EU policy to spread multilingualism in contexts of unintentional or incidental learning (Gambier 2007: 99–101).

Martine Danan and a few other scholars conducted experiments using interlingual reversed subtitled videos, which proved to facilitate general comprehension and understanding of contextual meaning. In fact, students with little L2 knowledge benefited from their native language dialogues to match the meaning of the corresponding subtitles. During such pilot experiments, learners were confronted with two or more types of subtitles: for example the video clip was released with L1 audio only, then with interlingual subtitles, finally with interlingual reversed subtitles. Another group of learners watched intralingual subtitled versions instead of standard subtitled ones. The result of the experiment was that interlingual reversed subtitled videos implemented vocabulary recall and language intake at a slightly higher level than bimodal ones (Danan 1992: 497–511).

2.4 Intralingual subtitles

A video clip, possibly not longer than five/ten minutes, can be released with different combinations of audio and visual input. Some experiments also include releasing the video with no sound and only subtitles or soundtrack without subtitles, but same language subtitles are by far the favourite combination for L2 intentional learners.

Almost all the researchers who conducted studies similar to Price's (1983) broadly agree that intralingual subtitles are precious learning aids for intermediate and advanced learners because they develop word recognition, pronunciation, spelling and vocabulary building, reinforce listening and reading skills, favour the comprehension of details, stimulate conversation, and reduce learner-viewers anxiety (Vanderplank 2010: 13).

In line with the positive results of these experiments, the farsighted Indian entrepreneur and scholar Kothari (2000) exploited same-language subtitles to bridge the gap between Indian official languages and the various regional dialects. The promotion of mass reading and listening activities to facilitate literacy in India was carried out by means of subtitled TV musical programmes. Strategies based on same-language subtitles are being experimented in multilingual African regions (Gambier 2007: 99).

3. The translation of subtitles as a language-learning tool

The success of reversed subtitling, Danan wrote (1992: 407), "can be explained by the way translation facilitates foreign language encoding." Danan's assumption is in keeping with the revival of translation as a teaching/learning subject in foreign-language instruction. Experiments where translation plays different acquisitional roles are now developing in various directions and are well documented in the previous editions of the present publication (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2010, 2011, 2012), while the online bibliography edited by the same authors provides more than twenty thousand references on all aspects of translation studies.[4]

The translation of subtitles is an after-viewing activity that benefits from hearing, reading, and visual perception of images. It is based on group work where different styles of learning interact to develop a productive written skill which includes reducing, condensing, simplifying and paraphrasing the L1 or the L2, both with exercises based on standard and same-language subtitles.

For example, an L2 teaching researcher (Talavàn 2013: 123) made her learners translate dialogues into L2 subtitles with a view to focusing on the correspondence between the syntactic and semantic structure of the oral messages of the two languages involved. Another researcher (Ghia 2012: 122) gave her students tasks based on sentence transformation, completion and reordering according to the requirements of the target language, with a view to applying various translation techniques.

The EU-funded project Learning via Subtitling (LeViS 2006–2008) provides an overview of a successful endeavour replicated by the ongoing ClipFlair (2011–2014), which has extended its audiovisual didactic approach to a remarkable number of lesser-used languages.[5] It provides a web platform where an online community of teachers, learners, activity authors and researchers may exchange experiences, suggestions and feedback. It is meant to be an international instrument for the dissemination of languages where users can also tackle the translation of intralingual subtitles.

4. Concluding remarks and a challenge for the future

Nowadays, the most common forms of international mass communication are based on the interdependence between sound, image and text. It is thus not surprising that recent methods for both independent and tutored foreign-language learning are based on multimedia learning tools. Internet projects meet the learner-viewers' demand for multilingual distance foreign language acquisition at a wide variety of L2 levels, and provide subtitled audiovisuals and didactic guidelines that facilitate independent as well as tutorial learning from childhood to adulthood. For this reason, the subject of subtitles and Language learning* is always in progress, attempting to broaden the parameters of its research and discover new motivating learning strategies. Now it is time to promote further experiments to test the interaction of the cognitive activities involved in media processing with the intersemiotic activity of translating subtitles.

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[4] See http://www.benjamins.nl/online/tsb/ (accessed July 2013)

[5] For LeVis see http://blogs.sch.gr/plinetkk/files/2012/10/levis_sokoli_v.1.1.pdf, for ClipFair see http://clipflair.net/ (both accessed March 2013).

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Teaching interpreting/Training interpreters

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Interpreter training has long been a dominant concern within the field of Interpreting Studies*. Whereas a "training paradigm" for conference interpreting was said to have emerged by the end of the twentieth century, the growing diversification of professional domains has challenged the idea of a standard curricular and pedagogical approach. The present article aims to provide an overview of interpreter education across professional domains, modalities and sociocultural traditions, highlighting prototypical models and drawing attention to critical points of controversy and debate. A discussion of basic issues under the headings of institutionalization***, academization and diversification will prepare the ground for a brief review of selected curricular and pedagogical topics.

1. Institutionalization – academization – diversification

For most of its millennial history, interpreting* between speakers of different languages was practiced without any special preparation other than some level of bilingual proficiency. Individuals who happened to learn more than one language, usually through some kind of immersion, were called upon to interpret by virtue of their biliguality. Reliance on such Natural translators and interpreters** – children and prisoners but also traveling merchants, diplomats and language scholars – was the norm until the early twentieth century, when the role of interpreter became institutionalized and higher demands on performance created a need for special training. Earlier efforts at ensuring a supply of qualified interpreters, such as the *jeunes de langues* sent to Constantinople from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries to facilitate communication with the Ottoman Empire (Cáceres-Würsig 2012), had been limited to the acquisition of language skills (and cultural competence) rather than instruction in interpreting techniques per se.

The view that a certain level of bilingual competence is sufficient qualification for interpreting continues to impact professionalization efforts to this day in what is broadly referred to as Community interpreting*. The need for special training in interpreting was felt, acknowledged and acted upon mainly for international Conference interpreting*. In particular, the requirement of rendering entire speeches (e.g. in conferences of the League of Nations) with the help of notes prompted initial training measures (in note-taking for Consecutive interpreting*) in the early 1920s, followed by the creation of an interpreter (and translator) training course at a commercial college in Mannheim, Germany, in 1930, later promoted to university level at the behest of the *Führer* and moved to the University of Heidelberg. Aside from translators for business and commerce, the Mannheim course was to train interpreters "for the needs of trade, industry, political service and the courts" (Wilss 1999: 45).

These early steps toward the institutionalization of interpreter training point to a number of critical issues, including the status of the institution in the educational system; the interests served by such training; the domain(s) in which future interpreters would be employed; and the relationship between interpreting and translation in the curriculum*. With regard to motivation and interest, interpreter training seems to be granted a higher status the more the interpreters are seen to serve the state or governing authority. Disposing of qualified interpreters would clearly be in the interest of nations engaged in international (political and economic) affairs and hence worthy of public support. This is reflected in the enormous growth in the number of interpreter training programs at higher-education level, from Europe in the 1940s to China and other emerging world powers in recent years.

Positioning interpreter training within a university – which in many countries was fully achieved only in the course of several decades – is associated with an academization of the curriculum. Depending on the degree level in the higher education system, academic status implies a measure of professional prestige for graduates as well as some role for academic research as part of the educational process. There has thus been a shift in emphasis from vocational/professional "training" to academic "education", though at varying speeds for different domains, and with persistent tension between practical training goals and academic demands.

Throughout the twentieth century, university-level interpreter training was geared to international conference interpreting, for which a "training paradigm" became established by the 1990s (Mackintosh 1999), just as new training needs for spoken-language interpreters in community settings were being acknowledged. By that time, Sign language* interpreter education, often in connection with sign language and Deaf studies or social work and special education departments, was advancing in many countries, but had yet to become enshrined in a standard curriculum. Unlike conference interpreter training for international communication events, the preparation of interpreters for community-based (intra-social) settings is inherently tied to a given sociocultural context and its institutional and educational infrastructure, which hinders the establishment of a uniform curricular approach. Moreover, the languages for which training is offered, or needed, may differ widely, ranging from world languages such as those adopted by the United Nations to those of particular ethnic minority groups. The landscape of interpreter training is therefore highly diverse, with regard to professional domains and institutional contexts (e.g. international organizations, courts, healthcare, police, asylum authorities) as well as national traditions. Given this diversity, the present survey of pedagogical approaches is necessarily selective, highlighting critical choices rather than describing established models.

2. Curriculum

Even for a clearly defined professional profile such as international conference interpreting, it took several decades for a widely accepted curricular model to emerge – as reflected, for instance, in the European Master's in Conference Interpreting (EMCI) initiated in the late 1990s by a consortium of 15 European universities in collaboration with the interpretation directorates of the European institutions. This model is based on a view of interpreter competence* as comprised of language proficiency, interpreting techniques and a range of general, specialized and professional knowledge, and reflects a number of key points of consensus: interpreter training is positioned at the postgraduate (Master's) level, with a minimum duration of one year (full time); admission is subject to an aptitude test of bilingual performance, such as summarizing a short speech in another language (see Russo 2011); and successful completion requires passing an interpreting test (in either mode and every relevant language combination) that is taken to demonstrate employability as a conference interpreter. The core curriculum therefore consists of language-pair-specific practical exercises in consecutive and Simultaneous interpreting*, complemented by basic theoretical, professional and subject area knowledge. Except for the EMCI model, which implies a specialization in matters of the European institutions, the curriculum for conference interpreter training usually aims for generalist qualifications, albeit with an emphasis on economic and political topics as well as science and technology. Rather than specialization, the moot point in designing postgraduate curricula for conference interpreters appears to be the relative weight of the "academic" component, which may range from an introductory lecture on interpreting studies to a full thesis requirement. Depending on the extent of academic research required of students for graduation, course duration is between one and two years. Another controversial design variable is the role of translation skills. The feasibility of Teaching translation*** as well as interpreting in a single program, preparing graduates to work as translators as well as interpreters, depends on the number of working languages required (presumably only two rather than three or even four) and may also be strongly conditioned by the content of the prior degree, as when MA-level interpreter training builds on an undergraduate program geared to translation and interpreting.

Whereas degree programs at the postgraduate level are now the rule for spoken-language conference interpreting, they are still the exception for sign language interpreters. The majority of interpreter training programs for signed languages can be found at the BA level, or even below that (in the form of certificate courses). To what extent undergraduate degree programs can achieve a high level of professional qualification in interpreting crucially depends on students' entry-level language proficiency. While not unique to sign language interpreter education, the mix of language learning and interpreter training at undergraduate level is a typical issue in the curriculum, and has major implications for instructional practices in the classroom.

The situation is even more uneven in spoken-language community interpreting, for which conceptual foundations are as ill-defined as the professional profile(s). Though a clear case can be made for a broad concept of community (or public service) interpreting that comprises legal (including judicial) and healthcare settings as well as any other area of community-based services, such as social welfare and education, Court/legal interpreting***, for which many countries have specific legislation, has enjoyed a measure of professionalization in its own right, distinct from other community-based domains. Even so, court interpreter training programs hardly ever go beyond the undergraduate level, if they are set up as degree programs at all. In this regard (i.e. status in the higher education system) the situation is comparable to that of sign language interpreter training. Unlike the latter, however, court interpreter training can be geared specifically to legal scenarios within a given national or state context. Complicating factors include the unpredictable language needs arising in the legal system as well as the fact that so-called court interpreters are often mandated to also provide certified translations of documents. Indeed, the notion of certification assumes particular importance where the interests of public authorities are at stake, and credentialing schemes for interpreters appear to receive as much, if not more attention than training programs. For court interpreting, in particular, training resources are often geared toward helping students pass a given certification test rather than obtain degree-level academic qualifications.

Some of the challenges identified for court interpreter preparation, such as the range of less widely used languages, also apply to training for other institutional settings, such as healthcare and social services, for which subject-area competence profiles are more difficult to define. Most problematic, however, is the widespread absence of a legal mandate for interpreter service provision, so that investing time and resources in the pursuit of a degree-level training program offers very uncertain returns. Generally speaking, therefore, the training situation in the field of community interpreting is marked by neglect and underdevelopment, with many islands of progress within rather heavy seas. With regard to institutionalization, best prospects for community interpreter training may lie in integrated degree-level curricula that assume a common core of interpreting skills (for conference and dialogue interpreting alike) as a foundation for domain-related specializations. While this approach would only cover languages relevant for both international and community-based work settings, it would provide an environment rich in academic resources for the development and refinement of new pedagogical approaches and tools.

3. Teaching

Much like curriculum design, the instructional practices and teaching methods, or didactics, of interpreting reflect a cline ranging from established traditions (for international conference interpreting) to ad hoc solutions for community-based domains. Apart from lecture courses familiarizing students with basic concepts of the profession (working modes and conditions, professional ethics), conference interpreter training essentially rests on guided practice for the development of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting skills, with a fairly well-described didactic approach for either mode (e.g. Seleskovitch & Lederer 2002). The main didactic challenge here is progression, which relates to such issues as introductory (or pre-interpreting) exercises and the selection and sequencing of input material (source speeches). Over and above progression within a given course or class is the controversial question whether consecutive interpreting skills must be taught and acquired before simultaneous interpreting (SI). This is an issue of curriculum design, and there is agreement that students should first be introduced to the basic process of interpreting, that is, understanding a message and (then) rendering it in another language, in consecutive mode. It is moot, however, what level of proficiency in consecutive should be required before SI training begins. Sight translation* is sometimes used as a bridge, but its role in the curriculum and in teaching practice is not well defined, except for the combined mode of "SI with text" in the final stage of SI training in the booth.

A predominant concern in the teaching of (spoken-language) consecutive interpreting is note-taking, and programs differ with regard to the extent of systematic guidance offered in this respect. There is consensus, though, that memory-based interpreting exercises (without notes) must precede the introduction of note-taking (Ilg & Lambert 1996). While most authors view notes as a largely individual way of supporting the interpreter's memory for more extensive or detailed source-language utterances, some principles (like vertical arrangement) and recommendations have become widely accepted (e.g. Rozan 1956/2002). Little is known about actual instructional practices, but recent technological advances such as the "Smart Pen" for digital recording and replay of the note-taking process allow for much further progress.

Most attention in spoken-language interpreter training for international conference settings has focused on the simultaneous mode, which also attracts most research, often from a cognitive perspective. The identification of cognitive component skills had led some to propose a cognitive approach to SI training, including so-called shadowing and dual-task exercises. But evidence demonstrating the effectiveness or superiority of a component-skill approach is limited, and holistic methods based on practicing real-life interpreting tasks prevail. This traditional approach has benefited greatly from the availability of digital audiovisual speech material, which can help bring the situational context into the classroom.

Regarding its theoretical foundation, SI training is increasingly underpinned by insights into the cognitive process and the development of expertise in advanced human performance (Moser-Mercer 2008). In particular, the so-called Effort models (Gile 2009) have been widely adopted in the interpreting classroom, helping instructors explain, and students understand, the difficulty of handling numbers and proper names or the role of coping strategies such as stalling and anticipation.

The fact that simultaneous is also the standard working mode for sign language interpreters makes for considerable common ground in interpreter pedagogy, including the challenge of working into one's B language (acquired language). Even so, the extent of close training-related interaction between the two sub-communities seems limited. This is due, in part, to the fact that much interpreting in signed languages is done in dialogic (face-to-face) rather than conference-like interaction, which suggests shared pedagogical ground with spoken-language community interpreting. The potential for the development of didactic approaches across modalities has yet to be fully tapped, but some mutual benefits can be identified. Thus, after an initial expectation to learn from conference interpreter trainers, teachers of community interpreting found their focus in an interactive view of discourse management (Wadensjö 1998), for which insights from discourse studies and interactional sociolinguistics that had been applied to interpreting by signed language interpreting scholars (e.g. Roy 2005) seemed particularly relevant. More recent advances include role-play approaches drawing on insights from theater and performance studies, which stand to enrich the pedagogy of spoken- and signed-language interpreting alike when dealing with such aspects of interpreter role behavior as neutrality and power.

Like interpreting practices as such (see Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology*, Remote interpreting**), teaching practices have been greatly impacted by technological advances. Aside from the equipment used for SI training in the booth, audiovisual recording, editing and input presentation techniques and web-based speech resources have reshaped teaching and learning in interpreter education. Beyond the interpreting classroom, e-learning platforms are now widely used for blended learning, and video-conference technology is harnessed to deliver interpreter training in distance mode. Much progress can be expected in this direction, as long as the core value of interpreting as a personal, situated communication service remains at the heart of educational efforts.

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Translation zone

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"Translation zone" refers to an area of intense interaction across languages. The dimensions and nature of that area can vary considerably: it might cover a large geographical expanse such as multilingual empires like the Russian, Habsburg or Ottoman empires or multilingual nations like India; it can be applied to specific border transactions, like those of the US-Mexican border; and it can refer to the micro-spaces of multilingual cities (Related terms: translation space, translation area, border zone, borderlands). While the idea of the translation zone has also been used with broad heuristic and polemical intent to push for the extension of the borders of literary studies (*The Translation Zone,* Apter 2006), the term is used most productively to characterize spaces defined by a relentless to-and-fro of language, by an acute consciousness of translational relationships, and by the kinds of polymorphous translation practices characteristic of multilingual milieus.

The term developed through analogy with Mary Louise Pratt's influential "contact zone", which has been in wide use since its introduction in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (1992). Pratt defined "contact zones" as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination-like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (4). Translation is logically one of the major activities in the contact zone, and Pratt developed this connection in a later article, "The Traffic in Meaning: Translation, Contagion, Infiltration" (2002). The idea of the "contact zone" was integrated into much subsequent writing on borderlands, transculturation and migration***, and on forms of hybridity**, métissage and créolité.

Emily Apter's *The Translation Zone* (2006), while exploring practices of hybridity and creolization, remains attentive to Pratt's emphasis on the centrality of conflict in the study of cultural contact. Her study is a wide-ranging attempt to reshape Translation Studies by broadening the field to include issues such as the politics of translation in media, technology, pragmatic real-world issues like intelligence-gathering and the embattled status of Minority languages**. She uses zone to imagine a "broad intellectual topography that is neither the property of a single nation nor an amorphous condition associated with postnationalism, but rather a zone of critical engagement that connects the "l" and the "n" of transLation and transNation (Apter 2006: 5).

A similar desire to reframe and broaden the study of translation practices is evidenced in the title given to the Translation Studies journal *Translation Spaces* edited by Deborah Folaron and Gregory Shreve, and in its editorial statement: "The journal envisions translation as a complex set of socio-cultural spaces where people and populations encounter one another to share knowledges, beliefs and values". These global spaces of encounter are defined as virtual (the spaces of the web), physical (the spaces of the cosmopolitan city) and cross-disciplinary. The journal seeks to integrate new areas of study, from communications to entertainment, government, law, information and economy.

"Zone" responds to the need to situate translation activity within clearly delimited geographies which are not framed by the nation. Initiatives to use mapping as a way of tracking the unpredictable travels of translation have been especially effective in the work of Franco Moretti, who in *The Atlas of the European Novel* (1998) proposes to study the evolution of literary forms as they travel from place to place. But this idea of translation moving through space is not the same as the translation zone: the premise that all translation takes place in spaces- and is both conditioned by space and is able to promote or provoke changes in the perception and the use of spaces.

Some examples of the translation zones as they have been explored in Translation Studies include multilingual empires. Brian James Baer's *Literary Translation in Eastern Europe and Russia* (*2011*), an edited volume on literary translation in Eastern Europe and Russia which refers to this part of the world as a "distinctive translation zone" where the persistence of large multilingual empires produced a polyglot readership, and where successive regimes introduced translation as a way of correcting previous regimes of truth. Michaela *Wolf's Die vielsprachige Seele Kakaniens. Übersetzen und Dolmetschen in der Habsburgermonarchie 1848 bis 1918* (2011) similarly exploits the idea of the translation zone for the Habsburg empire. India has been called a "translation area" (Viswanatha & Simon 1999: 163) and recognized as the site of a complex system of intersecting translation processes (Kothari 2005). Similarly, in *Translation and Identity in the Americas* (2008) Edwin Gentzler considers the Americas as a translation zone, looking at the role that language contact has played in the shaping of the various American identities, from Brazil to Quebec. The border areas of multilingual cities have also been referred to as translation zones. Thus Michael Cronin (2003): "Thinking about the city as a translation zone in the context of globalization helps scholars to reflect on how cities currently function as spaces of translation, how they have functioned in this way in the past and how they might evolve in the future. Construing the global city as translation zone offers in conceptual terms a "third way" between on the one hand an idea of the city as the co-existence of linguistic solitudes and on the other, the "melting pot" paradigm of assimilation to dominant host languages" (see Globalization and translation*). Cronin lists some of the places where one might locate this zone: Public space in migrant societies, says Michael Cronin, is translation space, and this includes "[e]verything, from small local theatres presenting translations of plays from different migrant languages to new voice recognition and speech synthesis technology producing discreet translations in wireless environments to systematic client education for community interpreting to translation workshops as part of diversity management courses in the workplace" (Cronin 2006: 68). Such sites can also include pockets of print and media spheres, and programs in university institutions.

This premise has been explored in recent work on the city (Simon 2006, 2012) which examines languages interactions in the micro-contexts of cities and neighbourhoods. Each city shapes its own specific patterns of circulation. The cultural meanings of these transactions emerge through the ongoing conversations and narratives, the aesthetic traditions and collective imaginaries of the city, its symbolic sites, its spaces of communion and conflict. The interplay of languages within the city contributes to its distinctive feel, its particular sensibility, to the ways in which knowledge of the city is formed and reiterated. All cities have their translation zones, some which are part of the popular mythology of the city (Saint-Lawrence boulevard in Montreal, the historic line of demarcation between the French and English parts of the city, at one time the heart of the immigrant neighbourhood), others on the margins of public life (the train stations of European cities where migrants meet). At certain historical moments, some cities are especially significant as translation zones. These can be colonial cities (Calcutta, Rabat), or historically divided cities (Barcelona, Montreal), or what Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer call "nodal cities": the cities of Central Europe like Vilnius, Riga, Czernowitz, Danzig, Bucharest, Timisoara, Plovdiv, Trieste, Budapest and which all reflect the special character of multilingual cities in a time of competing nationalisms. These "relays of literary modernization and pluralization" (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer 2006: 9), participate in a plurality of language traditions and histories in some ways prefiguring the multifaceted and decentred Western city of immigration. (Cornis-Pope & Neubauer 2006: 11).

The intense transactions of the translation zone put pressure on the idea that the transfer of ideas occurs between a "foreign" source text and a "local" target readership. In the spaces of borderlands or nodal cities, members of diverse cultures are neighbours and share a single territory. This means that the frames of language exchange must be recast to respond to more subtle understandings of the relation between language, territory and identity. As Reine Meylaerts asks: what happens when translations take place among communities that share geographical and cultural references? How do the competition and animosities that inevitably flourish in multilingual geopolitical contexts shape translation? (Meylaerts 2004: 309) Languages that share the same terrain rarely participate in a peaceful and egalitarian conversation: their separate and competing institutions are wary of one another, aggressive in their need for self-protection. Movement across languages is marked by the special intensity that comes from shared references and a shared history and so translation carries with it a social force. Cultures of mediation are immersed in the social and political forces which regulate the relations among languages. Translation can be seen to express two kinds of social interaction: *distancing* (translation as the expression of the gulfs which separate languages and cultures, and *furthering* (translation as the vehicle of esthetic interactions and blendings) (Simon 2012: 13–19). Distancing is what happens when translations serve to underscore the differences that prevail among cultures and languages, even when the gap may be the small distances of urban space. Distancing occurs when authors are treated as representatives of their origins, of their national or religious traditions, when translation is undertaken for ideological reasons, either in a mood of antagonism, of generosity or simply of politeness. Furthering, by contrast, involves what Edith Grossman (2010) calls the "revivyfing and expansive effect" of translation, one language infusing another "with influences, alterations and combinations that would not have been possible without the presence of translated foreign literary styles and perceptions, the material significance and heft of literature that lies outside the territory of the purely monolingual" (16). The border zones of plurilingual cities are privileged sites for furthering, whether these practices be inspired by the experimental crossovers of *chicano* literature in the United States or the deviant translations of Montreal's contact zones (Simon 2006).

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Translational turn

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1. The turn to "translation" – a "translational turn"?

The globalization of society demands increased attention to processes of mediation and transfer*– between cultures, religions, social groups – in terms of the interactions that make up cultural encounters. Within such scenarios, which demand coping with shifts between different and often even conflicting contexts, translation* is a central concern. Translation constitutes an essential medium for global relations of exchange and transformation and is a practice in and by which cultural differences, power imbalances and scopes for action are revealed and enacted.

Broadening and expanding the category of translation is important for the emergence of a 'translational turn' in the Humanities and Social Sciences. An essential precondition for this development has been the 'cultural turn' within Translation Studies* itself, which has been going on since the 1980s (cf. Susan Bassnett, Lawrence Venuti, Michael Cronin et al. see The turns of Translation Studies*). Translation is no longer considered to be a mere linguistic or textual practice but rather a broad-based cultural and social activity. Accordingly, translation's purview has opened to questions of cultural translation and the frictions and complexities of cultural life-worlds themselves. Nearly two decades ago, Susan Bassnett started to designate translation as a main category within Cultural Studies by speaking of a "translation turn in cultural studies" (Bassnett 1998; Snell-Hornby 2006: 164–69). More recently, voices from outside the discipline of Translation Studies have joined this debate. This has sharpened and extended the translational perspective theoretically and systematically: the formation of a broader 'translational turn' in various disciplines of the Humanities and Social Sciences is well on its way (Bassnett 2012; Bachmann-Medick 2009).

This 'translational turn' can be seen as part of a wider cross-disciplinary chain of 'cultural turns' that have shaped, and are shaping, current research in the Humanities and Social Sciences: the interpretive turn, performative turn, iconic turn, postcolonial turn, spatial turn, etc. (Bachmann-Medick 2010). A general methodological and conceptual condition applies to the 'translational turn', as well as all other 'turns': only when a conceptual leap has been made, when 'translation' is no longer restricted to a particular field or object of investigation and the term has moved as a methodologically reflected analytical category across disciplines can we really speak of a 'translational turn'.

The formation of this 'translational turn' should not be confused with another 'translational turn', which has been discussed in medicine to indicate the transfer of scientific insights in medical research to new forms of clinical therapy and pharmaceutical products (Mittra & Milne 2013). The 'translational turn' in the Humanities and Social Sciences entails a broader, cross-disciplinary adoption of translation as an analytical category with a new emphasis on the often challenging shifts between different (cultural) levels and contexts, whether in intercultural transfers or in interdisciplinary activities. In these processes, the familiar categories of text-related translation, closely linked to notions of the original, equivalence or faithfulness, are increasingly supplemented by new categories such as cultural representation or social addressing, transformation, alterity, displacement, discontinuity, cultural difference, conflict and power. These terms reveal the complex conditions and elements of overlapping, passage, transmission and transformation that are at work in processes of translation.

In the sense of a complex analytical model, translation can, firstly, be productive in reworking views within academic research practices. It is, for example, helpful to consider inter- or transdisciplinarity as a problem of translation. In contrast to the 'smoother' category of interdisciplinarity***, the translation category has the advantage of explicitly addressing the differences and tensions between disciplines and schools of thought. Increased attention to such conflicting contact zones could be particularly rewarding in terms of understanding the transformation of scientific concepts through their translation into and reformulation within other contexts and conceptual systems. A fascinating example of this is the current debate between the Neurosciences and Humanities over 'free will'.

Secondly, translation offers a new methodological and epistemological approach. It can help various disciplines (History, Sociology, Comparative Literature, Political Science, etc.) to develop a 'translational' approach that investigates the management of differences, mediations between different contexts, third spaces between people, cultures and contexts, connections and associations. The 'translational turn' has, in fact, provoked a general translational mode of thinking, in the sense of 'border thinking' and 'in-between thinking'.

Thirdly, translation can be fruitful for reinterpreting situations of global cultural encounter, difference and conflict. The 'translational turn', conceived in this way, does not approach translation as a harmonious ideal that builds bridges between cultures or as a hermeneutic model of cultural understanding. Rather, it is a methodologically operative approach (in research as well as cultural practice itself) for negotiating differences, re-evaluating misunderstanding and exposing power asymmetries.

2. Concretizing an expanded translation category

With this wider perspective, the concept of translation risks being diluted into a mere metaphor. It is, therefore, important to delineate the concept more precisely, by almost microscopically dissecting it into its components (transfer, mediation, transmission, metaphor, the linguistic dimension, transformation) and breaking up larger complexes like cultural transfer, cultural dialogue and cultural comparison into smaller units of communication and interaction – including concrete translational activities performed by agents. There is still untapped potential in ideas such as those expressed in Susan Bassnett's early call for approaching translation theory as a general theory of transactions that focusses specifically on translators as cultural brokers:

> Today the movement of peoples around the globe can be seen to mirror the very process of translation itself, for translation is not just the transfer of texts from one language into another, it is now rightly seen as a process of negotiation between texts and between cultures, a process during which all kinds of transactions take place mediated by the figure of the translator. (Bassnett 2002: 5–6)

2.1 Translation as self-translation and transformation

Revaluation of the mediating activities and negotiations practised by translators opens the door for analyzing concrete experiences, actions and constraints that translation and self-translation* impose on subjects in the framework of "translation as a social action" (Fuchs 2009). The sociologist Martin Fuchs, for example, shows how Indian untouchables, or Dalits, try to translate their specific concerns into a universalist, Buddhist idiom to find a point of contact with other social contexts and, thus, gain recognition. When translational actions need to capture universalist "third idioms" (such as Buddhism) as reference points, the situation is evidently multipolar. Translation, here, is more than just a bipolar bridge or one-way transfer process; instead, it entails complex relationships of reciprocity and mutual transformation. This is one of the challenging insights that the 'translational turn' brings to the fore.

The ground for this far-reaching notion of translation as transformation was prepared by the postcolonial debate (see also Post-colonial literatures and translation*). Postcolonial Studies has largely focused on transforming Europe's understanding of itself as an 'original', critically re-mapping and reorienting previously dominant notions of centre and periphery, breaking open fixed identities and attacking the principle of binarism in favour of hybrid mixing (see also Eurocentrism***). Yet, the postcolonial debates' attention to patterns of power in all kinds of translational relations has also established terms for considering assumed mutual translations and transformations as conflicting processes.

2.2 Culture as translation

Far-reaching approaches to translation as transformation have created demand for a translational reconceptualization of the notion of culture itself: culture as translation (see Cultural approaches** and Cultural translation***). Cultures are no longer conceived of as unified givens that can be transferred and translated; they are constituted of and constantly transformed through multifarious overlaps, transferences and histories of entanglement within the uneven power relations of world society. Homi Bhabha has pointed out a task for transnational cultural studies still awaiting further elaboration: "Any transnational cultural study must 'translate', each time locally and specifically, what decentres and subverts this transnational globality" (Bhabha 1994: 241). Countering tendencies to standardize, affirm identities and essentialize, a translation perspective can bring specific formations of difference to light, from heterogeneous discursive spaces between and within societies and internal counter-discourses through to discursive forms of resistance.

A translational approach like this might begin with the confrontation of concrete issues and work its way through the historical, social and political conditions that would enable cross-cultural translation. It would encourage us to spell out not only the meaning of 'culture' and 'cultural studies' but also 'globalization*' in a translational sense. Michael Cronin's "globalization as translation" (Cronin 2003: 34) refers to the decentering of global processes and to an agent-oriented view of globalization (see also Papastergiadis 2011). But the study of global translation processes also requires careful reflection of historical dimensions, calling for a reinterpretation of the transition of non-European nations (such as India and China) to capitalism and their distinctive modernities – no longer viewed as the results of linear processes of universalization but as the results of historical, translational ruptures.

2.3 Cross-disciplinary approaches to a "translational turn"

There is potential within various disciplines for further concretisation of translation as an analytical category. In Sociology, for example, integration processes can be based on "relations of translation" (Renn 2006), and migration*** can be reinterpreted in terms of translational action (see the debate on translation and migration in *Translation Studies* 5 (3) 2012; 6 (1) 2013 ; 6 (3) 2013). In Comparative Literature, political contexts have been considered from the vantage point of "translation zones****" (Apter 2006: 5): investigations of language wars, linguistic creolization and multilingual situations aim to understand how, for example, "philology is linked to globalization, to Guantánamo Bay, to war and peace, to the Internet" (ibid. 11). Scholars of History have also recently made prominent efforts to further elaborate the 'translational turn' (Lässig 2012) by using translation as a methodological tool for illuminating micro-processes of historical transformation: concrete steps, interactions, actors and cultural brokers in the processes of colonialism and decolonization, missionary activities, religious conversion and concept transfers. Beyond this, historians are increasingly interested in creative reinterpretations of basic political concepts like liberty, democracy and human rights (Tsing 1997; Bachmann-Medick 2012, 2013), which challenge and replace historical and political terms of those proposed by the "former" west (see Chakrabarty 2000).

3. Global and epistemological dimensions of a "translational turn"

Translation as an analytical category explicitly counters holistic tendencies inherent in general and synthesizing terms like culture, identity, tradition, society and religion. These terms can be disassembled when examined in a translational manner, undergoing a detailed historicization that rethinks colonial ruptures and displacements with respect to specific translational stages and processes. A path has, at least, been cleared for new methodological approaches to the 'interstitial spaces' so celebrated by the humanities by examining them as 'translational spaces' in which relationships, situations, 'identities' and interactions are shaped through concrete procedures of cultural translation. Geographically related categories between Translation Studies and Urban Studies emerge that deal with urban contact zones, third spaces, language communities and many-language migrants (see Simon 2012).

Translational spaces reach their greatest interpretive potential in an epistemological and analytical sense: by cross-cutting binary pairs and breaking open formulaic clusters. For example, a translational view of 'interculturality' makes the concept's articulation of 'in-betweenness' plausible, shedding new light on easily forgotten issues like communicative power asymmetries, dispositions for mediating, misunderstanding or resistance, and the importance of (finding common) reference points. This kind of a translational approach makes complexity more transparent and easier to handle (even at the risk of, yet again, being seen as a European or western strategy).

3.1 From universalization to cross-categorical translation

Will the concept of translation succeed in transforming universalizing European theories, concepts and categories? It is becoming ever more dubious to assert a process of global communication that is grounded in universalizing assumptions that remain firmly in western hands. The assumption of global distribution on the basis of universalizing transfer is, at least, no longer uncontested. It is beginning to be filtered through global, reciprocal translation processes. This move is enhanced, above all, by studies that try to identify points of mutuality in translation processes, like the effort to find shared "third idioms" (with reference points like religion, as discussed by Fuchs 2009, or human rights, see Tsing 1997). Such approaches must respond to calls for a reconceptualization of translation from outside of Europe – which are, at present, especially strong within Asia. Non-western conceptions of translation are being formulated as critiques of Eurocentrism, which colours notions of reciprocal translation and theoretical exchange (see Ning & Yifeng 2005).

As a critique of an all-too-easily-assumed transnational 'translational turn', Dipesh Chakrabarty's work shows how closely epistemological and global difficulties interlock with issues of cultural translation and translation policy. His book *Provincializing Europe* proposes that we consider translation not only "cross-culturally" but also "cross-categorically" (Chakrabarty 2000: 83), thereby explicitly challenging Eurocentric, universalizing points of comparative reference. He demands opening the door to non-European categories of investigation. It must, for example, be possible to translate the Hindi term *pani* into the English term 'water' without having to pass through the pre-given category in the western knowledge system, H_2O (ibid.). For Chakrabarty, only a comparison that does not hastily resort to general terms of mediation nor leave the *tertium comparationis* unreflected can create a shared plane of mutual cultural translation.

Chakrabarty shows how "cross-categorical translation" demands a historicized and contextualized approach that moves beyond universalizing investigative categories such as democracy, human dignity and equality. Because there are no homogeneous spaces of reference in the global sphere, it is essential to attend carefully to culturally specific settings, conditions, deep structures and translational procedures, including those in our own research. With which concepts are we working? To what extent can we still consider research categories, like modernization, development, capitalism, labour, feminism and so on, to be universally valid? What kinds of translation processes are necessary for opening up such analytical terms transculturally and finding their functional equivalents for them in the spheres of action and conceptual systems of non-European societies?

3.2 Humanities as "translation studies"

Before the term "cross-cultural translation" can be used, reflection on the problem of "cross-categorical translation" is necessary. In doing so, a further dimension of the 'translational turn' becomes visible: the possibility – or rather, necessity – of translating between different, local knowledge cultures beyond a still-dominant European horizon.

This critical use of the translation category can harness its characteristic self-reflexivity and be used to consider the Humanities themselves as globally open forms of 'translation studies'. This draws attention to the internal structure of knowledge acquisition: pluralized relations and phenomena arise precisely out of the disruption of concepts of wholeness and unity by indicating the multiple strata – and contradictions – that each translation process inevitably accretes. A translational approach also helps us establish and analyze transcultural research that includes asymmetries and ruptures between different cultural knowledge systems. Contact zones, border spaces and overlaps are explored as formative spaces of translation.

Seen in this light, the 'translational turn' recognizes translation as far more than a process of successful mediation. It casts new light on the potentially constructive role of misunderstanding and "untranslatability" (Apter 2013) in securing (cultural) distinctions and singularities, working against the tendency to swallow and incorporate them into a process of globalized translation. The 'translational turn', thus, explores and extends its own limits.

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Travel and translation

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Modernity is characterised by the exponential growth in travel and movement of people around the globe. Tourism is fast becoming the world's most important item of trade. The phenomenon of globalisation* has become the focus of intense interest as commentators assess the impact of the increasingly rapid circulation of goods, signs and people on the self-perception, and the social, economic and cultural practices of human beings. Theories of travel have become increasingly popular in contemporary appraisals of the evolution of modernity (Urry 2007). All this movement is taking place between speaking subjects, on a planet that is currently home to approximately 6,700 languages. Critical writing on travel and tourism has, however, until recent times, largely neglected this fundamental aspect of travelling, which is the relationship of the traveller to language. The neglect is all the more telling in that one of the most commonplace experiences of the traveller is the sudden humiliation of language loss as things go disastrously wrong and familiar words reveal themselves to be worse than useless. Indifference to questions of language and translation leads inevitably to a serious misrepresentation of both the experience of travel and the construction of narrative accounts of these experiences. In particular, the myth of language transparency, the relationship of language and power**** and the question of the possibility of representation on the basis of universals are highlighted as core questions in the investigation of the role of translation in travel (Rubel & Rosman 2003).

Travel in a world of languages is fraught with difficulty. There are the innumerable pitfalls of translation: the potential for mistranslation; the loss of meaning; the dangers of approximation; the problematic political economy of translation in the Eurocentric appropriation of other peoples and places through ex-colonial languages; the misleading myth of transparent non-refractory translation. Approaches to the question of translation in travel can either consider the traveller as translator or conversely view the translator as a species of traveller. In the latter view, the translating agent** like the traveller straddles the borderline between the cultures and languages. A nomadic theory of translation thus proposes the translator-nomad as an emblematic figure of (post)modernity by demonstrating what translation can tell us about nomadism and what nomadism can tell us about translation and how both impinge on contemporary concerns with identity (Cronin 2000).

1. Translation practices in travel

A convenient framework for examining the operations of translation in travel practices is Roman Jakobson's description of three different forms of translation. *Intralingual translation* or translation within a language is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs belonging to the same language. *Interlingual translation* or translation between languages is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of verbal signs from another language. Lastly, *intersemiotic translation* or translation into or from something other than language is the interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs belonging to non-verbal sign systems (Jakobson 1992: 144–151; see also Transfer and transfer studies*). In intralingual translation in travel, the focus is on the linguistic and cultural problems encountered by travel writers who travel within their own language. The apparent liberation from the problems of translation is illusory as the accounts soon reveal the intractable presence of language difference as travellers speaking a particular language travel to other countries which speak their language. Different accents, lexical variations, dissimilar patterns of language usage and the multiple sublanguages of any language of territorial extension reveal the daunting complexity of a language whose homogeneity the travellers can no longer take for granted. The detailed encounter with translation and language difference points to the bankruptcy of the widespread rhetoric of exhaustion on the subject of travel. Intralingual travel accounts highlight not the limited repetitiveness of the travel experience but the endless series of finer discriminations that become apparent as the travellers chart the social, regional and national metamorphoses of the mother tongue.

Interlingual translation is what is most often thought of as translation in travel, in which travellers find themselves in a foreign country and in a foreign language and where they have some knowledge, however limited, of the foreign language. Although interlingual translation is a common feature of many travel texts, the fact of translation is often disguised by writers and critics to create the illusion of linguistic transparency. The challenge in interlingual translation is to investigate the cultural, political and social motives for the translator's invisibility in certain travel contexts. Fundamentally, the question of interlingual translation in travel poses the problem of the desire to understand the world through language and the limits of human ability to learn, speak and understand languages. Speaking the language of others is enormously enriching but it can also be deeply humiliating. The necessary obstacles to language competence and the frequently troubled nature of the translation exchange in foreign-language travelling can generate coping strategies of various kinds such as the use of lexical exoticism and the invocation of translation as intertextual presence (phrase-books/dictionaries/tourist literature). If travel, translation and language use are predicated on relationship and reciprocity, the question of gender in travel/translation contexts emerges as an important concern in the often fraught relationship between desire and representation. The question of travel and interlingual translation can be described in diachronic or synchronic terms and an important contribution to the historical understanding of the interaction between translation and travel is to be found in Carmine G. Di Biase's edited collection, *Travel and Translation in the Early Modern Period* (2006) where the influence of travel on the translation practices of among others, Luther, Erasmus and Milton, is explored and set in the larger context of the centrality of translation and travel to the transformative world views of the early modern period. Italy, as one of the privileged destinations of travel for centuries has been the focus of much attention by translation scholars. Mirella Agorni in *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: British Women, Translation and Travel Writing (1739–1797)* published in 2002 and Paola Daniela Smecca in *Representational Tactics in Travel Writing and Translation: A Focus on Sicily* (2005) draw attention to how translation operates within travel writing to construe particular representations of Italian and Sicilian life and values. They also, however, point to the manner in which the translations of the travel narratives themselves were used for specific political or cultural purposes by travellers who doubled up as translators. Loredana Polezzi in *Translating Travel: Contemporary Italian Travel Writing in English Translation* (2001) is equally exercised by what happens to narratives when they travel in translation and she explores a more contemporary terrain examining the works of writers such as Oriana Fallaci, Italo Calvino and Claudio Magris. The focus is both on the reception of Italian travel narratives in different languages and cultures and the manner in which Italian writers themselves incorporate tropes of travel and translation into their writings.

As people travel to more and more countries, they know proportionately fewer and fewer languages. Intersemiotic translation in travel must address the situation where the traveller has no knowledge whatsoever of the foreign language. The situation may be experienced as profoundly disabling – the traveller a mute presence in a world of foreign signs that is disorienting and threatening. Alternatively, the traveller may actively seek exile from language as a means of communicative rebirth. The conventional interpretive grid of language is abandoned for other ways of knowing, channelled through taste, touch, vision, smell and (non-verbal) sound. The primacy of the visual, often seen as a dominant feature of globalisation, is bound up with intersemiotic travel experience. Of course, in the absence of a common language, travellers can get other people like interpreters to do the translating and speaking for them. The indigenous status of the interpreter/informant would seem to confer a legitimacy on their narrative which adds to the verisimilitude of the travel account but how representative their views are, what is their exact social position within their own communities, the extent to which their own familiarity with foreign languages sets them apart from the people whose world view they are seen to articulate are, of course, questions that are not often explicitly addressed in travel narratives. The doubleness and potential duplicity of the interpreter emerges both in relation to imperial suspicions of the native interpreter and the historical development of the guide book as a strategy to create a monolingual space for the travellers and remove their dependency on foreign guides/interpreters. In the traveller/interpreter relationship issues of power constantly inform the relationship as do the relative prestige of languages spoken by travellers. In the special issue of *The Translator* which was edited by Loredana Polezzi and devoted to the topic of "Translation, Travel, Migration" (2006) many of the contributors, notably James St. André and Elena Filonova, drew attention to the position of the translator/interpreter and power differentials in accounts of discovery or conquest. These questions are also examined in the collection edited by Paula G. Rubel and Abraham Rosman, *Translating Cultures: Perspectives on translation and anthropology* (2003) where many of the contributors assess the largely unacknowledged presence of translation in ethnographic narratives and anthropological speculation.

2. Ideas, cities and migration

Another way of thinking about the relationship between translation and travel is to consider how ideas travel in translation between one language and culture and another. This is the approach adopted by Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva in her *Theories on the Move: Translation's Role in the Travels of Literary Theories* (2006) where she examines the consequences of the translation of mainly French structuralist and semiotic texts into Turkish and the impact on Anglophone feminism of translations from French. Another dimension to the circulation of ideas is the itineraries of writers as travellers and translators as they move through the increasingly multicultural and multilingual cities of the planet and this is a terrain explored by Sherry Simon in *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City* (2006) and in *Cities in Translation: Intersections of Language and Memory* (2011) (see Translation zone****). A further dimension to the movement of ideas is the manner in which ideas about a culture or a society can be shaped through travel writing. That is to say, that travel writing can play an important role in emergent national and cultural identities. This can take the form of travel accounts that are written in languages that have a peripheral status in colonial settings (Naude 2008: 97–106) or it can be expressed through the translation of foreign travel accounts that are broadly sympathetic to the situation or plight of a particular ethnic grouping (Conroy 2003: 131–42).

In a multilingual world, language and language difference is an inevitable feature of travel. How travellers deal with the fact of languages other than their own, or radically distinct varieties of their own language, has clear implications for their capacity to engage with or interpret the realities they encounter. From a translation point of view, there are two clear impacts. The representational impact relates to the ability of the travel writer to represent the thoughts, values and experiences of others who do not speak his language, in the language of the writer. Pronouncements about the lives and habitats of others, however strong or tenuous the truth claims, do suppose an access to knowing that must, however, take account of a multilingual world. The instrumental impact relates to the translation pressures generated by travel itself on language communities. In other words, if the travel writer is the practitioner of a major world language, to what extent is she or he as traveller complicit in global linguicide that may see up to 90 percent of the more than six thousand languages in the world disappear by the end of the century? Mass travel has long been acknowledged as a significant pull factor in language shift and language death, so how do major world language travellers face up to the sociolingustic consequences of their own traveling and translating practices? Of course, in an era of accelerated migration, there are many different kinds of travellers from foreign exchange students to economic migrants to asylum seekers and political refugees. In discussion around travel and translation the focus is increasingly turning to the question of translation and migration (Polezzi 2012: 345–356) and what happens to individuals and communities that find themselves in transit between one culture and language and another. The advent of digital communication further invokes the question of mobility and translation as virtual travel through new networked forms of communication is fundamentally altering our notions of the traditional coordinates of travel: time, space and distance. Both from a historical and contemporary perspective translation and travel remains one of the most underexplored and most exciting areas of translation research.

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Visibility (and invisibility)

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The notion of invisibility – and, by extension and implication, its opposite, visibility – was introduced into the field of Translation Studies* by Lawrence Venuti's forceful, even polemical monograph *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (1995); Venuti has continued to engage with this notion to an extent that his subsequent work must also remain central to any discussion of the topic. *The Translator's Invisibility* explores the mechanisms by which translators, the activity of translation, and translations as products have been marginalized in the Anglo-American as well as other cultural contexts of recent centuries. In Venuti's landmark book, invisibility refers to (1) the invisibility of the translator as a co-producer of a text, enforced by the prevailing practices of marketing, reading and evaluating translations, and encouraged by the ambiguous legal status of translation and of translators; (2) the invisibility of the translator's activity within the text of the translation itself, which tends to be written in accordance with prevailing notions of "fluency," by which the translator in some sense partakes in his or her own self-effacement; and (3) the invisibility of translation as a cultural practice and of the products of that process, given the relative paucity of English-language translations of foreign literature, which Venuti identifies as part of a global literary "trade imbalance" (15) between Anglo-American literary culture and markets elsewhere that translate heavily from English. In this book as in other writings, Venuti links invisibility to "domesticating**" strategies of translation that obscure the work of translation as well as the foreignness of the original text.

While Venuti's book focuses on the notion of invisibility rather than visibility – a word that appears only once in the text – it also, as its subtitle suggests, seeks to provide a genealogy of current-day understandings of translation that might recover alternate translation strategies and alternate ways of conceptualizing and talking about translation that will challenge the "regime of transparent discourse" (268). Venuti draws heavily on Friedrich Schleiermacher's 1813 lecture *Über die verschiedenen Methoden des Übersetzens* [On the different methods of translating] to argue for "foreignizing" methods of translating "that eschew fluency for a more heterogeneous mix of discourses" (34), as well as a foreignizing stance toward the literary canon: a translator can challenge contemporary canons both by translating in "marginalized" ways, but also by choosing to translate texts that are marginal in their own home cultures. Venuti's historical overview pauses on figures such as the 19th-century Italian writer

Iginio Ugo Tarchetti, Celia and Louis Zukofsky's homophonic translations of Catullus, and Ezra Pound's translations of Guido Cavalcanti. The book ends with a brief "Call to Action" that places the burden of action for changing contemporary understandings of translation primarily on translators themselves, who must "force a revision of the codes – cultural, economic, legal – that marginalize and exploit them" (311) – yet Venuti also calls on readers, reviewers, and educators to rethink the way they encounter and teach others to encounter texts in translation.

Venuti's career subsequent to *The Translator's Invisibility* has continued to engage with these issues, in dialogue with the many scholars, and translators, his work has influenced or provoked, particularly those who have found his alignment of visibility with foreignization either compelling or problematic. In a 2008 article entitled "Translator v. Author (2007): *Girls of Riyadh* go to New York," Marilyn Booth discusses the resistance she met with from both the author and the U.S. publisher of her "foreignizing" translation of Raja Alsaanea's best-selling Arabic novel *Girls of Riyadh*. Booth argues that the very choice to translate "chick lit" from the Arab world is a foreignizing move in that it disrupts Anglo-American readers' assumptions about contemporary Arab literary production; she also speaks of specific foreignizing translation choices that seek not so much to highlight her own intervention into the text as to register the linguistic and cultural heterogeneity of the original text itself, as well as the distance between the culture of the original and the receiving culture of the translation. In this regard, Booth's discussion of her preference for a foreignizing methodology at the level of the textual translation takes a postcolonial* approach to the notion of visibility, turning to Gayatri Spivak's notion that an engagement with "the rhetoricity of the original" is the necessary ethical move that translation – and particularly translation from non-Western languages – must make. Yet Alsaanea's disapproving response to Booth's translation, and the "domesticating" interventions the author made (in collaboration with the novel's U.S. publisher) actually destabilizes the dichotomy between "foreignizing" and "domesticating" moves; it also disrupts conventional postcolonial understandings of the relationship between western translators and non-western authors, while pointing to the highly collaborative nature of textual production and the ways in which a translator's approach can be influenced or even overwritten by other agents.

One of the most cogent critiques of the valorization of "foreignizing" translation as a means of increasing the visibility of translation comes from Douglas Robinson, particularly in a set of essays collected in *What is Translation? Centrifugal Theories, Critical Interventions* (1997). Robinson identifies a (suspect, in his view) utopian ethical impulse behind arguments that promote foreignization as a means of "transform[ing] the self in dialogue with the other" (83); he questions the idea that so-called foreignizing translation – which Robinson describes as "neoliteralism" and traces back to Walter Benjamin but identifies also in the work of scholars contemporary to Venuti such as Antoine Berman and Philip Lewis – actually constitutes an encounter with "foreignness" rather than simply with other, elite and elitist discourses already present within the translating language. As for the notion that foreignizing translation increases the visibility of the translator, Robinson argues that a much more effective way of making readers aware of the interpretive work that translation involves is a tactic of "radical domestication" (95), an approach whose genealogy he traces back to include Martin Luther's treatment of the New Testament in German.

Venuti himself has subsequently put his thinking concerning foreignization on a spectrum of other modes of encouraging visibility in translation, including the notion of the "stylistic analogue," which informs his translation of the work of 20th-century Italian poet Antonia Pozzi in the volume *Breath: Poems and Letters* (2002). This volume represents a significant step in Venuti's thinking about visibility, and in his own practice of visible translation: Venuti posits an analogy between the work of Pozzi and that of her Anglo-American contemporaries such as H.D., Amy Lowell, Mina Loy, and Lorine Niedecker; he plays with punctuation, rhyme, and the visual arrangement of the poem on the page to underscore the resemblance he sees between Pozzi's work and that of these English-language female writers of her day. While the notion of the stylistic analogue might be seen as radically domesticating, as a facing-page bilingual translation, Venuti's volume also makes the difference between Pozzi's Italian originals and Venuti's English translations visible on the page; likewise, his extensive introduction addresses not just Pozzi's biography and historical situation, but the methodology and conceptual framework behind the translation. These translations thus begin to break down the link Venuti had earlier made between visibility and foreignization, as do many other experimental translation methods currently being explored. Charles Bernstein, in "Breaking the Translation Curtain: The Homophonic Sublime" (2011), draws both Venuti and Benjamin into his discussion of translation methods that seek to make the translator visible – or, he adds, audible, since Bernstein is championing homophonic translation as a mode that uses fidelity to the aural aspect of the original to destabilize notions of transparency or unproblematic equivalence*** in translation. Bernstein references Louis and Celia Zukofsky's homophonic translations of Catullus and David Melnick's *Men in Aida*, a homophonic translation of parts of the *Iliad*, and places experimental translation in the context of experimental poetics more generally: "Translation theory," he writes, "is poetics by another name" (201).

In "Translation and the Pedagogy of Literature" (1996), Venuti specifically addresses the need for the visibility of translation in academic institutions, where translations are routinely used in teaching and research purposes, while the fact of translation rarely enters into discussions of the texts at hand. Venuti argues that translations should be taught *as* translations, preferably alongside their originals, or through comparison of multiple translations, thus encouraging students "to be both self-critical and critical of exclusionary cultural ideologies by drawing attention to the situatedness of texts and interpretations" (331). He proposes that educators choose to teach translations with a "rich remainder" – i.e. "textual effects that work only in the target language" (334) – that offer ample opportunity to discuss the translator's interpretive choices, rather than simply treating the translation as a transparent window that offers unmediated access to the original work. This discussion of the pedagogy of translated literature echoes many of the claims put forward by André Lefevere in *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (1992), in which he proposes a pedagogy that teaches students to recognize translation as one among many forms of "rewriting," including editing, anthologization, literary criticism, and the writing of literary histories, biographies and book reviews. All of these forms of rewriting, for Lefevere, inevitably involve the "manipulation" of originals, usually with the goal (whether explicit or not, even conscious or not) of making those texts accord more adequately with the reigning ideological or "poetological" currents of the receiving culture – an argument very much in line with Venuti's discussion of invisibility in *The Translator's Invisibility*. Lefevere also argues for "a study of rewriting" (9) in the classroom, with the goal of making visible the interventions and manipulations that rewriting effects; such a study is particularly crucial given the fact that most non-professional readers now encounter works of "high" literature through these forms of rewriting.

Both Lefevere and Venuti address the need to make translation (and, for Lefevere, other forms of rewriting as well) visible in the academy not just from a pedagogical point of view, but also in terms of institutional recognition (see also Institutionalization of Translation Studies***). This concern has been shared by many in the academy, including Catherine Porter, whose "Translation as Scholarship" (2009) encourages the increasing visibility of Translation Studies as an academic discipline while also arguing that translation should be valued as a legitimate scholarly endeavor for academics working in comparative literature and national literature departments (an argument that could easily be expanded to include other disciplines in the humanities and social sciences): "scholarly and literary translations," she argues, "should be accepted on the same basis as scholarly monographs in decisions about hiring, promotion, and tenure" (7). Porter is not the first to note the imbalance in the dependence on translated works for teaching and research coupled with a disregard within the academic sphere for the work of translation, or to acknowledge the deep knowledge of at least two languages, two literary traditions, and two surrounding cultural environments that a good translator usually possesses. But her argument goes a step further: she notes that at university presses, and some trade presses, the peer-review process so often held up as essential for the assessment of scholarly work also enters – indeed, at multiple points – into the process by which translations are produced, in the selection of a book to be translated, of a translator to complete that work, and in the assessment of the final translation. Porter refers to Modern Language Association reports on evaluating scholarship for tenure and promotion and on foreign languages and higher education; more recently, guidelines for the peer review of translations have also appeared on the

MLA website. Porter was in fact president of the MLA in 2009, when “Translation as Scholarship” was first published; she chose translation as the topic for the Presidential Forum at the association’s annual conference, gaining unprecedented visibility for translation, translators, and scholars of translation studies at one of the major North American conferences in the humanities.

Many of these attempts to increase the visibility of translation within the academic sphere draw, for both energy and ideas, on work regarding the role and status of translation in the non-academic world, including statements made and guidelines prepared by associations such as the American Literary Translators’ Association and the PEN Translation Committee, whose online resources include a sample contract for translators; similar organizations are to be found in countries around the world. *Words Without Borders*, an online journal dedicated to publishing and promoting international literature in translation, also hosts forums on reviewing and teaching translations; in an environment where translations of contemporary work are often hard to come by, its monthly issues, which are sometimes geographically and sometimes thematically organized, offer scholars of international literature ready access to current trends from around the world. The website Three Percent likewise claims as part of its mission to increase the visibility of international literature and of translation in the Anglophone world; hosted by the University of Rochester and affiliated both with Open Letter Press and the program in Literary Translation Studies at the University of Rochester, as well as the Best Translated Book Award, Three Percent has quickly become a central site for translators and academics alike, and puts together a yearly database of translations published in the U.S. While these are not scholarly resources per se, the dual identity of many translators as scholars, as well as the dependence of so much scholarship and teaching on translations produced outside the academic realm, suggests that any study of the visibility of translation should take such developments into consideration. Indeed, the increasing visibility of translation within the academy sought by organizations such as the MLA will undoubtedly lead to an even greater overlap of the academic and non-academic spheres (see also Impact of translation theory****).

Meanwhile, the way scholars talk about the visibility of translation has also been influenced by the growing prevalence of digital media and digital publishing environments. Karin Littau’s “Translation in the Age of Postmodern Production: From Text to Intertext to Hypertext” (1997) is a relatively early engagement with the destabilizing possibilities of hypertext: if translators have traditionally made themselves visible in prefaces, footnotes, and critical commentaries, the hypertext environment allows translators to “make visible a text’s history of production” and to “present multivariant versions simultaneously”; the presentation of multiple translations as well as multiple versions of originals thus “undermines the notion of a univocal authorial voice” (91). Littau builds on these observations in her more recent “First Steps Towards a Media History of Translation” (2011), in which she posits a “medial turn” in Translation

Studies in recent years, and explores the ways in which different media forms have affected the constitution of translations over time, from the human body as a carrier of text in oral cultures to the screen in digital ones. Littau suggests that even our ways of conceptualizing translation are influenced by the media environments that structure our thought: "Venuti's 'invisible translator' (1995) only emerged, that is, became visible, in a culture dominated by images, projection screens and monitors" (278).

A.E.B. Coldiron's recent article "Visibility now: Historicizing foreign presences in translation" (2012) also offers a re-evaluation of Venuti's concept of invisibility by pushing it both back into the medieval and early modern periods and also forward, "into our own moment and its digital future" (189). Coldiron re-examines Venuti's claims concerning the translator's invisibility, and expands upon his own attempt to identify marginal translation practices that counter that invisibility, by looking at moments in the history of translation where visibility was in fact prized and promoted. The medieval and early modern periods in Europe, Coldiron writes, were ones in which textual production was "radically collaborative" (191). In the medieval period, the visibility of the translator, and of the fact and process of translation, was part of a system "designed to guarantee and to display a text's *auctoritas*" (190); in the early modern period, the focus and purpose of the translator's visibility shifted to the early modern values of *imitatio* and *sprezzatura*. Coldiron's piece helps to contextualize the current moment of invisibility's ascendency by unearthing earlier moments in which visibility was very much in vogue. In keeping with Littau's explorations of the impact of digital media on our understanding of translation, Coldiron also argues that the digital revolution may offer "improved technical options for an aesthetic of visibility," options currently being explored by any number of digital translation projects across the disciplines; she also gestures to a number of experimental translation practices that inform the work of poets such as Bernstein, Bernadette Mayer and Caroline Bergvall. For Coldiron, this exploration of an "aesthetic of visibility" (197) promotes not just "aesthetic successes of collaborative intertextuality" but also, potentially, "ethical models for encountering alterity" (189).

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Voices in translation

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The notion of voice(s) has been used with different meanings in Translation Studies. As a metaphor it has been used to refer to various kinds of voice(s), such as those of authors, translators, interpreters, narrators, characters and even researchers, as in the name of the journal *New Voices in Translation Studies*. Furthermore, voice(s) has been used in a non-metaphorical sense referring to the physical voice(s) of interpreters, dubbing actors and singers and actors who perform translated songs or plays (Anderman 2007; see Drama translation*; Music and translation***; Voiceover and dubbing*). Closely related and partially overlapping concepts include style (see Baker 2000, see also Stylistics and translation**), (in)visibility****, agency (see Agents of translation**), "the translator in the text" (May 1994) and reported discourse (Folkart 1991). Some understandings of voice(s) in Translation Studies have clearly been inherited from other disciplines such as linguistics, comparative literature, anthropology and postcolonial studies.

This entry is restricted to the predominant ways the notion of voice(s) has been used with reference to translated texts, and it focuses almost exclusively on literary translation, since this area has been the target of most previous studies. It will not trace the origins in the other disciplines of the different usages of voice(s), nor will it provide any detailed account of the relationship between voice(s) and the abovementioned, partially overlapping concepts of style, agency and so forth. For a more exhaustive introduction to voice(s) in the field of Translation Studies, see Taivalkoski-Shilov and Suchet (2013).

1. The voices of authors and translators

The idea of voice(s) in translation is intimately linked to translation being reported speech. Translators reproduce texts written by others, repeating what these other texts say (Folkart 1991). Just as in other kinds of reported speech acts, the original text is filtered through an enunciating instance with power to alter and change everything in the original utterance. Though often unaware of this, readers of a translation do not have direct access to the voice of the author of the original. The voice that reaches the reader is the translator's. The translator has re-uttered the previous speech act, generally pretending, however, that it is the author's voice that comes through. According to Hermans (1996), it is a matter of illusion: the original author's voice is absent, but in common usage we say that we read a certain author, for example Dostoyevsky, even though we read his work in translation. It may be added to Hermans' observation that not only readers but also translators take part in this construction and upholding of illusion.

Nevertheless, there often exist instances in a translated text, such as proper names or translator footnotes, that make readers aware they are reading a translation. Both Folkart and Hermans provide numerous examples of such instances, denoted by Folkart as *l'inscription du ré-énonciateur dans l'énoncé* and *la voix du traducteur*, or in the parlance of Hermans, "the translator's discursive presence" and "the translator's voice." This kind of voice is thought to be detectable if one reads the translated text without comparing it to the source text or to other translations. Hermans' article is written in dialogue with and published alongside an article by Schiavi (1996), who suggests that we introduce the notion of "implied translator" and proposes how this notion can be added to classical narratological models.

In addition to citing concrete instances of translators manifesting themselves in translated texts, Folkart also presents more intuitive notions of voice(s), as when translators say that they listen to the voice of the original text and/or the original author. So does Munday (2008), who furthermore states that the concept of voice tends to be used in the singular. In Munday's work, *voice* is generally used in a more abstract way than in Hermans' article, as something that is impossible to specify in the text. Munday therefore chooses to focus on style, which in his framework is textually manifested authorial, narratorial and/or translatorial voice. For Munday, the translatorial voice becomes detectable for the scholar who, focusing on stylistic features, also reads other translations of the same text or other translations by the same translator.

The voice(s) of translators and authors may also be understood as being located outside the literary text, for example on covers, prefaces, footnotes, translation briefs, correspondence between authors, translators and publishers, interviews and essays (Jansen and Wegener forthcoming; see also Paratexts**). These kinds of studies deal with translation not so much as a textual product but as a sociological process, shedding light on what professionals say they do and why and how they do it. Such studies provide insight not only into power relations between different agents in the field, but also into prevalent values, theories and ideals.

2. The voices of the implied author, narrators and characters

A fictional text generally consists of a variety of voices. There is the voice of the implied author, the voice(s) of one or several narrators and the voices of characters, which are generally filtered through the voice of the implied author and/or narrator. That the characters' voices are filtered implies that they appear as direct, indirect or free indirect speech. Speech representation is often subject to alterations as it, at least to a certain point, is related to language-specific conventions of how to represent speech in fiction. Such voice alterations are generally only detectable if one compares the target text to its source or to other translations of the same text.

Features in the way narrators and characters speak may draw attention to the text as a translation, and thus to the translator's discursive presence or voice in the translated text. A particularly conspicuous feature is the employment of dialectal traits: to use Quebecois, Argentinean or North-Norwegian traits in a translation of a text that is geographically set elsewhere (e.g. India) will for most readers be perceived as marked language use, potentially giving rise to unintended associations in some readers (especially those who speak a standard variety). Dialectal traits are therefore often standardized in translation, which may be a problem if that nullifies the literary function of the dialects in that particular text. There are many solutions to this problem, such as opting for a sociolect instead or creating a fictive dialect (see also Sociolinguistics and translation***).

One must in any case always bear in mind that character speech is molded orality**: it is not a verbatim representation of how speakers really speak, but rather a literary depiction done for specific purposes and possibly governed by already existing literary conventions for how to represent a specific dialect. Speech representation in literary texts does not reproduce real speech, but rather evokes it, and it is therefore an invented or fictive orality (see Brumme 2012).

3. Final reflections

The label voice(s) has often been used in vague, self-explanatory ways in Translation Studies, and it is clear that the term has a variety of sometimes contradictory meanings. The term is sometimes author-centered, sometimes translator-centered and sometimes text-centered. There are two core aspects of how the metaphor of voice(s) has been used in Translation Studies. These are the ideas of voice as agency and voice as textually manifested style. The concept is therefore useful because it allows for the combined study of original texts, translated texts and the agents who produce them.

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Caption *see* Subtitles and language learning
CATS (Canadian Association for Translation Studies) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Causality *see* Translation history
Cause/Effect *see* Models in Translation Studies
Censorship (Merkle, Vol. 1, 18–21) *see also* Adaptation; Communism and Translation Studies; Ethics and translation; Gender in translation; Political translation; Relay translation; Translation policy; Translation process
CE(T)RA Chair *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Certification *see* Conference interpreting; Status of translators; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Chiac *see* Hybridity and translation

Children's literature and translation (Alvstad, Vol. 1, 22–27) *see also* Adaptation; Censorship

Chuchotage *see* Conference interpreting

Chunk *see* Subtitling

Chunk (semantic -) *see* Neurolinguistics and interpreting

Cinema *see* Pseudotranslation

Citation index *see* Bibliometrics

City/cities *see* Globalization and translation; Hybridity and translation; Translation zone; Travel and translation

Code of conduct *see* Court/Legal interpreting

Cognitive approaches (Alves & Hurtado Albir, Vol. 1, 28–35) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Bilingualism and translation; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Competence; Consecutive interpreting; Interpretive approach; Sight translation; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology; Think-aloud protocol; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics; Unit of translation

Cognitive poetics *see* Stylistics and translation

Cognitive processes *see* Bilingualism and translation; Interpreting; Simultaneous interpreting; Think-aloud protocol

Cognitive psychology *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting Studies

Cognitive stylistics *see* Stylistics and translation

Coherence *see* Text linguistics and translation

Cohesion *see* Text linguistics and translation

Cold war *see* Communism and Translation Studies

Collaborative translation (O'Brien, Vol. 2, 17–20) *see also* Commercial translation; Community interpreting; Computer-aided translation; Functionalist approaches; Globalization and translation; Localization and translation; Machine translation today; Networking and volunteer translators; Quality in translation; Revision; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation tools

Collective narratives *see* Narratives and contextual frames

Collocation *see* Linguistics and translation

Colonial expansion *see* Nation, empire, translation

Colonial language *see* Hybridity and translation

Colonization *see* Eurocentrism; Nation, empire, translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Comics in translation (Kaindl, Vol. 1, 36–40) *see also* Children's literature and translation; Translation process; Turns of Translation Studies

Commercial translation (Olohan, Vol. 1, 41–44) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Globalization and translation; Journalism and translation; Legal translation; Localization and translation; Machine translation today; Quality in translation; Religious translation; Semiotics and translation; Technical translation; Terminology and translation; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics

Commission *see* Theory of translatorial action

Committed approaches and activism (Brownlie, Vol. 1, 45–48) *see also* Gender in translation; Ideology and translation; Networking and volunteer translators

Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies) (Grbić & Wolf, Vol. 3, 7–16) *see also* Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Norms of translation; Sign language interpreting and translating; Translation; Translation Studies

Communication (process) *see* Information, communication, translation; Text linguistics and translation

Communication Studies *see* Information, communication, translation

Communicative act *see* Interpreting Studies; Technical translation

Communicative function(s) *see* Theory of translatorial action

Communicative text(s) *see* Development and translation

Communism and Translation Studies (Popa, Vol. 4, 25–30) *see also* Agents of translation; Censorship; Children's literature and translation; Committed approaches and activism; Ideology and translation; Power and translation; Status of translators

Communities *see* Ethnographic approaches; Networking and volunteer translators

Community interpreting (Hertog, Vol. 1, 49–54) *see also* Consecutive interpreting; Quality in interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters

Community translation *see* Networking and volunteer translators

Comparative approaches to translation (Koster, Vol. 2, 21–25) *see also* Corpora; Descriptive Translation Studies; Evaluation/Assessment; Gender in translation; Hermeneutics and translation; Literary studies and Translation studies; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Retranslation; Translation

Studies; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics

Comparative Literature *see* Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Translation history

Comparison of texts *see* Comparative approaches to translation

Competence (Hurtado Albir, Vol. 1, 55–59) *see also* Bilingualism and translation; Cognitive approaches; Natural translator and interpreter; Status of interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation didactics; Translation process; Translation psychology; Translation strategies and tactics

Competence (metacultural -) *see* Realia

Complexity theory *see* Narratives and contextual frames; Social systems and translation

Computer-aided translation (Bowker & Fisher, Vol. 1, 60–65) *see also* Corpora; Globalization and translation; Localization and translation; Machine translation today; Networking and volunteer translators; Terminology and translation; Web and translation

Concept *see* Language philosophy and translation

Conceptual map *see* Bibliographies of Translation Studies

Conceptual metaphor(s) *see* Metaphors for translation

Conceptual network *see* Translation problem

Concordance(r) *see* Corpora

Conference interpreting (Setton, Vol. 1, 66–74) *see also* Consecutive interpreting; Interpreting; Media interpreting; Quality in interpreting; Sight translation; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters

Conflict and translation (Salama-Carr, Vol. 4, 31–35) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Discourse analysis; Ethics and translation; Ideology and translation; Journalism and translation; Translation strategies and tactics

Connotation(s) *see* Realia

Consecutive interpreting (Dam, Vol. 1, 75–79) *see also* Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach

Consistency *see* Institutional translation; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Contact zone *see* Translation zone; Translational turn

Content *see* Media accessibility

Content management system *see* Translation tools

Context(s) *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Linguistics and translation; Medical translation and interpreting; Relay translation; Remote interpreting; Sociolinguistics and translation

Continentalization *see* Eurocentrism

Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies (Vandepitte & De Sutter, Vol. 4, 36–41) *see also* Comparative approaches to translation; Competence; Corpora; Empirical approaches; Equivalence; Linguistics and translation; Machine translation today; Quality in translation; Translation didactics; Translation problem; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics; Translation universals

Contrastive rhetoric *see* Rhetoric and translation

Controlled languages *see* Machine translation today; Technical translation

Convention(s) *see* Norms of translation; Paratexts

Copyrights *see* Computer-aided translation; Translation rights

Corpora (Laviosa, Vol. 1, 80–86) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Computer-aided translation; Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Sign language interpreting and translating; Terminology and translation; Translation psychology

Correspondence (lexical -) *see* Bilingualism and translation; Equivalence; Translation problem

Cosmopolitanism *see* Hybridity and translation

Coupled pair(s) *see* Translation problem

Court translator *see* Status of translators

Court/Legal interpreting (Russell, Vol. 3, 17–20) *see also* Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Consecutive interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Legal translation; Quality in interpreting; Relay interpreting; Remote interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous interpreting; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters

Creative translation *see* Creativity; Semantic models and translation

Creativity (O'Sullivan, Vol. 4, 42–46) *see also* Adaptation; Agents of translation; Author and translator; Multimodality and audiovisual translation; Poetry translation; Self-translation; Translation strategies and tactics; Wordplay in translation

Creole *see* Literary translation

Creolization *see* Hybridity and translation; Translation zone

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) *see* Discourse analysis

Cross-cultural communication *see* Knowledge management and translation

Cross-cultural translation *see* Translational turn

Crowdsourcing *see* Collaborative translation; Computer-aided translation; Globalization and translation; Networking and volunteer translators; Social media and translation; Translation tools

Cultural approaches (Marinetti, Vol. 2, 26–30) *see also* Adaptation; Agents of translation; Censorship; Cultural translation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Ethics and translation; Gender in translation; Linguistics and translation; Norms of translation; Political translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Sociology of translation; Translation Studies; Turns of Translation Studies

Cultural change *see* Literary translation

Cultural context adaptation *see* Children's literature and translation

Cultural image *see* National and cultural images

Cultural imperialism *see* Nation, empire, translation

Cultural references *see* Domestication and foreignization; Realia

Cultural representation *see* Translational turn

Cultural studies *see* Cultural translation; Orality and translation

Cultural transfer *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Cultural translation (Conway, Vol. 3, 21–25) *see also* Cultural approaches; Migration and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Cultural turn *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Cultural approaches; Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Postmodernism

Cultural values *see* Advertising translation

Culture *see* Polysystem theory and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Culture-bound items *see* Realia

Culture-specific elements *see* Domestication and foreignization; Realia; Sociolinguistics and translation

Curriculum (Kelly, Vol. 1, 87–93) *see also* Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation didactics

D

Data *see* Eurocentrism; Methodology in translation studies

Deaf and hard of hearing *see* Audiovisual translation; Community interpreting; Interpreting; Relay interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating

Decision process *see* Translation policy; Translation psychology

Decision-making *see* Agents of translation; Cognitive approaches; Technical translation; Translation process; Translation psychology

Decolonization *see* Eurocentrism; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Deconstruction (Dizdar, Vol. 2, 31–36) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Ethics and translation; Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Philosophy and translation; Postmodernism; Relevance and translation; Translation; Translation Studies

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) (Assis Rosa, Vol. 1, 94–104) *see also* Applied Translation Studies; Audiovisual translation; Committed approaches and activism; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Corpora; Cultural approaches; Equivalence; Literary studies and Translation studies; Polysystem theory and translation; Technical translation; Translation didactics

Development Studies *see* Development and translation

Development and translation (Marais, Vol. 3, 26–31) *see also* Hybridity and translation; Orality and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Deverbalization *see* Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach; Sight translation

Dialect *see* Sociolinguistics and translation; Voices in translation

Didactics *see* Curriculum; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation didactics

Difference *see* Ethics and translation; Original and translation

Digital age *see* Multimodality and audiovisual translation

Digital media *see* Visibility (and invisibility)

Diplomacy *see* Impact of translation

Directionality (Pokorn, Vol. 2, 37–39) *see also* Conference interpreting; Domestication and foreignization; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Media interpreting; Quality in interpreting; Religious translation; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation process; Translation tools

Directorate-General for interpreting (DGI) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Directorate-General for translation (DGT) *see* English as a lingua franca and translation; Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Discourse *see* Cultural approaches; Discourse analysis; Ideology and translation; Power and translation; Text linguistics and translation
Discourse analysis (Schäffner, Vol. 4, 47–52) *see also* Community interpreting; Court/Legal interpreting; Evaluation/Assessment; Ideology and translation; Political translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Teaching translation / Training translators; Text linguistics and translation
Displacement *see* Cultural translation
Dissemination *see* Bibliometrics; Machine translation today
Distancing *see* Translation zone
Documents (types of -) *see* Technical translation; Terminology and translation
Domesticating *see* Realia; Retranslation; Translation strategies and tactics
Domestication and foreignization (Paloposki, Vol. 2, 40–42) *see also* Bibliographies of translation studies; Children's literature and translation; Ethics and translation; Realia; Retranslation; Translation strategies and tactics; Visibility (and invisibility)
Dominating language *see*; Relay translation
Drafting *see* Revision
Drama translation (Aaltonen, Vol. 1, 94–104) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Music and translation
Dual readership *see* Children's literature and translation
Dubbing *see* Audiovisual translation; Subtitling; Voiceover and dubbing

E

E-terminology *see* Social media and translation
Economics of translation *see* Power and translation
Editing *see* Revision
Editorial policy and translation (Sapiro, Vol. 3, 32–38) *see also* Agents of translation; Bibliographies of translation studies; Globalization and translation; Literary translation; National and cultural images
Effect *see* Models in Translation Studies
Effort (model) *see* Consecutive interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach; Models in Translation Studies; Sight translation; Simultaneous interpreting
Emotional factor *see* Representation of translators and interpreters; Translation psychology
Empire(s) *see* English as a lingua franca and translation; Impact of translation; Nation, empire, translation; Translation zone
Empirical approaches (Künzli, Vol. 4, 53–58) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Cognitive approaches; Conference interpreting; Corpora; Ethnographic approaches; Methodology in Translation Studies; Relay translation; Sociology of translation; Subtitling; Think-aloud protocol; Translation process
Empirical research *see* Empirical approaches; General translation theory; Interpreting Studies; Think-aloud protocol
Empirical studies *see* Empirical approaches; Interpretive approach; Turns of Translation Studies
Empirical testing *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies
Empowerment *see* Metaphors for translation
EN 15038 standard *see* Status of translators
End-product *see* Translation problem
English as a lingua franca and translation (House, Vol. 4, 59–62) *see also* Adaptation; Commercial translation; Globalization and translation; Localization and translation
Enquiry *see* Empirical approaches
Entextualization *see* Orality and translation
Equivalence (Leal, Vol. 3, 39–46) *see also* Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Creativity; Descriptive Translation Studies; Evaluation/Assessment; Functionalist approaches; General translation theory; Institutional translation; Interpretive approach; Linguistics and translation; Medical translation and interpreting; Models in Translation Studies; Norms of translation; Quality in translation; Semiotics and translation; Terminology and translation; Translation; Translation Studies; Turns of Translation Studies
Equivalence (cultural -) *see* Equivalence; Realia
Equivalence (dynamic -) *see* Equivalence
Equivalence (formal -) *see* Equivalence
Equivalence (lexical -) *see* Equivalence; Realia
Errors *see* Translation 'errors'
Esperanto *see* Literary translation
Essentialism *see* Deconstruction; Ideology and translation
EST (European Society for Translation Studies) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies

Ethics and translation (van Wyke, Vol. 1, 111–115) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Conference interpreting; Conflict and translation; Deconstruction; Domestication and foreignization; Functionalist approaches; Philosophy and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Power and translation; Relay interpreting
Ethnocentrism *see* Domestication and foreignization
Ethnographic approaches (Flynn, Vol. 1, 116–119) *see also* Corpora; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Sociology of translation; Translation Studies; Translation history
Ethnography *see* Cultural translation; Ethnographic approaches
EU institutions *see* Institutional translation
EUATC *see* Status of translators
Eurocentrism (van Doorslaer, Vol. 3, 47–51) *see also* Orality and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Power and translation; Translation Studies
European Master's in Translation (EMT) *see* Impact of translation theory
European Quality Standard for translation (EN 15038) *see* Revision
Evaluation/Assessment (Colina, Vol. 2, 43–48) *see also* Adaptation; Competence; Computer-aided translation; Corpora; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Machine translation today; Quality in interpreting; Quality in translation; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies; Translation; Translation Studies; Translation criticism
Expectation(s) *see* Paratexts
Experiment *see* Empirical approaches
Experimental psychology *see* Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach
Experimental research *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies
Expert-to-expert communication *see* Translation problem
Expertise *see* Translation psychology
Expertise research *see* Competence; Think-aloud protocol
Expert–layman communication *see* Popularization and translation
Explanation *see* Agents of translation; Models in Translation Studies; Translation universals
Explicit knowledge *see* Knowledge management and translation
Explicitation *see* Translation universals
Eye-tracking *see* Audiovisual translation; Cognitive approaches; Translation process

F
Faithfulness *see* Political translation; Postmodernism; Self-translation
Falsifiability *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies
Fandubbing *see* Audiovisual translation; Subtitling; Voiceover and dubbing
Fansubbing *see* Audiovisual translation; Collaborative translation; Subtitling
Feminist translation *see* Gender in translation; Retranslation
Fictional character(s) *see* Representation of translators and interpreters
Fictional turn *see* Representation of translators and interpreters
Fictitious translation *see* Pseudotranslation
Fidelity *see* Intercultural mediation
Field (Bourdieu) *see* Sociology of translation
Figure of speech *see* Music and translation; Rhetoric and translation
Final solution *see* Translation problem
First World *see* Development and translation
FIT (International Federation of Translators) *see* Status of translators
Fluency *see* Machine translation today; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation tools
Foreign language(s) *see* Directionality; Travel and translation
Foreignizing/Foreignization *see* Domestication and foreignization; Realia; Retranslation; Translation strategies and tactics
Framing *see* Information, communication, translation; Journalism and translation; Narratives and contextual frames
Function(s) *see* Advertising translation
Function-oriented *see* Descriptive Translation Studies
Functionalist approaches (Nord, Vol. 1, 120–128) *see also* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Genres, text-types and translation; Religious translation; Subtitling; Text linguistics and translation; Theory of translatorial action; Translation Studies; Translation didactics
Furthering *see* Translation zone

G
Gender in translation (von Flotow, Vol. 1, 129–133) *see also* Power and translation; Religious translation
Gender minorities *see* Gender in translation
General translation theory (Dizdar, Vol. 3, 52–58) *see also* Descriptive Translation Studies; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Interpreting Studies; Models in Translation Studies; Norms of translation; Translation; Translation Studies
Generalization *see* Translation universals
Genre(s) *see* Discourse analysis; Genres, text-types and translation; Medical translation and interpreting; Methodology in translation studies; Sociolinguistics and translation
Genres, text-types and translation (Gambier, Vol. 4, 63–69) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Discourse analysis; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Media accessibility; Multimodality and audiovisual translation; Text linguistics and translation; Translation problem; Translation strategies and tactics
Geography *see* Eurocentrism
Global language *see* Orality and translation; Scientific translation
Globalization and translation (Cronin, Vol. 1, 134–140) *see also* Community interpreting; Hybridity and translation; Representation of translators and interpreters; Translation zone; Travel and translation
Gloss translation *see* Drama translation
Google Translate *see* Globalization and translation; Networking and volunteer translators
Great translation *see* Retranslation

H
Habitus *see* Agents of translation; Methodology in translation studies
Habitus (Bourdieu) *see* Agents of translation; Ethnographic approaches; Sociology of translation; Translation history
Healthcare interpreting *see* Quality in interpreting
Hegemony *see* Nation, empire, translation
Hermeneutics and translation (Stolze, Vol. 1, 141–146) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Literary studies and Translation studies; Religious translation; Teaching translation / Training translators
Heterogeneity *see* Deconstruction
Heteroglossia *see* Literary translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation
Historical relativism *see* Assumed translation
Historiography *see* Gender in translation; Translation history
History *see* Impact of translation; Translation history
Homophonic translation *see* Visibility (and invisibility)
Human sciences culture *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies
Humanities *see* Translational turn
Humor *see* Wordplay in translation
Humor in translation (Vandaele, Vol. 1, 147–152) *see also* Descriptive Translation Studies; Wordplay in translation
Hybrid text *see* Institutional translation; Music and translation
Hybridity and translation (Simon, Vol. 2, 49–53) *see also* Development and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Translation; Translation Studies; Translation zone; Travel and translation
Hybridization *see* Post-colonial literatures and translation; Web and translation
Hypermedia text *see* Genres, text-types and translation
Hypothesis *see* Models in Translation Studies

I
IATIS (International Association for Translation and Intercultural Studies) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Identity/identities (construction of -) *see* Drama translation; Gender in translation; Hybridity and translation; Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Literary translation; Migration and translation; National and cultural images; Original and translation; Philosophy and translation; Power and translation; Representation of translators and interpreters
Ideological manipulation *see* Children's literature and translation
Ideology and translation (Baumgarten, Vol. 3, 59–65) *see also* Agents of translation; Censorship; Committed approaches and activism; Communism and Translation Studies; Conflict and translation; Cultural approaches; Ethnographic approaches; Gender in translation; Norms of translation; Political translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Power and translation; Religious translation; Sociology of translation; Translation policy; Turns of Translation Studies
Image building *see* National and cultural images
Image(s) *see* Cultural approaches; Multimodality and audiovisual translation; National and cultural images; Representation of translators

and interpreters; Translation criticism; Travel and translation
Imagery *see* Poetry translation
Imitation *see* Assumed translation
Impact of translation (Woodsworth, Vol. 4, 70–76) *see also* Adaptation; Censorship; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Power and translation; Religious translation; Translation zone
Impact of translation theory (van Doorslaer, Vol. 4, 77–83) *see also* Functionalist approaches; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Models in Translation Studies; Postmodernism; Status of interpreters; Status of translators; Translation didactics; Web and translation
Implicit knowledge *see* Knowledge management and translation
Implied translator *see* Voices in translation
Import *see* Literary translation; Pseudotranslation
Inclusive design *see* Media accessibility
Incongruity principle *see* Music and translation
Index translationum *see* Editorial policy and translation
Indigenous language(s) *see* Nation, empire, translation
Indirect translation *see* Relay translation; Retranslation
Inequality *see* Social systems and translation
Inference *see* Simultaneous interpreting
Information management *see* Knowledge management and translation
Information, communication, translation (Valdeón, Vol. 3, 66–72) *see also* Adaptation; Globalization and translation; Journalism and translation
Information flow *see* Globalization and translation
Information processing *see* Consecutive interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Sight translation; Sign language interpreting and translating
Informational society *see* Information, communication, translation
Informativity *see* Text linguistics and translation
Inscription(s) *see* Comics in translation
Institutional translation (Koskinen, Vol. 2, 54–60) *see also* Adaptation; Agents of translation; Censorship; Computer-aided translation; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Hybridity and translation; Norms of translation; Official translation; Sociology of translation; Translation Studies; Translation policy; Translation strategies and tactics
Institutionalization *see* Bibliographies of Translation Studies
Institutionalization of Translation Studies (Gile, Vol. 3, 73–80) *see also* Bibliographies of Translation Studies; Cognitive approaches; Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Curriculum; Impact of translation theory; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Sign language interpreting and translating; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation; Translation Studies
Integrated approach *see* Literary Studies and Translation Studies
Interaction *see* Interpreting; Interpreting Studies
Intercultural mediation (Katan, Vol. 4, 84–91) *see also* Agents of translation; Committed approaches and activism; Community interpreting; Cultural approaches; Globalization and translation; Ideology and translation; Interpretive approach; Localization and translation; Natural translator and interpreter; Power and translation; Realia; Status of interpreters; Text linguistics and translation; Visibility (and invisibility)
Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies (Lambert, Vol. 3, 81–88) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Community interpreting; Conflict and translation; Corpora; Development and translation; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Interpreting Studies; Methodology in Translation Studies; Music and translation; Political translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Turns of Translation Studies
Interface *see* Translation tools
Interference(s) *see* Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Interpretive approach; Translation universals; Translation 'errors'
Interim solution *see* Translation problem
Interlingua (system) *see* Machine translation today; Relay translation
Interlingual transfer *see* Transfer and Transfer Studies
Interlingual translation *see* Orality and translation; Travel and translation
Intermediary *see* Nation, empire, translation
Intermediate language *see* Relay translation
International institutions *see* Multilingualism and translation
International politics *see* Power and translation
Interpreter education *see* Status of interpreters
Interpreter-mediated interaction *see* Status of interpreters

Interpreter's self-perception *see* Status of interpreters

Interpreting (Pöchhacker, Vol. 1, 153–157) *see also* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Community interpreting; Impact of translation; Relay interpreting; Sight translation; Simultaneous interpreting

Interpreting Studies (Pöchhacker, Vol. 1, 158–172) *see also* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Competence; Consecutive interpreting; Ethnographic approaches; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology; Simultaneous interpreting; Translation strategies and tactics

Interpretive approach (Lederer, Vol. 1, 173–179) *see also* Teaching translation / Training translators

Interpretive community *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Intersemiotic transfer *see* Transfer and Transfer Studies

Intersemiotic translation *see* Orality and translation; Travel and translation

Intertextuality *see* Interpretive approach; Literary translation; Text linguistics and translation

Interview *see* Empirical approaches

Intralingual subtitling *see* Audiovisual translation

Intralingual transfer *see* Transfer and Transfer Studies

Introductory translation *see* Drama translation

Invention *see* Rhetoric and translation

Invisibility *see* Visibility (and invisibility)

J

JAITS (Japanese Association for Interpreting and Translation Studies) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies

Joual *see* Hybridity and translation

Journalism and translation (van Doorslaer, Vol. 1, 180–184) *see also* Adaptation; Audiovisual translation; Information, communication, translation; Subtitling; Voiceover and dubbing

Journals (in TS) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies

Junior/senior translator *see* Revision

K

Keyword system *see* Bibliographies of Translation Studies

Knowledge asymmetry *see* Medical translation and interpreting

Knowledge management and translation (Risku, Vol. 4, 92–97) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Multilingualism and translation; Status of translators; Teaching translation / Training translators; Technical translation; Terminology and translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Translation strategies and tactics

Knowledge mediation *see* Medical translation and interpreting

L

Language acquisition *see* Language learning and translation; Subtitles and language learning

Language alphabets *see* Web and translation

Language change *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Language combination *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting; Relay interpreting

Language contact *see* Impact of translation; Sociolinguistics and translation

Language in use *see* Discourse analysis

Language interaction *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Language learning and translation (Malmkjær, Vol. 1, 185–190) *see also* Subtitles and language learning

Language management *see* Multilingualism and translation

Language pairs *see* Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach

Language philosophy and translation (Malmkjær, Vol. 3, 89–94) *see also* Linguistics and translation; Philosophy and translation

Language planning *see* Official translation; Political translation; Sociolinguistics and translation

Language policy *see* Multilingualism and translation; Sociolinguistics and translation

Language separation *see* Bilingualism and translation

Language standardization *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Language use *see* Ethnographic approaches; Gender in translation; Interpretive approach; Retranslation; Sociolinguistics and translation

Language variation *see* Sign language interpreting and translating; Sociolinguistics and translation

Language-switching *see* Bilingualism and translation

Languages A/B *see* Directionality; Quality in interpreting

Languages for special purposes (LSP) *see* Technical translation
Languages of limited diffusion *see* Relay interpreting
Lateralization (cerebral -) *see* Neurolinguistics and interpreting
Law *see* Court/Legal interpreting; Legal translation
Law of translational behaviour *see* Translation universals
Laws of translation *see* Descriptive Translation Studies; Norms of translation; Translation universals
Learner-centered approach *see* Translation didactics
Legal translation (Cao, Vol. 1, 191–195) *see also* Multilingualism and translation; Technical translation
Lengthening *see* Translation universals
Lexical pattern *see* Translation universals
Lexical selection *see* Bilingualism and translation
Liaison interpreting *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting; Relay interpreting
Liberal arts paradigm *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies
Libretto *see* Music and translation
Licensing *see* Translation rights
Lingua franca *see* Conference interpreting; Globalization and translation; Orality and translation; Relay interpreting; Scientific translation; Turns of Translation Studies
Linguistic diversity *see* Editorial policy and translation
Linguistic error *see* Revision; Translation 'errors'
Linguistic imperialism *see* Deconstruction
Linguistic minority *see* Minority languages and translation; Self-translation
Linguistic structures *see* Machine translation today
Linguistic variation *see* Terminology and translation
Linguistics and translation (Malmkjær, Vol. 2, 61–68) *see also* Corpora; Equivalence; Relevance and translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Translation; Translation strategies and tactics; Unit of translation
Literary criticism *see* Literary translation; Representation of translators and interpreters; Translation criticism
Literary journal *see* Translation criticism
Literary Studies and Translation Studies (Delabastita, Vol. 1, 196–208) *see also* Adaptation; Cognitive approaches; Corpora; Descriptive Translation Studies; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Gender in translation; Journalism and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Religious translation; Translation Studies
Literary text *see* Methodology in translation studies; Stylistics and translation
Literary translation (Delabastita, Vol. 2, 69–78) *see also* Adaptation; Agents of translation; Censorship; Children's literature and translation; Comics in translation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Drama translation; Equivalence; Gender in translation; Hermeneutics and translation; Multilingualism and translation; Paratexts; Poetry translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Retranslation; Self-translation; Sociology of translation; Stylistics and translation; Turns of Translation Studies; Voices in translation
Literary translator *see* Status of translators
Live transmissions *see* Media interpreting
Localization and translation (Schäler, Vol. 1, 209–214) *see also* Computer-aided translation
Logging *see* Methodology in translation studies
Logging (software) *see* Audiovisual translation; Cognitive approaches; Translation process
Loyalty *see* Poetry translation

M
Machine translation today (Forcada, Vol. 1, 215–223) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Translation tools
Manipulation *see* Cultural approaches; Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Political translation; Voiceover and dubbing
Manipulation School *see* Descriptive Translation Studies
Map (of Translation Studies) *see* Bibliographies of Translation Studies; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Empirical approaches; General translation theory; Translation criticism
Matches *see* Computer-aided translation; Machine translation today
Meaning-making process *see* Multimodality and audiovisual translation
Meaning/sense *see* General translation theory; Interpretive approach; Language philosophy and translation; Linguistics and translation; Poetry translation; Simultaneous interpreting
Media accessibility (Remael, Vol. 3, 95–101) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Children's literature and translation; Interpreting; Localization and translation; Media

interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating; Subtitling; Translation Studies; Voiceover and dubbing; Web and translation

Media interpreting (Pöchhacker, Vol. 1, 224–226) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Media accessibility; Simultaneous interpreting

Mediation/mediator *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Conflict and translation; National and cultural images

Medical translation and interpreting (Montalt, Vol. 2, 79–83) *see also* Competence; Methodology in Translation Studies; Quality in interpreting; Scientific translation; Technical translation; Terminology and translation; Translation problem

Memes/supermemes *see* Interpreting Studies; Translation Studies

Mentoring *see* Conference interpreting

Metalanguage *see* Deconstruction; Translation history

Metaphor *see* Rhetoric and translation; Voices in translation

Metaphors for translation (St. André, Vol. 2, 84–87) *see also* Post-colonial literatures and translation; Representation of translators and interpreters; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Translation Studies; Translation process

Metatext *see* Literary translation

Methodology in Translation Studies (Flynn & Gambier, Vol. 2, 88–96) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Committed approaches and activism; Competence; Corpora; Curriculum; Empirical approaches; Ethnographic approaches; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Interpreting Studies; Journalism and translation; Natural translator and interpreter; Networking and volunteer translators; Paratexts; Political translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Scientific translation; Sociology of translation; Technical translation; Think-aloud protocol; Translation Studies; Translation didactics; Translation history; Translation process; Turns of Translation Studies

Métissage *see* Hybridity and translation

Migration and translation (Polezzi, Vol. 3, 102–107) *see also* Agents of translation; Cultural translation; Ethics and translation; Globalization and translation; Hybridity and translation; Multilingualism and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Self-translation; Sociology of translation; Travel and translation

Minority *see* Literary translation; Minority languages and translation; Power and translation

Minority culture *see* Orality and translation

Minority languages and translation (Branchadell, Vol. 2, 97–101) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Literary translation; Machine translation today; Power and translation; Translation Studies; Translation process; Turns of Translation Studies

Minority literature *see* Post-colonial literatures and translation

Mistranslation *see* Revision

Mixed-method approach *see* Empirical approaches

Mobility *see* Migration and translation

Modality *see* Interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating

Models in Translation Studies (Chesterman, Vol. 3, 108–114) *see also* Agents of translation; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Comparative approaches to translation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Equivalence; General translation theory; Semantic models and translation; Translation Studies; Translation problem; Translation process; Translation universals

Modernity/Modernism *see* Orality and translation

Modularity *see* Machine translation today

Monolingualism *see* Multilingualism and translation; Self-translation

Mother tongue *see* Directionality

Multiculturalism *see* Hybridity and translation

Multidirectional translation *see* Official translation

Multilateral translation *see* Translation policy

Multilingual legislation *see* Institutional translation

Multilingualism and translation (Meylaerts, Vol. 1, 227–230) *see also* English as a lingua franca and translation; Translation tools

Multimedia *see* Audiovisual translation; Conference interpreting; Music and translation; Web and translation

Multimedia communication *see* Turns of Translation Studies

Multimodality and audiovisual translation (Taylor, Vol. 4, 98–104) *see also* Advertising translation; Audiovisual translation; Media accessibility; Subtitling; Voiceover and dubbing

Music and translation (Mateo, Vol. 3, 115–121) *see also* Adaptation; Audiovisual translation; Drama translation; Functionalist approaches; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Translation strategies and tactics; Voiceover and dubbing

Musical *see* Music and translation

N

Narrative strategy *see* Narratives and contextual frames; Pseudotranslation

Narratives and contextual frames (Harding, Vol. 4, 105–110) *see also* Children's literature and translation; Conflict and translation; Discourse analysis; Domestication and foreignization; Drama translation; Genres, text-types and translation; Journalism and translation; Localization and translation; Methodology in Translation Studies; Migration and translation; Paratexts; Power and translation; Reception and translation; Religious translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Subtitling; Travel and translation

Nation, empire, translation (Valdeón, Vol. 4, 111–118) *see also* Eurocentrism; Globalization and translation; National and cultural images; Orality and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Religious translation; Scientific translation; Translation

Nation-state *see* Editorial policy and translation; Nation, empire, translation; National and cultural images

National and cultural images (van Doorslaer, Vol. 3, 122–127) *see also* Adaptation; Censorship; Children's literature and translation; Journalism and translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Translation policy; Travel and translation

National identity *see* Editorial policy and translation; National and cultural images

National language(s) *see* Directionality; Multilingualism and translation

National literature(s) *see* Impact of translation

Native language *see* Conference interpreting

Native speaker *see* Directionality

Natural science paradigm *see* Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies

Natural translation *see* Bilingualism and translation; Interpreting; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters

Natural translator and interpreter (Antonini, Vol. 2, 102–104) *see also* Bilingualism and translation; Community interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Networking and volunteer translators; Translation Studies

Neologism(s) *see* Medical translation and interpreting

Network(ing) *see* Computer-aided translation; Ethnographic approaches; Globalization and translation; Social media and translation

Networking and volunteer translators (Folaron, Vol. 1, 231–234) *see also* Computer-aided translation

Neurolinguistic models *see* Interpreting Studies; Models in Translation Studies; Simultaneous interpreting

Neurolinguistics and interpreting (Ahrens, Vol. 2, 105–107) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Interpreting; Simultaneous interpreting

Neutrality *see* Intercultural mediation; Music and translation; Quality in interpreting

Non-literary text *see* Impact of translation; Stylistics and translation

Non-person *see* Status of interpreters

Non-professional translators *see* Web and translation

Non-translation *see* Translation policy

Non-translator *see* Collaborative translation

Non-verbal elements *see* Advertising translation

Non-Western cultures *see* Development and translation; Eurocentrism; Orality and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Norm(s) *see* Agents of translation; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Comparative approaches to translation; Conference interpreting; Equivalence; Institutional translation; Interpreting Studies; Literary translation; Methodology in translation studies; Polysystem theory and translation; Relay translation; Retranslation; Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies; Translation history

Norms of translation (Schäffner, Vol. 1, 235–244) *see also* Functionalist approaches; Polysystem theory and translation; Translation Studies

Note taking *see* Conference interpreting; Consecutive interpreting; Interpreting Studies

O

Observation *see* Empirical approaches

Observational data *see* Interpreting Studies

Occupational identity *see* Status of interpreters

Official language *see* Minority languages and translation; Official translation; Relay interpreting

Official translation (Merkle, Vol. 4, 119–122) *see also* Institutional translation; Legal translation; Minority languages and translation; Translation policy

Online bibliographies *see* Bibliographies of Translation Studies

Onomatopoeia *see* Comics in translation

Open source(s) *see* Collaborative translation; Computer-aided translation

Opera *see* Music and translation

Oral translation *see* Interpreting

Orality and translation (Bandia, Vol. 2, 108–112) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Children's literature and translation; Community interpreting; Consecutive interpreting; Development and translation; Literary studies and Translation studies; Nation, empire, translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Pseudotranslation; Religious translation; Simultaneous interpreting; Sociolinguistics and translation; Translation Studies; Turns of Translation Studies

Original and translation (Laiho, Vol. 4, 123–129) *see also* Deconstruction; Domestication and foreignization; Equivalence; Ethics and translation; Literary studies and Translation studies; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Postmodernism

Original(ity) *see* Creativity; Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Multilingualism and translation; Philosophy and translation; Relay translation; Retranslation; Rhetoric and translation; Self-translation; Translation history; Translation rights

Outre-langue *see* Hybridity and translation

Overt and covert translation (House, Vol. 1, 245–246)

P

Paradigm shift *see* Equivalence; Ideology and translation; Metaphors for translation

Paralinguistic information *see* Audiovisual translation; Interpreting Studies; Sight translation; Subtitling; Technical translation

Paratexts (Tahir Gürçağlar, Vol. 2, 113–116) *see also* Agents of translation; Norms of translation; Pseudotranslation; Voices in translation

Patronage *see* Cultural approaches; Institutional translation; Power and translation

Pedagogy *see* Curriculum; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation didactics

Pentathlon principle *see* Music and translation

Performance translation *see* Drama translation

Peripheral language *see* Editorial policy and translation; Relay translation

Periphery *see* Editorial policy and translation

Personal narratives *see* Narratives and contextual frames

Personality (type) *see* Translation psychology

Philosophical texts *see* Popularization and translation

Philosophy and translation (Arrojo, Vol. 1, 247–251) *see also* Deconstruction; Language philosophy and translation

Phraseology *see* Terminology and translation

Picture (and text) *see* Comics in translation

Piracy *see* Translation rights

Pivot language *see* Interpreting; Relay interpreting; Relay translation; Subtitling

Plurilingualism *see* Hybridity and translation

Poetics of the translator *see* Comparative approaches to translation

Poetry translation (Jones, Vol. 2, 117–122) *see also* Adaptation; Competence; Status of interpreters; Think-aloud protocol; Wordplay in translation

Political translation (Gagnon, Vol. 1, 252–256) *see also* Community interpreting; Gender in translation; Ideology and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Self-translation; Translation strategies and tactics

Politics of translation *see* Conflict and translation

Polylingualism *see* Post-colonial literatures and translation

Polysemy *see* Interpretive approach

Polysystem theory and translation (Chang, Vol. 1, 257–263) *see also* Sociolinguistics and translation; Translation policy

Popularization and translation (Liao, Vol. 4, 130–133) *see also* Genres, text-types and translation; Media accessibility; Reception and translation; Scientific translation; Terminology and translation

Post-colonial literatures and translation (Bandia, Vol. 1, 264–269) *see also* Eurocentrism

Postcolonial Studies *see* Cultural translation; Development and translation

Postcolonialism *see* Eurocentrism; Hybridity and translation; Impact of translation; Power and translation

Postmodernism (Wang, Vol. 3, 128–133) *see also* Cultural translation; Deconstruction; Ethics and translation; Globalization and translation; Philosophy and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation

Postmodernity *see* Postmodernism

Poststructuralist *see* Postmodernism

Power and translation (Strowe, Vol. 4, 134–141) *see also* Agents of translation; Anthologies and translation; Censorship; Committed approaches and activism; Conflict and translation; Cultural approaches; Descriptive Translation Studies; Ethics and translation;

Eurocentrism; Gender in translation; Globalization and translation; Ideology and translation; Impact of translation; Migration and translation; National and cultural images; Norms of translation; Political translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Status of interpreters; Status of translators; Translation policy

Power relation(s) *see* Cultural approaches; Hybridity and translation; Ideology and translation; Interpreting; Minority languages and translation; Orality and translation; Philosophy and translation; Political translation; Power and translation; Stylistics and translation; Translation history; Translation policy

Prague Structuralism *see* Literary Studies and Translation Studies

Pre-/post-editing *see* Evaluation/Assessment; Machine translation today; Revision

Prescriptivism *see* Equivalence

Presentational element(s) *see* Paratexts

Prima vista *see* Sight translation

Prize(s) *see* Translation policy

Problem-solving *see* Cognitive approaches; Translation problem; Translation process; Translation psychology

Procedure(s) *see* Translation strategies and tactics

Process *see* Translation process

Process-centered approach *see* Interpreting Studies; Translation didactics

Process-oriented *see* Descriptive Translation Studies; Interpreting Studies; Simultaneous interpreting

Product-oriented *see* Descriptive Translation Studies

Profession-centered approach *see* Translation didactics

Professional associations *see* Community interpreting

Professionalism/Professionalization *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Impact of translation; Interpreting Studies; Natural translator and interpreter; Quality in interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating; Status of interpreters; Translation psychology

Promotional material *see* Advertising translation

Proofreading *see* Revision

Proper names *see* Realia

Prosody *see* Interpreting Studies

Prototype (theory) *see* Semantic models and translation

Pseudotranslation (O'Sullivan, Vol. 2, 123–125) *see also* Adaptation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Ethics and translation; Localization and translation; Norms of translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Representation of translators and interpreters; Subtitling

Psychoanalysis *see* Gender in translation

Psycholinguistic approach *see* Translation didactics

Psycholinguistics *see* Cognitive approaches; Semantic models and translation; Translation process

Psychology *see* Translation psychology

Public domain *see* Translation policy

Public image *see* Status of interpreters

Publishing/publishers *see* Editorial policy and translation; Institutional translation; Translation history

Pun(s) *see* Comics in translation; Wordplay in translation

Purification *see* Children's literature and translation

Q

Qualifications *see* Conference interpreting

Qualitative research *see* Empirical approaches

Quality *see* Computer-aided translation; Conference interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Machine translation today; Quality in interpreting; Quality in translation; Revision; Teaching translation / Training translators; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies; Translation criticism

Quality assurance *see* Quality in interpreting; Quality in translation; Status of translators; Translation tools

Quality in interpreting (Kalina, Vol. 3, 134–140) *see also* Evaluation/Assessment; Quality in translation; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Quality in translation (Gouadec, Vol. 1, 270–275) *see also* Evaluation/Assessment; Quality in interpreting

Quantitative research *see* Empirical approaches

Queer theory *see* Gender in translation

Qur'an *see* Religious translation

R

Rapprochement *see* Author and translator

Re-reading *see* Revision

Readability *see* Institutional translation; Subtitling
Reader *see* Evaluation/Assessment; Poetry translation; Rhetoric and translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Stylistics and translation
Readership *see* Literary translation; Retranslation
Reading skill *see* Subtitling
Realia (Leppihalme, Vol. 2, 126–130) *see also* Subtitling; Translation Studies; Translation problem; Translation strategies and tactics
Realism *see* Communism and Translation Studies
Reception and translation (Brems & Ramos Pinto, Vol. 4, 142–147) *see also* Adaptation; Audiovisual translation; Bibliometrics; Cognitive approaches; Cultural translation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Equivalence; Genres, text-types and translation; Humor in translation; Literary studies and Translation studies; Literary translation; Media accessibility; Music and translation; National and cultural images; Norms of translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Subtitling; Translation Studies; Translation criticism; Translation psychology; Voiceover and dubbing
Recreative translation *see* Comparative approaches to translation; Poetry translation
Redefinition (of TS) *see* Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies
Reduction *see* Music and translation
Redundancy *see* Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous interpreting
Reflexive turn *see* General translation theory
Reformulating *see* Interpretive approach
Register *see* Discourse analysis; Sociolinguistics and translation; Stylistics and translation
Regularities *see* Norms of translation
Regulated translation *see* Religious translation
Regulation *see* Translation policy
Relay () *see* Conference interpreting; Voiceover and dubbing
Relay interpreting (Shlesinger, Vol. 1, 276–278) *see also* Community interpreting; Relay translation; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous interpreting
Relay translation (Ringmar, Vol. 3, 141–144) *see also* Relay interpreting
Relevance and translation (Alves & Gonçalves, Vol. 1, 279–284) *see also* Intercultural mediation; Interpretive approach; Simultaneous interpreting; Subtitling
Reliability *see* Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies
Religion *see* Nation, empire, translation
Religious translation (Naudé, Vol. 1, 285–293) *see also* Translation strategies and tactics
Remote interpreting (Moser-Mercer, Vol. 2, 131–134) *see also* Globalization and translation; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology
Repertoire *see* Literary translation; Polysystem theory and translation
Repetition *see* Computer-aided translation; Translation universals
Replacement *see* Translation problem
Reported speech *see* Voices in translation
Representation of translators and interpreters (Kaindl, Vol. 3, 145–150) *see also* Pseudotranslation; Status of interpreters; Status of translators
Representation(s) *see* Cultural approaches; National and cultural images; Travel and translation
Resistance *see* Committed Approaches and Activism; Nation, empire, translation; Political translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Power and translation
Response *see* Evaluation/Assessment
Retentive translation *see* Comparative approaches to translation
Retour *see* Conference interpreting; Relay interpreting
Retranslation (Koskinen & Paloposki, Vol. 1, 294–298) *see also* Relay translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Translation criticism
Reuse *see* Computer-aided translation; Localization and translation
Reversed subtitles *see* Subtitles and language learning
Review *see* Translation criticism
Revision (Mossop, Vol. 2, 135–139) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Journalism and translation; Quality in translation; Retranslation; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation tools; Translation 'errors'
Revoicing *see* Subtitling; Voiceover and dubbing
Rewording *see* Translation Studies
Rewriting *see* Anthologies and translation; Cultural approaches; Intercultural mediation; Relay translation; Visibility (and invisibility)
Rhetoric and translation (Stecconi, Vol. 3, 151–155) *see also* Applied Translation Studies; Stylistics and translation; Text linguistics and translation

Rhyme *see* Poetry translation
Rhythm *see* Music and translation
Role (of interpreter) *see* Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Court/Legal interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach; Simultaneous interpreting
Routine(s) *see* Translation psychology; Translation strategies and tactics
Russian Formalism *see* Literary Studies and Translation Studies; Polysystem theory and translation

S
Sacred text(s) *see* Religious translation
Sameness *see* Deconstruction
Sample *see* Corpora
Scenes and frames semantics *see* Semantic models and translation
Scholars (translation and interpreting -) *see* Ethnographic approaches; Interpreting Studies; Translation history
Scholarship(s) *see* Translation policy
Science of translating *see* General translation theory; Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies; Translation Studies
Scientific translation (Montgomery, Vol. 1, 299–305) *see also* Self-translation; Translation tools
Scientific productivity *see* Bibliometrics
Scientific texts *see* Popularization and translation
Scientificity and theory in Translation Studies (Gile, Vol. 4, 148–155) *see also* Functionalist approaches; General translation theory; Impact of translation theory; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Interpretive approach; Translation universals
Scientometrics *see* Bibliometrics
Second language *see* Directionality
Self-employed translator *see* Revision
Self-revision *see* Revision
Self-translation (Montini, Vol. 1, 306–308) *see also* Bilingualism and translation; Hybridity and translation; Institutional translation; Paratexts
Semantic models and translation (Kussmaul, Vol. 1, 309–313) *see also* Religious translation; Technical translation
Semiotic modality *see* Multimodality and audiovisual translation
Semiotics and translation (Stecconi, Vol. 1, 314–319) *see also* Equivalence; Linguistics and translation
Settings *see* Audiovisual translation; Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Media interpreting; Simultaneous interpreting; Turns of Translation Studies
Shadowing *see* Interpreting Studies; Neurolinguistics and interpreting
Shift(s) *see* Discourse analysis; Linguistics and translation; Translation strategies and tactics
Sight translation (Čeňková, Vol. 1, 320–323) *see also* Consecutive interpreting; Simultaneous interpreting; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Translation strategies and tactics
Sign(s) *see* Deconstruction; Linguistics and translation; Semiotics and translation
Sign language interpreting and translating (Leeson & Vermeerbergen, Vol. 1, 324–328) *see also* Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Media accessibility; Simultaneous interpreting; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters
Similarity *see* Comparative approaches to translation; Original and translation
Simplification *see* Machine translation today; Translation universals
Simship *see* Localization and translation
Simulation *see* Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation problem
Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology (Diriker, Vol. 1, 329–332) *see also* Conference interpreting; Simultaneous interpreting
Simultaneous interpreting (Russo, Vol. 1, 333–336) *see also* Consecutive interpreting; Genres, text-types and translation; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach; Media interpreting
Simultaneous interpreting with text *see* Conference interpreting; Sight translation
Singability *see* Music and translation
Situational approach *see* Translation didactics
Situationality *see* Text linguistics and translation
Skill(s) *see* Collaborative translation; Competence; Status of translators; Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies
Skopos *see* Functionalist approaches; General translation theory; Medical translation and interpreting
Skopos theory *see* Functionalist approaches; General translation theory; Interpretive approach; Theory of translatorial action; Translation
Social development *see* Development and translation
Social media and translation (Desjardins, Vol. 4, 156–159) *see also* Localization and

translation; Machine translation today; Networking and volunteer translators; Self-translation; Translation tools; Web and translation
Social network (analysis) *see* Bibliometrics; Networking and volunteer translators; Web and translation
Social practice *see* Evaluation/Assessment; Sociology of translation
Social psychology *see* Translation psychology
Social systems and translation (Tyulenev, Vol. 4, 160–166) *see also* Agents of translation; Cultural approaches; Functionalist approaches; Models in Translation Studies; Polysystem theory and translation; Sociology of translation; Turns of Translation Studies
Social turn *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies)
Socioconstructive approach *see* Translation didactics
Sociolect *see* Sociolinguistics and translation
Sociolinguistics and translation (Ramos Pinto, Vol. 3, 156–162) *see also* Linguistics and translation; Sociology of translation; Text linguistics and translation
Sociology of interpreting *see* Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies)
Sociology of translation (Wolf, Vol. 1, 337–343) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Community interpreting; Functionalist approaches; Translation Studies; Translation strategies and tactics
Solution *see* Translation problem
Song *see* Music and translation
Special languages *see* Terminology and translation
Specialized knowledge *see* Popularization and translation; Teaching translation / Training translators; Terminology and translation
Specialized translation *see* Genres, text-types and translation; Teaching translation / Training translators
Speech (voice) recognition *see* Subtitling; Translation tools
Speech databases *see* Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology
Speech processing *see* Neurolinguistics and interpreting
Speech representation *see* Voices in translation
Stage performance *see* Music and translation
Standardization *see* Domestication and foreignization; Institutional translation; Media accessibility; Medical translation and interpreting; Translation universals
Status *see* Computer-aided translation; Conference interpreting; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies
Status of interpreters (Wadensjö, Vol. 2, 140–145) *see also* Community interpreting; Consecutive interpreting; Journalism and translation; Relay interpreting; Representation of translators and interpreters; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous interpreting
Status of translators (Katan, Vol. 2, 146–152) *see also* Agents of translation; Committed approaches and activism; Competence; Institutional translation; Representation of translators and interpreters
Stereotype *see* National and cultural images; Orality and translation; Representation of translators and interpreters; Semantic models and translation
Strategy *see* Agents of translation; Natural translator and interpreter; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation policy; Translation strategies and tactics
Structure *see* Deconstruction
Style *see* Creativity; Rhetoric and translation; Scientific translation
Stylistics and translation (Boase-Beier, Vol. 2, 153–156) *see also* Censorship; Methodology in Translation Studies; Poetry translation; Rhetoric and translation; Translation Studies
Subtitles and language learning (Caimi, Vol. 4, 167–173) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Language learning and translation; Subtitling
Subtitling (Díaz Cintas, Vol. 1, 344–349) *see also* Interpreting; Media accessibility; Subtitles and language learning; Voiceover and dubbing
Subtitling for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing (SDH) *see* Audiovisual translation; Subtitles and language learning; Subtitling
Summer schools (for PhD students) *see* Institutionalization of Translation Studies
Supermeme(s) *see* Translation Studies
Surtitling *see* Audiovisual translation; Music and translation
Survey *see* Empirical approaches; Methodology in translation studies
Synchrony *see* Audiovisual translation; Interpreting Studies; Voiceover and dubbing
Synonymy *see* Medical translation and interpreting
System *see* Polysystem theory and translation; Power and translation; Social systems and translation

T

Tacit knowledge *see* Knowledge management and translation
Tactics *see* Translation strategies and tactics
Talmud *see* Religious translation
TAP *see* Think-aloud protocol
Target-oriented *see* Descriptive Translation Studies
Task-based approach *see* Translation didactics
Tasks *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Media interpreting; Technical translation; Voiceover and dubbing; Web and translation
Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters (Pöchhacker, Vol. 4, 174–180) *see also* Community interpreting; Competence; Conference interpreting; Consecutive interpreting; Court/Legal interpreting; Curriculum; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Natural translator and interpreter; Remote interpreting; Sight translation; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology; Simultaneous interpreting; Teaching translation / Training translators
Teaching translation / Training translators (Gambier, Vol. 3, 163–171) *see also* Bilingualism and translation; Competence; Curriculum; Evaluation/Assessment; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Language learning and translation; Quality in translation; Teaching interpreting / Training interpreters; Translation didactics; Translation problem; Translation strategies and tactics; Translation 'errors'
Teamwork *see* Conference interpreting; Teaching translation / Training translators
Technical translation (Schubert, Vol. 1, 350–355) *see also* Adaptation; Computer-aided translation; Functionalist approaches; Legal translation; Overt and covert translation; Scientific translation; Translation process
Technique(s) *see* Translation strategies and tactics
Technology *see* Information, communication, translation
Tele-interpreting *see* Remote interpreting
Telephone interpreting *see* Community interpreting; Remote interpreting
Television interpreting *see* Media interpreting; Sign language interpreting and translating
Term banks *see* Computer-aided translation
Terminological variation *see* Medical translation and interpreting
Terminology and translation (Cabré, Vol. 1, 356–365) *see also* Corpora; Knowledge management and translation; Text linguistics and translation
Terminology management system *see* Computer-aided translation
Tertium comparationis *see* Comparative approaches to translation; Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Creativity
Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies (Angelelli, Vol. 3, 172–177) *see also* Competence; Evaluation/Assessment; Quality in interpreting; Quality in translation
Text (source/target text) *see* Audiovisual translation; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Computer-aided translation; Gender in translation; Multilingualism and translation; Retranslation; Scientific translation; Sight translation; Technical translation; Text linguistics and translation; Translation universals; Turns of Translation Studies
Text analysis *see* Discourse analysis
Text convention(s) *see* Medical translation and interpreting
Text linguistics and translation (House, Vol. 3, 178–183) *see also* Linguistics and translation; Rhetoric and translation; Sociolinguistics and translation; Stylistics and translation
Text profile *see* Quality in interpreting
Text type(s) *see* Evaluation/Assessment; Translation problem
Textuality *see* Hybridity and translation
Theory (design) *see* General translation theory
Theory building *see* Eurocentrism
Theory of communicative action *see* Social systems and translation
Theory of languages *see* Translation psychology
Theory of translatorial action (Schäffner, Vol. 2, 157–162) *see also* Agents of translation; Competence; Ethics and translation; Functionalist approaches; Translation Studies; Translation didactics
Thick translation *see* Ethnographic approaches; Translation
Think-aloud protocol (Jääskeläinen, Vol. 1, 371–373) *see also* Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation process; Translation psychology; Unit of translation
Third space *see* Hybridity and translation
Third World *see* Development and translation
Title(s) *see* Comics in translation
Tools *see* Translation tools
Top–down *see* Comparative approaches to translation; Semantic models and translation
Tourism *see* Travel and translation

Tourist brochure(s) *see* Advertising translation; Stylistics and translation

Trace analysis *see* Empirical approaches

Training *see* Community interpreting; Conference interpreting; Deconstruction; Genres, text-types and translation; Interpreting Studies; Interpretive approach; Medical translation and interpreting; Models in Translation Studies; Sight translation; Sign language interpreting and translating; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology; Simultaneous interpreting; Status of translators; Stylistics and translation; Terminology and translation

Traitor *see* Nation, empire, translation

Transcoding *see* Interpreting Studies; Simultaneous interpreting

Transcreation *see* Orality and translation

Transcription *see* Multimodality and audiovisual translation

Transcultural interaction *see* Theory of translatorial action

Transculturalism *see* Hybridity and translation

Transediting *see* Information, communication, translation; Journalism and translation

Transfer and Transfer Studies (Göpferich, Vol. 1, 374–377) *see also* Assumed translation; Deconstruction; Directionality; Functionalist approaches

Transformation *see* Philosophy and translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies

Translatability/untranslatability *see* Advertising translation; Deconstruction; Linguistics and Translation; Multilingualism and translation; Translation problem; Wordplay in translation

Translation (Halverson, Vol. 1, 378–384) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Drama translation; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Translation Studies

Translation act *see* Models in Translation Studies; Relay translation; Translation problem

Translation agency *see* Revision

Translation brief *see* Evaluation/Assessment; Functionalist approaches; Translation 'errors'

Translation centre *see* Agents of translation

Translation competence *see* Author and translator; Natural translator and interpreter

Translation criticism (Paloposki, Vol. 3, 184–190) *see also* Evaluation/Assessment; Models in Translation Studies; Norms of translation; Paratexts; Translation 'errors'

Translation didactics (Kelly, Vol. 1, 389–396) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Curriculum; Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation process

Translation effect(s) *see* Hybridity and translation

Translation 'errors' (Hansen, Vol. 1, 385–388) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Functionalist approaches; Technical translation; Translation criticism

Translation event *see* Models in Translation Studies

Translation flow(s) *see* Communism and Translation Studies

Translation history (D'hulst, Vol. 1, 397–405) *see also* Functionalist approaches

Translation memory system *see* Computer-aided translation; Revision

Translation method *see* Linguistics and translation; Translation strategies and tactics; Unit of translation

Translation policy (Meylaerts, Vol. 2, 163–168) *see also* Agents of translation; Applied Translation Studies; Censorship; Community interpreting; Descriptive Translation Studies; Institutional translation; Multilingualism and translation; Norms of translation; Polysystem theory and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Subtitling; Translation Studies; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics; Voiceover and dubbing

Translation practice *see* Impact of translation theory

Translation problem (Toury, Vol. 2, 169–174) *see also* Models in Translation Studies; Think-aloud protocol; Translation Studies; Translation process; Translation strategies and tactics

Translation process (Englund Dimitrova, Vol. 1, 406–411) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Descriptive Translation Studies; Metaphors for translation; Models in Translation Studies; Think-aloud protocol; Translation problem; Translation psychology; Translation strategies and tactics; Unit of translation

Translation profession *see* Collaborative translation

Translation project *see* Globalization and translation

Translation proper *see* Translation Studies

Translation psychology (Jääskeläinen, Vol. 3, 191–197) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Neurolinguistics and interpreting; Translation process

Translation reflection *see* Impact of translation theory

Translation rights (Basalamah, Vol. 3, 198–202) *see also* Agents of translation; Editorial policy and translation; Paratexts; Retranslation

Translation rules *see* Polysystem theory and translation

Translation strategies and tactics (Gambier, Vol. 1, 412–418) *see also* Adaptation; Communism and Translation Studies; Conference interpreting; Functionalist approaches; Music and translation; Think-aloud protocol; Translation process; Translation psychology

Translation Studies (Munday, Vol. 1, 419–428) *see also* Applied Translation Studies; Cognitive approaches; Common grounds in Translation and Interpreting (Studies); Computer-aided translation; Corpora; Descriptive Translation Studies; Equivalence; Functionalist approaches; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Interpreting Studies; Literary studies and Translation studies; Translation history; Translation process

Translation theory *see* General translation theory; Models in Translation Studies

Translation tools (Folaron, Vol. 1, 429–436) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Corpora; Teaching translation / Training translators; Technical translation; Web and translation

Translation universals (Chesterman, Vol. 2, 175–179) *see also* Contrastive linguistics and Translation Studies; Corpora; Descriptive Translation Studies; Linguistics and translation; Norms of translation; Retranslation; Stylistics and translation; Subtitling; Translation Studies; Translation psychology

Translation working process *see* Translation strategies and tactics

Translation zone (Simon, Vol. 4, 181–185) *see also* Globalization and translation; Hybridity and translation; Migration and translation; Minority languages and translation

Translational turn (Bachmann-Medick, Vol. 4, 186–193) *see also* Cultural translation; Eurocentrism; Globalization and translation; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Migration and translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Self-translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Translation; Translation Studies; Turns of Translation Studies

Translationese *see* Translation universals

Translatology *see* Translation Studies

Translator studies *see* Sociology of translation

Translatorship *see* Author and translator; Agents of translation; Institutional translation; Methodology in translation studies

Translatorial competence *see* Theory of translatorial action

Transliteration *see* Orality and translation; Sign language interpreting and translating

Transmutation *see* Translation Studies

Transportation *see* Philosophy and translation

Travel and translation (Cronin, Vol. 4, 194–199) *see also* Agents of translation; Globalization and translation; Power and translation; Transfer and Transfer Studies; Translation zone

Travel literature *see* Orality and translation; Travel and translation

Triangulated methodology *see* Sociolinguistics and translation

Triangulation *see* Empirical approaches

True translation *see* Self-translation

Turns of Translation Studies, the (Snell-Hornby, Vol. 1, 366–370) *see also* Community interpreting; Computer-aided translation; Descriptive Translation Studies; Functionalist approaches; Gender in translation; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Interpreting Studies; Machine translation today; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Sociology of translation; Think-aloud protocol; Translation Studies

U

Understanding *see* Hermeneutics and translation

UNESCO *see* Status of translators

Unique item hypothesis *see* Translation universals

Unit of translation (Ballard, Vol. 1, 437–440) *see also* Teaching translation / Training translators; Translation strategies and tactics

Universal(s) *see* Translation universals

Usability *see* Applied Translation Studies

Usefulness *see* Applied Translation Studies

User expectation(s) *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Quality in interpreting

User survey *see* Quality in interpreting

Utterance(s) *see* Language philosophy and translation

V

Validity *see* Testing and assessment in Translation and Interpreting Studies

Variables *see* Interpreting Studies; Simultaneous interpreting

Verbal reporting *see* Translation process

Vernaculars *see* Editorial policy and translation; Nation, empire, translation; Scientific translation

Video description *see* Audio-description
Videoconference *see* Remote interpreting; Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology
Viewer *see* Sociolinguistics and translation
Virtual community *see* Collaborative translation
Virtual learning environment (VLE) *see* Simultaneous conference interpreting and technology
Visibility (and invisibility) (Emmerich, Vol. 4, 200–206) *see also* Committed approaches and activism; Deconstruction; Domestication and foreignization; Ethics and translation; Impact of translation theory; Institutionalization of Translation Studies; Post-colonial literatures and translation; Quality in interpreting; Translation criticism
Visually impaired *see* Media accessibility
Voice quality *see* Ethics and translation; Media interpreting
Voices in translation (Alvstad, Vol. 4, 207–210) *see also* Agents of translation; Orality and translation; Paratexts; Stylistics and translation; Translation psychology; Visibility (and invisibility)
Voiceover and dubbing (Díaz Cintas & Orero, Vol. 1, 441–445) *see also* Audiovisual translation; Media accessibility; Overt and covert translation; Subtitling
Volunteer translators/interpreters *see* Collaborative translation; Committed Approaches and Activism; Globalization and translation; Natural translator and interpreter; Networking and volunteer translators

W

Web and translation (Folaron, Vol. 1, 446–450) *see also* Computer-aided translation; Corpora; Interdisciplinarity in Translation Studies; Machine translation today; Networking and volunteer translators; Social media and translation; Translation tools
Web science *see* Web and translation
Web studies *see* Web and translation
Webometrics *see* Bibliometrics
Western *see* Development and translation; Eurocentrism; Post-colonial literatures and translation
Whispered interpreting *see* Media interpreting
Whispering *see* Conference interpreting
Wikipedia *see* Collaborative translation
Women translators *see* Gender in translation
Word list(er) *see* Corpora
Wordplay in translation (Vandaele, Vol. 2, 180–183) *see also* Cognitive approaches; Humor in translation
Work process(es) *see* Technical translation; Translation tools
Workflow *see* Computer-aided translation; Machine translation today; Translation tools; Web and translation
Working language(s) *see* Conference interpreting; Interpreting; Interpreting Studies; Relay interpreting; Teaching translation / Training translators
Working memory *see* Interpreting Studies; Sight translation; Simultaneous interpreting; Think-aloud protocol
Workstation *see* Computer-aided translation; Networking and volunteer translators; Translation tools
World language *see* Travel and translation
World literature *see* Cultural approaches; Impact of translation; Power and translation
Writer *see* Gender in translation; Post-colonial literatures and translation
Writing *see* Post-colonial literatures and translation
Writing skills *see* Stylistics and translation