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The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies

Elke Brems, Reine Meylaerts
and Luc Van Doorslaer (eds.)

The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies

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The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies
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The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies

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Table of contents

Introduction

Translation Studies looking back and looking forward

A discipline's meta-reflection

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There is no doubt that self-reflection and meta-reflection are characteristic of every dynamic and developing scholarly discipline. Nevertheless, it is arguable that meta-reflection is exceptionally clearly present in Translation Studies (see Gambier: this volume). Some scholars may get the impression that the discipline, despite its perceived successful development over recent decades, is caught in a more or less permanent state of doubt and uncertainty. Or is this just a more negative perception of the very features that others consider signs of the dynamics of the discipline? After several paradigm changes and even more turns, after fights about scholarly territories and methodological renewal, after intra- and interdisciplinary discussions, after the question whether localizing knowledge embarrasses or rather complements globalizing research etc., Translation Studies continues to produce a large number of publications dealing with the struggle of defining itself and its object, with the borderlines of both the discipline and the object, with ways of interacting with related (sub)disciplines.

Together with the institutionalization, the growth in knowledge and the variety of approaches and topics, the aspect of uncertainty may offer an additional explanation for the number of publications dealing not only with the history of the discipline, but also questioning its future directions. Translation Studies has often not only felt the need to look back and take stock of what had already been achieved, but also to look forward. As the topic of this book is exactly to question some of the unknowns of Translation Studies, this introduction analyzes the tendencies of similar 'predictive' articles of the past 15 years. We have used the *Translation Studies Bibliography* or TSB (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2013) and its extensive keyword system to track down publications looking ahead or combining the present state of the art with predictions about future developments. It is not

our goal to present an exhaustive overview of those publications. In many cases, the 'state of the art' presented in the articles focused on a relatively small subdomain of Translation Studies, such as audio description or public service interpreting. What we would like to concentrate on here are the most important tendencies and directions for Translation Studies as a discipline in general, as indicated by our analysis of several dozen articles, all of which we will not be able to discuss explicitly in this short overview. We do not claim that our selection is fully representative of the genre; nevertheless, we believe that many scholars will recognize (at least some of) the tendencies described here. On the basis of parallelisms between several of the claims and predictive utterances, we grouped them into five clusters:

1. The positioning of the discipline

A first general topic that is discussed in many of the articles is exactly the question how to define the discipline and where to posit it? The discussion of paradigms (see e.g. Pöchhacker 2007 for an overview of paradigms in Interpreting Studies), both in its diachronic and synchronic dimension, was made concrete in the metaphor of the turns (see for instance Snell-Hornby 2006). Cronin 2010 mentions what is possibly the most recent one, i.e. the technological turn (see also Section 2 below). Whereas the previous turns were "largely determined by developments in adjacent disciplines — linguistics, cultural theory, history", the latter is "the result of significant shifts in the way in which translation is carried out in the contemporary world. These shifts demand that conventional understandings of what constitutes translation and the position of the translator be systematically re-examined" (Cronin 2010: 1). Similar reflections are key in Gambier's contribution (see below). Paradoxically it was exactly the autonomization and broadening of the discipline that obscured a clear focus on the actual object called translation. Delabastita (2003: 9) refers to this phenomenon as a deeply ironic paradox:

> the more Translation Studies is coming into its own, the more its central object — translation — gets eroded and dispersed. The harder we look at translation, the softer our analytical focus appears to be getting and the more the specificity of our object seems to be dissolving. Translation Studies had to be invented, apparently, to show how blurred and how elusive a concept translation really is.

Although Delabastita mainly stresses the unsettling side of the evolution, the blurring of its boundaries may of course also offer new openings for Translation Studies. Sherry Simon's contribution to this volume, for instance, stretches the borderlines of translation and challenges Translation Studies methodologies to study multilingual cities as a translation space.

Additionally to concerns about the evolution of the discipline as a whole, Translation Studies is increasingly occupied with the implementation of new subfields: after corpus studies (Chan 2007), localization (O'Hagan 2006), and community interpreting, sign language interpreting, audio description, live subtitling, occupational integration, non-professional translation etc. were launched as new areas for research. These innovative trends undoubtedly illustrate the potential of Translation Studies as a dynamic field, able to respond to new societal needs and developments, as well as the internal subdivisions of the discipline into subfields. In this respect, the traditional inclination of Translation Studies towards literary translation is now only one among many and varied preoccupations. Yet, the downside of such an evolution is of course the danger of internal fragmentation. What does it mean for a small field to cover so many subareas? Where is the balance between the need for variety and the risk of fragmentation (Delabastita 2003)? According to Gambier (this volume) Translation Studies can therefore be considered a polydiscipline: a complex discipline, lacking unity.

Often pleas for research into new subareas go together with claims for new research methods and new training methods. The methods are often borrowed from neighboring disciplines and raise the issue of interdisciplinarity (see Section 3 below). As long as fifteen years ago, Kaindl (1997: 62) insisted that Translation Studies would only be able to secure autonomy "wenn sie in der Wahl ihrer Analyseinstrumentarien und Methoden eigene Wege geht, die sich grundlegend von jenen der Linguistik und Literaturwissenschaft unterscheiden" [if it goes its own way in the selection of analytical instruments and methods which differ fundamentally from those of linguistics and literary studies — transl. by editors]. The concern for new training methods for future translators and interpreters illustrates the concerns of a discipline that has never/not yet lost its relationship with one of its applied counterparts: the training of professionals and of trainers. This link between theory and practice is an important and striking characteristic of Translation Studies. It is no coincidence that the combination of the terms 'theory' and 'practice' yields 718 instances in the *Translation Studies Bibliography*.

New research areas and research methods go hand in hand with new and wider definitions of translation: intralingual translation, fansubbing, crowdsourcing, editing, proofreading, multilingual word processing, wiki-translation…, just as new and wider definitions of translations call for new research areas and methods (Tymoczko 2009). Many authors point towards the need for new skills for future translators, like authoring and editing web-pages, word-processing in multiple languages and in multiple formats, desktop publishing, using electronic proofing tools and lexicons (Gentzler 2003). Working in larger production networks, faced with new information and communication technologies, with multi-semiotic documents, with production and distribution constraints of

international communication, with ideological conflicts, with complex processes of global knowledge transfer and identity construction, … translators and interpreters' working environment undergoes a major and rapid development. Such an evolution requires new research competences and new research skills for Translation Studies scholars who want to understand these developments (see Schäffner 2009).

2. Technological determinants

As we have seen, the autonomization of the discipline in general went hand in hand with the prevision that more and more autonomous subdisciplines would or will develop, particularly in the context of "a technological turn characterized by ubiquitous computing" (Cronin 2010). Similar developments have already given rise to the emergence of corpus-based Translation Studies. To date, corpus-based interpreting studies, sign language interpreting, and audiovisual translation are less developed. Shlesinger and Ordan (this volume) take up the challenge and make a bridge between Translation and Interpreting Studies, showing how a corpus-based study of simultaneous interpreting also teaches us about translation. Another subfield strongly influenced by new developments in Information and Communications Technology, is audiovisual translation (Díaz Cintas 2003), which is often discussed in recent publications, sometimes partly overlapping with aspects of localization (Mazur 2009 relates it to the actual and future metalingual problems for the theory and practice of localization). The technological approach and the translation industry are seen as decisive actors for the future of translation activity, and as such for all research related to that activity. Within the context of this technological determination, it comes as no surprise that the interaction between theory and practice is heavily stressed when related to the training of translators and interpreters (as for instance in Cunico 2001 and Georgakopoulou 2012).

In terms of translation practice, the biggest influence on theory has come from the new computer tools available to the translation agency and practicing translators. As tools improve, so too will the practice of producing translations change. As Walter Benjamin talked about the "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" (1969), so too do translation theorists need to think about "The Work of Translation in the Age of Digital Reproduction."" (Gentzler 2003: 11). Silvia Hansen-Schirra has explored the exploitation of language technologies for our discipline, by testing applications developed in computational linguistics such as corpus tools and eye-tracking (Hansen-Schirra 2012).

Deborah A. Folaron examines the roles of translation and translators in a technologically configured digital world of 24/7 communication and predicts that

"how languages and cultures intervene and intersect through technologies, translation, and localization at different levels of the computer, ICT, Internet and Web World, in all its complex dimensions (…), will be a source of reflection for many years to come." (Folaron 2012: 27). Cronin (2010) shows how the interactive web makes the notion of "an agent who produces a translation for consumption by an audience" irrelevant. Instead of this "production-oriented model of externality", new forms of translation supported by the worldwide web are characterized by "a consumer-oriented model of internality". The potential audience is also the producer: the "consumer becomes an active producer or prosumer" (2010: 4). Such a shift renders traditional distinctions between active translation agents and passive or unknowable translation recipients problematic (2010: 5). In a similar vein, Gambier (this volume) reflects on the consequences of technology for the deprofessionalization of the profession and for the social relevance of Translation Studies.

3. Interdisciplinarity and metalanguage

The positioning of the discipline as described in the first two clusters is inextricably linked with the need for interdisciplinarity (understood here as the combination of theories from different disciplines in research) to which so many publications refer. Indeed, the keyword 'interdisciplinarity' (clustered with multi-, trans- and pluridisciplinarity) has 289 instances in TSB. The very first volume to refer to Translation Studies as an interdiscipline (in the sense of a discipline that overlaps with many others) in its title, dates back to 1994 (Kaindl, Pöchhacker & Snell-Hornby 1994). It is a selection of forty four articles based on papers delivered at the Translation Studies Congress held in celebration of the 50th anniversary of the *Institut für Dolmetscher und Übersetzer* in Vienna and coinciding with the founding of the *European Society for Translation Studies*. According to the blurb, at that time, Translation Studies was "moving away from purely linguistic analysis into LSP, psychology, cognition, and cultural orientations" although today the volume's sections look rather traditional: translation, history and culture; interpreting theory and training; terminology and special languages; teaching and training in translation. A case in point for the interdisciplinary evolution over the last decade is the growing inclusion of sociological approaches and their guiding potential for research development in Translation Studies (for instance Inghilleri 2005). Gambier (this volume) stresses the need for interdisciplinary studies combining Translation Studies and business studies in order to understand the new economic and financial dimensions of translating and interpreting. On the other hand the unidirectional borrowing of methods and influences from other disciplines is

also criticized. For Gentzler (2003) interdisciplinarity must be based on a principle of mutuality. He cautions against "easy appropriation" of Translation Studies concepts by "scholars from other fields, from global economists to postcolonial Theorists", struck as he is by "how simplistic and mechanical their notions of translation are". He points out that for "postmodern and postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said, Jacques Derrida, Paul de Man, and Homi Bhabha", translation is just a metaphor, but, he continues,

> Translations, however, can provide more than a metaphor; the study of translations reveal [sic] hard empirical evidence of everything from ideological interventions to nation-forming psychological contradictions. I suggest that as Translation Studies scholars have taken the 'interdisciplinary turn' in Translation Studies, so too do scholars from other fields need to take the 'translation turn' in interdisciplinary studies (2003: 22).

Almost a decade later, and as evidenced by Bassnett (this volume), unfortunately his plea still sounds utopian. Bassnett, too, discusses the 'taking over' of the term 'translation' in a metaphoric way by scholars from other disciplines. In contrast, Simon, in her contribution, considers a broader, less literal concept of translation useful for the study of cultural diversity.

One of the major features of interdisciplinarity, the exchange of ideas, methods and terminology, also heavily affects the evolution of the sets of terms used for description and analysis in a discipline. In *The Metalanguage of Translation* (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2009), the contributors show the growing divergence of the metalanguage of Translation Studies. Several of them deplore this and make a plea for unambiguous discourse and terminological uniformity. Others, like Nike Pokorn, see this as a natural feature of the dynamics of the discipline, criticize the search for clearcut definitions and warn against the outdated illusion that the complexity of modern society can still be caught in univocal metadiscourse (in Gambier & van Doorslaer 2009: 142). Snell-Hornby 2006 pleas for more definitions and a more transparent use of concepts within Translation Studies. Adopting concepts from other disciplines or from the industry (Bernal 2006) can hamper the striving for autonomy of Translation Studies and cause misunderstanding or vagueness. Also Delabastita (2013) warns against a discipline, like many others dealing with competitive pressures on scholarship, that is increasingly dominated by market forces.

Together, the three tendencies mentioned above illustrate a paradox in a discipline that feels the need to emancipate itself from neighboring disciplines and the industry, while realizing that it can only remain dynamic and viable when it relates to other disciplines and does not turn its back on industry and tech-

nology. Moreover, the call for relevant methodologies and mature theorization is counterbalanced by the urgent call to keep theory and practice in close contact.

4. The translation process

The fourth tendency we found is not new. As indicated by Jakobsen in this volume, process-oriented translation studies has enjoyed continuous interest for the last fifty years. Translation Process Research (TPR) covers the area of cognition-related aspects of the translation process (for an excellent overview see Shreve & Angelone 2010: 1–16) using experimental methods and technological tools to ultimately gain a better insight in the so-called 'black box', this "classic known unknown in TS" (Jakobsen in this volume). In 2004 Wilss described TPR as one of the main future trends in TS, more in particular research on the objectifying of the translation process. This trend had already been announced by Tirkkonen-Condit (2002), concentrating on expertise, methodologies and joint projects in process research; and it was confirmed by bibliographical analyses in van Doorslaer (2005) showing the growing publication part of investigation on the translation process. According to Paulsen Christensen in her state of the art overview, translation-memory tools, used by the majority of professional translators, "are expected to impact on translators' mental processes and workflow", "yet the mental changes imposed by TM technology have not been the object of much research" (2011: 137). So far, only a handful empirical studies on TM translation as a mental activity have been conducted (2011: 150). This is definitely an area where more research is needed according to Paulsen, not only in the sense of more empirical studies but also field studies combining cognitive and ethnographic research. For Jakobsen (this volume), the interaction between the human and the machine has changed our conception of "what constitutes translation" and here lies a clear task for DTS: it "must seek to describe the nature and quality of this new interaction between the human agent and the machine (which has of course been programmed to mediate the thinking of humans, but does not always succeed in appearing to do so). It must seek to describe how this new style of production affects both the process(es) and the product". More in general, process research as a whole is in search of a "robust theoretical apparatus" in order to integrate and to understand the massive amount of data generated by empirical research. "The search for a strong, commonly-accepted model (…) of the translation process will be a paramount concern of the next decade" (Shreve & Angelone 2010: 12). But whatever this model will be, "the known unknown here is the extent to which findings in a lab environment can be used to predict real-life behavior" (Jakobsen in this volume), a challenge TPR shares with all kinds of experimental research. For

the moment, as we have to conclude with Jakobsen, the unknowns still outnumber the knowns.

The interest for the person of the translator, especially for his active intervenient role as mentally involved participant (Maier 2007), also opens up Translation Studies for a neuroscientific approach. This seems to be a brand-new trend in TS (7 hits, among which Shreve & Angelone 2010 and Maier 2007, for the keyword 'neuroscience' in TSB). Maria Tymoczko in this volume ventures on the links between these two disciplines, however not from a strictly process oriented viewpoint but rather concentrating on the relation between the working of the brain and the treatment of cultural differences.

5. Internationalization and ethics

It is important to be aware that a large amount of research in Translation Studies has been conducted in and about Western cultures and languages. The first decade of the twenty first century has yielded many publications that advocate for internationalization and intercontinentalization of research, adding not only languages, but new views on and definitions of translation (for instance Dollerup 2008, Tymoczko 2007 and 2009). According to Dollerup 2008, globalization "calls for a re-examination of the basic tenets" of Translation Studies from a "non-Western perspective". Translation Studies has been generalizing "from too little material" because it has started from "limited perspectives" such as our own native language plus one foreign (mostly European) language and culture. Consequently, "any so-called 'theory of translation' developed so far is affected by the limits imposed by the language pair(s) known to specific translators and translation scholars" (2008: 33). The internationalization of research will also have to lead to a rewriting of the history of translation and Translation Studies, replacing or complementing the western canon (see e.g. Cheung 2011). Some responses to the criticism of eurocentrism can be found in van Doorslaer & Flynn (2013).

Ethical aspects are inevitably involved, not only when broadening the Western perspective, but also in applied matters like ethics in translator training that prepares trainees for globalized translation practice and competition (for instance Drugan & Megone 2011). The translator and the interpreter, as many scholars remark, are leading the intercultural dialogue. They are not observers but participants (Maier 2007) and their role and importance should gain much more social appreciation (Snell-Hornby 2006, Tymoczko 2007). Since the intercultural dialogue is defined by power relations, TS should provide critical frameworks to analyze those. According to some scholars, Translation Studies can and should promote dialogue between minorities and majorities (Angelelli 2006) and map

existing power relations. This can be done for translation in a wide variety of domains (law, science, literature, health care, politics etc.), as is shown in Fischer & Jensen 2013. Meylaerts 2009 stresses the need to do research on (explicit as well as implicit) translation policies, particularly in minority language situations. This kind of research can not only be conducted from an 'engaged' point of view, but can be developed in the triangulation area between the ethics, politics and sociology of translational phenomena. Pym 2012 e.g. investigates theoretical and practical aspects of the ethics of translators as intercultural mediators. He believes any substantial ethics should be formulated with "reference to the many forms of social involvement" within the frame of intercultural communication (2012: 171).

Tymoczko (this volume) stresses the neurological conditions for intercultural dialogue. Thus she lays bare the link between neurology and ethics in translation practice. Simon (this volume) believes a broad concept of translation can help us analyze multilingual environments and the way they deal with diversity (for related research on intercultural relations in multilingual cities see e.g. Lee on Singapore (2013). Schäffner, too, is in her contribution to this volume explicitly aware of the ethical impact of translation in political and media settings.

In August 2009 a conference entitled "The Known Unknowns of Translation Studies', was organized at the University of Leuven in Belgium. The main speakers at that conference were former CETRA Chair professors, who tried to establish links between their rich experiences in the discipline and their views on future developments. Some of them accepted our invitation to elaborate on their presentation and to develop their ideas for a special issue of *Target* (Brems, Meylaerts & van Doorslaer 2012). This volume is an updated and extended version of the former special issue. It is an interesting self-reflective exercise for the discipline of Translation Studies to compare the expectations of the past 10–15 years (as described in the first part of this introduction) with aspects in need of future development as seen by some of the most experienced scholars in the discipline. We hope this volume invites the reader to do so.

Susan Bassnett's contribution sets out from a combined biographical and historical overview of the discipline of Translation Studies as an innovative, at times quite revolutionary young discipline in the 1970s in which she became involved as a young researcher, together with contemporaries who were as highly critical of the then establishment. Having experienced herself the prehistory of Translation Studies, run at the time by a group of "unorthodox thinkers" such as José Lambert, Itamar Even-Zohar, James Holmes, and André Lefevere, gives Bassnett a special insight into where Translation Studies is heading, or even has to head to today. One important question in this respect, that reminds us of concerns put forward by Gentzler 2003, is the impact of the discipline on other, related disciplines like Literary Studies. The success story of Translation Studies is that it has been able

to become a discipline of its own, but the prize seems to be isolation. How much dialogue is there today between Translation Studies and potentially related fields?, Bassnett asks herself. She notes that statements about the significance of translation are made from outside Translation Studies, by scholars who are not always aware of Translation Studies publications. One of the consequences of this evolution is that translation has become a hot topic, especially in the expression of 'cultural translation', but that it is "taken over" by monolingual theorists who use translation "metaphorically so as to talk about diasporic, migrant or exile writing". Is Translation Studies able to engage with transnational writing? Bassnett asks the reader. Perhaps, Bassnett believes, Translation Studies has been focusing too narrowly on itself, preventing it from engaging with more open definitions of intercultural contacts. She feels Translation Studies needs to become provocative, challenging again. Hopeful signs are given by studies that show us how to look outwards, to encompass several disciplines and to discover new ways of reading for the "ever-more intercultural writing" practices of today.

'Quo vadis, functional translatology', Christiane Nord's contribution, carries in the title both a very successful approach of the past, as well as a future perspective. The author starts with a historical overview of functionalist thinking in Translation Studies (mainly in the German-speaking world), indicating the significance of Hans Vermeer, Justa Holz-Mänttäri and Katharina Reiss. It was Christiane Nord herself who played an important role not only in the refinements and (professional) applications of functionalism, but also in the international spread of the approach. Despite the indisputable success of functionalist research over recent decades, Nord still sees the need to elaborate several new subdomains and trends. On a methodological level, empirical testing and data gathering can shed more reliable light on audience reactions. The changes in the translator's workplace over recent years also have a considerable influence on the functioning of translation. And last but not least, the author sees an interesting movement in translation practice towards "cross-cultural consulting or intercultural technical writing", i.e. a much broader view than the traditional view on language transfer. An important consequence for the discipline is that Translation Studies is expanding towards the transdiscipline of Transfer Studies. Nord's article is concerned with the development, with new discussions about overlapping and borderlines in the (inter)discipline.

In their article, Miriam Shlesinger† and Noam Ordan report on two studies on the features that set simultaneous interpreting apart, using large machine-readable corpora. They first set out to discuss the methodological hurdles of such an untraditional approach. The two studies conduct a series of quantitative comparisons, focusing on features that are known to distinguish between text types, genres, modalities etc. They find that simultaneous interpreting exhibits far more similarities

to original speech than to written translation, which is consistent with the tendency towards orality and with the view of interpretese as being more spoken than translated. However, the findings can also be interpreted as seeing simultaneous interpreting as an extreme case of the universal laws of translation, one in which those features that have been found to distinguish between translated and original texts — e.g. simplification, lower type-token ratio, leveling — are found to be all the more salient. By exploring the effectiveness of extending the paradigms of corpus-based Translation Studies to interpreting, the authors want to make a start at deepening our understanding of the ways in which the product of interpreting may be used to teach us more about translation, and vice versa.

For Yves Gambier, the known unknowns of Translation Studies go together with fast and all-encompassing evolutions in the profession. Translators' rapidly changing roles are reflected through the proliferation of new labels used for the profession: localization, transcreation, transediting, linguistic mediation etc. These new labels problematize the traditional concept of "translation" as the old-fashioned "word-for-word" rendering of a "text": for Gambier rather the era of 'post-translation' has begun. The evolutions in the professional labels indeed illustrate the evolutions in the different functions of translation, in the variable specializations and working conditions of translators working in groups, within networks etc. They also indicate that translating has become a notion to be negotiated instead of being a ready-made concept. Moreover, Gambier shows how the effects of technology change expectations about what is translated, conceptions of texts, and ways of reading. Will this lead to translation becoming eventually dehumanized? We do not know yet, Gambier argues. Similarly, will technology lead to word-for-word translation practices and/or to a deprofessionalization of the profession (e.g. crowdsourcing, fansubbing…)? These are questions of key importance. Moreover, in order to understand the new economic and financial dimensions of translating and interpreting, we need interdisciplinary studies combining TS and business studies and strengthening the legitimacy of translations and translators in the eyes of certain users. Finally, Gambier thinks that Translation Studies as a polydiscipline, i.e. a complex discipline, without real unity, has to address the question of its social relevance. Instead of being concerned with its immediate impact, Translation Studies has to reflect on its choices — of corpuses, of methods, of dissemination etc. This type of reflection is linked with the need for auto-reflexivity, revealing an academic unconsciousness of Translation Studies with regard to its categories of perception, its interdisciplinary borrowings, its methods of inquiry, its institutional logic, etc.

Arnt-Lykke Jakobsen's contribution is focusing on Translation Process Research (TPR), dealing with the mental processes of translators' behaviour or the so-called black box. The metaphor of the black box very well illustrates the

recognition of its explicit status of a known unknown in Translation Studies. Although Holmes, the founding father of TS, foresaw process-oriented studies as a distinctive branch next to product and function oriented within Descriptive Translation Studies, and was quite optimistic about opening the black box, it would take several decades for TPR to become the thriving subfield it has become now. Jakobsen continues with an overview of the development of TPR: from think-aloud protocols to the combination of keystroke logging and eyetracking supported by computational and statistical data analysis. For the various types of process study we are able to follow their creation (and Jakobsen's personal contribution therein) and development but also their respective advantages and disadvantages. Although triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data seems to be very promising in generating hypotheses about translators' (mainly macro-level) cognitive behaviour, the author extensively deals with various known unknowns. What is the ecological validity of experimental research in a laboratory situation? What are the factors that influence the inter-individual variation in the segmentation of the target text: typing skills, translational expertise, directionality of translation, relatedness between source and target language, cognitive rhythms of activation and rest,… ? How to study behavioural patterns at micro-level? Among the challenges for the discipline as a whole, Jakobsen notices the interaction between human and machine and its effect on our definition of translation, on individual authorial responsibility, on designing ever better MT. Interestingly, this has led to a new "recursive cycle of work" where studying the translator using technology leads to new models of translation, and finally to new theories of translation, "in an iterative process". Notwithstanding significant progress, "we are still a long way away from understanding the 'act of translation itself'", Jakobsen concludes.

Maria Tymoczko takes the reader on an adventurous trip through the brain. As the neurological mechanisms involved in translating are obviously one of the chief known unknowns in Translation Studies, she explains some aspects of current dominant thought in neuroscience and attempts to relate those to TS. She wants to investigate whether work in neuroscience might bear upon central issues pertaining to the theory and practice of translation. Surprisingly, the questions she raises pertain mainly to 'cultural translation': how does the working of our brain affect the way we — as translator or as the audience of translations — deal with cultural differences? Tymoczko focuses on three main areas of research in neuroscience, namely perception, memory, and plasticity. Knowledge acquired in the first two areas suggests there may be a hard-wired tendency toward ethnocentrism on the part of all translators and their audiences, with the transmission of cultural variation going against the grain not just of culture and ideological frameworks but of human bodies, brains, and perceptual systems as well. A person's native culture becomes deeply ingrained and hard to challenge; thus the hard-wiring of

neural circuitry has implications for cultural translation in particular. However, the plasticity of the brain is an important factor in being able to shift the cultural frameworks within which neurological patterning was established. New neurons can grow, new networks can be developed, and areas of the brain can be reallocated for new purposes. Tymoczko is convinced that some of the most exciting advances in Translation Studies in the near future will result from its intersections with neuroscience and that a great deal of the relevant research in neuroscience will have implications for translator training. Her article raises an impressive number of new questions for Translation Studies.

In her contribution on 'Unknown Agents in Translated Political Discourse' Christina Schäffner starts from the premise that the complexity of translational activities in the field of politics has not yet received sufficient attention within Translation Studies. On the basis of jointly produced texts about press conferences after political events (for instance a meeting between the German Federal Chancellor Merkel and the French President Sarkozy), it is shown that interesting textual relationships of complementarity and opposition exist between politics and media. The production of such media texts shows clear parallels with translation procedures: a combination of reorganization, recontextualization, omission, addition and rephrasing. Thereby different combinations are being adopted in the different language versions. Nevertheless, although translation and interpreting are clearly present, they become largely invisible in the recontextualization processes in the mass media. Therefore Schäffner advocates a closer investigation of the role of translation and interpreting in political and media discourse. State visits, joint press conferences, and jointly produced policy statements are discursive events that are potentially of great interest for Translation Studies research. Schäffner concludes with suggestions for questions that can be used as a basis for a research program.

A new perspective on Translation Studies research is offered by Sherry Simon in her contribution 'The City in Translation: Urban Cultures of Central Europe'. The complex linguistic and multilingual situation of cities, not only modern cities but cities in the past, involves very different aspects and realizations of translation. Although cities in themselves are considered to be known, the author regards them as a relatively unstudied unknown in Translation Studies. Multilingualism, language diversity, transfer and circulation are all related to translation. This contribution challenges the borderlines of translation and the overlap with other kinds of transfer. Simon particularly elaborates on the cities of Central Europe (*Mitteleuropa*) at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. A case in point is Czernowitz, nowadays in southwestern Ukraine, but in the past a city that produced a very rich and extremely diversified German, Romanian, Ukrainian and Yiddish literature. Like in many other cities of Central Europe,

Czernowitz functioned in a culture of mediation and of language passage. "To discuss cities as a translation space is to use language passage as a key to understanding political and cultural tensions as they play themselves out in relations of conflict and dialogue", Simon writes. It will be a challenge for the discipline to integrate the fascination with urban life and multilingualism in the discipline. A challenge for the borderlines of translation, but also a challenge to create scholarly methodologies for studying these urban phenomena.

All the chapters are highly engaged with and relatively optimistic about the future of Translation Studies as a discipline. The contributors are not afraid of pointing out the pitfalls (fragmentation, conceptual ambiguity, borrowing), but most often consider them as side effects of the overall dynamic and enthusiastic quality of the field. They also stress the social and political relevance of Translation Studies (Schäffner, Tymoczko, Simon, Bassnett), the importance of Translation Studies methods and concepts for other disciplines (Simon, Nord, Gambier, Schäffner, Jakobsen), and its critical self-reflexivity and aptitude for innovation (Shlesinger & Ordan, Tymoczko, Nord, Gambier, Jakobsen). Undoubtedly, within twenty years these challenges and unknowns will look old fashioned in their turn…

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Translation studies at a cross-roads

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This article is an account of the personal journey of one writer, from her first encounters in the 1970s with fellow scholars sharing an interest in translation and a sense of frustration at the anti-translation prejudices of many colleagues working in literature or linguistics at that time. The article traces the gradual rise of translation studies as an important field in its own right, but raises questions about the present state of the discipline, arguing that as translation studies has become more established, so it is failing to challenge orthodoxies and risks being left behind by the more innovative and exciting research now emerging from within world literature, postcolonialism, and cultural memory studies. I suggest that translation studies has reached a cross-roads and needs to reach out to other disciplines, taking advantage of what is being hailed by some as a translational turn within the humanities in general.

In 1975 a young scholar in possession of a brand-new PhD in comparative literature came to the University of Leuven, to a conference that Edwin Gentzler has since described in his book, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, as "historic". Such was the importance which that scholar attached to the Leuven event that she first made a 300 mile round trip to leave her baby with her parents, then set off from London on an epic fifteen hour journey by coach. The cost of a flight was out of the question for a single mother who had only just managed to secure a job in the United Kingdom, and the vagaries of the English Channel (*La Manche* if we wish to avoid any nationalist undertones) meant unfortunately that there were long delays. But such was the importance of attending that seminar, that the problems of actually getting there seemed merely incidental.

The proceedings of that conference appeared two years later, in the collection that has become so well-known, *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies* edited by James Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck, and one of the pieces in that collection was a two page 'manifesto', by André Lefevere, "Translation Studies: The Goal of the Discipline" (Lefevere 1978). Lefevere had been given the task of trying to summarise the views of the assembled

scholars, and there was a consensus that translation studies had finally begun to take its first steps along the road delineated by James Homes in 1972 in a paper that still resonates today, "The Name and Nature of Translation Studies" (Holmes 2000).

The young scholar sitting on the coach crossing the fertile fields of Flanders had only encountered the work of James Holmes recently; indeed, she had only heard of translation studies through an actual encounter with Holmes, Lambert, Lefevere, van den Broeck, Gideon Toury and above all, an Israeli systems theorist, Itamar Even-Zohar, at the inaugural conference of the British Comparative Literature Association at the University of East Anglia in December 1975. On that occasion, at which plenary lectures were delivered by grand old comparatists such as René Wellek and Jan Kott, Even-Zohar hijacked the discussion, taking the stage and arguing passionately for new thinking about the transfer of texts and ideas across linguistic and cultural boundaries.

Some people have moments of religious awakenings — we can immediately think of St Paul on the road to Damascus, for example, who was struck blind for three days, then healed by Ananias and converted to Christianity. James Joyce, in his *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* uses the idea of such an experience and widens its scope to secularity, coining the idea of an 'epiphany', a moment of realisation, a shift of perception. I had an epiphany when I listened to Itamar Even-Zohar challenge the establishment. For — and it is very important to recognise this — many of us who were just starting out on academic careers were highly critical of the establishment we were entering. Indeed, the choice of comparative literature as a field of study was in itself a challenge, it was a refusal to remain within a particular disciplinary box, and it was a decision that often led to a great deal of disparagement from scholars with more traditional specialisms who felt that comparative literature was a non-subject.

Nothing unites people more than a sense of shared grievance: my recollection of the Norwich conference is of eating and drinking with fellow complainers and champions of the then very radical idea of systematic study of translation, and then of an invitation to Leuven, to a gathering of these unorthodox thinkers. Participants all had at the back of their minds the point made by Holmes in his 1972 paper when he commented on the lack of appropriate channels of communication for anyone interested in studying translation seriously:

> The channels that do exist still tend to run via the older disciplines (with their attendant norms in regard to models, methods, and terminology), so that papers on the subject of translation are dispersed over periodicals in a wide variety of scholarly fields and journals for practising translators. It is clear that there is a need for other communication channels, cutting across the traditional disciplines to reach all scholars working in the field, from whatever background. (Holmes in Venuti 2000: 173)

I came away from Leuven with a mile-long reading list. I knew nothing about systems theory, had never encountered Jiří Levý, did not know anything about the rich tradition of German research into translation, had no idea what translator training was, did not understand why André Lefevere and José Lambert were so scathing about George Steiner's idiosyncratic *After Babel*. But I did know that I had met a group of people — a considerably wider group after the Leuven conference — who were engaging with similar intellectual issues around the role, the function, the theory and the practice of translation and, perhaps above all at that stage, about the place the study of translation might have in academia.

James Holmes had identified as major impediments to the development of his "disciplinary utopia" the problem of naming the field (hence the importance of Lefevere's manifesto) and "the lack of any general consensus as to the scope and structure of the discipline" (Holmes in Venuti 2000: 175). He praised Werner Koller's bold attempt at a broad definition in his 1971 paper 'Übersetzen, Übersetzung und Übersetzer' which stated simply:

> Translation studies (*Übersetzungswissenschaft*) is to be understood as a collective and inclusive designation for all research activities taking the phenomena of translating and translation as their basis or focus (Koller in Venuti 2000: 176).

But going back on the coach from Brussels (and thankfully the sea was less rough, so the journey was much quicker) the name problem at least appeared to have been resolved, for we had determined to label ourselves as translation studies scholars. When I published my first book, in the New Accents series that was to become so powerful in changing the face of literary studies by introducing a whole new generation to the radical ideas and methodologies sweeping through the Humanities, it was simply entitled *Translation Studies*. The fact that it has appeared in its fourth edition in 2014, has been translated into many languages and is still widely used testifies to the spread of interest in what was barely an embryonic field when the book was written.

In August 2009 the University of Leuven hosted another conference, this time to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the prestigious CETRA (originally CERA) Chair in translation studies. That meeting both confirmed Leuven as the nodal point in the development of the study of translation and supplied tangible evidence of the success of the study of translation globally. For at that event were gathered most of the key senior players in the translation field, and those who sadly were not able to be present would surely have been delighted that such an event could take place. Certainly, all those years ago such a prospect would have appeared as pure fantasy, but then thirty three years ago there was no CETRA, no *Target*, no established prestigious chairs, no series of books, no range of journals, no encyclopaedias, no cohorts of students, no international

organisations. True, there were professional bodies and some specialist journals, but limited in scope and known only to a minority readership.

Yet even as we congratulate ourselves on the success story of the field, we need also to ask ourselves some questions about the nature of that success. For though we may all, in different ways, consider ourselves to be scholars from within translation studies, regardless of our different starting points and different foci, the question that needs answering is one that relates to the impact of the field on other disciplines. There is no doubt that translation studies has, in a sense, arrived; but the extent of the impact of research in the field on other, related disciplines, in literary studies especially, remains to be seen. The question must be asked as to whether those of us who pioneered the subject have succeeded in opening up new communication channels with other related disciplines, and if not, why not.

Let us go back for a moment to Leuven in 1976. The Seventies was a decade of huge intellectual ferment in the arts and humanities, characterised above all by a series of challenges from different quarters to the established literary canon. Feminist scholarship questioned the gender construction behind canon formation, cultural studies highlighted the significance of class and ethnic identity in the production and reception of texts, the author was declared dead, the role of the reader rose into prominence with attendant psycho-socio baggage, deconstruction showed dimensions of reading that called into question all manner of early assumptions. Moreover, traditional subject boundaries had begun to break down: theatre studies, film studies, cultural studies to name but three broke out of literature departments and acquired autonomy. All these changes were fraught and often painful: I have vivid memories of Faculty board meetings where the proposal to establish film studies in my university was savaged, and an occasion when I was accused of 'destroying' comparative literature because I wanted to introduce translation studies. One would come out of such meetings battered and bleeding, defeated in the first round, but determined to fight again another day.

It is important to remember the contestatory context in which translation studies first emerged. It was exciting and uncomfortable; it was a time of battle between generations. In my own case, I abandoned my early work in Anglo-Saxon philology (though I confess to a lingering nostalgic love for it still) and changed direction, but quite what that direction was to be remained unclear. My PhD was on Einstein's theory of relativity as interpreted by Italian, French and English playwrights on the twentieth century stage, a loose, baggy and ridiculous topic with hindsight, but one which taught me, during the six years of research, a very great deal about how texts move across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Which meant that when I heard Even-Zohar's paper at the 1976 Leuven conference on "The Position of Translated Literature in the Literary Polysystem", I was thrilled. Here finally was an attempt to theorize the movement of translated texts and, potentially,

to rewrite literary history from a completely different perspective. And despite later debates about Even-Zohar's debts to Formalism, the effect of the Tel Aviv approach, as taken further by Gideon Toury and others, was actually to stress the ideological dimension inherent in intertextual transfer. The terminology of that paper may be contentious (he talks about "weak" and "peripheral" literatures, for example) but what he was saying chimed with other challenges to established canons. He argued that the status and practice of translation depended on the position of translation in the polysystem, that definitions of what constitutes translation cannot "be answered *a priori* in terms of an a-historical out-of-context idealized state" and, basically, that "translation is an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system" (Even-Zohar 2000: 197). To have an inkling of the importance of that suggestion, we need only look at a paper by Maria Tymoczko on the role of translation in the shift from epic to romance in medieval French literature that was published a decade later in 1986, where she issued a huge challenge to more traditional medieval scholarship by arguing that the polysystems approach could "serve to rewrite the literary history of C12th France" (Tymoczko 1986: 22). Or we might consider the claims made by John Corbett in his book, *Written in the Language of the Scottish Nation*, where he suggests that translation into Scots "serves as an index of national aspirations" (Corbett 1999: 7). The history of Scottish literature from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century, he argues, is intimately linked to the history of translation, and any study of Scottish writing must take the translation factor into account.

In the early phase of translation studies, challenges were mounted to established ideas concerning translation. There were heated debates about the nature of equivalence, about faithfulness versus unfaithfulness, about functional translation, about linguistic versus cultural and literary approaches, about the relationship between translator and interpreter training, about the relevance of translation theory to translation practice. Such diversity was inevitable and very healthy, for as the field began to develop, so scholars from a variety of different disciplines exchanged ideas and methods. Once the field had begun to assert itself, translation scholars started to move off along other routes: down historical avenues, where countless new maps of the history of translation in different contexts were produced, along with important work on pseudo-translation (e.g. Toury 1984) and on the figurative language of translation over time (e.g. Hermans 1985). Others took roads towards ethical issues (e.g. Berman and Wood 2005; Cronin 2006) avenues that have opened up rich areas of debate around the subjectivity of the translator, about agency, about cultural identity and power relations. From these avenues there are many streets and cross-roads, and always the travellers on those roads are theoreticians and practitioners, often both.

But how many scholars travel those routes from outside the realm of translation studies? For it has indeed now become a realm, and the presence of so many distinguished professors in one place, that is in Leuven in 2009, bore witness to that. We wanted a discipline of our own: we seem to have acquired one, but how much impact is it having more broadly? How much dialogue is there today between translation studies and potentially related fields — literary studies, linguistics, history, politics, anthropology, cultural studies, media and communication studies? These are questions that cannot be ignored.

Let us turn to a recent statement about the importance of translation:

> Translations are subject to and reflective of external conditions of reception and specific literary-historical contexts that are themselves always changing. Just as it has become impossible, for example, to explore authorship, agency, subjectivity, performativity, multiculturalism, postcolonialism, transnationalism, diasporic literacy, and technological literacy without considering the impact of gender as an intersecting category of analysis, so should it be inconceivable to overlook translation's integral role in every discursive field. More than ever, translation is now understood to be a politics as well as a poetics, an ethics as well as an aesthetics. Translation is no longer seen to involve only narrowly circumscribed technical procedures of specialised or local interest, but rather to underwrite all cultural transactions, from the most benign to the most venal (Brodzki 2007: 2).

Such a strong claim for the significance of translation, presented here as being as fundamentally important as gender, would have astounded us all back in 1976, yet here it is proclaimed by Bella Brodzki, an American scholar in 2007. However, the scholar making this statement is not writing from within translation studies, she is a professor of comparative literature who specializes in life writing. Brodzki's book, *Can These Bones Live? Translation, Survival and Cultural Memory* is published in the Stanford University Press series on 'Cultural Memory in the Present' not in a series on translation studies. She is just one of what appears to be a growing number of scholars with a lot to say about translation, but coming at it from outside translation studies. Other names that come to mind are Emily Apter (2006 and 2013), Azade Seyhan (2001), Isabel Hofmeyr (2004), and the increasing body of scholars writing from a world literature perspective like Theo D'haen, David Damrosch, Mads Rosendahl Thomsen, Djelal Kadir, César Domínguez (see D'haen 2011; D'haen *et al.* 2011 & 2012; Thomsen 2008) — all very different, all engaging with translation in one way or another, though not as translation studies scholars and, to judge by their references, not always very aware of translation studies publications. Given what those of us within translation studies see as the exciting developments and expansion of our field over three decades, it ought to startle us at the very least that so much thinking about translation seems to be coming from scholars working outside it.

What has been significant, however, for scholars working in postcolonial studies, comparative and world literature is what Homi Bhabha defines as "cultural translation". Bhabha has expanded the term 'translation' to cover what he sees as a highly charged in-between space, of discontinuous historical realities, that "carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (Bhabha 1994: 38). Endeavouring to find a language with which to talk about the new global phenomenon of migrant writing, Bhabha uses terms such as 'hybridity' and 'liminality' and suggests that the newness of migrant or minority discourse is brought about through 'cultural translation.' Translation is thus being used metaphorically to talk about a new literary and cultural phenomenon, that of writing which moves across or beyond borders.

Harish Trivedi has challenged this use of the terminology of translation, accusing Bhabha of monolingualism, since he appears to ignore the realities of interlingual transfer processes. In his introduction to a co-edited volume on postcolonial translation in theory and practice, Trivedi comments:

> In our age of (the valorization of) migrancy, exile and diaspora, the word translation seems to have come full circle and reverted from its figurative literary meaning of an interlingual transaction to its etymological physical meaning of locational disrupture (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999: 13).

Trivedi's argument is that Bhabha's use of the term appears to disregard actual translation which involves the transfer of texts across linguistic frontiers. Others have expressed concern about broader political issues, in particular the dominance of some languages, most notably English, over others. In his book, *Translation and Identity*, Michael Cronin warns about what he calls assimilationism that purports to bring universal coherence and communication but which actually ensures the hegemony of a dominant language to the detriment of less well-known languages. Nevertheless, 'cultural translation' has become widespread, and it is not difficult to see why: there is a growing number of writers whose work encompasses some form of something we might call 'translation' for want of a better term, since their starting point is not one language or culture but a pluralism or hybrid, a combination of several. Brodzki points out that she felt she had discovered a literary paradigm for Walter Benjamin's theory of translation as afterlife when she was teaching the work of Maxine Hong Kingston, the Chinese-American writer who 'translates' the Chinese culture of her predecessors through her fiction. The Polish-American writer Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation*, a memoir exploring the complex processes of language loss and recovery has become a best-seller and opened the way for dozens of similar transnational memoirs, of which the Anglo-Serbian Vesna Goldsworthy's *Chernobyl Strawberries* is another fine example. And while postcolonial writers from India and Africa continue to produce hybrid, transnational texts, it is also the case that this is increasingly a European phenomenon as

well. Such writing cannot be easily categorised using more traditional systems, and the metaphor of translation, as articulated by Bhabha serves as a useful point of departure for understanding the transnational.

At a post-graduate seminar in the University of Warwick in June 2009, Harish Trivedi challenged translation studies scholars collectively, asking what the translation scholarly world had been doing to allow 'translation' as one of the hottest topics around today to have been taken over by monolingual literary theorists, using 'translation' metaphorically to talk about diasporic, migrant or exile writing. Why, he asked, was translation studies not becoming centre stage at a time when so many literary scholars appeared to be joining the bandwagon of translation? This is a good question, and deserves an answer.

We need to ask ourselves whether translation studies is willing, or indeed able, to engage with transnational writing, and whether scholars in the field are able to theorise it in terms of established parameters. In a paper published several years ago, Theo Hermans warned that "if the discipline of TS is to engage critically with its own operations and its conditions of acquiring knowledge, it needs to look beyond its own borders" (Hermans 2002: 22). Hermans' warning came even as another field of research, calling itself world literature, was starting to attract attention, by engaging with new forms of global literary production and with a plurality of discourses. It is interesting to speculate on whether translation studies has focussed too narrowly on self-definition, just when scholars from other fields have started to rethink movement between cultures in broadly translational terms.

These challenges are potentially as exciting today as were the challenges posed by the pioneers of translation studies three decades ago, for to some extent, translation studies has become too closed a circle: in struggling to become established, we have slid into becoming the establishment ourselves. We need to be provoked, challenged, contested; for my part, although I do not relish the prospect of a 15 hour bus ride these days, I would like to think that somewhere there is going to be a seminar that will be so exciting that I would make the effort.

There are signs that researchers in translation studies are starting to take up the challenge. In the introduction to their collection of essays, *Translating Selves: Experience and Identity between languages and literatures* Paschalis Nikolaou and Maria-Venetia Kyritsi suggest that translation studies is in a time of transition, when many of the "theoretical paradigms of the last two decades have … run their course" (Nikolaou and Kyritsi 2008: 2). They argue further that there is now a growing trend to view translational practice through personal and affective factors, with a focus on the translator's task and sense of self. This is a valuable insight into what is happening with many writers today, who are negotiating linguistic, cultural and temporal boundaries in new ways, and hopefully the parameters of translation studies could provide a framework within which to theorise this kind

of writing. There was a growing sense of disquiet, even as we gathered in Leuven in 2009 to celebrate the success of translation studies over the last 30 years. We appear to be at a cross-roads for our field, a place where we need to engage with transnational research, to come out of the enclave that we have defined and controlled but which has had very little impact outside its borders.

Doris Bachmann-Medick (2009) writes in the journal, *Translation Studies,* about what she calls a 'translational turn', and suggests that this poses challenges both to the humanities in general and to translation studies in particular. She suggests that we might be moving towards a notion of the humanities generally as a kind of translation studies (similar to the suggestion posed by Brodzki), and if this is the case, then there will be more opportunities for encounters between so-called translation scholars and those working in other disciplines.

One good example of a study that brings together a range of disciplines is Isabel Hofmeyr's book, *The Portable Bunyan. A Transnational History of the Pilgrim's Progress* (2004), in which she traces the journey of a text that was circulated in over 200 languages, 80 of which were African. She uses the metaphor of circuits and fields to talk about textual transfer and cultural interchange; in her conclusion she suggests that her study offers ways of understanding what she calls the complex chemistry of transnational circuits. Starting with an exploration of the translation and circulation of Bunyan in Africa as a universal writer promoted by missionaries, and then adapted locally, she goes on to close the circuit and explore how Bunyan was reclaimed in the 20th century as a quintessentially English writer largely as a result of his wide circulation through the British Empire. What she does is to look at processes of export and import, at ways in which the status of one work can vary across time and cultures. Her electrical circuit metaphor is both apt and powerful, and beneath her use of another scientific term, 'chemistry', is that old favourite hermeneutic metaphor used by earlier translators, 'alchemy'. Hofmeyr's book is a marvellous work on translation, but it does not emanate from within translation studies at all. Like Brodzki, Hofmeyr is using translation to explore ideological issues in the international transmission of texts.

We need new circuits, that encompass more disciplines, more ways of reading the ever-more intercultural writing that is being produced today. I believe we inside translation studies need to look outwards, to promote some of the excellent research in translation studies more effectively to our colleagues, to engage more in interdisciplinary, collaborative projects. Perhaps we have concentrated so hard on becoming respectable, on claiming to be a discipline, that we have lost our cutting edge. Nothing leads to complacency faster than success; the time has come for those of us who would like to think of ourselves as translation studies scholars to rethink not only how we have come to be here, but where and with whom we want to go next.

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Quo vadis, functional translatology?

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Functional approaches to translation and *Skopostheorie*, on which many of them are based, have been around for more than thirty years now. Perhaps, therefore, it is time to take stock, trying to trace the development and spread of functionalist ideas and drawing some cautious conclusions as to where the future may lie. As a representative of the "second generation" and drawing on recent publications in journals and monographs on Translation Studies, I provide an overview of where young translation scholars who claim to take a "functionalist" viewpoint find themselves, what they are investigating, and which topics they consider worthy of research. Offering this insider view, I do not pretend, however, to present an objective picture of the functionalist approach nor to exhaustively cover the whole field of functionalism in translation and adjacent fields.

1. The point(s) of departure

Let us look at the point(s) of departure. The theoretical foundations for what was to become functionalism in Translation Studies were laid by Hans J. Vermeer (*skopos* theory), Justa Holz-Mänttäri (theory of translational action) and Heinz Göhring (intercultural communication applied to translating and interpreting) in the late 1970s and early 1980s (cf. Vermeer 1978, 1979; Holz-Mänttäri 1981, 1984a; Göhring 1978). Both Vermeer and Holz-Mänttäri view translation (including interpreting) as purposeful communicative interactions, for which action theory provides the theoretical framework. The early texts were almost exclusively written in German and published in journals or by publishers in Germany, with the exception of some of the works by Justa Holz-Mänttäri, which were published in Finland. In Germany, the centre was initially the Germersheim campus of the University of Mainz and later nearby Heidelberg, after Vermeer was appointed in 1985 to the newly created Chair of Translation Studies and Portuguese Language and Culture at the Heidelberg University School of Translation and Interpreting. Publications of the primary texts in other languages, mainly English, but also

Finnish, Portuguese, and Spanish did not appear until 1986 (see below). In 1989, Andrew Chesterman translated a seminal article by Vermeer for his *Readings in Translation Theory*, which was reprinted for Venuti's *Translation Studies Reader* in 2000 (cf. Vermeer 1989).

The starting point was an article by Hans J. Vermeer, published in *Lebende Sprachen* (1978), in which he proposed a "framework for a general theory of translation". Two factors kept this theory from spreading: (a) *Lebende Sprachen* was (and is) a journal for practicing translators, whose attitude towards theory has always been rather skeptical, and (b) the academic style of the paper did little or nothing to make them change their minds. Therefore, it was not until 1984, when Vermeer published an elaborated version of *skopos* theory in a book co-authored with Katharina Reiss (Reiss and Vermeer 1984), that German translation scholars began to take notice of it. Since Translation Studies in Germany had been entirely dominated by philological and/or linguistic theories based on the fundamental notion of equivalence, *skopos* theory was harshly criticized for transgressing the limits of translation proper and making "the contours of translation, as the object of study … steadily vaguer and more difficult to survey" (Koller 1995: 193).

The first part of Reiss and Vermeer (1984), written by Vermeer, explains the theoretical foundations and basic principles of *skopos* theory as a general theory of translation and interpreting, whereas the second part, by Katharina Reiss, attempts to integrate Reiss's equivalence-based text-typological approach, which was first presented in 1971, as a "specific theory" into the general *skopos* framework. This attempt (together with the alphabetical order chosen for the authors' names) was bound to lead to the misconception, still rather widespread, particularly with newcomers to Translation Studies, that Katharina Reiss was the founder of *skopos* theory (an illustration of this can be found in Gentzler 1993: 71 and even in the revised version Gentzler 2001: 70, see below). What is true, however, is that in her first book, in a chapter called "The Limitations of Translation Criticism", Reiss had included *the special function of a translation* as an exception to the overall concept of equivalence which she had never given up (Reiss 1971: 93–106, in English: Reiss 2000: 92–101), thus cautiously introducing a functional perspective to translation.

2. First functional applications in Germany

Drawing directly on the primary German-language sources and inspired by personal contact with the "founders", a group of scholars teaching at the schools for translating and interpreting in Germersheim and Heidelberg started applying *skopos* theory to translator training. They focused on translation methodology (Hönig and Kussmaul 1982), translation-oriented text analysis (Nord 1988),

translation quality assessment (Kupsch-Losereit 1985, 1986, Hönig 1986, Kussmaul 1986) and translation criticism (Ammann 1989c), on cultural aspects of translation (Löwe 1989), and on technical translation (Schmitt 1989). Another important field, in which Justa Holz-Mänttäri was particularly active, was the development of curricula for translator training and continuing education (Holz-Mänttäri and Vermeer 1985; Holz-Mänttäri 1984b, 1986, 1989; Ammann and Vermeer 1990). Since the second generation was not much younger than the founding parents, these early applications may be considered as the starting point of what has been termed "functionalism" in international Translation Studies, although the corresponding publications were also written almost exclusively in German.

3. Spreading the word in Germany

The beginning of the 1990s saw the first general descriptions of functionalism in German language introductory books written by non-functionalist authors. One of the first was Werner Koller, who gave a two-page account of *skopos* theory in the 1992 revised edition of his book, *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft* (Koller 1992: 212–214). The fact that the section called "Functionalist Translation Studies (Skopos Theory)" forms part of a chapter entitled "Equivalence relations and the double linkage of translation" sheds a revealing light on the state of German Translation Studies in the early 1990s. By contrast, Radegundis Stolze (1994) devotes two chapters of her book *Übersetzungstheorien* to functional translation theories, describing the basic principles of *skopos* theory and its application to translator training in more detail. However, she reveals her own attitude when she ends the chapter with a long quote by Peter Newmark, a declared opponent of functional approaches, who writes:

> In fact the importance of functionalism in translation had been grasped many years before the so-called skopos theory came along. What was not grasped was the danger of oversimplification that is inherent in functionalism… (Newmark 1991: 106, quoted by Stolze 1994: 180).

It must be stated, though, that this quote, along with some other unfair criticisms, was removed from the text in the revised editions (e.g. ^{5}2008), where Stolze's representation of *skopos* theory and some of its applications is much more balanced. Nevertheless, it was those earlier comments in the first edition that had a considerable influence on students' attitudes to functionalism in Germany for a good number of years, that is, unless they came into direct contact with functional theory and teaching in translation classes or sought access to the basic texts themselves,

or, and this must be emphasized, looked for reliable information in the *Handbuch Translation*, edited by Mary Snell-Hornby and others in 1998.

4. Functionalism outside the German-speaking area

It is a sad fact that knowledge of the German language is not now as widespread as it was in earlier centuries, and the particular characteristics of German academic prose have not exactly encouraged people to read the German texts in the original. Nevertheless, translations into, and original publications in, English, Spanish and other languages were rather scarce during the eighties both with regard to the primary texts and the early applications. It is hard to believe that by the end of the 1980s only two publications by Vermeer had appeared in English (Vermeer 1987, 1989), one in Portuguese (Vermeer 1986), and a Finnish translation of some parts of Reiss and Vermeer 1984 (Reiss and Vermeer 1986). A Spanish translation appeared in 1996 (Reiss and Vermeer 1996, not complete). Vermeer himself published an English introduction to *skopos* theory in 1996 (Vermeer 1996).

What an irony: a theory of translation, of all disciplines, failing to make an impact because of language barriers! The second-generation functionalists started publishing in English and other languages (mainly Spanish) in the first half of the nineties, thus trying to overcome this limitation, but even so, it took almost ten years for the word to spread in other language areas where people had to rely on translations. China, where *skopos* theory became known as early as 1987, seems to be an exception (Qianyuan 1987).

However, in the early 1990s, Translation Studies had been established as a discipline to such an extent that the first "introductions" appeared on the international book market. One of the first was Robert Larose's book *Théories contemporaines de la traduction*, published in Canada in 1989, in which the author refers at length to Juliane House's model of translation quality assessment (Larose 1989: 210–217 *et passim*). Neither the first edition nor the second (published in 1992) mentions *skopos* theory or functionalism or any of the functionalist authors of the first and second generation. The exception is Katharina Reiss, who is quoted in passing, presumably on the basis of a paper published in English (Reiss 1976), along with some critical remarks by René Ladmiral (cf. Larose 1992: 238).

As far as I can see, the first general introduction to Translation Studies written in English to refer to *skopos* theory was Edwin Gentzler's book on *Contemporary Translation Theories* (Gentzler 1993), which devotes six pages to "Translation Theories in Germany", mentioning Wilss, the Leipzig School, Neubert, Reiss and Snell-Hornby. The only minor flaw here is that he qualifies *skopos* theory as the culmination of Katharina Reiss's work (Gentzler 1993: 71). It is a sad fact

that this mistake was not corrected in the 2001 revised second edition, although this book does offer a new section under the heading "Functionalist theories in German language countries" (Gentzler 1993: 65 ff), where the author discusses the "Saarbrücken school" (Wilss and Kussmaul, although the latter was based at Germersheim), the Leipzig school (Kade, Neubert) and, "closely linked to the Saarbrücken and the Leipzig school", Reiss, Vermeer, Snell-Hornby, Nord and Holz-Mänttäri, neither of whom had ever been linked to Saarbrücken or Leipzig (see above). It was not until 2004, in his article on the *Cultural Turn* in Translation Studies, published in the *International Encyclopedia of Translation* (Kittel et al. 2004: 166–170), that Gentzler correctly represented German functionalism in the framework of the cultural paradigm. After briefly summarizing Reiss and Vermeer 1984, the author recognizes the contributions of Nord, Holz-Mänttäri, Snell-Hornby and Juliane House as well as of Hönig and Kussmaul. Where Mary Snell-Hornby is concerned, the classification as a functionalist is at least debatable, whereas in the case of Juliane House it is totally incorrect, because House has always subscribed to an equivalence-based, albeit differentiated, concept of translation. Moreover, the *Enyclopedia* is published by a German publisher, which makes one wonder whether it will ever really reach a broad audience in the English-speaking world in spite of its trilingual title.

This short overview shows that newcomers to Translation Studies who have no access to the publications in German cannot be sure that they receive the correct information in an unbiased way. Authors of general introductions still tend to draw on second or even third hand information. Even Douglas Robinson, a colleague of Justa Holz-Mänttäri's at the Finnish University of Tampere, discusses some basic principles of functionalist theories on the basis of the English translation of Nord 1988 (Robinson 2003). In this case we cannot say that his representation is incorrect or unfair — but in other cases the citation of quotes from second hand sources has obviously led to a kind of "Chinese whispers" effect. This also applies to works on *skopos* theory published in China, which usually draw on English language primary or secondary literature (cf., above all, Bian 2008, in Chinese, or Bian and Cui 2006, Gao and Tian 2007 and Wen 2008 in English, to name but a few examples).

To conclude this section on a more positive note, I would like to mention two rather recent works which offer excellent and reliable information: Mary Snell-Hornby's *The Turns of Translation* (Snell-Hornby 2006: 51–60) and Jeremy Munday's *Introducing Translation Studies* (Munday 2008 passim), both authors drawing on German language publications. Snell-Hornby witnessed the "cultural turn" at Heidelberg University where she was a visiting professor during the 1980s, and although I would not regard her as a *skopos* theorist in the narrower sense, her "integrated approach" (Snell-Hornby 1988) links quite well with functionalist

views. Munday looks at the theory from a greater (temporal) distance and aptly applies it to the area for which it was intended in the first place, namely translator training.

5. The third and fourth generation

Let us return to Germany. The "second generation" of scholars in Germersheim and Heidelberg, who were using functionalist methodologies in their teaching (from which they are now gradually retiring), was not particularly large in number but they were active in research and publication. One would therefore have expected them to trigger an avalanche of functionalist investigation in their students, but as far as I can see, this has not been the case. This may be due, at least in part, to the peculiarities of German academia, on which I will not dwell here. Another reason may simply be that well-trained translators and interpreters become successful practitioners, their excellent work allowing them to earn a good living and taking away any motivation to go back to the academic jungle.

Even some of those who started off as promising researchers (e.g. Ammann 1989a, 1989b, 1989c, Ammann and Vermeer 1990) left the university for a well-remunerated post in the profession. We have therefore had to overcome a prolonged incubation period until now, when we can state, at last, that translatological functionalism is becoming "pandemic", particularly in those parts of the world where translation needs are pressing, like China, as well as in multilingual and multicultural societies, like South Africa. It would go beyond the scope of this article to continue listing names and research topics in order to describe what is going on with regard to functionalism in many countries at present. Instead, I would like to follow the topical threads mentioned above, which may allow us a cautious look into the future. I will refer to a few concrete examples which may serve as incentives for further studies, classifying them into four areas: translator and interpreter training, culture specificity, analysis of particular text types, and aspects of the profession. I am not suggesting here that these areas *have* to be dealt with from a functional perspective, I am simply observing that they *are* being dealt with from a functional one (or that authors have claimed to take this view).

5.1 Applications to translator and interpreter training

The large number of publications in this area can be grouped around five focus points: (a) translation methodology (including translation-oriented text analysis, error analysis and translation assessment, translation strategies and typologies), (b) the development of teaching material (handbooks, general and language-pair

specific study material), (c) studies on audience orientation, (d) translation pedagogy (including curriculum design on all levels: B.A., M.A., Ph.D. studies, continuing education), which used to be one of Justa Holz-Mänttäri's favourite topics, and (e) the description and definition of translation competence.

As far as *translation methodology* is concerned, there appear to have been few advances since the works of the first and second generation. Instead, young scholars try to test the hypotheses of the "old ones" and their implications, for example with regard to the classification of translation problems (cf. Nord 1997), which is not always used according to the author's intention, or translation typology (documentary vs. instrumental translation, cf. ibid.). There are a few applications of functionalism to particular translation problems, such as the translation of irony as a specific type of expressive function (Fehlauer-Lenz 2009), dealing with ideology in translating sensitive texts (cf. Degen 2008) or in the translation classroom (Ruiz Yepes 2005, 2006 and 2009, who combines functionalism with corpus-based studies), and the evaluation of student translations (Schäffner 1997). A functionalist study of the translation process was presented by Norberg (2003).

The *development of functionalist teaching material* is still in its infancy. Particularly in Germany it is not very common to use textbooks in translation classes, because teachers compile their course materials rather intuitively and without reflecting much on a reasonable teaching progression and systematic assessment methodology. An example of a functionalist translation course (Spanish-German) was presented as early as 1990 (Nord 1990, revised edition Nord 2001), illustrating a methodology that could serve as a model for other language and culture pairs. A similar course-book, with realistic translation briefs, practice-relevant texts and a systematic approach to translation problems, was published by Schäffner and Wiesemann (2001) for English-German translation, and another one by Bretschneider and Walter (2008) for German-Russian translation.

Audience orientation has been a particularly sensitive aspect of functionalist theory and applications from the start. Critics have been asking how translators know what the audience expects of a translation. Indeed, it is easy to talk about the audience's expectations but much more difficult to obtain empirical proof of what audiences (for certain genres or in certain non-linguistic fields) really expect. One way of gaining insights into audience expectations and knowledge presuppositions is the analysis of authentic target-cultural parallel texts,[1] since the characteristic features of these texts shape or even determine the expectations of

1. I am using the term in the sense of "authentic texts of the same or a similar genre", as it has been in use in translation teaching methodology since it was defined by Hartmann 1980 for his "Contrastive Textology", not in the sense of "translation" as it is used in corpus-based Translation Studies.

their users. However, this can only be assumed for expectations regarding non-translated texts, and it is possible that the audience's reaction to translated texts is different, perhaps even more tolerant when confronted with unfamiliar features. A very interesting and thorough empirical study on audience expectations has been carried out by Marie-Louise Nobs Federer, from the University of Granada, in her Ph.D. dissertation (cf. Nobs Federer 2006, 2009), in which she analyses reader responses to translated tourist information leaflets by means of interviews and questionnaires. This study yielded very interesting (and, for the theoretician, rather surprising) results. Göpferich has used think-aloud protocols to test the *skopos* adequacy of popularizing texts (cf., for example, Göpferich 2007a), a methodology which may also be used to test reader responses to translated texts. More studies are needed in this area, particularly dealing with technical or scientific translations, to provide a solid ground for translation pedagogy.

With regard to *translation pedagogy and curriculum design*, the Bologna process has caused some disquiet during recent years. In this context, Elisa Calvo Encinas, from the University of Granada, recently presented a critical appraisal of the state of translator training faculties in Spain (Calvo Encinas 2009). Similar studies are needed for other countries, along with assessment of translation curricula and teaching methodologies from a functional point of view.

One important aspect of translator training which has received little attention so far is the training of the trainers. A promising project has been launched by the Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín, Colombia, where a Master's programme in Translation Pedagogy is offered in a joint venture by the Department of Modern Languages and Translation and the Department of Education. Dorothy Kelly (from Granada University) has published a handbook on this topic (Kelly 2005).

Translation competence (including cultural competence and creativity research, research on translation tools and measuring translation competence) is another field where some functionalist studies have been presented, although there is still much to be done. Some third-generation scholars working in this field are Holz-Mänttäri's student Hanna Risku (1998), Vermeer's student Heidrun Witte (1987, 2000), and Britta Nord (2002, 2009). An empirical investigation of translational competence requires staff and money, as can be seen from the example of the PACTE group around Amparo Hurtado Albir (Universitàt Autònoma de Barcelona), which has presented interesting results, thanks to considerable funding by the Spanish Ministry of Education (cf. PACTE 2005; for more recent publications see the list on the group's website under http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/pacte/content/publicacions, last access 16/09/2011). Other research groups investigating translation competence are active at the Copenhagen Business School and the Zurich University of Applied Sciences (detailed accounts and further references in Alves et al. 2010).

5.2 Culture-specificity

The consideration of culture and culture-specificity in translation has been at the heart of *skopos* theory and functionalism from the very beginning, strongly influenced by the cooperation between Vermeer and Göhring in Germersheim. Together with Heidrun Witte, Vermeer adopted the notion of the *cultureme* from cultural anthropology, adapting it to the needs of Translation Studies (Vermeer and Witte 1990). There are four areas in which a large number of studies have been carried out and which can still be regarded as promising areas for research : (a) comparative studies of text-type norms and conventions in all kinds of practice-relevant genres, such as technical and scientific genres (Göpferich 1995), and tourist and other information brochures or leaflets (e.g., Fernández 2010, who analysed and compared information leaflets from Spanish and German language schools), (b) general style comparison based on functional speech acts (e.g., Nord 2003), (c) comparative descriptions of conventions of non-verbal behaviour, such as descriptions of paraverbal behaviour in fictional texts (Nord 1997b), or the roles and functions of layout and typography in translation (Schopp 1995, 2011), and (d) comparative studies of specific culturemes, such as the expression and marking of irony in literary texts (Fehlauer-Lenz 2009) or metacommunication (Nord 2007). Genre comparison and comparison of general style conventions can make use of electronically held parallel and comparable text corpora.

5.3 Application of functionalism to specific text types or translation types

The usefulness and applicability of functional approaches to the translation of advertising or operating instructions is widely agreed upon and accepted, which is obviously not the case for literary or Biblical translations. In recent years, there have been a fairly large number of functionalist studies precisely on these "specific cases" (e.g. Nord 2005, Downie 2009a, 2009b on Bible translation, Guimarães 2009 on the translation of the Bhagavad Gita; Zhou 2007, Sant'ana/Cordeiro 2008 on literary translation), including the translation of legal texts, where the distinction between documentary and instrumental translation has been applied by various researchers (cf. Mayoral 2002, Prieto Ramos 2002, Calvo Encinas 2002).

Multimedia translation, including film dubbing and subtitling, has been an object of study by several researchers working with Mary Snell-Hornby at the University of Vienna, among them, to name but one example, Klaus Kaindl, who looked at opera libretti, popular music and comics (Kaindl 1995, 2003, 2004).

With regard to literary translation, I would like to mention an interesting experiment. As a kind of by-product of his doctoral dissertation, in which he proposes a model for translation criticism, the Brazilian scholar and literary

translator Mauricio Mendonça Cardozo, now professor of Translation Studies at the Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba/Brazil, produced two "parallel" translations of Theodor Storm's short novel *Der Schimmelreiter*, a documentary and an instrumental one, which were published together in a slipcase (Storm 2006). The documentary, traditional translation has the title *A assombrosa história do homem do cavalo branco* ("The amazing history of the man with the white horse"), whereas the other one, *O centauro bronco* ("The wild centaur"), moves the setting from its North German habitat into the Brazilian *sertão*. Both versions are called "translations", and the idea was to put the limits of translation to a stress test.

5.4 The profession

To my mind, one of the most important achievements of *skopos* theory and functionalism in translation was to take the translating and interpreting profession seriously. The professionalization of these activities, which have not in the past — apart from conference interpreting — enjoyed a very high social prestige, has been one of Holz-Mänttäri's foremost aims, largely shared by other functionalists. The five aspects I would like to emphasize in this respect are (a) professional ethics, where, among other issues, the concept of "loyalty" has been discussed from various perspectives (cf. Nord 2004, Bian 2006, Downie 2009a, Batista Rodríguez et al. 2009), (b) functional aspects of conference interpreting (cf. Pöchhacker 1994, 1995), (c) cross-cultural consulting and technical writing as translational actions (cf. Risku 2003) and (d) the translator's workplace and his or her role in international communication and marketing, writing for the web, localization etc. (cf., for example, Risku 2004, Montiel Ponsoda 2009, or the contributions in Freudenfeld and Nord 2007).

6. Conclusions

As we have seen, the history of *skopos* theory and the development of the functional approaches derived from it was confined to the German-speaking area and characterized by misunderstanding or misrepresentations during the first decade. It is quite amazing, then, that thanks to a small number of active scholars the word was spread to other parts of the world and finally triggered an impressive number of studies based on functional criteria in various fields.

The present trends seem to focus on application (e.g. with regard to translation methodology) and hypothesis testing (e.g. concerning audience response). To my mind, there is still a great demand for empirical testing of functional maxims. Empirical data from questionnaires and other forms of surveys can shed a more

reliable light on the way in which audiences for particular genres or in particular domains react to translated texts. The results of these studies can have a direct impact on the criteria for translation evaluation and the standards of teaching.

Another very promising area where more empirical studies have to be carried out is that of the translator's workplace. Since this workplace has been changing quite dramatically over the past few years, the consequences of such research for translation pedagogy and the development of training programmes cannot be underestimated.

Nowadays, professional translators and interpreters often widen their scope of activities to other fields of "translational action", in Holz-Mänttäri's terms, such as cross-cultural consulting or intercultural technical writing, or even to domains where intracultural transformation or optimization of texts are called for (knowledge transfer, popularization, etc.). This is an area where Translation Studies is expanding towards Transfer Studies, a rather recent "transdiscipline" also of German origin (cf. Antos 2001, Göpferich 2007b), which investigates access to knowledge in the broadest sense of the term (cf. Göpferich 2010). Here, too, functional views on translation have fallen on fertile ground.

One last aspect which has been bothering me for quite a while is the question why functionalist views have been so successful both with regard to acceptance and research efforts in Spain, Latin America, Russia or China — but have not produced half as much resonance in their country of origin. Is this the eternal phenomenon of the prophet who is never welcomed in his country (Luke 4.24)? This, too, would be an interesting topic for further research on functional translatology.

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More *spoken* or more *translated*?

Exploring a known unknown of simultaneous interpreting*

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Since the early 1990s, with the advance of computerized corpora, translation scholars have been using corpus-based methodologies to look into the possible existence of overriding patterns (tentatively described as universals or as laws) in translated texts. The application of such methodologies to interpreted texts has been much slower in developing than in the case of translated ones, but significant progress has been made in recent years. After presenting the fundamental methodological hurdles — and advantages — of working on machine-readable (transcribed) oral corpora, we present and discuss several recent studies using cross-modal comparisons, and examine the viability of using interpreted outputs to explore the features that set simultaneous interpreting apart from other forms of translation. We then set out to test the hypothesis that modality may exert a stronger effect than ontology — i.e. that being oral (vs. written) is a more powerful influence than being translated (vs. original).

1. Introduction

> *As advances in corpus technology allow for working with large corpora and the development of quantitative research designs, researchers in interpreting studies should consider the possibility of creating and maintaining collaborative research tools for investigations with different theoretical backgrounds.* (Meyer, B. & T. Schmidt 2008 "CoSi — a corpus of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting".)

In discussing the interrelationships between written and oral translation as objects of study, Chesterman (2004a) called for research that would include — compare, contrast, analyze — the two modalities and reinforce the links between translation

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studies (in its narrower sense, the study of written translation) and interpreting studies. He further noted that "Seeking generalities means looking for similarities, regularities, patterns, that are shared between particular cases or groups of cases. […] in a perspective that increases our understanding of the whole picture, and also of how this picture related to other pictures" (Chesterman 2004b: 33). The implication is that translation scholars can learn about the process and product of (written) translation by finding out more about interpreting — and interpreting scholars can infer about this high-pressure form of translation by observing the slower, more readily observable process and product of (written) translation; that one modality can teach us about the constraints, conventions and norms of the other; and that corpora of interpreted texts may teach us about the workings of oral vs. written discourse, both original and translated (cf. Pöchhacker 2004). One way of expanding our understanding of a particular type of translation — e.g. simultaneous interpreting — is by addressing variation, as well as similarities, across translators, genres, text-types, modalities etc. so as to discern the specific features that set each of them apart and to group these features into broader categories, thus meeting "the challenge of elaborating robust models for the systematic analysis of stylistic variation" (Baker 2004: 28), which is what we have attempted to do in the studies described below.

The interpreting studies literature is filled with examples of small, manually compiled corpora, comprising natural or experimental data, analyzed by the researcher him/herself. Generally — and regrettably — almost every such study is a "stand-alone", and only very rarely do they involve any form of replication. Clearly, the small size of these corpora, on the one hand, and the idiosyncratic nature of the analysis, on the other, are likely to limit the generalizability of the findings, but we hope to be able to explore the makings of interpreting on a much broader and more reliable scale, once we overcome the methodological hurdles of compiling large machine-readable corpora.

In the two studies described below, using machine-readable corpora, we aimed to discover features that set interpreting apart and to learn more about interpreting than may perhaps be inferred on the basis of more traditional methods. We asked whether interpreting is essentially "the same as" translation, other than the fact that it happens to be oral; whether it is first and foremost a form of speech, with distinct spoken-like features that override its translational ontology; and in what ways corpus-based translation/interpreting studies may deepen our understanding of interpreting as a distinct linguistic, cognitive and textual phenomenon. To answer these questions, we conducted a series of quantitative comparisons, focusing on features which are known to distinguish between text types, genres, modalities etc.

In principle, transcribed corpora of simultaneous interpreting (SI)[1] may be compared with:

- Parallel corpora[2] of their respective sources (same modality, different language);
- Comparable corpora of original spoken texts, matched for genre and domain (same modality, same language);
- Comparable corpora of written translations, matched for genre and domain (different modality, same language).

The latter two comparisons may be expected to reveal something about the features that interpreted outputs share with translated ones and/or with spontaneous speech. The present article focuses on the second and third of the above comparisons, and reports on cases in which the tools and methods of corpus-based translation/ interpreting studies were applied to carefully matched outputs of translation and interpreting and to oral non-interpreted corpora. It is our hope that such comparisons, performed on reasonably large corpora, will serve "to test and validate theories about interpreting" (Cencini 2002).[3]

2. Overcoming the hurdles: Recent developments in corpus-based interpreting studies

Corpus-based studies — i.e. analyses of large amounts of machine-readable texts — are easier to perform, and are more commonly performed, on written than on orally produced materials. The complexity of transforming oral data into a machine-readable format (Shlesinger 1998) has been somewhat reduced in recent years, thanks to the following three developments:

- Although recordings of authentic data are still harder to obtain than written translations, the growing array of online resources provides the interpreting scholar with far more materials than in the past. In some cases — e.g. the EPIC

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1. The present study focuses on the simultaneous mode — which is not to deny the value of studying other modes of interpreting as well.

2. For further discussion of this classification, see Baker (1995).

3. Recourse to the source texts — i.e. use of parallel corpora — would presumably yield further insights into the reasons for a particular phenomenon, by allowing us observe the items in context. As Malmkjær (1998) points out, "[…] when the translation-part of the corpus is used in conjunction with a corpus containing the Source Texts (together constituting a parallel text corpus), the method can promote sense-disambiguation, and can help to identify translation norms […]" (535–536; see also Kenny 1998).

corpus (see below) — these materials are transcribed and (even) tagged. As more and more international institutions are placing their entire body of interpreted outputs in the public domain (e.g. http://www.statmt.org/europarl/), this problem is now far less pronounced than in the past.
- Although transcription is still time-consuming, modern technology is offsetting some of the difficulties. Thus, for example, the transcription sometimes uses speech recognition software programs which serve to create preliminary drafts that may then be shadowed, and corrected, as necessary — streamlining the entire process (Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2005).[4]
- Standardization of transcriptions is gaining ground and gradual progress in the direction of greater standardization is being achieved thanks to such projects as the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), which does away with non-standardized transcription conventions, converting them into machine-friendly tags displayed in reader-friendly, XML-compatible formats. TEI seems sufficiently flexible and extendible to allow for the encoding of virtually any feature of interpreted texts (Cencini 2002, Cencini and Aston 2002).[5]

Other hurdles that beset corpus-based research on interpreting are more persistent:

- Ecological validity is often undermined by the necessity of making do with experimental data, with no genuine *skopos* (other than to assist in an experiment) and without the illocutionary force and communicative purpose that one expects to find in naturalistic settings (Setton 1999: 33). Unlike studies of written translation, where one may frequently find several translations of the same text into the same target language (produced by different individuals and/or at different points in time), interpretations of the same text into the same target language in an ecologically valid environment would almost never occur in practice (but see Pöchhacker 2007).
- Transcriptions are never complete. They are never *the* transcript but only *a* transcript of the recordings (Diriker 2004), showing primarily those aspects that are relevant to the study at hand (Dam 2001).

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4. A disclaimer posted on the Europarl website informs us, however, that "the interpretation of debates serves to facilitate communication and does not constitute an authentic record of proceedings. Only the original speech or the revised written translation is authentic."

5. Corpus-based interpreting research has much to learn from the methods and principles that have been developed in corpus linguistics and corpus-based translation studies; but its specific complexities — multilingualism, orality and the crucial factor of the immediate context of production — pose special challenges that can only be resolved by consensus on some basic standards to allow data-sharing and replication. (Setton 2011)

For all of these reasons, the greatest potential for corpus-based interpreting studies seems to lie in the use of corpora that have been transcribed, tagged and put at the disposal of researchers at large. One particularly promising example is EPIC (the European Parliament Interpreting Corpus), created at the University of Bologna at Forlì with the aim of studying the effects of directionality in simultaneous interpreting (SI). As an open, parallel, trilingual corpus of EP speeches and their interpretations, it provides access to reliable data in sufficient quantities, and offers scholars an opportunity to explore the larger patterns of interpreting — as this concerns monological, institutional discourse. (For further details on EPIC see Bendazzoli and Sandrelli 2005, Monti et al. 2005, Sandrelli and Bendazzoli 2005).

The greatest value of corpora such as EPIC lies in their size and in their accessibility to researchers interested in gaining a better understanding of the role of the many variables that figure in interpreters' performance. Another advantage lies in their elaborate metadata, which offers a rich classification of potentially relevant attributes — gender, speed, language-pair, directionality etc.:

> <speech date="10-02-04-m" id="005" lang="en" type="org-en" duration="long" timing="392" textlength="medium" length="906" speed="medium" wordsperminute="139" delivery="read" speaker="Byrne, David" gender="M" country="Ireland" mothertongue="yes" function="European Commission" politicalgroup="NA" gentopic="Health" sptopic="Asian bird flu" comments=Health and Consumer protection; Irish accent">

In the example above, the date is February 10th 2004, the language is English, the speed is 139 words per minute etc. Such metadata offer a powerful tool for controlling relevant variables in the materials to be studied, thus enabling researchers to select the texts best suited for their particular research question. However, even a corpus as large as this (approximately 180,000 tokens) may prove insufficient, since the effect of any given variable cannot be studied without first selecting a restricted set of speeches fitting the description; e.g. only male interpreters or only slow speeches or only semi-scripted inputs — or some combination of these. As in any empirical study, this will entail a tradeoff: the more variables we try to control, the more rigorous and conclusive the results, but they apply to a more limited data set. Thus, for example, to explore the effects of gender by comparing the outputs of male vs. female interpreters into English, we will be confined to 11,679 tokens (24 speeches) interpreted by males and 8,347 tokens (14 speeches) interpreted by females. In this example we have controlled for two variables, namely gender and target language. To avoid additional confounds, we may also wish to control for such variables as source language (Italian vs. Spanish) or speed of delivery (low, medium or high) etc.

3. Two studies of modality vs. ontology

In what follows, we present two studies — the first based on experimental materials, the second on authentic ones. The first study has been reported elsewhere (Shlesinger 2008) and is described here only briefly. It focused on differences between the oral and the written modalities of translation, referred to below as SI (simultaneous interpreting) and WT (written translation), respectively. By having the same input text interpreted (in an experimental setting), and then translated, by the same professionals, we were able to isolate the *modality* variable, and to point to the specific effects of SI. The second study used three corpora of authentic materials to explore (again) differences between the oral and written modalities of translation, but also compared the SI corpus with one comprising original speech (OS) in the same domain, enabling us to observe the effects of the *ontology* variable (original vs. translated) as well.

3.1 Study 1 (experimental data): The effects of modality

Using a bimodal comparable corpus, we examined the cumulative outputs (in the target language, Hebrew) of six subjects, rendering the same (English) input text both orally (first) and in writing (later). The oral (SI) and written (WT) outputs comprised 8,327 tokens (5,493 types) and 8,968 tokens (6,592 types), respectively. While a corpus of less than 10,000 tokens can hardly be considered large by current standards, it is still larger than many of the corpora used to date in interpreting studies and large enough if the phenomenon under review is sufficiently frequent. Moreover, it was tagged for parts of speech and for additional morpho-syntactic features, and was contrasted with a matched corpus in the written modality. The insights it yielded with regard to interpreted vs. translated outputs centered on a set of marked differences between them in terms of lexical variety (type-token ratio), and a range of lexico-grammatical, stylistic and pragmatic features. We saw these as forming a distinct variant of translationese, which we referred to as *interpretese*. In retrospect, we note that many of the features discerned in this study were in fact representative of a tendency towards orality:

- **Type-token ratio (TTR)** — One of the foremost features of the oral end of the oral-literate continuum is a lower level of lexical variety. The TTR of all six oral outputs was indeed lower than that of the written ones produced by the same individuals, rendering the same text.
- **Morpho-syntax** — Striking differences were found in the selection of morpho-syntactic forms (e.g. paradigmatic choices within the verb system, use of the

definite article, analytic forms of the possessive etc.), which tended towards the basic, simpler forms characteristic of oral discourse.

- **Parts of speech (POS)** — The part-of-speech distribution was significantly different, particularly as this concerns the ranking of pronouns, which are in themselves a marker of orality in the target language. (See, for example, Dubnov 2000, Y. Shlesinger 2000: 188–189).
- **Lexis** — The paradigmatic choice of certain lexical items was found to be markedly different, with the informal, colloquial ones being far more frequent in SI than in WT. Also apparent was the greater recourse to transcoding (including cognate and foreign words — more commonly found in the colloquial register than in the written one — in lieu of "pure" target-language equivalents.)

All of these features of SI may be seen as typically oral — which is not surprising, after all. Taking this as our point of departure, we subsequently set out, in our second study, to determine whether the tendency towards orality played a greater role in shaping the product than the very fact of its being a translation.

3.2 Study 2 (authentic data): The effects of modality vs. ontology

In our second study, reported below, we compiled three corpora of 24,000 tokens each; i.e. a total of 48,000 (transcribed) tokens in the spoken modality and 24,000 tokens in the written (translated) modality. Unlike the previous (experimental) study, this one was based on authentic, naturalistic data, roughly classifiable as *academic discourse aimed at non-specialists*. The languages and modality of each component of the corpus is presented in Table 1 below. As in the previous study, we compared an interpreted corpus (SI) to one consisting of written translations (WT). Both of these involved the same source language, English, and the same target language, Hebrew. Additionally, however, we compared SI to a corpus of original spontaneous speech (OS) — in the same (target) language, Hebrew.

Table 1. The three components of the corpus

	SI	**WT**	**OS**
Language	Hebrew	Hebrew	Hebrew
Modality	Oral	Written	Oral
Source language	English	English	–

Specifically, the three components comprised:

1. Interpreted texts, manually transcribed from the outputs of four professional interpreters working in conference settings. In none of the cases did the interpreters have access to a written text.
2. Translated texts in (approximately) the same domains, rendered by professional translators.
3. Original semi-scripted speech in (approximately) the same domains by conference presenters.

3.3 Method and findings

The corpus thus consisted of three Hebrew components, automatically annotated for morphological features with a tagger (Adler 2007) that had proven 93% accurate for segmentation (segmenting each word into a prefix, a base and a suffix) and 91% accurate for morphological or syntactic information, such as parts of speech.

In order to check whether SI is more similar to WT (i.e. same ontology, different modality) than to OS or more similar to OS (same modality, different ontology) than to WT, we applied a three-way procedure:

1. We checked the relative frequency of 29 features in each of the three components (SI, WT, OS). The features included 17 parts of speech; 7 verb patterns; 3 suffix forms; nouns in the construct state; and 2 ratio measures (lexical variety and lexical density). For the full list, see Appendix.
2. We compared these frequencies between SI and WT, on the one hand, and between SI and OS, on the other.
3. We then used two statistical tests — analysis of variance (ANOVA) and chi-square (χ^2) — to compare the different distributions of 29 linguistic features and to explore the significance level of differences between the three component corpora, we calculated the ratios between each two components and established the relative similarity within the particular pair. Thus, for example, to establish the relative frequency of pronouns in a particular pair of components (e.g. SI vs. WT), we expressed this comparison as a ratio, and checked to see whether it was the same as, greater than or smaller than the ratio found in the other pair (e.g. SI vs. OS).

For the first 14 features we applied a one-way ANOVA, and for the other features we applied a chi-square (χ^2) test; specifically, we applied chi-square in two cases: (1) when we did not have enough measures, we performed a test of goodness of fit; (2) when the feature was relevant only for some tokens but not for others, we tested for independence; for example, since the grammatical category of verb patterns

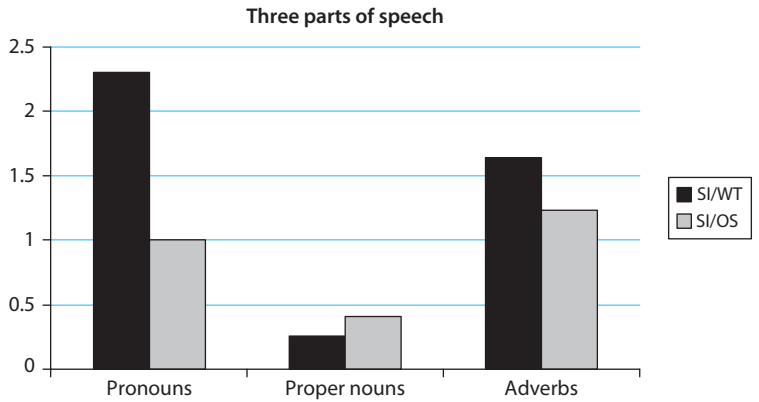

Figure 1. Three parts of speech, SI relative to WT and OS

(*binyanim*) is relevant only for tokens tagged as verbs, we based the calculation solely on the number of verbs in each corpus rather than on the total number of tokens. (See Appendix, Table 2). As discussed below and shown in detail in the Appendix, the results suggest that for 19 of the 29 features, the pair SI / OS is far more similar, whereas the similarity of SI to WT is greater for only five of the features. (For the remaining features, no significant differences were found.)

Parts of speech (POS)

- The frequency of eleven parts of speech[6]– nouns, pronouns, adverbs, quantifiers, proper nouns, modals, negation, existential, participles, interjections and interrogatives — point to a significantly greater similarity between SI and OS than between SI and WT.
- The frequency of one part of speech — verbs — points to a significantly greater similarity between SI and WT than between SI and OS.
- The remaining five parts of speech — prepositions, adjectives, conjunctions, copula and numerals — show no significant differences between the two pairs.

In Figure 1 we present the findings for three parts of speech — pronouns, proper nouns, adverbs — and in Figure 3 we present a fourth, interjections. In all graphs we observe the ratio between SI and the two other categories, namely WT and OS.

1. Pronouns — In our previous study (Shlesinger 2008), pronouns were found to be more frequent in SI than in WT. Consistent with this finding, in the second study, they were found to be 2.31 times more frequent (1,524 vs. 659) in SI as in WT. The difference between SI and OS was far less dramatic (1,524 vs. 1,492; i.e. 102%).

6. For a discussion of the POS classification, see Adler (2007) and Alon et al. (2006).

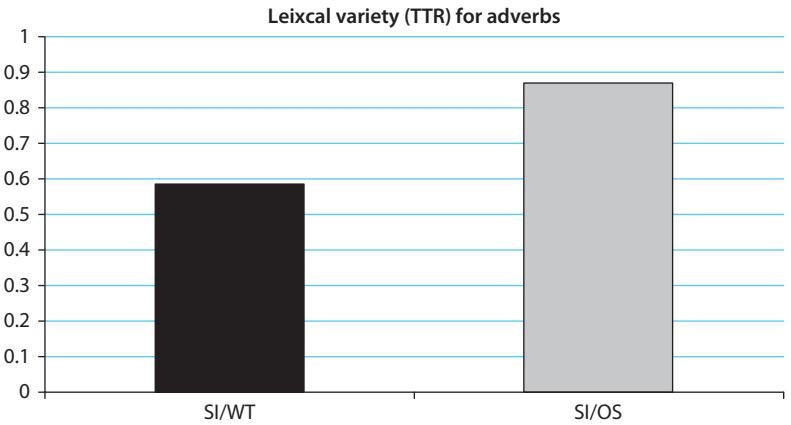

Figure 2. Lexical variety for adverbs, SI relative to WT and OS

2. Proper nouns — Proper nouns were not among the features analyzed in our previous study. In our second study, they were found to be 73% less frequent in SI than in WT (344 vs. 1,272) and 58% less frequent in SI than in OS (344 vs. 816). This is in line with the greater use of pronouns in SI, where they often replace proper nouns (Meyer 2008).
3. Adverbs — Adverbs are far more frequent in the two oral corpora than in the written one. There were 23% more adverbs in SI than in OS (1,401 vs. 1,132) and 65% more than in WT (1,401 vs. 851 adverbs). We assumed that the higher distribution of adverbs in spoken language (both original and interpreted) pointed to pragmatic differences rather than semantic ones, and therefore looked at the tokens themselves, revealing a far higher frequency of such words as (the target-language equivalent of) *actually*, *of course* and

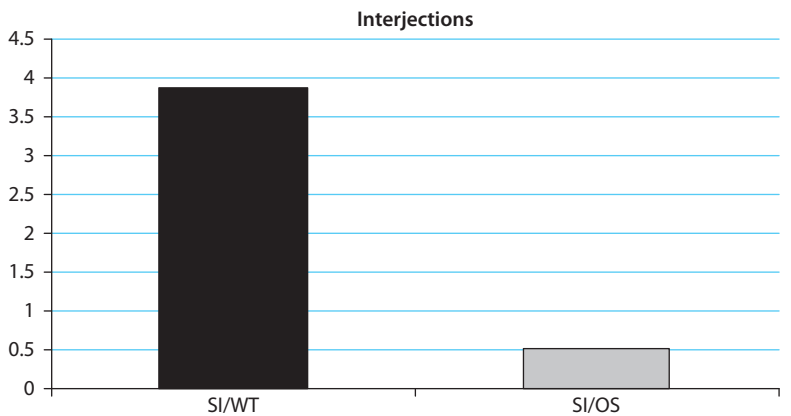

Figure 3. Interjections, SI relative to WT and OS

now in the oral corpora. At the same time, we found that although there were far fewer adverbial tokens in WT, the variety (i.e. the TTR) of adverbs, when studied separately, was in fact considerably higher. Granted, research on parameters of oral vs. literate texts has shown TTR to be lower in oral texts in the first place; however, the TTR for adverbs was found to be only 84.6 % of the TTR that was found for other parts of speech (0.77 vs. 0.91), which appears to support the hypothesis that the variety of adverbs is more limited in spoken language (as shown in Figure 2 below.) This claim, too, might be validated by examining the adverbs in context and triangulating our findings with an investigation of the source texts; i.e. by using a parallel corpus.

A closer look at particular adverbs reveals some which are strikingly more frequent in SI than in WT. Thus, for example, the adverbs *kamuvan* [of course], *axshav* [now], *davka* [contrary to expectations] and *pashut* [simply] occur 35.46, 3.22, 1.42 and 14.83 times more frequently, respectively. Furthermore, *be'etzem* [actually] and *be'hexlet* [absolutely] do not figure in WT at all, yet appear 23 times (1.6% of the total number of adverbs) in OS and 15 times (1.03% of the total number of adverbs in the corpus) in SI. With the exception of *pashut* [simply], which is 8.06 times more frequent in SI than in OS, the frequency of all other items is approximately the same in the two oral corpora.[7]

4. Interjections[8] — Interjections are clearly a marginal phenomenon in terms of their frequency in the corpus. However, while it is not surprising to find differences between the components, the extent of these differences is striking. As seen in Figure 3, the occurrence of interjections in SI (23 instances) is 383% higher than in WT (6 instances), and 51% lower than in OS (45 instances).

Type-token ratios (TTR)

The TTR — the ratio of types to the 24,000 tokens in each of the corpus components — is an indicator of lexical variety. As seen in Figure 4, the number of types for SI (13,328) is very similar (91%) to that of WT (14,631), but also very similar — in the other direction — (108%) to that of OS (12,323 types). On the one hand, this finding may seem "disappointing," as it fails to demonstrate a clear profile of

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7. Ziv (2000) devotes an extensive study, in the context of Relevance Theory, to this particular adverb in its role as a discourse marker in colloquial Hebrew, and draws attention to its procedural meaning as a discourse marker and as a "meta-utterance" (Ziv 2000: 23). Its markedly higher distribution in SI vs. OS calls for further study — e.g. by returning to the (English) source texts and attempting to detect items that may have triggered the use of this discourse marker in the interpreters' outputs.

8. Due to the very large difference between their frequencies, interjections have not been included in the figure above, but are presented separately in Figure 3.

SI in relation to the other two components in terms of lexical variety. It is all the more "disappointing" in view of the fact that TTR is not simply another feature, but one that is often cited as a key parameter of text classification. And yet, looking at this finding from a broader perspective, we see it as demonstrating the tension between the interpreter's tendency to produce natural-sounding speech (i.e. an output that is similar to OS) and the effect of producing a translation (one that is similar to WT). In this respect, SI appears to be a paradigmatic case of hybridity, an ontologically distinct form of speech. It is also in line with our earlier finding (Shlesinger 1989, Pym 2007) concerning the equalizing effect of SI, as described in the Discussion below.

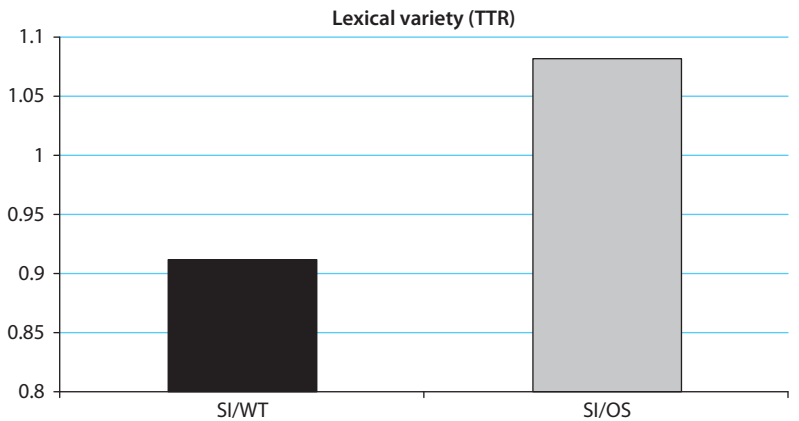

Figure 4. Lexical variety (TTR), SI relative to WT and OS

4. Discussion

In our earlier research (Shlesinger 1989), we extended Zellermayer's study of written translation in relation to shifts along the oral-literate continuum (1987), and found that shifts occurred in simultaneous interpreting as well, yielding an equalizing (or leveling) effect, such that the interpretation of texts which exhibited typically literate features (Tannen 1980, Chafe 1985) shifted towards the oral end of the continuum, whereas the interpretation of texts that exhibited typically oral features shifted towards the literate end. These shifts were found to exert a stronger influence than the language-specific properties; i.e. in the case of the language pair used, the shifts from either end of the continuum superseded the tendency of Hebrew texts to become more literate in translation into English and of English texts to become more oral in translation into Hebrew (Shlesinger 1989: 171). The two studies cited here appear to bear out this finding with regard

to the interpretation of texts comprising our corpus, all of which are situated at the more literate end of the continuum.[9] (The effect on typically oral texts has yet to be explored, and would require a corpus of interpreted texts exhibiting typical features of orality, such as those found in community interpreting settings, for example).

Our finding in the two studies described above, whereby SI exhibits far more similarities to original speech than to written translation, is consistent with the tendency towards orality and with the view of *interpretese* as being more *spoken* than *translated*. Viewed differently, however, one may see interpreting as, in a sense, an extreme case of translation, one in which those features that have been found to distinguish between translated and original texts (e.g. Laviosa 1998, Laviosa-Braithwaite 1997) — e.g. simplification, lower type-token ratio, leveling — are found to be all the more salient. It appears that both these conclusions — greater orality as well as greater resemblance to translation — may be correct, though the former is more forcefully represented in our findings. Further studies using larger corpora of interpreted discourse will allow us to explore the implications and applications of these two tendencies.

The literature on translational universals — and on the laws of translation — rarely raises the question of modality; i.e. the generic "translation" is implicitly taken as inclusive of interpreting (or else, the question of modality is simply not taken into account). And yet, just as "Written texts tell us about written language, and we have to be cautious in arguing from this to the potentiality of language as a whole" (Halliday 2004: 336), so too, we maintain, do translated texts tell us about (written) translated language, and we have to be cautious in arguing from this to the potentiality of (written and oral) translations as a whole.

5. Conclusion

One of the aims of this article has been to further explore the effectiveness of extending the paradigms of corpus-based translation studies to interpreting. Timarová (2005: 65) notes that "Many previously laborious steps in data analysis can be done as, literally, one-click operations on a large number of data files," and yet, as discussed above, the transformation of oral data into a machine-readable format remains complex, and the development of effective means of analyzing it remains costly. The potential benefit — and our primary aim in this study — lies in discerning the features of interpreted outputs, as distinct not only from their

9. It is conceivable that had more oral texts been used for the analyses, the conclusion would have been different.

source or from "similar" (non-translated, oral) texts in the same (target) language but also from written translations of the same (or "similar") texts. The next stage will be towards deepening our understanding of the ways in which the product of interpreting may be used to teach us more about translation, and vice versa. Given that "contemporary translation practices are promoting more and more situations in which the translator's time-on-task is highly regulated, such that time is regularly assessed as a variable in the final quality equation" (Pym 2008: 100) the relevance of such inferences is all the more real.

In our future research, we plan to examine the findings of our two studies in relation to putative universals — or laws of translation (Toury 2004). At first glance, it would appear that our overall observation of greater similarity between the two spoken components (SI and OS) than between the two translated ones (SI and WT) militates against seeing translations as being bound by universal features that set them apart from original texts. Alternatively, it militates in favor of seeing SI as an extreme case of these universals. However, only through further investigation of the specifics of these findings, on the one hand, and by extending them to other levels of analysis, on the other, will we be able to reconcile these two characterizations of SI.

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Appendix

As explained above, we used two statistics to compare the different distributions of 29 linguistic features in the three corpora. (See the full list in Table 1 below). The purpose was to decide whether the similarity between SI and WT is the same as, greater than or less than that between SI and OS.

For the first 14 features we applied a one-way ANOVA, and for the other features we applied a chi-square (χ^2) test; specifically, we applied chi-square in two cases: (1) when we did not have

enough measures, we performed a test of goodness of fit; (2) when the feature was relevant only for some tokens but not for others, we tested for independence; for example, since the grammatical category of verb patterns (*binyanim*) is relevant only for tokens tagged as verbs, we based the calculation solely on the number of verbs in each corpus rather than on the total number of tokens. The results suggest that the pair SI / OS is much more similar in the case of 19 features as opposed to 5 for which the similarity between SI and WT is greater.

The test generated two kinds of results (in enlarged boldface below), both of which indicate that the similarity between SI and OS was greater than between SI and WT:

1. The differences between SI and OS are not significant, whereas the differences between each of these two components and WT are;
2. The two oral components were found to resemble each other more than they resembled the written one. The differences between all three groups are significant, but the differences between SI and OS are significantly smaller than those between SI and OS, on the one hand, and WT, on the other.

Table 1. Similarity of SI to OS vs. similarity of SI to WT, based on the distributions of 29 linguistic features. (Scores for OS/WT are included for comparison only)

Feature categories	**Features**	**F**	**Modality (spoken)**	**Ontology (translated)**	
			SI/OS	**SI/WT**	**OS/WT**
ratio measure	lexical variety	F(2,69)=52.21***	0.001	0.001	0.0001
	lexical density	F(2,69)=9.92***	0.001	=	0.05
POS	noun	F(2,69)=7.23***	=	0.05	0.005
	verb	F(2,69)=7.16***	0.005	**0.05**	=
	preposition	F(2,69)=6.79**	=	=	0.005
	adjective	F(2,69)=0.97	=	=	=
	pronoun	F(2,69)=36.81***	=	0.001	0.001
	adverb	F(2,69)=22.32***	**0.01**	0.001	0.005
	conjunction	F(2,69)=15.76***	0.001	0.001	=
	quantifier	F(2,33)=11.70***	**0.005**	0.001	=
	copula	F(2,33)=2.28	=	=	=
	proper noun	F(2,33)=31.47***	**0.005**	0.001	0.005
	modal	F(2,33)=23.21***	**0.05**	0.001	0.005
	numeral	F(2,33)=8.20***	=	0.001	0.05
		chi-square			
	negation	$\chi^2(2)=15.27$***	$\chi^2(1)=1.77$	$\chi^2(1)=6.61$*	$\chi^2(1)=15.14$***

Table 1. (*continued*)

Feature categories	Features	F	Modality (spoken)	Ontology (translated)	
			SI/OS	SI/WT	OS/WT
	existential	$\chi^2(2)=62.62^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=3.91^{*}$**	$\chi^2(1)=37.44^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=63.16^{***}$
	participle	$\chi^2(2)=15.38^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.15$**	$\chi^2(1)=12.00^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=9.53^{**}$
	interrogative	$\chi^2(2)=23.09^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=1.98$**	$\chi^2(1)=11.76^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=23.02^{***}$
	interjection	$\chi^2(2)=31.00^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=7.12^{**}$	$\chi^2(1)=9.97^{**}$	$\chi^2(1)=29.82^{***}$
Binyanim	Pa'al	$\chi^2(2)=68.96^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=5.67^{*}$**	$\chi^2(1)=34.72^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=63.83^{***}$
	Pi'el	$\chi^2(2)=28.42^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=1.17$**	$\chi^2(1)=26.65^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=15.15^{***}$
	Hif'il	$\chi^2(2)=6.46^{*}$	**$\chi^2(1)=2.42$**	$\chi^2(1)=6.33^{*}$	$\chi^2(1)=0.76$
	Nif'al	$\chi^2(2)=17.29^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=3.30$**	$\chi^2(1)=17.16^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=4.72^{*}$
	Hitpa'el	$\chi^2(2)=1.53$	$\chi^2(1)=1.25$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.00$**	$\chi^2(1)=1.14$
	Pu'al	$\chi^2(2)=6.77^{*}$	$\chi^2(1)=5.81^{*}$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.01$**	$\chi^2(1)=5.25^{*}$
	Huf'al	$\chi^2(2)=8.03^{*}$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.22$**	$\chi^2(1)=6.78^{**}$	$\chi^2(1)=4.06^{*}$
suffixes	pronominal	$\chi^2(2)=9.88^{**}$	$\chi^2(1)=9.45^{**}$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.52$**	$\chi^2(1)=4.55^{*}$
	possessive	$\chi^2(2)=387.99^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=5.83^{*}$**	$\chi^2(1)=279.62^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=205.01^{***}$
	accusative / nominative	$\chi^2(2)=9.93^{**}$	**$\chi^2(1)=0.97$**	$\chi^2(1)=4.40^{*}$	$\chi^2(1)=8.28^{**}$
state	construct	$\chi^2(2)=75.84^{***}$	**$\chi^2(1)=29.09^{***}$**	$\chi^2(1)=75.42^{***}$	$\chi^2(1)=9.75^{**}$

The development and current state of translation process research

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Interest in process-oriented translation studies has been intense for the past almost half a century. Translation process research (TPR) is the label we have used to refer to a special descriptive, empirical, experimental approach to translation studies based on close, technology-supported observation of translational (micro)behaviour. Fundamentally, TPR is based on software which logs a translator's keystrokes on a computer keyboard in time in combination with an eyetracker which simultaneously tracks the translator's eye movements across a screen displaying both a source text and the translator's emerging translation. This research method was developed as a means of qualifying and strengthening translation process hypotheses based on verbal reports by providing additional, different, quantitative data from the same events, on the basis of which supplementary analyses and interpretations could be derived. With this method, many processes can be directly observed at different levels of granularity and can be compared with reported features of the mental process, which itself remains inaccessible to outside observation. What mental processes underlie measurable (micro)behaviour can only be inferred. A multi-methodological approach is clearly called for in order to capture the full complexity of translation, and translation studies must be open to extend its curiosity beyond itself, into regions like cognitive psychology, psycho- and neurolinguistics, and neuroscience, where the interest in what goes on in our heads is also very strong.

1. Translation process studies

The name and nature of translation studies (TS) were famously explained by James S. Holmes in his presentation at the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Copenhagen, 21–26 August, 1972, but his paper had little impact at first on the development of translation studies. The celebrated map of the structure of TS was explained but not graphically included in the first version of the paper and did not appear in print until 1987, the year after his death. It is perhaps

an indication of the relative obscurity of Holmes' ideas for about 15 years that Chesterman, who has subsequently referred to Holmes' paper several times (most directly in Chesterman 2009: 13–22) appears not to have been aware of Holmes' work or not to have found it sufficiently important to be included in his *Readings in Translation Theory* (1989). Even after the important re-publication of Holmes paper in Venuti's *The Translation Studies Reader* (2000: 172–185), Toury recently reiterated what he wrote in 1995 in *Descriptive Translation Studies — and beyond* that "a complete realization of his vision is still a long way off" (Toury 1995: 8, 2012: 2) although he added in a footnote in the revised edition that "[i]n the years that have elapsed, recourse to Holmes has become much more common". This is most certainly the case, and Holmes' map is an appropriate framework within which the efforts of translation process research (TPR) will be seen here.

1.1 As part of descriptive translation studies

Holmes' proposal was to use 'Translation Studies' as the name of the discipline as a whole, a new empirical discipline with two main branches, one 'pure' and the other 'applied' (comprising translation training, aids, and criticism), with the 'pure' branch subdividing into a theoretical branch (translation theory) and a descriptive branch (DTS). The descriptive branch would "describe the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience", and the task of translation theory would be "to establish general principles by means of which these phenomena can be explained and predicted" (Holmes in Venuti 2000: 176). In the descriptive branch, Holmes foresaw three categories of DTS: product oriented, process oriented and function oriented in his 'disciplinary utopia'. Here is how he envisioned process-oriented DTS:

> *Process-oriented DTS* concerns itself with the process or act of translation itself. The problem of what exactly takes place in the "little black box" of the translator's "mind" as he creates a new, more or less matching text in another language has been the subject of much speculation on the part of translation's theorists, but there has been very little attempt at systematic investigation of this process under laboratory conditions. (Holmes in Venuti 2000: 177)

Holmes foresaw that "highly sophisticated methods" developed by psychologists would be helpful in developing this variety of DTS, which he thought "might be called translation psychology or psycho-translation studies".

The 'black box' is a classic known unknown in TS. Apparently Holmes believed that with a little help from psychologists and by systematically investigating the process under laboratory conditions, the black box could be opened. He did not further specify, however, what these highly sophisticated methods were or by

what method or means systematic investigation of the process or act of translation would be done. He was obviously looking into a known unknown without a very clear idea of how this unknown would be better known. An important question for the present contribution, therefore, is to examine how much is now known, how much we now think can be known, and to what extent we will still, perhaps indefinitely, be confronting a known unknown. To do so, I shall first look back at how and why the interest in translation process studies has been growing in the past more than fifty years, then look at the CRITT variant of translation process studies known as TPR (translation process research), and end by taking stock and looking ahead.

1.2 Early concern with processes

Looking back more than half a century, it is interesting to see how a number of related human disciplines gravitated towards studying the moves and processes leading to a final outcome rather than only studying the final decision, the end result, or the finished product. Psychology has perhaps always been strongly oriented towards exploring (mental) processes involving one mental state leading to another through distinguishable, predictable phases. Inspired by psychological inquiry, a concern with psycholinguistics and neurolinguistics developed in linguistics, adapting research methodologies from psychology and neuroscience to the study of language, and focussing as much (or more) on processes and process patterns as (than) on language structure.

The interest in what goes on in our head is probably perennial and will make use of whatever methods promise new insight. In psychology and anthropology new methods for exploring how the human mind works attracted attention: How it controls our behaviour, mediates our internal awareness of what goes on in our mind, and mediates our understanding of experience. Psychology contributed strong experimental methods, and anthropology had methods for observing, protocolling and analysing extended human behaviour and interaction. In disciplines like (foreign) language teaching, reading and writing, the shifting of attention away (somewhat) from product and more towards observation and analysis of the process, or processes, leading to the product was widely embraced. And from the teaching and learning of reading and writing and foreign languages, it was a small step to translation studies, where these new methods were quickly adopted.

Teachers of writing, or 'composition', especially in the US, had studied writing processes from observational protocols since the early 1970s. Several early writing process studies combined an interest in the writing process with an interest in cognition, and developed process models of composition. As was frequently the case at the time when computers were beginning to transform our lives, processes

were generally modelled in flow charts. Thus, in their influential Cognitive Process Model of the Composing Process (1981), Flower and Hayes described the composition process in three main stages: planning, translating, and reviewing. Planning processes, or subprocesses, involved generation and organisation of ideas, and relating them both procedurally and logically. Translating processes, in their use of 'translating', involved getting organised ideas into words in what was sometimes referred to as the drafting phase. The final reviewing phase involved revision and editing processes, and all along a monitoring function would oversee all processes, reading, checking, and rereading current text, evaluating everything that had been written or typed, both along the way and at the end. Such modelling would serve directly as at least a partial model of how translating came into being.

As many writers have attested, the process of writing often holds elements of discovery. E. M. Forster's 'How can I tell what I think till I see what I say?'[1] is a famous statement often taken to illustrate the point, one which is equally relevant for interlingual translation, as we know it. Translating a text is also very much a process of discovery, and a translator might be perfectly justified in asking: 'How do I know the meaning of a (source) text until I have translated it?' or 'How can I tell how to translate a text till I see my translation?' This suggests a strong creative overlap between composition and translating, and perhaps helps in understanding the traditional categorisation by librarians of translation as part of literature.

Function-oriented TS was in many ways also a discovery of the strong element of creativity involved in the process of translation. The entire first half of Hönig and Kussmaul's influential *Strategie der Übersetzung* (1982) was ironically entitled 'Das heilige Original', for it was a demonstration of the need for a translator to act and change and consider the pragmatic situations, both in which a text had been created and in which a translation of the text was to function, in order to create an adequate translation. To them it all depended on the communicative, pragmatic situation in question ('die jeweilige Situation', p. 20).[2]

Interestingly, two almost diametrically opposed ideas clashed within this functionalist tradition, with very notable consequences both for our perception of what translation is and for our ideas about what processes go on in translation. One line of thought (represented primarily by Katharina Reiss (1971, 1976) was that a source text (ST) somehow contains a full specification of what would be an 'adequate' translation of it. Careful ST identification of the dominant function in

1. E. M. Forster (1927) *Aspects of the Novel*. Often quoted as 'How do I know what I think till I see what I write?'

2. See also e.g. Kussmaul (1991, 2000, 2009)

a ST through '*übersetzungsrelevante Textanalyse*' would guide a translator to this adequate translation (with one or two genre-specific exceptions).[3]

Vermeer's *skopos* theory, by contrast, was a radical expression not merely of the regard for the new and independent purpose a translation would serve, but for its determinative influence on the translated text. In adopting this position, he virtually exploded the idea of exclusive or even special reliance on information in the ST.[4] Vermeer's insistence on the primacy of the *skopos* was so strong that he was sometimes understood as doing away with the ST. He was occasionally understood as almost reversing the reliance on ST analysis to reliance on in-depth analysis of the *skopos* of the *Translat* instead for sufficient specification of the translation, perhaps with a bit of reference to an ST or some source-language materials.

This confrontation has relevance not only for process studies but also very much for machine translation, which runs into serious difficulties if the assumption no longer holds that a source text somehow exhaustively specifies its own relevant translation(s) or at least contains sufficient clues for making it possible to construct a relevant translation, but has to be creatively constructed.

On a background of such differences of opinion it was clear that there was no direct way from the surface of an ST to a meaningful target text (TT) and that the process or processes involved were complex and not just required a lot of mental effort, but also a lot of creative effort (cf. Kussmaul 2000). On the other hand, there was a sense of having liberated translation studies from linguistics, philology, literary translation and, not least, from the equivalence fallacy. Henceforth, very few TS professionals would assume that ideas like 'sameness of meaning' or 'sameness of communicative effect' could be more than rough guidelines for translation.

1.3 Think-aloud verbalisation

Interest in the study of translation processes was strongly stimulated in the 1980s with the publication of a new method for exploring mental processes, viz. the think-aloud method, as presented by Ericsson and Simon (1980, 1984, 1993). Using think-aloud as their preferred method for eliciting verbal data and viewing translation as fundamentally a decision-making process (for which the flow chart was a suggestive analogy), the pioneers of process-oriented research

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3. Later versions of this view (e.g. represented by Nord 2005) shifted the emphasis and acknowledged the importance of audience considerations, and in fact increasingly saw the ability to adapt a target text to a variety of audiences and purposes or functions as part of a professional translator's competence.

4. The rift between the two positions is conspicuously evident in their joint book *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (1984).

Gerloff (1987), Krings (1986; 1995; 2001), Séguinot (1989), Danks et al. (1997) and Lörscher (1991) followed by Tirkkonen-Condit and Jääskeläinen (2000), and many others, succeeded in establishing a complex inventory of word and meaning operations, often labelled 'strategies', performed by translators.[5] The number of strategies identified culminated in Krings' *Texte reparieren* (1995), which listed eight main categories of processes related to source text, text production, machine translation (Krings was studying post-editing), target text evaluation, reference work, physical writing, global task, and non-task. These were further subdivided into 85 categories, several of which with additional subcategories, bringing the total to more than 200. All of these categories were established on the basis of think-aloud verbalisations by participants. In retrospect it is perhaps a little surprising that participants expressed an evaluation of their own target text, but not of the source text, and at a later point in time, reading (as well as writing) might have been perceived and also referred to as a physical process, in which case the number of process categories would have been even higher.

In the revised edition of *Protocol Analysis*, Ericsson and Simon (1993) discussed and countered criticisms of their approach, which involves elicitation of data concurrently with, and therefore very likely related to, the cognitive processes they claim to study, but the elicited concurrent activity is nevertheless not a necessary or naturally occurring accompanying activity of the process under investigation. Despite the claims made by Ericsson and Simon, the method potentially skews the primary cognitive activity under scrutiny, the phenomenon often referred to as 'reactivity' (Bowles 2010). Krings (1995; 2001) found that think aloud delayed translation by about 25% in his experiments, but did not suggest that the nature of the processing was affected. In the experiments reported by me (in Alves, ed. 2003, 69–95) this delaying effect was also documented. More importantly, the experiments comparing logged keystroke data from translation with and without concurrent think aloud also indicated that the think-aloud condition had a degenerative effect on segmentation. Therefore, at least in translation experiments, the think-aloud condition appears to have a negative effect on processing, and there seems to be a processing penalty to be paid for verbalisation in terms of additional cognitive load. This finding was made possible by means of keylogging, which was the start of what has come to be known as translation process research.

5. Jääskeläinen (2002) traces the history of TAP studies of translation from the beginnings until 2001.

2. Translation process research

Translation process research (TPR) has developed out of the combination of keystroke logging and eyetracking, supported by computational and statistical data analysis. A keystroke log is a complete record of all the editorial changes made by a translator during the typing of a translation (or other text). Deletions, revisions and additions are evidence of first ideas and second thoughts. Thus the log preserves the history of all the decisions that were made along the way, the decision-making process by which the final version came into existence. Since keystrokes are logged in time, it is possible to observe the temporal rhythm of the text production process. Words and sentences are rarely written (i.e. typed) at an even pace. They are nearly always produced in groups (segments) of words. In combination with eyetracking, keystroke analysis can be used to measure a kind of reaction time (or 'eye-key span', according to Dragsted 2010), viz. the time that elapses between the first fixation on a source-text word and the onset of the typing of the matching target-text word. Keystroke logging by itself can be used to discover regularities in translational behaviour, especially concerning editorial changes, production unit segmentation, and pause length distribution. However, when gaze information is added, and eye movements are recorded about a thousand times per second, a much closer view of the minutiae is generated of the way meaning is comprehended, reworked and formulated in new text.

2.1 Keystroke logging

Taking advantage of the fact that in the 1990s most texts and most translations were typed on computer keyboards, programmers developed software to log, replay and display different representations of the process by which keystrokes were made in time (e.g. Strömqvist's ScriptLog (Strömqvist and Karlsson (2002) for studies of writing processes, my own Translog more specifically for translation processes; and later also van Waes' more comprehensive program Inputlog (Leijten and van Waes (2006)). By this method a complete log could be created of all the keystrokes made in producing a text, including typos, pauses, deletions, changes, mouse clicks, cursor movements, etc. A certain temporal patterning of text production was generally observable and assumed to reflect the cognitive rhythm with which processing takes place. Schilperoord (1996) observed hierarchical temporal patterning of pauses between segments in oral dictation of routine letters.

My own invention of Translog (in 1995[6]) was in response to a personal research frustration with trying to make sense of think-aloud data. The elicited data was mostly very rich and suggestive, even seductive, in the sense that verbal data often seemed to be direct descriptions of the processes we were hoping to track or even had the appearance of explanations, e.g. of choices made between different solutions that had all been considered. On the other hand, quite often, and especially with professionals, verbalisation was less rich although performance and execution were both better and faster. This phenomenon has been observed by many others and has been dealt with very competently in the context of automation of processes into routine and even nonconscious processes as part of the development of expertise in skilled behaviour (Tirkkonen-Condit (2005), Tirkkonen-Condit and Jääskeläinen, eds. (2000), Ericsson et al. (2013)).

One serious drawback about trying to make inferences about cognitive processes on the basis of keystrokes only is that most of the relevant processing has been done before keystrokes are made. Early experiments indicated that a lot of spontaneous suggestions and false starts were typed because correction was so easy on the keyboard. The initial impression was that (many) translators had such excellent typing skills that a complete record of their typing carried information that would otherwise only be known from concurrent think aloud. A keystroke log typically records a large number of interim solutions, but from the point of view of making inferences about translational cognition the fact of the matter is that keystrokes are made only when most of the processing of the relevant chunk of text has been done. Keystrokes come at the tail-end of the translation or (post) editing process. First there is reading and construction of source text meaning. Then there is mental negotiation of how this meaning can be mapped onto a representation in the target language, and only then is there typing of that new rep-

6. The 1995 version was created for the DOS operating system and programmed in Pascal 5.5 by the author's son, Lasse Schou. The first Windows (3.1) version, Translog2000, was released at the end of 1999 and also programmed by him in Delphi 6. In the context of the EU Eye-to-IT project, he undertook to completely reprogram Translog, now using C# and Microsoft's .Net environment, Unicode8, and xml data formats. The chief functional addition was the program's ability to record and replay eyetrack data in sync with keystrokes, and an ability to interact with a gaze-to-word mapping (GWM) program. This full version was never distributed beyond our research partners in the project, but an identical version (without the eye-tracking and GWM components) was distributed as Translog2006 (still available at www.translog.dk). Most recently, professor Michael Carl and associates in the CBS CRITT centre have developed Translog II (from the previous Translog code), with a plug-in option for eyetracking. This program can be freely downloaded from http://bridge.cbs.dk under Resources, where instruction material can also be found.

resentation. What is reflected in the typing activity is therefore the discharge of a segment of information processed and temporarily available in working memory.

Optimal processing in human translation would involve a constant supply of processed ST meaning and TT mapping being fed into working memory at a rate allowing the translator to type (or dictate) continuously at maximum speed. However, since this situation rarely obtains, at least experimentally, for intervals longer than about half a minute (Jakobsen 2005a, 2005b), text production keystrokes tend to be clearly segmented into units reflecting the chunks of meaning that were processed either immediately before the keystrokes were made or starting before but overlapping to some extent with the period of typing.

2.2 Tracking and reading translators' eye movements

By adding eyetracking of translators' eyes as they read a source text on a computer screen and type their translation on the same screen, data is obtained from the very start of the process. In fact, process data is obtained all the way from start to finish, for eye movements are involved from the onset of the first reading activity all the way until the final TT word is looked at, or the last change is visually monitored. By definition, touch typists are capable of typing without simultaneously having to look at the keyboard, but even they frequently use their eyes to monitor their typing activity, either by occasionally looking at the keyboard (e.g. for rarely used keystrokes) or by visually monitoring text production on the computer screen from time to time. Therefore, the way translators read and monitor text (with both ST and TT on one screen) is quite different from the way text has been read in most studies of reading.

A translator's eye movements give a detailed picture of the complex processing involved in constructing meaning from a string of verbal symbols and representing that meaning in the symbols of a new language. Fundamentally reading progresses from left to right (with left-to-right writing systems) along one line at a time and from the end of a line to the beginning of the next line down, but reading is by no means a smooth succession of fixations strung together by forward-moving saccades. Rayner and Pollatsek (1989), Rayner (1998), Radach et al. (2004) and many others have shown that the calculation of saccade amplitude is a highly complex process depending not merely on parafoveal perception of word length, but also on parameters like probability of occurrence and familiarity with specific words and concepts. Whenever meaning construction fails temporarily, a regressive saccade moves the eyes back to a previous part of the text for reinspection. Fixations differ greatly both with respect to their duration in time and with respect to the number of times one and the same language item may be fixated.

The relationship between what the eyes are doing at any given moment in time and what the mind is processing is not as straightforward as was originally assumed by Just and Carpenter (1980). Sometimes the mind is ahead of the eyes and is already processing information represented by a word the eyes have not yet fixated. Sometimes the eyes move ahead so fast that the mind lags behind and has to catch up. Such temporal misalignment may cause an earlier or a later word to be fixated longer even if the processing concerned a neighbouring item. Therefore, there are at least three different ways in which the eyes may respond to processing difficulty: they may fixate an item longer, they may move on (and fixate a subsequent word while they wait for the mind to catch up), or they may execute a regressive saccade and refixate words already read. Eyetracking research is exploring the details of the eye-mind relationship, where the eyes seem to behave somewhat like a dog on a leash held by the mind rather than there being a perfectly straightforward relationship. Although any new hypothesis about this relationship will be relevant for TPR (and TS more generally), the specific interest for TPR lies in exploring the special kind of reading that is involved in producing a written translation.

Gaze data gives us much richer data than data in a keystroke log. A keystroke log basically only records the moment in time (with millisecond accuracy) when a key is struck, and what key that was. A log may contain other information as well, e.g. about what group or type the key was a member of, the number of the keystroke in the entire string of the emerging target text, the coordinates of its position on the computer screen, etc., but the two fundamental parameters are: What key? When? This means that if no key is struck for an interval of 30 seconds, no data is recorded during that interval.

Eyetrackers work very differently. They typically record the x/y coordinates of the pixel on the screen each of a participant's two eyes was recorded as looking at, at a speed between 60 Hz and 2000 Hz (i.e. between 60 and 2000 times per second). Thus, if there was an interval of 30 seconds with no gaze data e.g. because the participant was looking out of the window and not on the screen, a 1000 Hz eyetracker would report in 30.000 lines, each with a separate timestamp, that no gaze data was recorded.

High-frequency recording of eye movements is necessary both because our eyes move very quickly and because they are extremely actively engaged with performing a constant succession of relatively stationary fixations followed by very high-speed jumps ('saccades') when we translate. In normal reading, fixations typically last about 250 ms and saccades between 20 and 30 ms, depending on the length of the saccade, which means that in any one second during an entire task the eyes will make about four saccades and four fixations in different parts of the texts on the screen.

Most reading research has been done on monolingual reading of text, but the kind of reading found in translation is quite different, mainly because it requires alternating attention to two texts (one existing and one emerging) in two different languages. It has long been known that readers have different reading behaviours depending on the purpose for which they read. Already in the 1950s, Alfred L. Yarbus discovered that the task given to a subject strongly influences a subject's eye movements. If participants are asked to read a text which they will be asked to translate later, they automatically read it differently than if they are told that they will be asked to answer comprehension questions to check their understanding of it. In experiments in 2007 and 2008, Jakobsen and Jensen (2008) found that visual behaviour and attention was highly dependent on the kind of translation task a translator was performing. Reading a text for comprehension involves fewer fixations than reading a text out loud, for instance, and typing a translation typically involves a vastly increased number of fixations because reading while typing a translation involves constant shifts of visual attention from the reading of the ST to monitoring the production of the TT and then a shift back to the approximate location in the ST that was being read. This causes reading to be highly discontinuous and frequently results in several fixations before the original reading point is located. A post-editing situation is equally complex. The two texts involved are the source text and the translation of it made by an MT system, which the post-editor revises by constantly referring to the ST. Some interfaces work with more than two windows, which further complicates the itinerary of the eyes.

Eyetracking not only produces more data, but gives data with finer granularity so that by following the movements of the eyes, we get a much closer view of the way source text is read and how comprehension proceeds, and we also get a much closer look at the amount of monitoring work the eyes are involved in, with reading chunks of ST, checking typing, re-reading an ST chunk, moving the gaze from an attempted target text solution back to the ST and back to the TT again, perhaps several times. All of such gaze activity builds a far more detailed picture of certainties, uncertainties, assured and less assured decisions, oversights and the emergence of new solutions. Most importantly, and despite the eye-mind dog-on-a-leash relationship, it gives very graphic demonstration of what processing units are being processed at any given point in time.

2.3 Three basic assumptions of TPR

Since the start, translation process research (TPR) has departed from three basic assumptions. The first assumption is that cognitive ('mental') activity has observable and measurable behavioural correlates, which can be recorded as user activity data (UAD). In reference to the mind-brain divide, we can express this by saying

that what we experience in our mind has physical expression in the brain and may have further, more directly observable expression in the body, e.g. in facial expressions, in galvanic and other effects on the skin, in gesturing as well as in head and body movement, eye movements, movements of the speech organs in speech, and movement of the hand and fingers in writing and typing. These are all (micro)behaviours that happen outside the black box, but are presumed to have been effected by mostly conscious processes within it. Speech and writing are of course also such behavioural manifestations although we normally process them for content, not as behavioural evidence of mental processes. This is the mind-brain-behaviour correlation assumption.

The second assumption, inspired by such researchers as Goldman-Eisler (1972), Butterworth (1980), Schilperoord (1996) and others, is that the latencies ('pauses') between such behavioural and microbehavioural manifestations in the UAD are as important cues to cognition as the recorded manifestations themselves. This is the problem-processing effort-duration correlation assumption.

Thirdly, and less importantly, it is assumed that triangulation of quantitative, machine-recorded data with qualitative data elicited from the same event, either in concurrent TA sessions, (cued) retrospective sessions or by other means, has the potential to lead to stronger hypothesis generation. We have used 'triangulation' about analysis of combined sets of data deriving from one translation event, but primarily as a metaphor to suggest a conviction that a multimethodological approach is required. Translation is a complex activity combining several skills. It involves reading and writing skills in at least two languages plus the ability to reformulate meaning across two languages, and it frequently operates across several media (oral/aural, visual, printed and signed). It serves countless communicative and social functions and cannot be fully captured and understood from a single methodological perspective. Only a multimethodological approach will allow us to get the complete picture. This is the multimethod-stronger-hypotheses assumption, which is in perfect agreement with Holmes' original TS vision.

2.3.1 *Behavioural manifestations of translational processing*

Although a lot of speculation and introspection goes on in TPR, the first assumption means that the final court of appeal in TPR is always to empirical data, elicited ideally in real-life translation situations, but mostly, so far, elicited in lab simulations of real-life translation situations. The known unknown here is the extent to which findings in a lab environment can be used to predict real-life behaviour. The effect of the lab environment on the performance of individual participants appears to vary considerably, which makes such projection very difficult at the individual level.

In order to minimise bias and achieve an acceptable level of ecological validity, a welcoming atmosphere in the lab is important. Participants must be carefully and honestly prepared for the kind(s) of task they are asked to do in an experiment (without revealing the experiment's specific research purpose), and if there is a choice, non-invasive technologies should be used. There are huge advantages to doing research in a lab, where it is possible to exercise considerable control over many variables, like participant recruitment, experimental tasks and conditions, available resources, observational and recording tools used, etc., and where data elicitation and collection is easy. All of this is far more difficult with field studies in naturalistic environments, but of course a lab is a lab, and participants' performance in translation experiments, or other types of skilled human performance, is potentially quite different from the same individuals' performance in real life.

Each technology imposes different constraints on an experiment. In the CBS CRITT centre we have used different versions of Translog for logging and timing keystrokes. The interface has been a standard Windows interface since 2000, very simple to navigate for what was required of participants. And yet, to most participants, it was a new piece of software, and participants sometimes found that some functions which they expected to be available were not available or worked slightly differently. In such cases, the functionality of the software may have skewed the data. The absence of a browser function inside Translog has frequently been commented on both by participants and researchers. Participants often complained it was unnatural for them to translate without instant access to Internet information, and many researchers who saw Internet searches as important data for understanding translation processes, felt it was unnecessarily complicated to have to run screen recording software concurrently with Translog to record this information. Such complaints both indicate the precariousness of direct projection of results obtained in the lab to real-life situations and also the increasing dependence of translators on producing their translations in interaction with some kind of electronic support.

The focus on timed keystrokes, where the number of keystrokes or 'events' was easily (automatically) divisible into text production keystrokes, text elimination keystrokes, cursor movement keystrokes, mouse clicks, and miscellaneous operations (e.g. copy-paste) was a distinct advantage from the point of view of research. This focus enabled us to automatically generate a primitive profile of a participant's text production and, when combined with the total task time, also to obtain a very primitive measure of a participant's text production speed (text production keystrokes per minute) and text production efficiency (text production keystrokes divided by the total number of keystrokes). Neither of these measures said anything about the quality of the product, of course, and if there is indeed a link from process to final product quality, it has not yet been found.

The known unknown that we were primarily after was what principle or mechanism triggered the chunking or segmentation of the emerging TT, which was so directly visible in the (speeded) Translog replay of recordings. How much individual variation was there? Was inter-individual variation an effect of differences in typing skill? Did variation correlate with different levels of translational expertise? Did chunking vary with the directionality of translation? Or with the relative degree of the translator's bilinguality? With reading and parsing skills in the source language? With writing skills in the target language? How much could be put down to the typological (un)relatedness of the two languages involved? Was text type a relevant parameter? How did chunks correlate with grammatical units such as words, phrases and clauses? Did segment boundaries coincide with syntactic boundaries in the source and/or target text, or did they coincide rather with translational difficulties with semantic mapping? And, crucially, what was going on in these intervals? Was some of the time between chunks spent on monitoring previous text, in which case how much, or was all or some spent on planning new text? From a methodological point of view it was also important to find out about potential reactivity of concurrent think aloud and ask if chunking was affected by concurrent verbalisation in tasks involving think aloud. A more cognitively-oriented line of inquiry would lead to the question if chunking might reflect processing units at a deeper, perhaps more primitive, level than that represented by traditional grammatical analysis and be a reflection of how much information our working memories are capable of processing in one go. Or could chunking be seen as a fundamental cognitive rhythm of alternating periods of activation and rest? Were the chunks we saw output from our mind's work on what might be understood as translation units?

All of such circumstances, and more, are potential co-determinants of the jerky emergence of new target text, and all of the above questions have indeed been the topic of research over the past few years. The addition of data from eyetracking has moved the level of analysis to a much more finely-grained level, which has produced new questions. Although many tentative answers have already been given, much still remains insufficiently explored.

2.3.2 *When is a pause a pause, and what happens in them?*

When studying translation processes experimentally, researchers cannot overestimate the importance of different levels of observation and analysis, of the 'granularity' of their data and their analytical concepts, and the kind of patterning in the data they are looking for. If data is recorded with millisecond (ms) accuracy, pattern regularities (by temporal criteria) may be found at all levels. It might be discovered in manifestations with a duration of just one ms, with intervening pauses ranging between 80 ms and 250 ms. In a keystroke log, such a sequence might

represent continuous typing, and if our research was aimed at identifying inter-keystroke temporal variance, a pause would have a typical duration of between 80 ms and 250 ms. If our research was aimed at examining transitions between keystrokes depending on whether or not they coincided with morpheme boundaries, our idea of the typical duration of a pause might still be the same although, if we expected additional processing to occur at morpheme boundaries, we might expect slightly longer pause durations here, but the general level of granularity would still be the same. Alternatively, if we wanted to establish processing units at a higher level, e.g. boundary intervals between the observable chunks by which target text tends to be produced, a pause would perhaps be closer to a range between 2000 ms and 5000 ms.

The resolution (or granularity) of the technology used for our recordings sets a lower limit for what can count as a pause, but apart from that the definition of what counts as a pause is, at least in principle, entirely dependent on the phenomenon a researcher has decided to investigate. Why only in principle? Because, as we explore the rhythm with which translations seem to be produced, we may and in fact hope to discover that very short or long pause durations, in the keystroke data as well as in the gaze data, are unequally distributed and tend to cluster around certain duration bands bounded by threshold values, revealing structure. When Schilperoord (1996) studied lawyers' oral dictations of routine letters, he found that pauses were scalar and became progressively longer with increases in the length of the (syntactic) unit dictated. Pause duration between phrases was longer than between words, and longer between clauses than between phrases, longer between sentences than between clauses, and longer between paragraphs than between sentences. In cognitive terms, these findings make perfect sense. The longer the unit produced, the more time is needed to plan and monitor the unit.

Taking her lead from Schilperoord's findings, Immonen (2006) reported findings in a study of pause duration in monolingual text production versus pause duration in interlingual text production (translation). Working with Translog, she was able to increase the granularity of her study in comparison with Schilperoord's and study pause duration all the way down to inter-character keystroke intervals. What she found was that the progressive increase in pause duration between ever larger text production units applied all the way from inter-keystroke intervals and up, in the case of monolingual (L1) text production, thus supporting and expanding Schilperoord's findings, as well as finding that they also apply to written text production. However, when comparing findings with translational text production (into the L1), she found two interesting differences. Firstly, at and below the clause level, intervals between units were longer for translation than for monolingual text production, even though typing was in the same (L1) language. Secondly, intervals were progressively longer in translational text production only up to the

clause level. Between sentences there was a levelling off of difference, and between paragraphs pause durations were shorter than in monolingual text production. Evidently, the time penalty involved in working in the translational mode was more than compensated by the processing advantage involved in being (generally) able to copy sentence structure and in not having to plan and structure content at paragraph level.

Such findings strongly support the assumption that there is a basic correlation between the occurrence and duration of latencies in the typing of a translation and the amount of processing effort expended at a given location within a processing chunk or between chunks. TS needs many more experiments of this kind to find out the extent to which such beautifully regular patterning in the distribution of pauses applies generally across language pairs and across different levels of transition and typing expertise.

2.3.3 *Alignment and triangulation of keystroke and gaze data*

With the integration of gaze data, translation process research has only started to look for similar patterning. Carl (2009, 2011) has developed a method for visualising gaze and keystroke data and aligning this data with source text items in so-called progression graphs. In contrast to triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data elicited and recorded from the same translation event, progression graphs depend on alignment of two sources of electronically recorded quantitative data, sets of keystroke and gaze data, both of which are aligned (still manually) with ST items. Such graphs provide an overview of a translator's 'profile' or macro-level translational behaviour, and often illustrate (different) behaviour(s) in the three main translation phases: pre-drafting, drafting and end-revising. It immediately shows if a translator began by reading some or all of the source text before embarking on the translation. It shows how far ahead a translator read before typing a translation of a chunk. It shows how much a translator went back to rework already translated text in the drafting phase, and it shows when and how end-revision was done (Dragsted and Carl 2013). Thereby a progression graph quickly identifies a translator as somebody who starts without much initial orientation or with more careful initial orientation, who in drafting is a large-context or small-context planner, an online or end-reviser, a backtracker, and the like.

What has turned out to be much more difficult (and therefore now a known unknown) is what patterning can be identified at the micro-level. A very tentative and not terribly informative suggestion was made (by myself) in Alvstad et al. (2011). The six-step sequence suggested there was based on observation of reading/typing patterns in the experimental setup with a source text at the top half of a screen and a target text input screen in the bottom half of the screen and intro-

duced the concept of 'anchor' word(s), both in the ST and already existing TT. The extent to which such patterning can be statistically supported still awaits analysis.

2.4 On theoretical uses of translation process data

Progression graphs are only one way of exploiting translation process data. Process data from a translation or post-editing environment can also be used to test TS hypotheses from a new empirical perspective, e.g. such current theories of human translation universals as explicitation, gravitational pull, and facilitation. Explicitation (Englund Dimitrova 2007) describes the fact that very often, and perhaps universally, meaning that is only implied in the source text will be stated explicitly in the target text. Relevant mark-up of existing recordings would show the prevalence (if not the universality) of explicitation in our recordings. The assumption of a gravitational pull (Halverson 2003) is intended to explain the occurrence of an overrepresentation found in translations of certain salient 'schematic' linguistic phenomena that are not present in the source language — a hypothesis which aims at explaining familiar observations in translated texts of normalisation, simplification, reduced type-token ratio, etc. Facilitation (Englund Dimitrova) refers to the experience that translation of a long text gets gradually easier, partly through the accumulation of domain-specific knowledge and partly through the reoccurrence of expressions. This could also be tested on existing recordings on the basis e.g. of text production speed and segment length. If these are indeed translation universals, we can expect to see manifestations of all three in the activity of the translator/post-editor as well as in the final outcome.

Process data can also be used to throw light on the literal-translation-default hypothesis as formulated by Ivir (1981), a hypothesis which is closely related to the monitor model as formulated by Tirkkonen-Condit (2005) and to Toury's law of interference (1995 (Part IV)), and possibly also to the gravitational pull hypothesis (Schaeffer and Carl 2014). In this particular case, however, it seems that TS might also benefit from looking at what is going on in neighbouring disciplines and might perhaps end up having something to contribute. A basic assumption in TS has been that a translator's first automatic impulse is to look for a word in the target language that is formally like or identical with the word in the source text. According to the monitor model, this is how translation proceeds, until the monitor steps in and stops this default process. Perhaps a look at neighbouring disciplines may help us improve our understanding of this important function or 'law'. Neurolinguists (de Bruin et al. 2014) have found (both from EEG measurements and from fMRI scans) that our brains appear to distinguish sharply between inhibition (which comes first) and monitoring (which appears to be a more reflexive

operation)[7]. Do our hypotheses take account of this distinction? Neurologists and neuroscientists are exploring mirror neurons and theory of mind, and cognitive psychologists discuss the 'common coding' theory, which links perception and action. In a similar vein, Pickering and Garrod (2013) have launched the notion of an 'emulator' in our brain, which is active both in language comprehension and production and mirrors production during comprehension and vice versa. To my knowledge the consequences of this idea for the way a bilingual translator's language processing might be perceived have not yet been fully explored. While our general idea about interference may not be wrong, we need to constantly confront our theories and hypotheses with what is going on in neighbouring disciplines, both if we want to sharpen our TS hypotheses and if our ambition is to contribute outside our own TS field.

3. Concluding remarks: remaining unknowns

With the technological changes over the past couple of decades, the conception of what constitutes translation has itself undergone considerable change. The film industry, for instance, has created a huge new market for subtitling skills. Post-editing of machine-translated text is another new field requiring a new set of skills, which combine traditional source-text-to-target-text translation skills, intralingual rephrasing and original text-production skills, and insight into the way an MT system operates. By the contemporary norm, the translator is no longer a neutral mediator, a passive reflector of meaning. The translator is now generally perceived as an agent responsible for guaranteeing a loyal representation of source text meaning, of course, but also for ensuring readability and comprehensibility of the communication, not just in terms of making sense in a new language, but in terms of being easily accessible by target readers whose knowledge background may be radically different from that of the original target readers of the text. Whenever expert-to-expert communication has to be communicated to non-experts, there is a need for meaning to be radically reformulated, often both interlingually and intralingually. The transformations needed from the stage at which a text is circulated among experts until it reaches the end user are typical of the kind of language skill translators are expected to have.

Somewhat surprisingly, Holmes mentioned machine translation and machine-aided translation only in his discussion of partial translation theories (Section 3.1221), developing the idea of 'medium-restricted' distinctions between translation performed by humans (oral or written), translation performed

7. I am grateful to Katharina Oster for this information.

by machines, and translation performed by a human translator and a computer 'in conjunction'. This last procedure describes the way most translations are now produced. Most translations are now made 'intelligently'. What this means is that translations do not emerge out of a single human translator's intelligence, but out of a human translator interacting with an 'intelligent' translation program created by a team of translation experts and computer scientists who are, in a sense, invisible co-authors, so that increasingly translations do not clearly have a personal, individual sender. This state of affairs has affected our perception of the nature of translation, of the processes involved, and has generated a new area not just for TS theory but more obviously for DTS.

DTS must seek to describe the nature and quality of this new interaction between the human agent and the machine (which has of course been programmed to mediate the thinking of humans, but does not always succeed in appearing to do so). It must seek to describe how this new style of production affects both the process(es) and the product. In order to respond fully to the change in the way translations are now produced, applied TS (as indicated by Holmes) needs to include studies of how translation machines, translation memories, and translation workbenches are constructed. How translation software interfaces affect translators cognitively and perhaps even ergonomically. How new technologies affect translators' workplaces, both socially and economically. There are also distinct ethical considerations involved when individual authorial responsibility can no longer be clearly identified.

For the majority of such lines of inquiry, the methods employed in TPR are well suited. Translation support applications are currently created in such a way that in addition to offering translation suggestions based on the system's knowledge of the source text, its MT and TM capacity, its knowledge of previously translated portions of the current ST, and its knowledge of possible target language constructions and possible continuations of an emerging clause, i.e. in addition to trying to guess a user's text faster than the user, the system will constantly study and remember the user's preferences and adapt itself to optimally supporting this particular translator's needs and preferences. The current EU CASMACAT project (Cognitive Analysis and Statistical Methods for Advanced CAT)[8] proposes to build the next generation translator's workbench, which promises to improve productivity, quality, and work practices in the translation industry. One very interesting thing about this project is its attempt to build a translation workbench which integrates system development with results of cognitive studies of actual translator behaviour based on key-logging and eye-tracking. Data from users' behaviour is examined in order to better understand how interfaces are used, to determine

8. http://bridge.cbs.dk/projects/casmacat/

translator types and styles, and to build a cognitive model of the translation process, all of which, when implemented in the final workbench solution, means that as the system is used by a translator, the system will be studying the translator, and adapting itself to this particular translator's needs and preferences. The project studies post-editing primarily, with translation suggestions from an MT system that operates interactively with the user. That is to say, any input from the translator immediately generates a new set of premises for the system, on the basis of which new translation suggestions will be made, including local predictions on how to continue or complete a sentence. On the part of the user, this interactivity can be mediated not only in traditional keyboard typing, but can take place in other modalities also, such as by means of an electronic pen or by means of gaze information mapped to a particular word on the screen. In a coordinated, supplementary project (SEECAT[9]), experiments are made with spoken input in different languages handled by a speech recognition system. Interactivity and multimodality in human-computer interaction are currently setting an important TS agenda.

This shows how a new recursive cycle of work has developed across all the main branches within TS. Insight derived from descriptive, technology-oriented research into translators' cognitive processes and their (micro)behaviour is used in the development of new applications, which are designed not only to support the user (the translator) with all manner of suggestions, but to study the translator as s/he is using the system, all of which leads to new modelling of translation, new translation theory, in an iterative process. A sceptic may wonder how translators of the future will cope with sitting in such a hall of mirrors. But the recursive cycle may also be seen as a means of much more strongly integrating all of the elements in Holmes' disciplinary utopia.

TS also needs to keep looking at what goes on in outside disciplines. The vision of opening up the black box and getting a direct view of, or at least a peep into, the activity in the translator's mental workshop has a way of continually receding into the distance as we try to get closer. We have self-knowledge and can speak about what we think goes on in our brain, but what we report, e.g. in a think-aloud translation event, is what we remember was on our mind. How the content of this conscious awareness of what we think goes on in our brain is generated is still very much a matter of speculation. What we experience in our mind is still not well connected with what we see and measure from outside or even inside the brain. Even with the study of event-related potentials in neurolinguistics, the fascinating pictures we get from fMRI of active areas in the brain when certain tasks are performed, and even with the promises of neuroscience, we are still looking at the black box, and what Holmes called the 'act of translation itself' from the outside.

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9. http://bridge.cbs.dk/platform/?q=SEECAT

We can keep speculating and theorising, and our speculation and theorising will take account of everything we think is known about the brain and cognition, but we are still a long way away from understanding the 'act of translation itself'.

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Une traductologie pour quelles pratiques traductionnelles ?

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Les trous noirs de la traductologie vont de pair avec les transformations des pratiques professionnelles en traduction. Ces transformations suscitent l'émergence de nouvelles dénominations de ces pratiques, ce qui ne facilite pas l'appréhension des marchés. Dans le même temps, la réflexion traductologique s'internationalise. Par ailleurs, le développement des technologies continue à brouiller les manières de produire, de distribuer et de recevoir les « textes ». Ces évolutions rapides répondent souvent à la seule logique économique, toujours ignorée cependant dans les travaux traductologiques.

Après l'euphorie des années 1980–1990, la traductologie, longtemps alimentée par les textes littéraires canoniques et sacrés, semble marquer une pause : son objet se semble plus évident, sa pertinence sociale fait question, sa fragmentation apparente apparaît tantôt comme un handicap, tantôt comme un signe de vitalité. D'où les six inconnues qui concluent l'article.

Translation studies for what translation practices?

The black holes in Translation Studies (TS) go hand in hand with changes in professional translation practice. These changes have given rise to new terms within translation practice, including new job titles, and these do not always promote better understanding of the various translation markets. At the same time, TS is becoming more international. In addition, the increased use of technology is blurring the ways in which "texts" are produced, distributed and received. This rapid development is often linked solely to an economic rationale, still largely ignored in TS.

After the productive years of 1980–1990, with a predominant focus on canonical and sacred texts, TS seems to have come to a standstill: its object is uncertain, its social relevance is questionable, and its fragmentation is sometimes perceived as a handicap, sometimes as a sign of vitality. This article describes our consequent movement towards six known unknowns in TS.

Les réflexions qui suivent sont certainement fragmentées, à l'image de notre vécu actuel, tendu entre certaines valeurs (solidarité, interactivité) et une logique

implacable de concurrence, supposée apte à satisfaire la seule logique financière, avec ses conséquences de flexibilité, de précarité, de stress, d'insatisfaction au travail.

Elles sont aussi délibérément placées sous la figure tutélaire de Hermès — dieu du commerce, interprète et médiateur entre les dieux et les hommes ou entre les mondes inconnus, souterrains et le monde physique, avec autorité sur les routes et les marchés ainsi que sur tous les territoires similaires à ce qu'on appelle aujourd´hui frontières, zones transnationales, et autres espaces fluides des voyages et des mouvements migratoires — Hermès ou l'image des fonctions contradictoires et des rôles multiples du traducteur. Une telle approche fragmentée et hermésienne pourrait mettre en évidence la connaissance consciente de nos insuffisances en traductologie.

Après avoir esquissé certaines perspectives, liées au changement des pratiques professionnelles et à l'impact des technologies, nous soulignerons la nécessité d'une approche plus économique de la traduction. Il sera alors temps de s'interroger sur le devenir de la traductologie dont l'objet demeure ambigu et dont la pertinence sociale reste problématique.

1. Prospectives à moyen terme

Comment la traduction peut-elle aider à la transition potentiellement violente vers une société globale, quand elle-même est liée à la violence, au moins de deux façons ? La première forme intervient dans l'opération même qui n'est jamais absolue et qui comporte une sorte de violence symbolique et métaphorique envers le document de départ. Toute traduction est sujette à la possibilité d'autres traductions mais l'institution de traductions standards, acceptables, privilégiées régit à la fois l'échange linguistique et l'organisation sociale. C'est là le second aspect de la violence inhérente à la traduction : elle touche la dimension historique de la praxis sociale, intervenant précisément lorsque l'indétermination est résolue, dépassée par l'institutionnalisation. C'est pourquoi toute politique de traduction doit aborder la segmentation de nos sociétés entre majorité et minorités — établies selon le genre, la classe sociale, les composantes ethniques et raciales, les différences postcoloniales ou culturelles. Violente, comment la traduction peut-elle désamorcer la violence ? Mais d'abord considérons ses pratiques différenciées contemporaines.

1.1 Changements drastiques des pratiques professionnelles

A la demande accrue de traductions correspond aussi une diversification du rôle des traducteurs (Gambier 2001/2002 : 19–25) — d'où leurs interrogations actuelles sur leur intervention, sinon leur activisme, qu'ils traduisent pour une

organisation internationale, une multinationale, une association ou dans un réseau de bénévoles (Gambier 2007b). D'évidence, travailler à la fois pour l'OCDE, *The Wall Street Journal*, une entreprise de télécommunications et les forums sociaux (altermondialistes), les réfugiés…peut apparaitre comme une gymnastique périlleuse, parfois opportuniste mais être entre deux, être médiateur n'implique pas d'être au-dessus des réalités contradictoires. Les fonctions diverses de la traduction (entre circulation des idées et rapport d'hégémonie, entre construction des identités collectives et influence socio-politique, entre conquête d'un marché et accumulation de capital symbolique) ainsi que les fonctions multiples du traducteur (disséminer des informations, diffuser des connaissances, permettre l'action, rapporter des événements, soutenir une idéologie, etc.) soulignent le fait qu'on travaille toujours dans un contexte de liberté surveillée où sont imbriquées les logiques économiques, financières, culturelles. Trois remarques s'imposent ici.

La première est un rappel nécessaire : la traduction /interprétation n'est qu'un moyen parmi d'autres pour régler les relations et communications internationales multilingues (Lambert 1989 : 233). En effet, selon les époques, les rapports de pouvoir, d'autres solutions ou stratégies existent :

- on peut reconnaitre la langue de l'autre et l'apprendre — c'est un investissement à long terme qui peut se révéler finalement d'une part moins risqué et moins coûteux que la traduction/interprétation (par un intermédiaire) et d'autre part favoriser la diversité linguistique et culturelle, (cf. les efforts de promotion du multilinguisme par l'Union Européenne).
- On peut mettre en place la coexistence alternée des langues ou bilinguisme passif (chacun pratiquant sa langue, sans devoir passer par une quelconque médiation).
- On peut pousser à la mise en place d'une lingua franca — cette langue commune pouvant être imposée (ex. le russe hier en Europe de l'Est), artificielle (ex. espéranto), tierce (ex. le français dans certains pays africains, l'anglais parfois en Belgique ou en Suisse…pour ne pas avoir à choisir l'une des langues locales). L'anglais dans les sciences, les affaires remplit aujourd'hui cette fonction (House 2003), comme naguère le latin dans les échanges lettrés. La lingua franca peut aussi faire office de langue pivot, au détriment alors des contacts bilatéraux directs (Gambier 2003) : ainsi, une partie de la littérature japonaise est désormais connue en finnois une fois filtrée par les éditeurs anglo-saxons, c'est-à-dire à la fois sélectionnée par eux et traduite selon leurs directives et normes.

A ces formes de coopération, avec leurs difficultés et leurs malentendus possibles, s'ajoutent au moins deux autres stratégies qui excluent :

- on peut se barricader, s'enfermer derrière un mur pour ne pas être exposé à l'autre, pour s'en séparer — de la Grande Muraille de Chine, des murs romains aux remparts des villes médiévales, du mur de Berlin au mur dit de sécurité entre Israël et les Palestiniens, des clôtures entre les Etats-Unis et le Mexique ou entre les enclaves espagnoles et le Maroc, des 4000 km de barbelés entre l'Inde et le Bangladesh aux grilles et caméras de surveillance des quartiers-bunkers (gated-communities) ou ghettos du gotha !
- On peut supprimer l'autre, favorisant l'épuration ethnique, l'ethnocide. Des exemples récents (dans l'ex-Yougoslavie, au Rwanda, au Cambodge) confirment que cette solution n'appartient pas au passé.

Ce rappel permet de replacer la traduction dans les enjeux des politiques linguistiques[1] et de balayer toute naïveté quant à la croissance irrémédiable des demandes en traduction. Dans ce tableau, je n'ai pas mentionné les diverses possibilités d'automatisation de la traduction qui satisfont déjà certains besoins plus ou moins volumineux et plus ou moins urgents (Section 1.2).

La seconde remarque porte sur la prolifération relative des étiquettes, pour éviter le recours au terme « traduction », trop vite assimilé au mot-à-mot. Il ne s'agit pas ici et maintenant de s'arrêter sur les fondements de cet éclatement des dénominations (dans toutes les sociétés ? dans toutes les langues ?) touchant le transfert, le passage, le transculturel — travail qui se paie, avec de l'argent, par de l'anonymat et de l'indifférence souvent. Je ne pense pas aux catégories traditionnelles comme traduction spécialisée ou littéraire, interprétation de conférence ou de communauté — catégories qui relèvent de la tribu des traducteurs. Je pense aux étiquettes qui s'imposent dans divers milieux professionnels — commanditaires, demandeurs de traduction, mais niant le mot, au profit par exemple de : localisation, transcréation, adaptation, documentation multilingue, *editing, transediting*, rédaction technique multilingue, médiation langagière, versionisation, révision, co-rédaction (de textes juridiques par exemple), etc.

Deux raisons au moins expliquent certainement cette prolifération relative : la « traduction » resterait confondue toujours avec le mot à mot ; le concept de texte, avec le développement des multimédias (c'est-à-dire du langagier mêlé au visuel, au sonore, au graphisme, etc.), n'est plus perçu comme suite linéaire de phrases. Cette double justification dit combien l'idée de « traduction » et l'univers des traducteurs demeurent parfois archaïques aux yeux de beaucoup et suscitent des résistances (Gambier à par.). Cela n'empêche pas que les mêmes milieux des affaires,

1. Les marchés de la traduction (littéraire, scientifique) sont au moins doublement structurés : par les aires linguistiques et par les Etats-nations — les deux ne se recoupant pas nécessairement et étant eux-mêmes structurés entre centre et périphérie (par exemple au sein de la francophonie).

de l'audiovisuel, de l'industrie de l'informatique, etc., vivent eux-mêmes sur des archétypes, préférant ainsi concevoir la langue comme une mécanique statique plutôt que comme une dynamique, préférant envisager la communication comme un ensemble d'informations plutôt que comme une interaction, préférant affirmer qu'un message, c'est une concaténation de données plutôt que l'expression d'une identité.

Plusieurs conséquences sont à tirer de cette pluralité de désignations qui ont le mérite au moins d'expliciter divers aspects de la traduction :

– il devient plus difficile de connaitre l'évolution des marchés, avec leur logique, leurs instances et leurs agents, si on ne peut obtenir des données fiables sur les demandes (actuelles, prévisibles, latentes ou potentielles) et offres d'aujourd'hui (Gouadec 2002 : 87–115 ; 2007 : 120–145). Les services de traduction ne sont pas en effet l'apanage des traducteurs déclarés ; par ailleurs, certaines agences dites de traduction proposent d'autres services (édition, cours de langues, production de sites Web) tandis que pour des compagnies spécialisées en communication, en publicité, en marketing, la traduction ne représente qu'une partie mineure de leurs services. Enfin la sous-traitance et la délocalisation ne permettent pas toujours d'éviter les doubles calculs, rendant ainsi les données collectées à partir de l'offre peu fiables. Une part du volume de traductions dans les grosses entreprises, comme par exemple celles de logiciels, peut être ainsi réalisée en interne et une autre achetée à l'extérieur. Un relevé statistique devrait donc plutôt se faire à partir des clients. Cela ne saurait indiquer toutefois l'ampleur du marché latent, potentiel c'est-à-dire des documents qui pourraient être traduits si les coûts étaient moindres, si le travail était plus rapide, si les ressources pour faire les traductions étaient plus connues ou plus accessibles. Certes existent quelques statistiques internationales établies, par le Common Sense Advisory Inco. (en ligne, 2006), par Language Technology Center (2009) sur l'évolution des industries de la langue, par Eureval (2010) et quelques statistiques nationales (par ex. en Belgique, en Finlande, en Grande-Bretagne où une nouvelle nomenclature des activités économiques devrait inclure la catégorie « traduction et interprétation »). Mais dans tous les cas, les chiffres et les indicateurs de marchés sont sujets à caution : pour l'heure, nous n'avons ni les moyens ni les outils pour dresser un bilan de la mondialisation en traduction, pour anticiper le devenir des besoins, pour projeter l'évolution des demandes entre traduction littéraire et traduction technique, avec tous les intermédiaires possibles (traduction de presse, audiovisuelle, etc.) et encore impensés (traduction automatique avec synthèse de la parole ?).
– Une enquête statistique servirait bien sûr à mieux traiter les besoins en traducteurs pour le futur, et donc à se préoccuper dès maintenant des exigences

nécessaires pour accréditer les professionnels de demain et à adapter en conséquence les cursus de formation (Combien de traducteurs qualifiés faudrait-il former ? Quelles seraient les langues de travail à privilégier ?)

– Autre question corrélée à la pluralité des désignations : celle des attentes. En effet si les clients ont leurs propres attentes, déterminées par leurs types de communication, par la nature de leurs messages échangés, encore est-il qu'il faudrait qu'ils comprennent aussi ce qu'ils sont en droit d'obtenir d'un traducteur. Ils devraient être sensibilisés aux différences entre ce que produit un professionnel et ce que propose un amateur et être informés des implications d'une assurance qualité.
– Enfin, on peut s'interroger sur l'organisation socio-professionnelle de ceux qui pratiquent ces métiers langagiers. Leur collectivité apparaît désormais fragmentée, avec des traducteurs « naturels » (sans formation ad hoc ni nécessairement conscience de ce qu'est une « bonne » performance — comme de jeunes migrants interprétant leurs proches), des traducteurs « experts » dont certains auraient acquis leurs compétences par observation et expériences tandis que d'autres auraient reçu une éducation formelle — tous ne devenant pas obligatoirement « professionnels » c'est-à-dire gagnant leur vie uniquement en traduisant. Peut-on continuer à les traiter tous comme membres d'une corporation homogène, unique et forcément nationale ? Les localisateurs n'ont pas les mêmes exigences et contraintes que les traducteurs salariés de l'UE, ces derniers n'ayant pas non plus les mêmes conditions de travail que les pigistes aux contrats temporaires et épars (Gouadec 2002 : 71–83 ; 2007 : 92–109). On notera qu'en interprétation, des pratiques différentes (de conférence, auprès des tribunaux, auprès des services publics, etc.) tendent aussi à se hiérarchiser, fragmentant une communauté désormais partagée entre le marché des organisations transnationales et le marché privé. Quant aux traductologues, ils sont rassemblés dans diverses associations assez hétéroclites, parfois nationales (CATS/ACT, Association canadienne de traductologie ; ABRAPT pour le Brésil ; KSCI pour la Corée du sud ; JAIS pour le Japon ; ATISA pour les Etats-Unis), parfois par zones linguistiques (WATA pour le monde arabe ; AIETI pour la péninsule ibérique), parfois dans des regroupements transnationaux (EST pour l'Europe ; IATIS pour l'international), parfois par spécialisation indépendamment des origines géographiques (AIIC pour les interprètes de conférence ; EAMT pour les chercheurs en traduction automatique) (Gambier 2003b).

Les évolutions des désignations des métiers qui reflètent celles des fonctions, des spécialisations et des modes de travail (en équipe, en réseau — Abdallah & Koskinen 2007) indiquent que désormais la traduction est une notion à négocier

alors que les effets de la technologisation des discours, de l'industrialisation des langues, de l'informatisation des communications modifient les attentes envers ce qui est traduit, les conceptions du texte et de la contextualisation, les manières de lire.

La troisième remarque est plutôt conceptuelle mais n'est pas disjointe de la seconde : comment requalifier *traduction* tandis que non seulement les pratiques se différencient mais que la réflexion traductologique s'internationalise, s'ouvre à d'autres cultures (Tymoczko 2005 ; 2007 : ch.2) ? Toury dès 1980 (1980 : 14, 37, 43–45) ne s'est pas embarrassé de définitions essentialistes, abstraites, posant d'emblée qu'une traduction est « n'importe quel texte cible présenté ou perçu comme tel dans le système cible lui-même » — auto-définition sans a priori, permettant à une société de s'auto-représenter comme elle le veut mais qui reste muette sur les phénomènes traductionnels à inclure (surtout quand on utilise d'autres désignations que *traduction*[2]), sur les critères choisis pour identifier (ou rejeter) certains textes comme traductions, sur les corrélations éventuelles entre ces traductions identifiées et d'autres processus et produits culturels. Aux concepts voisins dans le temps (comme *mimesis*, *appropriation*, *imitation*, *commentaire*), s'ajoute désormais la multitude de ceux qui sont employés dans l'espace du monde contemporain (indien, chinois, arabe, turc, malaisien, etc.) — remettant dans une nouvelle perspective notre notion de traduction comme transfert et soulignant avec force son historicité. La *traduction* est caractérisée ici ou là comme retournement, explication, substitution, transcréation, métamorphose, transvasement, etc., mettant l'accent tantôt sur la médiation, tantôt sur la similarité ou la différence (Chesterman 2006).

Ainsi donc la transformation des pratiques, la pluralité des concepts obligent à réinterroger ce qui, pendant plusieurs siècles dans nos pays, est apparu comme relativement stable, limité à certains textes (religieux, littéraires). Un tel héritage n'est pas aujourd'hui obsolète mais il reste à le repenser pour intégrer de nouvelles réalités (des métiers autres ici, des représentations différentes là), aves les conséquences socio-institutionnelles à en tirer.

1.2 Traduction, multimédias, technologies

Peu de personnes aujourd'hui nieront le développement des traductions/localisations dans les multimédias, que ce soit pour les produits audiovisuels, les sites web, les jeux vidéo (ces derniers par ex. ayant actuellement un poids économique

2. Nombre de publicités et d'informations télévisées, par exemple, sont produites selon un processus traductionnel mais ne sont pas perçus comme traductions.

plus lourd que l'industrie cinématographique). Mais cette reconnaissance est un peu courte :

- elle néglige les transformations induites déjà par la numérisation dans la production, la distribution et la circulation des films, des clips, des documentaires, des jeux et donc la place du traducteur dans ces processus. Comme Walter Benjamin (1936) l'avait prédit, « la reproductibilité technique » devrait affecter la diffusion des images, leur statut et leur concept même.
- Elle sous-estime le développement de supports comme le DVD, la vidéo sur demande, la diffusion en direct ou différé de flux audio/vidéo sur l'Internet (streaming), les appareils portables (téléphones mobiles, iPod) qui suscitent de nouvelles demandes, de nouveaux besoins, comme de nouveaux formats (très courts métrages de quelques minutes) et qui exigent des traductions rapides, ciblées, écrites ou orales.

Pour l'instant, le domaine de la traduction audiovisuelle (TAV) reste dominé par des descriptions isolées, souvent linguistiques, marquées par le passage de l'oral à l'écrit, ou traitant de « problèmes » particuliers (référents culturels, humour, sociolectes, mots tabous, etc.), non spécifiques à la TAV. Si une part des recherches en TAV est purement taxinomique, une autre aspire à une certaine neutralité à travers un discours qui ne se veut qu'informatif. Ainsi les Catalans nous disent sur la télévision catalane, les Italiens sur la télévision italienne, etc. Où sont les travaux sur la domination de l'anglais, langue de départ et langue-pivot, sur la convergence entre l'industrie AV et les fournisseurs d'Internet, sur la concentration verticale entre production, distribution et programmation ? Qu'en est-il des liens entre économie et technologie qui conditionnent inévitablement les coûts ?

La traduction, depuis maintenant plusieurs décennies, a été définie comme un acte linguistico-culturel complexe de communication, recontextualisant un message dans/pour une autre situation, parfois pour une autre fonction. Mais, à cause d'un certain nombre de logiciels, elle semble ici et là basée seulement sur des mots, comme si elle (re)devenait un simple transfert formel, mécanique, comptable — comme la traduction juxtalinéaire privilégiée par des programmes de traduction automatique et des mémoires de traduction (travaillant avec et sur des segments décontextualisés). La TAV semble désormais porter sur l'opposition entre l'approche communicationnelle et l'approche verbatim. Ainsi, dans le sous-titrage en direct et les sous-titres intralinguistiques pour sourds et mal-entendants ou pour servir les besoins des migrants, d'apprenants en langue, le dilemme est soit de rendre tout quasiment mot à mot, avec des moyens de traduction assistée par ordinateur qui accroit la productivité, soit de condenser les réparties en tenant compte de l'environnement AV et du public visé. Ou encore, les sous-titres des fans de certains films, réalisés sur le Net, sont plus littéralement rendus, raccourcissant le

temps de lecture et donc moins soucieux de prendre en considération les efforts cognitifs des spectateurs.

Est-ce à dire que dorénavant le futur de la traduction est entre les mains d'amateurs (transférant des mots grâce à des outils informatiques en libre accès) ou à la merci d'une entière, ou presque, automatisation, avec des exigences ou pas de pré- ou de post-édition, de révision, comme pour le sous-titrage en direct (s'appuyant sur la reconnaissance vocale pour changer les réparties orales interprétées en sous-titres, ou comme pour le sous-titrage interlinguistique pouvant se réaliser en combinant divers logiciels (reconnaissance de la parole, programme de compression automatique, mémoire de traduction, système statistique de traduction automatique) ?

Ce défi sur l'extension de l'intégration des moyens électroniques recouvre un autre défi entre professionnels encore à calculer leurs prestations aux mots ou à la ligne et des utilisateurs prêts à traduire gratuitement avec des logiciels faciles d'emploi, entre des projets en collaboration internationale d'hyper-spécialistes et des traductions collectives d'amateurs (Gambier, à par.). De fait, se développent des réseaux de bénévoles, en particulier pour le *fansubbing* dans le cas de la TAV, le *crowdsourcing*[3] (ou externalisation d'un travail en faisant appel à un large groupe d'internautes volontaires), les plateformes virtuelles de traduction (comme Google Translation Center, Traduwiki, etc.). Il est difficile dans ces conditions d'enquêter sur l'identité et le profil des traducteurs en ligne. De même paraissent s'éloigner de plus en plus les possibilités de reconnaissance, d'accréditation des métiers de la traduction. Quoi qu'il en soit, avec ce développement, se pose d'urgence la question économique de la traduction.

2. Un tournant économique en traductologie ?

La traductologie a connu bien des tournants en trois décennies (linguistique, culturel, idéologique, sémiotique, cognitif, sociologique, etc.), tournants[4] qui donnent un peu le tournis alors que dans le même temps perdure le souci, parfois inquiet, d'une reconnaissance par l'université et les autres disciplines. La suite de tournants n'a pas échappé non plus à des effets de mode : ainsi ont pu un moment piloter en apparence le domaine le modèle Vinay-Darbelnet, la théorie interprétative, la

3. Sorte d'intelligence partagée, de compétence collective.

4. L'idée de *turns* est sujette à caution : elle donne à penser que les réflexions théoriques se succéderaient et seraient suivies comme un seul homme par les traductologues, comme si ces derniers n'avaient pas à affronter certains 'problèmes' qui diffèrent selon les moments et les lieux. Elle reflète une certaine conception de l'histoire de la traductologie qui reste à écrire (Voir Section 3.3).

théorie du *Skopos*, la verbalisation concourante (TAP), l'agenda à la Venuti, l'approche par corpus, la perspective dite cognitive, l'orientation à la Bourdieu, etc. Après avoir mis l'accent sur les textes, le focus est désormais sur le traducteur — boite noire ou agent, quand bien même on insiste sur la traduction comme service ou industrie. Paradoxe : on abandonne des postures textualistes comme si le traducteur était le seul maitre à bord, d'où sans doute le retour en force du subjectivisme. Dans cet ensemble, manque toujours le chainon économique, déjà déploré par Pym (Pym et al 2006 : 12), c'est-à-dire la question des coûts, des investissements, des modes de paiement, etc. — cette dimension économique faisant partie d'une sociologie de la traduction et des traducteurs. De l'agence multinationale, souvent aujourd'hui gérée par un non-traducteur, à la maison d'édition, soucieuse de conquérir de nouveaux marchés (Heilbron et Sapiro 2002 ; Sapiro 2008, 2009), de l'institution internationale ou gouvernementale, rétribuant un service de traduction, à l'ancien enseignant qui fait payer au noir ses traductions pour arrondir ses fins de mois, les dimensions économiques et financières ne sauraient davantage être négligées, comme facteurs orientant, sinon déterminant, certains choix et décisions. Il ne s'agit pas d'imposer un modèle économique aux échanges traductionnels, de les réduire à des marchandises mais de comprendre les effets des conditions de travail, les transformations des pratiques. On a déjà signalé (1.1) les lacunes portant sur notre (mé)connaissance du marché, pluriel, évolutif, distinct selon les volumes de la demande, les moyens utilisés pour satisfaire cette demande, et la nature de la relation qui lie le traducteur à son commanditaire.

Ce marché peut être local, ouvert, accessible à tout le monde c'est-à-dire n'importe qui, de celui/celle qui connaît la langue en question à celui/celle qui sait manipuler tel ou tel logiciel. Il est aussi fragmenté, offrant de petits contrats irréguliers, et portant sur des textes variés quant à leur teneur et leur longueur — depuis le dépliant pour un hôtel au prospectus promotionnel d'une PME. Il est alimenté par des pigistes, des free lances — que ce soit des amateurs (sans formation idoine), des débutants (étudiants fraichement diplômés ou pas en traduction), ou des professionnels bien implantés avec une ou deux langues de travail et qui ont réussi à fidéliser un nombre donné de clients. Sur ce marché atomisé, les coûts sont plutôt aléatoires (les donneurs d'ouvrage n'ayant pas ou peu idée des tarifs applicables, des enjeux de la qualité de la traduction). La traduction y apparaît comme un pis-aller souvent, qu'on rétribue au minimum.

Le marché protégé implique une demande plus spécifique, touchant aussi bien les exigences de qualité que les documents à traduire qui représentent des enjeux financiers, commerciaux ou sont contraints pour des raisons de sécurité ou légales. Les clients sont plutôt avertis et veulent que leurs notices d'exploitation, de maintenance, d'entretien, leur brochure de présentation, leur rapport annuel, leur offre publique d'achat, leur site Internet respectent une certaine terminologie,

une mise en page donnée. L'offre doit alors, si possible, satisfaire plusieurs langues et les délais rapprochés. Prennent place sur ce marché les agences de traduction — qu'elles soient un pool de traducteurs salariés ou qu'elles fonctionnent comme réseau de traducteurs indépendants, expérimentés. Ce marché protégé est régional ou national et est porté par des entreprises commerciales et industrielles de taille moyenne, tirées par l'exportation. En Finlande, il exige des traductions bi-directionnelles, à partir et vers les langues étrangères.

Le marché global est plutôt concentré. La gestion des projets, des ressources humaines, des moyens techniques obéit à des standards et procédures de contrôle de qualité explicites, même si le travail est délocalisé, sous-traité. Les prestataires de service (agences multinationales) sont alors organisés, avec des critères de fiabilité et de productivité déclarés, avec une division du travail plus ou moins poussée techniquement et géographiquement. Ils peuvent satisfaire de gros volumes de traductions et répondre à des demandes variées touchant la nature des documents à rendre, les langues à utiliser, les supports pour le produit final. Ce marché industriel de la traduction (incluant la localisation, la rédaction multilingue, l'*editing*) impose certaines normes, y compris financières, à l'ensemble des marchés.

Les marchés régional et global peuvent accueillir le débutant pour un stage ou pour un contrat à durée déterminée, quitte qu'après une certaine période, ce débutant préfère devenir sous-traitant d'un ou de plusieurs donneurs d'ordre. D'évidence, selon la taille du marché et les langues de travail, cette division du marché peut se complexifier : en Finlande, il est plutôt rare de pouvoir survivre comme traducteur littéraire, juridique ou technique ; même les agences hésitent à s'hyperspécialiser dans un domaine unique — médical ou pharmaceutique par exemple. Par contre, l'arrivée d'agences multinationales, par exemple dans l'audiovisuel, a bousculé certaines pratiques et certains tarifs. En fait, les trois marchés distingués (local et ouvert, régional et protégé, global et concentré) (Gouade 2002 ; 2007) ne sont pas étanches l'un par rapport à l'autre, tant que les métiers de la traduction ne seront pas régulés, reconnus, accrédités dans leur accès et leur pratique, comme d'autres professions libérales (médecins, architectes, avocats, notaires, etc.).

Autre aspect économique non négligeable : comment les compétences en langues étrangères affectent-elles les performances des entreprises ou, en d'autres termes, comment une politique linguistique, souvent implicite, a un impact sur les politiques de traduction, souvent non-dites ?

Une enquête internationale (2008), menée sous la direction du Centre national des langues britannique (National Centre for Languages) et commanditée par la Direction Générale de l'Education et de la Culture de la Commission Européenne, révèle que 11 % des PME européennes exportatrices (945 000 firmes) perdent des affaires à cause des barrières linguistiques, ignorant que le russe, l'allemand et le

polonais sont utilisés dans l'Europe orientale, que le français l'est dans nombre de pays africains, que l'espagnol est courant en Amérique latine ! Moins de la moitié de ces entreprises ont envisagé une approche stratégique de la communication multilingue (recrutement de natifs, adaptation de leur site web, recours à des agents locaux, offre de cours de langue au personnel, emploi de traducteurs/interprètes).

Comme rare exemple d'analyse ponctuelle sur les liens entre politique économique et publication de traductions, on a la brève étude de John Milton (2007) sur le Brésil entre 1930 et 1945 — âge d'or de la traduction dans le pays grâce en partie aux tarifs douaniers élevés — puis entre 1954 et 1973 (d'abord dans la période « développementaliste » (1956–1961) et suite au coup d'Etat militaire de 1964). On y ajoutera, du même auteur, ses réflexions à partir du cas du Clube do Livro (Milton et al. 2000; Milton 2001) sur le « factory translator », quand on traduit pour la grande consommation.

D'autres analyses, sur d'autres marchés, seraient bienvenues, comme par ex. sur politique linguistique et marché des jeux vidéo. Mais à ces études de macro-niveau devraient s'en ajouter d'autres de micro-niveau (cf. Mosso 2006 ; Pym 2004b: 141–157), quel que soit le domaine sur lequel portent les traductions (médical, technique, commercial, juridique, AV, littéraire, etc.) — par exemple :

- sur la comparaison des coûts entre la traduction/interprétation et les autres moyens de régler les communications multilingues internationales (cf.1.1 et ci-dessus);
- sur l'empreinte écologique d'un traducteur à l'Ouest et en Inde, traduisant un même texte, d'un interprète qui voyage ou qui fonctionne en vidéoconférence (coût, productivité et environnement);
- sur la traduction comme business proprement dit, notamment sur ses coûts en rapport avec les délais, les exigences de qualité ;
- sur les dépenses de fonctionnement et de dysfonctionnement de l'organisation de la traduction dans une entreprise commerciale, bancaire, etc.;
- sur les effets financiers des systèmes de mémoire de traduction quand ils accroissent la productivité ou au contraire l'entravent faute de correspondants ad hoc entre les segments, quand il faut modifier, corriger ces systèmes ou que ceux-ci sont partagés à plusieurs ou quand il faut réviser de façon approfondie le texte traduit ;
- sur les coûts et implications financières de l'emploi de logiciels en traduction assistée, automatique, avec ou sans pré-/post-édition ;
- sur les comparaisons des modes de paiement des traducteurs (au mot, à la ligne, à la page, à l'heure, au nombre de lecteurs (du livre traduit) ou de visiteurs de site web ;

- sur les retombées économiques des changements dans la division du travail, avec nouvelles tâches, nouvelles procédures, nouvelles manières dans les prises de décision, nouveaux rapports au document de départ (achevé ou en cours de rédaction) ;
- sur les conséquences financières des localisations, réussies ou pas, de sites web ;
- sur les coûts de la révision, de la relecture, selon leur place et leur fréquence dans le processus de travail et les attentes suscitées (par ex. révision en interne alors que la traduction est externalisée)
- sur l'impact financier du recours au seul anglais, dans les communications internationales d'une entreprise (par ex. effet d'une publicité ou d'un slogan sur les ventes) ;
- sur les modes de sélection et de recrutement des traducteurs indépendants dans une agence de traduction, dans une entreprise…et les modes d'évaluation de leurs services rendus ;
- sur les coûts et effets de l'emploi d'un interprète de communauté, qualifié ou amateur, dans les consultations médicales (cf. enquête 2008 par Ribera et al.)
- sur les rapports entre les contraintes financières et d'une part les retraductions, d'autre part les « adaptations », avec coupes et ajouts, de pièces de théâtre, de BD, de livres pour enfants, de publicités, etc.

Depuis les marchés de l'offre et de la demande jusqu'aux effets de la technologisation, depuis l'organisation du travail au quotidien jusqu'aux conséquences des fusions d'entreprises (des cultures d'entreprise), la palette est large pour traiter des dimensions économiques et financières des traductions et interprétations, des métiers de la traduction. Il y a là un défi d'interdisciplinarité entre traductologie et études commerciales qui est à peine relevé aujourd´hui, malgré son urgence puisque nombre de décideurs ne comprennent que le langage de l'argent. Un tel défi commande de questionner les formations des traductologues dont on voit bien qu'ils sont pris entre les impacts des technologies sur le travail du traducteur et les effets des communications multilingues à l'ère de la globalisation.

3. Vers quelle traductologie ?

Les deux éléments constitutifs de la traductologie — son objet et son institutionnalisation — peuvent-ils perdurer avec les changements décrits précédemment tandis que la notion de connaissance se modifie à l'aune de ses pertinences sociales éventuelles ?

3.1 Un objet à géométrie variable

On a souligné la multiplication des étiquettes dans les pratiques professionnelles et la différenciation conceptuelle dans la réflexion qui s'internationalise (Section 1.1). Quelle que soit son extension sémantique et professionnelle, elle n'a de cesse de dépasser le pseudo dilemme théorie vs pratique, si on ne réduit pas la première à une panoplie de recettes (prescriptives) et si on perçoit la seconde autrement que comme application de routines (Shlesinger 2009).

Qu'en est-il de certaines formes d'échange ? L'adaptation d'un roman au cinéma, le remake d'un film — exemples de recontextualisation, avec éventuellement changement de l'idéologie, des registres linguistiques, des éléments culturels, de l'intrigue, de l'organisation narrative, des points de vue — sont encore rejetés comme sources d'investigation traductologique, sauf s'il y a un changement de langue (la traductologie porterait alors exclusivement sur l'interlinguistique). Qu'en est-il des moyens, produits et résultats des technologies de la langue, comme la transformation des répliques interprétées (orales) en sous-titres (écrits), comme la retranscription automatique du langage des signes sous forme de texte (système SignSpeaker) ? Faut-il maintenir séparées les *Translation Studies* des *Adaptations Studies*,[5] centrées sur les versions intersémiotiques, intralinguistiques ? (Milton 2009). D'autres appels, des Intercultural Studies, du Knowledge Management, de la Médiologie, par exemple, se font entendre. Il ne s'agit pas de rendre la traductologie cannibale de disciplines voisines ni de prêcher un éclectisme oecuménique pour occulter la fragmentation actuelle mais de s'interroger sans cesse sur les objets et problématiques qui définissent (toujours momentanément) la traductologie, cette « polydiscipline » (Morin 1986) reconnaissant la complexité, sans prétendre à une unité factice tout en devant rechercher la « consilience » (Chesterman 2007). Celle-ci pourrait émerger en répondant à la question de la pertinence sociale des recherches traductologiques.

3.2 Pertinence sociale de la recherche

La pertinence sociale de la recherche en traductologie est un sujet débattu depuis quelque temps déjà, au moins depuis la table ronde à ce propos organisé lors du 3ème Congrès de l'EST à Copenhague (août 2001) (cf. par ex. Pym 2004a ;

5. Traduction, adaptation, interculturel : ces domaines sont diversement développés géographiquement et institutionnellement mais ne s'interrogent-ils pas tous sur nos manières de traiter, de gérer les différences communicationnelles, que ces différences soient au niveau linguistique, sémiotique ou culturel ?

Gambier 2005 ; Gile 2007, 2009, 2010). Cette pertinence peut être comprise de différentes manières :

- comme éclairage ou même explication de certains phénomènes sociétaux, socio-culturels (pas obligatoirement liés à la pratique immédiate), où sont utilisés des traductions, des traducteurs (par ex. sur le rapport entre lecture de sous-titres et apprentissage des langues) ;
- comme moyen parfois indirect, plus ou moins à court terme, à coûts plus ou moins élevés, pour traiter de sujets qui ont des retombées sur la collectivité — sans que nécessairement la recherche soit dite appliquée (par ex. sur la professionnalisation des interprètes de communauté, sur les effets de l'automatisation sur la qualité du travail, sur la directionalité en traduction et interprétation, sur les conditions et moyens de l'accessibilité dans les médias AV, etc.) ;
- comme forme d'activisme ou prise de position délibérée dans le champ même de la traductologie, dans ses orientations et ses actualités, lui donnant une tournure idéologique explicite (par exemple sur le choix des traductions à analyser, sur la sélection des auteurs observés, sur les situations d'interprétation en temps de guerre ou lors de catastrophe naturelle, etc.).

Il ne s'agit pas de transformer la recherche en 'solutions' à des 'problèmes' qui seraient définis par les seuls chercheurs, dans leur seul intérêt. La pertinence implique le dialogue entre les disciplines, entre les acteurs sociaux dont les traducteurs et les traductologues : elle ne peut se confondre avec l'instrumentalisation de la recherche. D'une certaine façon, on retrouve ici les tensions et contradictions liées à la professionnalisation de la formation des traducteurs et des interprètes (Gambier 2001). Plutôt que d'opposer théorie à pratique, recherche fondamentale (toujours désintéressée ?) à recherche appliquée, tour d'ivoire à monde réel, science à social, à un moment où la société civile interpelle de plus en plus les scientifiques, la traductologie doit s'interroger non pas sur son efficacité directe, selon une logique de résultats prégnants aujourd'hui dans nombre d'activités et de services, mais sur les choix qu'elle fait — dans ses corpus, ses terrains d'observation, ses méthodes d'approche, sur les retombées éventuelles de ces choix (par ex. au niveau des thèses de doctorat, des programmes de recherche subventionnés par l'Union Européenne, etc.), sur la dissémination de ses résultats. Cette interrogation recoupe les exigences de l'auto-réflexion.

3.3 Réflexivité nécessaire et historiographie encore à faire

La traductologie affirmera son champ en s'ouvrant à d'autres disciplines, en diffusant ses acquis et en assumant sa brève histoire comme « discipline » universitaire et « domaine » de connaissance.

Un des aspects fondamentaux de la sociologie de Bourdieu,[6] souvent passé sous silence mais éclairant ses postures politiques des années 1990, est la permanente interrogation sur la position paradoxale du sociologue vis-à-vis de ce qu'il observe, commente, fait, écrit. Certains ont douté de la pertinence, de la légitimité scientifiques des efforts de Bourdieu sous prétexte qu'il avait ses revues (*Actes de la Recherche en sciences sociales, Liber* (1989–1998)), sa collection (Liber), son Centre de recherche (Centre de sociologie européenne), sa chaire au Collège de France (1982–2001), ses éditions (Raisons d'agir), confondant ainsi critique scientifique et dénigrement, remise en cause des processus de domination et invective. Il n'en reste pas moins que ses constantes réflexions sur ce que peuvent le sociologue et la sociologie — depuis *Le métier de sociologue* (1968) jusqu'à *Esquisse pour une auto-analyse* (2004), en passant par ses ouvrages de 1980, 1981, 1982, 1992 (avec Wacquant) et 2001, devraient nous aider à penser l'identité du chercheur, comme d'ailleurs d'autres travaux sur la réflexivité portant sur d'autres domaines (par ex. le management : Alvesson et al. 2008).

Cette situation paradoxale n'est pas propre à la traductologie, transdiscipline réflexive dont l'épistémologie est coextensive au discours de recherche qu'elle tient : elle rejoint par exemple l'ethnographie (cf. Buzelin 2004). Jusqu'où les expériences pratiques dupent-elles, changent-elles l'approche et le dire du théoricien ? Jusqu'où ce dernier peut-il, doit-il s'appuyer sur son rôle de traducteur ? L'enseignant-chercheur est souvent à la fois informant (traducteur ou sujet-praticien suivant des directives) et chercheur (traductologue ou sujet épistémique), c'est-à-dire juge et partie. Si les intuitions et questions issues de la pratique sont sources d'inspiration, quelles expériences professionnelles prend-on en compte aujourd´hui dans les recherches ? Vu la diversité de ces vécus, à la fois dans la teneur et les conditions de travail, peut-on croire embrasser toutes les réalités ? Est-on apte à les décrire et les expliquer toutes ? Tant que la traduction se bornait à des genres de texte assez conventionnels (contrat, brevet, article, mode d'emploi, certificat de mariage, etc.), dans des domaines assez bien circonscrits (économique, scientifique, militaire, agricole, énergétique, etc.), pour des besoins relativement précis, le chercheur pouvait développer ses grilles d'analyse et d'interprétation à partir de ses propres expériences ou en extrapolant à partir de celles

6. Sur le développement d'une sociologie de la traduction, et notamment de l'influence de Bourdieu à ce propos, voir entre autres Wolf et Fukari (eds) 2007.

des autres. Qu'en est-il quand les environnements se transforment radicalement avec les technologies de l'information et de la communication (TIC), quand les documents deviennent multi-sémiotiques, quand les contraintes de production et de distribution des communications internationales multilingues s'éloignent des modèles établis ? (Pym 2004b). Une expérience limitée ne suffit plus sans doute à alimenter la réflexion, à réorienter les directions de recherche, à créer de nouvelles problématiques. Bref, les enjeux et canaux de communication ne sont plus les mêmes qu'il y a encore trois décennies. Cela explique-t-il l'abondance actuelle de discours sur la traduction au détriment de la recherche qui semble marquer une pause ? L'objectivité visée est-elle conciliable avec la loyauté envers le groupe socio-professionnel du chercheur-traducteur et son éthique ? (Hekkanen 2007). Pour ne pas d'une part réduire l'activité du traducteur à des conditions sociales d'apparition et d'exercice et pour ne pas d'autre part occulter son travail de ces mêmes conditions sociales, le traductologue a à se retourner sur sa propre trajectoire, ses choix de chercheur, pour comprendre les sources de ses positions et de ses prises de position[7] — sources qui mêlent état du champ traductologique à un moment donné et origines, formation de l'individu. C'est ce que Bourdieu s'est appliqué à lui-même dans sa leçon d'ʻauto-socio-analyseʼ lors de son dernier cours au Collège de France (publié en 2001). Une analyse de la sorte oblige à penser contre ses propres conditionnements et habitudes, à reconnaître ses sources antérieures, à discuter les objections faites, à expliciter et mesurer les enjeux de ses discours, à désapprendre pour réapprendre.

Ni confession, ni autobiographie, un tel effort crée la distance pour appréhender la genèse, l'usage de certains concepts en traductologie, pour mettre à jour les impensés,[8] les « inconscients académiques » dissimulés dans tout ce qui va de soi, touchant par exemple les catégories de perception, les emprunts interdisciplinaires, les méthodes d'enquête, les logiques institutionnelles, les propositions spéculatives, les prétendus modèles explicatifs, le recours non questionné à une

7. Des traductologues font semblant aujourd'hui de découvrir que tout discours, y compris traduit, est un engagement, a sa part de subjectivité, reflète et reproduit de l'idéologie. Avec plus de 30 ans de décalage sur les apports des analyses de discours, de la sociolinguistique, des réflexions de M. Foucault. Est-ce le prix à payer pour une interdisciplinarité paresseuse et une anglomanie conquérante ? Autre exemple : l'invisibilité selon Venuti est déjà présente chez Meschonnic (*Pour la poétique* II, 1973 : 307) : « la notion de transparence, avec son corollaire moralisé, la ʻmodestieʼ du traducteur qui ʻs'effaceʼ appartient à l'opinion, comme ignorance théorique et méconnaissance propre à l'idéologie qui ne se connait pas elle-même ».

8. Comme dans la théorie du *Skopos*, l'idéologie de l´ʻefficacitéʼ (communicationnelle) dans un mode de compétition ; comme, liées à la notion d'agent, les notions d'individualisme et de calcul du risque ; comme, en localisation, l'apparition du *workflow* et du management (*team management, project management*).

lingua franca, etc. Berman (1989) a été sans doute l'un des premiers à poser les jalons pour la saisie à la fois des tâches et des discours de la traductologie. La compréhension de nos opérations, des représentations qu'on se fait de nos pratiques, y compris de nos pratiques discursives, relève d'une socio-traductologie encore à construire, pour rompre à la fois avec un certain idéalisme et avec le relativisme qui restreint les recherches et les chercheurs aux déterminismes socio-historiques. Les projets de socio-biographie (Simeoni 1995), les autoportraits de traducteurs littéraires (Lauber 1996), les récits de vie (Torikai 2009) sont également d'autres moyens de mise à jour des logiques à l'œuvre dans les efforts traductologiques.

Une mise en perspective historique, s'interrogeant sur les situations socio-culturelles des chercheurs, prenant en considération les emprunts conceptuels et méthodologiques à d'autres disciplines (linguistique textuelle, psycholinguistique, sémantique, neurolinguistique, anthropologie, sémiotique, études interculturelles, etc.), permettrait d'appréhender hypothèses, problématiques, notions-clés, modèles.

A notre champ polymorphe, se rattache une multitude de méthodes (qualitative/quantitative, analytique/herméneutique, empirique/'libérale', etc.) dont les origines, les cadres de formation sont souvent refoulés, comme si elles étaient universelles, comme si l'histoire des sciences sociales et des humanités en Europe croisait celle de l'Asie. L'extension ainsi que les emprunts disciplinaires (conceptuels et méthodologiques) de la traductologie, comme son métalangage (Gambier & van Doorslaer 2007), se doivent donc d'urgence d'être interrogés.

Les modes d'approche et de légitimation du champ sont-ils pareils, de l'Europe à la société chinoise, de l'Amérique du Nord à la communauté indienne, de la fédération russe aux Caraïbes, à l'Afrique ? Par ailleurs, la traductologie doit-elle reprendre à son compte la conception d'une histoire qui a dominé longtemps par exemple en littérature — histoire perçue comme continuité chronologique avec filiations, croisements, dettes, etc., à la manière d'une évolution biologique ? Quelle est la conception de l'histoire dans une approche systémique de la traduction — linéaire, en reflet, romantique, dialectique, nationale, cyclique ? C'est, entre autres, envisager la place et le rôle du traductologue, dans le devenir de sa discipline — avec ses permanences et ses changements, ses catégories et ses représentations, ses a priori et ses innovations, ses paradigmes et ses hésitations, ses critères de preuve et ses lieux de transmission (D'hulst 1990). La traductologie n'impose aujourd´hui aucune grille de lecture, aucun système de références, aucune autorité incontournable, évitant de la sorte querelle de chapelles, clivage générationnel, sectarisme ou cloisonnement (ce qui n'exclut pas les hyperspécialisations en son sein, d'où le sentiment de fragmentation). Et pourtant dans les conférences et revues qui prolifèrent, inhibant sans doute le dialogue avec d'autres champs, les échanges sont rarement multidisciplinaires : puisse la revendication d'interdisciplinarité d'hypothèses, de méthodes, de perspectives devenir aussi désir d'indiscipline !

4. Pour récapituler

Les divers points soulevés dans les sections précédentes recoupent très certainement les quatre grands secteurs de la traductologie (scientifique, critique, pragmatique et publique) proposés par Koskinen (2010). Suite à ces réflexions, on peut dire ce qu'on ne connaît pas encore :

- si le mot traduction, aujourd'hui s'appliquant à des pratiques différenciées, va continuer à être utilisé : l'ère de la post-traduction a peut-être commencé. Il n'empêche : si on ne perd pas nécessairement en « traduction », on perd toujours sans elle. Il y a quelque chose de pathétique à vouloir sauver le mot, comme si son abandon était un signe de défaite de la traductologie !
- Si la traduction, malgré ses racines humanistes, va se déshumaniser à l'extrême avec l'automatisation et transformer nos manières d'interagir avec l'étranger, en se plaçant entre les mains tantôt d'hyper-spécialistes, tantôt d'amateurs.
- Si la traductologie va savoir aborder de front les aspects économiques et financiers, sans doute un des moyens radicaux de renforcer la légitimité des traductions et des traducteurs aux yeux de certains (gros) utilisateurs.
- Si la traductologie va s'ouvrir enfin aux autres disciplines dans un dialogue traitant des métamorphoses incessantes des modes de communication, des documents à diffuser.
- Si les traductologues, aptes à l'auto-analyse, sauront être des polyvalents par expériences pour renouveler leurs problématiques et méthodes d'investigation.
- Si la traductologie (ou tout autre nom qu'elle portera à l'avenir) saura disséminer ses acquis, ses résultats, ses interprétations aux publics concernés et intéressés.

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The neuroscience of translation

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The neurological mechanisms involved in translating and interpreting are one of the chief known unknowns in translation studies. Translation studies has explored many facets of the processes and products of translation and interpreting, ranging from the linguistic aspects to the textual aspects, from the politics of translation to implications from cognitive science, but little is known about the production and reception of translation at the level of the individual brain and the level of molecular biology.[1] Much of this terra incognita will be explored and illuminated by neuroscience in the coming quarter century, and significant discoveries pertaining to language processing in translation will be made during the coming decade, linking observable behaviors at the macro level with knowledge of what happens in the production and reception of translation at the micro level of the neuron and the neuronal pathways of the brain.

In the past three decades powerful new techniques for observing brain function in healthy living individuals have been devised. To a large extent neuroscience has become a rapidly developing field because of new technologies that make it possible to monitor the brain as it actually works, to document neural pathways, and even to track the activity of specific neurons. This article focuses on discoveries in neuroscience pertaining to perception, memory, and brain plasticity that have already achieved consensus in the field and that have durable implications for the ways we will think about translation in the future.

1. Introduction

The neurological mechanisms involved in translating are obviously one of the chief known unknowns in translation studies. Translation studies has explored many facets of the processes and products of translation and interpreting from the perspective of linguistics, textual studies, cultural studies, and cognitive science

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1. In the remainder of this essay I will include interpreting under the rubric of translation, which I see as a process that can be both audio-oral and textual.

(among others), but little is known about the production and reception of translation at the level of the individual brain and the level of molecular biology. This is a frontier of research on translation. Scholars have initiated research monitoring translation processes through think-aloud protocols (TAPs), eye tracking, keystroke tracking, and various forms of analysis of interpreting. Some neuroimaging of translators translating has even been undertaken. Nonetheless, to a large extent the individual translator is still conceived in translation studies as a "black box". Moreover, translation studies has hardly even begun to inquire about the reception of translations at the cognitive or neurological level of the individual receiver. Much of this *terra incognita* will be explored and illuminated by neuroscience in the coming quarter century, and significant discoveries pertaining to language processing in translation will be made during the coming decade, linking observable behaviors at the macro level with knowledge of what happens in the production and reception of translation at the micro level of the neuron.

In 2005, addressing the topic "Trajectories of Research in Translation Studies" at the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of *Meta*, I suggested that one of the most important areas of future research in translation studies would involve neuroscience.

> Perhaps the most radically new and illuminating research in the coming decades will result from the investigation of translation by neurophysiologists. At present the activity of individual translators continues to be opaque to scholars. Some clues are garnered by tracking the working choices of translators with computers that remember and time all work; other research attempts to open up the process by looking at translators' journals or recording their think-aloud protocols. But all these methods are primitive at best in indicating what actually occurs in the brain as translators move between languages…
>
> [The] immensely powerful, interesting, and important areas of research opening up in the near future will radically change the way translation is thought about and approached. They will also radically change the structure of research in translation studies. Biologists interested in language, language acquisition, and bilingualism will become central players in translation studies. The locus of research will move from individuals to groups, and research teams will evolve that bring together translation scholars, cognitive scientists, literacy and language experts, and neurophysiologists (Tymoczko 2005: 1092–93).

When I made these statements, I little expected that I would begin to investigate this subject myself "and become the author of a book titled Neuroscience and Translation (forthcoming).

My interest in the neuroscience of translation was piqued, however, in the course of writing *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators* (2007). Before beginning to write that book, I had become interested in how to theorize a

cross-cultural field such as translation studies and how to think about and define a cross-cultural concept such as translation. These were subjects central to my interest in internationalizing translation studies, moving the field beyond the parochial presuppositions and interests of Eurocentric cultures. I had become dissatisfied with the treatment of the concept of translation in the discipline because I felt that most studies underestimated the problematic of defining and modeling translation itself, particularly in the face of radically different cultural and linguistic circumstances, including those in which translation is primarily an oral phenomenon governed by the patterns of oral cultures.

In writing *Enlarging Translation*, therefore, I undertook in-depth explorations of approaches in cognitive science to concepts and categories. The more research I did, the more it became apparent that translation studies needed to take a more sophisticated and nuanced approach to the concept of translation itself, not to mention cross-cultural manifestations of translation. This research is reflected in Chapters 2 and 3 of the book, and it underlies my approach to the translation of culture in Chapter 6 as well. Even as I wrote, however, I realized that issues of cognition led directly to the problematic of ethics in translation, a central topic engaged in the second half of the book. When I finished *Enlarging Translation*, therefore, I knew that I wanted to continue research on the cognition of translation and in particular to investigate whether work in neuroscience might bear upon central issues pertaining to the theory and practice of translation.

Somewhat fortuitously I found my way into the subject through popularized sources and soon friends, relatives, and colleagues were giving me things to read. The purpose of this article is to report on some current areas of research in neuroscience, indicating how that field will impinge on the concerns of translation studies, even though the actual productive areas of inquiry and the actual outcomes of the scientific investigations are not as yet known or even fully defined. Note that the purpose of the article is *not* to review work approaching translation studies from the perspective of cognitive science (or even the tentative beginnings of the use of neuroimaging in the field of translation studies): the latter endeavors represent some of the known *knowns* of translation studies.[2] In accordance with the topic of this volume, I will concentrate on three main areas of research in neuroscience that impinge directly on translation in ways that are not yet fully understood, namely perception, memory, and plasticity. I have chosen these topics from

2. On cognitive science approaches to translation, see, for example, Danks et al. (1997), Shreve and Angelone (2010), and sources cited. Related work on cognitive and psycholinguistic approaches to bilingualism are found, for example, in de Groot and Kroll (1997); in addition some research on bilingualism has already begun to incorporate developments in neuroscience, notably the work of Paradis (2004, 2009).

among a wide array of possibilities illustrating the unknowns of translation at the level of molecular biology because they provide convenient entry points into the technical field of neuroscience that are conceptually familiar at the macro level to translation studies scholars. Moreover, discoveries in neuroscience related to these three topics challenge many common views in translation studies and thus illustrate the gains to be made by integrating findings of neuroscience into the field.

Let us begin with a brief survey of the methodologies of neuroscience. Until recently most knowledge about the functioning of the human brain at the neurological level was almost entirely the result of accident in the most literal sense. When an accident caused injury to specific areas of a person's brain, the resulting behavioral and cognitive impairments of the person could be observed; thus it was possible to correlate certain mental faculties with specific areas of the brain, namely those that had been injured. Such observations pointed to the use of a specific part of the brain for a particular function. In some cases, moreover, gifted researchers, such as Brenda Milner or V.S. Ramachandran, have been able to make determinations about brain function by examining people with specific syndromes or pathologies through experiments and the invention of successful therapies. Many brain functions could thus be investigated while human subjects were still alive and could, of course, be verified after death when the injured brain could be examined in an autopsy.

In the past three decades, however, powerful new techniques for observing brain function in healthy living individuals have been devised. To a large extent neuroscience has become a rapidly developing field because of new technologies that make it possible to monitor the brain as it actually works, to document neural pathways, and even to track the activity of specific neurons. These techniques include forms of neuroimaging such as fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging) and various forms of tomography such as PET (positron-emission tomography), as well as powerful techniques at the level of molecular biology that reveal the mechanisms of neural development and change and the networking of the brain. New approaches of these sorts are continually being developed and perfected, and old ones such as EEG (electroencephalography) are being repurposed for innovative and productive inquiry. Thus it has already become possible to image and observe the brain of an individual at work, and the techniques are becoming focused enough so that researchers will soon be able to tell how a working translator's brain activity relates to specific aspects of translation, as opposed to stray thoughts or sensory input.

The discoveries in neuroscience discussed below pertaining to perception, memory, and brain plasticity have all been reported in summary articles in reputable sources such as *Scientific American* or more extended accounts of these

subjects such as Eric Kandel's *In Search of Memory* (2006), all of which are written for general audiences.[3] One advantage of using credible popularized sources for an exploration of the known unknowns of the neuroscience of translation is that the reported findings in such sources should be accessible to scholars in translation studies who wish to become conversant with these ideas. In addition, moreover, such publications indicate that most of the findings are not new per se: in fact much of what follows has been accepted by neuroscientists and molecular biologists for more than a decade and the results are derived from large programs of scientific research which in most cases date to the 1990s. The materials have gained enough credibility to be reported in journals with mass circulation; thus most of the studies discussed below represent current dominant thought in neuroscience that should have a certain durability for the foreseeable future. All this is to say that my discussion below does not convey particularly recondite or controversial research in neuroscience as such. What is new here is the attempt to relate these materials from neuroscience to translation studies, so as to better understand the phenomenology and sociology of translation.

2. The neuroscience of perception

As neuroscience has learned more about the human brain, the notion of perception itself has been radically shifted. Far from being simple reception of "sense data", human perception has been shown to be shaped by culture and experience. This is immediately relevant to translators because what and how we translate depends on what we see and perceive; moreover, how audiences receive translations depends on what they see and perceive.

In terms simply of physical and neurological capacity, humans do not all have the same perceptual capabilities; in the case of vision, for example, we do not all see the same things because some people are nearsighted and others farsighted, some see the range of colors the eye can normally perceive and some are color-blind, and so forth. A graphic illustration of the role of physical differences in what we see is illustrated by comparing human sight to the sight of birds (Goldsmith 2006). Humans do not see the same things that birds see, because birds come equipped with four types of color receptors in the retina (vs. the two color receptors common to most mammals and the three of primates including human beings). Thus

3. Most of my citations in this essay are to sources of this type. For more in-depth technical discussions, see the sources cited in the accounts written for general audiences and in my forthcoming book *Neuroscience and Translation*.

birds see the near ultraviolet range and this shades all the other colors that they perceive.

But what humans see is not dependent solely on our physical capacities and neurological potentials. As Ramachandran notes, "Your eyeball distorts the image — it's curved … Your lens inverts it — it's upside down. And your two eyes double it. The brain *interprets* the image" (quoted in Colapinto 2009: 80; original emphasis). The relationship between seeing, interpreting the physiological and biochemical signals, and translating — or between seeing and the reception of translation — is most noticeable in the domains of culture. How we translate aspects of culture depends on what we see, but in turn how we see and perceive culture depends not just on our physical capacities and our neurological wiring, but also paradoxically on culture itself which influences and shapes perception. That is, there is a recursive relationship between perception and culture.

This recursive relationship is hard-wired into the brain, and culture begins to define and limit human perception very early on. Babies at six months of age babble in the entire range of sounds used in all human languages around the world, but by nine months of age babies babble only in the phonemes of the language or languages of their own immediate cultural environment.[4] Similarly, when they are six months old, babies can easily distinguish the special characteristics of individual monkey faces, while at nine months they have lost this ability. Lisa S. Scott, who has done research on this topic, observes that by nine months babies are "starting to learn the things that are relevant in their environment … They realize it's not important to discriminate between two monkey faces, but it is between two human faces. They're realizing things that are important and things that aren't" in their cultures. At the same time she notes that human babies are "narrowing their ability to discriminate perceptual information" (2007). Thus, perception of what human beings actually see and hear begins to be overridden by cultural categories and cultural imperatives long before our personal memories begin.

As well as being shaped by culture, perception is increasingly recognized as being constructed, rather than being merely a direct reception of external sensory data. Neuroscientists have discovered, for example, that visual images are not simple transmissions from the retina to the brain. Instead visual images are compiled by the brain out of at least a dozen separate streams of information which are controlled and sent to the brain by distinct receptors in the retina; these streams convey specific information about a visual stimulus including such features as edges, contour, form, depth, hue, shadows, highlights, motion, and so forth (Werblin and Roska 2007). The brain compiles such features of an object in the visual field in order to make a determination about what is being seen. As a consequence

4. See related findings in Ellis (2006: 183–86).

sight is not a unitary thing and it is possible that the very process of compiling the streams of data from the retina is not necessarily the same for all. Human beings must learn to see, and not all of what we have learned is consciously remembered. Oliver Sachs writes, "There may be some objects that are recognized at birth, or soon after, like faces. But beyond this the world of objects must be learned through experience and activity: looking, touching, handling, correlating the feel of objects with their appearance" (2010: 27).[5] This foundational learning is rarely accessible in conscious memory.

In general, moreover, humans are largely unconscious of how the construction of perceptions — shaped by personal experiences as well as cultural frameworks — influences judgments about what we see and hear, including our emotional, ethical, and value assessments of the sensory world.[6] It is clear, however, that memory and other mental functions play a large role in perception. Eric Kandel says that the sensory systems are merely "hypothesis generators"; he continues "we confront the world neither directly nor precisely" (2006: 302). To a large extent memory is responsible for the outcome of perception. Thus perception and memory (implicit and explicit) are indisolubly intertwined. As the example of the retina indicates, the images in our minds are rich, but the information we work from is poor (cf. Gawande 2008: 63). Perception is actually the brain's "best guess" about what is happening in the outside world (Gawande 2008: 63). In the case of vision, the mind fills in most of the picture, drawing on memory in the process. This is indicated by the neural structure of the brain's primary visual cortex where only 20 per cent of the neural network is from the retina and the other 80 per cent relates to regions of the brain governing functions such as memory (Gawande 2008: 63). Richard Gregory, a British neuropsychologist, estimates that visual perception is more than 90 per cent memory and less than 10 per cent sensory nerve signals (quoted in Gawande 2008: 63).[7] Perception is thus a process of inference, in which the mind integrates scattered, weak, and rudimentary signals from a variety of sensory channels, information from past experiences, and hard-wired processes (Gawande 2008: 63).

Finally, not only is perception shaped by unconscious effects of culture and experience, neuroscience has shown that many other aspects of perception are

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5. Wixted and Squire (2011) discuss the integration of a wide variety of experiential aspects including visual, spatial, temporal, tactile, emotional, and auditory elements in the formation of integrated memory traces.

6. Note that in this essay the terms *unconscious* and *nonconscious* are used interchangeably in reference to implicit versus explicit memory, discussed below, rather than in any psychoanalytic sense.

7. A more technical account of the impoverishment of actual perceptual data in favor of data from memory is found in Raichle 2010. See also Holcombe 2009.

nonconscious. Again in the case of vision, not all of what is seen is available to the conscious mind (cf. Raichle 2010). There are some 30 sites in the brain associated with vision, which break down into the so-called old visual pathway and the new visual pathway (Ramachandran 2004: 24–39). If the new visual pathway is destroyed in one eye, say by an accident, a subject can still "see" with that eye, but the person is not conscious of seeing. Indeed such a person reports being unable to see an object in question with the eye, even if he can reliably touch it when asked to do so. This is a phenomenon called "blindsight". Ramachandran (2004: 29) asks what it means for someone to be able to reach out and touch something that he cannot see or at least that he is not conscious of seeing. The blindsight of people with damage to their new visual pathway is an example of the many nonconscious aspects of perception and cognition that neuroscience is discovering. It indicates the importance of taking nonconscious knowledge and perceptions into account as translation studies attempts to understand and model the process of translation and the responses of receivers of translations.[8]

3. Implications for translation studies from the neuroscience of perception

Obviously the findings of neuroscience related to perception have fundamental implications for the translation of culture and for the decision processes of translators. Research in neuroscience raises questions such as the following. What do we perceive that we are not conscious of? Equally important, what do we *not* perceive that we are not conscious of? How do nonconscious aspects of perception affect translation choices? How is what we perceive consciously affected by things we perceive unconsciously? How do our unconscious perceptions affect how we translate? In particular how does what we perceive unconsciously affect how we assess, judge, and transmit culture in translations? If culture and experience actually shape perception, how do translators overcome the difficulties in perceiving cultural difference and conveying such differences to the receivers of their translations? In turn, in what ways do the receivers of translations experience difficulty assessing, accepting, and integrating unfamiliar cultural differences? The findings of neuroscience related to perception seem to suggest that there may be a hard-wired tendency toward ethnocentrism on the part of all translators and their audiences, with the transmission of cultural variation going against the grain not just of culture and ideological frameworks but of human bodies, brains, and perceptual systems as well. How can such cultural bias be mitigated in translation processes and products?

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8. Other examples of nonconscious perception are found in Gladwell (2005).

The fact that so much of the construction of perception is nonconscious also complicates the way that translation can be modeled. What translators (and audiences) perceive in a text (both source text and target text) may not only be unconscious but also heavily structured by their own cultural frameworks and their personal experiences. If this is so, expanding or changing perception and sensitivity to newness and difference is not simply a matter of will, goodwill, or desire; it is probably primarily a matter of shifting nonconscious and ingrained responses that are physically patterned into the brain. Should translators consciously work to become self-aware of the nonconscious components and the gaps in their perceptions? Is it in fact possible to deconstruct or bring to light fundamental formative experiences and neurological processes shaping perception such as those discussed above? And if it were indeed possible to develop such self-reflexivity, how might this process be incorporated into translation training?[9]

We can also ask whether it is possible for translators to defamiliarize what seems "natural" and to familiarize what seems culturally "unnatural" so as to enable the perception and conveyance of cultural difference. How are neurological networks related to perception, culture, and categories altered when a person becomes multilingual and multicultural? How would such changes in perception intersect with what molecular biology is revealing about the hard-wiring of the brain? Is it possible to induce parallel experiences and similar shifts vicariously in people who are the receptors of translations? These are questions that cognitive science has begun to explore and that neuroscience will address in the near future.

4. The neuroscience of memory

We have seen that memory is an important factor related to perception, but neuroscientists have discovered other interesting features of memory that have implications for translation. A major step in the development of modern neuroscience was the discovery that there are two major types of memory. This discovery came about through the research of Brenda Milner on a famous patient known as H.M., in work that was published in the 1950s and 1960s. Because H.M. was suffering from massive epileptic seizures that completely debilitated him, he was given an operation that removed his hippocampus and parts of the temporal lobes on both sides of the brain. As a result of the operation, H.M. ceased to have seizures, but

9. Note that Paradis (2004, 2009) argues that automated linguistic processes (such as grammar) are essentially unavailable to conscious inspection. One can only overlay them with explicit knowledge of "rules". The same might be argued about many nonconscious perceptual processes and learning associated with them.

he was also unable to convert short-term memories to long-term memory, an unforeseen result. H.M. could not remember events, people, names, words, and so forth that he experienced or came into contact with after his operation — indeed, though Milner worked with him for decades, he greeted her as if he had never seen her before. It was thought that H.M. could not learn, but Milner discovered that he did have a memory pathway that permitted him to perfect certain physical skills. As a result of this research, it is now acknowledged that memory is a distinct mental function, that short-term memory and long-term memory can be stored separately, that loss of the hippocampus destroys the ability to convert some forms of new short-term memory to long-term memory, and that there are at least two types of long-term memory (cf. Kandel 2006: 129). These two types of long-term memory are conscious and nonconscious memory, generally referred to respectively as explicit memory and implicit memory or declarative memory and procedural (or non-declarative) memory (Kandel 2006: 132). In what follows the distinction will be generally referred to as explicit versus implicit memory.

We could not negotiate the world without depending on nonconscious knowledge and awareness. Implicit or procedural memory is essential and makes possible driving an automobile and simultaneously carrying on a conversation and enjoying the scenery. In general people are not consciously aware of implicit or procedural memories: for example, we do not think explictly of what we need to do physically at each moment to ride a bicycle nor are the automated morphosyntactical aspects of processing one's primary language driven by explicit memory (cf. Paradis 2004: 15). Implicit memory is also important in emergencies when fast response is required. There is an analogue to these two types of long-term memory in the conscious sight of the new visual pathway discussed above and the so-called blindsight of the old visual pathway. Differences in the neural pathways and networking of explicit and implicit memory have begun to be established.[10]

Many of the mechanisms of both short-term memory and long-term memory have also been established at the level of molecular biology, a process in which the Nobel prize-winning Eric Kandel played a central role.[11] A critical feature of the establishment of long-term memory is that it involves physical changes to the brain, notably the growth of new terminals on the axons of brain cells (Kandel 2006: 254–75) or the growth of new neurons and the development of new neural networks. Long-term memory and learning change the body in a tangible physical

10. See the diagram in Kandel (2006: 130) for how the two types of long-term memory are stored and for their distinct pathways in the brain, with the pathway of implicit or procedural memory bypassing the hippocampus.

11. Kandel (2006) has written a memoir that also serves as an introduction to the neuroscience of memory for general readers or scholars in fields outside neuroscience.

manner. As Kandel (2006) indicates, neuroscientists with interests in memory are currently investigating complex thinking and looking for the mechanisms that make consciousness possible.

The convergence of research about perception and memory on the importance of nonconscious knowledge and memory is striking, but in many ways current work on the neuroscience of memory is even more exciting than work on perception in terms of its implications for translation studies. One interesting set of experiments on mice, for example, has begun to investigate how complex long-term memories are laid down and how they are retrieved (Tsien 2007). In the research mice were subjected to simulated dangers — simulations of such things as "an earthquake" (being shaken in a box), "an elevator drop" (being in a box while it was in a controlled fall), or "a predator attack" (having a sharp gust of air blown across their backs) — while researchers monitored a large sample of neurons in the hippocampus, an area of the brain that in humans is central to transferring short-term explicit memory to long-term explicit memory, as we have seen. The research concluded that memories are stored in "cliques" that fire together in the hippocampus when the memory is retrieved. In turn the cliques are organized componentially (comprised of separate multisensory signals representing such things as location, color, danger, and bodily motion) and hierarchically (where danger includes both the subsets attack and unusual bodily motion, for example, and bodily motion in turn includes shaking and dropping). Once established, these memory patterns are durable and occur spontaneously in the brain waves of the mice, sometimes even while the animals are asleep.

If similar findings are sustained for human beings, the research will be particularly relevant to the concerns of translation studies. It suggests the congruence of memory structures with componential and hierarchical features of language that have been widely recognized and discussed in the literature of translation studies. For decades it has been recognized that asymmetries in componential features of words and concepts across languages pose a central problem for translators and a central question to face in making translation choices; the same is true of hierarchical structures of language.[12] Should it turn out that long-term memory in general is organized componentially and hierarchically, the research will suggest a general framework for the operation of language at the biomolecular level, indicating ways that declarative aspects of language intersect with the implicit categorical organization of the brain. It is likely that such hierarchical and componential aspects of memory constructed by culture and experience are germane to

12. Compare, for example, the discussions of hierarchical and componential analyses of language asymmetries in Nida (1964: 73–87).

the process of translating and the reception of translations both at conscious and nonconscious levels. Clearly this is an area of neuroscience to watch closely.

Finally, as noted already, research on the conversion of short-term memories to long-term memories is well developed. It has been known for some time that for long-term memories to be established, redundancy is essential: generally a stimulus must be repeated several times with appropriate intervals of rest (approximately 20 minutes) between repetitions (Fields 2005, cf. Kandel 2006: 264–66, 309). During the resting periods, moreover, the subject cannot be exposed immediately to new stimuli that will cause interference and effacement of the short-term memory, thus disrupting the establishment of a long-term memory. One-time exposure does not necessarily or even normally suffice for a concept or an experience to be remembered unless that single exposure has a striking or catastrophic impact on the organism. Such cases usually entail a massive amount of simultaneous neuronal firing and often involve emotionally charged and multisensory stimulation.[13] Only in such cases (here compare the traumatized mice discussed above) will a single event suffice to establish a long-term memory.

5. Implications for translation studies related to the neuroscience of memory

Research in neuroscience on perception stands as a reminder that translation does not depend simply on the nature of the perceptible world or on conscious knowledge, but that translators and receivers of translation are all shaped in their perceptions by their cultures and recursively predisposed to produce or consume translations in culturally formed ways. In cultural translation these formations inextricably link perception and memory. They constitute potential nonconscious limitations on the process of translating cultural difference and potential resistance to cultural alterity in the reception of translation. Memory research also indicates the fundamental role of implicit (or procedural) memory, as well as nonconscious neural networks (both sensory and experiential) that impinge on explicit memory and knowledge. Translation studies will be able to begin addressing such nonconscious dimensions related to translation in productive ways by integrating the advances of neuroscience about memory into its discourses.

The value of research on memory in neuroscience is not limited to the question of implicit aspects of the cognition of translators or users of translations. Memory research raises intriguing questions pertaining to conscious learning in relation to translation methods, speaking to conditions that facilitate learning of

13. Kandel (2006: 264–65) discusses such memories.

new information, new patterns of semiosis, and new aspects of culture. Here again the neuroscience of memory touches on cultural translation, speaking to questions such as resistance to cultural hegemony that have been central discourses in translation studies for at least two decades. The importance of redundancy interspersed with rest in exposure to new stimuli and new experience for the formation of long-term memory suggests possibilities for effective translation techniques that can foster the integration of new information and alternate cultural dispositions in the explicit memories of target audiences. This research points to opportunities and strategies that translators might consider.

Moreover, research about the neuroscience of memory offers intriguing possibilities for fostering concept flexibility in translators and audiences alike. If memory is componential and hierarchical to a significant degree, translation studies will want to explore how new components of concepts and new hierarchical orderings found in a second or third language and culture get learned, integrated, and solidified in a translator's thought at the implicit level of cognition. Does this integration involve expansion of the translator's original set of memories or is an alternate set of memories patterned into the brain such that the brain toggles between the two sets, only connecting and integrating the two patterns at specific moments such as the process of translation? Is it possible that both alternatives exist and that translators' processes are therefore highly variable? Or, finally, is it possible that the new material from the second language pertaining to conceptual thought is never fully integrated with implicit memory related to the first language? Obviously whatever is learned about such questions will have immediate relevance for translation pedagogy, for translation practice, and also for translation theory.[14]

Questions about the neurological structure of category and concept memory are relevant to the activities of translators, but they are perhaps even more pertinent to the responses that target audiences have to translations. How can a translator allow for and manage the nonconscious cognitive responses of the target audience that are coded in long-term memory and that shape or even limit the reception of translations? Are receivers of translations inevitably predisposed to domesticate translations in their own cognitive reception of texts (whether oral or written) because of the hierarchical and componential structuration of memory itself related to concepts and categories activated by the translation? If a translator were intent on expanding the categorical thinking of a target audience and making translations — as well as specific features of other cultures — memorable (that is, integrated into explicit long-term memory), what sort of translation strategies might be adopted in light of current research in neuroscience on long-term

14. Similar questions are asked and the debates on the issues are discussed in de Groot and Kroll (1997: 7–10, 145–200).

implicit and explicit memory? These are among the many questions pertaining to memory that stand at the intersection of translation studies and neuroscience.

6. Plasticity of the brain

It used to be thought that adult brains could not grow new neurons or change to any great extent, but it is now known that human brains are more flexible than was once assumed. This new concept of the flexibility of the brain is known as "plasticity". Research in the last two decades has shown that the brains of adult animals and humans alike can and do grow new neurons and that areas of the brain can also be reallocated for new uses if old functions are no longer needed. The concept of plasticity has become somewhat trendy in academic circles but it is often used in ways that are different from its meanings in neuroscience. Plasticity is much more than the superb ability of human beings to be flexible and to learn new things: as already intimated, in neuroscience the concept of plasticity signifies the ability of the brain to reallocate parts of the brain to new uses when the old ones cease to be needed, as well as the growth of new neurons and the physical alteration of neurons and neural networks or the growth of new neurons. Plasticity in neuroscience is a physical feature of the brain ranging from the micro levels of the synapse and the neuron to the macro levels of the constitution of networks and the networking of the brain as a whole. In scientific discourse plasticity takes time: it is not merely a function of transfer from short-term to long-term memory or the ability of the brain to learn and adapt quickly. Plasticity involves brain changes that are physical and many such changes do not happen in a short time but may require months or more. The cognitive flexibility designated by the term *plasticity* in neuroscience is enormously significant in terms of any assessment of the abilities of human beings to change and develop cognitively. Evidence of the brain's ability to grow and change is particularly welcome, because neuroscience has also found clear evidence of physiological alterations associated with aging that make it more difficult for people to learn and remember as they grow older. Moreover, as we will see below, there is evidence that some limitations on the adaptability of memory networks occur in the brain in early adulthood. It is possible that these various limitations can be offset in part by the brain's plasticity.

We have seen that long-term memories are hard-wired in the brain. Until recently this hard-wiring was largely attributed to changes in neural patternings associated with the synapses between neurons. It is known, for example, that when neurons on both sides of a synapse are simultaneously stimulated, the connection between those two neurons is preferentially strengthened and a fixed association between the two neurons is often created (Kandel 2006). More recent work has

focused on physical changes related to neural networks that involve the so-called white matter of the brain, namely the myelin coating of the fibers of axons that serve as the signaling channels connecting neurons in vastly different regions of the brain (see Fields 2008). One essential of neural networks is the connection and coordination of numerous signals from different parts of the brain so that many components of sensory input and memory can simultaneously coalesce into a single action, thought, perception, or memory. A specific job of the myelin coating on the axons is to regulate the speed of stimuli from different parts of the brain, so that all relevant signals network simultaneously. Because distances in the brain can vary considerably (in terms of molecular distances), some signals must be sped up and others slowed down; the thickness of the myelin coating on axons in relation to the diameter of the fiber is instrumental in determining the speed of neural signals (Fields 2008: 54–57). Once the myelin coating of a fiber is established, the changes that axons can undergo become more limited: it is much more difficult for an axon to grow new branches and trim others in response to experience (Fields 2008: 57), thus initiating the formation of a new connection with another neural pathway or eliminating such a connection. Interestingly, the neurons in the higher brain centers of human beings — the forebrain of the cortex — only receive their full myelin coating in an individual's early adulthood (usually the mid twenties), suggesting that at the end of adolescence, many brain pathways become more fixed and less malleable and adaptable (Fields 2008: 56–57). Though this greater fixity may have something to do with the better judgment of mature people rather than adolescents, the research on myelination is somewhat discouraging regarding the plasticity of the brain, particularly as people age.

A third major discovery of neuroscience that pertains to the concept of the brain's flexibility in the largest sense is the presence in the brain of so-called mirror neurons.[15] Though mirror neurons are not normally included under the rubric of plasticity per se, they are central in the ability of human beings to learn and to understand things that are new and unfamiliar, hence to change. Mirror neurons are widespread throughout the brain; these neurons fire both when an individual performs a simple goal-directed motor sequence and when the individual sees another person perform the same act. Sets of mirror neurons encode templates for specific actions, allowing individuals to perform actions and to understand the same acts when observed (Rizzolatti et al. 2006: 56).

Experiments have shown that mirror neurons also enable humans and some primates to understand the intentions and emotions of others. The ability to comprehend such things through a direct mapping mechanism in the brain strongly facilitates social life, providing a neural basis for some of the interpersonal relations

15. Rizzolatti et al. (2006) present an overview of mirror neurons.

on which more complex social behaviors are built and locating basic motor acts within a semantic network that does not require complex cognitive machinery to comprehend the behavior of others (cf. Rizzolatti et al. 2006: 59). Current research is investigating the role of mirror neurons in observation-based learning, imitation, and language acquisition and use. Mirror neurons may provide an explanation for two aspects of communication: parity (the message is the same for the sender as for the recipient) and direct comprehension (no previous agreement — on arbitrary symbols, for example — is required for individuals to understand each other).[16]

The discovery of the system of mirror neurons provides an optimistic perspective on the plasticity of the brain and may constitute some of the most promising research in neuroscience for the purposes of translation studies. Mirror neurons are good news for translators because, unlike myelination which makes neurons less flexible over time, mirror neurons continue to function throughout a person's lifetime. Mirror neurons allow human beings to learn by observing others and they enable immediate comprehension of many of the acts of other people and the meaning of those actions, independent of other knowledge. Not only do mirror neurons seem to be a factor in empathy and understanding of others, they may be related to self-awareness, introspection, and self-reflexivity (Ramachandran quoted in Colapinto 2009: 87). All these functions of mirror neurons are related to understanding other cultures, whether directly through experience or perhaps indirectly through representation.[17] Obviously the functions of mirror neurons contribute to the abilities of good translators and also probably to the qualities of sympathetic readers of translations, indicating to the ability of people to understand cultural difference and newness. Discoveries about the role of mirror neurons in language acquisition and language use will have particular significance for translation studies.

7. Implications for translation studies related to the plasticity of the brain

We have seen that various aspects of the way that memories are coded in the brain have implications for why the concepts of a person's native culture become deeply

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16. See Rizzolatti et al. (2006: 61).

17. The latter seems promising in light of the use of videos in experiments about mirror neurons, for videos are a form of representation. The importance of this point seems to elude many writers on the topic. It indicates that representations of various other types, including translations, may have the power to trigger mirror neurons just as physical observations of live human beings do.

ingrained and hard to challenge; thus the nature of neural circuitry has implications for cultural translation in particular. Neuroscience suggests the difficulty entailed in enlarging concepts and categories when learning, teaching, or writing about another set of cultural conceptualizations. The plasticity of the brain is an important factor in being able to organize or reorganize neurological patterning so as to function when faced with shifts in cultural frameworks. New neurons can grow, new networks can be developed, and areas of the brain can be reallocated for new purposes.

At the same time research on plasticity indicates that category, conceptual, and networking change is not simply a matter of exerting the will so as to learn new things or of exercising goodwill so as to accept difference. Physical changes in neurons and shifts in neural networks are part of memory, associations, concept formation, and category perceptions, all of which factor into translation — particularly translation of culture and cultural difference. Many of these changes operate at a nonconscious level and are not subject to conscious inspect. They affect the receivers of translations as much or more than translators themselves. These unconscious elements do not simply disappear when we want them to and they are not necessarily amenable to conscious alteration. Research on myelination is important for indicating that all signals related to a neural pathway must be temporally coordinated to be effective: it may be possible to know all elements of a new situation but be unable to actualize that knowledge effectively or fully at a relevant juncture either as a translator or a receiver of a translation because all the factors necessary for understanding and empathizing may not be simultaneously accessible or coordinated. Where myelination suggests limits on plasticity, mirror neurons by contrast seem to facilitate the process of learning new cultural dispositions and practices, of understanding others, of translating culture bodily as well as cognitively, and perhaps also of being receptive to cultural difference presented in the representations of translations.

8. Conclusions

Translation studies is a broad field that brings together many diverse issues and many theoretical perspectives. No one person can or should expect to address all the concerns raised by translation or to master all the skills deployed in its investigation. Nonetheless, in "Connecting the Two Infinite Orders: Research Methods in Translation Studies" (2002), I argue that both micro and macro approaches are equally important for the field as a whole: macro approaches such as those offered by sociocritiques, ideological investigations, literary analyses, and systems studies are as important as the micro analyses of linguistics, for example. Moreover, in

Chapter 4 of *Enlarging Translation*, I suggest that the methodologies of scholarship in translation studies resulting in durable conclusions are essentially similar, whether a scholar is making a sociocultural argument or a linguistic one, whether a scholar conducts an experiment on translators or analyzes a translated text. At first consideration, the contributions that neuroscience can offer to translation studies seem to constitute another approach to translation operating at the micro level. As indicated in this essay, however, the neuroscience of translation will have significant implications for understanding translation at the macro level as well. Clearly not everyone interested in translation need be immersed in neuroscience, but it is an area that should be tracked in the field of translation studies as a whole, if only because the neuroscience of translation is one of the most important known unknowns of the discipline.

Some of the most exciting advances in translation studies in the near future will result from its intersections with neuroscience. In such joint endeavors, it will be important to remain aware of the links between micro and macro research: to engage in investigations of translation at the micro level of the brain but to see as well the implications for the macro levels of translations as texts, as mediations between cultures, and as ideological interventions, as well as the implications for many other macro level topics that have flourished in translation studies. Some scholars may initially think that the investigations of neuroscience at the level of molecular biology are irrelevant to these larger concerns of the discipline of translation studies, the processes of translation, the products or translation, or the practical training of translators. As I have pointed out earlier (2002), however, this is as shortsighted as it would have been for telescope enthusiasts in the seventeenth century to have rejected the findings of the microscope.

The three topics discussed in this article — perception, memory, and plasticity — are only a few of the many areas being explored in neuroscience that have implications pertinent to questions that have already been raised in the field of translation studies. There is much more in neuroscience research of theoretical and pragmatic interest for translation scholars and practitioners. A great deal of the relevant research in neuroscience will also have implications for translator training. Moreover, as new technologies develop in neuroscience, those advances will allow translation studies scholars themselves to propose and perhaps participate in the development of questions relevant to neuroscience teams undertaking specific experiments that relate both to the micro levels of translation and that have implications for the macro levels.

Some translation scholars have already begun to work on the neuroscience of translation in places as diverse as England, Slovakia, Switzerland, Spain, and Turkey, using techniques such as neuroimaging, eye tracking, and electroencephalography. The questions raised in these experiments range widely from questions

about the performance of interpreters to investigations of differentials in neuroimages when a translator is translating into a first or second language. All this is to the good: it is just a matter of time until neuroscientists and molecular biologists focus their attention on mediations between languages, including translation. Translation studies should have scholars at the table when investigations of these known unknowns of translation are undertaken.

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Unknown agents in translated political discourse

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This article investigates the role of translation and interpreting in political discourse. It illustrates discursive events in the domain of politics and the resulting discourse types, such as jointly produced texts, press conferences and speeches. It shows that methods of Critical Discourse Analysis can be used effectively to reveal translation and interpreting strategies as well as transformations that occur in recontextualisation processes across languages, cultures, and discourse domains, in particular recontextualisation in mass media. It argues that the complexity of translational activities in the field of politics has not yet seen sufficient attention within Translation Studies. The article concludes by outlining a research programme for investigating political discourse in translation.

1. Introduction

Since 2011, the European Union has been experiencing an economic and financial crisis. At a series of meetings, EU politicians have discussed potential solutions and have proposed rescue packages. Their debates have led to the drafting and/or signing of agreements, treaty amendments, fiscal compacts and other kinds of policy documents. Politicians regularly comment on their decisions, for example in debates in their own national parliaments, in speeches to their own citizens, or at press conferences to representatives of the national or international mass media. The mass media play a significant role in communicating politics to the general public, by reporting about political events, by interviewing politicians, by broadcasting press conferences on TV, etc. An illustrative example in the context of the EU's financial crisis is a bilateral meeting of the French President Nicolas Sarkozy and the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, held on 16 August 2011 in Paris. One of the outcomes of this meeting was a joint letter addressed to Herman van Rompuy, the President of the European Council, in which they outlined proposals for a system of economic governance. The two politicians also gave a joint

press conference, at which they presented their proposal and answered journalists' questions. TV and radio channels as well as news agencies reported this meeting on the same day, with subsequent articles published by the mass media during the days following.

Political meetings and press conferences are typical discursive events in the domain of politics, and these events lead to policy statements, political letters, and reports as examples of political discourse. Scholarly interest in the link between language and politics resulted in the development of Political Linguistics which encompasses research into the language of politics and into the politics of language, using a variety of analytical methods (e.g. the contributions in Okulska and Cap 2010). Some analyses of political communication have been conducted within Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995, 2006; Weiss and Wodak 2003; Wodak and Chilton 2005) and have resulted in the identification of patterns of language in use in particular political settings, i.e. language and discursive practices. The shared assumptions are that language is a social phenomenon, and that language and political actions are closely intertwined, or, as Chilton (2004: 6) says "political activity does not exist without the use of language".

In an increasingly globalised world, politics too is increasingly international in nature. Political decisions can hardly affect only a small local community, and political actors often need to explain and justify their decisions to an international audience. Communicating across national borders involves communicating across languages, which also means that very frequently translation and interpreting play a significant role in political settings. For example, extracts from the joint press conference by Sarkozy and Merkel mentioned above were shown on the British TV channel BBC, with voice-over in English for Merkel's German and Sarkozy's French statements. UK mass media reported on the meeting and the press conference the following day, including quotes from the two politicians, presented in English, in their articles. The joint letter to van Rompuy was made available in French, German, and English. The analysis of such examples of political discourse is thus also of interest to scholars within Translation Studies, as is the investigation of the discursive events in which such discourse emerged.

So far, however, the investigation of political discourse in translation has been underexplored in the discipline of Translation Studies. There are a number of case studies of translated political texts which identified translational shifts and were thus text-centred (e.g. Calzada Pérez 2001; Baumgarten and Gagnon 2005). Other research investigated aspects such as censorship and translation policies under totalitarian regimes (e.g. the contributions in Rundle and Sturge 2010) or the role of translators and interpreters in conflict situations (e.g. Baker 2006; Boéri and Maier 2010), thus also focusing on the politics of translation. News translation and the practices of news agencies have recently received more attention (e.g. Bielsa

and Bassnett 2009), whereas translation policies and practices in political institutions at national and supra-national level have rarely been addressed (but see, for Canada, Mossop 1990 and Gagnon 2010, for the EU institutions, Koskinen 2000, 2008). Much remains to be investigated in order to get a deeper insight into political discourse in translation and the institutional practices and policies which determine it.

In this article, I will show why political texts, such as joint letters, and political events, such as press conferences, are of interest to Translation Studies. The Merkel-Sarkozy meeting mentioned above will be used to provide a coherent link from one discursive event to the next, thus also showing the interrelations between the political genres in processes of recontextualisation. The order in which the examples have been arranged reflects the increasing complexity of the discursive event in respect of translation and/or interpreting: jointly produced texts, press conferences and speeches. Each section will illustrate some findings of the analysis and will also list a number of questions for future research. At the end of the article, I will sketch a research programme for investigating political discourse in translation.

2. Jointly produced texts: A common voice?

The types of political discourse which resulted from the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting are a joint letter, statements, and a press conference. What they have in common is that they were initiated in political institutions and that political actors are the main discourse agents. Fairclough (1995, 2000) speaks of 'orders of discourse' to denote the totality of discursive practices and the interrelated institutional types of discourse of a social domain. The discourse types can be in relationships of complementarity, inclusion/exclusion, or opposition, which lead to forms of intertextuality, interdiscursivity, recontextualisation. There is complementarity of the discourse types of the joint letter and the press conference in that both Sarkozy and Merkel explicitly refer to this letter in their introductory statements, as can be seen in the extracts below:[1]

(1) Sarkozy: […] Nous avons donc décidé d'un certain nombre de propositions communes qui feront l'objet d'une lettre franco-allemande qui sera adressée, dès demain matin, au Président VAN ROMPUY. […]

1. The formal layout of the transcripts has been reproduced here. The references to the discursive events connected with this meeting are provided at the end of this article.

> BK'IN MERKEL: […], wir hatten bereits am 21. Juli angekündigt, dass wir im Verlaufe des August Vorschläge unterbreiten werden, wie die Eurozone enger zusammenarbeiten kann. Diese Vorschläge werden wir Herman Van Rompuy auch in einem Brief mitteilen, so wie es soeben der französische Präsident, Nicolas Sarkozy, gesagt hat. […]

In Merkel's extract we see intratextual reference to Sarkozy's preceding statements, as well as a reference to proposals which had been arrived at during an earlier meeting in July. These references add to the complementarity and intertextuality of the discourse. Both government websites have hyperlinks to the full text of the joint letter. Although this letter is identified as a joint French-German letter, it was produced in French, German, and English. Both the French and the German text start with a form of address (*Sehr geehrter Herr Präsident*, *Monsieur le Président du Conseil européen*,) and finish with the conventional greetings (*Mit freundlichen Grüßen*; *Nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'expression de notre haute consideration*), followed by the names of the two politicians. The English version of the letter is just entitled 'Letter to President van Rompuy' and does not include any conventional opening and closing formulas.

These differences in the letter conventions could be explained with reference to the authorship: two politicians representing different countries write a joint letter to another politician. In addition, the joint letter is also meant to be read by other politicians and the general public in both France and Germany, and also in other EU member states. As a Belgian citizen, van Rompuy can be expected to understand French, which means that the addition of an English version of the letter reflects political considerations and the wider readership. Joint French-German proposals which are meant to have an effect on the euro-zone as a whole are thus not solely addressed to van Rompuy as the main addressee but equally to other EU politicians (and also journalists) as auditors.

If we compare the three language versions of the letter we note some interesting features which raise questions for Translation Studies. I will just give three illustrative cases: differences in the use of metaphorical expressions, of interpersonal relationships, and of EU-specific terminology (emphasis mine).

(2) a. […] Diese Treffen […] dienen als *Eckpfeiler* der verbesserten wirtschaftlichen Steuerung des Euro-Währungsgebiets. […] Auf diesen Gipfeltreffen werden […] die *Eckpfeiler* der dortigen Wirtschaftspolitik definiert, […]

b. […] Ces sommets constitueront la *pierre angulaire* du nouveau gouvernement économique de la zone euro. Ces sommets […] permettront […] de définir les *principales orientations* de la politique économique […]

c. Regular meetings of the euro area Heads of State and Government: these meetings will be convened twice a year […] to act as the *cornerstone* of the enhanced economic governance of the euro area. […] These summits will also […] define the *main orientations* of the economic policy […]

The German text uses the metaphorical expression *Eckpfeiler* twice, whereas both the French and the English text have a metaphorical expression first (*pierre angulaire*, *cornerstone*), followed by a non-metaphorical formulation in the second case. In respect of the interpersonal relations, we note the formal *vous* in French but the informal *du* in the German version, cf:

(3) a. Wir haben unserem Wunsch Ausdruck verliehen, dass *Du* diese Aufgabe übernimmst. […] Schließlich wollen wir *Dich* davon in Kenntnis setzen, […]
b. Nous avons exprimé notre souhait que *vous* puissiez assumer cette charge. […] Enfin, nous tenions à *vous* informer […]
c. We expressed our wish that you could take on this job. […] Finally, we wish to inform you […]

The key idea of the new joint proposal is expressed by *gouvernance* and *governance* in the French and the English texts, but by more complex phrases in German, cf.:

(4) a. […] schlagen Frankreich und Deutschland vor, *die wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung des Euro-Währungsgebiets* in Übereinstimmung mit den bestehenden Verträgen weiter zu stärken.
1/ *Steuerung des Euro-Währungsgebiets* stärken
b. […] la France et l'Allemagne proposent de renforcer encore *la gouvernance de la zone Euro*, dans le cadre des traités existantós.
1/ Renforcement de *la gouvernance de la zone Euro*
c. […] France and Germany propose to strengthen further the *governance of the euro area*, in line with existing treaties.
1/ Strengthening the *governance of the euro area*

These differences may look trivial, but for a Translation Studies scholar they raise the question: how were these three texts produced? Was one text produced first and then translated into the other two languages? Or were the joint discussions conducted in French and German and was the English text produced subsequently? With reference to the metaphorical expressions and the terminology in the extracts above, there is more similarity between the French and English texts which could lead to the hypothesis that the English text was translated from the French one.

This joint letter was discussed at the meeting and probably before as well, but only made publicly available after the conclusion of the meeting. Discussions between the two leaders and also between their political advisors are other examples of discourse types which contribute to the order of discourse in the domain of politics.

At the beginning of the joint press conference, the French President Sarkozy explicitly referred to these complex and multiple discussions, cf.:

(5) a. Sarkozy: […] Pour tout dire, nous avons travaillé d'arrache-pied, pas simplement cet après-midi mais tous ces jours derniers, pour présenter des propositions communes ambitieuses.

Such discussions 'behind closed doors' are not normally communicated verbatim to the general public. Press conferences, however, are primarily intended for informing representatives of the mass media, and by extension the general public, of political debates held and decisions reached. In fact, Bhatia (2006: 176) characterizes press conferences as "mediatization of political action". It has become a frequent practice that complete transcripts of press conferences are made available on websites of political institutions. In the next section I will illustrate why such transcripts are of interest to Translation Studies.

3. Press conferences: Whose voice is heard?

Press conferences normally start with statements by the politicians, followed by a question and answer session which gives the journalists the chance to explore certain issues further. The Sarkozy-Merkel press conference was a bilingual event, with the two politicians using exclusively their mother tongues, French and German, respectively. This can be verified by watching a video which can be accessed via a link on the French website. Simultaneous interpreting was used throughout, both for the politicians themselves and for the journalists. The transcripts of this press conference are available in French only on the website of the French government and in German only on the website of the German government. This indicates that translational actions have been involved in turning the spoken discourse of the press conference into a written text for the website. Sarkozy's introductory comments (see 5a) read as follows on the website of the German government:

(5) b. P SARKOZY:[…] Ich möchte hier ausführen, dass wir wirklich sehr hart gearbeitet haben, nicht nur heute Nachmittag, sondern auch in den letzten Tagen, um gemeinsame Vorschläge zu unterbreiten, die sehr ambitiös gestaltet sind.

This German text is syntactically more complex than the French: the French adjectival phrase (*propositions communes ambitieuses*) has been rendered by a relative clause (*gemeinsame Vorschläge … die sehr ambitiös gestaltet sind*). Moreover, the German text is slightly more emphatic than the French as a result of the addition of *wirklich* (*we have worked very hard indeed*). There is no explicit reference to interpreting and/or translation in the French transcript. The website of the German government has a sentence at the very beginning, saying that the transcript of the non-German text is based on the simultaneous interpreting (*Die Ausführungen des fremdsprachlichen Teils erfolgten anhand der Simultanübersetzung*). This is the standard sentence we usually find for transcripts of press conferences on the website of the German government, although translation and interpreting have been mixed up (*simultaneous translation* is used). This is also confirmation that the typical practice seems to be to recontextualise the oral rendition produced by the interpreter instead of producing a subsequent translation of the statements. Some minor grammatical and stylistic enhancement does take place in this process, and incomprehension is explicitly indicated as well (as *indistinct*, or *akustisch unverständlich*), as my analysis of press conferences so far has revealed (Schäffner 2010, 2012).

As mentioned above, there is intertextuality between the press conference and the joint letter. If we compare the French and the German transcripts of the press conference, there is an interesting case of terminological inconsistency, which links back to example (4) above. In his statement at the press conference, Sarkozy introduces the proposals to be put forward to van Rompuy as follows (emphasis mine):

(6) a. La première de ces propositions consiste à instaurer dans la zone euro un *véritable gouvernement économique* de la zone euro. Ce *gouvernement économique* sera constitué du Conseil des chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement.

The text on the German website reads as follows:

(6) b. Der erste dieser Vorschläge besteht darin, eine *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung* der Eurozone vorzusehen. Diese *Wirtschaftsregierung* besteht aus den Staats- und Regierungschefs.

As we saw in extracts (4) above, *gouvernance de la zone Euro* and *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung des Euro-Währungsgebiets*, respectively, were used in the official versions of the joint letter. At the press conference, Sarkozy did not use *gouvernance* at all but referred consistently to *gouvernement économique*. Merkel herself did not use *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung*, and *Wirtschaftsregierung* either. Although simultaneous interpreting into German was provided for Merkel (and

journalists), these words are not readily available from the video on the French website. A comparison of the interpreter's German rendition and the text on the German government's website is thus not possible. The question therefore is: why have the two occurrences of the same French term (*gouvernement économique*) in immediate vicinity been rendered differently into German? An answer to this question cannot be provided, but going beyond this specific text and including related discourse types can at least result in some hypotheses.

The English version of the joint letter had used *governance of the euro area* to render *gouvernance de la zone Euro*, which on the surface is a more direct equivalent phrase compared to the somewhat clumsy German *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung des Euro-Währungsgebiets*. This concept had already been used in texts before the meeting in August 2011, for example in a previous joint Franco-German Declaration, adopted in Deauville, France, on 18 October 2010, and also made available in French, German, and English. In this declaration we read (emphasis mine):

(7) a. Le France et l'Allemagne sont d'accord sur la nécessité de renforcer le *gouvernement économique* européen.
http://www.elysee.fr/president/les-actualites/declarations/2010/declaration-franco-allemande.9870.html

b. Deutschland und Frankreich sind der Auffassung, dass die europäische *wirtschaftspolitische Zusammenarbeit* gestärkt werden muss.
http://www.alexander-alvaro.de/wp-content/uploads/2010/10/deauville-18-10-2010-dt.pdf

c. France and Germany agree that the *economic governance* needs to be reinforced.
http://www.elysee.fr/president/root/bank_objects/Franco-german_declaration.pdf

We can see that *gouvernement économique* had already been used in the French text, whereas the German text opted for lexical variation (*economic cooperation*). The more immediate German equivalent *Wirtschaftsregierung* had been avoided. In fact, German politicians had repeatedly argued that what was needed for the eurozone was not a government with power and structures, but rather some agreed form of regulation and checking. In an interview which the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* conducted with the German Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble in August 2011, a few days before the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting, Schäuble too stressed the need to maintain national financial policies despite having the euro as a common currency. He added:

(8) a. Und an der weiteren Verbesserung des Krisenmanagements und der sogenannten Governance in der Euro-Zone arbeiten wir ja gerade.
(*Der Spiegel*, 15 August 2011, p. 28)

This was rendered into English as

(8) b. […] and we're working to further improve crisis management and euro-zone governance.
(*Spiegel International*, 15 August 2011, http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/0,1518,780248,00.html

In the original German text, Schäuble had actually referred to *the so-called governance*, thus reflecting an awareness of the problematic issue of finding an appropriate label for new forms of supra-national coordination of policies. At a press briefing of the German government held on 15 August 2011, the government spokesman Steffen Seibert informed the journalists present of the Sarkozy-Merkel summit and the topics to be discussed, also mentioning that joint proposals were to be sent to van Rompuy. The transcript of this press briefing quotes Seibert as follows:

(9) […] Es geht darum, gemeinsame Vorschläge zur Stärkung der *wirtschaftspolitischen Steuerung der Eurozone* zu erarbeiten. […]
(Literally: The task is to draft joint proposals for strengthening the economic control/coordination of the euro-zone […]

In response to a question, whether speaking of *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung* meant that working towards a common financial policy would explicitly be ruled out, Seibert replied:

(10) Wenn Sie so wollen, geht es, um dieses Wort „Governance", das immer in der Luft schwebt, einmal einigermaßen sinnvoll ins Deutsche zu übersetzen, darum, eine weitergehende wirtschafts- und finanzpolitische Steuerung, eine Verbesserung der wirtschaftspolitischen Steuerung zu finden.
(Literally: If you like, and to find a somewhat meaningful German translation for the word 'governance' that is always used so vaguely, the task is to find a more extensive economic and financial control, an improvement of the economic control.)
http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2011/08/2011-08-15-regpk.html?nn=430000

These extracts confirm that there was some unease amongst German politicians about using *Wirtschaftsregierung* and the attempt to agree on an appropriate German term. It may well be that the interpreter at the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting was aware of the debates about terminology and of the attempt of the German government to have *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung* accepted in official documents, which led to the rendering in (6b). Another hypothesis to explain the discrepancy in Sarkozy's words at the press conference and the text in the joint letter could be

that the French side had agreed to replace *gouvernement économique* in an earlier draft of the letter by *gouvernance de la zone Euro*, in response to the debates (and as a gesture to the German side?). An article in *Le Figaro* lends support to this hypothesis since we read (emphasis mine):

(11) Dans une lettre qui sera adressée mercredi à la présidence de l'Union européenne, France et Allemagne proposent de créer un « *gouvernement économique* de la zone euro »
(*Le Figaro*, 16 August 2011
http://www.lefigaro.fr/conjoncture/2011/08/16/04016-20110816ARTFIG00420-sarkozy-et-merkel-veulent-un-gouvernement-pour-l-europe.php

If this were the case, the analysis of the various texts and their renderings into other languages also provides insights into the dynamics of discursive events. It is interesting to see that at a recent press conference held by Sarkozy and Merkel in Paris on 6 February 2012, Sarkozy did use *gouvernance économique* which was rendered again into German as *wirtschaftspolitische Steuerung*.

This whole debate about terminology is of course not pure semantics, but reveals political interests and worries. With respect to 'economic governance', the mass media had already repeatedly commented on different interpretations between the French and German politicians. When the proposal came up again at the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting in August 2011, the British weekly magazine *The Economist* commented as follows in an editorial:

(12) […] stronger euro-zone economic governance […] [These measures] constitute a step towards political union. That is what airy labels like "economic government" or "deeper integration" actually mean.
(*The Economist*, 20 August 2011, p. 10–11)

Complete texts written by politicians or complete transcripts of press conferences are not the most typical form of political discourse in the mass media. Mass media produce texts within their own media institutions, thereby also engaging with political events and political discourse, as example (12) shows. Journalistic texts are thus also in intertextual relations with political texts, which, moreover, can be relations of intertextuality across languages and cultures. In the next section I will illustrate what kind of questions journalistic practices of text production can pose for Translation Studies.

4. Recontextualisation of political discourse in mass media across languages

In the section above, I have shown aspects of complementarity of the discourse types, joint letter and press conference. Relationships of complementarity or opposition between and across social domains are particularly obvious in the domains of politics and media. That is, institutional types of discourse in the domain of politics, such as speeches and press conferences, are closely linked to types of media discourse, such as editorials, comments, and news. Media texts draw upon, reorganise, and transform different discourses in constructing political events, with omission, addition, and rephrasing as typical transformation strategies (e.g. Blackledge 2005). Such processes of recontextualisation have been investigated in Critical Discourse Analysis, and there is plenty of evidence that mass media are not neutral reporters, but that they actively construct and shape representations of politics as a result of the way they select and structure their discourse (e.g. Conboy 2007; Patrona 2011). Le (2010: 185) therefore characterizes newspapers as "political actors".

Discourse produced at the Sarkozy-Merkel meeting was recontextualised in mass media mainly in shorter and amended form. For example, German and French newspapers incorporated direct quotes from the joint letter (emphasis mine, indicating links to extract 3):

(13) Deshalb sehen Merkel und Sarkozy in Van Rompuy den neuen Chef der Eurogruppe und bitten in einem Brief, „*dass Du diese Aufgabe übernimmst*". (*Der Tagesspiegel*, 22 August 2011 http://www.tagesspiegel.de/wirtschaft/neues-gesicht-alte-probleme/4528826.html

(14) Dans cette lettre, M. Sarkozy et M^me^ Merkel écrivent au président de l'UE que les dix-sept « chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement de la zone euro éliront un président pour un mandat de deux ans et demi », poursuivant : « *nous avons exprimé notre souhait que vous puissiez* assumer *cette charge* ».
Ils affirment également […] que « l'euro est le fondement de notre réussite économique et le symbole de l'unification politique de notre continent ».
(Le Monde, 17 August 2011
http://www.lemonde.fr/economie/article/2011/08/17/le-couple-franco-allemand-souhaite-suspendre-des-fonds-structurels-aux-pays-qui-ne-baissent-pas-leurs-deficits_1560585_3234.html

In these cases it seems logical to assume that the journalists used the German and French versions of the letter as a reference point for their texts. However,

English language mass media, too, commented on the meeting and the letter, also incorporating direct quotes into their articles, as can be seen in the extract below:

(15) "The euro is the foundation of our economic success and the symbol of the political unification of our continent," the zone's two most powerful leaders said, in a joint statement drawn up after they held talks on Tuesday.
"France and Germany propose to reinforce once more the governance of the eurozone within the framework of existing treaties," they wrote, proposing that eurozone leaders elect a president for a two-and-a-half year mandate.
"We have expressed our hope that you could assume this role," they added.
(*EUbusiness*, 17 August 2011
http://www.eubusiness.com/news-eu/finance-economy.btc

The direct quotes provided by *EUbusiness*, which presents itself as "an independent online business information service about the European Union", are not identical to the English version of the joint letter. This official English version of the letter says: *The Euro is the basis of our economic success and symbol for the political unification of our continent, France and Germany propose to strenghten (sic) further the governance of the euro area, in line with existing treaties*, and *[w]e expressed our wish that you could take on this job*. Although the differences are minor, this aspect leads to the hypothesis that the journalist used either the French or the German text as a source for producing their own English text.

In reporting the press conference, English-speaking mass media again incorporated direct quotes in their own evaluative articles, as illustrated in the two shortened extracts below:

(16) a. The French and German leaders have called for "true economic governance" for the eurozone in response to the euro debt crisis.
[…] Ms Merkel […] "We will regain the lost confidence," she said. "That is why we go into a phase with a new quality of co-operation within the eurozone."
(*BBC News*, 16 August 2011
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-14549358

(17) a. Merkel "[…] I think that what we are proposing here is the means with which we can solve the crisis right now and win back trust, step by step […]."
The French president said that the aim was to create a "real economic government for the eurozone", made up of heads of state and government, which would meet at least twice a year.
(The Guardian, 17 August 2011, http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/aug/17/angela-merkel-nicolas-sarkozy-summit

In these extracts, both Merkel and Sarkozy are quoted in direct speech and in English, although at the press conference, they were actually speaking in German and in French, respectively. Using direct quotes is a common feature of journalistic writing which has also been studied in Critical Discourse Analysis. For example, Li (2009) argues that quotations by political actors are never simple citations but involve (re)interpretations of events and power relations. The selection of quotations for inclusion in journalistic articles is also a process of redefining power structures, since certain political actors can be empowered whereas others can be silenced.

Direct quotes in journalistic discourse pose a challenge for Translation Studies as well. In addition to the quantitative aspect (i.e. the question of whose voice is heard more often in a journalistic text), the way direct and reported speech is combined can also contribute to the positioning and construction of the political actors. Since complete transcripts of the Sarkozy-Merkel press conference are available in French and in German on the government websites, German and French media wishing to quote the politicians directly can make use of them. Foreign language journalists too can refer to the transcripts as a source for producing their own language version, although the processes become more complex if they actually use a translation (or the transcript of the interpreting) as their source. The direct quotes in extracts (16) and (17) come from the statements at the beginning of the press conference and they were shortened to fit the new syntactic and textual environment. The German government website presents Merkel's exact words as follows:

(16) b. Durch beständiges und vor allen Dingen auch nachvollziehbares und abrechenbares Arbeiten wird dieses Vertrauen wiedergewonnen werden. Dazu legen wir qualitativ eine neue Phase in der Zusammenarbeit in der Eurozone ein.
(Literally: As a result of persistent and above all recognisable actions which we can be held accountable for, this trust will be regained. Therefore we start a qualitatively new phase of co-operation within the eurozone.)

This was rendered into French as follows for the transcript on the website of the French government:

(16) c. […] mais nous sommes convaincus que par une action permanente et grâce à un travail de fond, nous pourrons reconquérir cette confiance. C'est la raison pour laquelle, nous passons à une nouvelle phase qualitative de coopération au sein de la zone euro.

The shortening of Merkel's text has also resulted in another syntactic change: both the *BBC* and *The Guardian* turned the passive structure into active voice (*We will*

regain the lost confidence, we can solve the crisis right now and win back trust — note the different degree of certainty in *will* vs *can*). Active voice can be seen in the French version as well, albeit somewhat hedged by the modal verb (*nous pourrons reconquérir cette confiance*). Judged by these structural similarities, it could well be that the British journalists used the French text as the basis for their own reports.

The direct quote by Sarkozy in extract (17) reflects the more literal *real economic government for the eurozone* for Sarkozy's *véritable gouvernement économique* which he had used at the press conference, and discussed above. Since at the August 2011 meeting only German and French were used at the press conference, it remains an open question how the English journalists produced the quotes for their English texts. They might have been present at the press conference, understanding French and/or German themselves, or they may have had the transcripts translated into English. In any case, translation processes were involved in the production of the texts which were published in the mass media. I will give one more example which illustrates that recontextualisation of political discourse can be even more complex.

On 7 and 8 June 2011, the German Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel was in Washington to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Barack Obama. This state visit saw several interrelated discursive events with their respective discourse types: speeches by both politicians at a welcoming ceremony and at a state dinner at which the medal was presented, a joint press conference, and official meetings outside the public domain. Simultaneous interpreting was provided at the press conference, and consecutive interpreting for the speeches at the two other events. The texts of Merkel's two speeches are available in both German and English on the website of the German government, as is a transcript in German of the press conference. The website of the White House has transcripts in English only of the press conferences, and the speeches by both Obama and Merkel also in English only. Merkel's speeches have 'as translated' written in brackets after her name.

A comparison between the English versions of Merkel's speeches on the German and the White House websites show differences, even if only of a minor nature. I will just give one example below. Merkel started her speech at the State Dinner by referring to her own life and her dreams of travelling to the USA once she had reached retirement age, cf.:

(20) a. Ich bin im unfreien Teil Deutschlands, der DDR, aufgewachsen. Viele Jahre habe ich, wie viele, viele andere, von Freiheit geträumt — auch von der Freiheit, in die USA zu reisen. Ich hatte mir das sehr fest vorgenommen für den Tag, an dem ich das Rentenalter erreiche; das lag

bei Frauen in der DDR bei 60 Jahren, bei Männern erst bei 65 Jahren — so waren wir als Frauen privilegiert.
(http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_1498/Content/DE/Rede/2011/06/2011-06-07-usa-medal-of-freedom.html)

The English version of this speech as available on the website of the German government is a fairly literal translation, even reproducing the dashes in the same position:

(20) b. I grew up in the part of Germany that was not free, the German Democratic Republic. For many years I dreamed of freedom, just as many others did — also of the freedom to travel to the United States. That was what I planned to do on the day I reached retirement age, which was 60 for women in the GDR, but 65 for men — so we women were privileged.
(http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_6566/Content/EN/Reden/2011/2011-06-15-chancellor-washington-medal-of-freedom.html)

The English translations of Merkel's speeches on the German website are not explicitly indicated as advance translation, nor are the German versions accompanied by the statement *Es gilt das gesprochene Wort*, which is the equivalent to 'check against delivery'. The transcript available on the website of the White House Office of the Press Secretary reads as follows:

(20) c. I grew up in the part of Germany that was not free, the German Democratic Republic. For many years, I dreamt of freedom, just as many others did. Also of the freedom to travel to the United States. And I already had planned this out for the day that I would reach retirement age. That was the age of 60 for men — sorry, for women at the time, and 65 for men. So we as women were somewhat privileged at the time. (Laughter)
(http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/06/07/remarks-president-obama-and-chancellor-merkel-exchange-toasts)

Whereas Merkel was reading out the prepared text (as can be seen in the video of this discursive event available on the White House website), the interpreter (not visible in the video) definitely did not do so, even if an advance translation might have been given to her before. The text in (20c) shows features of oral speech (e.g. beginning a sentence with *and*, the more colloquial *planned this out*, and the explicitation *the day that I would reach*). The other noticeable feature is a slip of the tongue of the interpreter, which she corrected immediately. The transcript on the White House website indicates laughter at the end of this turn, which makes

one wonder whether the impression which the audience got was that Merkel had corrected an error she had made herself.

These transcripts are put on the White House website immediately after the event, as can be seen by the indication of 'For Immediate Release' at the top of each transcript, and by the addition of the time of beginning and end of each discursive event (the texts on the German government website do not provide this information). Due to this immediacy of the release into the public domain, it seems that no proof-reading, correction, and authorisation has happened. What is interesting, however, is that in reporting about this event, *USA Today* copied verbatim this very extract from Merkel's speech for inclusion in an article the next day, indicating it as a direct quote:

(20) d. […] reach retirement age. That was the age of 60 for men — sorry, for women at the time, and 65 for men. So we as women were somewhat privileged at the time …
(*USA Today*, 8 June 2011
(http://content.usatoday.com/communities/theoval/post/2011/06/obama-pays-tribute-to-merkel/1).

Although the article was published one day after the speech had been delivered, obviously the journalist had not become (or been made) aware of the fact that the slip was the interpreter's. This illustrates that newsworthiness requires quick reporting, and also that journalists rely on transcripts of interpreted statements for their work. In my own analyses of mass media reports on speeches and press conferences I have been able to illustrate that journalists copied the exact words as used by the interpreter, including hedges, rephrasings, and other lengthening strategies (Schäffner 2010, 2012). This is also an indication that the actual words uttered at the actual event are treated as authoritative. In other words, translation and interpreting become largely invisible in the recontextualisation processes from the actual event to the representation in the mass media. Questions of interest to Translation Studies are the following: why do journalists hardly ever indicate that the extracts they use are the result of translation and/or interpreting? Are they themselves aware that they are not copying the exact words originally spoken by the politicians?

News translation has recently seen more attention within Translation Studies. Bielsa and Bassnett's (2009) research into the role of translation in news production has revealed complex practices of news agencies. They have also shown that it is mainly the journalists themselves who perform translational tasks in producing their texts. Journalists, however, do not perceive this work to be translation. The complex practices in news translation and the interaction between translators, checkers, and editors were also addressed by Kang (2007), van Doorslaer (2009), and Chen (2011). Kang (2007) identifies news translation as a collective effort, and

Chen (2011:717) argues that "commentary translation is an institutional practice performed through collaborative teamwork."

The focus so far, however, has been on textual transformations which happen in the process of translating news from one language and culture into another one (e.g. Valdeón 2005; Holland 2006; Kang 2007; Loupaki 2010; Gumul 2010; Chen 2011). Often using methods of Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, these scholars identify strategies such as omissions, additions, neutralisation, explicitation, referential and transitivity choices, strategies of focalisation, etc. They also illustrate how such strategies mitigate or reinforce political or ideological tensions and contribute to intersubjective positioning shifts. Although they often emphasise that all these processes are influenced by ideologies and values upheld by the respective mass media institutions, comments about translators' motivations and decision taking remain speculative. For example, in discussing shifts of intersubjective positioning identified in translations from Chinese into English in Taiwanese newspapers, Chen (2011) repeatedly uses formulations such as "the translators may have supposed" or "translators may have believed". Similarly, in evaluating various English versions of a speech delivered by the President of Indonesia in British and US media, Holland (2006:235) concludes that "it is possible that there had been disagreements over its contents". Such comments show that in news translation research, too, agency is still underinvestigated.

In the research conducted by, for example, Bielsa and Bassnett (2009), Kang (2007) and Chen (2011), the translations (whether full texts or extracts) were produced within the media institutions, and either by the journalists or by professional translators. The examples which I have focused on in this article are translations or interpreters' renderings which originated within political institutions. Although these texts too are often recontextualised in the mass media (more often in shortened versions than as complete texts), they (continue to) exist within the political institutions. Whereas some political texts exist only in government offices or archives (e.g. minutes of meetings), a large number of full texts (and video recordings, which are included in the concept of text here) are made available on websites of political institutions. Although political institutions are the owners of these texts, they are thus available in the public domain. As we have seen, it is the political institutions which commission the translation of speeches and the transcription of press conferences. However, it is not always explicitly indicated that texts on websites are actually translations or transcripts of interpreters' output. The practices of the political institutions themselves are thus equally of interest to Translation Studies, raising questions such as: who provides the translations of speeches? Who decides at what time a text or transcript can be released on the website? Does any checking or proof-reading occur? If yes, who does it and what is being checked? If not, why not? These questions point to the agents who are

involved in all these complex processes as the largely unknown factor in investigating the role of translation in the production, dissemination, recontextualisation, and consumption of political discourse.

In the final section I will summarise arguments for a closer investigation of the role of translation and interpreting in political discursive events and conclude with a proposal of how this can be done.

5. Conclusion: From political texts to contexts of political institutions

As research in Political Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis has shown, political action, and thus political discourse, is very much in the public eye. Moreover, there is a close interrelationship between political institutions and mass media institutions, which is reflected in interrelations between texts. It is thus not surprising that research in Critical Discourse Analysis too has focused above all on the analysis of texts as the visible products of political interaction, and also explained communicative strategies of the political actors with reference to patterns of discursive practices such as interviews (e.g. Weizman 2008) or parliamentary discourse (e.g. Ilie 2010). Although translations have repeatedly been included in such analyses, scholars have rarely acknowledged that due attention needs to be given to this phenomenon. Chilton (2004: xii) at least refers to the crucial question of discourse analysis "across cultures, across languages and through translation" and argues that these "encounters pose more intriguing, and politically urgent, challenges for scholars in a world that is both more global and more fragmented."

The relevance of researching aspects of translation and interpreting can be summarised as follows:

- Political arguments cross linguistic, cultural, socio-political, and ideological boundaries as a result of translation and/or interpreting.
- Mediated and recontextualised discourse involves transformations and creates new relations of intertextuality across languages, discourse types, and cultures.
- In the (mediated) cross-national chain of discourse, political reality is (re)constructed and some voices of political actors are heard more frequently than others.
- Translation is embedded in institutional practices, which in turn are determined by institutional policies and ideologies.
- Translations as products reflect various conditions and constraints which research can bring to light and communicate to neighbouring disciplines (such

as Critical Discourse Analysis and Political Sciences) and also to politicians, political advisors, and journalists.

Although modern Translation Studies has increasingly focused on investigating the factors that systematically govern the production, dissemination, and reception of texts, the translational practices in the fields of politics have not yet been sufficiently investigated (for some initial research see the contributions in Schäffner and Bassnett 2010). Discursive events in the domain of international politics, such as state visits, joint press conferences, and jointly produced policy statements, are highly complex events. As I have illustrated in this article, they are also discursive events which include translational elements: advance translations of speeches are prepared, multilingual versions of joint letters are produced, interpreting is provided at press conferences. Moreover, these discursive events and the resulting texts are recontextualised via the channels of the political institutions themselves and via mass media. As I have illustrated, translation and interpreting are frequently involved in these processes, when, for example, journalists use translations as input for their news reports. Interpreting practices are equally diverse and complex. For example, in showing extracts of the Sarkozy-Merkel press conference on its main news *Tagesschau*, the German TV channel ARD provided voice-over into standard German for Sarkozy. In contrast, the BBC *News at Ten* used two different speakers for the voice-over for both Merkel and Sarkozy, and both with very noticeable German and French accents. These practices too contribute to the way politicians are (re)presented.

The role of translation and interpreting emerges as much more complex when we look beyond the text towards the contexts, i.e. the political institutions, in which translational activities originate and are performed. The discursive events with translational elements in the domain of politics are initiated, realised, and monitored by agents, and understanding the practices and underlying policies thus requires us to research organisational structures, interactions and agency. As indicated above, the complexity of translational activities in the field of politics remains to be investigated. Moreover, this complexity has not even been questioned yet within Translation Studies. The following questions can thus be suggested as a research programme:

- Who decides which speeches by politicians get translated and into which languages? Who decides which translations are made available where (for example, on government websites or on Embassy websites)? Are any more revisions done before the final text is released? Who takes these decisions?
- Who produces (advance) translations of speeches? Who produces the different language versions of joint policy statements? Who translates press releases?

Do political institutions have their own translation departments or do they outsource their translation needs?
- Who prepares transcripts of press conferences? Are they checked, amended, approved? If yes, by whom? Who authorises corrections and stylistic enhancements?
- Who selects interpreters for state visits, interviews, and press conferences? Who decides on the form of interpreting to be chosen? Is the interpreters' performance monitored? If yes, by whom?
- What additional processes happen when interpreted speeches and interviews are turned into written reports for print media? Who are the agents in these processes?
- Do interpreters use advance translations at an actual event? If not, why not?
- In short: What actually are the translation practices in political institutions, what is their translation policy, who are the actual agents who take all these decisions?

These questions focus on the agents who have an impact on the realisation of the complex discursive events, not only the translators and interpreters as agents themselves, but above all the political actors. In my experience, political institutions such as governmental departments are very reluctant to provide information about their practices, decision making and actual agents, referring to the confidentiality of political negotiations and of political texts. As far as joint texts are concerned, one practice seems to be that politicians produce these texts themselves. This was the information which was provided to me by the Senior Press Officer of the British Foreign Secretary William Hague in respect of a joint article by Hague and his German counterpart Guido Westerwelle which was published on 15 August 2011 in *The Huffington Post* (in English) and in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (in German). These two texts, too, revealed subtle differences in their linguistic structures. The information I received also stated that "if for example our partners are proposing a first draft to us, they will normally have written it in their language before sharing an English translation with us." If politicians or political advisors perform the translations themselves, additional questions arise: Why are professional translators not involved? What do such practices tell us about the perception of translation in political institutions?

In order to find answers to the questions listed above, we need to employ ethnographic methods, such as observing actual processes, interviewing translators, interpreters and other agents involved in the institutional processes (cf. Koskinen's 2008 investigation of translation in the European Union institutions). Critical Discourse Analysis can provide concepts and methods for analysing translated texts, for identifying translation and interpreting strategies, and also for identifying

transformations which happen in the processes of recontextualisation and circulation via mass media. Ethnography can be a useful accompaniment to research in both Critical Discourse Analysis and Translation Studies. In her final evaluation of advantages and shortcomings of her analysis of editorials in the French newspaper *Le Monde*, Le (2010) states that her text-focused analyses proved very efficient in describing the form, content, and function of the editorials. She adds, however, that an ethnographic study of the inner social interactions "would have allowed delving more deeply" into the issues of the editorials' legitimacy and *Le Monde's* identity as a news business (Le 2010: 186). In a similar way, an ethnographic study of translational practices in political institutions can help us to find out if there are correlations between the textual profiles and the institutional policies and practices; and if there are, we can investigate them in more depth and also explain them with reference to underlying assumptions (including assumptions about translation), values, and ideologies. Ultimately, such research could also contribute to our understanding of the impact of translation on the reception of political discourse, of politicians, and of politics.

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Texts analysed

(1) Joint French-German letter to Herman Van Rompuy
http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Pressemitteilungen/BPA/2011/08/2011-08-17-dt-franz-brief-rompuy.html?nn=430028
http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/2011/08/2011-08-17-dt-franz-brief-eng.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/2011/08/2011-08-17-dt-franz-brief-franz.pdf?__blob=publicationFile
(2) Palais de l'Elysée — Mardi 16 août 2011
http://www.elysee.fr/president/les-actualites/conferences-de-presse/2011/conference-de-presse-franco-allemande.11870.html
(3) Pressekonferenz von Bundeskanzlerin Merkel und dem französischen Staatspräsidenten Sarkozy — Dienstag, 16. August 2011
http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Mitschrift/Pressekonferenzen/2011/08/2011-08-16-pk-merkel-sarkozy-paris.html?nn=430000

The city in translation

Urban cultures of central Europe

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In the spirit of the 'enlargement' of the field proposed by Tymoczko (2007), this article argues for the city as an object of translation studies. All cities are multilingual, but for some language relations have particularly intense historical and cultural significance. Translation studies can illuminate the nature and effects of these interactions. The cities of Central Europe and in particular Czernowitz offer rich case studies. A thorough investigation of translational culture between 1880 and 1939 can help to provide a nuanced understanding of the nature of literary relations which prevailed before the violence of World War II.

1. Introduction: The translational city

No city is monolingual. While this generalization could possibly be contradicted by a reference to some ancient Greek city state where foreign languages were prohibited by law, the exception would confirm the rule: the spirit of the urban has to do with contact and mixing — and languages are part of this mix. Diversity, transfer and circulation among languages are part of all 'natural' urban life. And as global migration increases, the realities of urban multilingualism have become all the more evident in cities around the world, whether it be through shouted conversations on cellphones, multiple scripts on storefronts and on the screens of bank machines, or the texts of public art.

But the city is not only multilingual: it is translational. What is the sense of this distinction? Multilingualism calls up a space of pure diversity, a proliferation of tongues and of parallel conversations. It is the multilingual New York praised by Eugene Jolas in the nineteen-thirties, as a chorus of languages, which together make up the soundscape of an immigrant world where all languages are equally strange to one another:

> "We listened to the choral voices of Manhattan
> All the languages were melting one into the other
> Toutes les langues fêtaient des épousailles
> We saw the dance of the words of corbyantic names
> A storm of words organed catitatas over the city
> Antique rune-words wed French syllables
> Anglo-Saxons sounds mingled with Yiddish vocables
> Dutch vowels embraced the Spanish verbs
> A Flemish word fled into Italian nouns
> The lexicon of Hell's Kitchen melted into Portuguese
> White Chapel cockney united with Broadway double talk
> A Luxembourg dialect fused into Louisiana French
> Paris argot joined the slanguage of the Rialto
> All the vers of the world flowed gently into each other
> In a miraculous music of incantations". (quoted in Apter 2006: 117)

By contrast, the translational city is a space of connecting and of converging communities, of directionality and incorporation. Relations between languages are indicators of the extent to which the city's languages participate in the more general conversations of cultural citizenship. Citizenship requires, first and foremost, engagement with other people in the creation of shared social spaces. For non-official languages to have a right to expression, they must be translated into the official tongue. Translation, over and above individual multilingualism, is the key to citizenship — to the creation of communities across languages in the public sphere.

In this article, I wish to contribute to the debate about the reach and diversity of translation studies by proposing as a 'known unknown' the topic of the city in translation. The city has gained power as a site of inquiry over the last decades, as an arena of discussion focusing on issues of citizenship, public space and the reshaping of community. How do the physical spaces of the city encourage or impede the formation of community? How do globalization, virtual space, and diasporic networks affect communication among neighbours? There is a long history connecting the idea of the public realm in the city with the Greek *agora*, the physical space of conversation where citizenship, governance, and community were intertwined. Whereas the languages of foreigners, of what were known as *barbarians*, were excluded from the Greek *agora*, today's public spaces must include them. 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)

The translational city offers a new view onto city life, but it also introduces new perspectives on translation. Maria Tymoczko has been eloquent in showing how the basic premises of translation studies have been based on Anglo-American models of linguistic '(in)competence', assuming that individuals are monoglots and that translation serves to communicate across cultures which are both distant geographically and cognitively foreign one to the other. Such assumptions are belied, in particular, by multilingual cities (Tymoczko, online: 4–5). The city questions received ideas of "foreignness", because members of diverse cultures become neighbours and share a single territory. This means that the frames which dictate the flow and analysis of language exchange must be recast to respond to more subtle understandings of the relation between language and identity. The recognition will put pressure on the traditional terminology of translation studies, in particular the idea relation of *source* to *target*. 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). Translation practices in the city indeed partake of the 'plurilingual layering' described by Tymoczko, shaped by the realities of multilingualism on common terrain. The city is a network of differences across small spaces. To discuss translation in the city therefore is to investigate the ways in which proximate differences, often conflictual, are negotiated.

To introduce translation into the study of the city is also to enrich the notion of the "urban imaginary". While there has been an explosion of writing on the city since the 1980s by authors such as David Harvey (2006), Saskia Sassen (1991), Edward Soja (2000), Alan Blum (2003), and Iain Chambers (1990) — writing activated in large part by the new importance given to space in the human sciences — there has been a remarkable absence of attention to language. In the huge library of studies and books which have appeared on cities, little attention has been given to the public presence of language in cities or the translation zones that they foster. For Werner Sollors,

> Language is the blind spot in the debates about multiculturalism in the United States. Though perhaps the most significant and fascinating form of 'diversity', and certainly the single most important medium for literary expression, the multitude of languages in which literature of the United States has been written has rarely if ever been made the centre of readers' attention so that the history and continued existence of multilingualism in the United States remain virtually unexplored. (Sollors1997: 5)

Though this blindspot has been partially addressed by the recent writings of a group of committed American scholars — Emily Apter (2006), Doris Sommer (2004), Mary Louise Pratt (2009), Domna Stanton (2005), Werner Sollors (1997), Marc Shell (2003), Edwin Gentzler (2008) — all drawing attention to the plurilingualism of the American literary past, this attention has not extended into the realm of cities. Indeed, despite the research of urban sociolinguists, who have much to say on the ways in which the city has influenced the interaction among languages, much of the literature in urban studies ignores language, even when language issues figure prominently in that city's life.

2. Patterns of circulation: the dual city

To make sense of what seems like the shapeless and inchoate wanderings of languages through the streets and neighbourhoods of the city, it is necessary, then, to hear these conversations as part of a historical soundscape. Languages and texts do not circulate freely in the city, but follow pre-established paths, logics of circulation. "Information or cultural expression does not simply blow weightlessly through the city, but becomes a pretext for the building of structures and the organization of space, for the fixing of interfaces", says Will Straw (2010: 5). Translation and the city are linked through "cultures of circulation", that is pathways which are at once technological, material and cultural. Circulation has a shaping force; practices of communication determine the ways that knowledge is received and transmitted, shaped, developed, organized and passed on. The borders between neighbourhoods are sometimes as effective as the borders between nations:

> The circuitous routes traveled by literary texts across various borders, checkpoints, blockades and holding pens should finally, once and for all, lay to rest the romantic notion that such texts announce themselves and arrive simply by virtue of their inherent qualities as literature. Nothing could be farther from the truth: like any commodity, literary texts gain access through channels and furrows that are prepared by other means. Fashion, chance encounters, fortuitous circumstances, surrogate functions, political alliances and cataclysmic events such as war or genocide are much more certain and constant catalysts than judgment based on actual literary history or cultural importance. (Alcalay 2003, cited by Grossman, 2010: 55)

Each city shapes its own specific patterns of circulation. And 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 in the city is continually formed and reiterated. And languages in turn become modes of representation of the city, part of an aesthetic tradition which they embody, and which continually reinterpret its meaning. The city also offers a panoptic view of language interchange, crossing lines which have conventionally separated cinema from theatre, performance from the novel, the courtroom from the high-tech office, the free-lance translator's office from the university classroom, and allowing an understanding of the prevailing logics which motivate these activities. Adopting Doris Sommer's (2004) arguments for the beneficial effects of "cognitive dissonance" through language contact and following Claudio Magris' (1990) lead in investigating cultures of mediation, I am looking to investigate activities that cover a broad spectrum of language interactions and cultural mediations, from transfer to creative interference.

While all cities produce cultures of translation, there are some cities where these cultures have been a particularly salient element of urban history. In *Cities in Translation* (Simon 2012), I introduce the category of the dual city, where two historically rooted language communities feel a sense of entitlement and lay claim to the territory of the city. I show how colonial Calcutta, Trieste, Barcelona and Montreal all exemplify this duality in different ways, building their distinctive cultures of translation. One might want to call such cities bilingual, but the term is misleading. 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. Other languages also enter the conversation. Trieste, for example, is a city of three languages, its Slovene population at times as numerous as that in Ljubljana itself.

Movement across languages is marked by the special intensity that comes from shared references and a shared history and indeed translation becomes the very condition of civic co-existence. Cultures of mediation, in dual or multilingual cities, are immersed in the social and political forces that 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, with its most extreme form being over-writing or the effacement of one language), and *furthering* (translation as the vehicle of esthetic interactions and blendings). 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 (Simon 2012: 13–19).

Furthering, by contrast, involves what Edith Grossman 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" (Grossman 2010: 16).

3. Cities of Central Europe

In this article, I would like to expand and broaden the notion of the dual city — and the conflictual forces of translation — by focusing on the cities of Central Europe as a particular historical and geographical configuration of the city in translation. In the spirit of the theme of 'known unknowns', this exploration will be preliminary, general and speculative. Since 1989 the cities of Central Europe have reemerged as sites of historical interest, in particular for their multilingual and multicultural heritage.

By Central Europe, I mean that vast region of Eastern Europe where the German language exercised cultural influence for several centuries (Cornis-Pope and Neubauer, 2002: 29). Cornis-Pope and Neubauer offer an illuminating discussion of the terminological controversies over the terms 'Mitteleuropa' and 'Central Europe', showing how different historical moments and perspectives have informed an understanding of the cultural geography of this vast region — as well as the meanings given to 'Germanness' by the Prussian and Habsburg empires. Claudio Magris, the Triestine essayist, has become the most eloquent exponent of the idea of Mitteleuropa as a mélange of cultures, centred around the Danube.

> It is the river along which different peoples meet and mingle and cross-breed, rather than being, as the Rhine is, a mythical custodian of the purity of the race. It is the river of Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest, Belgrade and of Dacia, the river which — as Ocean encircled the world of the Greeks — embraces the Austria of the Hapsburgs, the myth and ideology of which have been symbolized by a multiple, supranational culture…The Danube is German-Magyar-Slavic-Romanic-Jewish Central Europe, polemically opposed to the Germanic *Reich*. (Magris 1990: 29)

In his voyage along the Danube, from its source to the Black Sea, Magris is highly mindful of the perversions which Nazism inflicted on German culture, and his account is punctuated by memories of the scars it has left behind. Nevertheless he reminds us of the "great chapter in history" which the pre-Nazi German presence in Central Europe brought about. "Its eclipse a great tragedy, which Nazism cannot make us forget" (Magris 1990: 32). Magris' literary heroes, Singer, Roth, Kafka,

Musil, Svevo, are all products of that great chapter of history, which involved the fertile interconnections between German and the many other languages of Eastern Europe.

Much of the flowering of which Magris speaks took place in cities, in the very particular microcosms of Central European cities. Although the language combinations, ethnic tensions and territorial shifts varied considerably across the territory, the reality of Central Europe as the encounter of myriad national languages with the proto-colonial vehicular language of German — until 1918 and to some extent until 1945 — is a constant. One might see the Mitteleuropean city as a variation on the colonial city — and indeed, there has been a burgeoning field of reflection on the resemblances between imperial and more recognizably colonial forms of occupation (Feichtinger 2003). It is this broad pattern that I want to explore here — the idea of the Central European city as a multilingual city in translation, whose literatures were a product of contact and multiplicity. By very broadly evoking the cultural patterns of the Central European city, I wish to investigate one particular pattern of multilingualism, one which has great relevance for today's cities, even though the model itself has disappeared.

> A genuinely German transnational culture went up in smoke at Auschwitz. But it was alive from the Baltic sea to the Danube delta, with centres in Prague, Lemberg, Budapest, Cernowitz, Vilnius, and elsewhere. That culture, epitomized for us by the names of Franz Kafka and Franz Werfel, Paul Celan and Rosa Ausländer, Elias Canetti, Joseph Roth and Karl Franzos, Sholem Aleichem, Rainer Maria Rilke, and Robert Musil, also included hundreds of newspapers, journals, theaters, and cultural societies. German, and especially German-Jewish culture acted as a glue, an integrating force, among the various ethnic groups. (Cornis-Pope and Neubauer 2002: 9)

Today's Central Europe has been emptied of the two languages most active in this exchange: German and Yiddish (see Stenberg 1991).

My point of entry into the Mitteleuropean city is a remarkable series of volumes, *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe*, edited by Marcel Cornis-Pope and John Neubauer (2000–2008) which brings together a wide range of scholars from different institutions across Europe to redefine the literary history of the region.[1] Rather than presenting parallel narratives of national cultures, the volumes propose the investigation of 'literary interfaces' which provide a fresh angle of investigation into the interchanges so crucial to its cultural development. Volume II proposes an unusual and fascinating perspective on the 'nodal

1. This volume, an initiative of the International Comparative Literature Association, is one of the valuable literary historiographies produced over the last decades as a result of innovative attempts to escape the limitations of national history.

city' as one such interface, the site of hybrid literary identity and cultural production. Separate essays on Vilnius, Riga, Czernowitz, Danzig, Bucharest, Timisoara, Plovdiv, Trieste, Budapest and Prague offer the possibility of comparisons among cities whose language overlays were different in nature, and yet which all reflect the special character of multilingual cities in a time of competing nationalisms. These 'relays of literary modernization and pluralization' (Cornis-Pope and Neubauer 2006: 9), whether provincial cities like Czernowitz and Bratislava or metropolitan centres like Prague or Budapest, participate in a plurality of language traditions and histories.[2] In some ways prefiguring the multifaceted and decentred Western city of immigration, East-Central European literary representations offer "paradigms of plural societies that give insights into crucial questions of our time — questions concerning the preconditions for the fruitful interaction of peoples from different ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural backgrounds as well as questions concerning the causes of violence and war in communities that had enjoyed peace for centuries" (Cornis-Pope and Neubauer 2006: 11).

What kinds of translation are possible across the fragmented language worlds of Central European cities? For the cities of Mitteleuropa, translation in the twentieth century must first and foremost be identified as a form of violence and coercion. Caught between the opposing forces of the Soviet and German empires, the cities of Central Europe were subject to successive takeovers, and the conflict of both World Wars resulted in widespread suffering and death. World War II saw the extinction of Yiddish-language culture in Eastern Europe. The very names of these cities reflect the power of translation as effacement and makeover. Vilnius-Wilno-Vilna; Czernowitz-Cernauti, Chernovytsy, Chernivtsi, Czerniowce; Danzig-Gdansk — each variant of the city name stands for a transfer of political and linguistic power. The city that is called Bratislava today had three names that were used throughout the period 1867–1914: Pressburg (German), Pozsony (Hungarian) and Presporok (Slovak). To refer to the city by each of these names (including today's 'Bratislava' which was a name given to the city only in 1918) is to project a different historical view of the city. The paradoxes of naming are especially acute in Bratislava, because Pressburg was largely a German and then a Hungarian city — until industrialization in the 1890s encouraged an influx of Slovak migrants from the countryside. Since the end of World War I, the city has been remade to reflect a retroactive Slovak identity (Babejovà 2003: 17). Translation has the force of coercion, then, when it participates in the violence of

2. In his detailed historiography of social democracy in Bratislava, van Duin emphasizes the fact that he has consulted sources in half a dozen languages, including Slovak, Czech, German, English and Hungarian. Rare would be the scholars who could tell the story of any Central European city from the perspectives of all its various language communities.

over-writing, of sponging out, of renaming. City streets are renamed as old heroes are disqualified, as new icons are glorified. Sometimes entire cities are covered over in a new language, as though the decor were being changed. This pattern of shuffled borders and city renamings was repeated countless times across the expanse of Central and Eastern Europe.

4. Czernowitz

The city of Czernowitz, subject of several recent studies, notably Hirsch and Spitzer (2010) and Colin (1991 and 2006), provides a rich case study of the ways in which mediation can be understood as a feature of Central European urban life, before the Second World War. "For most readers, darkness and forgetting conceal Czernowitz, capital of the Bukovina and Celan's birthplace, which at one time produced a richly diversified German, Ukrainian, Romanian and Yiddish literature" (Colin 1991: 4). Looking at the history of the interwar years, and the conditions which led to the singular poetic work of Paul Celan, can be revealing of the ways in which translation indeed worked through the life of the city.

Situated in Bukovina, the most easterly lands of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Czernowitz was called 'the Vienna of the east' for its passionate adherence to ideals of Viennese culture. Joseph II had deliberately turned the easternmost frontier of his empire into a buffer zone — in an effort to protect his territories from the Russian and Ottoman expansion — by actively promoting the settlement of Germans and later Jews to the area. By 1918, 47 percent of the population of Czernowitz was Jewish (Colin 1991: 6–7).[3] While in 1910 less than a quarter of the monarchy's inhabitants used German as their principal language (Hirsch and Spitzer 2010: 37) in multilingual Czernowitz where Jews were the largest 'national' group, assimilated German-speaking Jews were the dominant cultural influence. They remained attached to the canons and standards of the German language, and to a nostalgic affection for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The interwar culture of the city was dominated by what Hirsch and Spitzer (2010: 72–98) call the 'idea of Deutschtum', an ideal of Germanness which imposed itself with increased intensity even as the city itself was brought under the authority of Romanian cultural nationalism. Bukovina German had its own character, its own palette and special resonance. This is why the writers of the interwar city were drawn to hypercorrect and outmoded versions of German literature. Made insecure by their physical

3. Gregor von Rezzori in his *Memoirs of an Anti-Semite* gives a revealing view of the conflicting senses of belonging in a city like Czernowitz. Rezzori's opinions on language are particularly noteworthy, his family defending rigour in the use of German.

distance from the centres of German-language culture, they strove even more diligently to attain mastery of literary codes which had already been disqualified in Berlin and Vienna.

> Paradoxically, it was precisely in the interwar period that Bukovina's German literature, in particular its Austro-Jewish component, reached a pinnacle. So strong was the attachment of Jewish poets to the Austro-German culture that they continued to write in German in spite of their growing isolation in a Romanian-speaking environment. Even those who later settled in English — or French-speaking countries remained faithful to the German language and culture… Margul-Sperber, Rosenkranz, Kittner, Ausländer, and Kamillo Lauer, as well as the much younger generation of Weissglas, Gong and Celan refused to give up their mother tongue. Most of them (but not Celan) continued to cherish a German classicist style. Such traditionalism was not due to a lack of innovating power, but rather the result of their unusual situation as German poets in a multilingual surrounding. (Colin 2006: 73)

As Colin explains, their isolation created a sense of insecurity and resulted in a strong attachment to values associated with poetry and language. Many Bukovinian writers were proud of their 'high' German, unadulterated by the influences of neighbouring languages. They were attracted to literary figures like Rainer Maria Rilke, Georg Trakl, Franz Werfel, Stefan George, and especially Karl Kraus, who instilled in his readers a deep respect for the power of language.

For Hirsch and Spitzer, this adherence to German was a core ingredient of what they call "the idea of Czernowitz". That idea was expressed in the "identification of many middle-class and working-class Jews of the interwar generation with a Habsburg world of yesterday and with a contemporary Austro-German Kulturkreis — a 'Deutschtum' to use Karl Emil Franzos's term — from which they were geographically and politically removed" (Hirsch and Spitzer 2010: 89). It is important to emphasize, however, that 'German' Czernowitz, for them, quite naturally included the multicultural and multilingual flavour that had always animated the city's public life: the mixture of languages (German, Yiddish, Romanian, Ruthenian, Russian) that resulted in a characteristic local jargon; the intersection of West and East, urban and rural, modern and traditional. (Hirsch and Spitzer 2010: 89) Indeed, an unusual interplay between nationalism and receptiveness to various cultures left its imprint upon Bukovinian literature of the nineteenth century, anticipating the political and literary developments that followed World War I.

Language loyalty was complicated in cities like Czernowitz by competing movements of national revival. German-language literature competed with the promoters of the newly valorized vernacular languages which in Czernowitz

included Romanian, Ukrainian but also Yiddish. Czernowitz was the site of the famous 1908 Congress on Yiddish, whose aim was to consecrate Yiddish as the sole national language of the Jews. This movement was analogous to the many other attempts at language revival and modernization in Eastern Europe.

5. Culture of mediation

The literary culture of Czernowitz, like that of other Mitteleuropean cities, included a culture of mediation. This culture of mediation has been most effectively investigated and discussed in relation to Prague by Scott Spector in his *Prague Territories* (Spector 2000). Detailed analysis of the cultures of mediation of other Habsburg cities have only begun to be envisioned, but such research will surely yield results which will be useful in understanding the degree and nature of interlinguistic contacts. The dream of a 'universal German language' was a wish deeply rooted in the Bukovinian habit of mediating between different languages and cultures. There was an unusually high number of authors who engaged in translation. Margul-Sperber made German translations of poems by Robert Frost, Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, Wallace Stevens, Edna St. Vincent Millay, and e.e. cummings, as well as American Indian texts. He was the first German translator of Guillaume Apollinaire's *Caligrammes*, T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land*, and Gérard de Nerval's works. Weissglas translated Eminescu's famous poem 'The Morning Star' and Grillparzer, Stifter and parts of Goethe into Romanian. The important Ukrainian novelist Kobylyanska wrote first in German then translated herself into Ukrainian. Romanian poets were also influenced by German authors.

Authors writing in German often used motifs from Romanian and Ukrainian folklore and translated important historical and literary texts from one language into the other: the poet and historian Franz Adolf Wickenhauser, who initiated studies on the history of Bukovina, translated 800 documents from Church Slavonic, Romanian and Latin into German. The half-German, half-Ruthenian Ludwig Adolf Simiginovich-Staufe wrote poems in German, Romanian and Ruthenian and translated Romanian and Ruthenian texts into German (Colin 1991: 11).

Many writers began writing in German, then turned to their 'national' language — Ukrainian, or Yiddish. Such was the case, for example of the Ukrainian writers Felix Niemchevski, Osip Juril Fed'kovych, Alexander Popovich and Isidor Vorobkevich, sometimes combining motifs from German Romanticism with images from Ruthenian folklore. (Colin 1991: 11) as it was the case also for the Yiddish-language writer Itzik Manger (Starck-Adler 2007: 124–32).

The writer who is at once exceptional and yet who best exemplifies the culture of mediation which issued from the multilingual matrix of Czernowitz is Paul Celan. Alexis Nouss has written what will perhaps become the definitive account of Paul Celan's wrestlings with translation in its various permutations. In *Lieux d'un déplacement* (2010), sites of displacement, the idea of movement is treated both literally (Celan as an inhabitant of Czernowitz, Celan as refugee and exile) and metaphorically (Celan's language itself in movement against its origins). Celan's relationship to German emerged out of the distinctive patterns of the Czernowitz experience: "the celebration of German as transhistorical, pure, and redemptive, on the one hand, and the consciousness of German as the language of increasing prejudice, irredeemably sullied, on the other" (Hirsch and Spitzer 2010: 263). Translation was an avenue towards the work of other poets but also a means of opening up his own language, of making it 'strange to itself', permitting the Holocaust survivor to simultaneously use and transform the German language. Celan produced a considerable number of German translations of Romanian, Hebrew, French, Russian, English, Portuguese, and Italian poems (Colin 1991: 19). His trajectory moves from being a poet 'at home in the German language', a poet embedded in the Czernowitz milieu, to being a poet who detaches himself from tradition and distances himself from what has become a damaged tongue.

6. Literary interactions

Czernowitz's intense culture of mediation did not result, however, in a situation of generalized inter-translation. Two aspects of the particular situation of Czernowitz are underlined here: the pyramidal pattern of translation through German and the importance of translation to the diasporal writing which issues from Czernowitz.

The pattern of translation which emerges from Czernowitz is a pyramidal structure of mediations from and into German. The literary communities of the city — the German authors, but also the Yiddish, Ukrainian and Romanian-language authors — all looked to German as the unifying, authoritative language of literature (even as they both responded to and contested this authority through their move to a national language). The important Ukrainian novelist Olha Kobylianska could serve as an example of this translational dynamic. Born into a family which used German as their daily language (her father was a Ukrainian who worked for the Austrian administration and her mother was of Polish origin), Kobylianska wrote her early writings in German and continued to keep a diary in German for her entire life. After becoming 'converted' to the Ukrainian national cause in her late teens, she began to translate herself into Ukrainian –sometimes with the help of other authors, sometimes with editorial help from her publishers.

Her relationship with the powerful standard-setters of the Ukrainian literary establishment was fraught from the start because of her marginality within the community, but was complicated by the German influences that were discerned in her writing. Kobylianska was in particular heavily influenced by Nietzsche, a writer she could read and quote in the original German — by contrast with her new compatriots who would have had only second-hand versions. "Kobylianska was the first Ukrainian intellectual to introduce Nietzsche to Ukrainian readers, incorporating many of his philosophical concepts to her own philosophical system… Nietzsche's association of myth with aesthetic creativity, his statement that myth is essential for the health of a culture, as well as his call on the 'free spirits' to create this new 'ruling idea' by which to live spoke directly to Kobylianska's dissatisfaction with positivism, rationalism and socialism" (Ladygina 2013: 85). While many critics disparaged her use of 'German technique' which in this case included a combination of elements such as intellectualism, mysticism and estheticism, the writer and feminist Lesia Ukrainka took the opposite position and praised its influence on Kobylianska's writing: "It led you to recognize word literature, it transported you out into the broader world of ideas and art — this simply leaps out at one, when one compares your writing with that of the majority of Galicians" (De Haan, Daskalova and Loutfi 2006: 249). One could therefore refer to Kobylianska's impressive output of novels and short stories in Ukrainian as translational writing — a product of the particular mélange of cultures particular to the Bukovina and Czernowitz. In turn, Kobylianska translated Ukrainian literature into German, including the works of Pchilka, Kobrynska, and Ukrainka (Franko 1998). In the case of Kobylianska as for the many other writers of Czernowitz, the multilingual milieu meant writing in the presence of other languages, in the consciousness of competing literary systems, and in this case writing with and against the power of German. This same pattern would apply, for instance, to the writer Itzik Manger who also began his very early career writing in German and then switched to Yiddish — yet was influenced by the literary German form of the ballad. (Starck-Adler 2007: 124–32)

A second aspect of the translational landscape of Czernowitz are the displacements of exile that were a part of the lives of most of its 20th century writers, particularly Jewish writers — wanderings that were sometimes chosen but more often a result of the catastrophic events of the war and the Shoah. Paul Celan is the best-known of these exiles. But for Rose Ausländer (1901–88) and Aharon Appelfeld (1932-), other notable examples, the language landscape of Czernowitz continues to act as a shaping force on their esthetics and literary imagination. Rose Ausländer, whose works are collected in seven volumes, much of it published after her death, left Czernowitz in her 20s to travel to the US, spent the war years back in Czernowitz in hiding with her mother, and finally settled in Düsseldorf. During

a period of 8 years after the end of the Second World War, she wrote poetry only in English. She later returned to the German language and has become a well-known German-language author. The interweaving of diaspora and home, the long wanderings of much of her life, are reflected not only in the themes of her writing but in the consequences of the to-and-fro between English and German (Morris 1998). In particular, her sojourn in the English language and her exposure to American modernism resulted in shifts in her formal expression, from a German-inspired lyricism to an American-inspired modernism. Aharon Appelfeld, a novelist and author of some 20 novels, now writes in Hebrew. Though just a child when he was taken from Czernowitz to a labour camp, pre-war Czernowitz remains a rich source of memory for the child who spent the war years alone in the woods or in the company of peasants. For Appelfeld, languages are material and active forces, they stand as a constellation of positions against which he positions himself: the German of his assimilated Jewish parents, the Yiddish of his grandparents, the Ruthenian of the maid and later the peasants for whom he works, the Hebrew he adopts as his new native language in Israel. These language-points make up a map of conflictual forces that Appelfeld visits over and over in his novels, continually probing the nature of each position in relation to the others. (Budick 2005)

The imaginative worlds of both Ausländer and Appelfeld are deeply embedded in the originary crucible of languages in Czernowitz and for each of them the singular paradox of the city lies in the sudden reversal of meaning attached to the German language. For this city, so tied to the myth of the 'imaginary West in the East', German was according to some elevated to the status of a religion — an affiliation so intense as to resist both the Romanianization of the city and the real threat of Nazism. Raised in the adoration of *Deutschtum*, these authors were forced to see German undergo a spectacular transvaluation of values — and therefore to recalibrate their artistic expression in response to the horror associated with the German language.

Both writers demonstrate the active nature of the language landscape in Czernowitz, its powerful presence, drawing attention to language as a marker of identity and difference, a site of affiliation but also of separation. It marks their literary consciousness as a writing with and against language, a crossroads marked by an awareness of the ongoing consequences of language choice.

In view of the events of World War II and the Holocaust, it is difficult to define translation in the conflictual cities of *Mitteleuropa* as resulting in a fruitful interchange. The political tensions of the 1930s and their outcome make it impossible to speak of enduring interconnections. At the same time, translation can only serve as a useful instrument for analysing contact and interrelations if it takes into account the diverse historical impulses which sustain it — including coercion and competition.

It is also important to avoid retrospective readings which deny the alternative histories that might have grown out of the charged spaces and multiple marginalities of the city. In this context, the city of Czernowitz offers a rich area of investigation. As a crossroads of languages, a 'liminal location' between shifting national borders, the site of rich literary developments in several languages, and a place where the German language was intensely translational, Czernowitz is an important site to explore from the point of view of translation.

7. Conclusion

To discuss cities as a translation space is to use language passage as a key to understanding political and cultural tensions as they play themselves out in relations of conflict and dialogue.

The confrontation of languages results in entanglements which are both conflictual and productive. Language competition in the city is often impelled by a drive towards territorial reconquest, the linguistic conversion of urban space. Writer-translators are privileged informants, guides to the spaces of their cities and to the evolution of its cultural history.

What kind of translational cities are there? The writing of history across languages takes different forms: the competition between national and proto-national languages in Montreal and Barcelona, the anti-colonial and post-colonial language revivals of Dublin or Kolkata, the post-conflict dynamics of Beirut or Johannesburg. The language competitions of Central Europe from 1880–1945 propose a particularly rich combination of forces, worthy of detailed investigation. These cities of the past were caught in the midst of historical forces which were literally beyond them, and yet they did for a time become the theatres of a richly complex culture of circulation.

As models of plurality, all cities provide insights into the evolution of today's global cosmopolis, contributing to an understanding of meaningful interaction among its diverse communities and heightening awareness of the precariousness of coexistence. Cities propose a geometry of divided and contested space, where language relations are regulated by the opposing forces of coercion and resistance, of wilful indifference and engaged interconnection. To attempt to understand some of the elements which create both the appeal of cities and their terrible fragility is a task that can be taken on by Translation Studies. It is not simply the presence of languages that count, but the forces which direct the flow of language traffic and the mood which animates life at the intersection. The intersection is the symbolic centre of the city's imaginative life — it is a site of opportunity and

danger, of hopeful encounters and disappointed miscommunication. The kinds of translation that arise there are various, unpredictable and richly formative.

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Name index

Subject index