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Jenny Williams

Theories of Translation

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Theories of Translation

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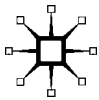

First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

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Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

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ISBN 978–0–230–23764–3 hardback
ISBN 978–0–230–23765–0 paperback

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13

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Acknowledgements

In the same way as a translator cannot produce a translation completely on her own, so, too, a book of this nature is dependent on the help and support of a number of people.

A special thanks is due to Professor Margaret Rogers for her faith in my ability to complete the project, for her encouragement and her insightful comments. I am also indebted to Dr Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva and to Tony Williams for commenting so helpfully on an early draft.

I would like to thank my colleagues in the Centre for Translation and Textual Studies at Dublin City University for providing the supportive research environment from which I have benefited enormously. My particular thanks are due to Dr Minako O'Hagan and Dr Sharon O'Brien for their generosity in making available to me research materials in games localization and translation process research. I found my many conversations with Dr O'Hagan on the human–technology interface particularly stimulating. I am also indebted to the Community Interpreting Research Group for their pioneering zeal and the new insights they have provided into interpreting in Ireland.

Finally, I want to thank Mieke Zwart for her assistance in the preparation of the manuscript.

A translator as decision-maker bears the ultimate responsibility for her work. So, too, does this author.

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Glossary of Terms

AVT	Audiovisual translation
CAT	Computer-assisted translation
DGT	Directorate-General for Translation, the European Commission's in-house translation service
DTS	Descriptive Translation Studies
GILT	Globalization, internationalization, localization, translation
IS	Interpreting Studies
MT	Machine translation
SI	Simultaneous interpreting
SL	Source language
ST	Source text
TAP	Think-aloud protocol
TL	Target language
TM	Translation memory
TPR	Translation process research
TS	Translation Studies – the academic discipline devoted to all aspects of translating and interpreting
TT	Target text
UGT	User-generated translation

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Introduction

0.1 Context

Everyone has a theory of translation – from the reader of the Penguin Classics translation of Hans Fallada's *Alone in Berlin* (2009), who admires Fallada's style, to the foreign diplomat who, when summoned to the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs in 2007 and reprimanded for expressing a less than positive view of Ireland, blamed his translator. In the first case, the reader assumes that she is reading Fallada's words and therefore believes a translation to be identical to its source text (ST). In the second, the diplomat knows that it is acceptable to blame the translator in a society that views translation as invariably inadequate and considers translators to be not real professionals.

Another widely held theory in the English-speaking world regards translation as a simple and straightforward exercise in which a word in one language is replaced by a word in another language, regardless of the type of text, its purpose or its readership. Such a theory finds expression in the view that a rudimentary knowledge of a foreign language and a bilingual dictionary are all that is required to produce a satisfactory translation.

These and other, more formalized theories are the focus of this book which aims to provide a guide to the theories of translation which have proved influential over the last 50 years. It envisages a primary readership consisting of final-year undergraduate and Master's students on Translation Studies and related programmes. The book may also be of interest to teachers and researchers in the rapidly developing field of Translation Studies as well as to

practising translators who wish to keep abreast of theoretical debates of relevance to the profession.

In addition to providing insights into developments in Translation Studies, a book on theories of translation can also be expected to provide new perspectives on a range of intercultural connections and international exchanges in a globalized world. This is because theories of translation are not a trivial matter. They underpin the choices of decision-makers worldwide: from media moguls who decide which books to translate and which films to dub or subtitle, to NATO commanders who recruit translators and interpreters to interface with local people in Afghanistan, to Microsoft and Apple who need to 'sim-ship' (i.e. simultaneously ship) all language versions of their new products.

In the twenty-first century it is no longer possible to write a book on theories of translation which confines itself exclusively to theories emanating from mostly English-speaking scholars writing in Western Europe and North America. To do so would be to privilege one particular way of looking at translation and, however inadvertently, to become implicated in the hegemonic impulse of Western ideas and globalizing practices. The US scholar Maria Tymoczko has defined Western approaches as 'ideas and perspectives that initially originated in and became dominant in Europe, spreading from there to various other locations in the world, where in some cases, such as the United States, they have also become dominant' (2006: 13). As a result of the power of Anglo-American discourses in a globalized world, Western translation theories have now spread to many parts of the globe. These theories are inevitably rooted in a particular linguistic, cultural and historical context. They are based on a small number of written canonical texts, on a view of the relationship between language and culture as being rooted in the nation state, where one state equals one language, and on a conceptualization of translation as transfer between two monolingual groups (Tymoczko, 2006).

The spread of Western theories has the potential to stimulate and enrich debates elsewhere. However, it also has the potential to obliterate different traditions, particularly since in an unequal world Western theories, backed by enormous economic and political power, carry prestige and many of the debates they encourage are conducted at an international level in English, the lingua franca of globalization.

Gambier has pointed to the irony of a community such as the Translation Studies community which protests its openness to difference but which 'impose[s] on its members in Japan, China, the Arab world and the Indian continent the obligation to speak a single language' (2004a: 69). However, it is in the nature of a lingua franca – as it is of any language – both to enable communication and also to disadvantage the less powerful communicators. Members of the Translation Studies community, in particular, should be well placed to listen to and appreciate other views and to reflect critically on their own tradition, wherever that may be located.

This book therefore sees itself as a response to Tymozcko's call 'for a paradigm shift – a shift toward the truly international and away from all cultural enclosures, including Eurocentric ones' (2009: 418). In that respect it is part of what the Indian scholar Harish Trivedi has called a 'concerted move now in translation studies to widen its horizons, to extend the field of investigation, and perhaps even to make up for past neglect and disregard' (2006: 102).

Writing from a Chinese perspective, Jun Tang has described how the initial enthusiasm for Western ideas about translation in China as the country began to open up after 1978 has given way in recent years to concerns about 'the uncritical acceptance of Euro-driven theoretical paradigms' (2007: 366). So while Western scholars are becoming more aware of the limitations of their own world views (Tymoczko, 2007), scholars elsewhere in the world are grappling with the question of how (or whether) to reconcile local discourses with the dominant global ones.

However, the divide between Western and non-Western theories of translation may not always be as great or as absolute as is sometimes imagined. In the Chinese case, Tan has gone so far as to propose that there may be higher-level universal features of Translation Theory that transcend individual cultures (2009). For example, in the same year that the Canadians Vinay and Darbelnet published their study of contrastive stylistics in the French–English translation pair, the Chinese scholar Loh Dian-Yang published a study of linguistic changes that occur in translation between Chinese and English. A comparison of the two models, undertaken by Meifang and Li (2009), throws an instructive light on the differences between the two language pairs as well as enlarging the resources available to scholars worldwide engaged in examining translation shifts.

The Chinese case is a particularly interesting one since Chinese scholars have published a large number of studies in English in the last ten years on the topic of Translation Theory in China, which marks a significant contribution to the internationalization of the field (for an overview see the special issue of *The Translator*, 2009, vol. 15, no. 2). One of the characteristics of these publications is the diversity of views they contain, confirming that the term 'Chinese' in this context is not homogeneous: we can no more talk of Chinese Translation Theory than Irish or Canadian Translation Theory. Susam-Sarajeva has pointed out that a 'target culture' is rarely as monolithic as the term might suggest, but consists of subsets of individuals and institutions which are in constant dialogue and/or dispute with each other (2006: 5). The same must also apply to source cultures.

Furthermore, it is scholars from China, of all the countries characterized as 'non-Western', who have published so much in English. This is perhaps an indication of the current status of China in the power relations of a globalized world. While this book was being written China became the second largest economy in the world. So, while it is undoubtedly non-Western in terms of geography, it is no longer so in terms of economics or commerce. Indeed, globalization increasingly requires us to translate binary divides such as 'Western' and 'non-Western' and 'centre' and 'periphery' into plural forms in order to accommodate an emerging multipolar world order.

Such blanket terms also mask crucial aspects of difference. As the Irish scholar Michael Cronin has pointed out in the context of postcolonial theory, a discourse which operates on a strict distinction between 'Europe' and 'the colonies' fails to take into account power differentials between European countries and as a result neglects to theorize the translation consequences of such differentials (2003: 140–1).

James Holmes (1924–86), an American who moved to the Netherlands and whose work in the 1970s is generally regarded as laying the foundations of subsequent theorizing in Western Europe and North America (Gentzler, 2001: 93; Snell-Hornby, 2006: 41; Munday, 2008: 9–10), felt it necessary to apologize for not understanding Russian and therefore not being able to include Russian Translation Theory in his work (1978/1988: 99). In 2013 it is no longer realistic to expect a Translation Studies scholar to have direct access to Chinese,

Arabic and a host of other languages in which translation scholars have published.

A translation scholar located in Dublin, Ireland, finds herself part of a rich history of translation – both painful and liberating – in a former British colony on the extreme western seaboard of Europe, in a country which has always looked both east and west and in which bilingualism, and at times trilingualism, has been the norm (Cronin, 1996). Having been educated in the British tradition in Northern Ireland and involved in teaching and researching translation for over 20 years in the Republic of Ireland, my experience has been a European one. I am limited in my reading to three or four European languages and rely on translation into those languages for access to texts written in other languages. I am therefore no different from any other Translation Studies scholar, being the product of a particular background and experience. Despite these limitations I believe the attempt to provide an 'enlarged' view of translation is worthwhile. This book regards itself at the beginning of an endeavour and as an invitation to others to engage in the venture.

0.2 Definition of translation

Before we proceed to discuss theories of translation, it is important to explain what we mean by the concept of translation. Any definition we present must be able to account for the very wide range of translation activities which have gone on in the past and which are currently part of everyday life across the globe. These include:

- The recruitment, training and work of local educated civilians (LECs) as interpreters and translators in war zones such as Iraq and Afghanistan.
- The translation of virus alerts for a worldwide customer base in a multinational company which produces anti-virus software.
- Fan-subbing: the use of fans to translate video games.
- The production of multilingual documentation in large institutions such as the European Union where the concept of an ST often no longer exists.
- The translation of instructions and user manuals for products as diverse as coffee machines and netbooks.

- Translating and interpreting in refugee tribunals.
- Translating in minority language contexts.
- Translating and interpreting in health care settings such as maternity hospitals and psychiatric clinics.
- Translating political speeches, press statements and at press conferences.
- Translating global news.
- Translating for the stage.
- Sign language interpreting.
- Translating literary texts out of and into majority/minority languages.
- The use of translation memory systems and other tools to facilitate the translation of specialized texts.
- Subtitling, surtitles, audio description and other forms of audiovisual translation.
- Website translation – for ecommerce as well as, for example, tourism.
- Translation as a form of rewriting: for example, rewriting a classic story for a children's edition.
- Translation as the adaptation of novels for the screen or fairy tales for a musical composition.
- The use of crowdsourcing to translate social networking sites.

This list includes both written and oral translation. The decision to include interpreting in a definition of translation reflects recent thinking in the field. Gile has described translation research and interpreting research as 'natural partners' (2004: 31). In the same volume devoted to an exploration of the relationships between the two fields, Chesterman describes Translation Studies and Interpreting Studies as 'part of the same interdiscipline' (2004a: 52). The Austrian researcher Franz Pöchhacker, in his groundbreaking *Introducing Interpreting Studies* (2009), locates Interpreting Studies within the wider field of Translation Studies and describes it 'as translational activity, as a special form of "Translation". (The capital initial is used to indicate that the word appears in its generic, hyperonymic sense.)' (2009: 9). In this book we have adopted Pöchhacker's approach and employ the abbreviation IS to refer to Interpreting Studies and TS to refer to Translation Studies, the academic discipline devoted to all aspects of translating and interpreting.

Munday makes the point that the boundaries between oral and written translation are not always as clearly defined as the layperson might think. He cites examples of interpreters, who are required to provide written translations of witness statements in courts, and formal speeches, which are written to be read, to illustrate the 'blurring [of] the boundaries between the two modes' (2009b: 9). Sight translation where an oral translation is produced on the basis of a written text is another example of such blurring.

However, the most compelling argument for including interpreting is made by Cronin who takes the view that '[…] interpreting as an activity that goes on in courts, police stations, social welfare offices, conferences, coach tours, factory floors, journalism assignments, airports, is arguably the most widespread form of translation activity in the world today and has been for tens of thousands of years' (2002: 387).

Such considerations make it imperative for a definition of translation to take some account of interpreting.

In the early 1980s the Israeli scholar Gideon Toury proposed a groundbreaking definition of a translation as 'any target language text which is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself, on whatever grounds' (1982: 27). For Toury, the fact of being viewed as a translation does not presuppose any particular relation to an ST, it only presupposes that (in most cases) some sort of relationship exists. This means, for example, that texts which are assumed to be translations but which have in fact no ST are included in the definition. Toury shifted the focus of attention from the ST, hitherto the starting point for most theorizing, to the target text (TT) and its reception in the target culture. In doing so, he moved the debate from prescribing what a translation ought to be to describing what it in fact was.

Toury's ideas were taken up by Bassnett who expressed 'a growing sense of discomfort with definitions of translation' because such definitions seemed to revolve around the restricted and restricting notions of faithfulness and unfaithfulness and the relationship between a 'translation' and its 'original'. By drawing on examples of pseudo-translations, self-translations, fictitious translations and translations in travel writing, she demonstrated that we do in fact have quite a broad understanding of translation. She went on to suggest that we should think of translation as 'a set of textual practices

with which the writer and reader collude' (1998: 39). This conceptualization has the advantage of freeing us from discussions about the difference between translation and adaptations, versions and imitations. Every text that claims to be based in any way on a previous text is simply a translation.

More recently Tymoczko has introduced the notion of a 'cluster concept' to define the concept of translation. A cluster concept is one whose members cannot be predicted a priori on the basis of necessary and sufficient conditions but can only be described a posteriori on the basis of observation in the cultural context in which they appear (2007: 84–90). In other words, it is not possible to prescribe in advance what does and what does not constitute a translation. This can only be determined after the event on the basis of the role which the translated text plays in its new context. Tymoczko argues that viewing translation as a cluster concept permits the inclusion of a wide range of translation types. Moreover, such an approach gives equal status to translations from all cultures and all times by enabling each culture to set its own parameters and facilitates 'a decentered and truly international approach to translation studies' (2007: 98).

This international turn in TS has been endorsed by Delabastita, who has continued to pursue an opening up of the concept of translation. He warns, however, that 'a radically open and relativistic view of Translation' could end up 'questioning the existence of Translation Studies as an autonomous discipline' (2008: 245). No intellectual endeavour is without risk but the gains in conceptualizing translation in a way that encompasses its global reach as well as its centrality to a wide range of intercultural and intersemiotic encounters, both present and past, more than outweigh any such risks.

In order to capture the multifaceted nature of translation, the definition adopted in this book is the one formulated by the Russian-born linguist Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) in 1959. Jakobson envisaged a three-part definition of translation:

1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.
2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of non-verbal systems. (Jakobson, 1959/2004: 114) [emphasis in the original].

In the course of his essay it becomes clear that Jakobson is referring to both the written and the spoken word when he talks about 'verbal signs'.

Jakobson describes his first category as the use of 'another, more or less synonymous, word' or 'circumlocution' within the same language. Examples include the rewriting of a classic story for a children's edition, or subtitles for the hard of hearing or subtitling stretches of dialect in a film. Jakobson's second category corresponds to the layperson's understanding of translation; he sums it up by stating that 'translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes' (1959/2004: 114). As we will see, the term 'equivalent' has become a controversial one in the field. The examples which Jakobson gives for his third category include music based on fairy tales or film adaptations of novels, a process which Gambier has termed 'tradaptation' (2004b). Audio description and sign language interpreting would also fit into this category.

The advantage of Jakobson's definition is that it is quite an open one that includes the translation activities listed above as well as accommodating a wide range of other ones across space and time. Furthermore, it encourages us to view translation not as an isolated or secondary phenomenon but one which is connected in a myriad of ways to every aspect of language and culture.

0.3 Structure of the book

There are a number of different ways to structure a book on the topic of Translation Theory. A historical approach, which would give a chronological overview, runs the risk of being repetitive and overlong while failing to engage in sufficient depth with each theorist. By adopting an approach based on related disciplines such as linguistics, cultural studies, philosophy (to name but a few), it would be difficult to avoid overlap since language, culture and philosophy are inextricably related; this approach also privileges theories which originate outside TS. A geographical approach, which classifies theories according to their place of origin, could produce a fragmented account.

Other possibilities include adopting an 'approaches' strategy or organizing the book around a central concept in the field. Gentzler (1993/2001) opted for the former by concentrating on five approaches: the North American translation workshop, the 'science'

of translation, early TS, polysystem theory and deconstruction. This proved to be a very productive way of conceptualizing the field in 1993 and the result stands as a significant contribution to our understanding of Translation Theory, as evidenced by a new edition in 2001. However, in 2013 the scope of theory needs to expand to include recent developments in translation, especially those driven by technology, as well as new theoretical insights, particularly those relating to the translator and translator training.

Pym chose the concept of equivalence, which he subdivides into 'natural' and 'directional' equivalence, as the organizing principle for his 2010 book on Translation Theory. This was a controversial move, for, as we shall see, equivalence has become a rather unfashionable term. However, Pym has been an engaged and, at times, provocative translation theorist for over 20 years and has consistently insisted on the centrality of equivalence in theorizing the field. It therefore made sense for him to structure his book in this way. The success of such a strategy depends on the extent to which readers accept the importance of equivalence and, in particular, Pym's definition of it.

In the case of this book the priority has been to locate and structure the discussion of translation theories within the discipline of TS itself. This does not mean that theories originating outside the discipline will be ignored, merely that they will be presented in their relation to translation. This approach is based on the conviction that TS is a discipline in its own right and that therefore this is the appropriate framework in which to discuss its theoretical aspects.

Theories are therefore categorized according to their relation to translation as *product*, to translation as *process* and to the position of the *translator*. By product we mean the outcome, the translation itself. The chapter on product presents theories about the possible relationships between a translation and its ST as well as theories about the translation in its new context and the function it fulfils there. By process we mean the steps which lead to the end result, and the chapter on process covers theories about translation as a process of communication, theories about the processes going on in the mind of the translator/interpreter as they produce a translation and also the process of localization. The chapter on the translator introduces theories of agency, theories of translator (in)visibility, subjectivity and creativity as well as theories of translator training.

An approach that focuses on translation in this way has the additional advantage of supporting a more international perspective. The discussion of product, process and the position of the translator is not restricted to a particular geographically or culturally bound set of theories but can range widely across theories emanating from around the globe.

Before we can consider categorizing theories it is important to establish what we mean by a theory and ask what kind of people propose and develop theories.

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1
Of Theorists and Theories

Douglas Robinson has claimed that translation theorists are engaged in 'attempts to make sense of what they're doing and why, and of how both they and their work fit into larger social and aesthetic contexts' (1997a: xx). In this chapter we shall be asking *who* these theorists are, *how* they conceive the goals of their theories and *what* qualifies as a translation theory.

1.1 Who are the theorists?

The first category of theorists identified in the TS literature is translators themselves. Indeed, the earliest writings on translation, both in Europe (Munday, 2009b: 1) and in China (Tang, 2007: 359), were produced by practising translators.

Chesterman argues that 'a translator must have a theory of translation: to translate without a theory is to translate blind' (2000a: 3). He goes on to argue that 'theoretical concepts can be essential tools for thought and decision-making during the translation process' and claims that translation theories can be useful tools for translators, trainees and their teachers. There is another sense, too, in which translators 'must' have a theory of translation: as all human activity is based on certain assumptions (or theories), translators have certain assumptions about the act of translating whether they are aware of them or not. The decisions taken by a translator over the course of a translation job – about register, terminology or layout, for example – are taken on the basis of theoretical considerations.

Indeed, Pym takes the view that 'translators are theorizing all the time' (2010: 1), that the very act of translation, which involves generating a range of solutions to a particular translation problem and then selecting from this range one solution, is in itself an act of theorizing. Pym distinguishes between 'this private, internal theorizing' (2010: 1) and 'public theory', which develops out of 'disagreements over different ways of translating' (2010: 2).

For Robinson, translators engage in Translation Theory when they 'write prefaces to or letters about their work' (1997a: xviii). Thus, translators become theorists when they comment on their work in paratexts such as translator's notes and prefaces or in correspondence with publishers or friends. Nowadays this might also include the email correspondence between a translator and a postgraduate student who is engaged in research on texts which the translator has translated. Robinson distinguishes between this kind of theorizing and 'formal Translation Theory', which he does not define but which by default must mean those texts in his 1997 anthology which are devoted exclusively to theorizing about translation such as Addison's essay in *The Spectator* in 1711 (1997a: 190–2) or Schleiermacher's landmark lecture in Berlin in 1813 (1997a: 225–39).

It is to 'formal Translation Theory' that we will now turn our attention because the second category of theorists comprises scholars who have actively engaged with Translation Theory. Such theorists come from a wide range of backgrounds across the globe, as can be illustrated by the following three examples. The Scottish phonetician J.C. Catford took the view that 'the theory of translation is essentially a theory of applied linguistics' (1965: 19). The Israeli literary critic and translator Gideon Toury insisted that theorizing about translation should take translations themselves as the starting point because 'translations are facts of target cultures; on occasion facts of a special status. Sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub) systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event' (1995: 29). The Chinese scholar Martha Cheung explains in the introduction to the first volume of her pioneering *Anthology of Chinese Discourse on Translation* that she chose the term 'discourse' in preference to 'theory' or 'thought' in order to 'highlight the point that no writing is done in an ideological vacuum' (2006b: 1). She goes on to state her own approach as 'an ideology of intervention' which aims both to 'promote an international TS, one that is less limited by the Eurocentric

mode that dominates the present scene' and to 're-root/re-route the development of translation studies in China' (2006b: 2). The emphasis of the first of these theorists on linguistic theory, the second on systems theory and the third on ideology and power illustrates the theoretical reach of Translation Theory and the multiplicity of sources from which it draws.

The first scholar to propose the name 'Translation Studies' for our discipline was James Holmes in a key paper in 1972, entitled 'The Name and Nature of Translation Studies' (1972/1988). He conceived of the field as consisting of two branches: a 'pure' branch and an 'applied' branch. He located Translation Theory in the 'pure' branch and further subdivided it into 'general' Translation Theory, which aimed to develop a universal theory of translation, and 'partial' Translation Theory, which concerned itself with theorizing issues restricted by particular parameters such as medium (e.g. oral or written), text type (e.g. poetry or instruction manual) and time (e.g. eighteenth- or twentieth-century translation activity). For Holmes, the pure branch seems to have been of more importance than the applied branch which deals with translator training, translation aids and translation criticism. Holmes's ideas, which were subsequently reproduced as a diagram in Toury (1981), remained an important point of orientation for translation scholars for many years. By 1998, however, scholars were beginning to view the Holmes/Toury map as out of date, with Pym questioning whether 'the Holmes map is automatically suited to what we want to do in translation studies now' (1998: 2/3). In 2008 Vandepitte proposed a new map, based on strict terminological principles and ordered according to purpose, method and subject (2008: 584–8). A year later Van Doorslaer presented the 'map' of TS on which the Benjamins online *Translation Studies Bibliography* is based, which has four subcategories: approaches, theories, research methods and applied TS (2009: 40). While Holmes's mapping exercise in 1972 (1988) aimed to sketch out the parameters of a new field, the more recent maps are a sign of the maturity as well as the complexity of an established discipline.

One scholar who has made a major contribution to thinking about Translation Theory over the last 15 years is Andrew Chesterman. In the coda to his joint statement with Rosemary Arrojo in the *Target* Forum on 'Shared Ground in Translation Studies', Chesterman provides the following definition of a Translation Theory:

> For me, a theory of translation would be a logically linked set of well-corroborated hypotheses (interpretive, descriptive, explanatory and predictive hypotheses). These hypotheses would account for the ways translations (of various types) tend to be related to various kinds of conditions and consequences (historical/cultural/ideological/situational/personal/linguistic etc.). Such a theory would always be open to new refinements etc., and it would always be vulnerable to be replaced by some other theory which better suited some particular purpose. (2000b: 157)

He develops these ideas further in his essay 'On the Idea of a Theory' (2007). Here he begins by establishing that a theory is both an instrument of understanding (e.g. a way of understanding translation) and a form of understanding (e.g. the conceptualization of that understanding). He then outlines five types of theories. The first type he discusses are myths, such as the Babel myth in Western Translation Theory which has resulted in a view of translation as always inferior to another, previous text. The fact that we call this earlier text in English the 'original' reflects the status traditionally assigned to it in English-speaking cultures, although, as we shall see in the course of this book, that status is not universal and is no longer as uncontested in the English-speaking world as it once was. Metaphors account for Chesterman's second type of theory, for metaphors are ways of conceptualizing translation. Chesterman's own metaphor, the meme, encapsulated in his *Memes of Translation* (2000a), implies that translation is a form of propagation and mutation. The third type of theory is concerned with models of translation: comparative models which compare and contrast translations with other types of text; process models which investigate the translation process from a variety of perspectives; and causal models which attempt to identify the causes (and effects) at work in the production and reception of translations. The fourth type of theory comprises hypotheses, the starting point of any theoretical endeavour (see Williams and Chesterman, 2002). Here Chesterman outlines the types of hypotheses – interpretive, descriptive, explanatory and predictive – which are found in TS. The fifth and final type of theory has to do with structured research programmes, which are based on a core of agreed fundamental principles surrounded by a 'protective belt of supplementary assumptions and hypotheses to be tested, protecting the

hard core' (2007: 5). Chesterman considers this to be rare in TS and identifies only two examples: Polysystems Theory and corpus research (see Chapter 2). However, with the growing number of large-scale research projects such as the PACTE project in Spain and the TransComp project in Austria/Germany this type of theoretical work is set to become more important in the field.

More recently Anthony Pym's *Exploring Translation Theories* (2010) provides an overview of Western Translation Theory. As we noted in the Introduction, Pym takes as his starting point the concept of equivalence. Following that, he goes on to discuss the paradigms of purpose, description, uncertainty, localization and cultural translation.

Other Western scholars such as Tymoczko have argued for a reconceptualization of Translation Theory to incorporate 'the thinking of non-Western peoples about this central human activity' (2006: 14). The Jamaican scholar R. Anthony Lewis makes a plea for Translation Theory to take hybridity into account and to become 'less reliant on notions such as target language and source language, understood as closed, homogenous systems' (2007: 32).

Martha Cheung has drawn attention to fundamental differences in the meaning of 'theory' in Western and Chinese traditions. In Western discourse theory is based on 'systematic reasoning' (2006a: 90), whereas in the Chinese tradition Translation Theory, which is grounded in professional practice and expected to inform that practice, draws on classical Chinese aesthetics and poetics, 'both of which operate not along the axis of systematic reasoning but with a (loose) cluster of related concepts whose meanings are open to constant definition and redefinition' (2006a: 91). According to Cheung, such differences make it imperative for scholars of both traditions to problematize their own and each other's notions of theory.

Harish Trivedi, in surveying the terms used for 'translation' in a number of Indian languages, cautions against enlisting these terms 'under the flag of Western "translation"' in what he views as the continuation of a fraught colonial North–South relationship (2006: 117). In a discussion of the relative lack of theorizing about translation in India, Kothari and Wakabayashi conclude that this is due to the fact that traditionally Indians have moved between a range of native languages and cultures; they suggest there is a 'link between "lived translation" and a relative lack of theorizing' (2009: 13). They

propose as a corollary 'that largely monolingual cultures are more likely to be aware of translation as a distinct act and more active in theorizing it' (2009: 13). In a study of translation in East Asia, Wakabayashi has attributed 'the relative dearth of formal theorizing' to two factors: the culture of scholarship in the region and the (low) status of the academic study of translation (2005: 55).

The third group of theorists are identified by Christiane Nord as 'lay receivers' (2001: 191). These are the readers of translations who pronounce judgement on them on the basis of their 'subjective theory'. Nord explains that '[…] the receivers of a translation are not normally aware that their theory is *subjective*; many of them would not be able to define or describe it. Subjective theories need not be consistent; they often include even incompatible or contradictory elements' (2001: 188) [emphasis in the original]. This is the kind of uninformed theory which we encountered at the beginning of this book: translated novels are identical to their STs; translations are always inferior; translation is a matter of replacing words.

Such subjective theories can be particularly influential when penned by literary critics in the broadsheets. Fawcett, who undertook a study of reviews of translated literature in the British Sunday newspaper *The Observer* between 1992 and 1999, concluded that the reviewers subscribed to a theory of translation which preferred translations to read like original English texts. He also noted a strong aversion to translations which displayed ST interference (Fawcett, 2000). Venuti found similar theories of translation among reviewers of translated literature in the USA (1992, 1995). Such subjective theories of translation can then have a considerable impact on the attitude of readers to foreign literature in translation, as well as affecting the sales of work by foreign authors.

As we shall see, subjective theories of translation are widespread in the software localization industry where many clients assume 'a one-to-one correspondence between the form, code, and message of the source and target texts' (Dunne, 2006: 107). They therefore regard translators as automatons, who simply replace a word in one language with an easily identifiable 'equivalent' in another language, and view the translation process as repeatable and reproducible. As a result, clients often have completely unrealistic expectations about the time a localization project will take to complete and the cost of the localized product.

Given that language and translation are central to a very large number of commercial, artistic, legal, diplomatic and political activities across the globe and that decisions in these fields are all too often made by people with little understanding of language and translation, subjective theories can have a significant effect not just on publishing but also on marketing, military campaigns and international product launches. Indeed, subjective theories of translation play a role, for good or ill, in intercultural encounters at many levels.

At the time of writing, for example, there is no vetting procedure for court interpreters in Ireland. When this hit the headlines in May 2010 and the Courts Service was asked to comment on the lack of any check being carried out on interpreters in the courts, the response was that there was no problem – and: 'Where an issue of lack of clarity or understanding arises, the dynamic of the court setting makes this apparent' (*Irish Times*, 9 June 2010, p. 7). The theory of translation underpinning this practice is that anyone who speaks a foreign language has the necessary knowledge of the Irish legal system, the command of the legal terminology required in two languages and the ability to interpret in both directions in a court case which could be dealing with topics as diverse as rape, traffic accidents or drug smuggling. Interpreting in a courtroom is therefore unproblematical. Moreover, problems of clarity or understanding only occur with translation into English – since there is normally no means for the judge or legal teams to ascertain any difficulties with translation into any other language. As interpreting in a courtroom is unproblematical, no problems can occur.

In the context of political asylum interviews in the USA, Inghilleri identified a number of implicit theories of interpreting at work (2003). The judges and some untrained interpreters regarded the interpreter as a conduit or 'disembodied mechanical device' (2003: 263). The asylum seeker's lawyer expected the interpreter to be an advocate, providing an interpretation which supported their client's case – a theory shared by some interpreters from the same cultural background as the applicants. Other (trained) interpreters viewed their role as conveying the message as accurately as possible and making the necessary linguistic and cultural adjustments to do so. At the same time the political asylum hearings were taking place in a monolingual, monocultural setting which was constructed in such a way as to 'exclude the presence of a cultural or linguistic "other"'

(2003: 259). Inghilleri concludes that in the interaction between the various parties to the interview 'interpreters may and do find themselves in the middle of potentially conflicting agendas' (2003: 255). Subjective theories of interpreting can therefore also influence the process and outcome of interpreted events.

As will have become clear by now, theorists in TS have different understandings of 'theory', based on their personal experience, their intellectual training and the cultures from which they come. Before investigating the implications of such diversity, let us examine what the theorists and other stakeholders in the field expect from Translation Theory.

1.2 What are the goals of Translation Theory?

TS scholars who have actively engaged with theory (and who belong to the second category of theorists listed above) have identified seven possible goals of Translation Theory. The first of these is *description*, formulated by Chesterman as follows: 'to describe what translators do, what strategies they use and what roles they play, under given linguistic and socio-cultural conditions' (2000a: 48). This approach was pioneered by the Israeli scholars Itamar Even-Zohar and, particularly, Gideon Toury whose *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* has proved hugely influential since its publication in 1995.

Holmes (1972/1988) regards description as the first step towards evolving theories 'which will serve to explain and predict what translating and translations are and will be' (1972/1988: 73). *Explanation* is therefore the second goal of Translation Theory. Neubert takes the view that Translation Theory should produce 'principles of explanation for a class of phenomena' (2000a: 25). Many scholars look to theory to provide an explanation for the causes, processes and/or effects of translation (see Toury 1980: 19; Cronin, 1996; Hermans, 1999; Pym, 1998; Chesterman, 2000a: 48). Chesterman has recently suggested 11 ways of using the term 'explanation' in English and on this basis has proposed four types of explanations in TS. The first type comprises hermeneutic explanations, such as conceptualizing translation as crossing a river or as an act of cannibalism, which increase our understanding of the phenomenon in question but do not provide an exhaustive explanation. This is followed by explanations that focus on the necessary conditions for the existence of

a particular translation phenomenon. Next come explanations that are concerned with exploring causality. The fourth category consists of explanations based on the functions or purposes of a translation (2008: 365–7).

The third goal, as indicated by Holmes above, is *prediction*. This is based on the idea that a Translation Theory should enable us to say how translators are likely to act or what translations will look like under certain circumstances. Lvóvskaya includes prediction within the scope of Translation Theory (2000: 27) and Chesterman also allows for the possibility of prediction, albeit sometimes of a general and imprecise nature (2007: 3).

The weak predictive power of translation theories can be ascribed to the many variables involved in the translation process. In TS predictions are normally restricted to low-level probabilities such as the interference which occurs at the lexical level between language pairs: for example, the probability that a native speaker of Polish learning to translate into English will have a tendency to omit (in)definite articles.

A fourth goal has to do with providing *assistance for translators* in a number of ways. The first of these is to provide solutions for translation practice, as Lefevere declared in 1978: 'The goal of the discipline is to produce a comprehensive theory which can be used as a guideline for the production of translations' (1978: 234). Newmark moved beyond producing guidelines to adopting a more prescriptive approach:

> What translation theory does is, first, to identify and define a translation problem (no problem – no translation theory!); second, to indicate all the factors that have to be taken into account in the solving of the problem; third, to list all the possible translation procedures; finally, to recommend the most appropriate translation. (1988: 9)

As we have seen, Cheung notes the close relationship between theory and practice in the Chinese translation tradition, which includes the requirement that 'theory should inform practice' (2006a: 90). Venuti, too, sees Translation Theory as 'the formulation of concepts designed to illuminate and improve the practice of translation' (2004: 13).

Another way in which theory can assist translators is by raising their awareness, enabling them to reflect on their work and, even, justify their translation decisions to clients (Pym, 2010: 4). Aubert pleads for a translator-centred theory that has the role 'of bringing about awareness' (1995: 130). Arrojo develops this idea further, stating that 'a theory of translation should attempt to empower translators-to-be and raise their conscience as writers concerning the responsibility they will face in the seminal role they will play in the establishment of all sorts of relationships between cultures' (2000: 159).

Finally, Translation Theory can assist translators by providing a basis for professional identity. '[H]ow can we as practising translators expect to be taken seriously, as fully-fledged professionals or even reach a consensus among ourselves, if we can't provide any sort of systematic theoretical basis for our choices and demands?' Wagner's rhetorical question (Chesterman and Wagner, 2002: 19) is based on the assumption that in order to qualify as a profession, translators need a sound theoretical underpinning for their work.

A fifth goal of Translation Theory is to *provide a paradigm for research in TS*, i.e. a framework within which whole programmes of research can proceed. This goal is closely related to Chesterman's fifth type of Translation Theory, outlined above, and has been most eloquently articulated by Tymoczko (2007) who calls on the TS community to 'define methodologies appropriate to its own subject matter that will nonetheless retain the basic characteristics of research, namely measurement, verifiability, and replicability' (2007: 145). She pinpoints the interrelationship of data and theory as key for the choice of data to be collected as well as for the formation and refinement of theory. 'Theory informs the hypotheses and data of research, but because the results of research interrogate and refine theory, research can result in the reformulation of the largest frameworks that structure a field of inquiry' (2007: 167). Tymoczko goes on to emphasize the importance of self-reflexivity in Translation Theory and in the theorists themselves, insisting on the need for researchers to continually question the theoretical frameworks underlying their own methodologies.

A sixth goal proposed for Translation Theory is to *establish criteria for the evaluation of translation*. According to Martha Cheung, the Chinese translation scholar Luo Xinzhang argued in his overview of Chinese translation theories published in 1983 that 'criteria for evaluation lie at the very "heart" of translation theory' (2002: 157).

Graham, too, envisaged that a theory of translation should include 'something like a practical evaluation procedure with criteria necessarily specific, though general nonetheless' (1981: 26).

A seventh goal, envisaged by Cronin, is to *provide an analytical tool to understand and critique global trends* (2003). For Cronin, translation is central to globalization, not only because it enables the spread and exchange of goods, services, people and ideas across the globe but also because the theoretical questioning of the practice of translation provides a method for understanding the processes and practices of globalization. Translation Theory does this by exposing the complexities of language, difference, identity, culture and communication (2003: 34–6). In a similar vein Pym has suggested the following goals:

> to envisage intercultural relationships that presuppose neither sovereignty nor hegemony; to construct a workable language regime for multicultural empires; to define the authority of intermediaries and their ethical capacity to intervene; to work productively with machines; to develop intercultural communities and transnational training programmes hopefully without paternalistic impositions southward and eastward. (1995b: 16)

The seventh goal is the only one which reaches beyond the discipline itself and offers the methods and insights of TS to a wider scholarly community. This in itself is a sign that the discipline is coming of age.

The number and range of the goals of Translation Theory is not surprising in a field of human activity which encompasses professional, scholarly, pedagogical and policy dimensions and which takes place 24 hours a day all around the world. A professional translator who uses technological tools such as a translation memory system every day in her work will conceptualize the activity of translation in a somewhat different way from a translator trainer in an institution of higher education attempting to balance the often competing demands of academia and the profession. A politician tasked with formulating a translation policy to deal with immigration may require different theoretical tools from a TS scholar exploring the significance of translational relationships in the history of a particular country.

Before we delve into the theories themselves we have one final question to ask.

1.3 What is a Translation Theory?

The answer to this question is complicated by different understandings of what is meant by 'theory'. As translation straddles the 'hard sciences', in, for example, machine translation, the social sciences, in, for example, community interpreting, and the humanities, in, for example, literary translation, approaches to theory emanating from all three domains have found their way into the discipline of TS. The field was therefore 'doomed from the start to confront the issue of where it stands [...] on a line defining the two age-old human–science paradigms of the arts and sciences in Western culture' (Simeoni, 1995: 453).

At one end of this line is the natural sciences paradigm which begins with a research question when a researcher encounters a new or unexpected phenomenon. This leads to the formulation of a hypothesis, a 'best guess' explanation for the phenomenon in question. The hypothesis is then tested against empirical data. The more often it is tested and found to be supported by empirical evidence, the stronger it becomes until it reaches a point where it is generally accepted in a particular scientific community and acquires the status of a theory. This view of a theory as 'a mature, coherent body of interconnected statements, based on reasoning and evidence, that explains a variety of observations' (Futuyma, 2009: 9) can be found in the literature on simultaneous interpreting. Here Moser-Mercer has described her 'quest for an accurate and verifiable, albeit not necessarily simple theory of interpretation, one with a high degree of explanatory power which would objectively describe the act of interpretation while at the same time fulfil the stringent criteria of scientific inquiry' (1994: 17–23). Given the carefully controlled environment in which such experimental research is conducted, a theory of this sort could be expected to predict with a high degree of accuracy how interpreters would behave in certain well-defined situations.

Scholars in the social sciences tradition are more aware of the large number of uncontrollable variables in any study of human activity and are therefore often reluctant, or indeed unable, to draw hard and fast conclusions (see Williams and Chesterman, 2002: 60–89). While the social sciences paradigm allows for large-scale empirical research and quantitative approaches, it also encompasses small-scale research

projects based on case studies and interviews. An example of such a study arose from the recent economic boom in Ireland, when the construction industry experienced serious skill shortages and hired large numbers of foreign workers to fill the gap. Before they were allowed to commence their employment, these non-English-speaking workers were required to undergo basic health and safety training. One form of training was a one-day session of instruction and testing led by an Irish tutor, who was experienced in delivering such courses to English-speaking workers, and an interpreter who was a native speaker of the language of the course participants. This new situation raised a number of interesting research questions. What role does gender play in an interpreted training session when the participants are a male tutor, a female interpreter and 30 foreign male workers? What kinds of coping strategies does an interpreter need to handle an eight-hour assignment which involves consecutive and liaison interpreting as well as interpreting health and safety training materials such as DVDs? How do the tutors adapt to working with an interpreter? To what extent do the tutors tailor their delivery to suit a non-English-speaking class? What do the course participants expect from their fellow-country(wo)man who is acting as an interpreter? An investigation into any of these questions will produce probabilistic conclusions rather than absolute ones. The contribution of such research to theory will, of course, depend on the research design but it has considerable potential to enhance our understanding of multimodal interpreting as well as the gender dynamics of the 'triadic exchange' involved in this type of interpreting.

In the humanities theory is more abstract, conceptual and philosophical. An example of this approach is Chesterman's definition of theory as 'a view of translation – or some part or aspect of it – which helps us to understand it better' (Chesterman, 2007: 1). For some scholars 'theories' are simply synonymous with 'ideas' (Pöchhacker, 2004: 106, 107).

Budin, who reviewed the concept of theory in Western discourse, concluded that there are three 'minimum quality requirements that are accepted across different epistemological paradigms' when it comes to defining a theory (2001: 12). The first of these is that a theory is consistent in itself, i.e. that it does not contain any logical contradictions. A theory must, secondly, identify the object or phenomenon being theorized. Thirdly, the methods

used in developing and testing the theory must be made explicit so that others can replicate them. The selection and discussion of the theories in this book are based broadly on Budin's definition.

Vermeer adds a cautionary note about the use of particular terminology: 'A theory is called "scientific", when the assumptions are "scientifically" well-founded and presented. "Scientific" is a culture-specific concept' (1996: 3). In discussions of theory all assumptions need to be made explicit. They also need to be carefully interrogated.

One productive way of interrogating theoretical assumptions is to compare and contrast them with those of other traditions. The positivist philosophical underpinnings of terms such as 'scientific' in Western discourses on translation stand in stark contrast to Chinese Translation Theory, for example, which is based rather on intuitive thinking, derived from practical experience, and is deeply rooted in Chinese aesthetic and philosophical traditions, especially Confucianism (Tan, 2009: 291–5).

Wakabayashi's etymological study of terms in Japanese relating to translation has revealed a surprising number of conceptualizations. These include simplification, rereading (in relation to Chinese texts), change, paraphrase, word-for-word rendering as a preliminary to full translation or as an aid to readers with limited proficiency in the ST as well as a 'third' language (i.e. Japanese influenced by the ST). Some conceptualizations include both intra- and inter-linguistic translation and some relate to translations between Japanese and specific languages (2009). Salama-Carr, in her study of the translation activity in Baghdad in the ninth century, notes that terms to denote translations included 'biography', 'commentary', 'summary' as well as 'translation' (2006: 128). Many of these conceptualizations envisage a greater variety of relationships between translations and other texts than the conventional Western 'equivalence' model would allow.

Etymology – especially decontextualized etymology – cannot, of course, provide a sound basis for theorizing about translation. However, etymology can give some insights into how translation has been conceptualized at different times and in different places and can raise awareness that the theoretical assumptions underlying translation in one's own tradition are not the only possible ones.

In Western Translation Theory there has been a consistent aspiration for a unified theory of translation. Holmes called for a 'full, inclusive theory accommodating so many elements that it can serve to explain and predict all phenomena falling within the terrain of translating and translation, to the exclusion of all phenomena falling outside it' (1972/1988: 73). He describes this universal theory elsewhere as having to meet 'the rigorous requirements of a true scientific theory explaining the nature of *all* the phenomena to be considered' (1978/1988: 101) [emphasis in the original]. According to Kelly, 'a complete theory of translation [...] has three components: specification of function and goal; description and analysis of operations; and critical comment on relationships between goal and operations' (1979: 1). Tymoczko believes that while a general theory of translation may be unachievable, the process of attempting to formulate it will yield important insights (2006: 15). Halverson, too, argues for 'a cognitively sound, socially plausible theory of translation and translating. In my view, such a theory must be able to explain phenomena at various levels: at the local level of the translator's cognitive processes, and at the most global level of institutional interests, power relationships, etc.' (2008: 359). However, she goes on to say that 'We are quite a way from such a general theory at present. Indeed, a synthesis of this kind is hard to envisage in much detail' (2008: 359). Martha Cheung also aims to develop 'a general theory of translation that truly has general relevance', which she sees as a possible outcome of recent moves to develop a 'non-Eurocentric, international Translation Studies' (2005: 28).

The global reach of translation and the diverse activities that it encompasses in the contemporary world make the development of a single general theory of translation increasingly difficult. This is largely because such a theory would need to embrace community interpreting and machine translation, video games localization and multilingual documentation – to name but four examples from the large field of TS. Thus, if a general theory could be formulated, it would surely be of such banality as to have little explanatory power.

One theorist who believes that 'there is no need to develop a separate theory of translation' is Ernst-August Gutt (2000: 199), who claims that Relevance Theory can provide a unified theory of translation. According to Relevance Theory communication is possible because human beings are able to infer the intended meaning of a

'stimulus' (i.e. an utterance, text or even body language) on the basis of their 'cognitive environment'. This refers to speakers' and hearers' knowledge and assumptions about the world and is also known as 'context' (2000: 27). Gutt contends that all aspects of translation 'are explicable in terms of the interaction of context, stimulus and interpretation through the principle of relevance, a universal principle believed to represent a psychological characteristic of our human nature' (2000: 198). Gutt views translation as a subset of intercultural communication and defines it as 'a case of interlingual reported speech or quotation' which informs 'the target audience of what the original author said or wrote in the source text' (2000: 210). This narrow definition excludes advertising texts, instruction manuals and certain types of tourism texts from what Gutt calls 'translation proper' (2000: 218). Such texts should be rendered into the target language by a 'bilingual' who 'may be a communicator in his own right, not tied to any source language agent at all' (2000: 67).

The first edition of Gutt's book in 1991 caused quite a stir but his claim to have found a unified theory of translation has not been universally accepted in the TS community. However, his work has been influential in the area of audiovisual translation and it provides important insights into the cognitive processes involved in translation as a communicative act and these will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter we have introduced different types of theorists and theories. All are products of particular social, historical and geographical circumstances. In an essay comparing Western and Chinese thinking about translation, Lefevere argues that approaches to translation are 'contingent, not eternal' and 'changeable, not fixed' (1998a: 12). In other words, theorizing does not happen in a vacuum. Rather it results from the interplay between individuals and groups with the particular historical and cultural circumstances in which they find themselves. It is not the purpose of this book to compare theories or, indeed, to establish a 'league table' which would rank theories according to particular criteria. Rather, the aim is to present theories as far as possible on their own terms and in their particular contexts.

The wide range of approaches and goals in Translation Theory has led to the choice of the title *Theories of Translation* for this volume. The author's approach is what Pöchhacker has termed 'diversity management' (2004: 109). In other words, an attempt will be made to include as many theoretical approaches as possible that are relevant to translation as product, to translation as process and to the translator.

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2
Theories about the Product

This chapter will explore a number of aspects of the translation product that have attracted theoretical attention. The discussion starts with the range of possible relations between a translation and its ST, whether that ST is real or presumed, stable or indeterminate. We then follow the move from prescriptive to descriptive theorizing before considering theories about the function of translations. Finally, we turn our attention to postcolonial theories of the product.

2.1 The equivalence relation

When we consider translation as product, an important concern in Western Translation Theory over the last 50 years has been the relationship between the product and its ST. This concern finds expression in the debates about equivalence.

Pym, in his recent book on Western translation theories, begins with a discussion of what he terms 'natural equivalence' because it is 'the basic theory in terms of which all the other paradigms in this book will be defined' (2010: 19). He goes on to acknowledge that the binary thinking which underlies the equivalence debate is a particularly Western phenomenon (2010: 34). In cultures influenced by philosophies such as Hinduism and Sufism, which espouse non-dualism and strive for unity, notions such as equivalence do not seem to play such a prominent role in theorizing about translation (see, for example, Kothari, 2009: 119–31).

As we have seen, the term 'Translation Studies' was first coined in 1972. Theorizing prior to this in Europe and North America was

undertaken by scholars outside the discipline, primarily in linguistics. Our account begins with Roman Jakobson (1896–1982) who wrote his influential essay 'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' in 1959. Born in Russia, Jakobson had begun his studies in linguistics in Moscow in 1915 before moving to Prague in 1919, where he co-founded the Prague School of Linguistics and developed his ideas on structuralism. Forced to flee Czechoslovakia in 1941, he travelled to Scandinavia, where he had contacts with the Copenhagen Linguistic Circle, and from there in 1942 to the United States of America, first working in New York before finally moving to Harvard in 1949.

'On Linguistic Aspects of Translation' therefore represents the views of a linguistics scholar who has lived in four different language communities in the course of his life and who has published in Russian, Czech, French and English. This may go some way to explaining why Jakobson believes that everything is translatable and that translation involves a substitution of messages: 'translation involves two equivalent messages in two different codes' (1959/2004: 114). A translator receives a message in one language, recodes it and transmits it in another. The message itself remains more or less the same. Jakobson does not define what he means by 'equivalent', except to say that there is 'ordinarily no full equivalence between code units' (1959/2004: 114). For Jakobson, the multilingual exile, while 'the practice and theory of translation abound with intricacies' (1959/2004: 115), the production of an equivalent message in another language is unproblematic.

The next major contributor to the equivalence debate in the English-speaking world was John C. ('Ian') Catford (1917–2009), a Scot, who had just taken up the post of director of the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan in the United States when his *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* appeared in 1965. Catford, who founded the School of Applied Linguistics at Edinburgh University in Scotland in the early 1950s, was one of the leading practical phoneticians in the second half of the twentieth century. Catford's research in Edinburgh had focused on phonology and the analysis of Scottish dialects. For Catford, meaning is a property of language. Each language is unique: French texts have French meanings and Spanish texts have Spanish meanings. Therefore meaning cannot be transferred; source language (SL) and target language (TL) texts cannot

have the same meaning (1965: 35). Translation then becomes 'an operation performed on languages: a process of substituting a text in one language for a text in another' (1965: 1). The texts produced by such substitution and the conditions in which such substitution can occur form the focus of translation practice and theory: 'The central problem of translation practice is that of finding TL translation equivalents. A central task of translation theory is that of defining the nature and conditions of translation equivalence' (1965: 21).

Catford identifies two types of translation equivalence. The first is equivalence established on the basis of a comparison of SL and TL texts. He takes the view that a study of the first type of equivalence can lead to generalizations and, eventually, rules whereby a 'translation rule is thus an extrapolation of the probability values of textual translation equivalents' (1965: 31). In other words, by collecting a sufficiently large number of equivalents it would be possible to formulate theoretical rules of translation.

Equivalence in its second sense refers to the conditions which make translation equivalence possible. Catford defines this type of equivalence as follows: 'SL and TL texts or items are translation equivalents when they are *interchangeable in a given situation*' (1965: 49) [emphasis in the original]. For Catford, translation equivalence occurs when the TL text or item shares at least some of the same features of the situation and context of the SL text or item. Without some degree of what he terms 'relevant substance' (1965: 53) translation cannot take place. He gives the example of the translation of colour and diagrammatically illustrates the possibilities of equivalence between Navaho and English (1965: 51). Catford's is thus a theory of relative translatability, where texts are more or less translatable rather than absolutely translatable or untranslatable.

Catford's colleagues in Edinburgh included Michael Halliday, then a lecturer in Linguistics in the English Department, whose contribution is acknowledged in the preface to *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. Since the 1960s Halliday has been developing a functional approach to English which focuses on language in use in particular contexts. It is perhaps due to Halliday's influence that Catford summarizes his second type of translation equivalence as follows: 'For translation equivalence to occur, then, both SL and TL text must be relatable to the *functionally* relevant features of the situation' (1965: 94) [emphasis in the original].

For Catford, then, the translated text is a substitution that occupies a similar space in the TL as the source text in the SL. Translation equivalence is made possible by the fact that both the SL and TL text share a minimum number of features which can be related to a common situation.

Eugene A. Nida (1914–2011), coincidentally an alumnus of the University of Michigan, adopted an entirely different approach to equivalence. Nida had joined the staff of the American Bible Society in 1943, had founded the journal *The Bible Translator* in 1949 and had taken part in field trips in Africa and Latin America to assist missionary translators. He published two books in the 1960s which were to have enormous influence not just on Bible translation but on the whole field of TS: *Toward a Science of Translating* (1964) and (with Charles R. Taber) *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (1969). In their 1969 book Nida and Taber define the act of translating as 'reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message, first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style' (1969/2003: 12).

For Nida and Taber the aim of translation is to reproduce the (Christian) message which is regarded as unchanging across time and space. It is a message that does not only aim to provide information; it is also a call to action. For this reason they reject equivalence at the level of the word or the form of an utterance, which they term 'formal correspondence' (1969/2003: 22), in favour of 'dynamic equivalence'. This they define 'in terms of the degree to which the receptors of the message in the receptor language respond to it in substantially the same manner as the receptors in the source language' (1969/2003: 24). Here equivalence refers not just to the (invariant) meaning of an item but also to the impact which it has on those who hear or read it. Nida and Taber concede that the response cannot be identical but insist that 'there should be a high degree of equivalence of response, or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose' (1969/2003: 24). In the case of Bible translation, response can presumably be measured to some extent by the number of conversions to Christianity or the size of church attendance. Similarly, in the field of advertising, response can be gauged by the sales figures of the product being advertised. Translation scholars have been quick to point out that measuring receptor response to other kinds of texts is by no means so straightforward (House, 1997: 4–5).

One approach that has attempted to address the problem of ensuring equivalence of response in translation is Relevance Theory. As we shall see in the next chapter, the application of the principle of relevance in communication involves the inclusion of contextual assumptions. Gutt (2000) offers a Relevance Theory approach to illustrate how it is possible to convey in translation the meaning of a biblical passage, which is no longer recoverable to contemporary English-speaking readers through a 'formal correspondence' strategy, and to evoke a similar response (2000: 69–91).

In their discussion of equivalence Nida and Taber refer to the types of equivalence that operate at different levels of the text. The classification of equivalence was a topic elaborated on by German scholars in the 1960s and 1970s.

Otto Kade (1927–80), based in the University of Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic, proposed a typology of lexical equivalence in 1968 which consisted of four types:

1. *Total equivalence* – to refer to a situation where a TT item corresponds completely in meaning and function to an ST item. Such items, for example a semiconductor, are most likely to occur in the fields of science and technology.
2. *Optional equivalence* – where the translator has a number of possibilities to choose from in the TL. The German term 'wissenschaftlich', for example, which is used in a number of academic contexts, can be translated into English by 'rigorous', 'academic', 'scientific' or 'scholarly', depending on the specific context in question.
3. *Approximate equivalence* – where any possible item in the TL only covers part of the meaning of the ST item. The German 'Himmel' includes the meanings of both 'sky' and 'heaven' in English, so the choice of either term cannot convey the total range of the German one.
4. *Nil equivalence* – where there is no item in the TL which corresponds to the SL. This was the situation which faced translators in the German Democratic Republic who were employed to translate GDR promotional material into English. As there had been no English-speaking society organized along the socialist model prevalent in the GDR and other Eastern Europe societies at the time, there were simply no equivalents in English for a large

number of institutions and practices (see Williams, 1990, for ways in which such cultural gaps can be filled).

To Kade's four types of lexical equivalence, the Swiss-German scholar Werner Koller added a fifth: the reverse of optional equivalence. This is where the ST has a number of terms which are translated by just one term in the TL. He gives the example of the Swedish 'leka' and 'spela' which both mean 'to play' in English.

In his comprehensive *Einführung in die Übersetzungswissenschaft* ('Introduction to Translation Studies'), first published in 1979, shortly after he took up the post of Professor of German Linguistics at the University of Bergen in Norway, Koller deals extensively with equivalence. In Chapter 6 he identifies a framework for five types of translation equivalence which can exist between an ST and a TT:

1. Denotative equivalence, which refers to equivalence of content;
2. Connotative equivalence, which refers to equivalence of emotional and associative responses in the reader/listener; the connotations can be linguistic, social, geographical, stylistic, pejorative and so on;
3. Text-normative equivalence, which refers to the extent to which the ST and TT fulfil the norms for their respective text types in each culture;
4. Pragmatic equivalence, which refers to equivalence of communication function;
5. Formal aesthetic equivalence, which refers to the formal, artistic dimension of (mostly literary) STs and TTs.

According to Koller, the translator must identify for each text they translate a hierarchy of priorities in the ST which should be retained in translation, and on this basis they can then establish a series of equivalences. The fact that this book went into its eighth edition in 2011 is evidence of the considerable influence it has had in TS in the German-speaking world.

With the development of text linguistics in the late 1970s the focus of the equivalence debate in Germany was moving from the level of the word/phrase to the level of the text.

At this point, it is necessary to clarify some potential terminological confusion in English which uses three terms in this context:

'text type', 'genre' and 'discourse'. Along with Hatim and Mason, we define text type as 'a conceptual framework which enables us to classify texts in terms of communicative intentions serving an overall rhetorical purpose' (1990: 140); they cite as an example the instructional text type whose purpose is to influence future behaviour. Genre is defined 'in terms of a set of features which we perceive as being appropriate to a given social occasion' (1990: 140); a genre could therefore be an editorial in a newspaper, an essay in a TS journal or a political speech. Discourse is 'a matter of expression of attitude' (1990: 141) and reflects the writer's views on the topic being discussed. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this understanding of discourse as ideology influenced Cheung's choice of 'discourse' in the title of her anthology of Chinese writings on translation.

The influence of text linguistics can be seen in the development of text typologies which informed the choice of translation strategy. An early example of this is Katharina Reiss's three-way classification of texts into informative texts (where the emphasis is on the content of the text, which must be preserved in translation), expressive texts (where the emphasis is on the author's attitudes and feelings and where the artistic form should be preserved in translation) and operative texts (where the emphasis is on persuading the reader to act in a particular way and where the translation should reproduce the persuasive effect) (1976). Such an approach assumes that the function of a text remains unchanged in translation, a view which, as we shall see, Reiss was later to revise.

Wolfram Wilss (1925–2012), who had been appointed to the Chair of the Applied Languages/Translation Theory department at the University of the Saarland in 1968, was of the view that by comparing the textual features of STs and TTs it was possible to determine objective criteria inductively and that these could be generalized beyond individual texts to establish the conditions required for equivalence, as well as to assess the degree of equivalence in particular text types (1977: 190). Wilss identified the establishment of 'objective criteria for the assessment of the degree of equivalence of translations' (1977: 102) as one of the three areas of research vital to the development of TS.

However, by 1990 Hatim and Mason had concluded that all texts are hybrids; in other words, no text is purely 'informative' or purely 'expressive' or purely 'operative'. An instruction manual does not

only contain information, it also aims to enable the reader to act in a particular way. An advertisement does not only aim to persuade, it also provides information and may even include an expressive element. While establishing the multifunctionality of texts, Hatim and Mason argued that each text does have a 'dominant contextual focus', one function which is more important than other functions in the text (1990: 145–6). An account in a newspaper, for example, of an earthquake will focus on the sequence of events before, during and after the disaster but could well also include an appeal for help for the victims.

In his 1977 book on TS Wilss also drew attention to an aspect of the equivalence debate that was to hasten its demise. He noted that German had two terms which corresponded to the English term 'equivalence': 'Äquivalenz' (a mathematical term) and 'Gleichwertigkeit' (a more colloquial term). In addition, the French term 'équivalence' was used to designate a translation procedure (1977: 160–1). Mary Snell-Hornby was to point out that English-speaking, French-speaking and German-speaking scholars could therefore not be certain that they were talking about the same thing when they engaged in debate about equivalence (1988: 16–22).

As this type of equivalence debate was starting to go out of fashion, a scholar in Israel was developing a theory of translation which declared that the real question to be asked about an ST and a TT was 'not *whether* the two texts are equivalent (from a certain aspect), but *what type* and *degree* of translation equivalence they reveal' (1980: 47) [emphasis in the original]. This scholar was Gideon Toury and, as we shall see in section 2.3 below, his insights marked a significant change of focus in the equivalence debate from definition to description.

Halverson sees this development in philosophical terms as a movement from essentialism, which is 'concerned with the explication of the true nature, or essence, of the object of study' to a relativist approach, where an objective essence no longer exists (1997: 219–22). By this she means that scholars were no longer interested in a priori definitions of what could or could not constitute equivalence, but rather in establishing the actual relations of equivalence between a particular TT and ST in a particular place and at a particular time. She expressed the fear that this would lead to isolated descriptions which would hamper the generation of theory. However, such fears have subsequently proved to be unfounded.

Pym places the move away from equivalence in TS from the 1980s onwards in the intellectual and institutional contexts of the time. He views it as 'more or less in keeping with the movement of linguistics toward discourse analysis, the development of reception aesthetics, the sociological interest in action theory, and the general critique of structuralist abstraction' (1995b: 161).

In the same essay Pym also draws attention to one reason why equivalence will remain on the TS agenda: the use of equivalence to define the concept of translation. For Pym and a number of other scholars such as House (2009: 12), the concept of equivalence is central to the definition of the field. Without the concept of equivalence there 'are no definitions of non-translation. Everything can be fitted in; everything is potentially translative; so TS might as well encompass cultural studies, literary studies, the entire humanities and more' (1995b: 168). Pym describes his approach as wishing to use 'the notion of equivalence as an affirmation of the social existence of translation, without associating the term with any prescriptive linguistics' (1995b: 171).

In *Exploring Translation Theories* (2010), Pym implements this approach by proposing two new terms to categorize equivalence. The first of these is 'natural equivalence' which denotes the reciprocal kind of equivalence that does not depend on a particular language pair or a particular direction of translation that exists in fact prior to translation. Pym illustrates this with the example of road signs: where 'slow' is seen in English, 'ralentir' is the equivalent term in French which in turn is the equivalent of 'slow' (2010: 12). Pym's second category is 'directional equivalence', by which he means equivalence which is not reciprocal: a back-translation of a TT item or text, for example, would produce a different text from the original ST. If we translate the French 'fleuve' with 'river' in English, there is no guarantee that a translation of 'river' will produce 'fleuve' since 'river' has two possible translations in French: 'fleuve' and 'rivière'.

Having made this quite clear distinction between natural and directional equivalence, Pym then quotes the first part of the definition of translation given by Nida and Taber ('reproducing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent of the source-language message') as an example of natural equivalence (2010: 9). Given their commitment to dynamic equivalence, it is unlikely

that Nida and Taber had what Pym terms 'natural equivalence' in mind – especially if we recall the second part of their definition: 'first in terms of meaning and secondly in terms of style'. A back-translation of a dynamically equivalent translation would not necessarily reproduce the original ST. Some 19 pages later Pym actually agrees with this assessment by describing the process outlined by Nida and Taber as 'profoundly directional' (2010: 28). He concludes that both kinds of equivalence 'are often blended' (2010: 28). If that is the case, then natural equivalence cannot be 'opposed' to directional equivalence, as he claims at the beginning of his book (2010: 6).

Another usage of 'natural' occurs in a discussion of Cicero's distinction between the two modes of translation: *ut interpres* (i.e. literal, ST-oriented) and *ut orator* (i.e. freer, target culture-oriented). Here Pym states that 'the freer translation is likely to be the most "natural" in the target language' (2010: 31). While we may indeed agree with this assessment, the use of 'natural' here does not correspond to the definition proposed earlier where Pym states that 'natural equivalence should not be affected by directionality: it should be the same whether translated from language A into language B or the other way round' (2010: 7). The back-translation of a free translation is unlikely to reproduce the ST.

The terminological confusion around this new (sub-) category of equivalence does not, however, detract from Pym's identification of equivalence as a key concept in Western Translation Theory both historically and in its role in defining translation, particularly in establishing what translation is not.

The main difficulty with the debates about equivalence outlined in this section is that they decontextualize translation. While 'slow' can be translated by 'ralentir' in the context of road signs in France, this is not the case in Canada (as Pym's example demonstrates). Other instances of 'slow' in English – slow cooking, a slow movement in a classical symphony, a 'slow coach' – would require quite different translations. The concept of equivalence here is based on a theory which tends to view translation as taking place in a timeless, unchanging sphere where absolute rules can be prescribed and which is unrelated to the people and circumstances which require and generate actual translation.

2.2 Other types of relations

Scholars outside the Western tradition theorizing about translation as product have conceptualized the relationship between product and antecedent text in a number of different ways.

Bandia (1995) is extremely critical of the type of equivalence espoused by Western target-oriented approaches which he views as a form of neo-imperialism because 'targeteers' are determined to obliterate all traces of the foreign in their desire to make the translated text acceptable to the host culture. In the case of translating from African languages into French he regards the 'sourcerian approach' as 'the most reliable way of preserving the originality' of the ST (1995: 494).

The concept of equivalence discussed above depends on one clearly identifiable (written) and fixed ST in one language which is translated into one single text in another language. However, one of the most ambitious and influential translation projects in world history, the translation of Buddhist sacred texts into Chinese over a period of ten centuries, was based on sources which were by no means stable or even identifiable. These were partly oral texts memorized by Buddhist monks in the Indian subcontinent and copied from their recitations when they arrived in China. Even when the Buddhist texts arrived in China in written form, such manuscripts were often incomplete, abridged and, in some cases, already translations themselves (Cheung, 2006b: 12). Clearly, the relationship between the Chinese Buddhist texts and their antecedents, both oral and written, cannot be conceptualized in terms of the ideas of equivalence outlined in the first section of this chapter.

Merrill has argued that the linear notion of one ST leading to one TT is a particularly Western concept that has its roots in biblical scholarship, and that it does not necessarily apply, for example, to the products of translation in the multilingual Indian context, which is characterized by pluralism and cyclical conceptions of being and time (2009). According to Mukherjee, modern writing in India does not adhere to 'the sharp distinction western literature generally makes between original writing and writing derived (by translation, adaptation or by plain plagiarism) from other texts' (2009: 55). In view of such considerations, the Indian scholar, academic and

activist Ganesh Devy has concluded that 'Indian literary traditions are essentially traditions of translation' (1999: 187).

P. Pandian, who translated *Gitanjali* by the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore into Tamil in 2005, stated that he wanted not to translate but to Tamilize the text, to write it in the way which Tagore would have written it if he had been writing in Tamil; Pandian also views the Tamilized text as his original composition (Prasad, 2009: 26). Prasad describes this type of Tamil approach as 'localizing' texts, in the sense of 'infusing them with its own spirit' (2009: 26). This is a view of translation in which the relation between a text and its translation is not one of linearity and subservience but of transcreation in a new cultural and linguistic environment. Gopinathan traces the origins of the transcreation tradition in India back to classical Sanskrit theatre and describes this as a tradition in which 'the translator enters into the soul of the original author and, regenerating the original work, becomes its re-creator'; as a result 'transcreations read like new creations' (2006: 237).

'Transcreation' is a concept used by Haroldo de Campos (1929–2003), the Brazilian poet, academic and translator, to describe the act of translating creative texts in his 1963 essay 'On Translation as Creation and Criticism'. For De Campos the translator does not simply transfer (meaning or form or language) but absorbs the foreign text as a whole and regurgitates it after nourishing it with his/her own local tradition and practice. He draws on Brazilian theories of 'cannibalism' to negotiate the relationship between Brazil and dominant world cultures. For De Campos the cannibal 'devoured only the enemies he considered strong, to take from them the marrow and protein to fortify and renew his own natural energies' (1986: 44). In the notes to his translation of Goethe's *Faust* he describes translation as a blood transfusion, 'a metaphor that moves translation beyond the dichotomy source/target and sites original and translation in a third dimension where each is both a donor and receiver' (Vieira, 1999: 97).

As we shall see in Chapter 3, the conceptualization of translation as transcreation recurs in the contemporary context of video games localization.

Tarek Shamma, in a study of the translation strategies of Islamization in eighth-century Baghdad, demonstrates that what by contemporary Anglo-American standards would be dismissed as domestication and obliteration of the ST, was in fact a means of

preserving pre-Islamic Persian knowledge for posterity and enriching the receiving culture (2009). In an environment where wisdom and knowledge were regarded as universal and common property, and intercultural exchange was the norm, translation meant 'tapping into a collective pool of shared, God-given truths' (2009: 82). Shamma argues that concepts of equivalence and faithfulness as well as of difference have their origins in ideas of individual authorship and the nation state which developed in nineteenth-century Europe and goes on to claim that such concepts are irrelevant to understanding translation not only in the classical period of Islam but throughout the premodern world.

2.3 Describing the product

It is noteworthy that the shift in the equivalence debate from prescription and definition to description originated with a scholar working in Hebrew in the Middle East, albeit with close personal and scholarly ties to Europe. That scholar is Gideon Toury, who recalls growing up in Haifa, the son of German immigrants: 'children of immigrants, whether they realize it or not, are constantly translating, not only on the linguistic level but on the pragmatic and cultural levels, too' (Shlesinger, 2000).

Hebrew is a language which at various stages of its development has relied heavily on translation, both directly and indirectly from European languages. Toury had himself contributed to this tradition through his translations in the 1970s of C.S. Lewis, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Heinrich Böll and Uwe Johnson among others. Given the role that translation played in everyday life and in the literary scene in Israel, Toury was surprised to discover as a young scholar that the theoretical dimension of the discipline was completely underdeveloped. Encouraged by his colleague and mentor, the polysystems theorist Itamar Even-Zohar, Toury's first contribution was a paper at the pivotal conference in Leuven, Belgium, in 1976 which brought together a group of literary scholars – James Holmes, José Lambert, André Lefevere and Itamar Even-Zohar – who were to prove influential in the subsequent development of this branch of TS.

As a speaker of a small language, which had been historically dependent on translation, and a successful translator himself, it is perhaps not surprising that Toury's interest was focused on the target

culture. For him 'translations are facts of target cultures' (1995: 29). The target culture is therefore where researchers must begin their observations – but this is not necessarily where such observations will end (1995: 36). Toury's category of translations also includes what he calls pseudo-translations, texts which present themselves as translations but which are actually written in the target language. Such translations come about for a variety of reasons, ranging from fear of censorship, in the case of Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*, to reverence for the assumed ST, in the case of Russian novels in the nineteenth century which claimed to be translations from English.

Toury's hugely influential *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995) begins with the assertion that TS is an empirical discipline which deals with facts of real life (i.e. translations), and like all empirical disciplines it has two objectives: firstly to describe particular phenomena and, secondly, to establish general principles which will explain and predict these phenomena. TS therefore requires a descriptive branch and Toury then goes on to set out a programme for Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). Toury expresses the view that 'the cumulative findings of descriptive studies should make it possible to formulate a series of coherent *laws* which would state the inherent relations between all the variables found to be relevant to translation'. This in turn would lead to 'a general theory of translation' (1995: 16) [emphasis in the original].

Toury sees DTS as a means to an end: 'my own endeavours have always been geared primarily towards the descriptive–explanatory goal of supplying exhaustive accounts of whatever has been regarded as translational within a target culture, on the way to the formulation of some *theoretical* laws' (1995: 25) [emphasis in the original]. Towards the end of the book Toury proposes two possible laws, with the caveat that such laws can only be probabilistic, never absolute. Firstly, there is the law of growing standardization – in other words, translations use more standardized linguistic means than their STs. Toury refers to this as 'simplification' and 'flattening' (1995: 273). Secondly, Toury proposes the law of interference, by which he means that translations bear traces of their STs. As we shall see, a large number of scholars have taken up the challenge of testing these laws.

Toury insists that he has not rejected the notion of equivalence; rather he has rejected the notion of equivalence as fixed and prescribed in advance. In DTS equivalence 'refers to any relation which

is found to have characterized translation under a specified set of circumstances' (1995: 61). This relation is established by mapping segments of the translation on to its ST. This is done by establishing 'coupled pairs of target- and source-text segments, "replacing" and "replaced" items, respectively' (1995: 89). Once a certain number of pairs have been investigated, regular patterns can be identified which can be investigated to reveal the underlying concept of translation. The results of a series of such studies could facilitate the development of general hypotheses that could result in the establishment of 'universals of translation' (1995: 111).

This is the part of Toury's approach that causes two practical difficulties. Firstly, how can such pairs be established retrospectively, proceeding from the translation and working 'backwards' to the ST? Toury's solution to this dilemma is to establish them on an ad hoc basis and define them 'simultaneously, determining each other' (1995: 61). While Toury defines the TT as the starting point for investigation, it seems inevitable that the starting point for the establishment of some coupled pairs will be the ST.

The second problem relates to decisions about the size of these pairs, the units of comparison. Here what Toury calls 'the leftover condition' comes into play: 'the pairing is subject to a *heuristic* principle [...], namely that beyond the boundaries of a target textual segment no leftovers of the "solution" to a certain "problem", posed by a corresponding segment of the source text, will be present' (1995: 89) [emphasis in the original]. Let us assume the problem under investigation is gender-neutral language in a text translated from English into Brazilian Portuguese. The application of Toury's method would have the researcher identify all the relevant segments in the TT and their 'replaced' items in the ST as a prelude to a descriptive analysis. It seems unlikely that two (or more researchers) would identify exactly the same segments, either in terms of identity or length. Such an exercise is therefore potentially difficult to replicate, which could present an obstacle to theory building in a field which depends on the collection of empirical data. A related criticism is Hermans' observation that the descriptivist researcher 'cannot be wholly neutral, detached, objective or external' (1999: 146).

Central to Toury's approach is the sociological concept of norms. His interest in norms began with the paper he gave in Leuven in 1976 and continued into his doctoral dissertation. Toury regards

translation as a norm-governed activity (1995: 60) and sees translators as playing a social role that is determined by a set of (sometimes competing) norms. 'Initial norms' come into play when translators decide at the outset whether to give priority in their translation to ST norms (in which case they will aim to produce an 'adequate' translation) or to TT norms (in which case they will aim to produce an 'acceptable' translation) (1995: 56–7). The two German translations of Roddy Doyle's *The Commitments* (1987) illustrate the influence of initial norms. The first, by Oliver Huzly in 1990, followed Doyle's text very closely, presumably in an attempt to reproduce the rhythms, slang and prolific swearing typical of Irish English, and produced an adequate translation. The second, by Renate Orth-Guttmann in 2001, adapted the translation of the peculiarities of Irish English to TT norms by, for example, replacing a lot of the Irish English swear words by the type of expletives a German readership would expect, thereby producing an acceptable translation (Ghassempur, 2009).

Toury distinguishes further between 'preliminary' norms (which come into play before a translation is commissioned and have to do with questions relating to the choice of text for translation, the use of mediating languages and so on) and 'operational norms' (which are norms governing the actual process of translation itself). Preliminary norms account, for example, for the fact that over the last 50 years translations published in Britain have amounted to a mere 2–4 per cent of all publications (Sievers, 2007: 41–9). Operational norms are responsible for decisions taken by the translator at the level of the text – for example, to omit material that is considered taboo in the TT culture.

Toury is careful to point out that norms are complex and need to be contextualized. He identifies two sources for the reconstruction of translational norms. These are on the one hand the translations themselves, which he describes as 'primary products of norm-governed behaviour'. On the other hand there are extratextual sources such as statements made by editors, translators, critics, translator trainers and so on which he describes as 'by-products of the existence and activity of norms' (1995: 65). He warns that extratextual sources should not be taken at face value, and that such sources are not always reliable.

Taking Toury's concept of norms as a starting point, Chesterman develops a more detailed taxonomy of norms in which he

distinguishes between two types (2000a: 63–85). The first type are *expectancy* norms, which are determined by what readers expect and which can be subdivided into qualitative (relating to matters such as style) and quantitative (relating to the distribution of textual features). Readers of English cookery books, for example, expect the ingredients in the recipes to be listed separately before the cooking instructions.

Chesterman's second type of norms are *professional* norms, which are regulated by the profession, a relatively new phenomenon in translation practice. These can be subdivided into the accountability norm, which is an ethical norm governing the translator's accountability to others in the translation process (such as the ST author or the commissioner of the translation); the communication norm, which requires the translator to maximize communication, and the relation norm, which requires the translator to establish an appropriate relation of similarity between the ST and TT. Chesterman goes on to claim that all competent professionals adhere to these norms and on this basis he proposes a series of *normative laws* relating to translator behaviour which he presents as a subset of the translation laws proposed by Toury (2000a: 64–70). Chesterman made a significant contribution to DTS by developing Toury's concepts of norms and laws, applying them to a wider range of texts beyond literary translation, and including the professional and ethical dimensions of translation in the theory.

Toury's call for empirical research into translations as 'facts of the target culture' in order to develop Translation Theory coincided with the development of electronic tools which could collect and interrogate very large collections of texts, known as corpora. The first corpora compiled for the study of translation emerged in Sweden in the 1980s, when Martin Gellerstam of the University of Gothenburg in Sweden began to build a corpus consisting of translations of English-language novels into Swedish and original Swedish novels (http://spraakbanken.gu.se) in order to explore the differences between translational Swedish literature and literature written originally in Swedish. One of his most significant findings has been that particular constructions occur much more frequently in translated Swedish than in texts written originally in Swedish. The 'fingerprints' which translation from English has left on Swedish do not 'break Swedish rules – but it would be unusual for them to be used in writing

by Swedish authors', he concludes (Gellerstam, 2005: 207). Also in Sweden, at the University of Lund, Hans Lindquist undertook a study of English adverbials in translation (Lindquist, 1989).

In England in 1993 Mona Baker summarized the opportunities offered by corpus linguistics to TS:

> Large corpora will provide theorists of translation with a unique opportunity to observe the object of their study and to explore what it is that makes it different from other objects of study, such as language in general or indeed any other kind of cultural interaction. It will also allow us to explore, on a larger scale than was ever possible before, the principles that govern translational behaviour and the constraints under which it operates. (1993: 235)

Baker had worked on the pioneering COBUILD project in Birmingham, which had established the Bank of English, a corpus of contemporary English text built in conjunction with Collins publishers in order to develop a new generation of dictionaries. She quickly understood the potential which corpus-based approaches and tools offered to DTS. In her programmatic essay of 1993 she identified six possible universals of translation, proposed by Toury and other scholars either intuitively or on the basis of manually examining relatively small corpora (e.g. Vanderauwera, 1985): explicitation, simplification, grammatical conventionality, avoidance of repetition, exaggeration of TT features, and different distribution patterns in translated texts and original TTs. As we shall see, such universals were to form the focus of much research in the emerging field of corpus-based TS.

Baker went on to establish the Translational English Corpus (TEC), 'a corpus of contemporary translational English', which consists of written texts translated into English from a range of source languages. She pioneered corpus-based TS at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, where the first doctoral degree was conferred in this field in 1996 (Laviosa-Braithwaite, 1996).

The availability of electronically accessible corpora made large-scale studies of non-translated texts and translations possible for the first time. Different types of corpora were developed to investigate different aspects of translation (see Laviosa, 2002 for a taxonomy of corpus types). Corpus-based studies ranged from analysing one ST

and its TT through a number of STs and their TTs to the nature of translation as a specific genre, independent of any ST. Corpora were also used to study translators' styles (Baker, 2000; Winters, 2007).

Much research was based on the DTS paradigm and devoted to investigating the universals proposed by Baker in her 1993 essay. As Chesterman declared in 2004: 'Corpus-based research into translation universals has been one of the most important methodological advances in TS during the past decade or so, in that it has encouraged researchers to adopt scientific methods of hypothesis generation and testing' (2004b: 46). As a result new knowledge and new insights have been gained into many aspects of translation.

In terms of language pairs, Øverås (1998) examined the levels of cohesion (as a marker of explicitation) in English texts translated into Norwegian and Norwegian texts translated into English and established that explicitation is a feature of all the translations in the corpus, irrespective of the direction of translation. Kenny (2001) investigated how English translators of contemporary German and Austrian fiction handle collocation and lexical creativity; she found that Toury's law of standardization, i.e. that translators tend to use more standard language than the writer of the ST they are translating, does not always apply.

Finnish scholars, using the Corpus of Translated Finnish, which contains around 10 million words of complete Finnish texts as well as complete translations into Finnish covering seven genres, have compared patterns in translated Finnish to patterns in texts written originally in Finnish. Mauranen has found evidence to support Toury's proposed law of interference. She distinguishes between two types of interference in translated texts. The first of these, 'transfer', refers to 'the exaggeration or overrepresentation of shared features between the SL and TL'. Mauranen's second category, 'interference', refers to 'deviation from TL norms towards the SL norm' (2004: 80). As an example of 'interference' she cites the presence of collocations in a translation which do not break any obvious TL rule but which are not found in non-translated TL texts, a finding in keeping with Gellerstam's 'fingerprints' above. Mauranen concludes: 'In sum, the present findings suggest that overall, translations resemble each other more than original target language texts, but a clear source language effect is also discernible. This implies that transfer is one of the causes behind the special features of translated language' (2004: 78).

Before the advent of corpus-based TS the Indian literary critic and theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak drew attention to the possible political implications of the finding that translations resemble each other when she remarked on what happens 'when all the literature of the Third World gets translated into a sort of with-it translatese, so that the literature by a woman in Palestine begins to resemble, in the feel of its prose, something by a man in Taiwan' (1992: 180). Spivak sees in this the obliteration of difference, in terms of gender and sociopolitical context, which can come with large-scale translation into a dominant world language such as English.

Tirkkonen-Condit has studied one particular aspect of the second kind of interference identified by Mauranen by examining what happens in translation to 'unique items', i.e. items which exist only in the target language. She takes as an example of such items Finnish verbs of sufficiency and clitic particles, which are often attached to the end of words to indicate emphasis, softening or that a question is being asked. Tirkkonen-Condit finds that these items occur less frequently in translated Finnish than in original Finnish texts (2004). She hypothesizes that the reason for this lies in the fact that such unique items do not automatically 'suggest themselves as first choices for translators, even where they would fit the context very well. [...] If the literal equivalent makes perfect sense and does not violate the target language norms, there is no immediate reason to discard it' (2004: 182). She cautiously proposes the unique items hypothesis as 'a (potentially universal) tendency of the translation process' (2004: 183).

Corpora have become an indispensable tool in translator training and in the translation profession (see Bowker, 2000; Zanettin et al., 2003; Kemble, 2004). They continue to play an important role in TS research, although the initial optimism has given way to a more nuanced approach. Mauranen, for example, prefers to talk about 'universal tendencies' (2008) rather than 'universals'.

While corpus-based studies have succeeded in identifying features and patterns in translation, the unique items hypothesis is to date the only potential universal of significance. Malmkjaer's distinction between norms, which are socially constrained, and universals which are cognitively determined (2008), is a helpful distinction in this respect, for it suggests that universals are to be found in the translator's cognitive processes while norms exist in the environment

in which s/he works. In other words, corpus-based TS is extremely well placed to investigate texts and their translations for evidence of norms. The search for universals may start with a corpus-based study but will have to encompass a wider range of considerations.

Toury himself has come to a similar conclusion:

> it is [relatively] easy to collect in a fully automatic way immense amounts of material on the lower levels, making the calculation of factual frequencies quite easy and reliable. It becomes more and more complicated, and less and less automatic, the higher one goes up the generality scale, which renders probabilities much more difficult to assess. (2004: 30)

He identifies the major problem about moving from regularities to universals in the very large number of variables at play in the translation process: 'At this point, we don't have so much as an exhaustive *list* of possible variables, not even a speculative, untested one' (2004: 25) [emphasis in the original].

Scholars who embrace corpus-based TS, as well as those who do not, have identified some difficulties inherent in working with corpora. Given the potential differences in the volume of translation as well as the type of texts being translated between English and other languages, it can be extremely difficult to establish a balanced corpus of translations between, for example, English and Italian on the one hand and Italian and English on the other (Bernardini and Zanettin, 2004). Ensuring the comparability of comparable corpora (i.e. collections of original language texts in the target culture with which to compare translations) can be extremely difficult. Kenny (1998), for example, points out that the role which translation plays in establishing new genres in the target language can result in no original target-language texts being available for comparison.

Corpus-based TS also presupposes an agreed definition of a translation (as opposed to an adaptation or version, for example) and the existence of one agreed ST. From this point of view it could be seen as a return to the linguistic approach to translation on which much of the equivalence debate at the beginning of this chapter was based. The major difference, however, lies in the fact that corpus-based TS has eschewed speculation and prescription in favour of a sound empirical basis and a descriptive approach.

Ahmad (2008) has drawn attention to the unavoidable subjectivity involved in building a corpus, a timely reminder of the human dimension of translation research. Tymoczko's critique is in a similar vein; she criticizes the notion of translation universals as ahistorical, since it would be clearly impossible to establish 'universals' which would apply to all translations around the world throughout the ages (1998). Both critics, however, welcome the potential of corpus-based TS, in Tymoczko's words, 'to illuminate both similarity and difference and to investigate in a manageable form the particulars of language-specific phenomena of many different languages and cultures in translation' (1998: 657).

The range of the contributions to *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies. Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury* (Pym et al., 2008) is an eloquent tribute to the influence which Toury has had on our discipline. His insistence on the independence of the discipline itself, his commitment to empirical methods, his pioneering of the descriptive model and his insistence on academic rigour have opened up many new and productive avenues in TS research. Descriptive studies were indeed 'one of the paradigmatic sea-changes in the study of translation' (Hermans, 1999: preface).

2.4 The function of the product

Toury was, however, not the only TS scholar developing a new target-oriented theoretical paradigm in the 1980s. In West Germany, too, scholars were turning their attention to the role which the translation product plays in the target culture. In 1984 Katharina Reiss and Hans J. Vermeer (1930–2010) published *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* ('The Foundation of a General Theory of Translation') which formed the basis for a functional theory of translation. They based their approach on the work of Holz-Mänttäri (1984), who produced what Vermeer has described as the first 'consistent and holistic theory of functionally oriented translating' (1996: 16). Drawing on Communication Theory, Action Theory and Systems Theory, Holz-Mänttäri declared that 'translatorial action' does not mean translating words or sentences or even texts. Rather it is a process of cross-cultural communication in which an expert, i.e. the translator, encodes a message in a text which fulfils a particular function in the target culture.

Reiss and Vermeer define 'theory' as 'the interpretation and combining of data gathered by observation' (1984: preface). They called their theory of translation 'Skopos Theory', based on the Greek term 'Skopos', meaning 'aim' or 'purpose', and they summarized it in five hierarchically ordered principles (1984: 119).

The first, and most important, principle states that it is the purpose of a translation that determines the translation strategy and the shape it takes in the host culture. The end therefore justifies the means (1984: 101). For Reiss and Vermeer, the terms 'purpose', 'function' and 'Skopos' are synonyms (1984: 96). They thus allowed for the possibility that the function of the translation might be different from the function of the ST, which represented for Reiss a significant change of approach from her work in the 1970s on text linguistics. Reiss and Vermeer illustrate this claim with reference to an ST such as a book on Latin American history written by a Latin American for Latin Americans, which is translated into English where it is to function as a standard textbook. What became known as 'Skopos' Theory shifted the focus of attention to the target culture, a feature it has in common both with DTS and localization.

The second principle provides a definition of translation which is as radical as Toury's, namely, that a translation is information in a target culture and language about information in a source culture and language. In contrast to Toury, Reiss and Vermeer insist on the existence of an ST and therefore exclude Toury's category of pseudo-translations. Given that SL readers and TL readers belong to different linguistic and cultural communities, a translator/interpreter does not convey more or less information than the SL author; s/he conveys different information in a different way. The translator/interpreter translates according to the expectations of the TL culture (or what s/he assumes them to be). Reiss and Vermeer therefore accord the translator a central role in the translation process (1984: 85–7). Vermeer describes the translator as "'the" bicultural expert' and the only person in the translation process who is equipped to make decisions about whether or how to translate (1996: 35).

The third principle states that a translation represents information in a way which is irreversible. In other words, translation is a 'one-way street', leading from an ST to a TT – a back-translation will not normally reproduce the ST.

According to the fourth principle, the 'coherence rule', a translation must be coherent in itself (1984: 112–13). This means that it must fit the situation in the TL culture and must be comprehensible and acceptable to TL readers.

The fifth principle, the 'fidelity rule', requires intertextual coherence, which is secondary to the intratextual coherence outlined in the previous principle. For intertextual coherence to take place, there must be coherence between the message encoded by the ST producer, the translator's interpretation of that message and the message encoded by the translator for the recipient of the TT (1984: 114). The 'fidelity' rule marks an important difference between Skopos Theory and DTS, for DTS does not prescribe – or assume – any particular relationship between the participants in the translation process.

Reiss and Vermeer did not abandon the notion of equivalence, but in the context of Skopos Theory equivalence refers to a specific relationship between an ST and a text in the target culture that fulfils the same communicative function at the same level of the text (1984: 139).

Nord, who has adopted a functionalist approach in her work (she prefers the term 'function' to 'Skopos'), has added the concept of loyalty to Skopos Theory. She regards loyalty as 'a *moral* principle indispensable in the relationships between human beings who are partners in a communicative process' (1991a: 94) [emphasis in the original]. She claims that translators need to be aware of the 'conventional concepts of translation' in a particular culture and that they have a moral duty to inform their readership of the reasons for any deviation from these conventional concepts. She is, however, unable to define these conventions which she describes in the penultimate paragraph of the essay as 'vague and often contradictory' (1991a: 107). In subsequent publications (1992, 1997) Nord insists that the translator, in producing a functional TT, must respect 'the legitimate interests of both the author of the original and the readers of the translation' (1992: 40).

Vermeer has subsequently pointed out that it is impossible to be loyal to all the participants in any translation job (1996: 25). Even the demand to be loyal to the intention of the author of the ST is not as straightforward as it might seem: loyalty is not only impossible in cases where the author is unknown or deceased, but even where

the author is known, their intention cannot always be definitively established (1996: 91–8). There are also cases where certain cultures have decided to disregard the author's intentions, a prime example being the decision to publish *Gulliver's Travels* as a children's book (1996: 94).

Nord dismisses Reiss and Vermeer's 'fidelity rule' as a relationship which holds between the ST and TT (1997: 124). As we have seen, however, this interpretation is not strictly speaking accurate because the translator is central to the 'fidelity rule' and, indeed, to Skopos Theory. She furthermore claims that 'the Skopos rule could be interpreted as "the end justifies the means", and there would be no restriction to the range of possible ends' (1997: 124). This is indeed what Reiss and Vermeer are proposing: in fact they use that very phrase (in German: 'Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel') on page 101.

Nord concedes that this would be acceptable 'in a general theory' since one could always argue that general theories do not have to be directly applicable' (1997: 124). Again, Reiss and Vermeer are attempting just such a general theory which would require some adaptation in particular culture-specific circumstances. They make the point in their preface that theirs is a theoretical endeavour with no immediate application to professional practice, although theories ultimately can be developed into practical applications.

Despite the ill-defined nature of the loyalty principle, it must be said that Nord, whose main interest has been in translator training, has played a pivotal role in promoting functional approaches (1991b, 1997), not least because she has published in English. She has also taken seriously the criticisms of Skopos Theory, such as the difficulty of establishing the function of literary texts or the speculative, non-empirical nature of the theory (1997: 109–22).

The most immediate impact of functionalist theory has been in translation pedagogy, where Nord's analytical framework (1991b) – or variations on it – can be found in translator training programmes around the globe. One of the attractions of Skopos Theory is, indeed, its potentially universal application. Reiss and Vermeer, as Holz-Mänttäri before them, shifted the focus of Translation Theory away from literary texts to the wide variety of texts which professional translators deal with on a day-to-day basis and in so doing, enriched the theoretical basis of the discipline.

In a recent contribution to the functionalism debate, Martín de León has identified a contradiction between the 'idealized model of human action and communication' underlying Reiss and Vermeer's model, in which 'communicative action follows a temporal chain of cause and effect', and the complexity of translational action inherent in functionalist theories (2008: 16). She has proposed a model of 'communication as construction' and the introduction of 'second-generation cognitive approaches' as a way of accounting for the range of personal, situational, social and cultural factors at work in a functionalist theoretical paradigm. This would certainly update the theory by taking into account contemporary views of meaning as being socially constructed rather than transferred. It would also provide additional support for the central role ascribed to the translator in Reiss and Vermeer's original model by construing her/him as a physical being in time and space. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the functionalist theorists of the 1980s initiated a debate about agency which was to place the translator at the centre of Translation Theory in the following decade.

2.5 The postcolonial product

In the final section on translation as product we turn our attention to a translation product which began to attract attention in the 1990s: the postcolonial product.

According to Bassnett and Trivedi, 'translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems' (1999: 2). Nowhere is the relationship between translation and inequality more evident than in the colonization practice of the European powers in the nineteenth century.

In the case of the British Empire, the crucial nature of language and translation in the imperial enterprise is illustrated by the *Minute on Indian Education* of 2 February 1835 which was drawn up by the English parliamentarian Thomas Macaulay. Appointed President of the Committee for Public Instruction on his arrival in India in 1833, he was called upon to adjudicate on the language of instruction in the Indian education system. In making the case for the introduction of English (as opposed to Arabic or Sanskrit), Macaulay claimed that whoever knows English

> has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations [. . .] Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects.

He therefore concluded that:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (Macaulay, 1995: 428–30)

Macaulay's *Minute* encapsulates the link between translation and empire in its assumption of the superiority of the language, literature and culture of the imperial power and in solving the practicalities of communicating with the colonized. For colonialism entails dispossession of more than a specific territory: 'A colonized people is without a specific history and even, as in Ireland and other cases, without a specific language' (Deane, 1990: 10). The colonial power exercises its authority through its own language, and translation becomes a necessity for both the colonizers, in order to impose their will, and for the colonized, in order to understand their new masters and to negotiate the relationship with them.

In fact, the translation traffic in the era of empire tends to be in one direction – from the language of the colonizer to the colonized. For example, some 300 years earlier, in England's first colony, the administration of Henry VIII had introduced into the Parliament in Dublin the Act for the English Order, Habit and Language (1537). This piece of legislation required the Irish to adopt English ideas of appropriate behaviour, dress and speaking, the implication being that to speak Irish was an act of treason. In other words the colonized were required to 'translate' themselves into the image of the colonizer. Indeed, Chefitz, in *The Poetics of Imperialism* (1991), which analyses the European colonization of the New World, identifies 'translatio' as the founding concept of empire (1991: 120).

Viswanatha and Simon have shown how the direction of translation and the translation strategies adopted in India have changed over the course of the twentieth century (1999: 162–81). In pre-Independence India B.M. Srikantaiah (1884–1946) used translation from English to introduce new forms into the Kannada tradition as part of a larger project to forge a distinctive Kannada identity. A.K. Ramanujan (1929–93), whose translation activity began in the 1950s and continued into the 1990s, translated texts from Kannada and Tamil into English in order to establish their literary value outside their home culture.

Tejaswini Niranjana, as a postcolonial critic, is only too aware of the pitfalls of translation in the ongoing difficult relationship between the Third and the First worlds. She rejects any attempt to return to a precolonial 'paradise' and calls for 'a practice of translation that is speculative, provisional and interventionist' (1992: 173). By this she means using translation to draw attention to the otherness and heterogeneity of postcolonial texts. Thus, over a period of 100 years translation can be seen to play very different roles, each of them negotiating difference in a specific historical and cultural context.

Since 1991 a number of scholars have engaged in studies of the role of translation in colonial and postcolonial societies. Niranjana (1992) examined the role of translation in the 'civilizing' mission of the British in India; Cronin (1996) undertook a case study of the role of translation in Ireland, before, during and after colonization; Robinson (1997b) provided the first detailed TS account of postcolonial theories of translation; Bassnett and Trivedi's anthology (1999) brought together scholars from England, India, the USA, Canada and Brazil to examine the role of translation in former colonies across the globe. More recently Kothari has investigated Indian literature in English translation (2003) and Bandia has focused on African literature written in European languages (2008).

Robinson has usefully divided the field of postcolonial studies into three fields: studies dealing with Europe's former colonies from the moment of colonization; studies dealing with these colonies since they gained their independence, and the study of power relations between any two (or more) countries (1997b: 13–17). He poses the question whether in the process of colonization the act of translation is exclusively a tool of coercion and oppression or whether it can

also be a means of accommodation and resistance. He cites Rafael's account of the Spanish conquest of the Philippines as an example of a native population using translation as a means of resisting the Spanish imperial project (1997b: 93–100). More recently, Hu (2004) has argued that the translation activity of German missionaries in China, such as Richard Wilhelm (1877–1930), did not exclusively serve the colonial power: due to a particular set of circumstances Wilhelm's translations from Chinese into German (and subsequently into other languages) served to positively influence German attitudes towards China.

When the process of decolonization takes place, an enduring legacy is the issue of language and translation. As Cronin (1996) has shown, the question of language and translation policy for newly independent former colonies is potentially fraught with difficulties.

The choice of language for writers from the periphery is sometimes difficult – although some, such as Yeats in the Irish case, have no choice since they speak only the language of the colonizer. Others such as Salman Rushdie choose to remove themselves from the periphery to the centre and adopt the language of the centre, albeit with an agenda of 'remaking' it for his own purpose (1991: 17). Some begin writing in the language of the colonizer but then decide to revert to their indigenous language such as the African writer Ngãugãi wa Thiong (Tymoczko, 1999b: 19–40). Some such as the Irish poet Biddy Jenkinson write in the indigenous language and refuse to have their work translated into English, insisting that not everything can be expressed in the language of the former colonial power.

Many bilingual postcolonial authors are writing about non-English-speaking characters in non-English-speaking situations and they find themselves operating in a space between their native language and a major world language. Such writing is inevitably an act of translation in both directions and the outcome is a hybrid form such as Indian English, Irish English and so on. According to Mehrez, in Francophone North Africa some writers rejoice in the linguistic hybridity of postcolonial societies and write in 'a new language that defies the very notion of a "foreign" text that can be readily translated into another language' (1992: 121). Bandia describes such writing as 'an attempt to recreate in a dominant colonizing language the life-world of the colonized' (2008: 3) and goes on to identify aspects of African discourse such as non-linearity, the use of proverbs and

specific ways of characterization which occur in African Europhone literature.

'Relexification', identified by Zabus as a strategy used by West African writers (1995: 314–18), is an example of an interventionist strategy. It involves the translation of African lexical items or structures into a dominant language and is a process of translation between languages within one text which produces 'an unfamiliar European language that constantly suggests another tongue' (1995: 315). Zabus argues that this strategy reflects the orality of West African languages, decolonizes the literature of the colonizer or postcolonial elite and enables West African concepts to be expressed in European languages. Joyce's *Ulysses* with its unmistakable Irish substrata provides an extreme example of this kind of writing.

In 1997 Robinson could claim that

> official or mainstream translation theory assumes that such political considerations as power differentials between cultures or languages, or various relationships of dominance and submission between the speakers of different languages, either do not exist or have no bearing on translation. Translation is about the shades of meaning between words, phrases and sentences in two languages – no more. (1997b: 69)

As a result of the work of theorists such as Tymoczko (1999a), Cronin (1996, 2003), Buzelin (2004), among others, this claim is no longer valid. The most recent account of Translation Theory in English (Pym, 2010) includes a discussion of Postcolonial Theory, as does the standard introduction to the field (Munday, 2008).

Postcolonial Translation Theory has thus made a significant contribution to enlarging the field to encompass the influence of power and international relations on translation activity. In the process it has also challenged a conceptualization of translation which would reduce it to a simple transfer operation between a monolingual and stable ST on the one hand and an equally monolithic TT on the other.

2.6 Conclusion

Theorizing about the translation product has taken many forms, from the binary approach of some theories emanating from Western

Europe and North America to theories of transcreation in India and cannibalism in Brazil. The translation product has been theorized in relation to a wide range of actual or presumed STs, both written and oral. It has been compared to other translations in an attempt to develop theories about translated texts as a specific genre. Theories have also been developed about the relationship between translations and texts originating in the target culture as well as about the position that translated texts take up in a particular target culture at a particular time.

In many cases a direct relationship can be postulated between a theory and the context in which it appears. DTS, with its emphasis on translations as facts of the target culture, developed against the background of a society where translated texts were an integral part of everyday life. Dynamic equivalence was proposed by Christian missionaries who wanted to convert the heathen and so developed translation strategies for the Bible that supported their campaign of Christianization. Conceptualizing translation as a process of transcreation, in which the translator enters into the soul of the author and recreates the original work in a new cultural environment, makes sense in a culture that believes in the transmigration of souls.

Theories are generated by people and many of the theorists mentioned in this chapter came to TS through their life histories. Some have lived long term in other countries, have learned other languages and interacted with different cultures (Jakobson, Pym, Baker, Chesterman). Others have been the children of immigrants (Toury, Tymoczko). Yet others have grown up in former colonies where questions of language and power are ever-present (Cronin, Niranjana).

At the same time, advances in technology have played a part in developing new methodologies with which to investigate the translation product. The technologies that have enabled the global growth of the translation industry have also enabled the spread of theories across the globe.

In the next chapter we will turn our attention inwards from the global stage to investigate how the process of translation has been theorized.

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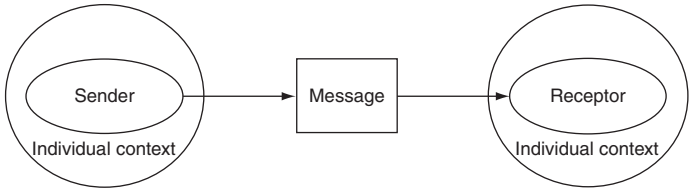
3
Theories about the Process

This chapter begins with the application of communication theories, including Relevance Theory, to the process of translation before moving on to a consideration of translation process research, which has developed tools such as think-aloud protocols, keyboard logging and eye tracking to develop theories about the cognitive dimension of the translation process. Next we examine theories relating to interpreting where process research has a longer history than in any other area of translation. From there we move to new areas of translation where we investigate theories about the processes of software and games localization. Finally, we review the theories which have emanated from the rapidly expanding domain of audiovisual translation.

3.1 Communication Theory

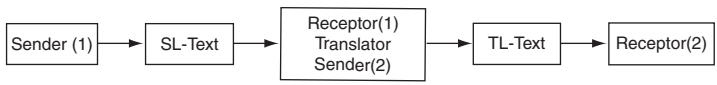
Interest in the translation process in the West dates back to the late 1970s as theorists became aware of the inadequacy of product-based models to explain the daily reality of the translation profession. In 1981 Nida and Reyburn adopted a Communications Theory approach in the service of the American Bible Society. They begin by outlining an intralingual process in which a sender (a product of a particular educational, social, philosophical background) sends a message (with a particular form and content) at a particular time, in a particular place, via a particular code (words, images, sound), through a particular channel (print document, television, radio), to a person with whom a particular (or no) relationship exists. This receptor is also the product of a particular background and culture and not only

receives the message but also evaluates it. Nida and Reyburn conclude that in terms of intralingual communication, 'no two receptors are ever likely to comprehend and respond to a message in identically the same way. This means that absolute communication is never possible, for no two individuals ever share completely the same linguistic and cultural backgrounds' (1981: 7). A basic Communication Theory model looks like this:



Adapted to the translation situation, Nida and Reyburn describe the translator as both receptor and sender, i.e. a receptor of the message in the ST and sender of the translated message in the TT. By emphasizing translation as an act of communication, Nida and Reyburn drew attention to the human actors involved in the process. They demonstrated that communication does not take place in a vacuum and that the actors involved are influenced by a range of personal, social and cultural factors. They laid particular emphasis on the attitude of the translator, who – as might be expected of a Bible translator – must be positively disposed to the ST and its message (1981: 20).

Translation scholars have developed a model that can be presented diagrammatically as follows:



In this view,translation is a three-stage process in which the translator receives the text written by the SL author, translates it and makes it suitable for a completely new group of receptors. Koller (1979), who adopts this type of model, views the translator as an

active participant in the process, shaping a translation to the needs and expectations of the new readership.

Wilss, who also locates the translator in the central 'box' of the translation process, takes a slightly different view: for him, the translator is engaged in 'a series of code-switching operations' (1977: 54) in a process which aims to achieve the 'optimal synchronization' (1977: 60) of ST and TT. Here the translator's role is regarded as a more mechanical one.

Gilbertson developed the Communication Theory model further to accommodate situations where all the senders are also receptors, such as the negotiation of international treaties (1988).

Holz-Mänttäri expanded the Communication Theory approach by adding Action Theory and Systems Theory in her attempt to answer the question 'What does the translator do?' and 'How does he [*sic*] do it?' (1984: 17). She developed a nine-stage model of the process, beginning with the person who initiates the translation process because they need a text, through eight stages to the receptors of the translation (1984: 105). Her nine-stage model is not unlike contemporary models of the localization process (see, for example, Pym, 2004: 4), to which we will return later.

The Communication Theory models outlined so far are largely based on a (text-) linguistic or sociological conceptualization of translation. The introduction of Relevance Theory into the Communication Theory model by the Bible translator Ernst-August Gutt marked a shift to a cognitive approach to the process of translation. With the publication of Gutt's *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context* in 1991 the focus of attention moved to 'mental faculties rather than texts or processes of text production' (Gutt, 2000: 21). What made this book particularly controversial, as we noted in Chapter 1, was Gutt's claim that there was no need for a separate theory of translation because Relevance Theory could provide a unified and comprehensive account of all translation products, processes and activities.

Relevance Theory is based on the assumption that (successful) communication depends on the ability to infer relevant meaning. Receptors expect to be able to extract the relevant information from an utterance or text in order to understand what the sender intended to say or write. They also expect to be able to do this without great difficulty. Senders, therefore, have to formulate their messages in such a

way that the intended meaning is easily understood. Or as Gutt puts it: 'human communication crucially creates an expectation of *optimal relevance*, that is, an expectation on the part of the hearer that his attempt at interpretation will yield *adequate contextual effects* at *minimal processing cost*' (2000: 31–2) [emphasis in the original].

Relevance Theory distinguishes between the 'descriptive' and the 'interpretive' use of language. 'Descriptive' refers to the use of language to convey a sender's thoughts which intend to represent reality. In 'interpretive' use of language the sender is conveying the thoughts of someone else. For Gutt, translation falls under the interpretive type of language use, for a translator speaks not on her/his own behalf but on behalf of someone else: 'Translation, as a case of interlingual reported speech or quotation, therefore, achieves relevance by informing the target audience of what the original author said or wrote in the source text' (2000: 210).

Gutt then uses this distinction to define his concept of translation as a process in which an ST is 'a model to be faithfully reproduced' (i.e. interpretive use) as opposed to 'a convenient help for composing a TT' (i.e. descriptive use) (2000: 64). Gutt therefore distinguishes between rendering an ST directly into a TT, where the translator is speaking on behalf of the ST author, as opposed to rewriting or adapting an ST for use in another language and culture, where the translator/writer is speaking on his own behalf. He regards the principle of relevance to be applicable to both types of interlingual communication. It could, for example, be more relevant to (re)write an advertisement, a tourist text or a set of instructions from scratch than translate them directly from an ST. Gutt, however, only applies the term 'translation' where the translator is reproducing the thoughts of the ST author, such as is the case in Bible translation.

While this distinction sounds theoretically neat, it would exclude from the concept of translation many of the activities carried on by translators across the globe where STs are not fixed or stable, such as in the case of multilingual documentation and games translation as well as translation practices in countries as diverse as India and Brazil, as we have seen in Chapter 2. The distinction is also difficult to draw in practice because the dividing line between translation, as conceived by Gutt, and rewriting, adaptation and so on is often a very fuzzy one.

Within this rather narrow definition of translation, Gutt elaborates a principle of relevance which holds that a translation is presumed to interpretively resemble the ST and to produce the intended interpretation without imposing an unnecessary processing effort on the receptor(s). He goes on to distinguish between 'direct translation' and 'indirect translation'. In 'direct translation' the aim is to achieve complete interpretive resemblance: here the onus is on the receptor to extract the relevant interpretation because no explication is provided in the text. In 'indirect translation' interpretive resemblance of the relevant aspects of the ST is the goal: here the translator takes account of differences in the receptor's cognitive environment and provides some explication of implied or background information in the ST.

As Kirk has pointed out (2005: 98–9), Gutt's direct translation may in fact violate the principle of relevance, since a receptor may not understand a direct translation of, for example, a Bible text without some explanation. Direct translation does allow for additional aids, such as a detailed commentary on the translation. However, this, too, may not be consistent with the principle of relevance since a receptor may decide that it is too much trouble to read an additional text in order to understand a translation, i.e. that the processing effort is simply too great.

While Gutt's claim that Relevance Theory can replace a separate general theory of translation has not met with universal acceptance in the TS community, his contribution to the field has been a significant one. His work has drawn attention to the cognitive dimension of communication and to the workings of the translator's mind during the process of translation. In doing so, he placed the translator centre-stage in the translation process. In 1991 he raised the level of debate in TS beyond considerations of language and text and presented a holistic view of translation as an act of communication.

One area of TS where the concept of 'relevance' remains in the forefront of debate is in audiovisual translation where the viewer's (or listener's) cognitive effort is a crucial factor in translation decisions (see section 3.5 below). Before considering audiovisual translation, let us turn our attention to other attempts to theorize the cognitive processes involved in translation.

3.2 Translation process research (TPR)

3.2.1 Think-aloud protocols (TAPs)

In the same year as Holz-Mänttäri was mapping the translation process in terms of the actors and actions involved, a completely different approach to accessing the translation process was opened up by the cognitive psychologists Ericsson and Simon. In their *Protocol Analysis* (1984) they confirmed the validity of 'thinking aloud' as a means of accessing the thoughts of human beings as they complete a task.

Hans-Peter Krings was the first to apply this method to TS research in his 1986 investigation into the translation activity of advanced learners of French. In this first study Krings recorded his students' verbalization of their thoughts as they translated a text and transcribed the recording into think-aloud protocols. The data collected were then examined with a view to analysing the translation behaviour of the subjects. Jääskeläinen has described the aim of verbalization as follows:

> The aim is to elicit a spontaneous, unedited, undirected, stream-of-consciousness type of account from the subject. To accomplish this, subjects need to be familiarized with the method by warm-up tasks prior to the experiment proper. The resultant data are messy, but it is the researcher's task to make sense of the mess; the translating subjects are *not* expected to analyse their performance or justify their actions, i.e. thinking aloud as a research tool is not, strictly speaking, a 'mode of reflection'. (2002: 108) [Emphasis in the original]

In 1986 Krings used concurrent verbalization (introspection). Retrospection, i.e. verbalizing immediately after the translation activity, also came to be used in TAP studies.

The overview of TAP research provided by Jääskeläinen ten years after Krings's initial study gives a flavour of the range of studies undertaken as well as of the impact that this approach made on the field in Europe. Data had been collected from foreign-language learners, translation students, from combinations of students and professional translators and from professional translators themselves. The language pairs involved were German and French, English and

French, German and English, German and Spanish, Finnish and English as well as Finnish and German. Both monolingual and dialogical protocols (i.e. generated by students working in pairs) had been produced. The activities analysed included oral to written translation as well as written to written translation, and the aspects of the translation process investigated included problem-solving strategies, cognitive planning, decision-making criteria and the focus of attention (1996: 60).

Detractors of this approach pointed, initially, to the fact that many early studies were carried out on foreign-language students as opposed to translation students or professional translators (Hönig, 1988). The small scale of the investigations and variation in experimental design were also viewed as problematic, as was the possible interference of thinking aloud on the translation process (Toury, 1991). Nonetheless, early TAP research did shed light on a number of aspects of translator behaviour, including text-processing strategies, the use of reference materials and factors for producing successful translations.

Lörscher, for example, found that professional translators tended to focus on the 'global' issues in translation (overall coherence, appropriateness of TT, style and text type), while trainees concentrated on 'local' issues such as lexical equivalence, formal aspects and smaller units of translation (1996). Fraser concluded that the decision-making process of professional translators was determined largely by the translation brief, their perception of their readers' needs and by their awareness of differences in text type conventions in the two languages in question (1996). In identifying the characteristics of professional translators, such research provides important evidence for decisions about curriculum development. Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen, who investigated the impact of affective factors in translation, established a connection between a translator's confidence and the quality of the translation they produced and concluded that translator-training programmes should aim to promote students' self-confidence by adopting student-centred learning (1996).

In addition to contributing to the curriculum for translator training, Krings claims that TPR studies have made an important contribution to TS in two other ways: they have helped to provide a fuller account of human language processing and have thereby filled an important gap in our knowledge of the field; they have also

provided empirical evidence for the complexity of the translation process and as a result have demonstrated the importance of professionalism in both training and practice (2005: 344).

In their review of process research in 2009, Göpferich and Jääskeläinen summarized the findings of TPR to date: with increasing experience translators focus on larger translation units and higher-level issues; they proceed in a less ST-oriented fashion and their processing of the text is more recursive and iterative; they show more awareness of what they are doing; they undertake more editing and revision, and they monitor their performance more critically (2009: 174). While some of these results may appear intuitively obvious to anyone involved in TS, the major achievement of TAPs has been to provide empirical evidence for what were hitherto assumptions about how translators behave.

No one has been more critical of TAPs than the researchers themselves. Krings has shown that the process of thinking aloud does indeed influence the translator's behaviour. Translators take around 30 per cent longer to complete the task, they take smaller steps and proceed with less linearity (2001). He has also demonstrated that retrospection is not a particularly reliable methodology (2005). Jakobsen found that thinking aloud meant that translators worked with smaller units of text (2003), which could, as Jääskeläinen notes (2011: 20), affect the structure of the translation process.

O'Brien has pointed out that TAPs can only tap into consciously processed information in our short-term memories (and not into any automated processes in our brains) and that some subjects verbalize more than others (2011: 2). Göpferich and Jääskeläinen have gone so far as to question the applicability of Ericsson and Simon's method to translation. Ericsson and Simon based their verbal data reports on well-defined problem-solving tasks which were completed in a linear fashion in a monolingual/monocultural setting. Tasks and solutions in the translation process, in contrast, are not well defined, are not carried out in a linear fashion and take place in a bilingual or multilingual environment. Göpferich and Jääskeläinen furthermore suggest that experimental conditions can change the nature of the translation exercise and by extension the translator's behaviour (2009: 178–9, 183). Jääskeläinen has responded to these methodological challenges by designing a large-scale methodological study of TAPS to test the validity and reliability of this method

when applied to TS (2011: 15–29). This is a significant development, not least in view of Jääskeläinen's long and sustained involvement in the field. It is also a very welcome one in terms of hypothesis- and theory-building in process studies, which has produced many small-scale and isolated studies that do not lend themselves to any kind of generalization.

An earlier response to unease about the validity and reliability of findings based on TAPs was the introduction of triangulation into research design. This means using more than one method of investigating a particular phenomenon in order to reduce the potential effect of the limitations of any one method. In TPR triangulation has taken the form of using more than one method of data collection. This has been made possible, in part, by the technological advances of the last 25 years. Krings carried out his experiment in 1986 using a tape recorder – ten years later the IT revolution had produced quite different methods of data collection.

3.2.2 Keyboard logging

In the late 1990s Arnt Lykke Jakobsen of the Copenhagen Business School developed a keyboard-logging tool, *Translog*, to record translators' keystrokes and mouse usage while they are translating (Jakobsen and Schou, 1999). *Translog* also records what is happening on the translator's screen during the completion of a translation task. The keystroke/mouse data and screen recording data are then available to investigate questions relating to the translation process.

Studies conducted using *Translog* have addressed similar issues to TAP research, although most have used at least one additional method of data collection. Dragsted used *Translog* and retrospection to investigate differences between novice and professional translators on the basis of text segmentation. She distinguished between two modes of segmentation: the 'analytic' mode consisting of short segments, low production speed, long pauses and processing at low levels of the text, and the 'integrated' mode, characterized by long segments, high production speed, short pauses and processing at the level of the clause or sentence (2005: 66). The 'integrated' mode was found in professional translators when they were working on texts in domains with which they were familiar. The 'analytic' mode applied to novice translators irrespective of the difficulty of the text and also to professionals who were translating texts in domains

unfamiliar to them. Faber and Hjört-Pedersen used TAPs, *Translog* and a retrospective interview in their investigation of explicitation in the translation of legal texts by professional translators (2009: 113). Denver used TAPs, *Translog* as well as product analysis to investigate both the explicitation hypothesis and Tirkkonen-Condit's 'unique items' hypothesis (2009: 125–47).

Ten years after its release, the *Translog* tool was used in 97 universities in 45 countries across the world. Over half the users were in Europe with 29 in Asia, 9 in South America, 7 in South America, 3 in Australia and one in Africa (Shou et al., 2009: 40). The Copenhagen Centre for Research and Innovation in Translation and Translation Technology (http://www.cbs.dk/critt) has become a hub for TPR and is now in the process of developing a tool that will integrate audio recording, keyboard logging and eye tracking in one bundle. This will greatly enhance the triangulation potential in process research.

3.2.3 Eye tracking

Eye-tracking technology consists of one or more cameras, usually mounted on the monitor, which record a translator's eye movements while they are processing a text. As research on eye movements in reading over many years has shown, different types of eye movements indicate different cognitive processes and can therefore be expected to provide data about the different aspects of the translation process.

Jakobsen and Jensen carried out an experiment where six translation students and six professional translators undertook four reading tasks: a reading comprehension exercise, a reading comprehension exercise as a preliminary to translation, a sight translation exercise and a written translation exercise on a split screen which showed both the ST and the TT (2008). Among the most interesting findings was the fact that in the written translation exercise the visual attention of the professional translators was directed much more to the TT than the ST, while the translation students spent more time looking at the ST than the TT. Interestingly, in the second task, where the participants were reading with a view to translating later, there was no evidence that they concentrated on certain potentially problematic areas – they just read more slowly. O'Brien used processing speed, pupil dilation and a paper-based survey administered after the experiment to investigate the cognitive load involved in processing

fuzzy matches when working with translation memory (TM) tools (2008). As clients increasingly insist on paying translators less if they are using a TM, on the assumption that TMs reduce the amount of work a translator has to do, the question of cognitive load in processing TMs is a not insignificant one. In this case the processing speed data indicated that decreasing fuzzy matches do require more effort; in other words, as the matches offered by the TM tool became less accurate, the translators needed longer to process them. However, the pupil dilation data did not support this finding, a contradiction which led the researcher to question the accuracy of the fuzzy match value as well as to investigate the attention paid by the translators to that value (which was lower than expected). Indeed, this piece of research demonstrates both the potential and pitfalls of this kind of TPR: the potential for developing theories in relation to technology as well as providing feedback to the industry – and the pitfalls of small sample size and a very large number of variables.

One of the problems which has dogged TPR has been the inaccessibility of data collected from projects which by their very nature generate a large amount and a wide range of material. The TransComp project has been developing 'an open-source-based storage, administration and retrieval system for digital resources' (Göpferich, 2009: 161). This will function not only as an archive but also as a means of sharing data and undertaking collaborations across national borders. Equally importantly from the point of view of TS research, it will enable studies to be replicated – which has been a problem in the discipline as a whole for some time. It will also, in time, enable researchers to generate the kinds of hypotheses which can lead to theory-building in TPR.

3.2.4 Contribution to theory

The spread of TPR since the mid-1980s has been remarkable: there are now researchers and research groups active in the field throughout Europe (Copenhagen, Barcelona, Granada, Graz, Zurich, Dublin, Stockholm) and beyond. Their contribution to Translation Theory has been twofold. Firstly, they have provided empirical evidence for aspects of translation behaviour and this evidence has enabled tentative hypotheses to be formulated; it has also informed translator training. Secondly, their attention to methodology has focused attention on hypothesis- and theory-building.

The fields of cognitive science and neuroscience are likely to present new insights into translator subjectivity and consciousness in the years to come, as they have already done in interpreting (see below). Bayer-Hohenwarter, in a study of the effect of time pressure on translators, has recently suggested that as each individual reacts differently to time pressure, the only way to measure the effects of time pressure is to take both psychological and physiological factors into account. Swabs, blood tests and functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) are proposed as possible methods to determine stress levels in translators in the future (Bayer-Hohenwarter, 2009).

Before moving on to Interpreting Studies (IS) where process research has had a much longer history, let us consider a criticism of TPR from outside the TPR community, namely from Hung who argues that translation – in her case in China, although this applies to many contexts – is not a solitary activity, as modelled in TPR, but rather that teamwork is often the norm (2006: 159). Buzelin, too, draws attention to the 'collective dimension' of translation which she describes as a site of a 'conflict of subjectivities' (2007: 51). Given the predominance of European researchers in TPR, it is tempting to speculate whether this might be an example of an (individualist) West vs (collectivist) East divide as far as approaches to TS is concerned.

3.3 The interpreting process

Pöchhacker has described the idea of a 'process' as 'the most influential supermeme in interpreting studies' to date (2004/2009: 52), by which he means studies of simultaneous, and, to a lesser extent, consecutive interpreting. The interest in cognitive information processing skills in simultaneous interpreting (SI) began with the work of the British psychologist David Gerver (1932–81) who first proposed a process model in 1975. Gerver's model envisaged an input buffer that stores the ST and gradually releases it for processing which is undertaken with the assistance of the long-term memory (which activates language knowledge). Then the TT passes through an output buffer where monitoring may take place before the TT is verbalized, although monitoring may also take place after initial verbalization. Although his primary focus was on the cognitive dimension of SI, Gerver did mention other aspects which could affect the interpreting process, such as 'whether or not the interpreter can see the speaker,

whether the subject matter or vocabulary are obscure, whether the interpreter has seen the script in advance, how he [*sic*] feels on that particular day, and so on' (1975: 123). In doing so he anticipated issues like the routine nature of the task and the role of affective factors which were later taken up by TPR researchers. Gerver's model was based on his expertise in psychology, his observation of interpreting and conversations with interpreters. Three years later Gerver co-edited a collection of papers which included a model proposed by Barbara Moser-Mercer, who has been in the forefront of interpreting process research and interpreter training ever since. Moser-Mercer's model broke the interpreting process down into a series of steps which were presented as a flow chart with the possibility of reiterating particular steps depending on the progress of the process (reproduced in Pöchhacker and Shlesinger, 2002: 152–3). By 2001 Moser-Mercer could report on a field which had drawn on tools such as EEG, positron emission tomography (PET), fMRI and magnetoencephalogy (MEG) to study brain activity in interpreters, and which had applied research on working memory to analyse and account for input and output rates. In a subsequent study Moser-Mercer used saliva samples along with a range of questionnaires to investigate interpreters' performance in remote interpreting situations (2003).

Some findings from interpreting process research concur with those in TPR: expert interpreters operate at the macro level whereas novices process at the micro level (Ivanova, 1999); expert interpreters working in domains they are familiar with show superior interpreting output to novices, but the quality of output when they work in unfamiliar domains is comparable to that of novices (Casado and Jiménez, 1996).

Gile, meanwhile, had proposed an Effort Model which he applied to SI, Consecutive Interpreting and Sight Translation (1997). This model identified four types of cognitive effort which are required simultaneously in SI: listening and analysis (L), production (P), memory (M) and coordination (C). Gile theorized that an interpreter's total processing capacity (TA) at any one time must be equal to, or exceed, the total capacity requirement (TR) for any interpreting task if the output is to be satisfactory. He identified a number of features of speeches which greatly increase the capacity requirement such as high information density (caused by fast delivery, enumerations, external factors, syntactic differences between languages, low

redundancy and so on). According to Gile, the Effort Model suggested that an interpreter would not produce a satisfactory performance when *either* the total available capacity did not meet the total capacity requirement *or* when the capacity available for one or more of the efforts was not enough to meet the capacity requirement for a particular task. While such a model has considerable explanatory power, the difficulty lies in testing it – a difficulty which Gile was quick to acknowledge. Process research in IS faces very similar challenges to TPR, including the difficulty of isolating particular cognitive processes for experimental purposes (due to the large number of independent variables); how to conduct large-scale studies (in order to address the issue of representativeness), and the relationship between the experimental situation and a real-world interpreting event (to ensure validity).

One of the few studies to analyse the process of both translating and interpreting is that undertaken by Dimitrova and Tiselius (2009), who used retrospection to investigate differences between the nature and length of recall in translating and interpreting subjects. Although their paper is a very preliminary report, the similarities in respect of the amount of data and the number of reported instances of problems, strategies and monitoring led them to 'a cautious conclusion [. . .] that there are no clear differences in the amount of retrospective data between interpreting and translation subjects' (2009: 127).

As in TPR, a good deal of the research has been undertaken with a view to improving training and the sub-skills which go to make up interpreter competence (although the term 'competence' is not used in the IS literature). Sub-skills which are the most difficult to achieve have been identified as concentration (ability to filter out any distractions), fast retrieval of TT items, processing speed and TT formulation, although there is considerable variation between individual interpreters (Moser-Mercer, 2000/2001: 89–90).

One of the enduring questions is to what extent interpreting ability is innate and to what extent it can be learned. Kurz's study of stress levels in interpreters showed that interpreters have low levels of 'trait anxiety', which means that they generate the kind of stress which facilitates optimal performance in everyday situations (1997). Here is perhaps one indicator of a biological predisposition for an interpreter.

3.4 The localization process

3.4.1 Software localization

Localization has been defined as 'the processes by which digital content and products developed in one locale (defined in terms of geographical area, language and culture) are adapted for sale and use in another locale' (Dunne, 2006a: 4). Sikes, in a wide-ranging introductory essay to the industry in a major localization publication, describes localization as 'the process of adapting software and the accompanying materials to suit a target-market locale with the goal of making the product transparent to that locale, so that native users interact with it as if it were developed there and for that locale alone' (2009: 6). These definitions place localization firmly in the field of TS as conceptualized in this book. Pym, too, concludes that 'localization practices have been around for a very long time, and the problems they have faced are not essentially different from those of all cross-cultural communication' (2004: 167), and he goes on to illustrate this claim with reference to translation practices going back to the third millennium BC.

However, the localization industry sees the relationship between localization and translation rather differently. Rather than viewing localization as a subset of translation, the localization industry views itself as 'a profession related to, but distinct from, translation' (Dunne, 2006a: 1). The localization process is often presented in the context of 'GILT': globalization, internationalization, localization and translation. Globalization refers to the business environment in which a decision is made to develop a product for a range of different markets across the globe. Internationalization means designing and developing the product in such a way that it can be easily translated for all these markets by, for example, the use of Unicode which facilitates the subsequent translation into all major languages. Localization refers to the decisions taken with respect to the degree of cultural adaptation required for the product in question to have 'the "look and feel" of a locally made product' (Mazur, 2007: 347). Translation then covers the actual language transfer. In this context the conceptualization of translation is a very narrow one – one which contemporary Translation Theory would not recognize. As Pym points out, it is richly ironic that as TS has been enlarging

its view of translation, the localization industry has been defining translation ever more narrowly (2004: 52).

In order to understand how this has come about, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of software localization which originated in the largely monolingual English-speaking IT industry. With the onset of globalization, software development companies became aware of the need to sell their products in foreign markets and discovered – or so the founding narratives goes – that 'early attempts to "transform" programs (and their accompanying documentation) from one language version to another soon led to the realization that there was more to it than mere translation: thus was localization born' (Dunne, 2006a: 5). In other words, what we are dealing with here is a subjective theory of translation which was widespread in the IT industry at the time: namely, that translation is a word-for-word transfer operation in which the context, culture and the business/social environment of the translation activity are irrelevant.

This has resulted in what Pym has called 'non-linear modes of text production and reception' (2010: 121). Translators are typically given disembodied and decontextualized pieces of text to translate with little or no indication of their function or position in the source or target environments. It is therefore no wonder if the quality of such translation is poor, which is then deemed to justify the low level of payment in this part of the profession – a vicious circle from which there is no escape.

The literature on localization devotes much space to questions of definition, often trying to differentiate itself from what it calls 'conventional translation processes transferring linguistic and cultural content' by claiming that translation is 'just one operational link in the chain of target end content production' (Folaron, 2006: 201). Lommel distinguishes localization from translation on three grounds: a concern with products as opposed to 'simple texts', a focus on culture as opposed to language and the involvement of computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, although he concludes that 'the boundary between translation and localization is often quite fuzzy' (2006: 223). Cronin examines the implications of making a distinction between 'localization' and translation'. He argues that such a distinction suggests two entirely erroneous ideas: firstly, that localization is a new process which 'engages effortlessly with the "local"'

and, secondly, that the introduction of technology means that all translation problems have been solved (2003: 63).

An analysis of the literature on localization demonstrates that most of the theoretical and practical concerns of localization are those of translation, too. The focus on the locale where the product is to be used and the needs of the user are in keeping with the demands of 'Skopos' Theory as outlined in the previous chapter. The subjective theories and expectations of clients in relation to the process and outcomes of localization/translation are often unrealistic in terms of time frames and costs. In the absence of agreed standards, quality is 'a burning issue' (Bass, 2006: 70) with regard to both the ST and TT: 'garbage in, garbage out' is a problem for localization and translation. Translators, just as localizers, need specialized knowledge, cultural competence, and a complete understanding of the context; they also need to know how to choose and work intelligently with particular tools.

The role of tools is often adduced to explain the difference between localization and translation (see, for example, Esselink, 2000: 2). However, surveys such as the Lagoudaki's *Translation Memories Survey 2006* demonstrate that professional translators – and freelance translators in particular – have integrated a range of tools into their work.

Yet what has been lacking across the board has been a serious engagement with the theoretical implications of technology. O'Hagan has drawn attention to the fact that 'translation theory is not paying enough attention to technology-oriented research while the latter fails to consider implications for theory' (2012: 509).

This is not surprising. Most Western translation theorists come from an arts and humanities background and have grown up in an educational and academic culture which draws sharp divisions between humanities and social sciences on the one hand and science, engineering and technology on the other. As we have argued in Chapter 1, TS, as an interdiscipline, crosses such artificially created, binary divides and requires a theoretical engagement with all its aspects. A further reason why there has been little theorizing about the role and impact on technology on the discipline is, quite simply, because 'sadly, we don't even have a good theory of technology' (Kelly, 2007 [online]).

To date only two TS theorists, Pym (2004, 2010) and Cronin (2003), have addressed the theoretical implications of technology. In his book on localization, Pym demonstrates how it has developed as a response to globalization and has led to new models of translation, in which, for example, the ST in the traditional sense is increasingly disappearing. Pym places localization in the context of the growing field of language services, which has experienced a fragmentation in the labour market. He views the localization industry, which has placed such emphasis on the organization of the *process* of localization, as contributing to such segmentation. This in turn is reinforced both by the nature of the tools themselves as well as the way in which they are used. He concludes that the 'main social effect of segmentation would seem to be a narrowing of the role of translation' (2004: 164).

More recently Pym has identified the internationalization stage of localization as 'a new element of theory' (2010: 125). By this he means that internationalization takes an ST and strips it of all culture-specific elements so that it can serve as a new or secondary ST for translation into a number of languages. The traditional view of translation as proceeding from an ST to a TT is therefore disrupted and a new, artificial type of intermediary text is introduced into the process. What Pym is describing is in a way a variation on the idea of a 'pivot' language in interpreting, where all source languages are interpreted into one language, often English, and then interpreted from the pivot language into a range of other languages.

While the type of internationalization described by Pym applies to some areas of localization, there is also an increasing use of controlled language to produce original STs. Controlled source authoring, pioneered in the 1990s by companies such as Caterpillar with their 'Caterpillar Technical English', ensures that the ST can be more easily automatically translated into a variety of languages and cultures. The practice of writing STs with a view to translation is not new – the handbook produced by the Reuters news agency, for example, requires their journalists to write 'in language which is easy to translate' (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009: 70). What is new, is the context of constraining human authors by imposing a set of rules derived primarily not from a particular style guide but from the requirements of a machine.

Cronin (2003) places the number and diversity of technological tools in the contemporary translation workplace in the economic

and political context of a globalized world whose translation needs have grown exponentially in terms of the number of TL texts which need to be produced simultaneously in increasingly short periods of time. He argues that translation has always involved the use of tools, from ink and parchment through glossaries and dictionaries to printing and recycled translations. He sees tools as an essential part of the human condition and the relationship between translators and new technology as 'less a break with a venerable craft tradition than as a further stage in the development of an exosomatic dimension to human engagement with translation' (2003: 29). Cronin uses the term 'translational cyborgs' (2003: 112) to describe modern translators whose very identity is being influenced by the technology they use.

Technology has certainly been central to human evolution – Taylor has even claimed that 'we did not somehow naturally become smart enough to invent the technology on which we critically rely and that has removed us from the effects of natural selection. Instead, the technology evolved us' (2010: 9). The interaction of technology and biology to the advantage of human evolution is obvious in the invention of, for example, the baby sling (which made it possible for humans to walk upright, an essential step to developing larger brains as well as more sophisticated tools) or the lens (which gave humans the ability to see better and further for longer than any other species on the planet). However, as technology becomes increasingly entailed, that is, as the processes required to develop it become increasingly less comprehensible to the people using it, the danger arises that 'the distance between cause and effect has become so great that by the time we perceive our potential maladaptation to environment, it is too late' (Taylor, 2010: 199).

What does this mean, then, for theorizing translation technology? Firstly, it means, as Cronin has pointed out, that technology is in itself nothing new, it has always been an integral part of the translation process. Traditional academic boundaries and corporate factors are largely responsible for the recent divide which O'Hagan (2012) has identified between TS and CAT/MT (machine translation).

Secondly, it means that a critical engagement with technology is essential. It should be noted that 'critical' in this context means 'questioning' and not 'technophobic'. For example, software developers and corporate clients claim that TM systems can speed up

the translation process. The results of recent research cast doubt on whether this is necessarily always the case (Bowker, 2005; O'Brien, 2006; Jiménez-Crespo, 2009). In any case, is fast *always* better? TMs work on the principle that sameness of form equals sameness of meaning: is this *always* the case? While the recycling of previously translated sentences through TM systems may make sense in particular contexts, importing sentences from other texts can pose difficulties for cohesion; after all, text producers operate at a range of different textual levels, both above and below the sentence level. There is also the danger of assuming that an existing TM contains perfect translations (Kenny, 2007: 198–9).

Besides questioning the claims of clients and developers, Translation Theory also needs to investigate the effects of using such technology on the human beings involved in the process (see O'Brien, 2008, above). As Pym has pointed out (2004: 164), restricting the work of translators in the localization industry to changing the words is to squander their expertise in (inter)cultural matters, expertise which could be of enormous benefit in the GIL phases of the GILT process.

A further theoretical question relates to the effect of the localization industry on linguistic diversity on the planet. While localization by its very nature would seem to promote linguistic diversity, at the same time it divides the languages of the world into those that are localized (because their speakers represent a sufficiently large market) and those that are not (because their speakers are too few in number or too poor to make localization commercially viable). However, as we shall see below and in the next chapter, dissatisfaction with the localization paradigm is generating new types of translation which restore to human translators – both trained and untrained – more control of the translation process.

As MT programs become ever more sophisticated, there is a pressing need for translation theorists to bring their knowledge to bear on the possibilities as well as the limitations of translation technology. When a European university recently revised its website, it decided that a 'Translate' button on the homepage, linked to a free Internet-based machine translation system, would be a good marketing tool. The thinking behind this decision was, presumably, that this would be a perfect (and cheap) way of providing information to prospective students around the world. A key part of

the website was the welcome page, a well-crafted PR piece on the values and mission of the organization, extolling the advantages of studying at this particular institution. Unfortunately, one click of the 'Translate' button turned this page into an incoherent and largely incomprehensible piece of text in a multitude of languages, thus making a laughing stock of the university to a potentially global audience and undoing its marketing campaign at one fell swoop.

The university in question specializes, among other things, in TS but clearly felt no need to consult the experts on campus about this translation project. This incident is another example of the subjective theories of translation which we as translation scholars need to tackle. Indeed, to the goals of Translation Theory elaborated in Chapter 1 we could usefully add public education about translation. Translation Theory has a lot to say about text types, registers and communicative functions (see, for example, Hatim and Mason, 1990, 1997) and is in a good position to offer advice about when to use programs such as Google Translate (e.g. for gisting) and when not (e.g. for advertising and PR texts).

3.4.2 Games localization

A video game is 'an interactive multimedia text that combines words, images and sound, and whose main objective is to entertain' (Mangiron, 2006: 307). Video games are often subsumed under the 'software localization' heading and while they do share some common features with software localization there are also fundamental differences. Commonalities include the GILT process and the simship of all language versions, which, when localization is outsourced, often results in translators working with content that is not yet finalized and being unable to play (or even see) the game they are translating.

For Mangiron and O'Hagan the major difference between software and games localization lies in the goals of the two processes: the goal of software localization is to provide a product which can be put to use for utilitarian purposes; games localizers must produce a product which can entertain interactively and 'provide enjoyment equivalent to that felt by the players of the original version' (Mangiron and O'Hagan, 2006: 15). Dietz describes the unique challenges presented by games localization as 'the world-making

power of games, the non-linearity of games, the often chaotic game development process, and established genre conventions' (Dietz, 2006: 121).

Games have a wide range of subgenres such as action, adventure, simulation, role-playing games, first-person shooters, sports, strategy and so on, and are played on a variety of platforms both online and offline. Translators need not only to be gamers and have in-depth specialized knowledge of the subgenre concerned, they also need to observe different games rating systems and be sensitive to cultural difference. The Pan European Game Information (PEGI) system with its five age categories and eight content descriptors is widely used across Europe. Germany has its own, more stringent, ratings system which has resulted in some games being translated into less violent German versions in order to achieve a lower rating – or to be sold at all.

Mangiron and O'Hagan (2006) take as a case study the *Final Fantasy* game to demonstrate the high level of creativity required in translating items such as the names of characters and weapons, humour, wordplay and a register such as 'street-speak'. They conclude by describing games translation as 'transcreation' (2006: 20), a term that recalls the Indian and Brazilian traditions described in Chapter 2. Transcreation implies a creative process of rewriting, such as that undertaken in the translation of the Japanese dating game *Tokimeki Memorial* for the US market where it was released as *Brooktown High*. This has led O'Hagan to wonder 'whether the game *Brooktown High* can still be called a localized version, given that it retains almost no trace of the original' (2007: 4). Such considerations have traditionally been the concern of literary translation, which is perhaps a reminder that the binary divides which have characterized debates in Translation Theory in the past are becoming less relevant. The distinction between 'literary translation' and 'technical translation' is simply redundant when it comes to the translation of video games.

Another concern of Translation Theory has been the notion of loss, of the translation as an inferior product. Mangiron has suggested that the translation of video games provides evidence for exploring the opposite concept – that of 'translation gain', because 'localized games are sometimes as good as or even better than their originals' (2006: 313).

3.5 The process of audiovisual translation

'Loss' was a frequent topic in the early stages of research into audiovisual translation (AVT) as well. Here, loss was presented as an inevitable result of the technological constraints imposed by subtitling and dubbing, which constituted the main focus of AVT until the late 1990s. Indeed much work in this period was devoted to definitions of the various types of revoicing for TV and cinema as well as discussions about the relative merits of subtitling and dubbing (Luyken et al., 1991; Whitman-Linsen, 1992; O'Connell, 1998).

With the arrival of the digital age it has become increasingly difficult to sustain distinctions between the various types of AVT on the basis of different platforms. Television, cinema, DVD, Internet, PC and mobile devices are more and more interchangeable and the same audiovisual product is often customized for different platforms as well as for a variety of users. One of the early signs that the digital age had arrived in AVT was when the first film of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy was released in Japan and Tolkien fans were outraged by the poor quality of the Japanese subtitles. They responded by using the Internet to launch a wave of protests that eventually reached the director, Peter Jackson, and resulted in a radical change of subtitling policy for the second *Lord of the Rings* film (O'Hagan, 2003). Not only did the Japanese fans coordinate their protests over the Internet, they also used it to collaborate on alternative (and better) subtitles. The activity of fan-subbing, whereby amateur translators work together to produce their own subtitles, is one of the new translation phenomena of the digital age in which users can generate their own translations (see Chapter 4 below).

By 2004 Gambier was able to identify 12 types of AVT: the translation of screenplays, intralingual subtitles (for the deaf and hard-of-hearing), interlingual subtitles (including interlingual bilingual subtitles), live subtitling of television news, dubbing, live interpreting (in television debates or interviews as well as sign language interpreting), voice-over (for promotional videos), commentary, surtitles (for opera or theatre), sight translation, audio description (for the blind and partially sighted) and double versions (a film in which each actor speaks their native language and the film is dubbed in one language later)/remakes (2004c: 2–4). Today we could add audio subtitling, the process whereby subtitles are converted into speech

(Braun and Orero, 2010), and audio narration, the 're-narrativisation of film' (Kruger 2010: 231), to the list.

An audiovisual text, according to Chaume, is 'a semiotic construct comprising several signifying codes that operate simultaneously in the production of meaning' (2004: 16). Such a text consists of a range of sounds and visual images. The sounds include the words spoken or sung by fictitious or real people as well as music and sound effects. The visual images range across those found in films, TV programmes, video games, comics, live performances of all sorts as well as writing in the form of subtitles, surtitles or pop-up glosses in DVDs which provide additional background information. An audiovisual text is therefore a highly complex construct. It is much more than a conventional written text for it entails multimodality and a consideration of the needs (and expectations) of viewers and listeners as well as the role of other actors in the production process such as technicians, producers and distributors. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of AVT is the centrality of team translation. However, the translation team itself is embedded in much larger groups of people who make policy decisions about broadcasting, financing, programming as well as the choice of language and the mode of translation. The one-person 'sender' of the Communications Theory model presented at the beginning of this chapter has thus expanded to comprise an international group of decision-makers and agents who transcend national boundaries and whose identities and interrelationships are not always easy to identify. In AVT we are therefore dealing with a complex collection of senders who encode their message in a multimodal and polysemiotic text.

The translation of this kind of 'semiotic construct' clearly goes beyond a purely linguistic transfer. Gambier has argued, convincingly, that the practice of AVT has implications for how TS scholars view traditional concepts such as 'text', 'original', 'equivalence' and 'acceptability' (2003: 183). In fact, much of the research undertaken in AVT has made a major contribution to opening up and enlarging our concept of translation.

As TS scholars have increasingly focused on the complexity of the AVT text, they have turned to theories of multimodality, such as those developed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) for analytical models. The semiotic approach of Kress and van Leeuwen takes as its starting point systemic functional linguistics and expands

this to include the dimension of visual representation. Baumgarten (2008) has drawn on the work of Kress and van Leeuwen to develop a 'visual–verbal cohesion' model designed to analyse the combination of the visual and the verbal in the translation (dubbing) of a corpus of English films into German.

A recurring theoretical model in AVT is Relevance Theory since audiences expect to understand, use and enjoy audiovisual products without too much difficulty. In terms of Relevance Theory viewers and listeners want to expend minimum cognitive effort to achieve maximum cognitive effect. Gambier, who lists Relevance Theory as one of the conceptual tools necessary to conduct research in AVT, hypothesizes that 'the greater the viewers' processing effort, the lower the relevance of the translation' (2003: 185). Thus, subtitles which are difficult to read or are too long, surtitles which fail to explain adequately what is happening on stage or an audio description which interferes with the original soundtrack may well lead to the viewer or listener switching off.

In the context of interpreting certain types of live TV shows, Katan and Straniero-Sergio (2003) have shown how the question of relevance is determined not just by the programme makers and the audiences. In Italy the hosts of chat shows frequently intervene and become co-mediators in the interpreting process. As a result, media interpreters have been increasingly forced to abandon the neutrality traditionally associated with the interpreting profession in order to take on the traits on media performers.

However, the question of relevance cannot be completely reduced to the proposition that audiences are only willing to make a minimum effort to achieve maximum understanding or entertainment. Caffrey, for example, who used eye tracking combined with a questionnaire to investigate the effect of the pop-up gloss on viewer perception of a subtitled anime on DVD, found that while the pop-up gloss increased the processing effort of viewers it also increased the positive cognitive effects they experienced (2009). In certain circumstances, therefore, viewers are willing to expend more cognitive effort to achieve more enjoyment from an audiovisual product.

AVT has also been analysed through the lens of Norm Theory. If we agree with Toury that translation is a norm-governed activity (see Chapter 3), then AVT, too, is subject to sets of norms. Karamitroglou has developed a model for investigating norms in AVT that comprises

four 'factors' and three levels of operation, which interact with each other in a variety of ways (2000: 70). The first factor is the human agents, which include spotters, time-coders, adapters, dubbing directors, dubbing actors, sound technicians, video experts, proofreading post-editors and translators. Any one of these, either alone or in collaboration with any other, can be expected to perpetuate or to violate the prevailing norms. The second factor is the translated product which functions as a particular genre in the target culture and which conforms or deviates from the established norms for that genre. The third factor is the recipients of the translated AV product and it is their expectations which are of interest in Norm Theory. The fourth factor is the audiovisual mode which is defined by Karamitroglou as 'the aggregate of rules, items and interrelations with which a specific audiovisual text is produced and understood' (2000: 80). These factors then interact with each other as well as on three levels: the level of the individual audiovisual product being analysed (the 'lower level'), the level of audiovisual products as a whole (the 'middle level') and the general literary/cultural level (the 'upper level'). Norms can then be established at a number of levels – for an individual case, for AVT as a whole or for a particular culture. Although Karamitroglou was interested primarily in children's literature in the context of cinema, TV and video, his model is flexible enough to be extended to the full range of audiovisual texts.

3.6 Conclusion

Research into the process of translation has borrowed theories originating outside the discipline, such as Communication Theory, Relevance Theory and Norm Theory, and adapted them to describe and explain what the translation process entails. Translation scholars have taken advantage of new technologies to develop theories about the cognitive processes at work in translation and have produced findings on a range of translator behaviours. Studies into the process of software localization have challenged TS to engage with narrow conceptualizations of translation almost unrecognizable to contemporary scholars. At the same time AVT has been expanding the theoretical boundaries by revisiting key concepts in the discipline and enlarging our view of translation. Research in games localization has reappropriated the concept of transcreation, which, as we have

seen, originated in India and Brazil to describe a process that has much in common with literary translation. Underlying much of the discussion in this chapter has been a consideration of the engagement with technology, both in research and in the translation profession. With the advent of Web 2.0, the human–technology interface is one which increasingly impinges on all aspects of our discipline and which we will explore in more detail in the next chapter that is devoted to theories about the translator.

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4
Theories about the Translator

Translators have played a significant role throughout human history: the spread of religions and political philosophies, the development of the world's languages and of world literature, the conduct of trade and commercial exchange, the waging of war and the drafting of peace treaties, all these would have been impossible without the involvement of translators. In view of the centrality of translation in human affairs throughout the ages it is remarkable that 'since time immemorial translation has been a practice obscured and repressed by those who carried it out as well as by those who benefitted from it' (Berman, 1984/1992: 76). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that the theorization of the translator's role has been a relatively recent phenomenon.

In this chapter we begin by identifying translators as networkers, with specific reference to recent developments brought about by new technologies. Next, we review theories relating to the role of the interpreter and the visibility/invisibility of the translator (and translation). From here we examine theories of agency and subjectivity, and discuss the implications for translators of postmodern theories. Then we view translators through the prism of risk management and consider the ethical responsibilities of translators before closing the chapter with an overview of theories relating to translator training.

4.1 Translator as networker

Before proceeding to examining how the status, work and roles of translators have been conceptualized, it is important to bear in mind

that the image of the translator as an individual working in splendid isolation on a text does not correspond to reality – either today or at almost any time in the past. Hung has identified the predominance of '*collaborative* or *group* work' in the translation of cultural texts throughout Chinese translation history (2006: 159) [emphasis in the original]. Jones has drawn on Actor Network Theory, Activity Theory and Goffman's Social Game Theory to demonstrate the networks of poets, publishers, commissioning editors, revisers, graphic designers, reviewers and academics within which translators of Bosnian poetry operate. In doing so he has indicated the crucial importance of the translators' interpersonal networks in securing and distributing their work (2009). Jones's claim that 'agency lies not so much in individual actors as in the network as a whole' (2009: 320) applies not only to literary translation but to almost all other contexts in which translation takes place.

Translators have been involved in a range of different networks over the centuries and have played different roles in them. The arrival of the Internet involved translators for the first time in virtual networking through email and other forms of Web 1.0 communication. The development of a range of technological tools, from online dictionaries to TMs, provided translators with new and useful resources. New translation technologies also drove the emergence of a translation industry dedicated largely to software localization which, as we have seen in the previous chapter, offered a much reduced role to its translators.

The development of Web 2.0 changed the Internet from 'a one-way street' to a 'super-fast, two-way highway' (Gough, 2010: 9), an environment which enables users to actively participate in the creation and management of knowledge and information, to collaborate with other users and to share resources and data. Users are now no longer passive recipients of material but actively engaged in generating and negotiating their own content. This explosion in content has resulted in a huge increase in the demand for translation, and particularly, the demand for fast and cheap translation – which has led, in turn, to increasingly sophisticated machine translation systems such as Google Translate and Microsoft Windows Live. The facility provided by Web 2.0 to share data on virtual servers, known as 'cloud computing', has produced global repositories or 'clouds', where all kinds of resources, including TMs, can be stored.

The birth of user-generated content (UGC) has ushered in the age of user-generated translation (UGT), defined by Perrino as 'the harnessing of Web 2.0 services and tools to make online content – be it written, audio or video – accessible in a variety of languages'; it is different from automated translation 'for it requires human expertise and implies the collaboration between users – be they amateurs or professionals' (2009: 62). Web 2.0 has produced entirely new kinds of resources for translators, such as Proz and Translators Café, which list jobs as well as user-generated dictionaries and glossaries, and provide fora to discuss a wide range of translation issues.

At the same time UGT has given rise to an entirely new kind of networked translator, one who takes part in crowdsourced translation – also known as CT3, a term which relates to the three types of crowdsourced translation identified by Ray and Kelly (2011). The first of these is community translation (or social translation), which is carried out by volunteers, both trained and untrained, on the basis of a shared interest or cause, such as the Rosetta Foundation (www.therosettafoundation.org). Community translation is not a new phenomenon – from time immemorial translators and untrained bilinguals have provided translation services free of charge to causes close to their hearts. The second is collaborative technology, where members of a translation community, which can consist of either volunteers or professionals or a mixture of both, work together on the same translation project using advanced translation technology to interact with each other. A good example of this would be fansubbing, i.e. the translation of anime and subsequently video games, which grew out of fans' frustration with the inadequate subtitling provided by professional subtitlers. O'Hagan (2009) attributes this kind of frustration, in part, to the constraints imposed by the localization process, where translators – as we have seen in the previous chapter – often end up working with decontextualized segments of text.

The third type of CT3 is crowdsourcing proper which consists of 'taking a job traditionally performed by a designated agent (usually an employee) and outsourcing it to an undefined, generally large group of people in the form of an open call' (Howe, 2006: online). The most famous example of this was the decision of Facebook in 2007 to ask its users to volunteer to translate some of its content; two years later its interface had been translated into 75 languages, and it

was offering the 'Translations for Facebook Connect' application 'as a free tool for developers worldwide to simplify the process of translating a website, IFrame or FBML-based application' (Lee, 2009: online). Twitter soon followed suit and in February 2011 opened its 'Twitter Translation Center' to recruit users to help translate its websites and mobile apps. Again, these companies found the localization process too slow and the result often inadequate, so they turned to human 'experts', i.e. members of social network sites, to provide appropriate translations.

The speed of change ushered in by Web 2.0 has been staggering. For example, in 2010 Google's computers produced 'ten times more translated words than the entire professional translation workforce worldwide' (Van der Meer, 2010). This development poses a number of challenges to parts of the translation profession, where 'the skill of a few professionals is being replaced by the power of potentially unlimited numbers of volunteers, professionals and amateurs' (Gough, 2010: 18). There has been opposition from the profession to providing translation services for free to commercial companies such as Facebook and Twitter, as illustrated by the 'Translators Against Crowdsourcing by Commercial Businesses' group. While theorists like Garcia predict a gloomy future for translators 'in low-paid, call-centre conditions' (2009: 211), it is important to remind ourselves that professional translators are still employed by Facebook to support a number of languages and by Twitter to moderate the crowdsourced translations – as well as to translate, for example, the legal texts on the sites. In other words, professional translators are moving up the production line and providing high-quality, specialized services.

A recent study, undertaken in England and encompassing translators mostly in Europe and North America, found that while 40 per cent of the 224 translators surveyed saw the benefit of sharing their TMs, almost the same percentage felt threatened by this aspect of cloud computing. Furthermore, some 70 per cent were fearful that sharing specialized resources, which they had built up over a number of years, would mean that they would lose their competitive edge (Gough, 2010: 48–9). There are, of course, many instances where sharing resources on a 'cloud' would not be worthwhile: literary translation – whether of drama, poetry or prose fiction – is an obvious example. Not would it be appropriate to share resources which derive

from any translation project requiring confidentiality for commercial or legal reasons.

The increased volume of translation set in train by Web 2.0 as well as the entry of a significant number of volunteer translators into the field will open up additional areas of activity for the profession in quality assurance, technical writing and (post-) editing. Translators as a profession have adapted to changing environments, from the printing press to the personal computer, since the dawn of human communication. The current developments are but the most recent set of challenges and opportunities.

4.2 Theorizing the role

The one area of TS where the translator has been at the centre of theoretical considerations for some time is, of course, interpreting. Unlike translators, interpreters are present at the multilingual encounter which requires their skills. This presence can be a physical one – in a booth at a conference, standing in front of participants in a meeting, working in a courtroom or hospital or facilitating a business negotiation. It can also be a presence mediated by technology – by way of a video link or telephone. The immediacy, and in many cases, the visibility of interpreting draws attention to the interpreter's role and skills, and this goes some way to explaining the theoretical interest in what interpreters do and how they do it.

One of the earliest contributions to theorizing the role of the interpreter came from a sociologist, Bruce Anderson, who became aware of the complexities inherent in the work of liaison interpreters engaged to facilitate data collection during fieldwork. This type of interpreting is also called bilateral interpreting, dialogue interpreting, community interpreting and/or public service interpreting – depending on the settings and cultures in which it takes place. It is a triadic encounter in which the interpreter enables communication between two parties who do not speak each other's languages, or at least not well enough to achieve the level of communication and understanding required in a specific situation. Anderson investigated three potentially problematic aspects of the interpreter's role – the linguistic behaviour of bilinguals, the ambiguities and conflicts inherent in the role, and issues of power in interpreting. He also drew attention to other aspects such as the status of the participants, the arena of

interaction and the prestige attached to certain languages as well as certain ethnic and/or national groups (Anderson, 1976).

The nature of the interpreter's role has remained an enduring theme in research into community interpreting. The sign-language interpreter, Cynthia Roy, has presented a historical overview of the role from its beginnings as 'helper', which she sees as disempowering the deaf person in that it 'reflected attitudes that deaf individuals were not able to take care of their own business' (1993/2002: 349). The 1970s saw the development of the 'conduit' model which viewed the interpreter as a kind of translation machine, and the influence of Communication Theory perspectives presented the interpreter as a 'communication-facilitator'. By the 1990s the interpreter was seen as a 'bilingual, bicultural specialist', a development which reflected the 'cultural turn' in TS, which was ushered in by the conviction that 'the study of translation *is* the study of cultural interaction' (Gentzler, 1998: ix) [emphasis in the original].

Since the interpreter is the only bilingual in a triadic exchange, Roy argues that

> the knowledge of different linguistic strategies and conversational control mechanisms resides in them alone. This means that the interpreter is an active, third participant with potential to influence both the direction and the outcome of the event, and that the event itself is intercultural and interpersonal rather than simply mechanical and technical. (1993/2002: 352)

Tate and Turner found that almost one-third of interpreters in the UK would be prepared to violate their Code of Ethics, which is based on the conduit model, in certain circumstances. The interpreters gave a number of reasons for violating the Code, including the need to ensure that all the information provided had been understood, the importance of facilitating maximum communication and, in a few cases, a desire to be an advocate for a client who was perceived to be at a disadvantage (1997).

Wadensjö, who has pioneered a discourse-analysis approach to community interpreting, has defined interpreting as interaction and sees the interpreter as involved in two communicative actions: rendition (i.e. relaying the utterances of each party) and coordination (i.e. actively shaping the course of the interaction) (1998). In an early

paper she identifies four types of rendition (expansion, reduction, substitution and summarizing) and three types of coordination (requests, facilitating turn-taking and meta-comments). She, too, sees the interpreter as an active participant in the interpreter-mediated encounter (1993), as does Inghilleri (2003) who makes a compelling case for embedding our understanding of the interpreter's role in the social context in which interpreting takes place. Such contexts, for example medical settings, are often not as homogeneous as they may appear. The demands of a mental health interpreting assignment are very different from those of a booking-in appointment in a maternity hospital. Zimanyi has shown that the interpreter's position in the field of mental health care can vary according to whether the encounter is taking place in a mainstream hospital or a specialized therapeutic unit. In the latter the interpreter can be at risk of vicarious traumatization and may need extensive debriefing after the event (2010: 221–3).

In contrast, the role of the translator has been viewed in a rather different light. Writing in 1998, Simeoni declared:

> To become a translator in the West today is to agree to becoming nearly fully subservient: to the client, to the public, to the author, to the text, to language itself or even, in certain situations of close contact, to the culture or subculture within which the task is required to make sense. [. . .] The translator has become the quintessential servant: efficient, punctual, hardworking, silent, and, yes, invisible. (1998: 12)

4.3 Theories of (in)visibility

In his 1995 book *The Translator's Invisibility,* the American literary translator and academic Lawrence Venuti identified two types of invisibility in the translation activity of Anglo-American literary translators working into English. The first is the decision of most translators to produce a fluent English text. This translation strategy results in the domestication of the foreign text so that the translation reads like an original English work. This strategy has the effect of eliding the otherness of the ST and at the same time rendering the translator invisible. The second type of invisibility, both a cause and a result of the first, is the preference of

the Anglo-American world for translations which read like original English texts, as evidenced in reviews of translated texts in newspapers and journals as well as in the policies of the major publishing houses.

Venuti locates the phenomenon of invisibility firstly in the context of a general tendency in writing in English to 'plain prose uniformity' (1995: 6), secondly in an individualistic concept of authorship which in legal as well as financial terms fails to recognize the authorship of the translator, and finally in a publishing industry where translations account for some 2–4 per cent of all books published in the UK and the USA. He describes the result as the imposition of Anglo-American cultural values on a global scale and at the same time the reinforcement in the UK and the USA of a monolingual culture which is reluctant to engage with foreign cultures and texts. He concludes that the translator's invisibility is symptomatic of an attitude towards the Other which is 'imperialistic abroad and xenophobic at home' (1995: 17). Venuti entitles his final chapter a 'Call to Action' and in it he urges English-language translators to adopt foreignizing strategies – or 'abusive fidelity' (1995: 23) – which resist the dominant cultural values in the Anglo-American world.

The phenomenon of the translator's invisibility can also apply to the invisibility of the translator in the text itself. The question 'exactly whose voice comes to us when we read translated discourse?' (Hermans, 2010: 197) is one which rarely arises in theories of narratology in the field of literary studies, for here the emphasis is on univocality – the voice of the all-powerful ST author/narrator. Anyone who has given a public reading of their work in translation is confronted with this question. In my own case I preface such readings with the statement 'This evening I'm going to read to you from a book which I have written but whose words are not my own.' This acknowledgement of plurivocality often causes a ripple of confusion in the (German) audience as it challenges the view of translation so prevalent in the Western world that a translation is a carbon copy of an ST and bears no traces of a translator. It is richly ironic that while machine translation is becoming more widespread and machine translation output is frequently ridiculed in literary circles, the very same circles often view literary translation as if it was produced automatically without human intervention.

One group of translators who had already been insisting on making the translator visible from the 1980s were Feminist translators in Francophone Canada. They had been engaged in translating Canadian Feminist writers such as Nicole Brossard and France Théoret. These translators often used prefaces to explain their Feminist strategies and thus a body of Feminist Translation Theory was developed. One of these translators, Luise von Flotow, identified four Feminist strategies in 1991: supplementing, prefacing, footnoting and hijacking. The most controversial strategy is, without doubt, hijacking, which involves taking over the text and using all possible means to make the feminine visible. This ranges from avoiding male generic forms and putting the female first in expressions such as 'women and men' to more radical rewritings – or 'womanhandling' – of texts. As a result of such strategies 'the modest, self-effacing translator, who produces a smooth, readable target language version of the original has become a thing of the past' (Von Flotow, 1991: 76).

While such strategies make perfect sense in a Feminist writing and translating culture in bilingual Canada, the transferability of their more radical manifestations to other translation situations proved more difficult. The Brazilian translation scholar Rosemary Arrojo argued that the legitimation for Feminist strategies and translations comes from the communities which share these values, and that for Feminist scholars to claim universal validity for such approaches is to 'repeat the same essentialist strategies and conceptions they explicitly reject' (1994: 160). In other words, in abrogating to themselves the right to rewrite texts according to their own perspective, the Feminist translators were, firstly, colluding in the idea that the meaning of an 'original' text is fixed in space and time and, secondly, producing strategies which were a mirror image of the 'male' ones which they were claiming to reject.

However, Feminist Translation Theory moved beyond Feminist texts and turned its attention to women writers whose work had not been translated or had been translated inadequately (such as Simone de Beauvoir's *Le Deuxième Sexe*), to the (neglected) work of Feminist translators and to (re)translating canonical and mainstream texts which predated the development of Feminist theory. This move came from a growing awareness that the concept of 'the feminine' was complex, could not be separated from other factors such as class and ethnicity and always needed to be contextualized

(Massardier-Kenney, 1997). At the same time Feminist theorists like Lori Chamberlain, for example, were exposing the misogynist nature of many traditional metaphors of translation. These metaphors, such as 'les belles infidèles', define fidelity as 'an implicit contract between translation (as woman) and original (as husband, father or author)' and which mimic 'the patrilineal kinship system where paternity – not maternity – legitimizes an offspring' (1988: 455–6).

The lasting legacy of the Feminist Translation Theory of the 1980s and 1990s has been to draw attention to the hitherto neglected role which gender plays in translation activity, policy and conceptualization. It also opened up the debate about the agency of the translator in a radical and provocative way.

In the 1980s the French translator and scholar Antoine Berman (1942–91) had also begun to question fluent translations which carry out 'a systematic negation of the strangeness of the foreign work' (1984/1992: 5). In his 1984 study of culture and translation in the German tradition, he outlined the dilemma of the translator: they can either lead the reader to the author (in Schleiermacher's terms) and thereby be regarded as 'a traitor in the eyes of his kin' and even produce an unintelligible account, or they can lead the author to the reader and 'betray the foreign work, as well as, of course, the very essence of translation' (1984/1992: 3–4). Berman viewed translation as 'a process in which our entire relation to the Other is played out' (1984/1992: 180) and he insisted on the responsibility of the translator for the choices they make in the translation process. Berman can be seen in a hermeneutic tradition that emphasizes the subjective dimension of understanding and interpreting texts. The decisions a translator makes are constrained by the sociohistorical 'horizon' in which the translation is taking place. By 'horizon', Berman means the linguistic, literary, cultural and historical parameters which influence the feelings, actions and thoughts of a translator (1995: 79).

There is some evidence that in the English-speaking world the literary translator is becoming more visible. David Lodge noted that his 2009 novel *Deaf Sentence*, 'from its English title onwards, presents special problems for translators' and dedicated it to 'all those who, over many years, have applied their skills to the translation of my work into many languages'. This dedication, printed at the beginning of the novel, goes on to mention 11 translators by name.

In an essay entitled 'In Praise of Invisible Authors' in *The Observer* on 24 April 2010, Tim Parks, translator and novelist, drew attention to the importance of translation, which he described as 'shifting the Tower of Pisa into downtown Manhattan and convincing everyone it's in the right place'. He also drew an intriguing comparison between writing and translating: 'Writing my own novels has always required a huge effort of organization and imagination; but, sentence by sentence, translation is intellectually more taxing' (2010: 43).

Even more visible was the translator of the novel which won the 2010 International Impac Dublin Literary Award, billed as the world's largest literary prize. On 18 June 2010 *The Irish Times* carried a photograph of the winning author, Gerbrand Bakker, along with his translator David Colmer. In the accompanying text Eileen Battersby, the newspaper's literary correspondent, included biographical information on Colmer, Bakker's opinion of Colmer's translation, Colmer's assessment of the Dutch translation market as well as his current translation project (2010: 18). This information was interwoven into an account of the author's background and literary influences as well as his prize-winning novel, *The Twin*, in a way which presented the translator and author as a successful team. In this report the translator was doubly visible – through his photograph as well as through the report of his ideas about translation.

Pym, who prefers the term 'anonymity' to 'invisibility', has pointed out that while most translations bear some traces of the translator's activity, the senders of the majority of texts we encounter on a day-to-day basis, whether translations or not, remain anonymous (2004: 68–9). For Pym (relative) anonymity is an inevitable consequence of translation equivalence. Furthermore, he contests Venuti's claim that invisibility results in low profile and economic exploitation by citing the example of the Translation Service of the European Commission (DGT), where individual invisibility 'has been associated with high remuneration, excellent working conditions, and relatively strong official appreciation' (2004: 200–1). However, while DGT translators may remain invisible as individuals the Service itself is highly visible and, as a recent Director-General for Translation, Karl-Johan Lönnroth, has written in the first history of the Translation Service: 'The multilingualism born with the Communities has made translation crucial to the building of Europe' (2010: 6). Such translators are in a very different position from translators who toil anonymously on

instruction manuals, tourist materials, websites and annual reports, where anonymity and invisibility more often than not entail lack of recognition and a concomitant low level of payment.

One area where translation has been largely invisible is in the circulation of global news. Reports from faraway places are beamed on to our screens 24 hours a day in our own languages. Thus, US citizens receive information about events in Iraq in English, Germans receive reports from Afghanistan in German, the Arab world learns about news from China in Arabic, the Greeks hear of decisions about their economic fate taken in Frankfurt, Berlin and Brussels in Greek. None of this would be possible without translation. Bielsa and Bassnett have argued that news translation is 'doubly invisible'; firstly, because it is hidden by domesticating strategies which tailor reports to target audiences and obscure the very act of translation, and, secondly, because translation is integrated into journalism in such a way that the journalists embody the roles of translators, authors and editors (2009: 73). This kind of invisibility has a number of implications. By receiving global news reports directly in local languages, viewers and readers are persuaded that cultural and linguistic diversity either does not exist or that it is unproblematical. The resulting fabricated transparency is only rarely breached. A recent example of such a breach occurred on *Today,* one of BBC radio's early morning news and current affairs programmes, shortly after the earthquake and tsunami which struck Japan in March 2011. The BBC correspondent explained that he could not provide much information because there was a major communication problem, namely that no one spoke English. This moment of non-communication revealed that Japan was a foreign country where communication had to be mediated by translation.

In Turkey in recent years invisibility has been presented as a defence on behalf of translators who face prosecution for producing texts which are viewed as denigrating 'Turkishness' (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2009: 55). In 2005 'public denigration of Turkishness' became a crime punishable by imprisonment for a term of between six months and three years. The Association of Book Translators (ÇEVBİR) argued in their campaign against the prosecution of translators in 2006 that a translator is a mere conduit of the work of an author, and that it is the author who bears sole responsibility for the contents of a translation of their text. Invisibility in this Turkish context is synonymous

with innocence, and the price paid for this type of invisibility is a complete denial of agency.

Before moving on to a discussion of agency, it is worth noting here that while translators may be invisible to a greater or lesser degree, the activity of translation itself has become a much more visible phenomenon. The ubiquitous 'Translate' button on websites and the range of translation apps for mobile devices are a response to a globalized world where people increasingly expect to receive information in a language of their choice. The attraction of these automated services is that they are free and (almost) instantaneous. While they may not always provide high-quality translations, when used in an optimal way they can provide 'fit for purpose' translations which are acceptable to users. It remains to be seen what effect the conscious engagement of larger numbers of people with translation will have on the perception of the discipline as well as on future theorizing.

4.4 Theories of agency

The growing interest in the translator as agent in the 1990s and in particular the political, social and philosophical dimensions of the translator's activity drew translation theorists to the work of the French sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002). The attraction of Bourdieu's sociology of culture lay in its view of social life as interrelated social practices, which he interrogates with the conceptual tools of field, habitus, capital and illusio. Each individual, or agent, occupies a position in a particular field of activity – Bourdieu's example is the literary field – and has a particular 'habitus', a set of dispositions which incline him or her to act and react in certain conscious and unconscious ways as a result of their education, social background and conditioning. The agent's position in the field is not fixed but part of a set of ever-changing social relations. Every field is 'the site of more or less openly declared struggle' (1992: 242), as different members of that field attempt to define its scope and impose their view on all other members. Bourdieu also extended the Marxist idea of capital to include social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital, all of which relate to resources that agents accumulate in order to take part in a particular activity. Lefevere, for example, has described cultural capital as 'what makes you acceptable in your society at the end of the socialization process known as education'

(1998b: 42). The illusio, according to Bourdieu, is 'the adherence to the game as game, the acceptance of the fundamental premise that the game, literary or scientific, is worth being played, being taken seriously' (1995: 333).

One of the first translation scholars to engage with Bourdieu was Daniel Simeoni (1948–2007) who posed the question: 'How does one acquire, in practice and in principle, a translator's habitus?' (1998: 15). Simeoni described the translator's habitus as 'the elaborate result of a personalized social and cultural history' (1998: 32). He viewed 'habitus' as a subject-grounded category which could complement existing functional and descriptive models in a way that would do justice to the complexity of the translator's activity. Simeoni regards the translator as a social agent, taking decisions which are influenced by upbringing and training as well as by a range of social and professional norms. While the translator may be subject to norms, this subjection is not passive. Simeoni insists that translators are responsible for their, often conservative, decisions.

Simeoni doubted whether translation could be defined as a field since it is by definition always involved in other fields such as medicine, law, technology or literature, and the habitus associated with any translation activity would be determined by the field in question. However, Hermans has suggested that the conceptualization of translation as a field would be worthwhile (1999: 136) and Hanna has applied a Bourdieusian analysis to the field of drama translation in early twentieth-century Egypt to explain the translation practice of an individual translator (2005: 167–92).

Simeoni also saw the cross-cultural practice of translation as a way of overcoming and enriching Bourdieu's thought, which he criticized as being too rooted in the nation state. For Simeoni, the translator's habitus is 'a locus of tension revealing an extreme yet very representative configuration of intercultural, as well as global influences' (1998: 21). Meylærts has recently proposed incorporating an intercultural dimension into Bourdieu's theory in order to acknowledge the multiple processes and sites of a translator's socialization which leads to a 'plural and dynamic (intercultural) habitus' (2008: 94).

The sociological turn in TS, which began around the start of the new century, has devoted much attention to the activities of individual translators around the world and thus continued the interest in translation history pioneered in the 1990s by Delisle and

Woodsworth (1995), Cronin (1996), Delisle (1999) and Pym (1998). Examples of such studies include Akiko Uchiyama's research on the enormous influence of the translator and newspaper owner Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901) on Japanese attitudes towards China and Korea. His editorials, with their negative references to other Asian countries as 'uncivilized' and therefore 'inferior', are claimed to have prepared the ideological framework in which Japanese aggression towards other Asian countries could take place (2009: 83). In Brazil the translation activity of the poet, editor and academic Haroldo de Campos (1929–2003) has been investigated by Médici Nóbrega and Milton (2009: 257–77). Francisco Carrasquer, a Spanish translator who was granted refuge in the Netherlands from the Franco regime and who repaid his debt of gratitude by being 'an initiator and advocate' of Dutch translations into Spanish, has been the subject of a study by Linn (2006: 37).

The Trasna database in the Centre for Translation and Textual Studies at Dublin City University in Ireland contains the biographies of over 200 translators who have contributed to making Irish literature a global phenomenon. None is perhaps so strange as Felix Paul Greve (1879–1948) who translated Oscar Wilde and Jonathan Swift into German. He faked his suicide in 1909 to escape his debts and fled from Germany to Canada where he reinvented himself as Frederick Philip Grove, allegedly of Swedish origin. He went on to establish a reputation as a Canadian writer, winning the Lorne Pierce Medal in 1934, two honorary doctorates and the Governor-General's Award in 1947 (www.ctts.dcu.ie). Current work in the Centre includes a study of the international success of Irish 'chick lit'. Of particular interest is the question of whether/to what extent translation has shaped the development of this genre in the target culture, which in this instance is Vietnam.

4.5 Theories of subjectivity

Robinson draws on recent work in cognitive science, neuropsychology and neurophilosophy to posit a theory of translator subjectivity (2001). Rejecting the rationalist view of an executive mind in complete control of consciousness, Robinson sees the self as constituted by a large number of factors and forces – 'demons' – constantly interacting with each other. Following the philosopher Dan Dennett, he

proposes a 'pandemonium' theory of consciousness, according to which every action is brought about by a multitude of agents, 'all proffering their partial, alternative, overlapping, conflicting or contending or cooperating contributions, and some finding their way into action, others being postponed for testing or timing, truckloads of others, the vast majority, being discarded' (2001: 151). In terms of translator subjectivity, the 'demons' at work range from the translator's approach to translation in general and their attitude to the particular text in question, their general sense of well-being and alertness on the day, other issues which currently concern them as human beings, their relationship with the SL and TL, their relationships with clients, agencies, publishers, revisers, editors and others in the production chain – as well as the assumptions they make about these people, and so on. Any practising translator recognizes such 'demons' at work. One of Europe's leading translators from English into German recently submitted a German translation which contained 17 instances of the ST word 'and' instead of the TT 'und'. He had just moved house and was attempting to submit two translations on the same day to meet the deadlines of two different publishers before flying off on a much-needed holiday. The pressures of his personal life combined with the demands of his publishers to affect the quality of his work. (As a consummate professional, he noticed his mistake and was able to correct it before the editor at the publishing house responded.)

Robinson's argument is that 'translators are not autonomous individuals producing translations like omnipotent gods out of the fullness of their (textual, cultural, economic, psychosocial) world-mastery'. Rather, they are 'parts of larger translation or translatorial agencies, in a broad philosophical sense of "agency" that sometimes overlaps, but is not coterminous with the legal sense' (2001: 187). In Robinson's anti-rationalist view, translators both as agents and in disaggregated agencies 'channel' other people's texts '*from* various sources, *through* their own bodies, *to* various targets, users, ends' (2001: 187) [emphasis in the original]. The attraction of Robinson's approach lies in its power to account for the complexity of the translator's task both at the level of the individual and of the networks in which they find themselves.

Self-translation, and particularly reflection on self-translation, can also provide insights into a translator's subjectivity. The Francophone

translator/writer Daniel Gagnon has explored his experience of 'bilingual translation/writing' in the Canadian context. He explains his motives for writing in English as a desire to 'distance myself from French/France cultural hegemony', as a 'strategy to decolonize literary practice' (2006: 126). He also wanted thereby to develop a new type of intercultural communication. He expresses his bemusement that his French translation of his novel *The Marriageable Daughter* was awarded a literary prize and that the English 'original', which was published after the French translation, was described as being 'translated by the author'. Self-translations clearly do not fit into the traditional, largely Western, binary division between original and translation.

The bilingualism and biculturalism which are the prerequisites for self-translation are often the result of migration, displacement and exile or, as we have seen in the discussion of postcolonial translation above, the legacy of the Imperial project. In such contexts, self-translation can be part of a search for identity, as in the case of Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language*. For authors who choose to live in another culture and to translate their own works, such as the Italian writer Francesca Duranti who divides her time between Italy and New York, self-translation is a means of stimulating her creativity and 'regenerating her writing' (Wilson, 2009: 187).

4.6 The translator as negotiator of meaning

We began this chapter by remarking on the fact that the translator has only become the focus of scholarly attention in recent times. A significant contributory factor to this development has been the influence of postmodern theories on TS. Postmodernism rejected the idea that meaning was stable and definitively fixed in a text and that it could therefore be transferred more or less unproblematically into another language and culture. This idea is encapsulated in the English term 'trans-lation', i.e. 'to carry across', and is replicated in a number of other European terms for the activity. Inherent in this metaphor is the binary division between (invariant) content and (variable) form: the content is moved unchanged into another form/language. Also inherent in this conceptualization is the idea that the translator is located between two separate systems, when, as Tymoczko has shown, translators operate in one language or another

or, to be more accurate, 'in a system inclusive of both SL and TL, a system that encompasses both' (2003: 196). As we have seen, the notion of the translator as a porter of meaning who carefully transports a precious cargo from one language and culture to another with minimum fuss is a particularly Western construct; other cultures conceptualize translation in very different ways.

The Franco-Maghrebian philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) coined the term 'deconstruction' to denote a way of reading, interpreting and writing texts which challenges the conventional ideas of meaning in Western philosophical discourse. Derrida's work has had considerable influence on TS because of his own interest in language and translation. For Derrida, meaning does not exist outside of language; indeed, meaning does not precede language but is embedded in the context of an utterance or event. In other words, meaning is not a fixed and hidden presence waiting to be revealed by a reader or a translator but is dependent on the context, the reader's or translator's experience and the relationship of the text to other texts. To search for meaning is to engage in a (potentially unending) process of working through the many layers of a text with all their connotations, allusions and histories. A key term here is 'différance', a term which encompasses the double meaning of difference and deferral as well as the ambiguity of the active and passive voice. Derrida describes 'différance' as 'the movement according to which language, or any code, any system of referral is constituted "historically" as a weave of difference' (1982: 13). It is this movement that is the prerequisite for the generation of meanings.

Given the openness or what Davis calls the 'inexhaustible textuality' (2001: 24) of texts, no ST can ever be 'original' because it bears the traces of so many other texts. Therefore there can be no definitive interpretation nor can there be any comprehensive interpretation since no reader or translator can access all the elements of a text and its context. A possible consequence of deconstruction might be considered to be the impossibility of translation. However, Derrida rejects such binary opposites and exclusive categories as translatability and untranslatability because for him the one is dependent on and constitutive of the other. It is both impossible to translate and necessary to do so.

If texts do not have pre-existing and fixed meanings waiting to be uncovered and 'trans-lated' into another language and culture,

then the translator's task becomes a very responsible one for they have to decide on what meaning(s) to translate. Such decisions relate to elements in the text itself (whether, for example, to choose the term 'insurgent' instead of 'freedom fighter'), to translation strategies (such as the 'thick translation' adopted by Cheung (2007: 22–36) in translating Chinese concepts of translation) as well as to the context – whether to accept commissions from particular clients or whether to undercut other translators in order to secure work.

Postmodernist philosophy, with its emphasis on the ideological nature of translation, with its insistence that a translator cannot be neutral, has opened up new areas of research in TS. In particular, as Arrojo has pointed out, 'the recognition of the translator's authorial role [...] has finally allowed us to begin reevaluating the conditions and the status of the actual practice of translation and to recognize the need to make translators aware of the impact and importance of their own craft' (1998: 42).

4.7 Translators as risk takers

In the last ten years, and particularly since the onset of the recent large-scale economic crisis in Europe and the USA, risk management has become a priority for many organizations worldwide. It is therefore not surprising that it has found its way into Translation Theory, too.

Translators are decision-makers and the process of decision-making is always attended by risk. The most recent ISO standard (ISO 31000: 2009. *Risk Management – Principles and Guidelines*) defines risk as 'the effect of uncertainty on objectives' and Wilss has applied insights from risk management in a corporate context to the role of the translator as decision-maker (2005). He differentiates between decisions made under conditions of certainty and decisions made under conditions of uncertainty. In the former case solutions to translation problems are straightforward and entail no risk of any sort; in the latter the translator is faced with very difficult choices between a number of alternatives, any of which can involve risk of a personal or professional nature. Kussmaul has pointed out that risk management 'does not mean risk avoidance, but rather risk reduction' (2009: 372).

A possible strategy of risk reduction is self-censorship. Confronted with the existence of publicly approved and predominant ideas, such

as the superiority of a particular political system or the omniscience of a particular monotheistic deity, translators may find themselves censoring their work – without anyone explicitly forcing them to do so. Maksudyan illustrates self-censorship with reference to the translation of a problematic historical narrative when he examines the presentation of the Armenian genocide of 1915–16 in some (translated) Turkish history books. The foreign texts contest the dominant Turkish historical narrative about the Armenian genocide and the translations are often constrained by 'what can and cannot be spoken' about the event in Turkey (2009: 637). Self-censorship in this instance ranges from the complete excision of the relevant passages to the use of euphemisms, the eliding of agency as well as omissions and additions (2009).

Pym has linked risk management to Toury's two proposed laws, that of growing standardization and that of interference (2008). In decision-making situations translators will either take the safe option (standardization in Toury's terms) or transfer the responsibility for the translation decision to a higher authority, consisting, for example, of a prestigious ST or a solution proposed by a translation memory system (the law of interference). Pym links the willingness or reluctance to take risks to the reward structures in place for translators and formulates a tentative (unifying) law of translation: 'Translators will tend to avoid risk by standardizing language and/or channelling interference, if and when there are no rewards for them to do otherwise' (2008: 326).

Of course, those translators and, especially, interpreters who work in war zones are exposed to significant physical risks in the course of their employment. The British and US forces recruited and trained local educated civilians (LECs) to act as interpreters during the Iraq War. For LECs, the most important consideration in preparing for an interpreting assignment was not terminological research but the level of body armour required and the question whether a balaclava (to disguise their identity) was necessary. The very real risks faced by these interpreters in Iraq are reflected in the fatality figures: between March 2003 and March 2008, 360 interpreters employed by the US forces were killed and more than 1200 were injured. The only other group who suffered a higher death toll were the US forces themselves (Miller, 2009). In fact, such interpreters face a treble risk: firstly, there is the danger faced by any military personnel on active duty;

then they suffer the consequences of being viewed as collaborators by their fellow citizens, and finally their employers often feel unable to trust them completely. When the conflict is over, they risk persecution, if not death, at the hands of their fellow countrymen and are dependent on their former employers to provide safe passage out of the conflict zone and a new start abroad.

While we may be tempted to regard translation activity in war zones and arenas of conflict as an extreme case, it is indisputable that 'translation and interpreting are part of the *institution of war* and hence play a major role in the management of conflict – by all parties, from warmongers to peace activists' (Baker, 2006: 1–2) [emphasis in the original]. Viewed from this perspective, risk management – in both physical and ideological terms – is central to translation activity in the preparation, execution and resolution of armed conflict.

4.8 The translator's ethical responsibility

Closely related to risk-taking and risk management is the question of ethical positioning.

As we have seen in our discussion of deconstruction, decision-making is central to the activity of translation. It does not take place in an ethical vacuum. A translator's decision to remain invisible, for example, can be seen as a decision to refuse to take responsibility for their work (Lane-Mercier, 1997) as well as the acceptance of a particular predominant view of translation in their culture. The decision whether/how to translate texts such as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* – which Pym presents as a 'chestnut example' (2010: 48/49) – is a profoundly ethical one.

While the question of ethics has been long debated in community interpreting, where it often crystallizes around the role of the interpreter as either impartial code-switcher or advocate for the client, the attention to ethics in TS has been a relatively recent phenomenon. Ethics seeks to provide answers to the age-old question 'what ought I to do?' Such answers have traditionally divided along universal versus particular lines, with universalists seeking general guidelines for translators' behaviour based on universal values, and particularists insisting on the importance of the situation in question in deciding ethical issues.

Examples of the 'universalist' approach include the *Nairobi Recommendation* of 1976 and the code of ethics of most national professional associations, all of which attempt to establish guidelines for the training and working conditions of translators. In the belief that such professional ethics must be subordinate to universal values, Chesterman has proposed nine general principles for ethical behaviour, what he calls a 'Hieronymic Oath': commitment, loyalty to the profession, understanding, truth, clarity, trustworthiness, truthfulness, justice and striving for excellence (2001: 153). For Chesterman 'understanding is the highest value for translators' and all other values are subservient to it (2001: 152). By 'understanding' he means that the translator must understand not just the text but the clients' needs and the readers' expectations and they must also facilitate understanding in the cross-cultural communicative situation.

In the same landmark publication on ethics and translation, Pym argued that ethical issues were no longer purely linguistic or textual in nature, restricted to equivalence or loyalty to the ST. Rather ethics 'is now a broadly contextual question, dependent on practice in specific cultural locations and situational determinants' (2001: 137). Although adopting a generally particularist stance, Pym does recognize the increasing espousal of universal values in debates about ethics in the field.

As we have seen in this book, developments such as postcolonial translation and Feminist translation have raised ethical issues in relation to power and patronage. Much less debated have been the ethical dimensions of recent developments in translation technology. The question about whether to share one's TMs, i.e. the product of one's work, is an ethical question – assuming, of course, that translators have ownership of the TMs they have created, which is not always the case. Crowdsourcing involves working for no payment for a for-profit company: 'ought' a translator to do so?

The ethical implications of globalization as they impinge on the translator's practice are set to loom large in the coming years. Lowered trade barriers will no doubt increase competition between translators for business. Technological developments will raise issues about the role of the human translator in automated translation, ranging from intellectual property to working conditions. Such questions will result in an increasing role for ethics in translator training (see

Drugan and Megone, 2011 for a proposed approach to embedding ethics in the translator-training curriculum).

4.9 Theories about translator training

While we have touched on issues of translator training in the discussion of Skopos Theory, corpus-based TS and TPR, the emphasis in this section is on theories relating specifically to training translators.

The exponential growth in translator-training institutions in European universities since 1945, and particularly since the 1980s, often resulted in the appointment of trainers who were (former) professionals or modern language teachers with no background in translation pedagogy. The earliest international conferences devoted to teaching translation as part of a translator-training programme date from 1986 (Anderman and Rogers, 1990) and 1991 (Dollerup and Loddegaard, 1992). Research and theorizing about translation teaching are therefore relatively new.

Paul Kussmaul, who taught on the prestigious translator-training programme at the University of Mainz in Germany, addressed his *Training the Translator* to instructors who 'very often have no clear idea about what they are doing' (1995: 33). Kussmaul draws on his extensive teaching experience to provide a manual for such teachers: his pedagogical approach is unapologetically teacher-centred, based on a positivist pedagogical epistemology. Adopting a functional perspective (see also Nord, 1991b), Kussmaul draws on a wide range of theoretical models in general linguistics as well as psycholinguistics, psychology, pragmatics, semantics and text linguistics to provide trainers with a theoretical underpinning for a training schedule which he summarizes in nine instructions in the final chapter. While much of the book concentrates on micro-level issues which are of direct relevance to the translator trainer, the author's major concern is to improve translators' self-awareness, by which he means the ability to reflect critically on every decision made in the translation process. For Kussmaul, self-awareness – which will lead to self-confidence – is a key component of translator competence.

Schäffner and Adab describe 'competence' as a 'superordinate, a cover term and summative concept for the overall performance ability' which, they admit, 'seems so difficult to define' (2000: x). Definitions usually restrict themselves to listing desirable subcompetences, such as language competence, textual competence,

subject competence, cultural competence (Neubert, 2000b: 3–18), terminology (Anderman and Rogers, 2000: 63–73), or language-pair specific competences such as contrastive analysis (Mailhac, 2000: 33–50) or the ability to use IT tools (Kenny, 2007: 192–208).

TPR has used empirical data collected in the course of process studies to define the concept of translator competence. The PACTE research group in Barcelona, for example, was the first to identify the ability to connect the sub-competences to each other as an important step in the development of a novice translator to a fully fledged professional (2000). The TransComp project in Graz, a longitudinal study of the acquisition of translator competence launched in September 2007, concentrates on three components of translator competence: (1) strategic competence, (2) translation routine activation competence as well as (3) tools and research competence (Göpferich and Jääskeläinen, 2009: 185). The second of these is a new sub-competence which consists in the ability to use routine transfer procedures to produce acceptable translations in a TT.

Pym (2003) dismisses the 'list of (sub-) competences' approach on the basis that such a list is potentially endless, that competences are discussed in isolation from the specifics of a particular translation brief or institutional framework, and that they are divorced from any theory of learning. Pym then presents a twofold definition of translation competence:

- The ability to generate a series of more than one viable target text ($TT_1, TT_2 \ldots TT_n$) for a pertinent source text (ST);
- The ability to select only one viable TT from this series, quickly and with justified confidence (2003: 489).

He argues that this definition of competence 'concerns translation and nothing but translation' (2003: 489), and that while translators may need a range of other linguistic, technological and professional skills, this is what ultimately differentiates their work from that of other language professionals. Pym locates his definition of competence in a theory of learning which requires students to constantly choose between hypotheses, which, in turn, means that they are continuingly engaged in theorization. He argues that this approach encourages the kind of cooperative interaction which is typical of the professional translator's working environment – and in which

there is no place for the omniscient instructor of the traditional transmissionist classroom who is the sole and ultimate authority and arbiter (2003: 489–96). Pym's definition of competence is pitched at a level of generality which means that it can be adapted and implemented in a wide range of training situations. By explicitly rejecting the transmissionist model, it also recognizes that training and theorizing about training do not take place in an institutional or philosophical vacuum.

An alternative perspective is provided by Chesterman (2000a: 147–50) who turns to Dreyfus and Dreyfus (1986) to map the development of translators from novice to expert. Dreyfus and Dreyfus propose that this development takes place in five stages: novice (recognition of predefined features and rules), advanced beginner (recognition of non-defined but relevant features), competence (hierarchical and goal-oriented decision-making), proficiency (intuitive understanding plus deliberative action) and expertise (fluid performance plus deliberative rationality). The trainee progresses 'from atomistic to holistic recognition, from conscious to unconscious responses, from analytical to intuitive decision-making, from calculative to deliberative rationality, from detached to involved commitment' (2000a: 150). Chesterman himself goes on to suggest teaching strategies for each of these levels. He agrees with Kussmaul on the importance of cultivating self-awareness in trainee translators and proposes a number of steps to facilitate 'the translator's ontological path towards emancipation' (2000a: 164). For Chesterman, the aim of translator training is to produce an 'emancipated subject rather than a submissive object' (2000a: 163).

Chesterman's general approach is Popperian in nature and he does not explicitly advocate a particular theory of learning. However, the widespread use of the passive voice in the description of the relationship between trainer and trainee ('students can be asked to . . .', 'students should be given') indicates a largely teacher-centred classroom, which may impede his goal of attaining the emancipation of the trainees.

Emancipation – or 'empowerment' – of trainees is a goal shared by Kiraly: 'Attaining competence in a professional domain means acquiring the expertise and thus the authority to make professional decisions; assuming responsibility for one's actions; and achieving autonomy to follow a path of lifelong learning. This is empowerment'

(2000: 1). Kiraly's theory of learning is, however, quite different from Chesterman's. For Kiraly, a social constructivist, knowledge is not something static, objective and external which has to be transmitted to students by an omniscient teacher; rather knowledge is a social construct, co-constructed in dialogue, debate and interaction. Kiraly calls for 'a change of focus from the tyranny of teaching, to learning as a collaborative, acculturative, and quintessentially social activity' (2000: 18). The traditional translation exercise class is turned into a workshop where the teacher becomes a facilitator of student learning. Students work in groups, sharing and exchanging ideas and engaging in decision-making. Exercises take the form of authentic translation projects which have to be managed from start to finish by the group. In this way trainees are initiated into professional practice. While Kiraly places much emphasis on authenticity and incorporates technology in his model, he believes that collaboration is best achieved in a face-to-face situation, which is not mediated by technology (2000: 128). Kenny, however, has demonstrated that technology can in fact improve collaboration (2008: 139–64), not least because it removes many barriers to collaboration which exist in a face-to-face situation – such as body language, appearance, personality, group dynamics and so on.

O'Hagan has suggested that the practices of fan translation networks, and in particular 'scanlation', provide a model of a social constructivist learning environment (2008: 158–83). The process of scanlation involves an authentic translation project carried out by a group of Japanese manga fans who collaborate online, receive peer and expert feedback and produce an English manga comic which is published online. O'Hagan points out that such amateur translation communities are set to increase with the exponential growth of new modes of communication and that translator pedagogy has much to learn from them about 'new ways of nurturing professional skill sets' (2008: 179).

As we have seen, TPR has provided further reasons for developing a student-centred approach, based on the results of analysing the translation behaviour of professional translators (Tirkkonen-Condit and Laukkanen, 1996).

Given the large increase in translator-training programmes at Spanish universities in the last 15 years, it is perhaps not surprising that the most comprehensive guide to curricular and syllabus

design in recent years should come from a designer working in Spain. Dorothy Kelly's *A Handbook for Translator Trainers* (2005) provides an overview of 'the basic educational considerations for each step' in designing a translator trainer programme (2005: 1). She is at pains to emphasize the importance of regional, national, cultural and institutional differences in developing a translator-training curriculum and insists that any programme must be based on local conditions. She locates her work in the framework of the Bologna process, which was initiated by the European Union in 1999 with the aim of realigning European higher education to make degree programmes more comparable in terms of structure and quality, to encourage mobility and facilitate recognition of qualifications. This process culminated in the launch of the European Higher Education Area in 2010 that presents a 'new model of tertiary education, where the key elements are clear definitions of aims and intended outcomes and more student-centred learning' (2005: 33). She starts, as is common in the framework of the Bologna process, with a discussion of (intended) learning outcomes. Having identified seven (sub-) competences essential for 'translator training in the context of a general higher education institution' (2005: 38), she proceeds to define five learning outcomes for one of these competences. The learning outcomes are expressed as 'can do' statements along the lines of 'on completion of this module the student will be able to interpret Chinese speeches of ten minutes' duration in the field of international trade into French'. While it is, of course, imperative to establish the aims of any educational enterprise at the outset, the reduction of learning outcomes to a series of 'five or six and no more than seven or eight' outcomes (2005: 38), expressed as 'can do' statements, seems rather restrictive for a higher education programme. Nor is it likely to encourage student-centred learning, especially as learning outcomes are set exclusively by the teachers and assume that all students in a particular cohort will learn in the same way and at the same pace. Indeed such an approach is based on largely discredited behaviourist theories according to which knowledge can be neatly dissected into discrete units for transmission to a homogeneous group of students whose learning can then be measured objectively.

Hussey and Smith (2002) have concluded that learning outcomes cannot be expressed with the level of precision and clarity that is claimed, that they can indeed restrict educational outcomes, either

by being perceived as a maximum requirement and/or by excluding outcomes which emerge during teaching and learning. Indeed, such emerging outcomes are often the most valuable in higher education. Elsewhere they describe the teacher who is forced to prepare students for an assessment based on such learning outcomes as being 'stuck in the middle between tight adherence to achieving pre-specified outcomes, on the one hand, and optimising the opportunities for the development and support of independent, autonomous and life-long learners, on the other' (2003: 358). In other words, this kind of educational philosophy is incompatible with a student-centred approach.

This is not to deny the usefulness of Kelly's *Handbook* – after all, it contains the results of many years' experience – it is simply to point out that the educational theory underpinning it, and much of the Bologna process in the European Union, is behaviourist in origin and still very much in the transmissionist mode.

4.10 Conclusion

As Translation Theory has increasingly abandoned the view of translators as neutral code-switchers, theoretical interest has begun to focus on the translators themselves. In this chapter we have seen how intellectual and philosophical developments originating outside the discipline have influenced our conceptualization of translators. Postmodern theories have demonstrated the unstable nature of meaning and emphasized the importance of agency, thereby propelling the translator centre-stage. The emphasis on ethics in many walks of life has turned the spotlight on the hitherto neglected ethical dimension of a translator's work. The growing demand for translation worldwide has raised many questions about translator training. The theoretical insights afforded by research in these fields have underlined the complexity of the translator's task.

At the same time, the demand for translation worldwide is increasing at a speed which human translators simply cannot meet. Automatic translation for gist and 'fit-for-purpose' translations are already a reality. Crowdsourcing, fan-subbing and scanlation are introducing new models of translation activity (and translator training). The theoretical implications of these new developments are only beginning to be explored.

Conclusion

In the course of this book it has become clear that translation plays a central role in everyday life across the planet. The fate of millions is determined by decisions taken in international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Health Organization and the European Union as well as by multinational companies with headquarters located in linguistic and cultural spaces far from the sites of production and/or consumption. Aid operations in the developing world and rescue missions after natural or man-made disasters rely on translation to successfully complete their work. The foreign news we read in our newspapers or view on our screens has undergone a process of translation before we can receive it in our own language. Much of the food, drink and medicine we consume is accompanied by packaging which contains some form of translation. The leisure industry – from tourism and travel to videogames and DVDs – depends to a significant extent on translation. This is why translation matters – and why the way we conceptualize translation has such wide implications for so many aspects of local, national and international policy-making and practice.

In view of this, I would therefore like to propose an additional, eighth, goal of Translation Theory to the seven listed in Chapter 1: to raise public awareness about the nature of translation. By this I mean raising awareness of both the prevalence of translation in a globalized world and the complexity of the phenomenon. The aim would be to ensure that anyone who engages with translation – whether as user, policy-maker or other stakeholder – has informed and realistic expectations of the product and the process. For example, the

reader of *Alone in Berlin*, mentioned in the Introduction, would no longer talk about Fallada's style but comment on the style of the translation. By the same token, it would no longer be acceptable for a diplomat to shift the blame for a diplomatic faux pas to his translator. And the university, mentioned in Chapter 3, would consult the TS experts on campus before using a machine translation program to produce multilingual versions of the mission statement on the university website.

The material presented in this book has supported our claim in Chapter 1 that theories of translation are contingent. They are not entirely random phenomena which occur completely by chance but are closely related to the contexts in which they first appear. These contexts – presented in the following discussion in terms of people, places and philosophy – are clearly overlapping.

It is striking how many theorists are migrants, either by choice or necessity. Migration, itself an act of translation, inevitably entails an encounter with the Other, which in the case of these scholars led to a process of theorizing about translation. A significant number of theorists are (bilingual) speakers of minority languages and have therefore been confronted with issues of language and power, in which translation is inevitably implicated.

At the same time, theories have developed in particular places and at particular times. As we suggested in Chapter 2, it is not altogether surprising that Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) should emerge from a culture that depended to a large extent on translated texts, many of which were treated as if they had originally been written in the language of the receiving culture. The process of decolonization provides a further illustration of the contingent nature of translation theories. Investigations into the role of translation in Imperial ventures (and their aftermath) in Asia, Africa, Latin America and some peripheral regions of Europe have given rise to much theorizing about the role of translation in situations where power relations are unequal.

In addition, theories of translation need to be seen in their cultural, social and philosophical context. The influence of philosophers such as Bourdieu and Derrida has been discussed explicitly in Chapter 4. Indeed, translation has been implicated in the gradual acceptance of the indeterminacy of meaning in Western philosophy, a fact which has in turn exercised a major influence on Translation Theory and

practice in recent years. Other influential theoretical trends include Polysystems Theory which has provided a framework for understanding the relationship between translated literature and other literary products and practices.

An emerging area of theorizing is in relation to technology. In the same way as new technologies have been influencing our lives in fundamental ways, so, too, are they affecting translation. While the groundwork for such theorizing has been laid by Cronin (2003), Pym (2004) and O'Hagan (2012), many questions relating to the human–machine interface, the ethical issues around crowdsourcing and the ownership of intellectual property such as TMs are in urgent need of attention. The 'technological turn' is high on the agenda of Translation Theory.

As we have seen, a wide range of theories have developed and continue to develop across the world. A book of this nature can only give a partial account and make a small contribution to an understanding of what is a global picture. It is my hope that it will encourage others to take up their paintbrushes and make their own contribution to enlarging and internationalizing our picture of Translation Theory.

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